

**Fanohge Famalão'an & Fan'tachu Fama'lauan:
Women Rising
Indigenous Resistance to Militarization in the Marianas
Archipelago**

BY

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THESIS

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any education institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed: _____

The research for this thesis received the approval of the University of Otago Ethics Committee (Reference number: 15/026). In addition, this research was conducted in accordance with Pacific ethical standards, values, and aspirations as outlined in the *University of Otago Pacific Research Protocols* (2011) document.

Abstract

This project examines how Indigenous women nonviolently resist the invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization by the United States in the Marianas Archipelago. As “protectors and defenders” of their families, communities, and natural environment, CHamoru and Refalawasch women employ digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance. Their strategies are based and sustained within ancient matriarchal systems and matrilineal genealogies and are shared across the new media platforms: Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.

Written as a form of academic activism and created in fluidarity (solidarity) with others writing and working for decolonization and demilitarization, this thesis is designed as politically engaged qualitative resistance (re)search and is based on critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks. Five resistance examples from Guå’han (Guam) and five examples from the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) are explored through a decolonized and gendered lens, and I apply reflective and visual methodologies,

This thesis argues that the United States (US) reinforces and relies on imperial ideologies and the “protector/protected” narrative to justify everyday and expanding militarization. Everyday militarization is fulfilled through the continued political status as insular areas *belonging* to the United States federal government while expanding militarization is justified through the Pacific pivot foreign policy carried out by the US Department of Defense in the name of national security. The invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization manifests in the communities “along the fenceline” and within the “support economies” that surround military installations.

The resistance, however, is much more complex than the local population versus the US government and military. The Marianas Archipelago has the second highest rate of US Force enlistment, and the residents are considered a “patriotic” population with US citizenship. These intricacies are addressed throughout the thesis with the women articulating that they are not “anti-military” or “anti-American.” Instead, their resistance is based on the premise that both the US federal government and the US Department of Defense must address unfulfilled commitments and abide by previous agreements.

Finally, the aim of this (re)search *as* resistance is to contribute by creating and disseminating

open, public, accessible, shareable, understandable, and informative scholarship. Organized as a hybrid thesis, I incorporate academic and new media publications and include forty-three images. In a time of US political uncertainty, women in the Marianas Archipelago continue to resist in fluidarity with others across the globe. This thesis is one snapshot of “women rising” in the Marianas Archipelago: “fanohge famalåo’an” and “fan’tachu fama’lauan” in CHamoru.

Keywords:

Indigenous Resistance, CHamoru feminism(s), Refalawasch (Carolinian), American Studies, (De)militarization, (De)colonization, Marianas Archipelago, Guam/Guåhan, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), (Native) Pacific Studies, Oceanic Studies, Critical Beach Studies, (Imperial) Feminist Studies, Nonviolent Resistance, Visual Research, New Media Research, Digital Autoethnography, Critical Military Studies, Feminist Security Studies, and Participatory Action Research.

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I could neither read nor write until the fourth grade. Male teachers and “educators” told me I needed to try harder and obviously did not really care about my education or future. My nine-year-old brain knew this was unjust, and I organized my own one-child direct action resistance campaign. I refused to go to school. My mother threatened not to allow me to do any of the after-school activities I loved so much. But I remained firm in my stance. I even explained my position to the principle of the elementary school. The school was organizing for me to be transferred into the “special education” class in Room Four. Fortunately, my mother advocated for me to have a learning assessment. The results revealed that not only was I not “lazy,” I am in fact “gifted.”

Being diagnosed with dyslexia was not the end of the scholastic struggle, but it provided me a path forward— all the way to the submission of this doctoral thesis. Over the course of my twenty years of schooling, I have encountered teachers, tutors, professors, and even other students who doubt, mock, and simply do not understand what dyslexia is. Commenting on one of my essays, my eighth grade English teacher wrote that he was “surprised” I made it to the eighth grade due to my writing (in)abilities. The following year, I was accepted into the Advanced English course. I have had a professor comment on my University-provided proofreading assistance, saying I will “never learn to read and write if someone is always doing it for me.” Every time I sit at my computer, every sentence I have crafted in this thesis, those past experiences, and their skepticism galvanizes me forward. Little do they know they are fuelling a resistance, on an individual and global level.

My journey has not been a solitary one. I have received hundreds of hours of reading coaching, writing instruction, spelling tutoring, eye training, and my two favorite learning activities: conceptual drawing and creating words out of clay. I would like to thank and honor those (women) who helped me achieve this much, which enabled me to receive a full doctoral scholarship to complete this project. It is through this community and solidarity that so much is possible. From resisting sexist fourth-grade teachers and bigoted principles to resisting the world’s largest military and contemporary empire, these feats are not possible

alone. It is not my intention to compare dyslexia and a learning (dis)ability to genocide and militarization, but it demonstrates just how narrow and ridged the current “system” is. From how children (in the United States) are educated and what they are taught is “acceptable” to the justification of domination and militarization, these are the same imperial ideologies.

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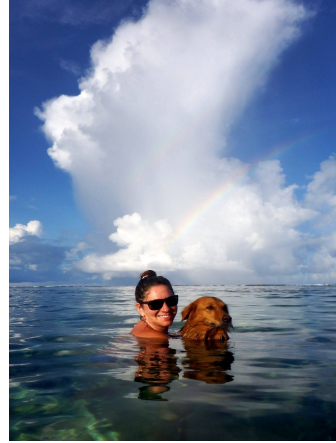
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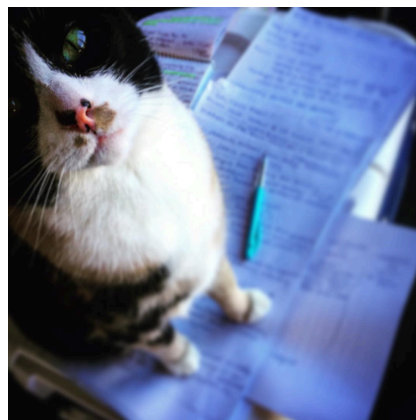
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List of Abbreviations

Activist Organizations based in the Marianas Archipelago are in **bold**

AZC	Alternative Zero Coalition
CJMT	The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Joint Military Training document
CMS	Critical Militarization Studies
CNMI	The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands
DEIS	Draft Environmental Impact Statement
Dentons	Dentons Environmental Science Associates
DOD	The United States Department of Defense
DOI	The United States Department of the Interior
EA	Environmental Assessment
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
EPA	The United States Environmental Protection Agency
FestPac	The Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture
FSS	Feminist Security Studies
Fuetsan	Fuetsan Famalão'an
Coalition	Guåhan Coalition for Peace and Justice
Congress	The United States Congress
GALA	Guam's Alternative Lifestyle Association
GovGuam	The Government of Guam
Guardians	The Guardians of Gani'

LFTRC(s)	Live Fire Training Range Complex(es)
MARC	The Richard Taitano Flore Micronesian Area Research Center, the University of Guam
MBTA	Migratory Bird Treaty Act
MFAT	New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade
MOM	Military Opportunities for Mothers Act
MOOC	Massive Open Online Course
MST	Military Sexual Trauma
MTA	Military Technical Agreement
NEPA	The National Environmental Policy Act
NMI	The Northern Mariana Islands
NPS	The United States National Park Service
NSGTs	The United Nations List of Non-Self-Governing Territories
OEA	Overseas Environmental Assessment
OEIS	Overseas Environmental Impact Statement
OIAS	Our Islands Are Sacred
PDN	<i>The Pacific Daily News</i>
PHA	Pacific History Association
Pacific pivot	Pacific pivot US foreign policy
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
R&R	Rest and Recreation, Rest and Recuperation, or Rest and Relaxation
Roadmap	The United States–Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation

Agreement

ROD	Record of Decision
Ritidian	Guam National Wildlife Refuge, Ritidian Unit
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SEIS	Supplementary Environmental Impact Statements
SDZ	Surface Danger Zone
SGBV	Sexual Gender-Based Violence
TTPI	The Strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
TWA	Tinian Women’s Association
UH	The University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa or Hilo
UN	The United Nations
US	The United States of America
USP	The University of South Pacific
UXOs	Unexploded Ordinances
VA	The United States Department of Veterans Affairs
WAG	We Are Guåhan
WWII	World War Two

Fino' Siha • Glossary

All words are in CHamoru unless otherwise noted*

âcho lattes • pre-contact CHamoru stone housing structures

ainang • maternal kin group or clan in Refalawasch*

agaga' • deep reddish orange of the Pacific spondylus shell

biba • an examination of approval

Carolinian • Refalawasch peoples from the Caroline Islands in Micronesia

CHamoru, CHamorru, Chamoru, or Chamorro • Indigenous peoples of the Mariana Islands

chenchule' • reciprocity, reciprocal giving

conquistador(e)s • Spanish & Portuguese explores-soldiers-conquerors*

famalão'an • women (Guå'han)

fama'lauan • women (CNMI)

fanafa' maolek • to make balance, environmental and social harmony

fanohge • to rise and stand collectively (Guå'han)

fan'tachu • to rise and stand collectively (CNMI)

fluidarity • solidarity

fuetsan famalão'an • strength of women or strong women

I fuetsan famalão'an mu nana'e fuetsa I familia, I komunidat yan kontodu I nasion • “The power of women is what gives strength to the family, the community and the entire nation”

Gani' • the ten Mariana “islands north of Sa'ipan”

Guå'han, Guåhan, Guahan, Guâm (Guam) • the largest and most southern of the Mariana

Islands, meaning “we have/are”

guihan dāngkolo’ • giant fish

guma/siha • houses/huts

Håfa Adai • greetings, hello

Håfa Iyo-ta, Håfa Guinahå-ta, Håfa Ta Pätte, Dinanña’ Sunidu Siha Giya Pasifiku • “What We Own, What We Have, What We Share, United Voices of the Pacific.” Theme of the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture

hagan Guåhan • daughter of Guam

hagan-haga’ • blood daughters of CHamoru ancestors

i animas • the “spiritual ancestors” in the CNMI

i man’mofo’na or tautau mo’na • “those that came before us” in the CNMI

i manfåyi • those with wisdom

i guinahan i tåno’ yan i tasi • the gifts/resources of the land and the sea

inafa’maolek • environmental and societal interdependence, working together to make good for everyone, to restore balance

inefresi • offering (noun)

Inifresi • the CHamoru pledge

Islas Sinahi Pacifico • the Crescent Islands of Peace

i tåno’ • the land

i tåsi • the sea

kānaka moali • Indigenous Hawaiians*

latte • two-piece limestone pillars used to support ancient housing structures. The tall

base is haligi and the stone cap is tåsa (Figure 15)

Litekyan • Ritidian

maga' hâga • female leader, highest-ranking daughter

magahet • truth

maga'lâhi • male leader, highest-ranking son

Malo Sa'oloto Tuto'atasi o Sāmoa • The Independent State of Samoa*

mana • “power” in Hawaiian and Te Reo Māori*

mañaina • wise elders, parents

mangâffa • family

manganiti • ancestral spirits

metawal wool • “the water route to the north” in Refalawasch*

Nasion lihing lina'la'machâlik gi halmo tâno' yan tasi-puntan Litekyan • National Wildlife
Refuge, Ritidian Unit

maga'taotao • a pioneer/hero/leader

manâmko' • the elderly, plural

mangâffa • family

olomwaay • “peace, thank you, God bless you” in Refalawasch*

pâres • placenta

palúw • “open ocean navigators” in Refalawasch*

pattera • CHamoru midwives

Prutehi yan Difendi • Protect and Defend

Refalawasch • “people of our land” for Refalawasch (Carolinian) peoples in Micronesia*

remetawal-wool • “the people of the trade route to the north” Refalawasch reference for
CHamorus

respetu • respect

sākman • large, ocean-going canoe

Sankattan Siha Na Islas Mariānas • The Northern Mariana Islands

si yu'us mā'āse' • thank you, “May God have mercy”

taotaomo'na • CHamoru spirits and ancestors who live throughout the islands

tāotaomo'na siha • the people from before

tao'tao' tano' • people of the land

Taotao Hāya • ancient CHamoru ancestors

Tirow • “greetings, hello” in Refalawasch*

ufi mwareta • Chant/song indicating the specific seaway between the Central Caroline Islands and the Mariana Islands, meaning “women weaving mwar” (head leis) in Refalawasch*

Indigenous and non-English words in this thesis are not italicized in accordance with *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* Guidelines for Authors.

The “•” symbol is used by Te Whare Wānanga Otāgo • the University of Otago, Te Kete Aronui • Division of Humanities to separate Te Reo Māori • English words. This format is incorporated into this thesis.

Ancestral Place Names of the Fifteen Mariana Islands

From the most northern to the most southern islands of the Marianas Archipelago

CHamoru names of the islands and (colonial monikers)

† The United States Geological Survey Map contains incorrect and misspelled names

1. Urâcas (Farallon de Pajaros)
2. Maug
3. Asuncion
4. Agrigan (Agrihan) †
5. Pâgan (Pagan)
6. Alimâgan (Alamagan) †
7. Guguan
8. Sariguan (Sarigan) †
9. Anatâhan (Amathan)
10. No'os (Farallon de Medinilla, FDM)
11. Sa'ipan (Saipan)
12. Tini'an (Tinian)
13. Aguiquan/Agiguan (Goat Island/ Aguihan) †
14. Luta (Rota)
15. Guâ'han/Guâhan/Guahan/Guâm (Guam)

Introduction

Håfa Adai, Welcome to the ~~United States of America~~ CHamoru Archipelago!

My motivation for this project is based on my personal connection to the Marianas Archipelago and its people. I am a white cis-gendered woman from a middle-class continental United States background. Although not a direct descendant of the first European settlers in the United States, I was born on land that was stolen from the people of the K'ahšá:ya (Pomo), Coast Miwok, and Wappo tribes of Northern California, and I have benefited from genocidal policies and continuing institutional racism. I grew up and was educated on land belonging to the Chumash Nation and Tongva peoples of Southern California.¹ Now I am researching on the CHamoru land of Guå'han (Guam), and I am a doctoral student at a university that was built by Māori nonviolent resisters. I am also living on land belonging to Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe and Kāi Tahu who hold the mana of Te Wai Pounamu Aotearoa • South Island, New Zealand.

My citizenship to the United States of America (hereafter US) has a dark history— one that is left out of history books and classrooms. The country was founded on land gained through militaristic forces and was developed and “prospered” because of slaves. Part of this history is the creation of the US military base network, which now

¹ Fourth-grade was a hard year for me, not just because I still could not read or write, and it was getting harder to hide, but I was also taught about the “success” of the Spanish and Russian explorers. I had to create a report on the Spanish Missions, but after that, the discussion stopped or was framed in the past tense. As Clarke points out in “Untold History: The Survival of California’s Indians” (2016), which offers a brief examination of the untold settler-colonial history of Native Americans in California. “It’s probably no accident that the fourth grade curriculum stops mentioning the Native peoples of California at around the time of the Gold Rush. The Gold Rush was a period in which white settlers’ treatment of California Indians might well be too horrible for us to share with children. Even for adult Californians, looking closely at historic harms visited on Native Californians is an unsettling experience.” He reminds the readers of the un-colonized populations in present-day California, who spoke “300 dialects of 100 distinct languages ... one of the highest concentrations of cultural diversity in the world” (Clarke, 2016).

encompasses the globe. As settler colonists spread across the American continent westward, so did fortifications and garrisons (Vine, 2015). To secure the land for settlers, the Indigenous population was removed and killed. The security of the US continues to come at the expense of Indigenous populations.

While historians and researchers alike often frame this displacement, massacre, and theft in the past tense, the situation in the Mariana Islands resonates with the westward expansion supported by the Doctrine of Discovery and armaments from the empire.² Today, Indigenous populations in the Mariana Archipelagos are resisting the US military expansion and the use of their sacred lands, seas, and skies for weapon testing and training.

This project actually began in 2011 with my first visit to Guå'han to spend time with my mother, who lives and works there as a child psychologist specializing in child and intergenerational trauma, and veteran Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). For my thirtieth birthday, I traveled from Cairns, Australia on the (now ended) direct United Airlines flight. I did not need a visa, and this locale was in the same time zone as Brisbane, Australia, where I was living. The first place she took me was south to the village of Inarajan and then north to the sacred beach, Nasion lihing lina'la'machålik gi halmo tåno' yan tasi—puntan Litekyan • Ritidian National Wildlife Refuge Unit.

My mother lived on Guå'han for several years before I began my doctoral research. Together, we learned about the chenchule' (reciprocity) connection to i tåno' (the land) and i tasi (the sea). Friends taught us about mangåffa (family) systems and how to introduce yourself by referring to your family's name (in our case, our last name, "Frain," is recognizable and people associated me with her). As a mañaina (elder) with white hair, my mother received a level of respetu (respect) unlike I had ever witnessed (even allowing her to the front of the line at the post office or bank). My mother's work and love for the mangåffa, both military and civilian, on the island demonstrates her

² The Doctrine of Discovery was the papal decree of the 1400s which categorized non-Christians as "savages" and "heathens" and justified a system of domination over newly "discovered" territory. For a visual overview of the Doctrine of Discovery, see the 43-minute documentary, *The Doctrine of Discovery: In the Name of Christ* available at: <https://vimeo.com/131947867>.

commitment and generosity. Her professional relationships and friendships enable me to meet and learn from famalão'an (women), maga'håga (women leaders) and i manfåyi (those with wisdom) in the Marianas Archipelago.

I believe it was because of this deeper connection and recognition that I was invited to “(re)search” the sacred fuetsan famalão'an (strength of women) for my doctoral thesis. I learned that you are a guest and you will be welcomed if you are sincere. To gain knowledge(s) about magahet (truth) is a process that requires patience. You can ask certain questions but you will not always receive an answer at that time. Instead, you must listen to the manganiti (ancestral spirits) humbly.

These questions began filling my head as soon as I landed in the archipelago and continue to haunt me:

- How can the United States, the “greatest democracy on earth,” still have colonies that *deny* the residents democracy?
- How can the US justify militarizing the Marianas Archipelago in the name of “national security” while the local veterans, who defended US “freedom” and “democracy” overseas, cannot select their Commander in Chief?
- Why does this community, with the (second) highest Armed Forces enlistment and highest veteran per capita rate, receive the least amount of funding for mental services and health care?
- How can the residents have no say in the future of their islands' seas, lands, water, and air?
- Most importantly, how are the famalão'an (women), maga'håga (women leaders) and i manfåyi (those with wisdom) resisting this?

As I address the questions listed above from an academic perspective in this thesis I do so with “settler responsibility” (Garrison, 2016). As a (re)searcher and a US citizen, I cannot disregard this ongoing imperial injustice as sacred i tåno ya i tasi (lands and seas) are militarized into Live Fire Training Range Complexes in the name of US “national security.”

My research is part of an ongoing collaboration of artists, activists, and academics that

explore resistance and solidarity, and decolonial and demilitarization efforts from a gendered and visual perspective. I am experimenting using new media and digital spaces as a tool for circulating theoretical scholarly work as well as reflective solidarity efforts.³ This project cannot be reproduced and is not generalizable. It is subjective and experimental, and researchers cannot mimic my lived-experience over the past five years. However, other academic activists and (re)searchers can access the resistance (re)search in both scholarly spaces and on new media platforms.

I am honored to join the women of the Marianas Archipelago to (re)assert the call to action: fanohge famalåon'an and fan'tachu fama'lauan, women rise!

Arrival: Antonio B. Won Pat International Airport Authority, Guam

The “Welcome to the United States of America” sign at Guam International Airport is a contemporary manifestation of the US imperial ideologies. As the only port-of-entry for tourists and civilians arriving in the archipelago, the airport functions as an introduction to the colonial political status of the archipelago and the (in)visible assertion of expanding and everyday militarization.⁴

All airline passengers are escorted to the United States Department of Homeland Security, Customs, and Border Protection Inspection area and are required to clear immigration and agricultural inspection. A required forms asks for one's local address, contacts on island, how many times one has visited, and how long one is staying. Navigating this territorial/imperial, national/(trans)international, domestic/foreign space is what Tiara Na'puti characterizes as “both/neither” (Na'puti, 2014, p. 302). The archipelago is rendered both “part of” the US and “domestic” and, at other times,

³ Excerpts of my autoethnographical fieldwork notes and qualitative interviews are included as *italics* in the footnotes throughout the thesis under the **bold** headings: **Fieldwork Journal, date. Location, name of person:** *italic quotes and notes*. See *Footnote 5*.

⁴ While frequently the term “America” is used in American Studies scholarship, I choose to employ the term, “United States (US)” to highlight the American-centric use of the phrase. The “Americas” as a continent consists of twenty-three sovereign nations. Indigenous place names are utilized throughout this thesis out of respect for the local residents. I have incorporated the ancestral place names within this thesis as discussed with Genevieve S. Cabrera, 14 December 2015 so I do not “perpetuate these errors by not utilizing the correct and proper ancestral place names.”

“international.” Passengers arriving on the 30–minute flight from the neighboring island of Sai’pan (the decolonized version of “Saipan”) in the archipelago also have to go through US customs and passport control. However, travelers on the direct “domestic” seven–hour flight from Honolulu, (the illegal state of) Hawai‘i, have an INT (international) designation on their United Airlines boarding pass (Tupaz, 2015).⁵ Tourism enforces the imperial ideologies through the official tourism motto “Guam, Where America’s Day Begins®” which is plastered on the walls of the baggage claim area.

In addition to the colonial welcome sign, the tourism industry remains silent regarding the expanding militarization of the archipelago. The Guam Visitors Bureau is uncritical of the Pacific pivot US foreign policy, despite the (conservative) estimated annual loss of \$118 million US in tourism revenues (DeLisle, 2016a, p. 563). Indigenous women (de)militarized and restated the slogan to: “Guam, Where America’s War Begins” (Mchenry, 2016). Visible, everyday militarization greets visitors as they travel into the lobby of the airport that has a memorial in honor of the “Fallen Brave of Micronesia” (Figure 1). The wording on the plaque does not directly say how these “brave” people of Micronesia ended up “fallen” but instead celebrates the US-centric mission “for

⁵ The ambiguity of “both/neither” and international/nation status of Guam prevented me from boarding a Korean Air flight bound for Honolulu, Hawai‘i. According to the US “cabotage” law, 49 U.S.C. §41703(c), US citizens are prohibited from flying with foreign airline companies (Korean Air) from one territory of the US (Guam) to another (Hawai‘i). The US Department of Transportation defines “cabotage” as the “carriage of revenue traffic by a foreign air carrier solely between two points in the United States, including all US territories” (U.S. Department of Transportation, 2011). *The Economist* has described this law as “silly” and “bonkers” (Gulliver, 2013). I was turned away at 2 am and had to rebook for the following day on United Airlines.

Fieldwork Journal, 2 October 2015. Guam International Airport: *In my fifteen years of international travel, I have never had my ability to purchase transportation restricted by my citizenship. What happened to the “free market?” This is just another way to control the flow of people while making a US dollar. The CEO of United just resigned for collaborating with Governor Chris Christy (R–New Jersey), and that is the airline I HAVE to use because of this law. “MJ” the sweet Korean check-in lady said the law started on Guam when the airlines did not want foreign carriers “pricing them out.” This continued imperial domination, manifesting as capitalist control, considers Guam “a point in the US,” even though it is a colonial possession, while the Sovereign Kingdom of Hawai‘i is an occupied and illegal state. Of course, if you are rich, you just charter your own flight and bypass all of this.*

freedom” and remembering of “their sacrifice for the protection of our way of life.”⁶

Even before exiting the airport, arrivals are confronted by both the imperial ideologies of the island, as “both/neither” with passport control, and witness visible examples of how everyday militarization is interwoven on Guå’han (a decolonized version of “Guam”). I (critically) navigated this port of entry for the sixth time in 2015 with the customs officials smiling and saying, “welcome back.” I returned not as the daughter of Ms. Betty who lives in the village of Ipan in the south of Guå’han but as a doctoral student using my thesis *as* a form of resistance. I arrived in fluidarity (a decolonized and Oceanic version of solidarity) with my academic aunties and scholarly sisters, the protectors and defenders of the sacred archipelago, to collaborate with Indigenous women digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually resisting the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization (T. Teaiwa & Slatter, 2013, p. 449).

While most people are familiar with Hawai‘i, mention of the Mariana Archipelago or “Guam” evokes such responses as, “Oh, in South America” or “in the Caribbean.” I begin by geographically locating the project and include Indigenous place names counter the historical colonial names, which are written on imperial maps and include misspelled place names.⁷

The Pacific theatre, the Pacific Rim, the Pacific lake, Oceania

What is considered “Pacific” is “of course, a matter for debate” (Thaman, 2003, p. 2). The region of Oceania, or “the Pacific Islands world,” was split into a “tripartite division” in the early 1830s by the French “explorer” Dumont d’Urville (Finney, 1998). This colonial clever and racial separation informs the three regions familiar today: Melanesia, the area from New Guinea extending eastward to Fiji; Micronesia, which encompasses the islands east of the Philippines and north of Melanesia; and Polynesia,

⁶ The airport on the neighbouring island of Tini’an (Tinian) has a similar example of visible and everyday militarization. Greeting visitors as they arrive, are four photos of deceased veterans along with a sign, “A Grateful Island Remembers Our Fallen Heroes.”

⁷ The Marianas Archipelago was named *Islas de los Ladrones*, “the islands of the thieves” by the first Europeans in the early 1500s.

the triangle topped by Hawai‘i in the north, Rapa Nui (decolonized term for Easter Island) to the southeast, and Aotearoa (New Zealand) to the southwest (Figure 2) (Finney, 1998). In the early 1990s, archaeologist Roger Green developed an alternative to the historical division and created a new conceptualization of the region in relation to “migration history and the distribution of seafaring skills” (Pawley, 1991, p. 24). This divided the Pacific Islands into “Near Oceania” and “Remote Oceania.” While this conceptualization perhaps is more reflective of fluid and interwoven Pacific cultures, language, and genealogies, it is still from a settler colonial and Western perspective. Green employed Australia as the reference point from which to locate islands as either “nearer” or “further from.” Still today the islands themselves are often completely left off US and world maps (C. S. Perez, 2015b).

Micronesia

The “misnamed” Micronesian region (meaning small islands) consists of 2,200 islands spreading over three-million-square-miles (7,770,000 square km) in the Western Pacific (Vincete M. Diaz & Kauanui, 2001, p. 319). The Micronesian islands were one of the last major parts of the world to be settled by Austronesian seafaring navigators. They have the “dubious distinction of having had more colonizing powers imposing their will than any other colony in the world” (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 4).⁸ Modern day Micronesia is politically organized as the “independent” states of Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Kiribati, the Republic of Nauru, Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ (the Republic of the Marshall Islands), and Beluu er a Belau (the Republic of Palau). Wake Island and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) remain in dependent political relationships with the US.⁹

⁸ “Austronesian” references ancient people who originated in Taiwan and expanded across Oceania by sophisticated celestial navigation. “Austronesia” as a region comprises much of the Pacific and Southeast Asia and extends as far as Madagascar off the coast of the African continent. Today, although there is great cultural diversity, people speak Austronesian languages and many— including the culture and society of the CHamoru people— “are matrilineal and practice a form of ancestral worship” (C. Perez, 2015).

⁹ While these are technically “independent nations,” they are administrated through the Compact of Free Association (also referred to as “COFA countries”), the international agreement for the Federated States of Micronesia, Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ, and Beluu

The Marianas Archipelago

The Mariana Islands were the first to be settled 3,500 – 4,000 years ago by ancient master navigators arriving by canoes. These ancestors thrived and expanded across Oceania long before the European’s hunt for riches carried their galleons along the westerly trade winds that provided a route from Manila, the Philippines, eastward to Acapulco, Mexico. Europeans stopped in the Marianas Archipelago for water and provisions (Cunningham, 1992).

The Marianas Archipelago is 3,800 miles (6,115 kilometers) southwest of Hawai‘i, 5,800 miles (9,334 km) south of California, and nearly 8,000 miles (12,874 km) from Washington DC (Time & Date AS, 2016). Located in the tropical Pacific, the Mariana Islands are the southern part of a submerged mountain range stretching 1,500 miles (2,414 km) north to Japan. The islands are the most northern islands of Micronesia and are 1,500 (2,414 km) east of the Philippines.

The fifteen-island Marianas Archipelago arcs 450 miles (724 km) north to south along where the Pacific Plate is pushing below the Marianas Plate (Figure 3). This geological subduction forms the Marianas Trench, the deepest part of the Earth’s crust. It is nearly seven miles (11 km) deep and is “protected” within the Marianas Trench Marine National Monument, a vast ocean expanse of approximately 95,000 square miles (246,050 square km) and was established by George W. Bush in 2009 (C. S. Perez, 2014, p. 11).¹⁰ The island of Guå’han is only 60 – 100 nautical miles (96 – 160 km), and it is the closest land mass to the Marianas Trench (Farrell, 1991, p. 8).

er a Belau which formed after the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was dissolved in 1952. The agreement states that the US will provide financial assistance through the Office of Insular Affairs in exchange for “full international defense authority.” See the US federal COFA website: <http://uscompact.org>.

¹⁰ The Mariana Trench National Monument, a unit of the National Wildlife Refuge System, is seen as a US federal government overreach of power and an imperial method of preventing locals from fishing and accessing the waters by people in the Marianas. The US Department of Defense (DOD) is exempt from the environmental protections and conducts dangerous sonar and weapons testing in the name of “national security” see (Wilson, 2014). See CHamoru scholar, Craig Santos Perez’s analysis of National Monuments as a form of “blue-washing” (C. S. Perez, 2014). The Mariana Trench National Monument website: https://www.fws.gov/refuge/mariana_trench_marine_national_monument/.

The southern five islands of the archipelago are raised, highly permeable limestone surround by the coral reef. Guå'han is the most southern, largest, and oldest of the islands. The island of Luta (Rota) is visible from the northern part of Guå'han on Andersen Air Force Base and Nasion lihing lina'la'machålik gi halmo tâno' yan tasi, puntan Litekyan • Ritidian National Wildlife Refuge Unit (Ritidian). Navigating north along the archipelago are the islands of Aguiguan/Agiguan (Goat Rock/Aguihan), Tini'an (Tinian), Sa'ipan (Saipan), and No'os (Farallon de Medinilla, FDM). The younger islands from Anatahan (Amathan), Sariguan (Sarigan), Guguan, Alimågan (Alamagan), Pågan (Pagan), Agrigan (Agrihan), Asuncion, Maug north to Uråcas (Farallon de Pajoras) are highly active volcanic islands.¹¹ The total landmass of the entire archipelago is about 390 square miles (627 square km), and it divides the Pacific Ocean to the East and the Philippine Sea to the West.

The fourteen islands north of Guå'han are politically constructed as the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (hereafter CNMI), which have a total landmass of 179 square miles (464 square km). The island of Sa'ipan is the CNMI capital and Tini'an and Luta are the most populated islands. The ten volcanic islands north of Sa'ipan are scarcely populated and are referred to as "Gani'" or the Northern Mariana Islands. The Mayor of Gani', Jerome Kaipat Aldan, conceptualizes the archipelago chain's "genealogical identity as Islas Sinahi Pacifico or the Crescent Islands of Peace" (Todiño, 2016). CHamoru Indigenous scholars also refer to the archipelago as the "Chamorro Archipelago" in symbolic unification, rather than repeating and reproducing colonial names and framings (C. S. Perez, 2013, p. 109).¹²

CHamoru

Contemporary Marianas Indigenous peoples refer to themselves as CHamoru and honor their pre-European contact Indigenous ancestors as Taotao Håya (ancient people) on Guå'han, and I Man'mofo'na or Tautau Mo'na (those that came before us) in the

¹¹ The spellings of "Aguihan, Agrihan, Sarigan, and Alamagan" are incorrect references to Aguiguan, Agrigan, Sariguan, and Alimågan on the current US Geological Survey maps.

¹² See Craig Santos Perez's discussion in his review of Keith L. Camacho's *Cultures of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands* (2011) (C. S. Perez, 2013, p. 109).

CNMI (Political Status Education Coordinating Commission, 1993; Genevieve S. Cabrera, personal communication, 16 February 2015). The ancient CHamoru language was orally shared with the spellings of words, phrases, and names historically written by Spanish conquistadores, European traders, Jesuits missionaries, and the United States Naval Command.

The varying spellings of “CHamoru,” “Chamoru,” “CHamorro,” and “Chamorro” continue to be a form of self-determination and resistance to a label imposed on the Indigenous peoples by prior colonizers. Several cultural practitioners see the spelling “Chamorro” (with a lower-case “h” and with a “ro” at the end) as lacking a critical view of colonial histories and compliance with the US colonial-militarized status quo. How CHamoru is spelled is a “visible, practical... and conscious assertion of the Indigenous population” to intentionally retake ownership over cultural identity (G. E. Taitano, 2014). According to Ignacio R. Camacho, a celestial navigator, “‘CHamoru’ is the linguistically, correct version that the most serious cultural practitioners embrace. ‘Chamorro’ is the GovGuam [the Government of Guam] legal spelling for their official use, and is purely political. I am CHamoru.”¹³ The CHamoru language continually “represents a culturally grounded discourse that draws attention to the identity and solidarity of Indigenous people of Guåhan” (Na‘puti, 2014, p. 307).

Refalawasch

The Indigenous inhabitants of the Marianas Archipelago are today called CHamorus. However, the peoples from the Carolinian Islands, 500 small coral islands located to the southwest of the Mariana Islands, played a crucial role in the settlement and history of the CNMI. The Refalawasch peoples also have a matriarchal society, based on respect and connection to the sea and land, and ainang (the maternal kin group or clan).

¹³ For this thesis, I choose to utilize the spelling of “CHamoru” as a symbol of transoceanic fluidarity (solidarity) based upon the discussion with Ignacio “Nash” Camacho (personal correspondence, June 2015). “Chamorro” is limited to quoted text. Also see the 2016 article about the planned re-establishment of the CHamoru Language Commission in 2017. Available online: http://www.postguam.com/sunday_post/reestablishment-of-i-kumision-i-fino-chamoru/article_57a577c6-c84b-11e6-a472-d70220d930b2.html.

Refalawasch are excellent open ocean palúw (navigators). Before Spanish exploitation, the palúw would sail the metawal wool (the “water route to the north”) to the Mariana Islands once a year to exchange goods with the remetawal-wool (the “people of the trade route to the north”) (Farrell, 1991, p. 192). The chant, Ufi Mwareta (“women weaving mwar” or head leis), tells of the specific seaway between the Central Caroline Islands and the Mariana Islands (Vincente M. Diaz, 2011, p. 22). Through women’s weaving, the islands, atolls, and people were interconnected for thousands of years. The source of strength through genealogy and seascapes is alike for CHamoru and Refalawasch women.

The Refalawasch peoples were able to avoid the domination of the Spanish conquistadores, European traders, and Jesuits missionaries, and they retained their culture, including celestial navigation skills. While they do not claim Indigeneity to the archipelago and primarily live in the CNMI, they trace their history in the CNMI back to the typhoon of 1815 that devastated several islands in the Carolinian chain (Rlene Santos Steffy, Oral Historian, Ethnographer and MARC Research Associate, personal communication, 5 June, 2016).¹⁴

An Invitation

I was encouraged to (re)search and (re)learn US histories to understand that the “domestic” categorization of the archipelago is based on a racist US Congress ruling from 1901 which continues to be upheld today (Vladeck, 2016). I witnessed how US militarization relies on imperial ideologies which consider that the islands US

¹⁴ However, CHamoru and Refalawasch scholar Vince Diaz wrote, “some Refalawasch claim taotao tano [CHamoru for “people of the land”] status on the basis of having settled these islands before the Chamorros began to return after their forced removal to... Guam by Spanish conquistadors”(2001, p. 319). Today, Carolinian Archipelago extends from the Republic of Kiribati in the east and is politically divided between the Federated States of Micronesia, consisting of the island States (from east to west) Kosrae, Pohnpei, Chuuk, and Yap, and Beluu er a Belau in the west. Pohnpei is where the ancient city of Nan Madol is found. It is built upon coral reef and is one of the largest archaeological sites in the Pacific. It is believed to have been established in 1200 AD. Currently, a National Geographic expedition aims to learn more about the sacred tomb. See: <http://www.thevintagenews.com/2016/12/14/ancient-tomb-unveils-pacific-islanders-fabricated-new-type-of-society/>.

sovereign “soil,” hence Indigenous tãno’ (land) is acquired through the principle of “eminent domain” in the name of US “national security.”¹⁵ I was shown how contemporary expanding militarization is a continuation of imperial domination and that Indigenous women’s resistance is part of a long, matriarchal legacy. I experienced Oceanic ways of being and matriarchal societal systems which support Indigenous efforts to share their knowledge(s).¹⁶ Collaboratively, new media technologies are fostering fluidarity with others working for decolonization and demilitarization. Those who can offer realistic accounts need to be heard.

I acknowledge that this thesis is only a snapshot of a particular moment in a long-term, ongoing struggle. Indigenous peoples worldwide continue to resist historical institutions founded on racism and colonization, as well as the militarization of their communities. While my Ph.D. research must come to an “end” with the submission of my thesis, I remain committed to the community in the Marianas Archipelago and recognize their efforts as part of the resistance genealogy.

Brief Overview of the Situation

The Marianas Archipelago in the Western Pacific is politically divided into two

¹⁵ “Eminent domain” is the power of federal, state, and local governments to obtain “private property for public use,” but with “just compensation.” While the Department of Defense must prove four elements as in the Fifth Amendment to the US Constitution, the US Constitution does not apply in full because Guå’han is a US territory, and the CNMI is a Commonwealth. The applicability of eminent domain with Article XII, Section 805 (b) of the CNMI Constitution, states the US “will in all cases attempt to acquire any interest in real property for public purposes by voluntary means... before exercising the power of eminent domain. No interest in real property will be acquired unless duly authorized by the [US] Congress. (c) In the event it is not possible for the United States to obtain an interest in real property for public purposes by voluntary means, it may exercise within the Commonwealth the power of eminent domain to the same extent and in the same manner as it has and can exercise the power of eminent domain in a State of the Union. The power of eminent domain will be exercised within the Commonwealth only to the extent necessary and in compliance with applicable United States laws, and with full recognition of the due process required by the United States Constitution.” See Nevitt, 2005.

¹⁶ The term “knowledge(s)” is employed to provide a broader perspective to recognize diverse and varying approaches to (re)search findings, information, and understanding(s) gained. This will be explored furtherer throughout the thesis.

“insular areas” of the United States.¹⁷ Guå’han (still imperially referred to as “Guam”) is the most southern and populated island and is an “organized, unincorporated territory” of the United States under the federal jurisdiction of the Office of Insular Affairs at the Department of the Interior.¹⁸ It continues to be the “longest colonized possession in the world” and, along with the “Commonwealth” of the Northern Mariana Islands, is non-self-governing (Borja-Kicho'cho' & Aguon Hernandez, 2012, p. 232).¹⁹ Although the archipelago is divided politically, the US Department of Defense (hereafter DOD) planners make no distinction between political entities. They conceptualize every island in the Marianas Archipelago as a potential Live Fire Training Range Complex (hereafter LFTRC), as well as the current 100-million-square-mile training area that surrounds the archipelago. An imperial hangover, the political arrangement considers the islands as *belonging* to the US. They thus grant the US military unrestricted power over the land, sea, skies, and even people, a situation unlike elsewhere in the continental US (Alexander, 2015).

Gendered militarization through the protector/protected narrative

Today, the continued colonial control of Guå’han and the CNMI is perpetrated through a gendered discourse, created by the US and supported by US media. The islands are portrayed as a feminine locale in need of the US strategic masculine militaristic “protection” and “defense.”²⁰ The justification of the US military occupying the land,

¹⁷ “Insular” is Latin for island. “Insular areas” or insular possessions are islands other than one of the fifty US states, or the federal district of Washington, DC and used to be administered by the War Department’s Bureau of Insular Affairs.

¹⁸ The “organized, unincorporated territory of the US” status signifies that Guå’han is controlled by, but not a *part* of, the US. “Organized” is referring to the Organic Act 1950 which granted anyone living on Guå’han at the time US citizenship. “Unincorporated” political status originated as a way to legitimize the acquisition of overseas island territories in the early 1900s but without extending US citizenship or full US Constitutional protections to the inhabitants.

¹⁹ Two US territories have “Commonwealth” wealth status: Puerto Rico and the Northern Mariana Islands. Commonwealth status is referred to as a “political union” with the US but without representation in the US Senate and with a delegate who cannot vote on the US House of Representatives floor. These continuing imperial political statuses will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

²⁰ This narrative is similarly found within abusive personal relationships and domestic violence situations where the perpetrator promises protection while exploiting and

sea, and air in the name of “national security” symbolically positions the islands as *part* of the US political family. The archipelago remains politically and legally “dependent” due to the insular area and its non-self-governing status. The islands are regarded as the “body of the woman/mother/land that the male citizen soldier must protect against violation, penetration, conquest” (Cohn, 2013, p. 14).

The social construction of “gender” is more expansive and less simplistic than just women or men; it is “based on *perceived association* with sex-based characteristics rather than possession of certain sex organs” (Sjoberg, 2013b, p. 46 italics in the original). Gender does not mean “women” or “female” and being male or female is not an (or the) indicator of gender. Rather, it is the study of masculinities and femininities; women can be masculine, and men can be feminine; men or women can be “masculinized” or “feminized.”

Gender is a socially constructed hierarchical structure that shapes personal identities, work activities, and cultural resources. It is a method to categorize, convey, and distribute forms of power “symbolically associated with masculinity or femininity” (Cohn, 2013, p. 3). While it can be a variable or a “descriptor of identity” of (i.e. male or female), it can also be seen as a noun/verb/logic that “entails recognizing *gender itself as a power relation*” (Shepherd, 2013, p. 12 italics in the original). It is a form of authority and power that does not function in isolation but rather comes into play with numerous others socially constructed power structures of society. These include race, religion, and class; gender “*infuses*” all of them (Cohn, 2013, p. 15 italics in the original). Individuals, as soldiers and community members, can be gendered but so too can institutions, organizations, and states.

Everyday militarization

The concept of “everyday militarization” explores the impacts and the lived-experience

harming their partner. Similarity can be drawn between this and the dominating relationship of the US to the archipelago. For a discussion of “Protectors As Perpetrators,” see the United States Institute of Peace’s *Peace Brief* on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) accessible online at: <http://www.usip.org/publications/2016/09/26/ending-sexual-and-gender-based-violence-in-war-and-peace>.

of militaristic ideas that influence, control, and dominate people and the island in day-to-day life (Enloe, 2000).²¹ The lines between the military and civilian populations are blurred within this imperial and militarized space. Aspects of the current militarization include: Humvees on the roads, bombers in the skies, massive aircraft carriers off the coasts, and unexploded ordnances (locally referred to as “UXOs”) on the beach. The sexual politics of the “support economies,” including massage parlors, and strip bars which cater to military personnel impact those living “along the fenceline.”²² The environmental politics of toxic weapons testing, storage, and disposal continue to harm communities generations later. Other elements of everyday militarization include the “support the troops” yellow ribbons on vehicles; World War II (WWII), Korean, Vietnam, and Desert Storm war memorials in every village; and the names and faces of “Micronesia’s bravest” (and fallen) greeting visitors at the airport. Militarization is complicated by the fact that CHamoru and Refalawasch peoples of the Marianas serve in the US Forces at the highest rates, second only to American Samoa, while they oppose the use of their islands as bombing ranges. While US veterans opposing the expanding militarization may appear to be contradictory at first, this intricacy will be explored in this thesis.

Expanding Militarization

A discussion of Indigenous struggles against the sexist and environmental politics of the everyday and expanding US militarization in Oceania remains on the periphery within academia, particularly in North American academic discourses. The seen and unseen, historical, and planned everyday militarization creates a situation in a region of the world that has gathered less attention than the US invasions and occupations in the Middle East. The conversation regarding constant US militarization overseas is absent,

²¹ See Nina Berman’s documentary photography exhibition, *Homeland*, which examines the militarization of American life post 9/11, in particular the “burgeoning homeland security state” (2008).

²² **Fieldwork Journal, 25 June 2016. Ipan Beach, Guå’han:** *Around 4 pm walking on the beach with Mom, two grey helicopters “occupied” our walk, circling us so close (could see the door open and looked like a gun barrel) at least ten times for over thirty minutes. When we were at the far end, they were there. When we walk to the other end to swim, they were there too. It was an example of bored young men hassling a mother and daughter and their dog on the beach.*

except for within a “few academic circles,” and the general public does not “have any good sense of the scale, roles, and impacts of U.S. foreign military bases” (Gerson, 2009, p. 65). However, this militarized archipelago supports US military global operations, and now the DOD is “refocusing” to the Pacific region to meet the “challenges of America’s Pacific Century” (Clinton, 2011; Green, Hicks, & Cancian, 2015).

Invisible and visible militarization

Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull’s work on the semiotics of the US military in Hawai‘i in *Oh, Say, Can You See?* (1999) explains the “paradox of invisibility and visibility” within militarized environments and US militarization. While many elements of militarism are seen out in the open, there are additional and less obvious influences that remain hidden and under the surface. The paradoxical elements of invisible and visible militarization in the Marianas Archipelago occur without the consent of the Indigenous people. Firstly, invisible militarization includes the unseen trauma(s) of WWII, the PTSD, and the ongoing difficulties for the men and women soldiers returning today from US active frontlines overseas. Secondly, the visible, everyday, and expanding impacts of militarization associated with perpetually preparing for the next US invasion include live-fire training, weapons testing, and the sexual and environmental violence of the “support economies” impacting the local community.

The urgency of this (re)search comes from the historical imperial treatment of the archipelago by outside colonizers, ignored by and invisible to the US national media, and scarcely written about by American academics. The US military and US-owned media outlets, frame resistance to colonization and militarization as “unpatriotic.” The DOD has selected the Marianas Archipelago as the preferred destination for the relocation of 5,000 Marines and their families as well as for the construction of LFTRCs on Tini’an (Tinian) and Pāgan islands. This development is based on the imperial ideologies that the islands belong to the US and does not require the consent of the local population. It is through the sexist and environmental politics that the invisible and visible, everyday, and expanding militarization is justified in the name of the US “national security” (U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific, 2015).

Existing Works

This project contributes to the ongoing women-led, nonviolent, Indigenous resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. The digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance by Indigenous CHamoru and Refalawasch women is the focus of this qualitative and reflective case study hybrid thesis. Written as a form of academic activism, it is designed to be politically engaged qualitative resistance (re)search. Based on critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks, and employing gendered and visual methods, I have emphasized how Indigenous women resist the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding US militarization, including both the invisible and visible aspects.

My experience of participating and engaging with CHamoru feminism(s) and matrilineal principles informs the design of this women-focused thesis.²³ Throughout this process, I have (re)searched, created, and disseminated open, public, accessible, shareable, understandable, and informative scholarship. This sustains a reciprocal flow of information and knowledge(s) between myself and the community who made this thesis possible. This study builds on the insights of other studies that consider gender and militarization, Indigenous resistance and activism, CHamoru and Refalawasch histories, and (digital) media and semiotics.

Particularly useful for this project have been (de)militarized and gendered scholarship created by women. Cynthia Enole's writing on the complexities of empire, feminism,

²³ The opinions presented are not conclusive or exhaustive of the residents of the Mariana Islands. The US political and military presence continues to be contentious issues of debate. The offered analysis is based upon thirty women (and men) who publicly voiced their stance on the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding US militarization. While an approximately a dozen individuals carry out the resistance, many more residents agree and support with their actions, but may not be "actively" involved due to family commitments, financial situations, or lack of time. However, because the resistance is long-term and ongoing, an empirical measurement of the size or scope of the resistance is difficult to determine to the changing nature. People who may not be able to participate in direction actions can contribute online and in the digital realm. This thesis is not about empirical measurement or Western ideals of "success," but more about the step-by-step process.

globalization, international politics, militarism, sexual politics, and women's experiences provided a foundation to understand militarization as a gendered process in the everyday realm (1988, 1993, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2014).

The works of Indigenous, Pacific, and Micronesian women scholars have been woven together to create the foundational mat of this thesis. Zohl Dé Ishtar's project covering women's resistance in the Pacific, now over twenty-years-old, continues to speak to the ongoing and enduring resistance (1994). Teresia K. Teaiwa's approach to gender and militarization in the Pacific, and how Pacific women interact with Feminist security studies (FSS), provides an Indigenous perspective, which recognizes resistance beyond empirically measured and evaluated resistance studies (2008, 2010, 2011; T. Teaiwa & Slatter, 2013).

CHamoru and Refalawasch women scholars, as academic aunts and scholarly sisters, supported this project from its inception. Tiara Na'puti's work on resistance and activism has led the way for this project, through her writing and discussions, and I am honored to provide an updated account of women's resistance to everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago (Frain & Na'puti, Forthcoming 2017; Na'puti, 2013, 2014; Na'puti & Bevacqua, 2015). CHamoru feminism(s) is a complex and ever-changing discussion. Laura Marie Torres Souder-Jaffery's groundbreaking scholarship on CHamoru women's lived-experiences underpins this women-centered research (1985, 1991, 1992a, 1992b). Christine Taitano DeLisle's ongoing discussion regarding CHamoru women's resistance and "placental politics" during the US Naval Command period 1898 – 1941, combined with her works on the contemporary impacts of tourism and militarism are fundamental to this thesis (2007, 2008, 2015, 2016a). The recent *Civil Beat: Special Report, Pacific Outpost* five chapter investigative journalism series, written by Anita Hofschneider from Sai'pan, are the clearest form of digital, legal, and political resistance today. I had the honor of collaborating with Anita and others in the archipelago to create the series which include photographs, short videos, maps, and audio clips (2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d, 2016e, 2016f, 2016h). Additional articles of hers present an overview of the situation in the Marianas Archipelago and are digitally accessible and shareable (2016f, 2016h).

CHamoru men writings are essential to this thesis, particularly relating to resistance and social movement organizations. Keith L Camacho's work on US colonialism, militarism, tourism, as well as Indigenous collaboration, interventions, and social movements are included (1998, 2008, 2011a, 2011b, 2012). Attorney Leevin T. Camacho's writing on the legal implications of expanding militarization for Guam (2013a, 2013b) and James Perez Viernes' research on masculinities, media, and militarization are pivotal (2007, 2008). Michael Lujan Bevacqua's scholarly (de)colonization activism with his ongoing new media and newspaper publications provide current coverage of the struggle for self-determination (2010, 2014; Bevacqua & Bowman, 2016). Craig Santos Perez's creative poetry and academic projects bring a fresh perspective and humorous take on heavy issues of militarization, colonization, and climate change (2013, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c).

This literature provided a map with which to navigate contradictory and colonial histories and is necessary to understand the paradoxical political status of the archipelago. The contemporary growing militarization of the Marianas Archipelago is part of a longer history of domination by foreign powers over sacred seas, lands, skies, and culture. The current process of US militarization as support by the ongoing denial of self-determination is disorienting and baffling to me. Engaging with DOD documents, US-owned media outlets, and US federal publications creates "build-up burn-out" ("Mary," personal communication, 25 June 2015). I am grateful to these scholars for their guidance and knowledge(s) and have intentionally incorporated these writings within this thesis.

Today, the women of the Marianas continue to grow and adapt their resistance to contemporary times. With the largest and most expensive and expansive militarization plans of our time, the newest generation of activists is turning to new media, particularly Facebook and Instagram and visual platforms such as YouTube and Change.org, to resistance digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually. This thesis honors those women and provides ten examples from across the archipelago to demonstrate how Indigenous women in the Marianas Archipelago resist everyday and expanding militarization.

Chapter Overview: Navigating the Thesis

The Introduction locates the Marianas Archipelago in the Western Pacific, Oceania, through a decolonized lens and employs an Oceanic approach to the region and archipelago, located next to the deepest point on the earth's surface. In sync with this decolonized approach to the region, this thesis approaches the Mariana Islands as an *entire* archipelago, that “thinks like an archipelago” (Pugh, 2013). Rather than reproducing dichotomies of “islands” and “seas” as separate, unrelated entities, or continuing the colonial created “imperial meridian” between the islands, more can be gathered from looking at the archipelago as inter-related and inter-dependent spaces of land, sea, air, and genealogies.

Chapter 1 outlines Indigenous CHamoru and Refalawasch women's matriarchal societal systems and matrilineal genealogies, fundamental to their digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance in the Marianas Archipelago. Indigenous reciprocal structures are provided to understand the frameworks of “inafa'maolek” (environmental and societal interdependence, working together to make good for everyone, to restore balance) and the *Inifresi* (the CHamoru Pledge). Combined with new media technologies, the ancient principles sustain the ongoing resistance and provide spiritual strength and inspiration for the women resisting the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization.

The second chapter interweaves critical theoretical frameworks, decolonial and visual methodologies, and gendered approaches for this study. It expands on the research design and explains the importance of each approach and how the data from this study can be beneficial to others working for decolonization and demilitarization in Oceania. This study is placed within other decolonial and demilitarization projects and is thus based on an emancipatory framework that includes participatory action research (PAR), autoethnographical fieldwork observation, qualitative interviews, and new media research approaches. My on-the-ground fieldwork research exposed me to the in-person elements of the Indigenous resistance and fluidarity (solidarity), which is supported and continues across new media platforms and is reproduced in digital spaces. The second portion states the research questions that inform this project and showcases a number of

published research sources. These include academic journal articles, online news items, photo essays, and blog posts to demonstrate using new media platforms to disseminate my research to a wider audience (Tables 1 and 2). Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo Te Kura Rangahau Tāura • University of Otago Graduate Research School’s framework provided a structure to feature the diverse outlets I have utilized throughout my doctoral experience. The development of the *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page demonstrates how new media platforms serve as an individual scholar’s archive as well as a public resource.

Chapter 3 offers a decolonized and critical account of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. The chapter illustrates how imperial ideologies, beginning with colonial control, continue to inform contemporary military projects today. Divided into two sections, the first section discusses the historical legacies and the sexist and environmental politics of both invisible and visible militarization. The second section addresses the current US military structure and the overseas military base network to show the scale and scope of the militarization planned for the Pacific (Table 4). The chapter concludes with the six Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) documents outlining the specific plans for the Marianas Archipelago (Tables 5 and 6). Incorporated throughout the chapter, I include Indigenous scholar’s responses, corrections, and (re)framing(s) of the imperialist and male-centric “historical” accounts regarding the significance of the archipelago, as well as the militarized discussion of “protection.” The women’s writings I have selected are a form of resistance to decolonize and demilitarize the white male historical narrative. They provide material to understand women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance, which are explored in greater detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 4 privileges CHamoru women’s epistemologies and approaches to share how they resist digitally, politically, legally, and spiritually the invisible and visible sexist politics of everyday and expanding militarization in Guå’han. I begin with cultural foundation of latte stones which supports the women, and the Indigenous framework of “placental politics” in which women’s resistance takes place. I discuss the complexities of three non-Indigenous women who promote militarization through the 2006 *United States–Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation Agreement* within the imperial

feminisms analytical context. The chapter incorporates digital autoethnographical fieldwork data to showcase five examples of women-led resistance occurring in the past ten years. The chapter concludes with Table 7 which organizes women's resistance approaches: direct action, oral, visual, and/or written; which digital platforms (if) used: Facebook, Instagram, or YouTube; and the legal, political, and spiritual elements; and if they are resisting either everyday or expanding US militarization.

The fifth chapter examines how CHamoru and Refalawasch women resist digitally, politically, legally, and spiritually the expanding militarization in the CNMI. The chapter provides an overview of the unfulfilled commitments and previous agreements made by the US DOD in the CNMI. It highlights how the residents remain "patriotic" while resisting the environmental politics of using their islands as bombing ranges. I present five examples of women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the 2015 military proposal, *The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Joint Military Training* (CJMT) document. The chapter ends with Table 8 outlining the women-led resistance initiatives as: written or visual forms; which digital platforms (if) used: Change.org, Facebook, or YouTube; and the legal, political, and spiritual elements to resist expanding US militarization.

The conclusion demonstrates how this thesis analyzed ten examples of Indigenous women's digital, legal, political resistance to the invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding US militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. As protectors and defenders of their families, community, and sacred archipelago and seas, their resistance is unrelenting and supported by ancient matriarchal principles combined with new media technologies (Table 10). I collaboratively designed this thesis as politically engaged qualitative to produce (re)search *as* resistance to expose how the US federal government and the DOD rely on imperial and gendered ideologies to justify colonial control and militarization. I demonstrate how remaining as an "insular area" *belonging* to the US, everyday and expanding militarization occurs in the name of US "national security." The invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of this militarization is evident "along the fenceline" and within the "support economies" that surround the US military base overseas network in the Marianas Archipelago, as well as around the world.

This thesis' contribution and recommendations for other (re)searchers and resisters who are challenging colonization and militarization is provided in the final section of the thesis as useful packages of shareable information to foster fluidarity (solidarity). The goal is to create and disseminate open and public, shareable and accessible, informative, and understandable (re)search that is beneficial to those living in colonial-militarized communities in the archipelago and across Oceania.

While this is an ambiguous time for US politics and future military plans, what is certain is that the women of the Mariana Archipelago will continue honor their ancestors, and protect and defend their natural resources lands, seas, and skies for future generations as they have done for 4000 years. The women continue to rise, fanohge famalão'an and fan'tachu fama'lauan.²⁴ In January 2017, the women of the Marianas Archipelago reaffirmed: "The Rise of the Woman = The Rise of the Nation" (Fanohge Famalão'an, 2017). This is a contemporary story of Indigenous women's resistance.

²⁴ The phrase, Fanohge Famalão'an, is CHamoru for "Women Rise" and is from the 20 January 2017 Guåhan sister march of the Women's March on Washington. Women marched to *The Women of the Islands Monument– Three Generations* in Alupang (Post News Staff, 2017). Fan'tachu fama'lauan is the CHamoru version used by women in the CNMI, also meaning "women rise" or "women rising." Varying colonial and military histories have impacted the form of CHamoru spoken, written, and translated between Guåhan and the CNMI. This will be discussed further through out this thesis.

Chapter 1

Methodological Review: Decolonizing Oceania, (Re)search *as* Resistance, and Honoring Matriarchal Systems

Chapter Structure

This first chapter begins with a decolonized Oceanic approach to the region with a fluid and interwoven framework of “fluidarity.” Next the chapter discusses the need to approach (re)search *as* resistance. In order to decolonize (re)search *as* resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization, an understanding of Oceanic culture and respect for Indigenous approaches to resistance, (re)search, and resilience is essential. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the matriarchal social systems of the Marianas Archipelago and how they provide a foundation for Indigenous women to digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually resist the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization.

In 1993, Indigenous Oceanic scholar Epeli Hau’ofa presented his pivotal work “Our Sea of Islands” at the Hilo and Mānoa campuses of the University of Hawai‘i. It was described as “a profound moment for all of us in the crowded room... and a turning point in the scholarship of the region” (Wesley-Smith, 2010, p. 101). Hau’ofa was instrumental in creating a decolonized epistemology of the Pacific Ocean, and produced the holistic term “Oceania,” thus re-conceptualizing the region as *connected* by the ocean serving as a pathway rather than the colonial framing of an empty sea with small islands. To him, Oceania is a “sea of islands” (1994, p. 153). He reminded Pacific peoples that their ancestors are “ocean peoples” that their islands are not “too small” or “too isolated” (1994, p. 150; 2008; 1993). His decolonized perspective of Oceania incorporates the fluid connection of landscapes *and* seascapes (McKinnon, Mushynsky, & Cabrera, 2014).²⁵ In contrast, the United States (hereafter US) military strategists

²⁵ Epeli Hau’ofa’s essay “Our Sea of Islands,” first appeared in the edited book, *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands* in 1993, and was published as an article by

conceptualize the region as “small, uninhabited islands” disconnected by “empty sea” and “preferred locations” for destructive weapons testing, Live Fire Training Range Complexes (hereafter LFTRCs), and war games (U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific, 2015). For CHamorus, to

decolonize Oceania means that through our solidarity we can see ourselves as more than the legacies that colonization has left us with. It means celebrating ourselves as more than just tourist destinations, nuclear testing sites, airports for transit and bodies for exotic dances” (Bevacqua & Leon Guerrero, 2016).

Pacific scholar Teresia K. Teaiwa supports this connection as the “Pacific Ocean is the largest single geographical space on the planet and it is a gift and we have a responsibility to look after it with our minds, with our hearts” (2015). The large ocean provides a watery pathway made possible through sophisticated seafaring knowledge and celestial navigation skills, which continue to be central to Indigenous CHamoru identity (Vincente M. Diaz, 1997). Austronesian seafarers left Taiwan and extended far west to Madagascar, southeast to Rapa Nui, north to Hawai‘i, and south to Aotearoa (Vincente M. Diaz, 2011, p. 23; Howe, 2008). Seafaring skills and boat-making technologies barely survived the 500 years of exploitation that followed European arrival in the Marianas Archipelago. The revival of these sacred traditional cultural practices is essential to CHamorus and Refalawasch who reconnect with their ancestors’ guidance and knowledge(s), to decolonize and demilitarize themselves and their islands. Honoring and respecting the flowing oceanic connections continues to significantly influence the women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago.

The Contemporary Pacific as a journal article in 1994. Nearly twenty years prior, Albert Wendt wrote *Towards a New Oceania* (1976) challenging the continued imperial categorization of Indigenous Pacific peoples and their “culture” as “traditional” to indicate before the European arrival. “No cultures is ever static and can be preserved” (p. 58). More recently, Wendt narrated the film, *The New Oceania* (2005). His influence is taken seriously in Aotearoa • New Zealand, as Te Papa Tongarewa • the Museum of New Zealand intentionally avoids using “tradition” in their exhibitions (Mallon, 2010).

Micronesian culture is based on a collective sense of reciprocal obligation and interdependent cultural and moral frameworks of “reliance upon the peoples of other islands” (Petersen, 2014, p. 317). This Oceanic culture is centred on the bonds of the community and shared societies of numerous islands across open seas. To maintain this interconnected network, Austronesian peoples’ culture is organized around complex celestial navigational practices and canoe designs with a “dependence and connection with the sea and seascape” (McKinnon et al., 2014, p. 64). The relationship is a “‘transoceanic’ fluid process... [where] genealogies of the islands converge with genealogies of the city and the village, the land and the sea, and beyond” (K. L. Camacho, 2011b, p. xiv).

As seafaring peoples within ancient Micronesian societies, it was assumed that should a typhoon or natural disaster strike, the affected community could travel to nearby islands for “aid and comfort and be allowed to abide until they have managed to rehabilitate the gardens on the island home they were forced to abandon” (Petersen, 2014, p. 317). This reciprocal practice of mutual assistance is referred to as *chenchule*’ in CHamoru and continues to be part of cultural and societal organization today (Natividad & Kirk, 2010). Micronesian societies are matrilineal, with a family’s lineage traced through mothers and landownership passed along this maternal line (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 88).

Transoceanic Fluidarity

CHamoru and Refalawasch scholar Vincent M. Diaz discusses how, for nearly five hundred years, Indigenous peoples have embraced their “oceanic culture that survives the generative and transformative histories of colonialism” (2011, p. 21). The *sākman* (canoe) serves as a cultural foundation for CHamoru and Refalawasch peoples and is an analytical framework of an “indigenously-ordered anti-colonial praxis” (p. 21). Without celestial navigation and sophisticated boatbuilding knowledge(s), the people and culture of the Marianas, Micronesia, and Oceania would not exist (McKinnon et al., 2014, p. 67).

It is within these fluidic terms that seascapes encompass ecological, symbolic, ritual, and ancestral connections and provide “cosmological meaning” (McKinnon et al.,

2014, p. 62). The ocean is spiritually central to CHamoru and Refalawasch Indigeneity; it provides both physical and cognitive connections to the past, present, and future. The “sea is not the isolating substance of the past and present, rather it connects them to each other in the present and it connects them with their ancestors in the past” (p. 63). The seascape should be understood as both “dry and wet spaces” (p. 61).

For CHamoru and Refalawasch women, there is a direct link between colonial control and escalating militarization. Navigating away from imperially created language of the nation-state, such as “transnational,” which reinforces the Mariana Islands’ colonial status, the term “transoceanic” better describes the women’s fluid resistance methodology (K. L. Camacho, 2011b). Transoceanic honors the ability to connect across large distances of ocean to foster relationships and support each other’s efforts for decolonization and demilitarization in the region. Teresia K. Teaiwa decolonizes the notion of “solid-arity” in favor of the more oceanic expression “fluidarity,” as people of Oceania “have more water and ocean than any other part of the world” (Teaiwa quoted in Jolly, 2005, pp. 159; George, 2011, p. 47, note 132; T. Teaiwa & Slatter, 2013, p. 449). Therefore, the term “transoceanic fluidarity” best describes the undercurrent of digital, legal, political, and, most importantly, spiritual resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization throughout the Marianas Archipelago and across Oceania and to the continental United States.

In Fluidarity

My contribution is framed by my settler responsibility to (re)learn history and to challenge from whose perspective it has been written and what is omitted. My scholarship seeks to honor and visualize the contemporary resistance in the Marianas Archipelago and is part of a 500-year-old story of resilience. Through academic publications and scholarly writing, poster and conferences presentations, new media platforms and blogs, and my digital autoethnographical Facebook page, *Oceania Resistance*, my contribution has been to reach academics and activists, scholars and students, community organizers, and local politicians to share and continue to demand a change in the status quo. This decolonized and gendered analysis privileges Indigenous CHamoru and Refalawasch women’s approaches and perspectives resisting in the

Marianas Archipelago. This thesis highlights the invisible and visible elements within the (de)colonial politics of the resistance and the sexist and environmental politics of militarization.

As part of a larger project working to decolonize resistance studies, the intent of this hybrid thesis is to engage with (re)search *as* resistance (Brown & Strega, 2005). Through (re)searching resistance in the Marianas Archipelago, this section of the chapter illustrates the role scholar activists can potentially play in fostering “fluidarity” (solidarity) with others working to “decolonize America’s militarized empire in the Pacific... [through] genealogies of resistance” (K. L. Camacho, 2011b, p. xiv).

A summary of gendered approaches and critical militarization studies (CMS) will deliver the critical lens to address militarization while honoring the histories of anti-nuclear, anti-war, and women’s movements as key milestones in nonviolently resisting everyday militarism (Shigematsu & Camacho, 2010). Feminist security studies (FSS) provide a tactic to include gendered experiences within (inter)national security discourses. However, they lack the analytic ability to address the invisible and visible aspects of everyday militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. Teaiwa cautions that the Pacific Islands remain on the “margins” of FSS (2011, 2013). Therefore, feminism(s) will be decolonized and Pacific approaches to colonization and militarization resistance will be recognized. Specifically, CHamoru feminism(s) will offer decolonial and gendered perspectives of CHamoru women’s legal, political, spiritual, and digital resistance.

(Re)search *as* (Decolonized) Resistance

Research is the process of gathering, organizing, and disseminating knowledge(s) created and produced by practitioners and scholars. Research is defined in the *University of Otago’s Pacific Research Protocol* as “work undertaken systematically in order to increase knowledge, and to use this knowledge in order to gain new insights into particular issues” (J. Bennett et al., 2011, p. 9). Indigenous Pacific scholars for the University of South Pacific’s (USP) Pacific Studies Massive Open Online Course (MOOC) 2016 offered a reminder that research is “an imposed system of doing, comprised of imported structures and processes, which bring with them specific

philosophies and ways of learning and knowing” (Koya Vaka'uta, 2016a, p. 5).²⁶

The imperial ideologies are enacted on the groups that were/are oppressed and marginalized by colonialism and that continue to be marginalized within society today. This includes women, ethnic minorities, and Indigenous peoples who did not conduct the research in the past but were instead the “objects” of scholarly inquiry. Indigenous scholar Graham Smith states that there is “colonial residue inherent in western educative and research processes” (1992, p. 24).

Conventional academic research as a practice and a discipline reproduces Western research values along with “specific conceptions of space, time, gender, objectivity, subjectivity, knowledge, and researcher privilege/power” (Koya Vaka'uta, 2016b, p. 11). This form of research takes a positivist position that perceives research as “objective” and able to be “discovered” (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 8). Theoretical frameworks originate within Western approaches to research and are used to describe a particular ontological and ideological way of thinking and approaching research, which has historically shunned alternative Indigenous knowledge(s) systems along with the peoples themselves. Historically, Western “universities have long claimed a ‘monopoly’ in defining what counts as ‘knowledge’” (Marshall, 1999). Critical and Indigenous scholars refer to this as institutional and “epistemological racism,” since there are boundless ways to conceptualize knowledge(s) and engage with its generation, transmission, and evolution (Scheurich & Young, 1997). While neither Western scholarship nor Indigenous knowledge(s) are entirely monolithic, Western epistemologies take on “hegemonic status rendering ‘Other’ epistemologies inferior by claiming they are not theory but merely descriptive” (Aikau, 2015).

²⁶ This 2016 Pacific Studies MOOC offers an important turn in decolonizing Pacific Studies while using new media platforms to disseminate scholarly knowledge about Oceania. The free, online course attracted over 800 students and participants from throughout Oceania, across Europe, Asia, and North America. MOOCs are an example of a research praxis utilizing online platforms to reach diverse students across geographical spaces. Often, these courses are interactive with online forum questions and discussions and include multimedia components such as videos, photographs, music, and online scholarly resources. In addition to opening up (re)search to those physically scattered across the globe, MOOCs only require an email address and an Internet connection to participate. However, it is not a replacement for in-person instruction and technical difficulties can hamper the learning experience.

By the 1970s, this kind of research abuse was the subject of political protest that ultimately led to a re-examination by some groups of researchers of the nature of research involving oppressed communities (K. Smith et al., 2006). Today, Western perspectives continue to dominate research structures and formats that vary greatly from Indigenous approaches and ways of knowing. Western colonialism has, and continues to have, a tremendous impact on Indigenous knowledge(s) and its place within academia (Kovach, 2009). There is a need to “de-center hegemonic ways of knowing in order to explore how Indigenous scholars are producing knowledge, theorizing, for and about their people” (Aikau, 2015).²⁷ Through critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks, (re)search is a form of resistance to Western and imperial forms of inquiry.

As a non-Indigenous, privileged white researcher, I am aware of the potentialities of re-colonization if I carry out research on subjects as others who are “worthy” of academic investigation (Wheatly & Hartmann, 2013). I choose to use the term “(re)search” as a form of resistance to challenge imperial and Western dominated forms of inquiry (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). “(Re)search” marks a decolonized conceptualization to critically analyze history, as well as academia. The “(re)” signifies a (re)examination of previous research, founded on imperial ideologies and from mostly male perspectives. To “(re)search” is to re-learn, re-examine, and re-comprehend legal, political, and social systems of the West. In addition, the term “Indigenous knowledge(s)” is employed to provide a broader perspective to recognize diverse and varying approaches to (re)search findings, information, and understanding(s) gained. In continued collaboration with the Indigenous CHamoru and Refalawasch communities in the Marianas Archipelago, this (re)search *as* resistance has not been done *on* them but rather *for* their cause and *with* their participation (Hokowhitu et al., 2010, p. 18).

²⁷ I need to state that Indigenous approaches to research are not necessarily *better* than Western approaches. However, Indigenous approaches are more inclusive and open, and Western approaches historically exclude alternative approaches. One of the greatest challenges of creating this theoretical framework is incorporating and blending Western academia requirements while respecting and engaging with Indigenous knowledge(s).

Criticizing & Decolonizing Theoretical Frameworks

Critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual research addresses the discomfort that those on the margins feel about adopting traditional research processes and knowledge creation. Critical research “incorporates emancipatory methodologies such as feminist research and participatory research and Indigenous methodologies” (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005).²⁸ Feminist and queer researchers critique social relations as a gendered process while participatory action research incorporates activism as a form of research. Indigenous research paradigms and methodologies directly resist the “imposition of dominant ideas about who can do research” (Brown & Strega, 2005).

Indigenous research, such as Kaupapa Māori research, tackles contemporary colonial connections while highlighting the importance of Indigenous knowledge(s) within (re)search frameworks. These anti-oppressive theories that “contest the ontological and epistemological assumptions of other theories [are] particularly useful for emancipatory research” (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 12). Through these critical approaches, the legitimization of Indigenous ways of knowing, feminist and queer perspectives, and emancipatory research is possible. These advances within scholarly work create a new way to look at the research process beyond the “hegemony of traditional research methodologies” (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 8).²⁹ By honoring these approaches, a decolonized research paradigm is possible through the collaboration with new (re)search methods for “liberation rather than our colonization” (Reid, 2015, 26 April). Academic decolonized theories and methods support and reinforce practical, action-orientated efforts for political, social, cultural, and economic decolonization (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 2012).

²⁸ For a discussion on non-Euro-centric forms of “human emancipation” within resistance movements, see (Chabot & Vinthagen, 2015). For the purpose of this thesis, “emancipation” is conceptualized as “freedom to determine the political status and future use of the Mariana Islands.” Also, see the 1991 article written by the Governor of Guam Ada entitled, “Guam: Equal in War, but Not in Peace; Elusive Emancipation” (1991).

²⁹ The Australian National University Associate Professor Katerina Teaiwa disseminates her research through alternative and creative forms to expand who is impacted. Most recently (2016), her work has been turned into a comic book directed at high school students. See <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/news-events/all-stories/associate-professor-katerina-teaiwa-shatters-boundaries-research-impact>.

Decolonization scholarship links colonial and neo-colonial power structures and includes issues of racism, sexism, oppression, liberation, nationalism, and the process of decolonization (Kawakami, Aton, Cram, Lai, & Porima, 2007; Laenui, 1999; Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Thaman, 2003). There is a shared experience amongst those who were/are colonized, often in relation to land and resources, culture and language, and political and visual forms of representation. Decolonized approaches reclaim colonial histories while reflectively critiquing research and “the nature, scope, and processes of colonialism [and] its impact on people’s minds, particularly their ways of knowing, their views of who and what they are” (Thaman, 2003, pp. 1, 2). The term “post-colonial” is problematic because it alludes to colonial control as an issue of the past.

Decolonization theory, unlike post-colonial theory, “acknowledges that the colonists have not left” (Sillitoe, 2015, p. 78). By considering the “world as ‘post-colonial,’ from Indigenous perspectives, is to name colonialism as finished business” (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 99). In disregarding historical analysis, colonialism is in fact replicated and repeated through the research process. A post-colonial “theoretical positioning, in its very name... frees one from historical analysis” (Kovach, 2009, p. 75). Contemporary governmental administrations use alternative terms to distance themselves from colonial frameworks, despite ongoing policies that continue to disenfranchise Indigenous peoples. The structures of colonialism and its lasting effects are present for Indigenous peoples, particularly for those in Oceania and specifically for those in the Marianas Archipelago.

Indigenous Approaches

Indigenous methodologies, Indigenous (re)search frameworks, and Indigenous injury are all “research methodologies that encompass Indigenous epistemologies (Kovach, 2009, p. 21). “Indigenous” is defined by Alice Te Punga Somerville (Vakarua) as “people who are Indigenous to the specific land where we/you are located as well as Indigenous to the nation state where we/you are located as well as Indigenous to another space on the globe on which we/you are located” (2016). Epistemology is our worldview and what we know informs the research methodologies that we select

(Kovach, 2005).³⁰ Methods are practical devices and techniques used in the research process to collect and analyze data, such as interviews, observations, and content analysis, and they must be culturally appropriate and reflective. Therefore, the methodology and planning processes that guide and assist the selection of the methods used to tackle the research questions of this thesis *must* include Indigenous Pacific approaches to research (Creswell, 2003).

These methodologies contain processes that are not easily put into a “pre-existing Western category” (Kovach, 2005, p. 29).³¹ As one Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) scholar puts it, “We simply see, hear, feel, taste, and smell the world differently” (Meyer, 2001, p. 124). Indigenous epistemology(ies) are a way of knowing that is “fluid,” “alive” and involves the spirit of “collectivity, reciprocity, and respect” (Kovach, 2005, p. 27). Indigenous worldviews vary greatly but contain a common thread of relational spaces and sacred relationships, including a spiritual interconnection between self and ancestors, the natural environment, and wider cosmos, and a collective sense of culture and community. The Pacific research agenda is “about contextual place(s), space(s), and time(s) and knowledge-bases” (Koya Vaka'uta, 2016b, p. 11).

“Settler Responsibility” as a Non Indigenous (Re)searcher

Margaret Kovach outlines an Indigenous (re)search framework guide for researchers working with Indigenous communities (2009). Firstly, the researcher must honor the relational connections within the collective community and the natural environment while assuming responsibility and accountability to the participants (Bloom & Carnine, 2016). Specific elements that informed my autoethnographical fieldwork include “experience as a legitimate way of knowing, storytelling (talk-story) as an appropriate

³⁰ The term, “epistemology” has been used as a “broker word during knowledge discussions that cross the Indigenous-western divide” (Kovach, 2009, pp. 20, 21).

³¹ In addition to expanding what constitutes knowledge(s) and who can carry out research, Indigenous approaches also help non-Indigenous institutions “embrace diversity and recognize ‘Western’ knowledge for what it is— a product of its own cultural site, not the cultural universal it is often purported to be” (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 3). This is the case for this thesis in which I am not Indigenous but rather employ these approaches to understand how Indigenous women resist the sexist and environmental politics of militarization in the Marianas Archipelago.

way of sharing knowledge” (Kovach, 2005, p. 28). Secondly, it is the researcher’s obligation to share the research collected and gathered with the community and participants. I have selected to do so through digital, new media platforms.

Somerville is a senior lecturer at Macquarie University, Australia, has worked at the University of Hawai’i Mānoa and Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. She is the author of *Once were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania* (2012). The book invites readers to join her on her canoe voyaging across Oceania to discover the shared identities of Pacific and Māori peoples. Her Facebook post “An Indigenous scholar’s request to other scholars,” (created with the Facebook feature Note) is as an example of a scholar using a new media platform to produce alternative approaches to (re)search that incorporates Indigenous and decolonized (re)search methodologies:

1. Engage[1] with[2] my[3] scholarship.[4]
2. Engage[5] with[6] scholarship[7] by other[8] Indigenous[9] scholars.[10]
3. Yep that’s pretty much it.[11] (Somerville, 2016).

With this new media platform, she created and disseminated open and public scholarship. Her brief post has been shared 128 times as of 16 September 2016 and is accessible, understandable, and informative. She uses a conventional research-referencing format and footnotes to convey her message as an Indigenous scholar to other academics (Figures 4a and 4b).

Somerville’s post provides confirmation, clarification, and guidance for non-Indigenous scholars. While I have engaged with decolonized and Indigenous approaches to research in a self-reflective way, her instructions outline areas where this thesis can contribute to both academia and to the community. Indigenous scholarship is *not* merely a perspective and I have intentionally included Indigenous scholars and Pacific practitioners work within this thesis. I understand that Indigenous scholarship is *not always* about colonization and militarization, although it is through resistance to those processes that I created this thesis and compiled my bibliography. I also understand that I must look beyond the traditional academic journals and databases to engage with alternative forms of knowledge(s), such as audio-visual material, creative works, and performance arts. New media platforms serve as “less

conventional (and yet still scholarly) spaces” and can reach a “vast network globally” (Figure 4b, note 7, 8). I am using my hybrid thesis and “whatever power [I] have to engage with the work of, draw attention to, and even train Indigenous scholars” (Figure 4b, note 10).

As a non-Indigenous scholar, I am inspired by Somerville’s scholarship, and this thesis project approaches (re)search through an “emancipatory commitment” to “empower resistance” (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 9). Therefore, this thesis aims to (re)initiate meaningful self-determination and healing from the legacies of colonial and imperial violence(s) through (re)search. A genuine decolonized approach to inquiry “emphasizes reflexivity and privileges Indigenous epistemologies, interests, and perceptions” (Genz et al., 2016, p. ii). This study incorporates Indigenous Pacific epistemologies and includes their voices, experiences, and knowledge(s). In the following sections, I utilize the previously mentioned Indigenous frameworks and draw on Native Pacific Cultural Studies and Critical Oceania Studies to decolonized (re)search which should no longer be carried out *on* the Pacific but created by Pacific Indigenous communities and in scholarly transoceanic fluidarity.

Native Pacific Cultural Studies & Critical Oceania Studies

Pacific (Island) studies as a discipline is continuously being pushed and expanded into a form of scholarship that empowers Indigenous communities throughout the region, (re)living from its “imperialist and orientalist beginnings (Vincete M. Diaz & Kauanui, 2001, p. 321; Gagné & Salaün, 2012; Wesley-Smith, 2016).³² Previously, voices and

³² I wish to add and update the list of Pacific Studies research areas offered in “Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge” (Vincete M. Diaz & Kauanui, 2001, p. 322). The *Critical Pacific Islander and Oceania Studies* certificate offered at the Community College of San Francisco and is the only program of its kind in the continental US. See CCSF’s website: <https://www.ccsf.edu/en/educational-programs/school-and-departments/school-of-behavioral-and-social-sciences/InterdisciplinaryStudies/pacific-islands-oceania-studies-certificate.html>.

The previously mention MOOC through the University of the South Pacific, updates and digitalizes Pacific studies. See USP MOOC website: <http://mooc.usp.ac.fj>. The University of Hawai‘i (UH) offers PACS 108, *Pacific Worlds, An Introduction to Pacific Island Studies*, as an undergraduate course online for Spring 2017. The course “combines lectures and discussions that emphasize Pacific Islander perspectives and experiences.” See the syllabus:

epistemologies of Indigenous Pacific peoples were marginalized. While Pacific writing discussed the impact of colonialism on Pacific, “economies, environments, politics, and social structures, little attention has been focused on its impact on people’s minds, particularly on their ways of knowing, their views of who and what they are, and what they consider worthwhile to teach and to learn” (Thaman, 2003, p. 2). Similar stories and her-stories of exploration and exploitation, conversion and indoctrination, militarization and incarceration, and near annihilation continue to create solidarity throughout the Pacific.

Pacific scholar Konai Helu Thaman stated in her keynote address, at the *Pacific Studies 2000 Conference* convened to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Pacific Islands Studies Program at the University of Hawai‘i, the need to further decolonize Pacific Studies. She outlined how it is about “reclaiming Indigenous Oceanic perspectives, knowledge, and wisdom that have been devalued or suppressed because they were or are not considered important or worthwhile” (2003, p. 2).

A decolonized Oceania theoretical framework, where the Pacific Ocean is the connector, is essential for this (re)search as a form of resistance against the Western military concepts of “empty” seas, “uninhabited” island(s), and “open” skies in which to test weapons, construct live-fire bombing ranges, and conduct war games. Instead,

<https://laulima.hawaii.edu/access/content/user/maryh/2016SyllabusPACS108/index.html>. Additional digital resources include the *Teaching Oceania* iBooks (also available in PDF) (Dvorak, Ehmes, Feleti, Viernes, & Teaiwa, 2016; Genz et al., 2016), published by the Center for Pacific Islands Studies at UH Mānoa. The series was “created with the collaboration of scholars from around the Pacific region” and “is designed to take advantage of digital technology to enhanced texts with embedded multimedia content, thought-provoking images, and interactive graphs” as appropriate literature for understand students. The first two of the series are: Vol. 1: *Militarism and Nuclear Testing in the Pacific*, and Vol 2: *Gender in the Pacific*. Download them at: <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/42430> and <https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/42433>.

The Australian National University launched the Bachelor of Pacific Studies program, Spring 2015. See <http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/students/study-best/profiles/riding-new-wave>.

The University of Otago’s Pacific Islands Centre was established in 2001 and officially opened in 2003 to provide academic and social support for students from the Pacific and of Pacific heritage (J. Bennett et al., 2011).

the sea is a fluid entity that extends across time and space and is “not a *boundary* but a way of *connecting*” (McKinnon et al., 2014, p. 60). Oceania’s residents are “custodians of the ocean” with responsibilities as caretakers to protect and defend their home. This occurs by drawing upon ancient cultural practices, such as language and healing arts, fishing and farming, and canoe building and celestial knowledge. Pacific values, as listed by the *University of Otago’s Pacific Research Protocol*, include “Respect, reciprocity, family links and obligations, community oriented– the good of all is important, collective responsibility, older people revered– gerontocracy, humility, love/charity, service, and spirituality, most commonly associated with Christianity” (2011, p. 7).

New Media Technologies Across Oceania

New media technologies, including mobile phones and screen devices, and digital developments extend to Oceanic cultures which are socially organized around families and clans and which focus on the community as a whole. New media technologies serve as a tool to connect family and friends who may be spread across large geographical areas and time zones. People from the Mariana Islands use “this [Western] tool to leverage and to support our own culture” (interview with “Mary T.,” 5 October 2015). The role of new media platforms within Pacific communities is a growing area of research. While previous studies have been conducted within communities on Guå’han, this project combines the efforts of scholars, students, and community members who are working for decolonization and demilitarization with those developing social media and communication technologies.³³ Most people in the Marianas Archipelago use smart phones and tablets and are social media literate (Burns, 2008). This study seeks to understand and then share ways in which new media

³³ I presented *Hashtag Guam/ #Guam #Guahan: How digital photography and social media on Guam is redefining who photographs the Pacific* at the 22nd Pacific History Association (PHA) conference held on Guå’han 19 – 21 May 2016. PHA was founded in the early 1960s “concurrent with the beginnings of decolonization in the Pacific. Its creation heralded a turn from imperialist to island and Islander-centred historiography” (Vincete M. Diaz & Kauanui, 2001, p. 322). I discussed the new media platform *Instagram* and how young people on Guå’han use it for cultural, political, and spiritual purposes. Media Studies on Guå’han is a fast growing field. See Cruz III & Somera, 2016; SanNicolas-Rocca, 2013; Somera, 2014; Viernes, 2007.

platforms support and strengthen decolonization and demilitarization efforts.

The majority of visual representation of the Marianas Archipelago is happening in digital form and is circulated across new media platforms. “Community building occurs through a web-based arena, where blogs, websites and alternative media publication address issues of self-determination... blogs connect to alternative new coverage of military planning, interviews with activists” (Na‘puti, 2014, p. note 9). Within the last five years, political groups in the Marianas Archipelago have been “pioneering a new format of Chamorro activism” by using online social media platforms for public advocacy and information dissemination (Cruz III & Somera, 2016, pp. 6, 22). CHamoru grassroots organizations are able to reach audiences beyond traditional mainstream media outlets enabling alternative perspectives and providing space for “those who would otherwise not have a voice against oppression” (p. 21). This will be explored in the next section.

Politics of Representation

Representation is tied to those who have the ability to capture, process, and put forth an image. Representation created by a strong state or institutions often marginalize those under its political, cultural, or social domination (Aikau, 2015). However, wherever there is dominance and control, critics of the status quo narrative or representation can resist. Photography began as an elitist activity but the medium’s rapid evolution opened up a means of representation to more people than ever before (Alvarado, Buscombe, & Collins, 2001; Hooks, 2012; Rosler, 2004; Wallis, 1984; Wright, 2004, 2008). The contemporary digital photograph is one of the most common representations created through the political and cultural processes and yet “we often fail to realize what a complex and tricky object it is” (Badger, 2010, p. 7). Representation is a process that is deeply interwoven within historical accounts, societal constraints, and within ideological frameworks that are arbitrary.

Two oppositional theories of representation are constantly debated in relation to photography. One asserts that photographs present a realistic and truthful representations of the subjects photographed, while the other perspective sees photography as creating a false illusion of the subject (Alvarado et al., 2001; Mitchell,

1995; Rabinowitz, 1994; Ribalta, 2008; Tagg, 1993; Wright, 2004). In addition to the debates concerning truth and representation, photography was used as a tool of war and colonialism. It was also quickly deployed in advertising as a dangerous tool of manipulation used to create needs, sell goods, and mold minds (Freund, 1980; Goldberg, 1993). The idea of representation and the current discourse is also deeply mingled within the “structure of power and social ‘otherness’ with a history of domination, enslavement and violence” (Mitchell, 1995, p. 333). Photography maintains complex relations between representation, knowledge(s), and ideology based on class hierarchies, imperialism, and militarization by objectifying the ‘other’ either as the poor, prisoners, or marginalized (Jay, 1986; Wells, 2004).

The democratization of representation, an evident trend in photography’s history, continues within the digital era. There are now more cameras worldwide than ever before and the line between the professional and the amateur photographer continues to be blurred (Parr & Badger, 2004). The democratic circulation of information is possible because of new technology, specifically the Internet (Edwards, 2006; Perlmutter, 2005). This, combined with inexpensive cameras and mobile phones, allows new groups of people to participate visually and represent themselves. Similar to the No. 1 Kodak Camera that was introduced in 1888 with the slogan, “You Press the Button, We Do the Rest,” smart phones and ‘point and shoot’ cameras not only create a challenge for the professional photographer but also gives the means of representation to the common person (Edwards, 2006, p. 47; Frosh, 2001; Gustavson, 2009; "Special Issue: The Power of Photography," 2013; Strauss, 2003). While there remains a huge digital divide around the globe, many more voices now have a platform to share their perspectives and concerns than ever before (Nicholls, 2011). This debate is now being carried out in the digital realm via online blogs and online news media. One political blogger notes that the ability to self-publish is in fact “keeping art alive, rather than killing it” (Flack, 2014, 6 January). Conversely, an article published (online) by *The Guardian* associates the increased use of iPhones as cameras with photography’s death (Jeffries, 2013, 13 December). Throughout the theory of photography, issues of photography’s ability to truthfully represent the world, and from what perspective and for what purpose, will linger.

The means of representation are once again undergoing drastic changes due to advances in screen and mobile technologies that enable those normally marginalized to represent themselves visually and share with the world via online media (Bate, 2009). Visual representations on new media platforms are a starting point to “take back control of research” and thus make it relevant and useful to a broader public (Kovach, 2005, p. 33). The social struggle between the “cultural industry” and the public, through resistant representation, has created a new generation that has benefited from the digital revolution and technological leap as photographs are instantly shared globally (Hooks, 2012; Ritchin, 1990, 2009, 2013; Wells, 2004).

The Digital Era

Recent technological advances that have made cameras and mobile phones cheaper and easier to operate, has fuelled the drive for humanist and universal approaches to photography. Politics in twentieth century are increasingly based on gathering and storing information, including photographic images, and thus the power and control of photographs are crucial. Photographic technology challenges the power dynamic, thus enabling people who are not necessarily associated with the state to “effectively wield the camera as a weapon” (Goldberg, 1993, p. 67).

Photography theory’s relationship with rapidly changing technologies and digital advances has radically transformed the way of visualizing both photography and the world (Beckerman, 2008; Estrin, 2014; Jay, 1986; S. Smith, 2014; "Special Issue: The Power of Photography," 2013). Theorists who write specifically about the digital era agree that photography’s past controversies in its relation to reality and representation now have the newest challenge: digitalization. Concerns of realism and the uncertain direction of what constitutes a “photograph” evident throughout the history of photography are alive today. Shortly after the invention of the camera and photography, many believed it would bring the death of painting and other forms of visual representation (Batchen, Gidley, Miller, & Prosser, 2012; Manovich, 2001; Mitchell, 1994). This concern continues into the globalized digital era with the digitalization of photography, the development of ‘point and shoot’ digital cameras and digital phone cameras, the spread of the Internet, and the emergence of alternative platforms. Issues

regarding the creditability of photographs and their susceptibility to manipulation and the democratization of photography are being challenged once again.

The severity of the effects of digitalization varies within the discourse. At one skeptical end, visual theorist William J. Mitchell states that since the “sesquicentennial [anniversary of photography] in 1989 photography was dead” (1994, p. 20). In a less absolutist approach, Fred Ritchin, former photo editor at *The New York Times*, acknowledges that the digital era brings about, not the end of photography altogether, but rather the end of photography as we have known it (Ritchin, 1990, 2013). Others still remind us that while digital photography changes photography and creates new possibilities, “photography never changes” in that it is still a recording device of the world (Badger, 2010, p. 234). With a more moderate and reasonable perspective, we are not seeing the death of photography, but it is seen rather as a “full circle to crucial questions about a notoriously ambiguous and fascinating medium” (Breitbach, 2011, p. 40). Regardless of that status of contemporary digital photography, the issues of truth, objectivity, and believability are still at the forefront of photography theory, now approached within a digital context.

The early 20th century produced a “discourse of photography as universal language... the notion that photography creates trans-national, trans-cultural global public sphere” (Ribalta, 2008, p. 34). Building on this critique of social, economic, and political systems, digital photographs continue to challenge the status quo. For the Marianas Archipelago, the status quo is contemporary colonization that paves the way for everyday and expanding militarization.

Resistance Research & Feminist Studies

In their book *Protest and Dissent in the Colonial Pacific* (1984), Hempenstall and Rutherford define resistance as simply the “failure to cooperate” while protest movements are longer campaigns against, in their context, colonial powers in the Pacific (1984, p. 2). Within contemporary resistance studies, there is debate regarding the definition of “resistance” and there is constant discussion of whether others must acknowledge “resistance” as resistance and whether it must be deliberate (Hollander & Einwohner, 2004). The terms: “nonviolent resistance”; “nonviolent struggle”; “strategic

nonviolence;” “people power;” and “civil resistance” all refer to the same concept. Erica Chenoweth eloquently describes it as an ongoing process of “ordinary people” working to “pursue a wide variety of goals, from challenging entrenched autocrats to seeking territorial self-determination to contesting widespread discriminatory practices” (Chenoweth & Cunningham, p. 272). It is through “direct action tactics... that operate outside existing institutions and do not involve the threat of or actual violence” (Principe, 2017, p. 1). Gene Sharp, one of the earliest nonviolent researchers and leading theorist of nonviolent action, states that regular people use nonviolent means of dissent and resistance to achieve social change to challenge the structures which enable power(s) to operate (1973, 2005). By receding “consent, cooperation, and obedience” of these supports of power, nonviolent movements become nearly “twice as successful as violent ones in achieving their objectives” (Principe, 2017, pp. 1, 2).³⁴

Resistance research was for decades overshadowed and pushed aside by conflict researchers who presented nonviolence resistance as passive or weak (Schock, 2003). Conflict researchers also focused on the destructive nature of violence rather than on the prevention of violence or alternative techniques. With the mainstream media often the only source for data, resistance is a hard element to empirically document and measure (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013). While resistance studies have addressed these issues, the contemporary challenge is the manner in which “mainstream” media focuses on violence.

The majority of resistance literature is empirical, quantitative, and focuses on the “success” or “failure” of nonviolent campaign case studies in the Middle East, North Africa, Latin America, and Asia (E. Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013; Erica Chenoweth & Stephan, 2008). There is an enormous amount of information relating to case studies on the Arab Spring and the Orange Revolution, the Civil Rights movement in the US, the

³⁴ Defining resistance as “successful” is a complex and sensitive issue. Western approaches to resistance studies focus on the successes and failures of resistance (Mignolo, 2011). While this thesis mentions successes and setbacks, the purpose is not to determine if the women’s resistance is a success or not. While accomplishments and defeats occur, I am interested in more of the *process* of fluidarity and how women resist, rather than the US federal government or US military’s perception of their resistance.

situation in Palestine, post-apartheid Africa, and Latin America (J. Adams, 2010; Williams, 2012). Oceania and Pacific resistance has historically remained on the periphery. However, scholars are now adding to the civil resistance discourse (Davis, 2012, 2015; Farrer & Sellmann, 2014; Kirk & Ahn, 2009; Mariana Islands, 2015, 25 September; Na'puti, 2014; Na'puti & Bevacqua, 2015; Natividad & Kirk, 2010; M. P. Perez, 2001; Silva, 2004).

Most recent literature relating to nonviolent resistance movements is measured with a “large N” in an empirical and quantitative manner (Clark, 2009; Schock, 2005, 2015). For example, Chenoweth and Lewis’s NAVCO 2.0 dataset on major nonviolent and violent armed campaigns from 1945 to 2006 and the University of Uppsala’s Conflict Data Program provide online resources for studying violent conflicts (2013; Sundberg & Melander, 2013). However, these approaches overlook women’s small scale and more subtle forms of resistance, such as that in the Marianas Archipelago.

Inquiry into how and why resistance works and what creates successful nonviolent movements is of concern throughout the literature (Erica Chenoweth & Stephan, 2008). Building on the findings of successful resistance campaigns, the literature also emphasizes parallels between the principles of strategic nonviolence conflict and military strategy, and suggests civil resistance as an alternative to military force (Ackerman, 1994). This scholarship includes the conditions for nonviolent campaigns, the role of political players, and the maintenance of nonviolent strategies by organizations.

Within nonviolent resistance research, women still remain on the margins of inquiry. The United States Institute of Peace notes that, “women have been leaders, spokespeople and frontline activists in nonviolent struggles for peace and justice. But how women work in these struggles, and how they change them, has been little researched. That inattention has left women’s roles underestimated or ignored” (Principe, 2016, 2017).

Decolonizing & Digitalizing Resistance Studies

Informed by Indigenous ways of knowing, perspectives, and approaches to (re)search, I

extend the decolonizing lens to resistance studies (Chabot & Vinthagen, 2015). This thesis privileges “the integration of a decolonizing theoretical lens that positions Indigenous inquiry as resistance research” (Kovach, 2009, p. 18). Oceanic forms of resistance are “tied to an analysis of power relations and a recognition of systemic oppressions” (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 10).

Today, resistance methods are continuously being updated for the digital age, and this hybrid thesis is creating “resistance 2.0” that includes alternative, open, and public scholarship across accessible new media platforms (Franklin, 2013; Joyce, 2012). Specifically, this research contributes to the growing “2.0” literature and includes ten examples of qualitative, women-centered, participatory action research producing visual data with new media platforms as sites of resistance. The wider goal of this research is to provide a case study of the Marianas Archipelago, including the island of Guå’han and the CNMI, as an instance of resistance that has been largely invisible within resistance literature. As Indigenous resistance is based upon Indigenous epistemologies, Western researchers often overlook what constitutes resistance for Indigenous peoples (Jasper, 2004; McAdam, 2001). While progress has been made, “decolonizing social movement studies remains incomplete” (Choudry, Majavu, & Wood, 2013 cited in Chabot & Vinthagen, 2015, p. 519).

The “Infrapolitics” & “Everyday” Resistance

Anthropologist James C. Scott’s “infrapolitics” framework contributes to articulating resistance and nonviolent dissent discourse where forms of “everyday” resistance may be elusive and non-confrontational (Hale, 1994; Lilja & Vinthagen, 2014; Pontbriand, 2004; Scott, 1985, 1990; Sivaramakrishnan, 2005; Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013; R. F. Wendt, 1996). Scott asserts that “relations of domination” are at the same time “relations of resistance” (1990, p. 45). Building upon this concept, Scott introduces a different resistance approach within the framework of power and hegemony theories. Rather than focusing on the elite and powerful (in this case, the US federal government, DOD) who “control the material basis of production... and the symbolic production” to ensure it is “legitimized” throughout society, Scott suggests looking for elements of

resistance elsewhere (p. 78). Many resistance strategies embody a radical critique not just of global capital but also of pre-existing social inequalities based on race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality among others (Naples & Desai, 2002). These possibilities of political, social, or cultural resistance by subordinate groups have been “ignored because it takes place at a level we rarely recognize as political” and it is this type of resistance that “constitutes the domain of infrapolitics” (Scott, 1990, p. 78).

Within infrapolitics, subordinate groups carry out “low-profile forms” of resistance that are “less dramatic” as a way of addressing the issues of hegemonic power while still maintaining anonymity. This form of resistance occurs in the form of a “hidden transcript” that takes “place in public view, but is designed to have a double meaning or shield the identity of the actors” (Scott, 1990, p. 19). This form is not present within the (dominant) archives but a “partly sanitized, ambiguous and coded version of the hidden transcript is always present in the public discourse of subordinate groups” (p. 19).

The “public transcript” encompassing historical archives and media, is a “self-portrait of dominant elites as they would have seen themselves, impressive and affirms and naturalizes the power of dominant elites” and is recorded and well documented (and often written as ‘history’ and, thus, comes the urgency to decolonize it) (Scott, 1990, p. 18). However, there is a limited inclusion of subordinates and they are either presented with bias or through stereotypes, as is often done through dominant perspectives (p. 86). Why would a state wish to expose noncompliance or questioning by resisters? To do so would be to “admit that their policy is unpopular– to expose the tenuousness of their authority” (p. 36). This explains the marginalization of Indigenous approaches to scholarship and confirms the necessity to conduct (re)search with critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks.

Scott’s infrapolitics framework includes the hidden transcript and represents a criticism of power relations carried out behind the back of the dominant rulers. However, the situation in the Marianas Archipelago is not functioning within the hidden transcript realm but is rather in the open and public sphere of new and social media. Furthermore, Scott’s framework does not directly address the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization nor does it include Indigenous, gendered, or

visual research approaches. By focusing on women's resistance, it becomes evident "that women have been organizing, shaping and redirecting projects... for decades" and "solidarity and resistance strategies have enabled mass mobilization" worldwide (Amadiume, 2002, p. 42; Shayne, 2003, p. 267).

Decolonizing Feminism(s)

As Cynthia Enloe states, "if one is interested in gaining a reliable sense of national and international politics, one should be curious about all sorts of women's resistance, whether or not that resistance succeeds" (2014, p. 12). Based upon this premise, this thesis explores women's resistance in the Marianas Archipelago, not from an evaluation standpoint but as a space to (re)learn and contribute.

Historically, feminism as a discipline has largely failed to take into account the varying cultural and colonial contexts, socio-historical lived-experiences, and the religion, class, and education of women outside of Western societies. While neither hegemonic Western feminism nor third world women are "singular monolithic subjects" themselves, the (controversial) term "feminism" is "identity-derived" (Arvin, Tuck, & Morrill, 2013, p. 11; Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 1991, p. 51). For Indigenous women globally, ideals of "femininity" are conceptualized within a system that privileges male views, needs, and desires. Even the Western concept of feminism, although well intended, incorporates imperial ideologies. A decolonized approach to Western feminism (understood as white, middle-class, and privileged) is "imperial feminism." This is described as,

a feminism that operates on behalf of American empire building. It has a history of using the Western canon of "women's rights" to justify American wars... Imperial feminism imposes rather than negotiates, it dominates rather than liberates, it declares itself the exceptional arbiter of women's needs. It operates on behalf of the hierarchies of class across the globe, leaving most women out of the mix. Imperial feminism privileges empire building through war (Eisenstein, 2016, p. 52).

Imperial Feminism

For the CHamoru experience, it could be said that imperial feminism began with Queen Elizabeth, a women who used her power and authority through the Doctrine of

Discovery to exploit the American continent, parts of Asia, Africa, and across Oceania. More locally, the archipelago was named the “Marianas” in honor of the Spanish Queen Mariana of Austria when Miguel Lopez de Legazpi formally claimed it in 1565 (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, p. 12). More contemporary examples are the present-day, non-voting Congresswoman of Guå’han, Madeline Bordallo, the Rear Admiral of the Joint Region Marianas, Bette Bolivar, and the Secretary of the Air Force, Deborah James; all are women who support everyday militarization and promote expanding militarization (Figures 17 and 18). This example will be expanded on in the first section of Chapter 4.

Imperial or hegemonic feminism becomes another arm of US colonialism if it does not take into account the rich connection to ancient ancestors that CHamoru women feel and have used as methods of strength and resistance during 500 years of colonization. Therefore, I am choosing to use an “anti-imperial” and inclusive approach to feminism(s), and one that is not beholden to a single conceptualization, understanding, application or theory of feminism (Eisenstein, 2016, p. 55). It instead bridges feminist security approaches and Indigenous conceptualizations of women’s power to explore the “colonial relations of domination and subordination established under imperialism [as] reflected in gender relations” (Sjoberg, 2009, p. 188).

Indigenous CHamoru women do not fit into a Western conceptual “feminist box” and do not want even to be placed on a “feminist spectrum” (Cruz et al., 2016). Instead of imperial and hegemonic feminist ideologies and Western-centered theories, the epistemologies of CHamoru women are grounded in ancient culture and promoted through their Indigenous identity; this will be explored in greater detail below.

Gender

The US is known for its “unparalleled” military capabilities that dominate its foreign policies and relationships (Department of Defense, 2015). However, within US federal government and DOD discourses, “gender” is used as a term to mean “women or girls” and is not understood in an alternative way.³⁵ Throughout US history, “gender” has

³⁵ I include the phrase “women and girls” because CHamoru scholars and others working for demilitarization efforts in Oceania frame it as such. I am aware of the problems relating to categorizing “women *and* girls” together. However, I write it in

been “an organizing principle for war specifically and political thought generally and to serve to empower the masculine and marginalize the feminine” (Sjoberg, 2013b, pp. 46, 47). Feminism(s) must be “about so much more than gender... must embrace the multipronged, multiple, and complex identities of gender— racial, class, sexuality, age, ability, and so on” (Eisenstein, 2016, p. 55).

This gendered analysis of the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization reveals how “war and militarization both rely on and construct pernicious gender relations... [They] link their opposition to militarization and war systems with a systematic critique of gender relations...gender subordination” (Cohn, 2013, p. 117).³⁶ Gender is how feminine aspects are devalued, while aggressive masculine approaches are promoted. The sexist politics of how this comes to be are carried out by male soldiers enacting (sexual and sexist) violence against not only “women and girls” in the local community but also within the US military institution itself.

fluidarity with Indigenous women authors and activists. For a more inclusive and Pacific framing, see the newly drafted *Pacific Feminist Charter for Change* (2016), with a broader definition of feminisms, in Appendix A. I must also acknowledge the important work of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (commonly referred to as the LGBT) community in the Mariana Islands. Guå’han’s only LGBT organization is, *Guam’s Alternative Lifestyle Association* (GALA). The guiding principle is to “Live Proud/ Na Metgot Ni Linala.” Access the website: <http://galaguam.webs.com>. Also, view the presentation *LGBT History and Community on Guam* by Reynne Ramirez who explains the word “pala-an” when talking about males, means woman. When you verbalize that word and you say “pinilao-ana,” it simply means feminine behavior. Accessible online at: https://prezi.com/lha1tl_vmihm/lgbt-history-and-community-on-guam/. Guå’han was the first US territory to legalize same-sex marriage in 2015 (The Associated Press, 2015). At this time, LGBT issues in the Marianas Archipelago are an under-researched topic. It is my hope that more academic work will be created and shared.

³⁶ Also see Chandra Talpade Mohanty’s reflection on empire in her article, “Imperial Democracies, Militarised Zones, Feminist Engagements” which discusses how in the post 9/11 era, “imperial democracies” such as the US, “exercise militarised and masculinised forms of control” and calls for “feminist solidarities that confront neoliberal militarisation globally” (2011, p. 76). See her Foreword in *Frontline Feminisms: Women, War, and Resistance* (2000) and her book on feminist solidarity in *Feminism without borders: decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity* (2003). For additional feminist approaches to International Relations, see B. A. Ackerly, Stern, & True, 2006; B. Ackerly & True, 2008; Sjoberg, 2013a, 2013b; Tickner, 2013, 2015.

Feminist Security Studies

Feminist security studies (FSS) provides an analytic framework to incorporate the “intersectionality of gender and other power relations” (Shepherd, 2013, p. 21).³⁷ FSS call out shortcomings that “construct an account of security politics and practices *without* paying attention to gender” and creates “a very thin and partial account” (p. 20). FSS incorporate a gendered lens to explore power relations based on imperial structures that inform contemporary security and militarization processes (Wibben, 2010, 2012).

Traditional security studies focus on military-centric nation-state security, while FSS interrupt the overwhelmingly white and male “experts” that dominate security and war studies (Cohn, 1987). FSS critically question these “masculine” notions of “security” and the conceptualization that armies and militaries are keepers of peace and creators of stability. The framework provides a structure within which to “challenge the conventional military notion of security: that the military protects ordinary people” the justification of militarization for “protection” (Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2004, p. 62). Through their lived-experiences of everyday militarization, women know that armies and militaries are not keepers of peace and creators of stability (T. K. Teaiwa, 2008; Tickner, 1992).

Conventional security studies disregard half of the world’s people who are disproportionately affected by security policies and war while their experiences within militarized contexts are over-looked (Enloe, 2009).³⁸ FSS add to security discourses

³⁷ With nearly 2900 members, the closed Feminist Security Studies Facebook group’s goal is to “bring together feminist scholars and practitioners working on issues related to security studies; security, war, peace, conflict, violence...” See: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/48680787483/>. This online exchange between established scholars, experienced practitioners as well as younger students, demonstrates how new media can contribute to scholarly outcomes and influence others working for demilitarization. In November 2016, I presented (via Skype) for the “Feminism & Militarism – Reflections on a Complicated Relationship” at the University of San Francisco, California, organized by FSS scholars.

³⁸ Sweden has been instrumental in the promotion of practical women involvement at the state level and within security polices. The Foreign Policy Minister, Margot Wallström, stated in a speech in Washington DC that Sweden will become the first

through the inclusion of women's voices, experiences, and concerns, which are typically marginalized within geopolitical structures, foreign policies, and military planning. It is within this critical and gendered framework that the "protector/protected" narrative is supported by a "logic of masculinist protection" (Young, 2003, p. 2). This project questions the protectors as militarized armed (male) forces fighting for "the protection" of their (female) nation and is repeatedly used as justification for the sexist political of everyday militarization and war. In addition, a gendered perspective of the situation demonstrates the connection between colonial power and gender-based domination.

While there are advantages in critiquing traditional security studies concepts and FSS provide a space to (re)examine security and militarized protection, this field fails to recognize Indigenous women and their enduring resistance in the region. In Teresia K. Teaiwa and Claire Slatter's article, "Samting Nating: Pacific Waves at the Margins of Feminist Security Studies" (2013), Teaiwa reminds readers that Oceanic women have been working for decolonization and demilitarization for generations but they engage with FSS "on our own terms" (p. 449).

Historically, Oceanic islands and seas have been the frontline spaces absorbing the impacts of nuclear testing, acting as locales for military installations and serving as sites of weapons storage facilities. Oceania women expose the fallacy of keeping the world safe through nuclear deterrence, by (re)telling their ancestor's experiences, as well as documenting the health and environmental impacts of nuclear testing (Dé Ishtar, 1994). While FSS scholars write about the hypocrisy of militarization providing the "protection" promised by colonial powers and military leaders, when it in fact has "the opposite effect," women across Oceania *live* these experiences (Cohn, 2013).

The Sexist Politics of Militarization

Indigenous struggles against colonialism and militarism are processes that are "highly

country in the world to promote a "feminist foreign policy...[that] deploys both feminine 'soft' and masculine 'hard' power (True, 2015). Perhaps this is a new precedent, and hopefully can move to a new norm, with more nation-states adapting similar policies. See a recent article in the *New York Times* interviewing Margot Wallström on feminism and Trump in December of 2016 (Sengupta, 2016).

gendered and liberation is not possible without also dismantling patriarchal systems of domination that correspond with these structures of power” (Aikau, 2015; Genz et al., 2016). Contemporary Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars continue to (re)examine power structures and privilege, gender and sexuality, race and ethnicity, class and nationalism, as well as colonialism and militarization in relation to Oceania (Ferguson & Mironesco, 2008; Fukushima, 2014; Hattori, 2006; Jolly & Macintyre, 1989; E. Kihleng, 2008; Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2004; Leckie, 2009; Natividad & Kirk, 2010; Shigematsu & Camacho, 2010; Souder-Jaffery, 1991, 1992a; Stevenson, 2012; Tanji, 2012; T. K. Teaiwa, 2011). Women scholars scrutinize the sexist politics and devastating environmental impacts across Oceania, particularly the issues of military violence against women and ecological toxicity that persistently accompany US base presence (Fukushima & Kirk, 2013; Kirk, 2008; Kirk & Ahn, 2009; Kirk & Francis, 2000; Kirk & Hoshino, 2011; Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2000). They urge activists and scholars to “rethink” the Pacific pivot foreign policy and provide structures for demilitarizing concepts of security (Fukushima, 2014; Kirk & Ahn, 2010; Okazawa - Rey, 1995).

The local, regional, and global networks of women established in response to the impacts of Oceanic militarization support each other through varying methods of fluidarity (solidarity) (Cachola, 2014; Kirk & Ahn, 2009; Women for Genuine Security, 2009). Specific case studies of US military base locations across East Asia have been articulated to highlight the systematic problems relating to military violence against women (Cachola, Kirk, Natividad, & Pumarejo, 2010; Fukushima et al., 2011; Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2004; Moon, 1997; Sturdevant & Stoltzfus, 1993). Guå’han and the CNMI are also sites where militarized ideologies and gendered experiences clash, with the added co-option of the brave Pacific warrior into a “patriotic” and “loyal” US soldier (Bevacqua, 2010; Monnig, 2007; James Perez Viernes, 2008). Scholars have called for further investigation of the sexist and environmental politics of Oceania militarization (Bascara, Camacho, & DeLoughrey, 2015).³⁹

³⁹ It is due to this “Call for Critical Militarisation Studies” and additional analysis that inspired the structure and direction of this thesis. In *Intersections: Gender and*

Indigenous peoples of Oceania remain on the edges of US academic and policy analyses. Traditional concepts of resistance studies often omit concerns central to Indigenous Oceanic women's realities (Cohn & Enloe, 2003; Scott, 1985, 1990). Indigenous epistemologies, concepts, approaches, methods, processes, procedures, and visions of "resistance" vary. For Indigenous women, elements of their "resistance" may go unseen or unnoticed if a traditional lens of what counts as resistance is applied. Therefore, Oceanic feminist literature that includes gendered analyses of militarism and security, and that highlight women's strategies, is essential (Ferro & Wolfsberger, 2003; Lewis, 2014).

Indigenous Pacific Feminism(s)

Feminist scholarship from Hawai'i discusses the gendered relationship of another US colonial-militarized locale, noting that it is also based upon colonial narratives. The masculine formation of the US nation-state and military presence is justified as protecting the feminine islands through militarization. The US military project began in 1893 with the illegal overthrow of the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom, which then paved the way for the subsequent and continued militarization of the islands. A gendered analysis of the feminine "hula girl" and the masculine "hegemonic discourse of US military presence" demonstrates how contemporary militarization and colonization is a gendered endeavor (Aikau, 2001, p. 103; Imada, 2008).

Kānaka Maoli scholars decolonize the discourse further, tying in the significance of land, language, and culture as structures for decolonization and demilitarization (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2014; Silva, 2004). Academic activist Haunani-Kay Trask powerfully stated, "Our culture can't just be ornamental and recreational. Our culture has to be the core of our resistance, our anger, our mana [power]" (1985, 1:30 – 1:42). Both Pacific archipelagos have the shared-experience of US (illegal) occupation of sacred lands enforced through the hyper-militarization of everyday life. This colonial-

Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific (2015), the authors' "call for a critical militarisation studies (CMS); one that weaves the complex histories of state violence in the region in relation to uses of ethnicity, Indigeneity, gender and sexuality. CMS calls for scrutiny of the diverse of discourses expressed by communities complicit in regimes of militarisation as well as those articulating cultural and political modes of demilitarization and resistance" (p. 1).

militarized arrangement renders the Indigenous peoples as disenfranchised “US citizens” in their own homeland who “need” the governance and protection of the US.

The scholarship regarding Hawai‘i has its limitations when applied to the Mariana Islands. Although Kānaka Maoli, CHamoru, and Refalawasch cultures share a common ancient origin and seafaring navigation achievements, very distinct cultural, political, and spiritual ways of being have evolved over thousands of years. In addition, varying intensities of imperial and militarized histories continue to shape each archipelago (Vincete M. Diaz & Kauanui, 2001). The ongoing struggles of decolonization and demilitarization in the Mariana Islands and lived-experience vary significantly. Guå’han, as a contemporary colony with the CHamorus striving for political self-determination, differs considerably from the Kānaka Maoli’s denationalization movement as the fiftieth state of the US. As a state, Kānaka Maoli have lost a considerable amount of control over their land and natural resources and see the US as incorporating them into a settler state through militarization, tourism, and privatization. The different political statuses are explored in Chapter 3.

While the aforementioned literature provides an excellent framework in which to approach imperial legacies and everyday and expanding militarized spaces in Oceania, the Mariana Islands’ colonial and gendered context varies greatly from the Hawaiian or East Asian experience. Therefore, a decolonized and gendered approach to the current political status and further militarization of the Mariana Islands and Indigenous CHamoru and Refalawasch women’s experience is an urgent and under-researched topic.

CHamoru Feminism(s)

Indigenous CHamoru feminism(s) as understood in scholarly work, continues to be a source of tension for CHamoru women. An overview of the debate relating to concepts, approaches, beliefs, and how scholarship influences action offers a framework to understand how US colonization and militarization are both justified and resisted in the Mariana Islands. Two high-ranking non-CHamoru women decision-makers in the Mariana Islands encourage and support the colonial-militarized relationship with the US, while Indigenous CHamoru women organizations and CHamoru academics

actively oppose it.

CHamoru epistemologies and ontologies are grounded in a genealogy based upon honoring the ancestors, while providing for future generations, as well as the connection of land, sea, and skies. CHamoru women's identity and power is socially, culturally, and politically based on their role within their family. Ancient CHamoru societies were matriarchal and, today, the hagan Guå'han (daughters of Guam) continue to privilege the responsibilities of their ancestors fulfilling their obligations as the hagan-haga' (blood daughters of Chamorro ancestors) (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, p. 6). It is "due to [these] women that the traditions, culture, languages, and legends of the ancient Chamorros have been passed down through the generations and survive today" (Farrell, 1991, p. 182). Women continue to be the maintainers of CHamoru culture. They are the keepers of the balance within the family and occupiers of influential positions within CHamoru society. The significance of CHamoru women's power in the community is demonstrated through the phrase, "I fuetsan famalão'an mu nana'e fuetsa I familia, I komunidad yan kontodu I nasion" (the power of women is what gives strength to the family, the community and the entire nation) (Sebaklim, 2016). The authority of CHamoru grandmothers, mothers, aunts, sisters, nieces, and extended family continues to play a central role in contemporary CHamoru culture.

Referred to as maga'håga, powerful CHamoru women leaders in the community were the firstborn and highest-ranking female head of clan who inherited their positions through maternal lineage. Contemporary women embrace their responsibility and sustain their resistance through their inherited roles to prutehi yan difendi (protect and defend) their culture, manggåfa, tåno', yan tasi (family, land, and sea). Several outspoken maga'håga organizers continue to publicly say "no to the massive military US build-up" (eklectyk, 2008).⁴⁰ These women who resist the Pacific pivot and two non-Indigenous women who are promoting it position themselves as safeguarding the islands for future generations. The tension arises in the method of security. Is it protection *by* the US military or protection *from* the US military?

⁴⁰ A two part recording of maga'håga's opposition to the "build-up" is accessible on YouTube: Part I: <https://youtu.be/SW5aFuw5MDM> and Part II: <https://youtu.be/n3e1jM0fKrE>.

Younger generations of CHamoru women honor their maternal traditions and explore their ancient societal structures through digital platforms.⁴¹ Zea Nauta, a CHamoru blogger explains this modern-ancient relationship by naming her blog, Hagan Guåhan (Daughter of Guam) (Figure 5). “I think our mother, Guåhan, Mother Nature, spoke to me...She said that she will take care of me, but I have to take care of her. That’s when the name Hagan Guåhan dawned on me, which means daughter of Guam. Guåhan has been our home, our mother, and caretaker since our ancestors first arrived here” (2015).

Through her blogging, Nauta discusses issues of self-determination, everyday militarization, the Pacific pivot, and what it means to be a young famalåo’an (woman) CHamoru in a space that is constantly controlled by outsiders. She shares her experience of going to college on Guåhan while preparing to head overseas to finish university. Many CHamoru women must leave the island to attend universities in Hawai‘i or the continental US to further their academic education.

Five academic CHamoru women recently reflected on the challenges and rewards of being among the few famalåo’an CHamoru who have their doctorates. In a forum entitled, “Home & Away,” they spoke about the complexity of leaving the island while still holding on to their CHamoru identity. They discussed the issues surrounding “Indigenous Chamoru feminism(s)” as a theory and as a practice. Rather than identifying as “feminists,” the panel articulated “CHamoru feminism(s)” as grounded in their maternal Indigenous heritage (Cruz et al., 2016). Their epistemologies are rooted in ancient culture, honor manåmko (elders) and maga’taotao (heroes, leaders of the past) and are promoted through their Indigenous identity. Their strength is sourced through their matriarchal genealogical connections to mangåffa, i tåno’, i tasi, yan manganiti (family, land, sea, and ancestral spirits) (Cruz et al., 2016). The panel of maga’håga also expressed commitments to an inherited responsibility to protect and defend their loved ones and homes from the impacts of colonialism and militarization

⁴¹ For an excellent overview of three generations of CHamoru women: Generation 1: 1920-1945, I Mañinan-måmi (Our Elders); Generation 2: 1945-1965, I Nanan-måmi (Our Mothers); Generation 3: 1965-1985, I Hagan Guåhan (the Daughters of Guam) see Santos-Bamba, 2013, p. 85. I am interested in the next generation of young women from 1985-2005 who incorporate ancient frameworks and new media technologies.

and to do so through their academic efforts. With Indigenous rights as the focus of their scholarly work, they emphasized the essential connection to the islands. They express their “CHamoru-ness” in scholarship by supporting decolonization efforts, nurturing social justice, and by promoting CHamoru cultural revitalization. CHamoru feminist frameworks provide a space for alternative discourse to that of colonialism and militarism; this discourse facilitates a narrative for a future based on inafa’maolek (environmental and societal interdependence, working together to make good for everyone).

CHamoru women’s skepticism toward Western feminism is centered on two areas of contention. Firstly, they see imperial feminism as disregarding their existing (gendered) cultural authority and failing to recognize the long history of matriarchal Indigenous power. While Western institutions introduced feminist ideologies, they also continue to support colonization and militarization. Secondly, Western feminism is perceived as another form of colonization that is imposed from the outside. Many feel it still does not take into account experiential histories, diverse cultural societies, or the continuing colonial contexts of Indigenous women.⁴²

CHamoru scholar Laura Marie Torres Souder explains the relations between Indigenous women in the Mariana Islands and feminists in traditional Western research models. She was educated on the East Coast of the US and in Hawai‘i and she is the first CHamoru woman to write her doctoral dissertation focusing on CHamoru women organizers’ lived-experiences (1985; also published into a book in 1992).⁴³ In her brief

⁴² **Fieldwork Journal, 30 September 2015. Discussion with a former female news reporter, Ipan, Guå’han:** *“Intersectionality” may eventually make its way here— understanding the different and combing oppressive forces. While white feminism may not be here out in the open, women are proud to be mothers and of their matrilineal society.*

⁴³ Dr. Souder now writes a weekly column for the *Guam Daily Post*, Sunday Edition, a local newspaper outlet, providing local, regional, and international news via print and digital formats. An expert from her first post in December 2016 states, “I can hear the anguished cry coming from our ancestral mother womb to feed our children with the knowledge of their history and CHamoru ways of knowing and being.” I re-posted the announcement on Oceania Resistance and “reached” 270 people and earned 9 “likes.” Access the first column here: http://www.postguam.com/sunday_post/the-passion-and-pride-of-being-chamorro/article_664d5780-b833-11e6-ae3f-47f728e5166e.html.

paper, “Feminism and Women’s Studies on Guam” (1991), she explains *why* CHamoru women scholars are cautious in using the Western term “feminism.” Both “[c]olonization and the introduction of patriarchal values and behaviors... have worked to diminish the traditionally esteemed position of Micronesian women” (p. 442). Souder reiterates that Western middle-class educated women have a very different lived experience than do CHamoru women:

[A]n understanding of herstory helps to illuminate some prevalent views about feminism held by Chamorro women and their sisters in Micronesia... Most Indigenous Chamorro women... are quite uncomfortable with identifying themselves as feminist and it can easily serve as another imperialistic tool (p. 444).

The forum participants similarly articulated that Western feminism (and colonial) perspectives do not reflect the CHamoru women’s reality. Feminism comes from the imperial center– the very place that both diminishes the islands for their vulnerability and smallness and uses them for security-related strategic war making. Souder explains that “misconceptions about feminism... are perpetuated by patriarchal institutions on Guam,” particularly by the US military and US federal government (p. 444). These establishments include the hyper-masculine militarization of everyday life as well as the federal-territorial political structures that continue to deny full self-determination to its residents.

Pacific Feminist Forum

The recently organized Pacific Feminist Forum created the first *Charter of Feminist Principles for Pacific Feminists* in December 2016 (Appendix A). It outlines the “collective principles that are key to our work as Pacific Feminists.” When discussing what constitutes “women and girls,” the Charter refers to the specific identities and needs of:

women, girls, lesbians, bisexual, trans diverse people, gender non-conforming identities, intersex people, fa’afafine, leiti, and other non-heteronormative Pacific identities, ethnically diverse women and girls, women of Indigenous minorities, women with physical or psychosocial disabilities, sex workers, women living with HIV and aids, women living in rural and remote areas, young women, the girl child, older women, heterosexual women, women in sports, women in

non-traditional roles, women in creative industries and women in the informal sector and others (Pacific Feminist Forum, 2016).

For this thesis, I adopt this newly created and inclusive definition to include the diversity of “women and girls” in Oceania. Categorizing this project as “women-centered” (re)search is open to the LGBT community and others who identify as gender non-conforming.

Privileging CHamoru women’s epistemologies and approaches, the next section provides an overview of significant cultural traditions that are the foundation of women’s resistance. Firstly, the genealogy of matriarchal societal structures in the Marianas Archipelago is articulated to demonstrate contemporary women’s power as protectors and defenders of the sacred. This is the resistance framework that honors the women’s role as stewards of the environment and protectors of their communities. Today’s resistance is a blend of traditional cultural CHamoru Indigenous frameworks visualized through modern technological tools.

Matriarchal Societal Systems and Reciprocal Genealogies

The CHamoru creation story of the Marianas Archipelago tells how sister Fu’uña (or Fo’na) created the universe from the body of her brother, Puntan’s (also Pontan) (Cunningham, 1992, p. 157).⁴⁴ Fu’uña is considered the archetypal mother of the

⁴⁴ See Brandon Lee Cruz’s documentary film, *I Tinituhon: Rediscovering Fo’na & Pontan*, which (re)interprets and presents an animation of the Marianas Creation Story (B. L. Cruz, 2016). Available on YouTube: <https://youtu.be/yQPM1Iayq7s>. Also see Guampedia’s *Fu’una* entry (C. Perez, 2015). For an analysis of the CHamoru “Godmother” archetype featured in the story of “Story of Sirena,” see (Tanji, 2012, p. 107) and the story in (Souder-Jaffery, 1992a). Also, see Bevacqua and Bowman’s (2016) discussion of the CHamoru “wonder history” in “The Women Who Saved Guåhan from the Giant Fish, *guihan dångkolo* (giant fish).” This tale focuses on women’s power and provides a “narrative infrastructure for contemporary demilitarization activism.” It also highlights the “sociopolitical agency granted to femininity and ancestry” as women “guided by their mañaina (elders) and manganite (ancestral spirits) intercede to capture the fish and save the island.” This genealogy is used to “animate forms of resistance to American colonialism and militarism... proposing alternative narratives by which Chamorros can activate themselves, inspiring their resistance and giving character to their activities for political change” (pp. 70, 71, 74). Also, see the animation film, *Maisa, The Chamoru Girl who Saves Guåhan* (2016), accessible online at: <https://vimeo.com/167511614>.

CHamoru people and is a source of strength for women resisting colonization and militarization.

The European colonization project, in general, through religious and military force, was detrimental to Indigenous matrilineal, matriarchal, and matri-focused communities across the globe. The term “matriarchy” is misused and misunderstood within literature, often bringing sexist bias to the forefront. It is often (mis)conceptualized as a social organization that is the “opposite” of patriarchy. Thus implying “domination by women.” However, I choose to reframe the etymology of “matriarchy.” In place of the Greek *-arche* root meaning “rule” (as in “hierarchy” or “monarchy”), I prefer the older version of *arche* that means “beginning” or “origin.” This renders the term “matriarchy” as “mothers from the beginning”; it is a concept that encompasses us all (Göttner-Abendroth, 2012, p. xvi). Therefore, this thesis is about “living Indigenous mother-right societies” and is specifically about the CHamoru and Refalawasch in the Marianas Archipelago (Dashú, 2005, p. 2).

To clarify this women-led social organization, I draw upon a number of anthropological terms. *Matriarchal* societies are organized with mothers as the head of the family and clan; they hold final decision-making powers (Figure 6). Most of these societies are also *matrilineal*, meaning the line of descent is passed through the mother. *Matrilocal* societies are focused on the women’s family, with the women’s brother, her children’s maternal uncle, serving as the male authority figure (Hamby, 2000, pp. 657, 658). Within matriarchal societies, women’s collective positions of authority are expressed in indirect ways, such as determining fishing rights, and women were “respected and had ultimate authority within her own household” (Flores, 2011, p. 26).

According to Heide Goettner-Abendroth in *Matriarchal Societies, Studies on Indigenous Cultures Across the Globe* (2012), the “structural definition” of what constitutes matriarchal societies is based on a matriarchal paradigm and is dependent on four levels. Firstly, the economic system is one of balance and economic “mutuality, based on the circulation of gifts.” Secondly, the society is “non-hierarchical with horizontal matrilineal kinship.” Thirdly, political decisions are based on consensus and include both men and women’s input, forming an egalitarian society. Fourthly,

spiritually all life originates with the *Feminine Divine* that “engenders a sacred culture” (p. xxv).⁴⁵ These four elements of economic mutuality, matrilineal heritage, political consensus, and the sacred *Feminine Divine*, with women as the givers of life, continue today. This is despite the continuous attempts of imperial powers working to erode them. Supported by the Doctrine of Discovery, based on Christian values, imperial occupation(s) did “not value women politically, economically, socially or spiritually. Women and elders tended to lose control over economic relations and were politically and spiritually pushed to the margins” (Champagne, 2011). Exploitation by European “explorers,” Spanish conquistadors, German colonialism, Japanese Imperial Forces war occupation, and today’s US everyday and expanding militarization, all interrupt and challenge the Indigenous matrilineal societal system.

Matrilineal genealogy is determined by seniority along the direct first-born female line from the highest to the lowest: great-grandmother, grandmother, grandaunt, aunt, sister, female first cousin, and daughter (Cunningham, 1992, p. 157). Ancient CHamoru marriages were monogamous, and when women married, reinforcing the matrilineal organization, they retained the land. If a woman needed to, she could divorce her husband and take the children and possessions with her (Flores, 2011, p. 25). The “mother’s brother is more important than her husband, because the land passes through the mother’s bloodline” (p. 27). The US Naval Administration in 1899 outlawed matriarchal societal organization and the Refalawasch were required to conform to Western ways. This included giving up their native dress for more modest Western fashion (women had to cover their breasts). Rather than conforming to the US Naval Command, many Refalawasch peoples moved to Sa’ipan that was under the “less restrictive” German administration that allowed them to continue their culture (Spoehr, 1954, p. 26).

⁴⁵ Abendroth states that her approach is not a “universal theory” but rather a completely different paradigm. In her General Introduction, she writes, “[t]his work is also politically relevant, intersecting with the political intentions of several alternative movements for self-determination. The *intersection of modern Matriarchal Studies with western feminism* is important in terms of its critique of patriarchy’s internal colonization of women, in which women are ‘the other’--simply objects. Feminism, on the other hand, sees women as acting subjects in society and history, and calls for their self-determination--a stand crucial to modern Matriarchal Studies” (pp. xxi, emphasis belongs to Abendroth).

Inafa' maolek • Restore the Balance

The Indigenous struggle against the US federal government is grounded in the Indigenous framework of “inafa’maolek,” the CHamoru concept to “make good for each other” by treating people well and to “restore the balance” with nature and the community (DeLisle, 2016a, p. 565; Dipåtamenton I Kaohao Guianhan Chamorro, 2003, p. 23). This reciprocal principle is based on the commitment to family and the environment. Respetu (respect) must be applied to social relationships as well as the land, sea, and air so all can benefit from i guianhan I tãno’ ya tasi (the gifts of the land and the sea) (Na’puti & Bevacqua, 2015, p. 848). The importance of the connection between CHamoru culture and respect for the environment is further demonstrated through Indigenous protective frameworks which were created in response to the loss of lands, language, and cultural practices through US occupation and Americanization over the last 115 years (K. Kihleng & Pacheco, 2000).

Stewards of the Community and Land

CHamoru and Refalawasch women in the Mariana Islands “are united by their conception of themselves as custodians of the earth for future generations,” and embrace the Micronesian matriarchal responsibility of protecting and defending their family, culture, air, land, and sea for future generations. They embrace pre-colonial culture and belief systems within their resistance (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 10). Women’s identity in the Marianas Archipelago continues to be based on clan and community connections. This is evident in common questions asked when you first meet someone: “What’s your family name? What village are you from?” Their deep relationship with the natural environment of the “land and the ocean that cradles it” and informs *who* they are (p. 9). CHamorus are tao’tao’ tano’, “people of the land” while Refalawasch literally means “people of our land” (Cinta Kaipat, personal communication, 25 November, 2015). Women use these “genealogies of place...[to make] sense of the present, and the future” (K. L. Camacho, 2011b, p. xiii).

Inifresi: Prutehi yan Difendi • The CHamoro Pledge: Protect and Defend

Resistance is based on prutehi yan difendi to “protect and defend” and CHamorus are

“committed to protecting and defending the beliefs, the culture, the language, the air and the water of our cherished land” (L. T. Camacho, 2013b, p. 189). “Prutehi yan difendi” is from the *Inifresi*, the CHamoru pledge authored by the late Saena Bernadita Camacho-Dungca in 1991. She is remembered for her dedication “to the preservation of the Chamoru culture and language... [she] worked timelessly to pass down her knowledge to future generations” (Romanes, 2016). The people see their role as protectors and defenders of their environment and culture for future generations. The *Inifresi*, as a guiding principle, illustrates how resistance is driven by the deep connection to the environment and culture and is based on the responsibility to safeguard what is CHamoru and resist the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago:

The Inifresi

Ginen i mas takhelo’ gi Hinasso–ku, i mas takhalom gi Kurason–hu, yan i mas figo’ na Nina’siña–hu, Hu ufresen maisa yu’ para bai hu Prutehi yan hu Difende i Hinengge, i Kottura, i Lengguahi, i Aire, i Hanom yan i tano’ Chamoru, ni’ Ireñsiã–ku Direchu ginen as Yu’os Tãta. Este hu Afitma gi hilo’ i bipblia yan i banderã–hu, i banderan Guãhan!

The CHamoru Pledge

From the highest of my thoughts, from the deepest of my heart, and with the utmost of my strength, I offer myself to protect and to defend the beliefs, the culture, the language, the air, the water and the land of the Chamorro, which are our inherent God-given rights. This I will affirm by the holy words and our banner, the flag of Guãhan! (L. T. Camacho, 2013b, p. 183).

The CHamoru Pledge was developed as an alternative to the Pledge of Allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, which is seen by some as imperialistic propaganda, imposed on the people of the Mariana Islands (Bevacqua, 2014). The *Inifresi* uses the robust language of sacrifice such as “with all my might” similar to US military slogans. However, it paradoxically calls for protection and defense against US political colonization, militarization, and destruction. It directly confronts how the “US” residents of the islands are denied Indigenous political rights of self-determination as US citizens without a vote for the US president. While the US military

claims to be protecting and defending the Marianas Archipelago and people, many residents know that neither the CHamoru peoples nor their rights to their lands are a priority. Instead, the US military protects and defends purely imperial interests in the name of “national security.”

While to outsiders it may seem to be a simple gesture and not a true form of resistance, the *Inifresi* is an Indigenous framework, separate from the imposed US political structure. In both written and oral form, it is recited, shared, debated, and honored at community gatherings. It appears in YouTube videos, in artwork, and is referred to in letters to the editor of the local newspapers. It provides all of the generations with dignity and a way to remember and tie into struggles of the past and support resistance for the future.

The *Inifresi* is also an Indigenous structure for CHamoru residents to hold CHamoru politicians and lobbyists in Washington, DC accountable. Residents encourage officials to live the *Inifresi*. As one CHamoru resident wrote, “Unfortunately, they forget that their first loyalty should be to the people who sent them to DC in the first place. If they do not want to practice and live the *Inifresi*, then maybe they should not be representing i man Chamorro yan i tano i man Chamorro” (J. P. Perez, 2015). In this letter to the *Pacific Daily News*, Mr. Perez is referring to the non-voting Congresswoman, Madeleine Z. Bordallo, who has been supportive of the further militarization despite resistance from her constituents. “The lack of such notice and discussion simply underlines that Guam, and its people, are colonial possessions of the federal government— not incorporated as a part of the United States, not a real, indispensable part of the US homeland” (2015). The residents seek to decolonize their representatives in Washington, DC who speak on behalf of those from Guå’han but who do not stand up for the decolonized form of protection and defense of the islands and people. The imperial ideologies that render Guå’han as not completely part of the US, due to the non-voting status, enable further militarization. The *Inifresi* serves as a symbolic and cultural form of resistance. These issues will be expanded on in Chapters 3 and 4.

Summary

This chapter provided a decolonized introduction to Oceania, Micronesia, and the

Marianas Archipelago. It then provided the theoretical frameworks centered around decolonial and gendered methodologies and a summary of Indigenous approaches to research. This included Critical Pacific and Oceanic Studies, the task of continuing to decolonize Pacific (Islands) Studies, and the role new media plays within Pacific cultures. The need to decolonize resistance studies was stressed to understand the Marianas Archipelago as sacred spaces. Decolonizing and Indigenizing feminism(s) were addressed to provide the analytic approaches to challenge traditional male and state-centric approaches to concepts of security. However, both disciplines need to be further decolonized to reflect the legacy of Pacific women's resistance to colonization and militarization "on their own terms." The final portion of this chapter unpacked the complexities and challenges Chamoru women face and the reasons why many are reluctant to consider themselves "feminists." It concludes by honoring matriarchal societal systems and reciprocal genealogies. Women's resistance was situated within cultural frameworks and will be explored throughout this hybrid thesis.

Chapter 2: "(Re)search Designed as Resistance: Methods and Platforms" outlines the critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks I applied to the qualitative questions. An explanation of "(re)search" as resistance is first provided. Next, as women-focused research, the following chapter highlights the gendered methodologies I employ to investigate Indigenous women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. I utilized a combination of politically engaged research, based on decolonial and visual methodologies, to carry out nine months of (digital) autoethnographical fieldwork. All methods presented are interconnected and interdependent, although I present them in a linear fashion.

Chapter 2

(Re)search Designed *as* Resistance: Methods and Platforms

This research design chapter outlines the concept of (re)search *as* resistance. Based on a “settler’s responsibility” approach to the qualitative research question(s), this model guides my women-centered and politically engaged qualitative (re)search organized in this hybrid thesis (Garrison, 2016). An overview of the critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks for gendered (re)search in the Marianas Archipelago and the methodologies used to enquire about Indigenous women’s legal, political, spiritual, and digital resistance are outlined. The chapter concludes with examples of politically involved (re)search. These examples are organized in two publication charts that are designed for other academic activists working in scholarly solidarity to access.

I have incorporated decolonial and visual methodologies with participatory action research (PAR) to conduct nine months of autoethnographical fieldwork in the archipelago. I documented fieldwork observations and conducted twenty-eight qualitative interviews in English. Excerpts of these interviews are included as *italics* in the footnotes throughout the thesis, along with excerpts from my fieldwork notes under the **bold** headings: **Fieldwork Journal, date. Location, name of person:** (see Footnotes 5 and 22 in the Introduction and Footnote 41 in Chapter 1).

This project is aligned with Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s (1999) and Clare Land’s (2015) approach for non-Indigenous scholars and supporters of Indigenous struggles who believe that both scholarly and solidarity work must be decolonized and self-reflective. I am aware that I “occupy both marginal and privileged spaces,” and intentionally “engage in research practices from a position of solidarity with the marginalized” (Brown & Strega, 2005, p. 11). Understanding the invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago is accomplished through reflective and decolonized (re)search approaches.

(Re)search *as* Resistance

This thesis honors and contributes to decolonization and demilitarization academic activism and scholarly solidarity efforts taking place throughout the Marianas Archipelago, across Oceania, and within the continental United States (US). This politically engaged qualitative study addresses the (de)colonial politics of resistance and sexist and environmental politics of militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. It is through (re)search *as* resistance, based on critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks, that digital, legal political, and spiritual dimensions of Indigenous women-led resistance against everyday and expanding US militarization are analyzed.

In line with Indigenous understanding of knowledge(s) as circular and reciprocal, I approach this project with a “settler’s responsibility” to not only (re)educate myself but also to create and disseminate public and open, accessible and shareable, informative and understandable resistance (re)search (Garrison, 2016). The following three qualitative research questions structure this thesis:

1. How do Indigenous women digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually resist the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in Guå’han? In the CNMI?
2. What are the invisible and visible dimensions of militarization as a gendered process?
3. How can I, through reflective (re)search *as* resistance, create and disseminate scholarship that is open and public, understandable and informative, accessible and shareable, and useful and relevant to other academic activists and others working for decolonization and demilitarization?

These questions will be explored further in Chapters 4 and 5 with a summary presented in the conclusion of the thesis.

Emancipatory Research Design

This study is based on a critical and emancipatory theoretical framework and utilizes decolonial and gendered methodologies. It is women-centered politically engaged

qualitative research that combines visual methods with digital autoethnographical research in the Marianas Archipelago. Primary oral, visual, and textual data concerning Indigenous resistance were collected through autoethnographical participant observations and in-person interviews whilst digital visual content was collected from new media sites. This thesis interweaves these digital contributions to resistance through new media platforms, including Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. It also analyzes how #hashtags are creating fluidarity across the Mariana Archipelago and in response to everyday and expanding militarization through the Pacific pivot (Figures 7, 10, and 11).

The Marianas Archipelago served as the geographical locale for this case study focusing on women's legal, political, spiritual, and digital resistance to everyday and expanding US militarization on Guå'han and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (hereafter CNMI).⁴⁶ As a politically engaged qualitative (re)searcher, it is my aim to make visible and publicize the legal, political, spiritual, and digital strategies of those resisting on Guå'han and the CNMI through political action (as opposed to remaining non-political and not getting involved in politics). It is also the goal of this hybrid thesis to disseminate open and public scholarship and to contribute to others resisting militarization globally.

While autoethnographical fieldwork provided insights into the everyday and expanding militarization, new media sites provide a platform to investigate how resistance is carried out digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually. Instead of creating a

⁴⁶ Men were not excluded from this study, and many contributed and continue to contribute through their strategic actions, political and scholarly writings, and ongoing support. However, the purpose here was to focus on women's resistance experiences within a colonial and militarized environment. Not only are women resisting colonial institutions (US federal government), the militarization of their environment (including their community and families), but patriarchal oppression that reproduce and reinforce colonial and military systems.

Fieldwork Journal, 25 June 2015. Talofoto, Guå'han: *names have been changed: As CHamoru activist Laura said, "they [men] aren't good at multitasking- they follow orders (and not in a demeaning way) but you tell them what to do (James and Matt) and they do it. Other than that, it is mostly women running the show. But the activists do have their 'pairs:' Vivian and Matt; Laura and James; Clare and Larry. It makes sense for the balance."*

comparative study measuring resistance in Guå'han *against* the struggle in the CNMI, this thesis approaches the archipelago as the “Chamorro Archipelago” and conducts (re)search “thinking like an archipelago” (Pugh, 2013). There is no benefit to contrasting and opposing Indigenous experiences within the archipelago. Instead, it is my intention to foster the fluidarity and support what residents are creating.

Qualitative research views social reality as “subjective” and research is about observing and interpreting meaning rather than proving or measuring. These methods involve the collection of data and include the gathering of oral stories, visual art, and other forms of expression (Blakeley, 2013; Creswell, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Denzin, Lincoln, & Smith, 2008; Gusterson, 2008; Mah, 2014; Trainor, 2013.). Just as for many Māori scholars and practitioners, qualitative methods are seen as being more empowering for research participants as they create space to “give voice” and allow Indigenous perspectives to be heard. These methods are also inductive in their approach; the researcher draws meaning and understanding from the (re)search and is not testing data against pre-existing theories or notions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Ethics Committee at the University of Otago

In preparation for my fieldwork in the Marianas Archipelago, the Te Whare Wānanga o Otāgo • University of Otago Human Ethics Committee (non-health) had to approve my project; it did so on 25 March 2015. The application process exposed how the “both/neither” dichotomy of the Mariana Archipelago manifests within institutions, including the Otago Ethic Committee and Manatū Aorere • the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade (hereafter MFAT). The relationship with the US disqualifies Guå'han and the CNMI as being considered “Pacific” by the Ethics Committee, while young CHamoru and Refalawasch peoples are *ineligible* to apply for New Zealand sponsored scholarships, designated for “people of Pacific heritage or who live in the Pacific” (New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade • Manatū Aorere, 2016b).

Firstly, as outlined in the Human Ethics Application guidelines under Appendix B – *Students Conducting Research Overseas*: “If research is to be conducted anywhere in the Pacific region, the Committee seeks assurance that the researcher has read and

considered the *Pacific Research Protocols* regarding the research” (2011, p. 8).⁴⁷ However, after inquiring with the committee, I was not required to prove that I had read the document as Guå’han and the CNMI are politically governed by the US. Since they are not listed as “Pacific Countries or Territories,” the committee deemed it unnecessary. I reviewed and referred to the *Pacific Protocols* document regardless. After discovering how the colonial status disqualifies the Marianas Archipelago from being considered “Pacific” within the Ethics Committee framework, I looked a bit further into when the Mariana Islands “count” as Pacific.

According to the MFAT website, “Guam is an unincorporated territory of the United States, so its political ties as well as its economic and security interests lie with the US. The relationship between New Zealand and Guam is friendly, but limited” (New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade · Manatū Aorere, 2016a). The CNMI is not even mentioned on the site.⁴⁸ The MFAT’s website states that it provides scholarships to “people from the Pacific” yet, neither Guå’han nor the CNMI are listed. However, residents from the other islands in Micronesia, including the Federated States of Micronesia, Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ (the Republic of the Marshall Islands), Beluu er a Belau (the Republic of Palau), Ribaberiki Kiribati (the Republic of Kiribati), and Repubrikin Naoero (the Republic of Nauru), are eligible (2016b).⁴⁹ This represents the disadvantage the residents of the Mariana Islands encounter compared to other Pacific

⁴⁷ Judy Bennett, Chair of the editorial committee for the *Pacific Research Protocols*, wrote a response in *The Contemporary Pacific* in 2013 addressing concerns from the peer reviewers regarding the document. Firstly, there was no reference to Russell Bishop or Linda Tuhiwai Smith, despite their contributions to Indigenous research methods. Secondly, the reviewers questioned if the protocols truly address power relations between the “researcher” and “researched.” At the bottom of Bennett’s response is a “slightly updated version” (2013, p. 101). However, this is not the version available on the University of Otago’s website or the one provided by the Human Ethics Committee.

⁴⁸ Access the MFAT Guam profile here: <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/pacific/guam/>. See the list of who is eligible for scholarships: <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/aid-and-development/scholarships/who-can-apply-for-a-scholarship-3/>.

⁴⁹ One argument could be made that, since their political status is tied to the US, they must have access to US federal funding. While this is true, the other Micronesian states listed above, which have a Compact of Free Association with the US, also have access to the US federal funding.

Islanders who qualify for scholarships.

Discovering how the colonial status translates into a lack of opportunities that other residents in Micronesia have solidifies why the resistance is so important. The doctoral fieldwork journey began with the Ethics Committee which reconfirmed the importance of decolonial and demilitarization efforts. Through women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance, they foster a fluidarity beyond nation-state boundaries to support each other's efforts.

Women-Centered Research in Micronesia

As discussed in the previous chapter, women's roles in the Pacific vary greatly compared to those in Western hierarchical systems, such as the US federal government and Department of Defense (DOD). Born into agency, this matrilineal heritage informs women's resistance today. Women continually challenge the paternal and colonial treatment of Oceania by federal agencies and military planners. This (re)search is concerned with *their* experience of resistance to the invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization. Historically, women's organizations have been at the forefront of resistance activities in the Pacific and have done so nonviolently and through the arts. Therefore, this woman-centered research honors the past actions, activities, and strategies of women resisters and seeks to contribute to the decolonization and demilitarization project lead by Pacific Indigenous scholars.

The work of three Indigenous women has directly informed the creation of this research design. Firstly, Teresia K. Teaiwa's extensive scholarship on gender and militarization across Oceania has provided a foundation for this project (2008, 2010, 2011; T. Teaiwa & Slatter, 2013). Her paper for the 8th Pacific History Association Conference, entitled, "Microwomen: U.S. Colonialism and Micronesian Women Activists" (1992), outlined women's empowering experience resisting colonization and militarization as well as their roles as Indigenous women and as community organizers. She states, "The perpetrators of colonialism made a grave mistake in failing to recognize the power of women" (p. 126). She describes US "neo-colonialism and nuclear militarism" as "by far the most dangerous" form of domination (p. 128). Secondly, CHamoru scholar

Laura Marie Torres Souder conducted the first research to focus solely on CHamoru women's lived experiences. Her 1985 thesis, "New Perspectives on the Chamorro Female Experience: Case Studies of Nine Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers" was revised for publication as the 1992 book, *Daughters of the Island: Contemporary Chamorro Women Organizers on Guam*. Her perspective was instrumental in understanding CHamoru feminism(s), continues to influence young Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars interested in women's experiences and struggles for self-determination. Lastly, the guidelines from the "Women-Centered Research Agenda for Outsider Research in Micronesia" workshop held at the *Women in the Pacific Conference* at the University of Guam in 1989 provides instruction for researchers such as myself (Participants, 1992). Although written twenty-seven-years ago, the recommendations are just as relevant and useful today. Here are the guidelines with *my responses in italics*:

1. Local women who assist outside researchers should receive some form of credit.

Please see the Acknowledgements at the beginning of this thesis.

2. It should be recognized that there are important differences between and among the cultures of Micronesia.

I learnt a great deal about the complexities of CHamoru and Refalawasch cultures and I honor their differences and similarities in relation to Micronesian and Oceanic communities and societies.

3. Careful consideration should be given to the following two questions: (i) for what purpose is the research begin done? (ii) who is going to read the results of this research? Answers should be supplied to local women before proposed research is initiated.

i) This (re)search seeks to contribute to ongoing resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding US militarization ii) New media platforms and digital spaces enable the resistance (re)search to reach a wider and

more diverse audience.

4. The researchers should provide a list of research questions to local women so they may discuss these questions among themselves in the context of their own community.

A list of questions was provided along with the consent forms. However, specific research questions were rarely used to structure the conversation or “talk-story” session(s).

5. Local women need to be able to consider whether or not the researcher may violate cultural values and norms.

I continue to engage in open and collaborative dialogue, feedback, and discussions. I recognize it is not the community’s responsibility to educate me. Therefore, I work to ensure I am not violating cultural values and norms. I also appreciate feedback when I do overstep my boundaries.

6. Some knowledge is private by cultural definition and researchers are expected to be aware of this and to respect it.

Yes, I have learned while I may ask a certain question, the response may not be directly in response to that question and it is not acceptable to persist in questioning or to keep prying.

7. Arrangements should be made for collaboration of local people in the proposed research. The credibility of the research results will be suspect if the research is conducted entirely by an outsider.

New media platforms, such as Facebook and Instagram, are excellent for ongoing collaboration, editing, and dissemination.

8. Local women want to have the right to review research reports prepared by outsiders prior to the submission of these reports by researchers to outside agencies or for publication.

Yes, my informants in the Mariana Islands have read all of my writing. I have obtained their permission for use before inclusion into this thesis or publication on a blog or in a journal.

9. Local women would like to prevent unsolicited researchers from just “showing up” in their communities and expecting everyone to cooperate with their research.

As my mother lives there, and due to my previous frequent trips beforehand, I had established ongoing relationships with my “academic aunties” and “scholarly sisters” who invited me to collaborate on this project.

10. Local women would like to discourage the attitude of some outsider researchers that the latter have a great unasked– for benefit to bestow on the community. For example, the outside researcher who comes into the community and asks, “Do you meet the requirements for the (unsolicited) research I am planning to do here?” should be encouraged to adopt a more enlightened attitude and possibly be discouraged from doing research in that community.

This is what fuels my desire to decolonize resistance studies while addressing my settler responsibility.

11. Local women would like a centralized clearinghouse to be developed for the purpose of registering all women-centered research being planned or conducted in the region, with the additional responsibility of disseminating and applying to the policies for outsider research presented here.

I am a Research Associate with the Richard Flores Taitano Micronesia Area Research Center (MARC) at Unibetsedât Guåhan • the University of Guam, which will hold copies of my academic publications for those interested on the island. In addition, I have my publications accessible on new media platforms, Oceania

Resistance Facebook page or by request. I also recognize that it is time consuming reading and reviewing my writing, and do not expect all women to have the (unpaid) time to do so.

12. Local women of Micronesia emphasize the following guideline for outsider researchers: “You must earn the right to learn.”

I love(d) this experience; it taught me patience and appreciation. I also realize that just because a doctoral research project has a deadline and is coming to an “end,” the “right to learn” is an ongoing process.

I have incorporated these points into my (re)search design. They guided my autoethnographical fieldwork and have assisted in structuring this thesis.

Emancipatory Research Methods: Participatory Action (Re)search, Autoethnographical Fieldwork, and (Digital) New Media Research

The three research methods that I have employed: participatory action (re)search, autoethnographical fieldwork, and (digital) new media resistance, are grounded in critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks. Each approach is fluid, circular, and interwoven with the next, and they have all been intentionally selected as adaptable and flexible methods. Participatory Action (Re)search (PAR) aims for empowerment of the community, based on continued communication between the participants and researcher. Autoethnographical approaches to fieldwork are (self)reflective, to thus provide space to critique your/my assumptions, biases, and privilege, explore and question your/my identity and cultural, political and spiritual beliefs, and test your/my legal knowledge(s) of your/my nation-state. New media research includes visual and textual content analysis of digital, online content across numerous platforms. This thesis includes content posted on Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube as data. Visual ethnography and Internet ethnography is the combination of ethnographic methods and new media tools.

Participatory Action (Re)search

As mentioned in Chapter 1, “gaining control of the research process has been pivotal

for Indigenous peoples in decolonization. One methodology from the margins; participatory research— has been an ally” (Stringer, 2007, p. 23). This emancipatory method brings people who were formerly “subjects” of research injury into the process as co-creators and co-researchers to participate in the entire research process (Brown & Strega, 2005).⁵⁰ These (re)search methods constitute “a radical departure from accepted standards and common expectations... [that] requires researchers to develop sufficient flexibility to see, ask, listen, and understand in new ways” (Wheatly & Hartmann, 2013, p. 157). By critically questioning representations and by interrogating that which is assumed, the (re)searcher can “expose the absurd logics of and rationalizations for colonialism, apartheid, metaphorical and literal war, [and] economic exploitation” (p. 149).

As used by academic activists, cultural practitioners, and educators, PAR is a cooperative research practice that works to create a “symbiotic relationship” between the community and (re)searcher and aims to create a “partnership” between these parties rather than an “exploitative power relationship” of ‘researcher’ and ‘researched’ (Wheatly & Hartmann, 2013, p. 151). This approach is attuned with CHamoru frameworks, based on *chenchule’* (reciprocity) with *i tãno’* (the land) and *i tasi* (the sea). It encourages *respetu* (respect) for *manãmko’* (elders) and *i manfãyi* (those with wisdom). It honors *mangãffa* (family) and *manganiti* (ancestral spirits) and listens to *famalão’an* (women) and *maga’hãga* (women leaders). I was (re)minded to be patient when “(re)searching” the sacred *fuetsan famalão’an* (strength of women) in the Marianas Archipelago, and always look for *magahet* (truth). I based the (re)search designed *as* resistance upon women’s input and suggestions.

Similar to other community-based methods, PAR’s framework is fluid and socially contextual, depending on the desires of the community and participants. My thesis

⁵⁰ **Fieldwork Journal, 17 September 2015. Collaborative Conversation with Dr. Vivian Dames, Ipan, Guã’han:** *PAR research has not been carried out here [the Marianas Archipelago] before! It is a collaborative approach, I have commitments to multiple organizations through a partnership that is fluid and (re)negotiated. Key issues: how can my research work to benefit you (the organization)? How would it be most helpful process for me to share my work? Your options as an organization, what would you like me to emphasize, highlight, focus on? How should we share this research with the community?*

(re)search includes women's voices from the community; they determined what issues I focused on and in what direction I took the (re)search. The transdisciplinary process includes participants' interactive feedback and ongoing dialogue with the "researcher." The communication evolves around the various areas of militarization and digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance (re)search. I continue to be in contact with those resisting in the Mariana Islands and continue to share information and images online. I have several students and activists who have agreed to review pieces of my manuscripts before submission for publication or online posting. Through wanting to be helpful and not exploitive, I do this to ensure that I am not misrepresenting anyone or any action.

"How does one not participate in the further exploitation of vulnerable populations?" (Wheatly & Hartmann, 2013, p. 148). The PAR framework assists in addressing the question. Rather than conducting research *on* the people of the Marianas Archipelago, I am carrying out research *with* them. Throughout my fieldwork I was encouraged to join both family and public events. I was open to information the community wanted to share and issues they wanted to discuss.⁵¹ Formal and informal gatherings, collaborative conversations and "talk-story" sessions with women in the Mariana Islands directed my (re)search approach, my scholarship's focus, and the selection of publishing avenues.

I am aware of issues relating to research in Indigenous communities and "evaluations" of them by outsiders (Kawakami et al., 2007). Through (self)reflexive practices and by honoring Indigenous approaches to research as outlined above, I designed my fieldwork in an empowering and respectful manner. I intentionally conduct my (re)search with particular attention to the influences of my own perspectives, privileges, and the set of internalized beliefs that are formed by my status as a US citizen (at a New Zealand

⁵¹ **Pre-fieldwork Journal, 4 July 2014. Ipan Beach, Guå'han:** *Walking with Mom today, we had a spontaneous discussion with Mr. Reyes. He is retired military and was fishing and camping at the beach for the long (ironic) weekend, celebrating the birth of America (4th of July). I told him that I was a doctoral student. He said the first issue that needed to be address was World War II (WWII). Without proper compensation and returning of the ancestral lands confiscated shortly after WWII, and the distribution of war reparations, no further militarization should happen. He certainly is not "anti-military" and is a proud Vietnam veteran, "but you have to have an even deal. You [US] have to fulfill your side of the agreement too." This was one of the conversations that inspired me to (re)search in the Marianas Archipelago.*

University) and as a settler colonialist/outsider (Chang, 2008). I am an “outsider” culturally, but am also a partial “insider” as a US citizen on/in a possession/territory “belonging” to the US. I want to help to bring the decolonized future that Indigenous Oceanic people are envisioning to replace colonial control and militarization into the academic realm.

However, the academic arena is not available to everyone and I understand that accessing written and visual work in scholarly outlets such as academic journals does not directly or immediately benefit the women and their community. Therefore, my politically engaged approach combined with intentional solidarity incorporates diverse methods of community-driven (re)search dissemination (Wheatly & Hartmann, 2013, p. 151). These may include distribution through public meetings, publication of political materials, writing editorials, making videos, or other forms of art and activism.

Indigenous scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith has been instrumental in creating accessible work and space for non-Indigenous scholars to engage with and understand Kaupapa Māori research.⁵² She confirms that, “Kaupapa Māori research is about challenging the “‘ordinary’ or notion of normal that has been constructed by the dominant culture and seeks to identify and uphold Māori views, solutions and ways of knowing. It is about empowering Māori people, voice, processes and knowledge” (2006). She recommended to me personally via Skype, the online platform, to produce “open and public, straightforward and shareable research that can easily be understood by the community” and that can be digitally disseminated across numerous new media platforms.⁵³ I decided the best platforms to digitally connect with the community of

⁵² Kaupapa Māori research is a way to voice protest to particular ideas, or make a positive difference in Māori whānau, hapū, iwi and communities through mahi “research or study” (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 2006). Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s revolutionary book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, was first published in 1999, and with the second edition released in 2012. I reference the 1999 version as an acknowledgement to her early efforts, but quoted text (with page numbers) throughout the thesis is from the 2012 version.

⁵³ **Fieldwork Journal, 23 September 2015. Skype with Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith:** *Advice regarding the process of PAR and how to share your research. Timing, audience, role of scholar in the relation to organizations, who gets to review it? Building and managing relationships with academia and the community is most important. Moving between scholarly work and solidarity work. Managing the*

resisters in the Mariana Islands are Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. I had been communicating with the community through these outlets before beginning my research. Through these platforms, I foster(ed) fluidarity and continue ongoing discussions. Throughout this experience, I was told about previous researchers who were disrespectful and arrogant. This affirmed my belief that autoethnography was the best method as it is reflective and challenges conventional (colonial) forms of ethnographical fieldwork.

Autoethnographical Fieldwork & Approaches

There is a strong need for (self)reflectivity within research in general but particularly so for a non-Indigenous (re)searcher working with Indigenous communities. Conducting (re)search assumes a certain power dynamic; mainstream research approaches often reproduce colonial frameworks and (re)marginalize Indigenous people with the researcher's power *over* the participants or subjects. While the intentions may be "good," Indigenous communities can be objectified, categorized as "exotic," or overly generalized. This autoethnographic analytical approach is relevant to emancipatory (re)search as it was formed in the "wake of colonialism" when (re)searchers created the term "self-reflexivity" to understand the "ethnographic limitations and potentials" of research (Alsop, 2002, p. 2; Pathak, 2013). It is a direct challenge to traditional understandings of the researcher as male, neutral, disinterested, objective, and detached (Reed-Danahay, 1997). Autoethnography addresses the politics of representation (by whom and about whom) and the power relations within traditional ethnographic research (Wall, 2006).

Autoethnography also breaks the voice of the "dominant narrative" so as to allow "different voices to intersect, overlap, resist, and contrast one another. It is a form of writing that resists language, all while making a case of it" (Roth, 2005, p. 13). When carrying out (re)search *as* resistance, this approach also tests acceptable (re)search methods and challenges the norms of how (re)search is supposed to be conducted

insider/outsider or in-between-er. I've experienced the insider aspects (people know my mother, familiar with friends), outsider (not CHamoru, not from Guå'han, only a guest, and a visitor). Because I have been invited to document this important work, actions, ceremonies, and performances, I am constantly asking, how to make myself useful?

(Dauphinee, 2010). By resisting the dominant (re)search narrative, I can (self)reflectively inquire about my *own* experience as an US (re)searcher struggling with issues of colonial and military power of my country.

Autoethnography is a reflexive narrative approach that I employed to critically investigate the imperial nature of the research process and my (expected) role in it (Ellis, 2011). The process of autoethnography applies (self)reflexive narrative by “having a closer look at one’s own longings and belongings” and when “viewed from a distance can change one’s perspective considerably” (Alsop, 2002, p. 2). (Self)reflexive narrative acknowledges that (re)search writing is a practice that is inevitably informed by who we are and how we live our lives. Via reflective questioning and “self-examination” throughout the (re)search process, I strive to address how my position and the results of this project are affected by my own epistemologies (Davies, 2012, p. 4). The (re)searcher’s identity including race, class, gender, education level, nationality, and other characteristics informs and affects the success of or challenges to working in the field (Sriram, King, Mertus, Martin-Ortega, & Herman, 2009, p. 238).

As an activist academic, I have been given an opportunity to work on a doctoral thesis that gives me time to (re)evaluate, (re)learn, and (re)search the histories of a land which settler colonists and the US military stole from the Indigenous population (Arvin et al., 2013; Joseph, 2016; Ngata, 2016, 18 October; Sahuma, 2016, 21 July; Shigematsu & Camacho, 2010; Somerville, 2016). It is my “settlers’ responsibility” to do so (Garrison, 2016). I take the positions that truly “objective” research is not attainable and that the exploration of culture through ethnography is valid, even when the culture is one’s own (Roth, 2005). I have chosen autoethnography as a method because this (re)search is not objective and I am not removed from it. I have strong feelings and emotions about my topic and need to acknowledge and include them. At times, my own identity as a settler (and a daughter of an outsider) actually places me with an advantage but, at other times, it is “crippling” (Gusterson, 2008, p. 96). Also, my personal interaction with (re)search participants may create cohesiveness and/or confusion in the field. Nearly all of the women who made this project possible are my friends and I continually update them regarding my (re)search, my family, and plans for the future.

A major critique of autoethnography methods questions the legitimacy of “personal” observation as “real” data. Similar questions are/were raised surrounding Indigenous methods, ways of knowing, and gathering “data.” This form of (re)search moves beyond the Western concepts of objective data collection and evaluation of (Indigenous) communities. While criticisms exist of autoethnographical approaches not producing “hard data” exist and I fully acknowledge them, however this thesis is not concerned with empirically measuring the “successes” or “failures” of the resistance, but rather in the women’s processes. I instead, offer my skills and platform as a PhD student in collaboration with their efforts. Within this dynamic, it is imperative to acknowledge my own bias and assumptions, autoethnographical methods provide the relevant framework and structure to do so (T. E. Adams, 2008; Brigg, 2010; Doty, 2004; Löwenheim, 2010).

Fieldwork in the Marianas Archipelago

I conducted a total of nine months of “official” autoethnographical fieldwork in the Marianas Archipelago from June – October 2015 & May – August 2016.⁵⁴ Because invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization impacts the entire archipelago and not just on Guå’han, I wanted to travel to Sa’ipan, Tini’an, Luta, and Pågan in the CNMI. However, two natural disasters and two human-made events rendered the circumstances too risky and dangerous for a trip. Two typhoons and the loss of power, combined with the only underwater communication cable breaking, prevented trips to Tini’an and Luta. The remoteness of

⁵⁴ **Travel Journal, 19 October 2015. Somewhere in Oceania:**

Here (re)searching the US legacy in the Pacific: militarization, exploitation, colonization, industrialization, globalization, Americanization, and then we sold them, sexualized, radicalized, and infantilized images on a postcard of paradise. That’s one take on it. It is also the vastest region on earth. The furthest reaching- dateline crossing time-lapse. I always feel like I believe in magic when I deal with losing and gaining days during Pacific air-travel. I gained days in Korea during the MERS health scare- I was wondering why so many people had masks. I got an email from the University travel agent after I arrived in Guå’han. I “lost” October 12th, Indigenous Peoples Day, formerly known as ~~Columbus Day~~. But there are always surprises that contradict your (stereotypical) assumptions. In this case, the punctual Air New Zealand plane is delayed and the Hawai’i public transport system, Da Bus, is early on the North Shore (of O’ahu)!

Pågan and the difficulty of finding a boat, and the expense of organizing travel, all made the trip unrealistic. Therefore, the majority of the in-person interviews were on Guå'han and Sa'ipan.

Interviews: Collaborative Conversations & Talk-Story Sessions

Interviews are a type of survey in which the researcher directs the conversation with the participants for qualitative research purposes (Blakeley, 2013; Creswell, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Gusterson, 2008; Mah, 2014; Trainor, 2013.). Stimulated by Indigenous Oceanic and gendered frameworks, and supported by emancipatory methodologies, the interviews during the fieldwork period were organized as semi-structured “collaborative conversations” and “talk-story sessions” in which the questions served only as icebreakers. This epistemological approach places the interviewer and respondent in an equal position rather than a hierarchical structure with the interviewer “above” the participant.

The conversations and sessions were conducted in-person, individually and/or collectively with approximately twenty-eight artists, activists, educators, and students. Some participants were audio recorded. Others preferred only hand-written notes, while a few asked for no recording during the interview but consented to me writing notes afterward and providing them the text at a later date.

There was flexibility around how the questions were asked and how the answers were received. Many of the interviewees preferred an unstructured and open-ended format in which where the interview was free flowing and without set questions. This style is compatible with the Micronesian (and Oceanic) oral system of “talk-story.”⁵⁵ All

⁵⁵ “Talk-story” is a Pacific (Hawaiian) exchange and a sharing interaction, often filled with humor while catching up on news, gossip, and information in a manner to [Western] outsiders, seems roundabout, indirect, slow, and inconsistent. It may begin much later than the agreed time. The location may change or may need to change during the session. For one session, the “talk-story” began seated at a table in a coffee shop near the door, then shifted to another table inside, then moved outside as the shop closed, and then into the passenger’s seat of a parked truck. The intention was directed towards the discussion and exchange of knowledge(s). In “Talking-Story: Perspectives of Children, Parents, and Community Leaders on Community Violence in Rural Hawai‘i,” the researchers consider “talk-story” a focus group methodology via

exchanges were in English although CHamoru words were used. CHamoru phrases and spelling varies between Guå'han and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. For example, “fuetsan famalão'an” in Guå'han and “fan'tachu fama'lauan” in the CNMI both mean “women rise” or “women rising.”

Observations

As I was invited to community events, gatherings, meetings, and even witnessed military planes and helicopter flyovers, I documented my experience via visual and textual data. I created textual (written) and visual (filmed) diaries and took hundreds of photographs. The purpose of this unstructured observation was to capture information that is not presented in visual, spoken, or written form alone but is created through the combination of those data types and offers the experience of the whole fieldwork journey (Mah, 2014).

The photographs, videos, visual diaries, and documentary photographs taken in the field collectively illustrate potential responses to the invisibility and visibility of everyday and expanding militarization. I incorporated a mixture of visual methods into my autoethnographical fieldwork derived from Gregory C. Stanczak's book *Visual Research Methods* (2007), specifically from the chapter, “Signs of Resistance: Marking Public Space Through a Renewed Cultural Activism.” I utilized “spatial” visual methods, concerned with relationships between people/community and places/spaces (p. 12). This method includes ethnographic and site observations of people's body language, movements and gestures, as well as social interactions within the community in relation to public spaces, such as streets and buildings, and neighbourhoods and homes. Natural spaces and rural spaces such as parks and the jungle are contrasted to confined, policed, and political places (p. 220). I extended this method to analyse militarized spaces and the in-between areas around military installations, which in the Mariana Islands is usually “owned” by the US federal government. I also employed

Hawaiian island-style (culturally adapted techniques) (Affonso, Shibuya, & Frueh, 2007 sic). It is also the name of the joint literacy project collaboration with the American Indian Library Association and the Asian/Pacific American Libraries Association to “celebrate and explore their stories through books, oral traditions, and art to provide and interactive, enriching experience.” See the website: <http://talkstorytogether.org>.

mobile methods, which are conducive to spatial research, in which the investigator researches on the move, whether following a parade or driving along the military fence to record video (to demonstrate the amount of space/land and the expansiveness of the current military occupation). Mobile and new media methods are especially relevant since the majority of the images and text on new media platforms were created and captured on mobile and screen devices (Hjorth, Pink, Sharp, & Williams, 2016).

Visual New Media Research

While the use of new media technologies is a growing area of research with numerous case studies of resistance across Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, the creation and dissemination of visual means of resistance on new media sites has not been explored in Oceania (Joyce, 2012). The role social media is having in political activism in the Pacific is now being explored by the University of the South Pacific researchers (Tarai, 2017). Research relating to contemporary online activism or “cyber activism 2.0” analyzes digital visual content, including both the image itself and text, including captions, graphics, and #hashtags (Sandoval-Almazan & Ramon Gil-Garcia, 2014, p. 368). While the field of “Twitter studies” has been developing since 2006 and is more established within Internet Studies, the analysis and mapping of #hashtags, Instagram, and digital visual content is less so (Bruns & Burgess, 2011; Highfield & Leaver, 2015). Hashtags and the new media platform Instagram will be discussed further below in the section, *@OceaniaResistance #OceaniaResistance*.

The visual representation of US colonies needs to be considered, critiqued, and reflected upon. Today, the majority of visual representation occurs in digital form, online, and circulated via new media. The framework surrounding the politics of Indigenous representation includes the “political and cultural economy of images and modes of production that determine how Indigenous people represent themselves (aesthetic production) and are represented (who speaks for Indigenous peoples in the political arena)” (Aikau, 2015). Online activism by Indigenous young women continues to be a rapidly growing form of resistance (Friesen, 2013).

New media research methods provide tools for the analysis of my autoethnographical fieldwork observation data, as well as the visual and textual digital content that

Indigenous women resisters in the Marianas Archipelago create. Few texts in the literature combine the visual with autoethnography (Scarles, 2010). New media research includes varying approaches and frameworks in which to analyze “new media” technologies, such as the Internet, mobile phones, and the digital data and online information that they produce (Larsen, 2008, p. 142).

Visual Research

The two visual methods of visual ethnography and Internet ethnography both capture multi-dimensional rich data. They are complementary to other qualitative methods of conducting autoethnographical fieldwork— interviews and observation (Banks, 2001; Edinger, 2014). Visual ethnography is a method that collects data through visual means it can even capture elements of (re)search that written observations cannot. In *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media, and Representation in Research* (2007), Sarah Pink defines visual ethnography as the combination of visual media and ethnographic research with the use of visual tools. Since the 1980s, visual ethnography has become “increasingly acceptable in ethnography as it was recognized that ethnographic film or photography were essentially no more subjective or objective than written texts” (p. 2).

Internet Ethnography is an approach that combines ethnography and new media research. As a method, it analyses the connections “between online and locality-based realities” but does not take place “exclusively online...it crosses online and offline worlds” (Postill & Pink, 2012, pp. 123, 126). This “Internet-related visual ethnography” (re)search as/about resistance and new media required more than interviews and observations; it also includes “bringing together relevant online materials and either following or actively participating in blogs, social media platforms, online news sites (both professional and amateur) and face-to-face events” (p. 125; Pink, 2012). My autoethnographical fieldwork research merges in-person and on the ground experiences with online research of new media platforms, including Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ These four new media platforms were selected because the young women in the Marianas Archipelago utilize them. There are hundreds of other sites, with varying degrees of purpose, as well as possibilities and limitations associated with each. This

Visual Content Analysis

The analysis of visual digital material is an emergent element within contemporary visual methods (El Guindi, 2004; Rivers, 2012; Schirato, 2004; Van Leeuwen, 2004; Wright, 2008). Online digital visual data created by artists, activists, educators, and students is explored through digital visual and textual content analysis. The content was created to inform, educate, and *visualize* the everyday and expanding US militarization on Guå'han and in the CNMI. It was posted across the new media platforms Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Open and public new and social media outlets, such as Facebook and Instagram posts and groups, online petitions featured on Change.org, and students' solidarity YouTube videos provide spaces to gather digital visual and textual content. The posts of digital photographs were supplemented by textual captions, graphics, and #hashtags.

My (re)search utilized three elements of visual methods as outlined by Banks (2001). Here are the three elements, along with my responses (*in italics*):

1. Making visual representations: studying society by producing images
Capturing images along with digital autoethnographical observations
2. Examining pre-existing visual representations: studying images for information about society
Exploring how women resist, digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually
3. Collaborating with social actors in the production of visual representations

thesis is not concerned with the “digital politics” of the diverse choice of platforms, but is instead interested in the content produced by the women of the Marianas. Change.org is “the world’s platform for change,” an online petition platform that encourages individuals to create their own petitions for free and are designed to be shared and reposted across different new media platforms (Change.org, 2017; Elmer, 2015, p. 61). Facebook is the global social network site that had 937,407,180 subscribers worldwide in 2012 and “these numbers keep increasing” (Korpijaakko, 2015, p. 4). Instagram is an image sharing application and platform for sharing photos, and even a space of digital militarization (Kuntsman, 2015, p. 6; Marques, 2016, p. 51). YouTube is a social networking platform similar to Facebook and Instagram but provides space for users to upload video (Trottier, 2014, p. 42).

Establishing and maintaining the Facebook page, Oceania Resistance, including my own new media posts and digital images (Figures 1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 19, 23, 32, 33, and 34).

Visual content analysis assists in analyzing digital images and text posted across new media platforms as sites of digital resistance. Analyzing images gives us insight into the legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago beyond written text. The semiotics, visual content, and/or what “makes up” the image provide insight into the invisible social context and lived experiences of the creators and consumers of new media material (Ferguson & Turnbull, 1999).

Meaning is produced and constructed at all stages and it is necessary to explore all of them as structured. I explore each site as instructed by Rose (2001, pp. 16-32) and include my responses (*in italics*):

1. The site of the production of the image.

Which new media platform? Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube.

2. The site of the image itself.

Which location in the Marianas Archipelago? Guå'han or the CNMI.

3. The sites where various audiences, who are reading and using it in various ways, view it.

Has it been commented on, shared, or evolved? Reposted? Shared in the media?

Blogged?

Across these several sites, the three main uses of images are: the creation of visual inventories or archives of people, objects, and artifacts; depiction of activities and events that are part of collective or as an individual; and the representation of intimate dimensions of the social, including family, friends, the self, and the body (Harper, 2002). Images present both external and internal narratives. The external narrative is “the social context that produced the image and the social relations within which the image is embedded at any moment of viewing” while the internal narrative is the

image's content, "the story that the image communicates" (Banks, 2001, p. 11).

@OceaniaResistance #OceaniaResistance

Visual accounts of resistance are a growing dimension of scholarship among International Relations and peace and conflict studies (Alam, 2008; Duncombe, 2007, 2002; Dutta, 2012; Eschle, 2005; Möller, 2016; Möller, 2013; Purcell, 2007). In 2014, a conference in Britain highlighted the use of digital photography to make "dissent visible" and the process of distribution in social media (Aperture Editors, 2017; Voulvouli & Garcia, 2014). This visual approach to resistance will analyze digital photographs and textual data such as captions and graphics as forms of resistance, along with legal, political, and spiritual aspects.

Combining politically engaged PAR and new media research, I began the (re)search-orientated *Oceania Resistance* Facebook community page *@OceaniaResistance* at the beginning of my second year of doctoral studies before conducting fieldwork research.⁵⁷ The page serves as an ongoing form of fluidarity with my academic aunties and scholarly sisters and highlights their digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to everyday and expanding militarization. Instead of storing (re)search, references, online information, and scholarly data from new media platforms (i.e. news articles, photo essays, academic announcements, and Indigenous blogs regarding (de)colonization and (de)militarization) only on my personal computer, I created an online space to archive my data and share digital resources for others working for decolonization and demilitarization. I selected Facebook as a new media platform as I was familiar with its design and format. Furthermore, I was already connected with many people in the Mariana Islands through Facebook. The research-oriented *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page creates an online presence that was separate from my name and my social media persona. It supports decolonization and demilitarization efforts through the dissemination of information, news stories, petitions, photo essays, and much more. It is also a platform that fosters fluidarity across geographical spaces, such as Oceania, and encourages the use of digital spaces as sites of resistance. For this

⁵⁷ *Oceania Resistance* Facebook Community Page ID: 883965481628059. Launched 1 January 2015 and has 485 "likes" as of 20 February 2017.

thesis, the platform served to highlight others' resistance, and served as a site for me to produce visual resistance. My academic poster entitled, "Oceania Resistance: New Media Platforms as Sites of Resistance," addresses this digital collaboration (Figure 7). I outlined how digital sites are spaces to create, review, publish, and disseminate open and public scholarship, both my own and others. I incorporated examples of linking my work through the #hashtag #OceaniaResistance.

I produced the Facebook page, *Oceania Resistance* to: bookmark new media research; disseminate news articles, scholarly writings, photographs, videos, and academic announcements; and foster open and public scholarship. The following section will provide an autoethnographical experience of creating, launching, and maintaining a Facebook "community" page. The short description from the page reads, "This is an online visual platform to share my doctoral research on Oceania Resistance, specifically focusing on Guåhan and the CNMI" (Figure 8).⁵⁸ The Facebook page becomes a space with an "orientation toward open, public scholarship that creates dialogue and emphasizes the ongoing process of scholarly production" (Walker, 2016). Empirical information for the page's administrator is presented as "post reached" and "people engaged" (Figure 9). While this thesis is qualitative and not quantitative, the number of people reached and engaged per week is inspiring to the women in the Marianas Archipelago. What began as an archival research platform to share information, evolved into an entity to demonstrate (re)search *as* resistance and foster fluidarity. This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

I employed the hashtag #OceaniaResistance as a coding method for me to track online

⁵⁸ An excerpt from the long description for *Oceania Resistance*: *I can support the dedicated mothers, sisters, aunties, and grannies who are working against the destruction of humanity by the highly complex, rich organization that makes war possible, I want to assist, collaborate, showcase, and curate. I want this research to be a contribution to that process. This creative courage by devoted artists, activists, educators, and guardians of the sacred do not make headlines or military "reports" but they are a force to be taken seriously. They are resisting a killing organization with its end goal of war is not only casualties of the "other side." Millions more are affected by it due to the very existence of the more than 900 US military installations worldwide.* The full description can be accessed directly from the page: https://www.facebook.com/pg/OceaniaResistance/about/?tab=page_info.

digital data relating to my thesis. Hashtags are “social tags of certain ideas, discussions or visualizations” online (Highfield & Leaver, 2015 p. 23). A hashtag is a tool to organize, and interlink content and topics across new media platforms. They operate in a manner similar to empirical data coding in quantitative research and thematic analyses in qualitative research. Each #hashtag is a “keyword,” similar to academic journal article indexing. The purpose of this project is to ensure my data and findings are understanding and shareable for communities resisting militarization across Oceania. This is important as it ties the real-life on the ground experiences together with what is happening in digital spaces and is a way to keep up with current events while producing data.

The new media platform Instagram is designed for visual data accompanied by hashtags and brief captions. I used Instagram to document my digital autoethnographical fieldwork observations and posted the visual data. I linked the visualizations of everyday militarization as photographs with the hashtags: #everydaymilitarization & #oceaniaresistance on Instagram (Figures 10 and 11).

I include the Facebook page *Oceania Resistance* in my published work, and conclude my academic papers, news stories, and blog posts with the notice: “For up to date information regarding the demilitarization and decolonization movements in Oceania, and the current activities of numerous groups, please visit or contact the Facebook page: [Oceania Resistance](#).”⁵⁹ The page is “liked” and “followed” by other scholars, politicians, and organizations who message and comment on posts.

⁵⁹ I included the #everydaymilitarization hashtag to provide a visual representation of everyday militarization, and how the military occupies not only nearly one-third of the land, but in fact the whole island through the skies. My mother lives in the southern part of the island, the furthest from Andersen Air Force Base. The comment from @ai_si_doll, shows the local women’s distress (Figure 10). This photograph then became @OceaniaResistance profile picture. The second image, with #everydaymilitarization shows the additional strain this type of militarization places on local agencies (Figure 11). The local Guam Fire Department was the first to respond, after I called Homeland Security, which made me hang up and call the local 9-1-1. While the DOD bomb unit did arrive and remove the UXO, which turned out to be a “marine marker” containing white phosphorous, it was local first responders who risked their lives.

Academic Publications and New Media Platforms

The purpose of this thesis is to create and disseminate open, public, shareable, accessible, informative, and understandable (re)search for other communities working for decolonization and demilitarization globally. The following publication section showcases the diverse outlets within which I contribute to and publish. These include conventional academic scholarly journals and edited books, as well as new media platforms including University, organizational, and academic collective blogs. In a recent blog post by Dr. Leila Walker, she indicated that an,

increasing number of respected journals are using online platforms to expand the boundaries of academic scholarship, not only by incorporating multimedia elements that would be unavailable to print publications, but also by restructuring the ways in which authors and readers engage with scholarship (2016).

Already early on in my doctoral journey, I started to disseminate my findings. I have incorporated some of these writings into this hybrid thesis.

The blurring of scholarly work and new media content is occurring within academia. I include this textual and visual material to form a hybrid thesis that incorporates my published work into the chapters. According to the *University of Otago Ph.D. Handbook*, a hybrid thesis may include published material “either wholly or partially as chapters or sections in the thesis... that synthesise the findings” (Graduate Research School/ Te Kura Rangahau Tāura, 2016). The University is supportive of including published work from the thesis research journey because it

Assists the candidate’s progress, it clarifies for the candidate the objectives and discipline-specific requirements for presentation of the research, it assists the candidate in future careers, it contributes to the University’s research effort, and it provides quality assurance that helps the candidate and the supervisor establish the academic integrity of the research (2016).

I divided my publications into two tables: “Academic Scholarship” (Table 1) and “New Media Productions” (Table 2). The first provides details of twelve individual academic publications (oldest to newest) the entry’s title, length and my contribution, name of the journal, and the current status at the time of thesis submission (February 2017) and the

chapters that contains material derived from it. The first five pieces underwent a peer-review process. They include a news item, an academic article with four of my images, a film review, an academic manuscript with six of my images, and a mini-article with images. The last four are in varying stages of the publication process; they include a photo essay with captions in English and CHamoru, a full manuscript that is in revision, an academic manuscript collaboratively created with the CHamoru scholar Tiara Na'puti, and an abstract exploring resistance (re)search methodologies. There are two abstracts for book chapters. One addressing the sexual politics of beauty pageants while the other discusses positive peace in the pivoting Pacific. Both are expected to be published later this year. The final article is a brief summary of this thesis, submitted in February. I have incorporated my images into scholarly writing and have included images in every chapter of this thesis. Permission has been granted by the publishers to include these pieces in this thesis.

Table 1 Academic Scholarship: Paper titles, thesis chapters, my contribution, journal name, and current publication status for each journal article and two book chapters produced during this dissertation.

Title	My Contribution	Journal	Status	Chp
1. Against the Militarisation of Guam: Activism and Research	500-word News Item published in <i>The Research Magazine of New Zealand Political Studies Association • Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa</i> .	<i>Women Talking Politics</i>	Published December 2015 pp. 8 – 9	4
2. Resisting Political Colonization and American Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago	I originally submitted a 4,000-word <i>Situation Report</i> without analysis. The editors invited me to submit a full 7,000-word academic article with four of my photographs and two screenshots.	<i>AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples</i>	Published 2016: Volume 12, Issue 3 pp. 298 – 315	4

Title	My Contribution	Journal	Status	Chp
3. “Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!” Strategic Action for Decolonization during the 12 th Festival of Pacific Arts Closing Ceremony	1000-word mini-article for <i>The Research Magazine of New Zealand Political Studies Association • Te Kāhui Tātai Tōrangapū o Aotearoa</i> .	<i>Women Talking Politics</i>	Published December 2016 pp. 12 – 14	4
4. Film Review: <i>War for Guam</i>	2000-word critical film review of the PBS documentary <i>War for Guam</i> (2015).	<i>Asia Pacific Inquiry</i>	2016: Volume 7, Issue 1 pp. 126 – 129	1, 3, 4
5. Women’s Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago: A US Colonial Homefront & Militarized Frontline	8,000-word academic manuscript for the Special Issue of <i>Homefront & Frontlines</i> . Included six of my photographs and four screenshots. Final edits are under review	<i>Feminist Formations: Special Issue “Homefronts & Frontlines”</i>	Forthcoming April 2017 Volume 29, no 1	1, 4
6. <i>Litekyan, Guåhan/ Ritidian, Guam</i>	Photo Essay created in collaboration with Ignacio “Nash” Camacho. Five images and five captions in English & CHamoru.	<i>Storyboard: A Journal of Pacific Imagery</i>	Under review: Issue 16 forthcoming May 2017	4
7. Austronesia Seafaring as Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago	12,000-word manuscript. Received a revise and resubmit request. Intend to resubmit by April 2017.	<i>Journal of Resistance Studies</i>	2016: Under revision	1, 3, 4, 5
8. “Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!” Strategic Action for Decolonization during the 12 th Festival of Pacific Arts Closing Ceremony	6000-word academic article created in collaboration with Dr. Tiara Na’puti, who participated in the strategic action during the closing ceremony of the Festival of Pacific Arts. We collaborated to include interviews she conducted with delegates and new media postings of the action.	<i>Amerasia Journal: Special Issue “Exhibiting Race and Culture”</i>	Under review	4

Title	My Contribution	Journal	Status	Chp
9. (Re)searching Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago	An abstract for a full academic article outlining my methodological approach to (re)searching resistance in the Marianas Archipelago, particularly for activist-academics and non-Indigenous scholars within Indigenous communities.	<i>Journal of Resistance Studies: Special Issue</i> “ <i>Researching Resistance: on Methods and Ethics in Resistance Studies</i> ”	Accepted for full paper submission by 15 March 2017	2
10. 2016 Miss Earth Guam: #RiseUpGuahan	An abstract for a book chapter discussing the historical relevance of beauty pageants and contests in the Marianas Islands, and propose to analyze how 2016 Miss Earth Guam used her entry as a form of resistance.	<i>Beauty Pageant Book</i> Edited by Dr. Leelanee Malin, Howard University.	Under review	4
11. Creating Positive Peace in the Pivoting Asia-Pacific	An abstract for a book chapter discussing Indigenous women’s “positive peace” based upon the ancient reciprocal principle of “inafa’maolek.”	<i>Perspectives on Positive Peace</i> Edited by Dr. Heather Devere and Dr. Katrina Standish. University of Otago Press.	Under review	1, 4, 5, 6
12. Fanohge Famalão’an & Fan’tachu Fama’lauan: Women Rise	Summary of my doctoral thesis research.	<i>Micronesian Educator – A Journal of Research and Practice on Education in Guam, Micronesia and the wider Pacific: Special Issue on Militarization of the Mariana Islands</i> Edited by Tiara Na’puti and LisaLinda Natividad	Submitted	2, 6

Table 2 provides details on my research material that has been published on new media platforms. The table includes a direct [hyperlink](#) and URLs to the new media platforms as all six pieces are currently available online. A letter sent to the editors in the CNMI online newspapers, the *Saipan Tribune* (“CNMI’s Daily Online Newspaper”) and the *Marianas Variety* (“Saipan News & Views, Micronesia’s Leading Newspaper since 1972 with Saipan’s first interactive news website”), three blog posts, a news item, a magazine article, and a news story. Only the editors of each new media platforms have edited the online content and permission has been granted to include these pieces in this thesis.

Table 2 New Media Platforms: Thesis chapters, blog titles, my contribution, the blog name, and current publication status and hyperlink directly to each blog produced for this thesis.

Title	My Contribution	Blog Name	URLs	Chp
<p>A growing momentum to protect sacred lands</p> <hr/> <p>People of the Marianas, you are not alone</p>	<p>A letter to the editors of both papers and for the people of the Mariana Islands so they know they are not alone in the struggle for decolonization and demilitarization. In this letter I commit to offer my support through politically engaged academic activism and resistance (re)search.</p>	<p><i>Saipan Tribune</i> (Dayao, 2015b)</p> <hr/> <p><i>Marianas Variety</i></p>	<p>http://www.saipantribune.com/index.php/a-growing-momentum-to-protect-scared-lands/</p> <p>29 May 2015</p> <p>http://www.mvariety.com/cnmi/cnmi-news/editorials/77356-people-of-the-marianas-you-are-not-alone</p> <p>29 May 2015</p>	5
<p>Tiny Guam, Huge US Military Base Expansion</p>	<p>500-word news item about the signing of the Record of Decision (ROD) agreement between the Navy and the US federal government regarding the Marines’ relocation to Guam.</p>	<p>Syndicated across numerous online platforms</p>	<p>PeaceVoice; Truth Out; News Leader; War Is A Crime; Counter Punch & Peaceworker</p> <p>http://www.truth-out.org/speakout/item/32663-tiny-guam-huge-us-marine-base-expansions</p> <p>4 September 2015</p>	4

Title	My Contribution	Blog Name	URLs	Chp
Youth Resistance in the Mariana Islands: Protecting Sacred Sites from the United States Military	An overview of the political colonization and US militarization and the Indigenous resistance in the Marianas Archipelago.	<i>Countering the Militarisation of Youth Blog</i>	http://antimili-youth.net/articles/2015/11/youth-resistance-mariana-islands-protecting-sacred-sites-united-states-military 20 November 2015	4, 5
International Week of Action Against the Militarisation of Youth & Building Zones of Peace	420-word blog post for the 2 nd International Week of Action highlighting the importance of demilitarizing public spaces of learning. Suggestions for creating a “zone of peace.”	<i>Voices on Peace & Conflict</i>	https://ncpacs.wordpress.com/2015/11/22/ 22 November 2015	4, 5
Artistic Resistance in the Marianas	1000-word feature article for the <i>Thinking Women’s Magazine: Star of the Pacific</i> based in Papua New Guinea. Highlighted several artists and organizations working for decolonization and demilitarization in the Mariānas Archipelago.	<i>Stella Magazine</i>	Issue 16 pp. 102 – 109 www.stellamag.com	4
Mariana Islands community groups to sue US Navy over at risk wildlife	2000-word news story about the potential lawsuit community organizations are organizing against the US Navy in violation of NEPA.	<i>Asia Pacific Report</i> , Pacific Media Centre • Te Amokura at Auckland University of Technology, School of Communication Studies	http://asiapacificreport.nz/2016/03/03/mariana-islands-community-groups-to-sue-us-navy-over-at-risk-wildlife/ 3 March 2016	5

In addition to the published material outlined above, I gave fifteen conference papers and presentations in: Kulin Nation (Melbourne, Australia); Guå’han; O‘ahu, Hawai‘i; Ōtepoti (Dunedin); Waikato (Hamilton); and Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington); Aotearoa • New Zealand; as well as at Uppsala Universitet in Uppsala, Sweden. I have also presented remotely via new media platforms, and pre-recorded presentations for the workshop: “Feminism & Militarism – Reflections on a complicated relationship” in San Francisco, California, and the 2016 American Studies Association Annual Meeting

on the panel: “Alternative Territorialities: Resistance to U.S. Settler Colonialism & Militarization” in Denver, Colorado. I have presented at two of the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies Research Seminars at the University of Otago as well as the Anthropology and Archaeology Department Series. Finally, I have given two poster presentations over the three-year doctoral research period (Figures 7 and 34. Refer to Appendix H – *PhD Accomplishment Timeline*).

Summary

In this second chapter, I have explained (re)search *as* resistance and the qualitative research questions directing this thesis. The emancipatory research design section presented the process of the Ethics Committee at the University of Otago to approve this politically engaged and women-centered qualitative (re)search. A methods section justified the use of PAR, autoethnographical fieldwork observation, and qualitative “talk-story” interviews in my (re)search. Visual new media research approaches to conduct content analysis of digital images posted on Facebook and Instagram to examine women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization Guå’han and in the CNMI were provided.

Chapter 3 outlines the invisible and visible sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization through a historical and critical lens. Colonial and military legacies continue to shape contemporary political control and military projects. Beginning with Spanish conquistadors supported by the Doctrine of Discovery, to the US Naval Command and World War II, intergenerational trauma still lingers. Today, the DOD continues to rely on colonial histories to enable further militarization through the US foreign policy, Pacific pivot, which is pragmatically deployed through the overseas military base network. The next chapter is divided into two sections. The first serves as a brief historical review of the colonial and military powers that dominate(d) the archipelago. The second section offers a summary of the planned US and contemporary militarization projects. I include Indigenous women’s voices to counter the mainly male-dominated literature.

Chapter 3

The Sexist and Environmental Politics of Everyday and Expanding Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago

This chapter examines the everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago as a gendered, step-by-step process, founded on imperial ideologies and supported through the discourse of the United States (hereafter US) as providing “protection” for the islands and people. Cynthia Enloe defines “militarization” as a “multilayered economic, political, and cultural process” by which a “person or a thing gradually come to be controlled by the military or comes to depend on its well-being on militaristic ideas” (2000, p. 3; 2010, p. 1107). The US imperialist ideology is based upon militarism and the belief that “a nation should maintain and be ready to use its strong military capabilities to advance its national interests” (Genz et al., 2016, p. 3).

Often US militarization is discussed in terms of active war zones in Iraq or Afghanistan or in the context of the militarization of police and everyday US life within the continental US. Pacific militarization is frequently portrayed as historical through literature recapping World War II (hereafter WWII). The role the Marianas Archipelago served, in particular, is “authored almost exclusively by non-Chamorro males and thus suffers a double bias. Scholarship on Chamorro women is virtually non-existent” (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, p. 2). If the Indigenous experience is mentioned, it is a superficial narrative that presents the Indigenous residents as “patriotic” and “loyal” to the US (Carano, 1964; S. Frain, 2016; Henrickson, 1969; Maga, 1985; McGrath, 1981; Rogers, 1995; Thompson, 1947; Underwood, 1979).

Varying colonial military political agendas have impacted the islands, seas, and peoples. Hence, resistance efforts against these outside manipulative forces should be understood as enduring and interwoven decolonization and demilitarization campaigns. The US military hangover in the Pacific is one of uncounted civilian casualties, rape, violence, nuclear tests, radioactive contamination, illegal land confiscations, and

ongoing health issues and environmental degradation.⁶⁰ These legacies provide a historical foundation to understand the contemporary militarization of the archipelago. The Indigenous experience within contemporary global political discourses is rarely mentioned. Because of the remote location of the islands, colonizers and war planners have been able to carry out their objectives without visibility and with little outside questioning (Winchester, 2015). The environmental politics will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

The resistance of the Marianas Archipelago is one of enduring defiance that began under Spanish colonization and continues today. The archipelago has been “treated as everything but sacred by the long line of visitors who have since alighted on its shores” (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, p. 13). Missionaries, colonizers, armies, and historians have manipulated even the story of resistance. Therefore, the written historical record includes “biases, exaggerated interpretations by nonimpartial observers” (Farrell, 1991, p. 82). Histories of the Marianas Archipelago have been written according to the occupying forces dominating the islands at a particular time and “from the myopic perspective of Western males” (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, p. 6). Therefore, I have sought to include as many Indigenous voices as possible to further critique the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago.

This brief, but critical and decolonized, overview of the sexist and environmental politics of militarization in the Marianas Archipelago is by no means exhaustive; much has been intentionally left out. The purpose here is to shed light on the historical military legacy as well as on imminent militarism plans. Both “invisible” and “visible” aspects of everyday and expanding militarization are highlighted to honor the

⁶⁰ A recent investigation into the use of Agent Orange on Guå'han was presented by a veteran in Florida who blames his cancers on spraying Agent Orange on Andersen Air Force Base in 1974 (Andrews, 2017). Congresswoman, Madeline Bordallo has since launched an investigation into this (Bordallo, 2017, 5 January). The DOD has “asserted that Agent Orange was not used on, stored or transhipped through Guam during the Vietnam War” despite accounts from US servicemen and CHamoru residents to the contrary (Bordallo, 2017, 18 January). For ongoing updates regarding the investigation and role of the Florida representative who introduced legislation, see the Facebook page, *Oceania Resistance*.

“academic and activists aunties” and “scholarly resister sisters” who dedicate their lives to resisting the sexist and environmental politics of militarization.

Structure

To understand women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago, the historical legacies, military structures, and planned projects must be discussed. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first provides a historical account of dominating forces in the Marianas Archipelago. The second section addresses contemporary military structures and future military projects in the archipelago.

This chapter provides a decolonized and gendered account of the sexist and environmental politics of existing everyday militarization, including such invisible elements as war trauma lingering from WWII experiences and the lack of care for the ongoing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (hereafter PTSD) of Indigenous and women veterans in the Marianas Archipelago. Visible and everyday militarization impacts those “living along the fenceline” and the “support economy,” such as bars, strip clubs, and (unregulated) “massage parlors” (Delgado, 2009). Finally, the environmental politics of expanding militarization is presented in the six Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) and is visualized through the increasing number of Marines and the construction of Live Fire Training Range Complexes (hereafter LFTRCs) on three islands. These planned projects should be understood as the latest manifestation of US imperial ideologies dictating militarization of Indigenous peoples and land in the name of US national security and empire building.

Section 1: The Sexist Politics of Militarization in the Marianas

Archipelago: A Historical Perspective

Critical militarization studies (CMS) provides alternative epistemologies and space(s) to critique the sexist and environmental politics of “military institutions, power and practices” and analyze “cultural and political modes of demilitarisation and resistance”

(Bascara et al., 2015, p. 1).⁶¹ Debating militarization processes and operations of military power through a critical lens, this theoretical approaches offers an “interdisciplinary, comparative and justice-oriented approach that cannot be limited by the singular and often masculinist histories of nation-states and their empires” (p. 2). The CMS framework, similar to feminist security studies (FSS), challenges the relationships between masculine authority figures and feminized dependents (Enloe, 2007, 2010). A gendered political process approaches the issue of “violence against women [as] a fundamental element of a demilitarized future” (Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2004, p. 62). The military through the worldwide network of bases and combat operations reinforce and reproduce sexist and racist violence in the Pacific.

This section first addresses the imperial legacies and the sexist politics of the treatment of the islands and residents by European “explorers” and Spanish conquistadors. I included the writing of Indigenous women who (re)search and (re)frame imperialist and male-centric accounts. Secondly, the existing US military legacy in the Marianas Archipelago is heavily based on the WWII traumatic experience and lingering unresolved war repatriations.⁶² The brutal CHamoru experience of WWII is provided to contrast the US narrative that portrays the US Marines “Liberation” of Guå’han on 21 July 1944. War trauma persists today and is compounded by the high rates of CHamoru service people returning from defending the US in foreign wars. Women veteran’s statistics relating to Military Sexual Trauma (MST), PTSD and homelessness are the highest in the US. This invisible everyday militarization is distinguished from the visible and expanding militarization along the fenceline and within the support economies of US military installations.

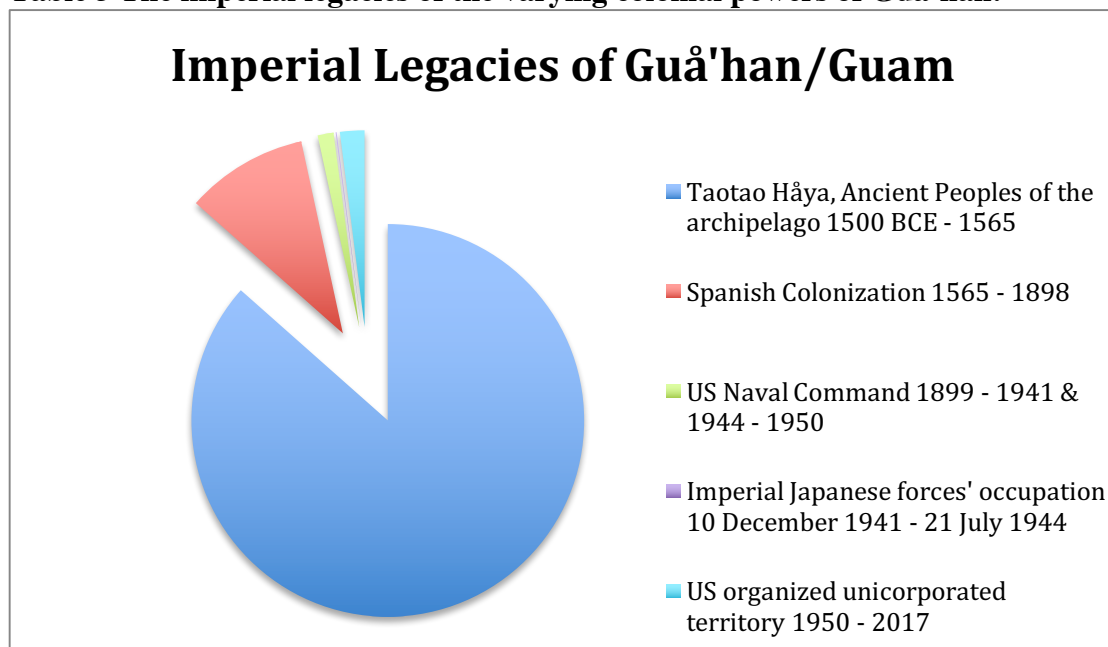
⁶¹ The Critical Military Studies is a closed group on Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/1578641782366161/> and the academic journal, *Critical Military Studies* published by Taylor and Francis launched in 2015. Also, follow the hashtag: #militarization.

⁶²The war-trauma and historical of colonization is a trans-generation issue and impacts daily life. Outsider and white settlers question why the CHamorus are passive or non-confrontational and conceptualize and categorize their resistance as “meek.” This is a limited understanding of women’s resistance to be addressed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The Doctrine of Discovery & Early Conquistadors

As a researcher within a Western higher education institution, I am aware of the colonial history and disregard for Indigenous knowledge(s) within academia. The “history” of the Marianas Archipelago, as well as so much of the “discovered” world, often begins with the accounts of the “explorers” who were first to exploit and devastate the archipelago. Therefore, it is imperative to acknowledge and respect the continuous culture and history of the people who continue to live there. The Marianas Archipelago was the first land in the Pacific to be colonized by Europeans in the 1600s, nearly a century before any other territory. Historians claim, “the rape of Oceania began with Guam” (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 69; D. L. Oliver, 1979, p. 334). As bodies for imperial domination, and The islands themselves serving as the “woman,” which has been violated for nearly five centuries by Spanish, Germans, Japanese, and US powers. This statement directly presents the persistent sexist colonial attitude towards the islands and islanders. Table 3 serves as a visual reminder that these occupying forces have only occupied the archipelago for a short period compared to the Indigenous ancestors, Taotao Håya (ancient peoples).

Table 3 The imperial legacies of the varying colonial powers of Guå'han.



Imperial colonization, as promoted by the Doctrine of Discovery, devastated matriarchal societies and, unfortunately, this was not unique to the Marianas Archipelago.⁶³ Jesuit missionaries were tasked to indoctrinate the CHamorus with “a code of ethics, ideology, and social system [that was] completely alien to the ancients” (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, p. 13). Through conversion and conquest, the disempowerment of women and the redefinition of their societal roles was “crucial to the entire colonial undertaking” (Enloe, 2014, p. 92). The Spanish colonial government saw the matriarchal societal power systems of the Marianas as a direct contradiction and threat to Christian patriarchal forms of social organization. Catholicism profoundly altered the codes of sexual behavior and social mobility for women, confining them to the realm of family and church life (Tanji, 2012). “The language of colonialism is closely related to sexual idioms of male dominance and female subordination” (T. K. Teaiwa, 1992, p. 131).

CHamoru women had no formal power in the Spanish colonial government and were not officially recognized, except when they “married” Spanish soldiers. Many of the soldiers sent to the Mariana Islands were considered to be of “low moral character.” According to one Jesuit priest, “They robbed the mission and violated Indian women.” Joseph de Quiroga y Losada, a military commander turned governor of the Marianas in 1680, complained about the way his “soldiers took advantage of the Chamorro women. A number of these men retired on the island of Guam and were appointed as mayors of the villages and took even greater advantage of the Chamorros” (Farrell, 1991, p. 168). This account reaffirms the imperial structures in which “colonized women have served as sex objects for foreign men” (Enloe, 2014, p. 91).

A common phrase of the sexist discourse produced by non-Indigenous (white male)

⁶³ Briefly mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis, the Doctrine of Discovery (referred in the literature as “DOD” and, ironically, should not be confused with the US Department of Defense, which is referred to in *this* thesis as “DOD”) was the European and imperial ideology which justified the conversion of the “savage” and the genocidal removal of Indigenous peoples from their lands. See the documentary by the Dakota filmmaker Sheldon Wolfchild, *The Doctrine of Discovery: Unmaking the Domination Code*. Trailer online at: <http://www.38plus2productions.com>. Also refer to p. 216 of the #StandingRockSyllabus available at: <https://nycstandswithstandingrock.wordpress.com/standingrocksyllabus/>.

historians today is that there is “no pure Chamorros left.” This is a common colonial framing of Indigenous peoples’ experiences under exploitative European policies (Alkire, 1977, p. 20).⁶⁴ (Re)colonizing through the telling of these historical accounts, such scholars deny Indigenous power and resilience “with an overwhelming Western bias” (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, p. 12). However, Indigenous Pacific women scholars counter this narrative and their (re)search exposes that “the Pacific story is a story of resistance” (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 8). The duration of this resistance “was one of the longest in the Pacific” and holds “a record hardly bettered anywhere else in the Pacific” (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 69; Hempenstall & Rutherford, 1984, p. 102). Scholars today re-tell this period as one full of “Indigenous agency and adaptive resistance was continuously performed asymmetrically but actively” (Atienza, 2014, p. 31).⁶⁵ While the Spanish colonial period was detrimental for CHamoru women’s public status, they maintained their “prominence and strength of... ancient Chamorro matrilineal society” (DeLisle, 2015, p. 9). Ultimately, US Naval policies have been far more detrimental to women’s power than Jesuit conversion.

The ‘Imperial Meridian’ of the Marianas Archipelago

After the Spanish-American War of 1898, the US strategically acquired the islands of Cuba, Guå’han, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, and US sovereignty was established on Eastern Samoa (today American Samoa).⁶⁶ The new island territories were exploited for US military and commercial purposes and the US did not consider extending “freedom,” “democracy,” or US citizenship to the residents. The residents were placed under US Naval Command that controlled the island like “USS Guam,” similar to “USS” Naval battleships (Bevacqua, 2014).

The US Naval Command claimed that its mission was “benevolent assimilation,” and

⁶⁴ Similar narratives surround the Moriori, the Indigenous people of the Rēkohū or the Chatham Islands. See Michael Kings’ (1989) *Moriori: A People Rediscovered*.

⁶⁵ *Hurao*, the maga’lāhi of Guå’han, was the first CHamoru to organize resistance against the Spanish colonizers in 1671, lasting until 1695 (Bevacqua & Bowman, 2016, p. 70). For a discussion of Indigenous Agency between 1668-1758, see David Atienza (2014).

⁶⁶ At the same time, Germany paid for the neighboring Carolinian Islands to the south as well the remaining fourteen Northern Mariana Islands (Kinzer, 2006; Willens, 2004).

the US implemented “a paradoxical policy of simultaneously denying Chamorro civil rights and putting forth a determined effort to bring Chamorros more in line with American cultural sensibilities” (Clement, 2011, p. 67). Under the US Naval Administration, CHamorus were encouraged to be “good Americans” and speak English. They were not *legal* citizens and, in fact, the US federal government ignored and dismissed numerous petitions created by CHamorus calling for a civil government (Hattori, 1995, p. 5). As the federal government denied the CHamorus their civil rights, the US Naval Command claimed a civilian government would not be able to “protect” the island from foreign powers. By 1919, Imperial Japan took possession of the Northern Mariana Islands (hereafter NMI) from Germany and, in 1921, the League of Nations granted Japan a Class C Mandate over the NMI and the other former German-held territories in Micronesia (Genevieve S. Cabrera, personal communication, 14 December, 2016).

The “protector/protected” discourse extended into the realm of sexist politics; women were “protected” through the denial of their matriarchal power. In 1919, the US Naval Command made it an “official policy that Chamorro culture be a patriarchy” despite the claim to “protect the virtue of women” (Mariana Islands, 2015, 25 September). Patriarchal marriage legally replaced matriarchal structures and “matrilineage was outlawed... Chamorros were forced to abide by patriarchal notions of descent” (Souder-Jaffery, 1991, p. 443). CHamoru women scholars, Christine Taitano DeLisle (2008, 2015) and Anne Perez Hattori (2004, 2006), have written about CHamoru women’s resistance during the Naval Command period, particularly relating to the “health and sanitation policies” implemented. Women’s resistance as “placental politics” will be explored further in Chapter 4.

World War II: *War for Guam*

The US Naval Command’s imperial ideology that justified keeping Guå’han because it could not “protect” itself became irrelevant in 1941 when US Military personnel vacated Guå’han as WWII expanded in the Pacific. Until then, Guå’han had been a communications outpost under US Naval Command. While the administration claimed it was “protecting” women under its policies, the shallowness of this claim became

evident when the US Military deserted the island and its people (Bates Sr. USMC (Ret), 2016). While white US dependents and families were evacuated, CHamoru wives and children of US servicemen were left behind (Sahuma, 2015, 21 October).

The Imperial Japanese Forces infamously attacked Pearl Harbor, O‘ahu (locally known as Wai Momi or Pu‘uloa) Hawai‘i on 8 December 1941 while also simultaneously bombing the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore, the Dutch East Indies and Guå‘han (Farrell, 1991, p. 343). On 10 December 1941, Guå‘han was invaded by Imperial Japanese Forces and remained under brutal occupation until 21 July 1944. The CHamorus were the only “civilian population held by the enemy during World War II, [and] the atrocities and daily humiliations of that time are burned forever into [their] psyches” (Ada, 1991). Indigenous scholarship on the CHamoru experience during the Japanese occupation reveals that the resistance was not about the ability “to lead, to speak out, to demand, or to take charge, but rather a capacity to suffer and be hurt while still standing strong, being brave, and not giving in completely” (Torres, 2015, pp. 118, 119). “It was a different kind of resistance because it was resistance through and of the spirit” (Sanchez, 1979, p. 156).⁶⁷

After thirty-three months of Japanese Imperial Forces occupation, the US Military dropped hundreds of pounds of bombs on the island for thirteen days. The US military did not consider the Indigenous population of CHamorus, and their lives were disregarded by the (re)occupation strategy. When thousands of US Marines “retook” and “liberated” the island on 21 July 1944, some were surprised that there was an Indigenous civilian population and that they even spoke English! The contemporary narrative promoted by politicians and military personnel conceptualizes the US military as “saviors” and “liberators” of Guå‘han. July 21st is celebrated annually as a holiday

⁶⁷ See *Pacific Island Times* review of the book, *An American Shame: The Abandonment of an Entire American Population* (2016) online at

<http://www.pacificislandtimes.com/single-post/2017/01/11/How-the-‘shame’-came-to-be>. Also, refer to Anita Hofshneider’s interview with Cynthia Terlaje, who was nine years old during WWII, and was taken to a US military camp in Agat village in the south of Guå‘han. She discusses how she “respects and supports the military,” and grew up in a military family with her husband serving in the US Army. She worries that the current “build-up” will make Guå‘han “a target.” She is afraid for her children and grandchildren and never wants them to go through the same experience (2016d).

with the largest parade accompanied by weeks of ongoing memorials across the island. It is publicly promoted as “Liberation Day” and is admired as the day the Marines returned to “free” the CHamorus from the Japanese (K. L. Camacho, 2011a).⁶⁸

US “Liberation” of Guå’han & CHamoru Tåno’

After “liberation,” the CHamorus who survived the wartime massacres, violence, rape, and starvation under the Imperial Japanese Force occupation had their houses bulldozed. Entire villages were condemned, and many families were removed from their farmlands. They lost access to fishing grounds and even to ancestral graves. The US Department of Defense (hereafter DOD) used the land for military installations with recreational use limited to US servicemen (Hattori, 2011). Tåno’ (land) was obtained through eminent domain, even though the CHamorus of Guå’han were not yet US citizens. Many families are still waiting for proper compensation or payment. Almost three-fourths of the island came under military control after the war (F. D. Negrón-Muntaner, 2015). “Much of the land they have is fertile land, farming land. Fena Valley, a nuclear weapons storage site, is the only lake on this island [and] is being held by them [US Navy]” (Hope Cristobal, 1986 as quoted in Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 74). The Guam Landowners Association has two maps: one indicates the island’s “best fishing grounds, its best agricultural land, and its best drinking water;” the other shows the locations of the US military bases and installations. “The two maps [are] identical” (Gerson, 2009, p. 53).

⁶⁸ While the Marianas Archipelago played a role and was greatly impacted by WWII, Guå’han’s civilian population experienced the most brutal occupation by the Japanese Imperial Forces. Unlike Tini’an and Sa’ipan which had been part of the Japanese Mandated region, Guå’han had remained a US controlled island until 1941 (Levy, 2008, p. 162). US historians refer to the Indigenous populations of Tini’an and Sa’ipan as “liberated” people, although the CHamorus and Refalawasch had never been “conquered” by the Japanese, and spoke Japanese, intermarried and developed businesses during the Japanese Class C Mandate era (Farrell, 1991, pp. 385, 413). After World War II, Guå’han remained under US Naval command while the United Nations organized the remaining islands in Micronesia, including the Mariana Islands north of Guå’han, into the Strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI).

The determination to have CHamoru ancestral tãno' returned and families compensated after "liberation" now spans several generations. Much of the tãno' remains restricted or has been approved for private commercial use, including a McDonald's restaurant. Today, nearly one-third of the island is used for as restricted military bases that encompass every branch of the US Armed Forces (Natividad & Kirk, 2010). Guå'han has the "highest ratio of US military spending and military hardware and land takings from Indigenous populations of any place on earth" (Lutz, 2010, p. 8). Some CHamorus, mostly the younger generations, remain critical of the savior narrative. They question the concept of US "liberation" and refer to 21 July as the "invasion of Guam" (Sahuma, 2016). They ask, "how can it be Liberation Day if the liberators never left, and instead, took our tãno' and still continue to militarize the island(s)?"⁶⁹

"Honoring" the Survivors & War Repatriations

The invisible trauma from WWII is passed down through generations (F. D. Negrón-Muntaner, 2015). The US Military has tapped into this form of concealed militarization to encourage the narrative that more "military means more security." Many of the WWII survivors, now in their late eighties, are "supportive" of the further militarization of the Marianas. They believe it provides security and will keep them "safe." This complexity was demonstrated during one of the public meetings organized by the US Military to discuss future plans. The military personnel (dressed in culturally inappropriate Hawaiian shirts) began by "honoring the survivors." While WWII survivors are symbolically and publicly honored, true compensation continues to be denied. The US federal government has failed to release compensation for CHamorus who survived the Japanese Occupation during WWII (Salas Matanane, 2016).⁷⁰ As the

⁶⁹**Fieldwork Journal, 21 July 2015. The "Liberation Day" parade on Marine Corps Drive, Hagåtña, Guå'han: I, along with CHamoru women scholars, Dr. Tiara Na'puti and Dr. LisaLinda Natividad, handed out decolonization information with several female social work students from the University of Guam. To my surprise, many people attending the parade understood the hypocrisy of US "liberation" and land takings and further militarization, but they said were at the parade to see family, friends, eat barbecue, and celebrate summer.**

⁷⁰The group, *Guam World War II Reparations Advocates, Inc.* formed in March of 2016, to file a lawsuit on behalf of the survivors. Guam's non-voting Congresswoman, Madeline Bordallo, has proposed the Guam World War II Loyalty Recognition Act bill

survivor population passes on, their grown children continue to (re)tell their parents' and grandparents' memories of massacres and work for justice. As Jose Garrido states in the documentary film *War for Guam*, "for many of us, the war is not over" (S. Frain, 2016; F. D. Negrón-Muntaner, 2015).⁷¹

The (Invisible) Veterans

The US military projects that followed WWII included the US Nuclear Testing program in the Aolepān Aorōkin M̄ajeļ (Republic of the Marshall Islands) during the 1950s and 1960s, the secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Naval Technical and Training Unit on Sa'ipan. Guå'han was used as a support base during the Korean and Vietnam conflicts, and Star Wars weapons systems were installed across the archipelago during the Cold War. Guå'han served as a re-supply base during the bombing raids of Operation Desert Storm and a support base for the invasion of Iraq and the war on Afghanistan (Carroll & Calhoun, 2001, p. 44). All the military activities have been implanted without consent and have been resisted in the Marianas Archipelago. In addition to the tåno', CHamoru people serve in the overseas US conflicts. "In every war the US has fought since WWII; Vietnam, the Gulf War and the current War on Terror more CHamorus have died per capita than any other soldiers" (Leon Guerrero, Borja, Perez, & Castro, 2006, p. 11).

in the House five times. On 8 December 2016 (seventy-five years after the US Naval Command abandoned and Japanese Imperial forces bombed and occupied Guå'han), the US Senate passed the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2017 and included WWII repatriations (Bordallo, 2016, 8 December). While Congresswoman Bordallo's office frames this as "a historic day for our island," Michael Lujan Bevacqua, Assistant Professor in CHamoru Studies at the University of Guam, points out that the war reparations will be "distributed from taxation paid by employees of the US federal government stationed on Guam" and thus the Federal Government will "compensate people with the money they would have gotten back anyways" (Radio New Zealand, 2016b).

⁷¹ The documentary film, *War for Guam*, provides a historical account from a CHamoru perspective of the US Military use of *Guå'han* in World War II, the lingering US Military legacy and the continuing lack of compensation. Directed by Francis Negrón-Muntaner, see www.warforguam.com. I wrote a film review featured in *Asia Pacific Inquiry* and available online: <http://www.uog.edu/schools-and-colleges/college-of-liberal-arts-and-social-sciences/publications/pacific-asia-inquiry-8> and an additional review in is available by Connelly, 2016.

The Mariana Islands and Micronesia, in general, are considered a “recruiter’s paradise” with enlistment rates second only to American Samoa (Nobel, 2009). People of the Mariana Islands serve in every branch of the US Armed Forces, particularly the US National Guard, which is continuously deployed and redeployed to ongoing operations in the Middle East and Northern Africa (R. Cruz, 2016; Pang, 2016a; Sablan, 2015, 25 September). CHamorus have defended US democracy in foreign wars at rates three times higher than any other State or territory, with one in eight inhabitants currently serving or having served in the US Armed Forces (Tuttle, 2014). As a result, the Mariana Islands communities have high “loss of life” ratios and suffer “killed-in-action” rates up to five times the national average (Na’puti & Bevacqua, 2015, p. 857; Shigematsu & Camacho, 2010). Nearly every family in the islands has at least one family member who is either active duty, a veteran, or who has died in combat or by suicide.

The familiar phrase “Support the Troops” is seen on cars and yellow ribbons also appear on trees. However, this visible “support” is meaningless against the reality of the invisible lack of care for the veteran population. Again, the imperial ideology of “patriotic” and “loyal” soldiers defending the US overseas is proven contradictory. The soldiers return home to the (militarized) Marianas Islands where they are without a vote for Commander-in-Chief and where they receive the lowest financial and mental support for service war veterans in the US (Tuttle, 2014).⁷² The ongoing PTSD and war

⁷² For an overview of the lack of veterans’ services in the Marianas Islands, see the PBS program (2014), *America By the Numbers: Island of Warriors*. Available online: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/america-by-the-numbers/episodes/episode-102/>.

Look for the forthcoming documentary *Island Soldier* by filmmaker Nathan Fitch about the role Micronesian soldiers play in the US Armed Forces. Film webpage: <http://www.islandsoldiermovie.com>.

Two visual exhibitions were held on Guå’han in 2014 to honor Micronesians and CHamorus who serve(d). Ben Bohane’s war photography exhibition *Desert Islanders* was the first photo exhibition to “highlight the largely unrecognized role played by Pacific Island soldiers and contractors in the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.” Available online: <http://www.wakaphotos.com/exhibition-highlights-pacific-soldiers-in-afghanistan/>.

The second, a local exhibition curated by Humanities Guåhan (formerly the Guam Humanities Council) in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, Museum on Main Street program, *Sindålu– Chamorro Journeys in the U.S. Military*, explored “the many significant and oftentimes unrecognized journeys

trauma of numerous CHamorus service members and relatives results in high levels of medical and mental health issues. Although the militarized frontline of the Marianas Archipelago is critically different from the “active frontlines” in Iraq or Afghanistan, war experiences and PTSD follow the service people home. The imperial logic that uses the islands and people to maintain US Empire overseas is revealed as substandard, underfunded, and resources which are culturally inappropriate for Indigenous and women veterans. For treatment, the closest full Veterans Association (VA) hospital facility is on O‘ahu, Hawai‘i, nearly 4,000 miles away (Tuttle, 2014). Many who have been away from their families for months or longer do not want to leave again for treatment. The lack of funds available for CHamoru veterans is glaringly evident and is due to the funds being spent on the fortification and maintenance of the military installations.

Women Veterans

While veterans as a general demographic do not receive necessary services, women veterans are further disadvantaged. Women are the fastest growing population of US veterans. There are presently 2.2 million US women veterans, and their numbers are predicted to double within the next ten years, making them ten percent of living US veterans worldwide; over seventy percent of them are single mothers (Casura, 2017). The sexist politics includes the violence women experience not only on the frontlines but also within their own units. One in four women veterans report Military Sexual Trauma (MST) while in service to the VA; many more do not report incidents for fear of retaliation or of being discharged (see the MST fact sheet in Appendix B). In addition, one in three experience “intimate partner violence,” and one in five are diagnosed with PTSD from Iraq and Afghanistan, with presumably more remaining undiagnosed. Finally, the suicide rate is two and a half times higher among veterans

of Chamorro men and women who currently serve or have served in the U.S. Military” (Sahuma, 2015, 22 January). Due to the lack of women’s voices within the exhibit, the Guåhan Humanities Council then launched the *Guam Women Warriors* project; an oral history and digital exhibition dedicated to active duty service and women veterans (L. A. C. Martinez, 2015). See the Guåhan Humanities Council Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/guam.council/photos/a.807707879281537.1073741828.807644652621193/927163424002648/?type=3&theater>.

than civilian women and women veterans are the fastest growing population of homeless citizens (Kubek, 2016). While these statistics are for the general US population, little is known about the women veterans of the Mariana Islands. Regardless, the situation of US women military veterans remains unreported and nearly invisible.

Mary F. Calvert, a US-based documentary photographer, has worked to publicize and humanize the statistics of these hidden sexist politics through a series of photography projects. Her 2015 projects, *The Battle Within: Sexual Assault in America's Military* Part 1: *The Hearings* and Part 2: *The Survivors*, work to visualize these aspects. In the accompanying captions to her photographs, she writes,

Women who join the US Armed Forces are being raped and sexually assaulted by their colleagues in record numbers. An estimated 26,000 rapes and sexual assaults took place in the armed forces last year; only one in seven victims reported their attacks, and just one in ten of those cases went to trial (2016).⁷³

Many of the victims then become homeless. They are the subjects of Calvert's third photographic project, *Missing in Action: Homeless Women Veterans*. The text accompanying the series states,

[W]omen veterans are four times more likely to become homeless than civilian women. Women who have survived Military Sexual Trauma are the most hidden population of homeless women and often flounder in unsafe relationships, live in their care or endure drug-infested motels to avoid shelters or the street (2016).⁷⁴

Through Calvert's projects, the sexist politics of militarization of women veterans who serve within the US Armed Forces is brought to light. She accompanied her subjects, the "survivors," to court during the US Congressional hearings, as well as documenting

⁷³Calvert won the 2015 Theo Wastenberger Art and Activism Photography award for her work, "The Battle Within: Sexual Violence in America's Military." See the two-part series online: Part 1: <http://maryfcalvert.com/the-battle-within-examining-rape-in-america-s-military>. Part 2: <http://maryfcalvert.com/the-battle-within-rape-in-american-military-part-2-the-survivors>.

⁷⁴Calvert received the 2014 Alexia Foundation Women's Initiative Grant for her proposal, "Missing in Action: Homeless Female Veterans." Access the photographs online here: <http://maryfcalvert.com/missing-in-action-homeless-women-veterans>.

their day-to-day life. The project was featured in the *New York Times* and has received international recognition. The situation of women veterans in the continental US differs to that of women's experiences in the "support economies" and the communities that live "along the fenceline" of US military bases. Chamoru women's experiences will be explored further in Chapter 4.

Visible, Everyday Militarization

The monetary wealth of the US military is evident "inside of the fence" and creates a "dual economy paradigm" on the island (Acemoglu, 2012, p. 258). Smooth roads, cheap gas, and subsidized commissaries are a stark contrast to life "beyond the fence." The high cost of living, crumbling infrastructure, and dangerous roads demonstrate how "communities adjacent to military bases generally obtain the least investment of any community under the US flag" (F. Negrón-Muntaner, 2016, p. 5). On Guå'han, water outages and rationing for the civilian population is frequent because Fena Reservoir, the only fresh water aquifer, is located within the fence of Ordnance Annex, US Naval Activities, Guam, also known as "Naval Magazine" (Dumat-ol Daleno, 2007).⁷⁵

The impact of US militarization is not limited to "within the fence" but becomes part of daily life (Figure 10). The Marianas Archipelago regularly hosts multi-national war exercises, including large weapons training and testing events that permeate their islands, air, and sea.⁷⁶ Unannounced live-fire training occurs in the urban center,

⁷⁵ The Northern Guam Lens is an additional aquifer, located on Andersen Air Force Base (AAFB) and provides drinking water to fifty percent of the population. The Air Force contaminated it and led its own "investigations and clean up" in 1994. Today, there remain several Super Fund sites on AAFB. See: <https://yosemite.epa.gov/r9/sfund/r9sfdocw.nsf/vwsoalphanumeric/Andersen+Air+Force+Base?OpenDocument>.

⁷⁶ Exercise Valiant Shield 2016 was held in the Marianas Island Range Complex (MIRC) that surrounds the Marianas Archipelago. The biennial training brought together the MAG-12 "Ready Group" comprising of US Army, Navy, and Air Force from 12-23 September 2016 (Quezada, 2016). The uncritical local media reported it as giving the "Guam economy a bump" (Baze, 2016). The *Pacific Island Times*, a new online newspaper with an all woman editorial staff, featured an article outlining the pollution the DOD admits to dumping into the ocean during the exercises, which has been "ongoing for decades, making the U.S. armed forces notorious for being the world's worst polluter." Accessible online: <http://www.pacificislandtimes.com/single->

trapping uninformed civilians in restaurants and businesses for hours (Losinio & Stole, 2015). Unexploded ordinances (UXO) are routinely found on the beach (Figure 11), during hikes, and even at the airport (O'Connor, 2015). The CHamorus absorb the impacts of unseen traumas of returning from war while the highly visible training for the preparation for war continues to militarize the islands.

Living Along the Fenceline

The US military base network negatively impacts the local communities they occupy, especially those “living along the fence,” with extremely high rates of military violence towards the location population and incidents of sexual gender-based violence (SGBV), including rapes and murders (Fukushima & Kirk, 2013).⁷⁷ Intentional “support economies” created to cater to servicemen are reliant on sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) to sustain the massage parlors and bars for US servicemen (Cachola et al., 2010; Foreign Policy in Focus, 1999; Kirk, 2008; Kirk & Ahn, 2010; Kirk & Francis, 2000; Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2000, 2004; Moon, 1997; Okazawa - Rey, 1995; Sturdevant & Stoltzfus, 1993).

One space of continuous nonviolent resistance to the US military network is in Okinawa, the southern island chain of Japan. Okinawa, a colony of Japan, currently “hosts’ 75 percent of U.S. troops for all of Japan on only 0.6 percent of the nation’s territory” (Gerson, 2009, p. 50). Extremely high rates of military violence toward the location population fuels sustained nonviolent resistance. US servicemen stationed in Okinawa perpetrate incidents of SGBV and SEA, including rape and even murder (Ginoza, 2016). Nonviolent community resistance against the violence crimes committed by US servicemen fuelled global solidarity in 1995 when three US Marines

[post/2017/01/04/Peril-of-the-ocean-US-military-admits-to-dumping-toxic-waste-into-waters.](https://www.washingtonpost.com/2017/01/04/Peril-of-the-ocean-US-military-admits-to-dumping-toxic-waste-into-waters/)

⁷⁷ See the documentary film *Living Along the Fenceline* (2011), which tells the stories of seven grassroots leaders whose communities are affected by the US Military presence in Texas, Puerto Rico, Hawai’i, Guam, the Philippines, South Korea, and Okinawa, Japan. Also read CHamoru scholar, Jesi Lujan Bennett’s review of the film (2015).

kidnapped and raped a twelve-year-old schoolgirl (Gerson, 2009, p. 68).⁷⁸ However, the US military denies that the local opposition has legitimacy and the local resistance thus ends up being treated as an ‘encroachment’” (Davis, 2011, p. 222).

Section 2: Contemporary Military Structures & Projects in the Marianas Archipelago

This second section begins with an analysis of the structure of the US DOD as a contemporary manifestation of US imperial ideologies supported through discourses of “protection/protected” through militarized security. Next, the expansiveness and expense of the US overseas military base network provide the scale and scope of global US militarization as a contemporary form of empire building. Thirdly, the framing of the US as an “imperial archipelago” addresses the complexity of how militarization is dependent on imperial ideologies that in turn, reinforce expanding militarization through military institutions in the Pacific region (Table 4). The chapter concludes with the Pacific pivot foreign policy structure of militarizing the Pacific, and six specific Environmental Impact Statements are presented in Tables 5 and 6 to indicate the visible and expanding militarization occurring in the name of US “national security” but at the expense of the people of the Marianas Archipelago (Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2004, p. 63).

The US Department of Defense

The DOD is the “single largest developer, landowner, equipment contractor, and energy

⁷⁸ A US sailor from the US Military Camp Schwab pleaded guilty to raping a Japanese woman he found intoxicated in the hallway of his hotel 13 March 2016. The “highest ranking service member,” Lt. Gen. Lawrence D. Nicholson, III Marine Expeditionary Force commander, issued an apology to Okinawa’s Governor (Sumida, 2016). On 16 May 2016, a twenty-year-old Japanese woman was found murdered by an employee from the US Kadena Airbase. These are the latest of rapes and murders committed by US Forces in Okinawa since 1972. Okinawan women’s groups are the only ones keeping track of the violent crimes, and continuously “demand US Forces out” since the crimes are often unreported and unpunished due to the Status of Forces Agreement between the Japanese government and the US Military (Suzuyo, 2016).

consumer in the world” (Bélanger & Arroyo, 2016).⁷⁹ There are more than several hundred thousand individual buildings and structures located at more than 5,000 different locations or sites around the world under its jurisdiction (Vine, 2015). When all sites are added together, the DOD utilizes over thirty million acres of land worldwide (Department of Defense, 2015).⁸⁰ The expansiveness and expense of military overseas bases, installations, and outposts are justified through colonial and imperial ideologies (that in order to maintain national security for the continental US, “regional security,” and “freedom of navigation,” the US must have a “forward presence” globally) (Vine, 2013, p. ix).

The US Overseas Military Base Network

Military bases are the “primary apparatus of the American empire in the Pacific” (K. L. Camacho, 2011a, p. xii). Pacific scholars, Tiara Na’puti and Teresia K. Teaiwa validate that the US maintains its contemporary power through the structure of the US overseas military base network (Na’puti, 2013; Na’puti & Bevacqua, 2015; T. K. Teaiwa, 1992, 2008, 2011). The global arrangement consists of 800 to 1000 “overseas” bases, installations, and outposts. These sites cost the US taxpayers between \$71.8 and \$120 billion USD every year (Vine, 2013, p. x; 2015, p. 9).⁸¹ However, according to the

⁷⁹ The 1947 National Security Act unified all branches of the US Armed Forces into the Department of Defense (DOD).

⁸⁰ The US Army *alone* controls more than 12.4 million acres including 156 installations, 1.3 million acres of wetlands, over 82,000 archaeological sites, 109 Native American sacred sites, and 223 endangered species. At the recent International Union for Conservation of Nature held on O’ahu in September 2016, the director of Pacific Region US Army Installation Management Command boasted that the US Army spends between \$1 billion and \$1.5 billion annually for renewable energy, water, and waste programs, and the “clean up” of former DOD sites in Guam; Hawai’i; Okinawa, Japan; the Philippines; the Marshall Islands, and South Korea (Letman, 2016). For an overview of toxic bases in the Pacific, see <http://nautilus.org/apsnet/toxic-bases-in-the-pacific/>.

⁸¹ The US overseas military base network is also referred to as “overseas security commitments” according to the RAND Corporation. The 2016 report, *Estimating the Value of Overseas Security Commitments* analyzes the question, “Does the US derive economic benefits from its overseas security commitments, and if so, to what extent?” While the report found that the overseas security commitments *do* have “significantly positive effects on US bilateral trade” there is “no significant evidence that the US security commitments influence either the prevalence or intensity of civil conflict,

DOD and US military planners, the bases provide “freedom” and “democracy” for the local residents of these installations. Critical military researchers Catherine Lutz (2009a, 2009b) and David Vine (2015) have shown that the opposite is true. US military bases make the world *less* safe. While “freedom” and “democracy” are promised alongside the military presence, “peace” and “security” for the local population, particularly women and children, are non-existent. This is evident in the presence of the “support economies” catering mostly to young servicemen with alcohol and sex.

The US Pacific Command & the Imperial Archipelago

US military sites and training ranges span across the sixty-four-million-square-miles of Pacific Ocean. There are more than 160 US military installations throughout the Pacific region that fall under the authority of the United States Pacific Command, headquartered at O’ahu, Hawai’i (K. L. Camacho, 2011b, p. xii). The overseas military base network in the Pacific today “serves to maintain the hierarchy of power and privilege created as a result of World War II” (Carroll & Calhoun, 2001, p. 27; Gerson, 2009, p. 54).⁸² Both US bases and weapons training complexes extend across the Asia

either for better or worse.” Access the report online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR518.html. A 2016 study by the Council on Foreign Relations found the US dropped 26,171 bombs in seven countries in 2016 alone (Zenko, 2017). The *Conventional Arms Transfers to Developing Nations, 2008-2015* revealed the US as obtaining more than half of global defense contracts and is first in weapons sales, totaling about \$40 billion US (Shanker, 2016). The 2015 report found that the Pentagon buried a 2012 recommendation to redirect \$125 billion of the \$580 billion defense budget from “administration and contractors” to weapons and support. The Pentagon hid it to due fears of losing budget allocations should it be determined that they mismanage billions of dollars (Whitlock, Woodward, & Duffy, 2016). Many “American citizens see no contradiction between their deeply held beliefs that the United States is the most peace loving nation state on the planet and the fact that their government spends more on its military budget that does the rest of the world’s governments put together” (Petersen, 2014, p. 324). The Congressional Research Service in 2014 produced *The Cost of Iraq, Afghanistan, and Other Global War on Terror Operations Since 9/11* document, which totalled the cost of thirteen years of war since 9/11 at \$1.6 trillion US (Belasco, 2014).

⁸² Navy Captain Hans Sholley states, “seventy-two years ago might as well as be yesterday here in Guam. What happened during the [WWII] occupation and immediately following the occupation is still impacting everything we do here” (as quoted in Hofschneider, 2016d).

Pacific region, including foreign US bases in Hong Kong, Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, Japan, South Korea, and, most recently, the Northern Territories of Australia (Vine, 2015, p. 7).⁸³ The base network occupies the landscapes, seascapes, and airspace of the Pacific insular areas and “quasi-colonies” of the United States: American Samoa; Hawai‘i; Johnston Atoll; Wake Island; Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ (the Republic of the Marshall Islands); Beluu er a Belau (the Republic of Palau) and the Federated States of Micronesia (Davis, 2011, p. 221). Due to this heavily militarized presence, the “Asia-Pacific region continues to be the center of the most steadfast nonviolent resistance to US bases” (Gerson, 2009, p. 66).

CHamoru scholar and poet Craig Santos Perez considers Micronesia and the Western Pacific as part of the US “imperial archipelago” with fifty-two bases, installations, and outposts in the Marianas Archipelago alone (C. S. Perez, 2015b, p. 619). The irony of the imperial ideology is that the US uses these insular and colonial locations, which are “denied basic rights of freedom and self-determination,” to maintain a military force deployed worldwide in the name of “freedom” and “democracy” (Davis, 2011, p. 221).

Expanding Militarization due to Non-Self-Governing Political Status

The political history of the archipelago as two separate insular areas of the United States includes the systematic implement of DOD projects too risky for the continental US (Winchester, 2015). The militarization of the Marianas Archipelago has been consistently in the name of US “national security.” The DOD claims that if the local government gained more political power, this would “compromise” the island’s strategic value as a military colony (Clement, 2011, p. 34).⁸⁴

⁸³ The Philippines ordered the US Naval Base, Subic Bay, closed in 1991, and the current President, Rodrigo Duterte wants US troops out in two years, and will not participate in US-Philippine force trainings.

⁸⁴ See *The Secret Guam Study: How President Ford’s 1975 Approval of Commonwealth Was Blocked by Federal Officials* (Willens, 2004). This book provides an overview of how the Ford Administration had approved Commonwealth status for Guå’han, but officials in the Department of the Interior never notified CHamoru politicians. This research was possible after obtaining the congressional documents after years of requests to the Department of State, Interior, and Defense by the legal team under the Freedom of Information Act. For an excellent overview of negotiations between Guam

Today, US military planners do not acknowledge the political partition between Guå'han and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. "For military reasons, [they] look at the islands as one entity. For political reasons, we have been separated" (Hope Cristobal, 1986 as quoted in (Dé Ishtar, 1994). The US federal government categorizes the archipelago as two "non-self-governing insular areas" of the United States: Guå'han (Guam) is an "organized, unincorporated territory" with the remaining fourteen islands to the north structured as The Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas (hereafter CNMI).⁸⁵ This means the islands *belong* but are not *part* of the US and is a divide and conquer strategy.

The US Congress holds power and the "discretion to extend federal laws and constitutional rights it deemed reasonable" (Stayman, 2009, p. 7).⁸⁶ With

and the federal government, see "Failure of Commonwealth" in Vivian Dames' Ph.D. dissertation, "Rethinking the Circle of Belonging: American Citizenship and the Chamorros of Guam" (2000, pp. 49-56).

⁸⁵ "Insular" is Latin for *island*. Insular areas or insular possessions are islands other than one of the fifty US states, or the federal district of Washington, D.C. and was administered by the War Department's Bureau of Insular Affairs. The Organic Act of 1950 granted anyone living on Guå'han at the time US citizenship and officially declared it an "unincorporated organized *Territory* (with a capital T) of the United States." However, the federal government continues to treat it as an "unorganized territory" in accordance with the "Insular Cases," and reinforces that Guå'han is controlled by, but not a part of the US. "Organized" is referring to the US Congress 1950 Organic Act of Guam while "Unincorporated" political status originated as a way to legitimize the acquisition of overseas island territories in the early 1900s, but without extending US citizenship or full US Constitutional protections to the inhabitants (Rogers, 1995, p. 226). For a humorous take on the US colonial justification of territories, see John Oliver's Show, *Last Week Tonight: US Territories*, available on YouTube: <https://youtu.be/CesHr99ezWE> (2015, 8 March).

⁸⁶ The US territorial system, as outlined by Allen P. Stayman in *U.S. Territorial Policy: Trends and Current Challenges* (2009) classifies three historical territorial policy phases: 1) Incorporated territories as "continental lands beyond the original 13 colonies before being admitted as states of the union" began in 1787. 2) Unincorporated territories relate to "remote islands which gave the US a legal means of government such islands for which there was no expectation of statehood" such as Guam, began in 1898. 3) UN Strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), were under US administration, and determined their "future political status consistent with the decolonization policies of the UN" such as the CNMI, and began in 1947. In addition to insular areas, Micronesia contains three "closely affiliated" states in "free association" with the US; Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ (the Republic of the Marshall Islands), the Federated States of Micronesia, and Beluu er a Belau (the Republic of Palau) (p. 4).

“unincorporated territorial status” full constitutional rights do not extend to the residents and only selected parts of the US Constitution, as decided by the US Congress, apply (Aguon, 2011, p. 67). The 1901 “Insular Cases” ruling by the US Supreme Court conceptualizes the people of the territories as not “being created equal.” It was determined that the residents were “alien races” who “may not be able to understand Anglo-Saxon principles” or laws (Warheit, 2010). This imperialist ideology, which persists today, purports that “people who are colonized [as]...racially inferior-primitive, childlike, heathen, uncivilized, ignorant, and thus unfit for governing themselves- and the people who colonize are... well-suited for having power over others ‘for their own good’” (Cohn, 2013, pp. 5, 6 quotes in original).

Guå’han is listed as one of the five remaining Pacific non-self-governing territories by the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (General Assembly, 2015, p. 5).⁸⁷ This lack of political status is a violation of the United Nations Charter of 1945. Chapter XI of the Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories, states that the US, as a member of the United Nations and the administrating authority of Guå’han, a non-self-governing territory, has a responsibility to ensure “self-determination” and must assist Guå’han 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 advancement (United Nations, 1945, Article 73, section b).

In addition, the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960: Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, states that, “All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely

⁸⁷ Many scholars of decolonization struggles think the CNMI was taken off the UN list for decolonization pre-maturely, and the CNMI is still very much controlled and “owned” by the United States according to Dr. Carlyl Corbin, an expert on self-determination and governance (personal communication, during the CM394 course: *Democratic Governance and Self-Determination in Island Territories* at the University of Guam, June 2015).

determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development” (United Nations, 1960, number 2). Through further militarization, the US violates “international law in the protection of non-self-governing territories” (Na‘puti & Bevacqua, 2015, p. 840).

Insular Areas of the United States of America

The imperial, racist, and outdated “Insular Cases” ruling of 1901 is still used to justify the territorial status. On 23 February 2016, Esther Kia’aina, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Insular Areas, born in Hawai’i and who grew up in Guå’han, hosted a panel discussion in Washington, DC entitled “Self-Determination in the US Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and Guam” (2016).⁸⁸ At this panel, Assistant Secretary Kia’aina stated, “I believe it is important to provide an updated context for federal policy-makers and a new generation to learn about the status of self-determination...and to understand what their rights of self-determination are under federal and international law” (2016). However, Maria Lurie, an attorney from the Office of the Solicitor of the US Department of the Interior, provided a more standard federal perspective. According to the US federal government, any land “under the sovereignty” of the US comes in only two classifications: “either a state or not a state.” This means that, unlike the fifty states, the sovereignty of insular areas *belongs* to the United States Congress. Lurie reiterates that, “the Supreme Court has recognized that the Congress is calling the shots... ultimately, control resides with the US Congress... and we shouldn’t lose sight of that” (Sagapolutele, 2016).⁸⁹ This is an example of

⁸⁸ The event was streamed live on the Department of the Interior (DOI) website. It included Tweets and comments from people watching live across time zones and territories and was shared across several digital platforms. It was the first panel of this kind to be held since 1993. The same week as the panel on Self-Determination was held, the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, Sally Jewel, and the White House Intergovernmental Affairs Director Jerry Abramson co-hosted the 2016 Senior Plenary Session of the Interagency Group on Insular Areas (IGIA). It was under President Obama that the IGIA was reinstated in 2010 under Executive Order 13537 (Kershaw, 2016). The CNMI participated in that session.

⁸⁹ A posting on the American Constitution Society blog confirms that the dozen of rulings handed down as part of the “Insular Cases” were informed by imperial ideologies and the “characteristic that tended to separate “incorporated” from “unincorporated” territories was the ethnic composition of their population... as among

“imperial feminism” where women in positions of power work to maintain the imperial status quo and justify the colonial political arrangement.

Although sympathetic to those struggling for self-determination on the panel, Lurie reiterated that the colonial framework of the Supreme Court’s decision from 1901 is still “good law” since it has never been overturned. However, the “Insular Cases” have been “roundly criticized as perhaps being infirm in their constitutional analysis and also to be ossified in time and to reflect a point of view that may not be embraced today” (Sagapolutele, 2016). As CHamoru scholar Keith L. Camacho explains further, the US uses the “congressional plenary authority or unilateral treaty rights for the purpose of waging war in the islands” including Guå’han and the CNMI (2011b, p. xi). Today, the residents of Guå’han and the CNMI do not vote for the US President and are not represented by a US Senator. They are limited to electing a *non-voting* delegate to the US Congress (Hofschneider, 2016g). Without democratic representation or political power, militarization expands across the Marianas Archipelago without the peoples’ consent.

America’s Pacific Century and the Pacific pivot

The Pacific pivot foreign policy advances further militarization through the DOD and is facilitated by the continued colonial status of the Marianas Archipelago (Figure 12). The US military advisors at the Pentagon, defense corporation lobbyists, and neoconservative leaders in Washington, DC, are “realigning,” “rebalancing,” and “refocusing” US foreign policy to the Asia-Pacific since the US invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan are “winding down.”⁹⁰ According to the former US Secretary of Defense,

the more racist chapters in the Supreme Court’s history” (Vladeck, 2016, 18 July). Available: <http://www.acslaw.org/acsblog/the-supreme-court’s-subtle-but-scary-refusal-to-revisit-the-insular-cases>.

⁹⁰ The US foreign policy Pacific pivot and further militarization of Oceania are referred to by numerous names in the media, by defense officials, and local residents. These include: “The Pivot to East Asia,” “The Asia(-)Pacific Pivot,” “The Pivot to the Pacific,” “The Strategic pivot,” “The Realignment,” or the “Rebalance(ing).” Locally in the Mariana Islands, it is referred to as the “build-up.” In this thesis, I will refer to it as the Pacific pivot.

In 2014, an international webinar entitled “Rethinking the Asia-Pacific Pivot: Challenging Everyday Militarism and Bridging Communities of Women” featured

Ashton B. Carter, “the Asia Pacific region will soon see more of our Army, Marine Corps, and Special Operations Forces, now that they are coming home to the Pacific from Iraq and Afghanistan” (2013).⁹¹ Carter assures that “values of democracy, freedom, human rights, civilian control of the military, and respect for the sovereignty of the nations that the US has long stood for” will accompany the strong US presence (2013).⁹²

The East Asian foreign policy of the Barack Obama Administration officially announced a “renewed focus” on the Asia-Pacific region, branding it the “Pivot to East Asia” in 2011. The two (contradictory) final points listed within the policy, include “forging a broad-based military presence and advancing democracy and human rights” (Campbell, 2011). Hillary Clinton, then serving as the US Secretary of State, coined the term the “American Pacific Century” in a speech on 11 October 2011 at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawai‘i. She stated that the renewed focus was based on “forward-

women scholars and activists from around the Pacific (Fukushima, 2014). Transoceanic fluidarity also exists among other US Pacific territories, including American Samoa, Hawai‘i, Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ (the Republic of the Marshall Islands), and Beluu er a Belau (the Republic of Palau), and is manifested through anti-military, anti-base, anti-recruiting and nuclear-free activities (Barker, 2013; Lewis, 2014; Sierra, 2011; Stevenson, 2012).

⁹¹ Defense Secretary Ash Carter’s former aide Major General Ronald Lewis was found to have used his “government credit card at strip clubs or gentlemen’s clubs in Rome and Seoul, South Korea, drank in excess and had ‘improper interactions’ with women during business travel with Carter” (Tan, 2017). As instructed under federal law, he will retire comfortably at the highest grade in which he served satisfactorily.

⁹² To “clean-up” formerly used DOD sites in Hawai‘i, American Samoa, Guam, and the CNMI, the US Army Corps of Engineers gets between \$12-15 million US every year. Hawai‘i’s former Waikoloa Training Range is estimated to cost \$723 million alone, with an additional \$1.7 billion US needed. Guam’s funding rate is four percent, while other States and territories receive sixteen percent to clean-up former military sites. Thus far, Guam has received \$12 million US with an additional \$113 million needed. The CNMI received “only” about \$43 million US, with at least \$51 million more needed. This demonstrates not only the irreplaceable environmental contamination, but also the enormous cost and amount of work to “clean-up” the sites, which take years if ever completed, and the methods of completeness of the clean up remain controversial. Sites that are classified as “hazardous, toxic, and radioactive” get priority, with more located in the CNMI than Guam. In addition, these are only the sites that the DOD has recognized and agreed to address. The US federal government is not obligated to clean-up munitions used during war, and there is no way to know how much is left, and no plan to clean it up (Hofschneider, 2016a).

deployed diplomacy” (2011).⁹³ This is another example of a woman in a position of power promoting militarization.

While the DOD and US military planners are hesitant to outline the main objective of the pivot, Kathleen H. Hicks, Senior Vice President at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a conservative think tank in Washington DC, is not. As the Henry A. Kissinger Chair and Director of the International Security Program, she is a co-author of the project *Asia-Pacific Rebalance 2025: Capabilities, Presence, and Partnerships, An Independent Review of U.S. Defense Strategy in the Asia Pacific* (2015). She states that the US strategic objective is to “avoid a war with China” (Green et al., 2015).⁹⁴ However, as critics of the Pacific pivot point out, the construction of additional installations and the fortification of existing bases will “completely encircle” China (Gerson, 2009, p. 60). This realignment or “rebalance” is considered the “largest project that the Department of Defense has ever attempted” (Natividad & Kirk, 2010). While some scholars and politicians maintain that global politics is in a “post-colonial” era, “Indigenous peoples are still being removed from their ancestral lands to make way for... military bases... and the pressure against Pacific Island nations to surrender their lands for military bases continues” (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 7).

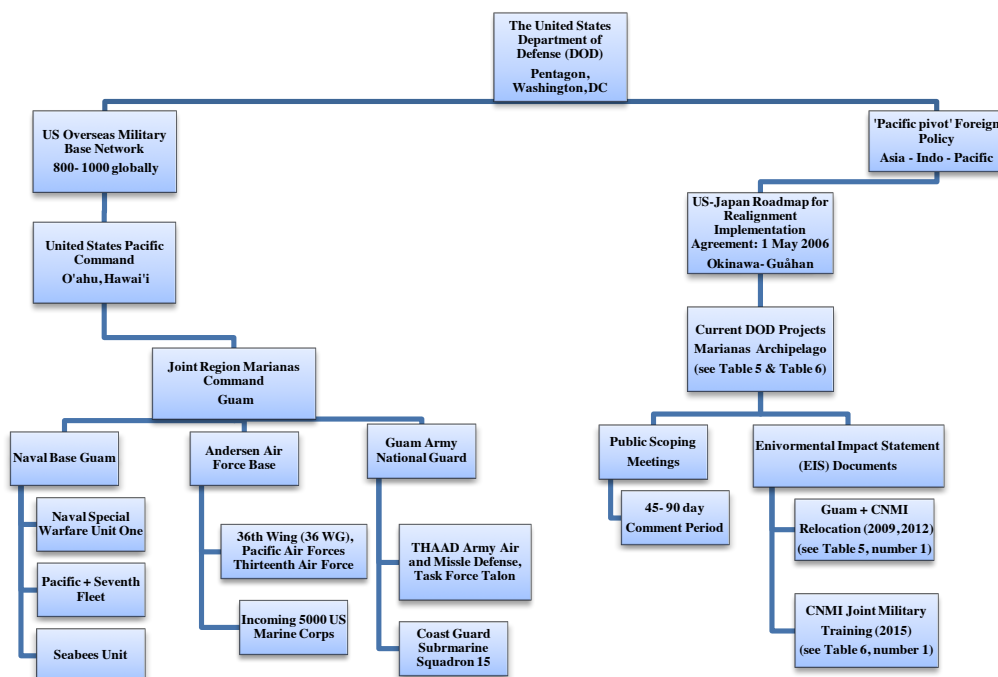
Table 4 visualizes the correlation between US military institutions and the US “Pacific Pivot” foreign policy as it relates to the Marianas Archipelago. Through the overseas military base network with headquarters on Hawai‘i, the Joint Region Marianas Command operates Naval Base Guam, Andersen Air Force Base, and Guam Army

⁹³ “Forward deployed” is a military term for “force readiness” and increased militarization. While it was under the George W. Bush’s Administration that the Pacific pivot began, it has been during Obama’s that the majority of the plans have been implemented. With President Donald Trump, however, it is hard to know the future of the pivot. He has provided mixed messages and contradictory statements regarding the cost of military projects, while at the same time promising to make the “military great again.” See the YouTube video of his speech “Make America’s Military Great Again” speech aboard the USS Iowa battleship 15 September 2016: https://youtu.be/ZPOEi-PQ_bg. Trump delivered the National Security Address for the group, *Veterans for a Strong America*. See: <http://www.veteransforstrongamerica.org/tag/make-americas-military-great-again/>.

⁹⁴ See the 15-minute interview with the authors of “Asia-Pacific Rebalance 2025” on the CSIS YouTube Channel: <https://youtu.be/iEKw7Gg97Ic>.

National Guard units on Guå’han. The Pacific pivot foreign policy as it relates to the Marianas Archipelago was announced with the release of the *US–Japan Roadmap for Realignment, Implementation Agreement* in May 2006. This, along with six Environmental Impact Statement (hereafter EIS) documents, is discussed in the following section.

Table 4 An overview of the hierarchical structure of US military institutions (left) and Pacific pivot US foreign policy (right) as applicable to Guå’han and the Marianas Archipelago. The lines indicate the top-down relationship. Source: Author’s own work.



United States–Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation Agreement

The US DOD perceives the Marianas Archipelago as a “shield” and the Pacific Ocean as a “strategic water barrier:” it is the first line of defense protecting the continental US from threats and perceived “enemies” in Asia and Russia (K. L. Camacho, 2011b, p. xi). Currently, as a highly militarized space, Guå’han is considered the “Tip of the Spear” and an “unsinkable aircraft carrier” that hosts the US Pacific Air Forces’ continuous bomber presence mission (Pacific Air Force Public Affairs Headquarters, 2016). Within the Asia-Pacific region, “all of the Pentagon road maps lead to Guam,”

and it is the “largest refuelling point outside the US for all military forces” (Gerson, 2004; New Zealand Foreign Affairs & Trade · Manatū Aorere, 2016a).⁹⁵ CHamoru scholar LisaLinda Natividad uses the term “Fortress Guam” to mirror how the military planners view the island (Natividad & Kirk, 2010).

The 2006 *United States–Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation Agreement*, a “bilateral” decision between the USA and Japan includes a price tag of \$10.2 billion US, with Japan contributing \$6 billion US (Hofschneider, 2016a; US Secretary of State Rice, US Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Aso, & Japanese Minister of State for Defense Nukaga, 2006). The full agreement is in Appendix C- Roadmap for Realignment.

In addition to the returning military hardware and personnel, all departments of the armed forces repositioning in the Asia-Pacific region will need to maintain a “forward presence” and require locations for LFTRCs. The original plan included relocating 8,000 Marines and 9,000 Marine dependents from Okinawa, increasing the population of Guå’han from 60,000 to 75,000 in five years, with the population thus becoming forty-two percent US military (Bevacqua & Bowman, 2016, p. 79). Due to digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance in Guå’han, it has been scaled back; this will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.⁹⁶

The revised *Supplementary Environmental Impact Statement* (2012) includes plans to

⁹⁵ See the blog post, “Guam, Where America’s President Refuels” (Insular Empire, 2011).

⁹⁶ The 2009 *Draft Environmental Impact Statement* (DEIS) for the *Guam and Mariana Islands Military Relocation: Relocating Marines from Okinawa, Japan to Guam* comprises 11,000-pages. It includes nine volumes and twenty-two chapters. It took over five years to create and is the longest in US history. Local government officials working on the draft had to sign non-disclosure agreements “punishable by federal penalties” if violated (L. T. Camacho, 2013b, p. 185). The public and local agencies were only given forty-five days to comment. The community expressed their outrage and opposed the project verbally at the “public hearings” administered by the DOD and through over 10,000 written comments, second only to the 30,000 produced by residents in the CNMI in 2015 (Na’puti & Bevacqua, 2015, p. 846). In February 2010, the US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) conducted a mandatory review of the DEIS, giving the document the lowest possible rating: “Unsatisfactory: Inadequate information (EU3)” (Alexander, 2015, p. 5).

rotate 5,000 Marines between Okinawa, Guå'han, and Australia's Northern Territory for six months training periods (Zotomayor, 2015a, p. 1). The DOD has already begun the initial steps of relocating 5,000 US Marines and their dependents from bases in the Okinawa, Japan to Guå'han; this was partly due to the sustained protests and pressure from the Okinawan local government to demilitarize their islands (Broudy, Simpson, & Arakaki, 2013).⁹⁷

The DOD is developing Guå'han as a "strategic hub" and will transform the island into a "forward base" (U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific, 2015). The plan would establish a Global Strike Force on Guå'han involving 48 F-22 and F-15E fighter jets, six B-1, B-2, and B-52 bombers and adding as many as six nuclear submarines to the three already housed on Guå'han. Sixty percent of the Navy's Pacific Fleet will be based on Guam (Leon Guerrero et al., 2006, p. 5). Nasion lihing lina'la'machålik gi halmo tåno' yan tasi- puntan Litekyan (Ritidian National Wildlife Refuge) on Guå'han will become a Surface Danger Zone (SDZ) for an LFTRC.

Due to the "limited landmass" of Guå'han, however, the DOD cannot fulfill the "forty-two joint training deficiencies" (U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific, 2015). Therefore, additional war exercises and weapons testing "must" take place in the CNMI. The northern two-thirds of the island of Tini'an and the entire island of Pågan are "needed" for LFTRCs for the Navy, Air Force, Army, and Marines (Zotomayor, 2015a). In addition to the LFTRCs, the DOD intends to use Tini'an and Pågan for ammunitions storage and Sa'ipan as a location for troop "R&R" (rest and recuperation, rest and relaxation, or rest and recreation) (Limtiaco, 2012).⁹⁸ This would give the DOD control over twenty-five percent of the CNMI landmass and would prevent freedom of

⁹⁷ It is important to note that Japan is a sovereign country, which can pressure the US to withdraw their troops. The Mariana Archipelago's territorial status, however, prevent the local leaders from doing so.

⁹⁸ For a discussion of the issues surrounding R&R impacts on the communities during military personnel recreation leave, see Debbie Lisle's book, *Holidays in the Danger Zone* (2016) and her article, "Off-Duty Resilience: Reorienting Tourism, Leisure, and Recreation in the US Army BOSS Program" in the special issue of *American Quarterly*, "Tours of Duty and Tours of Leisure." Also see *American Quarterly's Beyond the Page* online feature accessible at: <https://www.americanquarterly.org/beyond/index.html>.

navigation between islands. This will be expanded upon in Chapter 5.

Expanding Militarization: Environmental Impact Statements

Since the 2006 announcement, the US Military has released a “series of apparently independent proposals that worked to hide the cumulative impacts from the public and local governments” (Chamorro.com, 2016). Separate documents reveal plans for Guå’han, and for CNMI. The EIS documents are required by the US National Environmental Policy Act (hereafter NEPA). Each statement costs an estimated \$25 million US (2015). Subcategories include the Draft Environmental Impact Statements (DEIS), Overseas Environmental Impact Statements (OEIS), Supplementary Environmental Impact Statements (SEIS), Environmental Assessments (EA), and Overseas Environmental Assessment (OEA). The final document required by NEPA is called the Record of Decision (ROD). The size and technicality of these documents, coupled with culturally inappropriate public forums with short timeframes and controlled avenues for submitting “comments,” highlight the imperial and militarized experiences of the people of the Mariana Islands.

The six EIS documents that describe proposed military activities are outlined in Tables 5 and 6 (S. C. Frain, 2016b, pp. 306, 307). They neither invite nor require the consent of the people nor the local governments of the Mariana Islands. These highly technical and often contradictory documents describe the impacts of the proposed construction, training, and testing that violate or disregard NEPA, which requires a “No Action Alternative-” an option that outlines the scenario if a military project did not happen. Additional relevant US federal laws include the Endangered Species Act, the Migratory Bird Act, and the Marine Mammal Protection Act (Na’puti & Bevacqua, 2015, p. 850). The EIS documents underestimate and omit impacts on local communities, particularly women and girls. They ignore the issues of family violence, rape, SGBV and the reliance of military “support economies” on sexual exploitation and abuse, human trafficking, and prostitution.

Tables 5 and 6 include my analysis of the EIS documents and the status at the time of writing and violations of US domestic laws. Readers may access the documents directly

at the provided websites.⁹⁹

Table 5 US Military Projects with a Signed Record of Decision (ROD)

Title	Agency & Website	Status	Violation(s) of US Law
<p>1. Mariana Islands Range Complex (MIRC) (2010)</p> <p>Opens 500,000 square miles of ocean around the Mariana Islands for live-fire exercises and weapons testing</p>	<p>US Department of the Navy</p> <p>http://mircairspaceea.com</p>	<p>The Final EA/OEA: A Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI) and Finding of No Significant Harm (FONSH). Signed on June 15, 2013. Record Of Decision (ROD) signed July 2010.</p>	<p>March 2015 the US District Court, District of Hawai'i, found that the US Navy and the National Marine Fisheries Service violated the law when they failed to meet multiple requirements of the Marine Mammal Protection Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the National Environmental Policy Act.</p> <p>The lawsuit, however, only covers the areas around Hawai'i and California and not the Marianas where whales and dolphins wash up on shore after periods of high-intensity sonar exercises and underwater detonations training.</p>
<p>2. Mariana Islands Training and Testing (MITT) (2015)</p> <p>Doubles MIRC area to encompass nearly a million-square-nautical-miles for military weapons testing and training</p>	<p>US Department of the Navy, Department of Defense</p> <p>http://mitt-eis.com.</p>	<p>ROD signed July 2015 by Mr. Steven R. Iselin, Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Energy, Installations and Environment).</p>	<p>MITT authorizes the destruction of over six-square miles of endangered coral reefs plus 20 square- miles of coral reef around No'os (Farallon de Medinilla, FDM) the island north of Sa'ipan, through the use of highly explosive bombs. It increases the ongoing bombing by roughly 300 percent to over 6,000 bombs per year. The new range allows live-fire above, on, and below the sea, including high-impact underwater weapons and deadly sonar that kills fish, sea turtles, whales, dolphins, and porpoises.</p>

⁹⁹**Fieldwork Journal 21 June 2015. University of Guam:** *I am having a hard time accessing and analyzing all of the EIS documents. They are either too large to download, are unavailable on the website and contradict one another. It is as if the documents are hard to engage with and are confusing on purpose! I found comfort on the Non-Plastic Māori's blog, where she termed this as "unbundling." When there is a large activity that, when viewed in its entirety, would "undoubtedly cause concern, corporations [US Military] will break the activity up and apply for consent applications for each constituent activity... In this way, the actual impacts are shrouded within a more drawn out, convoluted process. Assessors, and the community, are incrementally lulled into accepting a state of affairs that would be absurd if originally assessed in it's entirety" (Ngata, 2016, 18 October).*

Title	Agency & Website	Status	Violation(s) of US Law
<p>3. <i>Guam and the CNMI Military Relocation; Relocating Marines from Okinawa, Japan to Guam</i></p> <p>(DEIS 2009, SEIS 2012)</p> <p>Guå'han will become a "forward base" and a "strategic hub." Construction of a Marine base, Live Fire Training Range Complex (LFTRC), and an additional 5,000 Marines, and their dependents.</p>	<p>Department of the Navy, Department of Defense</p> <p>http://www.guambuildupeis.us</p>	<p><i>Guam and CNMI Relocation DEIS</i> released in 2009. Due to the successful lawsuit, a <i>Roadmap Adjustments SEIS</i>, was released in 2012. The final ROD was signed August 2015 by Mr. Steve R. Iselin, Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Energy, Installations, and Environment).</p>	<p>Current plans include locating the LFTRC at the Northwest Field at Andersen Air Force Base, "Alternative 5." Litekyan (Ritidian National Wildlife Refuge Unit), a 4000-year-old CHamoru fishing village, with a fresh water source and sacred burial site, will serve as a Surface Danger Zone (SDZ) in which .50 caliber weapons, bombs, and ammunitions will "fly over." This will restrict public and educational access to the historical site, painted caves and will endanger the numerous species that currently make Guå'han's only wildlife refuge home. See Chapter 4. An additional "stand-alone" hand grenade range will go in at Andersen South.</p> <p>Potential lawsuit pending for violation of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) for failing to consider the impacts of the Marine relocation and live-fire training as a whole, and failing to explore any alternative locations.</p>
<p>4. <i>Terminal High-Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) Permanent Stationing in Guam (2015)</i></p> <p>US Army Air and Missile Defense Task Force</p>	<p>US Army</p> <p>http://thaadguamea.com</p>	<p>Public comment period from 9 June- 9 July 2015. EA with Finding of No Significant Impact (FONSI).</p> <p>Made "permanent" on 5 November 2016, according to the <i>Pacific Daily News</i>.</p> <p>Waiting for Final EA to be released/uploaded.</p>	<p>FONSI for THAAD Battery, a PAC-3 Patriot Missile Battery, and a Stinger Missile "SLAMRAAM" Battery. Ballistic missile defense system, and a radar system are also in South Korea, where the local residents are resisting due to their health concerns.</p>
<p>5. <i>Divert Activities and Exercises, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands</i></p> <p>Seeks to take land around Saipan International Airport and Tinian's commercial airport for training and support of live-fire exercises</p>	<p>US Air Force</p> <p>Cooperating Agencies: US Navy, US Marine Corps, Federal Aviation Administration (Pacific Air Forces Divert Field)</p> <p>http://pacafdivertmarianaseis.com</p>	<p>ROD signed 7 December 2016 by Mr. Richard Hartley, Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Installations, Environment, and Energy).</p>	<p>The Air Force has selected Tinian International Airport as its location for a Divert Airfield to support cargo, tankers, and similar aircraft and personnel, should Andresen Air Force Base come under attack.</p>

Table 6 Pending US Military Projects with an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS)

Title	Agency & Website	Status	Violation(s) of US Law
<p>1. <i>The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Joint Military Training (CJMT)</i> (2015)</p> <p>Establishment of LFTRC on the islands of <i>Tini'an</i> and <i>Pågan</i></p>	<p>United States Department of the Navy. Cooperating Agencies: Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB), National Oceania and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS), Department of the Interior (DOI), Office of Insular Affairs (OIA), US Army Corps of Engineers (USCE), US Air Force (USAF).</p> <p>http://www.cnmijointmilitarytrainingeis.com</p>	<p>The comment period was 3 April - 2 October 2015. Over 30,000 comments were submitted, the most in DOD history. Waiting for Supplemental EIS to be released early 2017, and ROD by 2018.</p>	<p>Dentons, US LLP, Environmental Science Associates, found the document “fails to meet even the most basic requirements of the NEPA and the limited evidence presented in the document suggests that it would violate both federal and CNMI law.” Proposed LFTRC is in violation of the Military Technical Agreement that defines the current terms of the Tini’an land lease to the US military.</p> <p>Law Office of Kimberlyn King-Hinds of Tini’an filed Civil No. 16-00022 against the US Department of the Navy, DOD, and Secretary of Defense in the US District Court for the Northern Mariana Islands on Sai’pan in July 2016 for violation of NEPA.</p>

The role that two of the largest EIS documents have played in fueling Indigenous CHamoru women’s resistance will be addressed in Chapter 4. Similarly, the pending proposal for CJMT is energizing resistance in the CNMI (Table 6). The Marianas community is currently waiting for a SEIS to be released in “early 2017, with a ROD by 2018,” after the Navy “addresses all 30,000 comments” (Hofschneider, 2016e). These developments will be discussed further in Chapter 5. Similar experiences forced upon the people of the Mariana Islands are fostering fluidarity between Guå’han and the CNMI to assist in the long-term struggle against the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization of their archipelago.

Summary of the Sexist and Environmental Politics of Everyday and Expanding Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago

This chapter provided the historical legacy of outsider domination and exploitation of the Marianas Archipelago and their further contemporary legacy as in the massive militarization plans. The sexist and environmental politics of everyday militarization includes both invisible components, including PTSD from WWII and recent US

military conflicts, while the US provides the least amount of funding for Indigenous and women veterans. The visible impacts of militarization as felt by those “living along the fenceline” and within the “support economies” that surround US military bases worldwide was presented. Expanding US militarization in the Pacific region is carried out through the Pacific pivot, as made possible through the US overseas military base network. Militarization is possible in the Marianas Archipelago due to the colonial political status as non-self-governing insular areas of the US. The chapter concluded with the six most recent EIS, which outline the increase of Marines and the construction of LFTRCs on three islands. Building on this analysis, the next chapter will analyze women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance on Guå’han.

Chapter 4

Fanohge Famalão'an: Women's Resistance to Militarization in Guå'han

This chapter investigates women's resistance to the invisible and visible and sexist politics of everyday and expanding militarization in Guå'han through a decolonized and gendered lens. The prolonged, women-led nonviolent resistance is grounded by matriarchal societal systems, interwoven with the CHamoru *chenchule'* (reciprocal) framework of *inafa'maolek* and inspired by the words of the *Inifresi* (the CHamoru pledge) to "protect and defend" CHamoru culture and environment. While both men and women are involved in the struggle, this thesis focuses on *famalão'an* (women's) experiences and how *maga'håga* (female leaders) continue to hold tremendous power and authority within the community. Contemporary *maga'håga* are navigating and resisting within political and imperial systems of US agencies and within militarized spaces controlled by the United States Department of Defense (hereafter DOD).

The chapter begins with an explanation of the latte stone, the visible and symbolic foundation of women's resistance. After establishing this cultural element of the ancient matriarchy, I briefly acknowledge women's historical resistance efforts during the US Naval Command period from 1899-1941, through what CHamoru scholar Christine Taitano DeLilse describes as "placental politics." This "native-inspired theory and practice of being and action informed and guided by ancient ideas of self in relation to land [and] community in a system of reciprocal kinship relations and stewardship obligation" will serve as the analytic to examine women's resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of militarization in the Marianas Archipelago (2015, pp. 2, 3). This recognition of women's resistance displays how often women's resistance functions within the realm of "infrapolitics" (as mentioned in Chapter 1) (Scott, 1990). I then address the (gendered) complexity of the resistance and demonstrate how two non-CHamoru women in positions of imperial and military power endorse and encourage the expanding militarization within the imperial feminism framework. Ten years and five examples of women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance are

then explored. The Chapter concludes with Table 7 that outlines the women's resistance approaches, forms, and methods.

The remainder of the chapter examines five examples of women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance since the release of the *United States–Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation Agreement* (Roadmap) in 2006. First, an example of written, digital, and political resistance was posted by DeLisle on her Facebook page where she critiques the DOD's efforts to smooth over the sexist and environmental politics of the everyday militarization. Second, written, legal, and political resistance against everyday and expanding militarization by the women's organization, *Fuetsan Famalão'an* (strong women) and the *Guahan Coalition for Peace and Justice*. Third, the artistic collective *Our Islands Are Sacred* organized a collaborative community direct action, as well as digital resistance, posting to *Facebook* and *Instagram*, and political resistance, and met with the Governor of Guam to express their ongoing and unaddressed concerns regarding expanding militarization. Fourth, a young CHamoru woman uses a normally highly sexualized platform, the Miss Earth beauty pageant, as a form of digital, political, and spiritual resistance. The fifth, and most recent visible, written, direct action example of digital resistance posted on *Facebook*, *Instagram* and as a local radio (podcast), was organized by women in the CHamoru delegation during the closing ceremony of the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture (FestPac). They use the occasion of an Oceania coming together to address the artistic, political, and spiritual elements within the struggle against colonization and militarization

Latte Stones: Foundations of the Resistance

In response to everyday militarization, everyday resistance is both invisible and visible.¹⁰⁰ Women's visual, digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the sexist politics of everyday militarization in Guå'han frequently includes images of latte stones

¹⁰⁰ **Fieldwork Journal, 25 June 2016. Ipan Beach, Guå'han:** *Yesterday, around p.m. walking on the beach with Mom, two grey helicopters "occupied" our walk, circling us so close (could see the door open and looked like a gun barrel) at least 10 times for over 30 minutes. It was obvious what they were doing- bored young men hassling a mother and daughter and their dog on the beach. When we were at the far end, they were there. When we walk to the other end to swim, they were there.*

(Figure 13). In 2009, Women for Genuine Security organized the conference, “Chinemma’, Nina’maolek, Yan Insresetu para Direchon Taotao” (“Resistance, Resilience, and Respect for Human Rights”) which took place on Guå’han and included women from Okinawa Japan, Jeju South Korea, Hawai’i, the Philippines, Australia, and Beluu er a Belau (the Republic of Palau) (Figure 14).

Ancient stone pillars of pre-contact houses, latte (pronounced “laddy”), are found on nearly every island in the Marianas Archipelago and nowhere else in the world. Latte are limestone megalithic structures with a trapezoidal shaft and a pillar or column known as haligi. Set upon the haligi is a hemispherical capstone, known as a tåsa (Figure 15)(McKinnon et al., 2014, pp. 66 ,67). Latte architecture developed around 800CE, nearly the same time that the Mayans constructed the Chichen Itza Pyramids in Central America (Flores, 2011). Latte structures are made up of two parallel rows of eight to fourteen latte stones. They are found on the coast parallel or perpendicular to the shoreline as well as the interior jungles. These structures marked territory and gravesites. It is believed that their structures provided foundations to build homes and canoe houses above ground (McKinnon et al., 2014, pp. 66, 67; Russell, 1998, p. 218). As Zea Nauta, Hagan Guahan (Daughter of Guam) blogger, featured in Chapter 1, explains,

åcho lattes were the bases of the ancient Chamoru guma siha (houses/huts). Family and the home are so important to our culture, and the åcho lattes are what support them. This is our foundation, our rock. It’s a symbol of who we are (2015).

Women’s resistance spans generations and by honoring ancient accomplishments such as the latte. Contemporary women combine their ancient matrilineal genealogies with new media technologies to digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually resist.

For tourists and anthropologists today, latte are archeological wonders that are described as pre-contact guma (house) foundations. However, for the CHamorus, they represent the “‘visibility’ and ‘invisibility’ of Chamorro ancestry and spirituality for our lands” (K. L. Camacho, 1998, p. 117). The structures serve as a connection with the past and with the taotaomo’na, CHamoru spirits and ancestors who live throughout the islands (p. 118). Furthermore, they are “a marker of the permanence and identity” of

CHamorus and represent a “symbolic foundation for sovereignty” emblematic of women’s resistance to imperial ideologies and everyday and expanding militarization (Bevacqua, 2010, p. 335). Latte stones are used as a resistance symbol, honoring the 4,000-year history of ancestors in the Mariana Islands (Figure 16).

Placental Politics & Infrapolitics

The framework of “infrapolitics” is useful for examining women’s resistance to the sexist politics of everyday militarization in the Marianas Archipelago (Scott, 1985, 1990). Much of the women’s resistance includes “everyday” forms that are often “undeclared” or “invisible” and that take “place at a level we rarely recognize as political” (Scott, 1990, p. 198). While the US Congressman or US Rear Admiral may not recognize women’s digital, legal, political, or spiritual efforts as resistance, these dimensions play an essential role for Indigenous CHamoru and Refalawasch women in the Marianas Archipelago. The combination of cultural frameworks and new media technologies support forms of resistance that are less visible to “outsiders” but should be conceptualized as the “ordinary weapons of powerless groups,” and much more power lies with them than an outsider might first assume (Scott, 1985, p. 29). This was certainly the case during the US Naval Command period from 1899-1941.

While the majority of Refalawasch fled to the Northern Mariana Islands during the US Naval Command, CHamoru women on Guå’han resisted US Naval policies in subversive ways. Christine Taitano DeLisle’s (2015) work regarding “placenta politics” speaks to how CHamoru patters (midwives) “resisted” the US naval “health and hygiene” orders to discard the pãres (placenta) after childbirth. The CHamoru method was to bury it and to return it to the land. Defying naval health regulations, the patters continued burying the pãres as a “political, social, and cultural act... [that] can be regarded as a specific form of Indigenous and gendered resistance against US naval colonialism” (p. 2).¹⁰¹ This chapter builds on DeLisle’s “placental politics” as “a history

¹⁰¹ To understand the complex contemporary politics of motherhood, individual rights, and abortion on Guå’han, see Vivian Dames’ “Chamorro Women, Self-Determination, and the Politics of Abortion in Guam” (2003). Also see the forthcoming documentary *Mothering Guahan*, which “seeks to explore unique cultural aspects of Chamorro Indigenous values of feminine empowerment and authority— and how it has been

and a future by which Indigenous women have consciously chosen to act as stewards of Chamorro peoplehood and Chamorro place” to explore contemporary examples of women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance (p. 33). This approach provides guidance for comprehending how contemporary women’s resistance is grounded (and anchored) in ancient matrilineal genealogies while employing new media technologies. CHamoru women continue to “manifest their resistance in various ways: by continuing to raise chickens in a suburban neighborhood, by promoting language and cultural programs in the schools, and by organizing nationalistic groups” (Souder-Jaffery, 1985, pp. 22, 23). Scott argues that these everyday forms of resistance provide a foundation and framework and create sacred space(s) for additional modes of resistance against militarization.

Despite nearly 500 years of foreign occupation and patriarchal colonization, as first implemented by the Spanish and further entrenched by the US Naval Command, elements of the 4,000-year-old matriarchal culture function as a source of power and inspiration for the women of the Marianas Archipelago. The survival of matriarchal systems are an indicator of the success of women’s resistance, and it influences the enduring resistance while providing an alternative narrative for the future of the archipelago and its residents.¹⁰² DeLisle asserts that women’s resistance is based upon not only (sexual) control over their bodies within health policies but also upon rejecting foreign control over their communities and families (military recruiters), lands, seas, and skies (military projects and exercises). As DeLisle notes, “contemporary Chamorro women activists can be seen to deploy an inafa’maolek, and a form of placental politics evocative of an earlier practice rooted in Indigenous conceptions of self in relation to

preserved or diminished— as embodied in mothers and mothering, which allows an intergenerational understanding of Chamorro women and families’ experiences in a landscape that is increasingly changing” (Forthcoming 2017). Access the website here: <http://www.motheringguahan.com>. To learn about what contemporary “Guahan Mommies think about,” see the blog, Guahan Mommy, accessible at <https://guahanmommy.me>.

¹⁰² One sign of women’s ongoing resistance is evident within contemporary CHamoru naming. Many CHamorus include their mother’s maiden name, along with their father’s last name. For example, Rosanna Perez Barcinas is cited as “Barcinas, Rosanna Perez,” with Perez as her mother’s maiden name, and matrilineal signifier, and Barcinas as her father’s name. This is a contemporary form of matrilineal recognition.

land and community” (p. 33).

Women for the “build-up”

Men and women of the Marianas Archipelago have historically resisted numerous forms of oppressive imperial militaristic forces including: exploitation of explorers; Catholic “civilizing” missions; German and Spanish colonialism; Japanese occupation; and US militarization (M. P. Perez, 2001). Their important work demonstrates the complex history of resistance to varying forms of domination including: Jesuit priests; Spanish soldiers; US Naval Commanders; Japanese Imperial Army atrocities; and current everyday and expanding US militarization. Throughout these experiences, CHamorus have adapted while resisting; this is not a simple binary of resistance and compliance; but a combination of both. It is not “women” versus the “US Military” but rather something much more nuanced and entangled than this.

The Pacific pivot policies reveal the “protector” narrative utilized by the DOD to justify the exploitative relationships of individual military personnel with the local population, as well as imperial undemocratic governance by the US federal government. The call for further militarization of the region is not a simple binary of male-driven, hyper-masculine militarization versus female-opposed, feminine mothers for demilitarization. As numerous feminist scholars have discussed, it is not enough to “just add women and stir” but rather the “masculinities and femininities in security situations” should be examined (Sjoberg, 2013b, p. 62). The “imperial feminisms” theoretical framework, examined in Chapter One reveals that women hold positions of power within the imperial-militarized structure of the US and support the militarized “protection/protected” security narrative. In a sense, they are demonstrating that they “can be tough as men” (Cohn, 2013, p. 18). CHamoru women’s ontological frameworks further stress that it is not enough to be critical of imperial and military systems only but instead, the analysis must also include “our own who’ve been co-opted” (Cruz et al., 2016). The woman who has been the most vocal and supportive towards the Pacific pivot is the one prominent politician who “represents” the people of Guå’han in Washington DC although with a *non-voting* status that has been reaffirmed under Donald Trump’s administration (Limtiaco, 2017).

Two issues are repeatedly mentioned in the gendered “protector/protected” narrative. Firstly, Guå’han is “too vulnerable to defend itself” from potential security threats in the region. The island *needs* US militarization or else... China or Russia will attack. Secondly, the island economy would collapse *without* the US, as it is currently reliant on the military and tourism. This is similar to the colonial mind-set that the inhabitants are incapable of governing themselves. These two issues stress the dependency of Guå’han on the US for “protection” and dominate the conversation regarding (de)militarization, which is framed by imperial ideologies.

Congresswoman Madeleine Z. Bordallo

Guå’han’s Congresswoman, Madeleine Z. Bordallo, has been the non-voting delegate to eight consecutive Congresses (January 3, 2003 - present). Re-elected in 2016, she was the first female lieutenant governor of Guå’han from 1995 - 2002 and the only non-CHamoru to earn this position. She was born in Minnesota. When she was 13, her family moved to Guå’han, which was still under post-war US Naval Command. She served as a First Lady when her husband, Ricardo J. Bordallo, became Governor. Her own political career began in the Guå’han Senate in which she served between 1981 - 1982 and 1987 - 1994 (United States Congress, 2016).

Bordallo has been an enduring enthusiast of the military “build-up” since its announcement in 2006 and her “top [political] donors include military contractors” (Hofschneider, 2016d). She continuously maintains that “more military means more security” and, thanks to the military, the “territory will see multiple benefits for its people and economy” (Chan, 2016b; Deposa, 2014). However, the DOD has not delivered on the promise of creating a “cultural repository for artifacts found during construction or established a public health lab,” and it has not received or budgeted funding for either project (Hofschneider, 2016d). Often she meets in Washington, DC with all-male military advisors and Congressmen who lobby for and promotes further militarization of the Marianas Archipelago (Dumat-ol Daleno, 2015). She is the Ranking Democrat Member of the Subcommittee on Readiness in the House Armed Service Committee, a member of the Subcommittee on Seapower and Projection Forces, and a Co-Chair of the Congressional Air Force Caucus, the Congressional

Caucus on Long Range Strike. She continues to disregard her constituents, who may be hesitant or cautious regarding the promised benefits of the “build-up,” and continuously justifies why the Islanders should welcome the “protection” and “defense” of the US military. Her position demonstrates many of the complications of the Mariana Islands and why it is not a simple dichotomy of feminized passive Islanders versus powerful masculine nation-states.¹⁰³

Congresswoman Bordallo’s role also highlights why Indigenous CHamoru women do not always trust or identify as “feminists.” While efforts to elect more women in influential positions of leadership are important, many Indigenous women see Bordallo in a position of control that reinforces the imperial relationship between Guå’han and the US. She is non-CHamoru and her power lies in the imperial structure of the US Congress that continues to maintain plenary jurisdiction over insular areas of the US; it is these structures of authority that also disempower her own constituents.

Notably, the complexities of resistance are deeper than politics and women in power. Re-elected in the November 2016 election, Bordallo was recently awarded *both* the US Air Force *and* the Department of the Navy’s Distinguished Public Service Award, which is the “highest honorary award” granted to a private citizen (Figure 17)(Bordallo, 2016, 7 December, 2017, 4 January).¹⁰⁴ These awards signify her importance in maintaining the imperial militarization of the archipelago.

¹⁰³ **Fieldwork Journal, 20 June 2015. Conversation with “Mary” Hagåtña, Guå’han:**

The build-up is already happening. Already six more buildings are out on the way to Litekyan (Ritidian) with a fancy new gate. They’ve [the DOD] broken up the plans, so little by little it creeps in. There is no way to strategically stop it- especially with inaction from the ‘leaders’ in Washington- why are they all lobbying for it? The DC CHamorus are so removed, distant, and detached from what the people on Guåhan want. But you have to respect your elders, and cannot “call out” Bordallo on Facebook, even though she worked for her! Bordallo got her hair done more than she came in. She would come in once a week- all of the writing, speeches, etc. were from her staffers.

¹⁰⁴ Elections in Guå’han occur along family and loyalty lines, rather than by political parties or campaign promises. For many of the terms, no candidate ran against or challenged Bordallo. In 2016, a (disgraced) former governor ran against her, but his prior scandals prevented him from winning. In addition, many of those who vote do so in hopes that her power will benefit their families and businesses.

Rear Admiral Babette Bolivar

In addition to Congresswoman Bordallo's position of leadership, Rear Admiral Babette "Bette" Bolivar is also embedded in the imperial-militarized structure. In August 2014, she became the first female Commander of US Naval Forces Marianas, Joint Region Marianas, and the US Defense Representative of Guam, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Federate States of Micronesia, and Republic of Palau (Delfin, 2014). Rear Admiral Bolivar is of Filipino heritage. She was born and raised in Hawai'i with Filipino and US dual citizenship. She is fluent in Tagalog and has stated that she identifies as "Pinay," a colloquial term for Filipina and the feminine form of Pinoy (Adalia, 2014). However, Rear Admiral Bolivar is an example of a woman in a powerful position within one of the most dominating and masculine systems. She has earned an incredibly high-ranked status, but residents question her objectives and role within the Pacific pivot. Many CHamorus challenge a strand of feminism that encourages women to establish themselves as "equal" to men. CHamoru women academics say they want equity, not equality (Cruz et al., 2016).¹⁰⁵

As Commander of Joint Region Marianas, Rear Admiral Bolivar broadcasts YouTube videos on the Joint Region Marianas Facebook page for military personnel and civilians. On 3 March 2016, Bolivar encouraged "all of you [service people stationed on Guam] to take the time to appreciate the history, traditions, and customs of the Chamorro people." She even spoke in CHamoru in the video stating, "Strength, Courage, and Respect" is what "I mirror in my command philosophy" (Figure 18). On 7 March 2016, CHamoru scholar Christine Taitano DeLisle's responded with digital resistance via a post on Facebook:

To see the highest in command on Guam, RDML JRM Bette Bolivar taking culture to the hilt ... a new era of the military not merely invoking but embracing and appropriating "our culture" Chamorro culture... troubling for me in how such moves and consequently

¹⁰⁵ The "equity not equality" discussion is related to treating everyone uniformly rather than honoring differences. The blog post from *everyday feminism* describes the difference. "Equity is giving everyone what they need to be successful. Equality is treating everyone the same" (Sun, 2014). Here, CHamoru women are discussing how both male and female leaders have different roles and responsibilities and both should be honored and respected but in different ways.

discourses that ‘she’s ‘local’ Filipino from Hawai‘i’ or she’s ‘one of us’ have the potential to gloss over the historical injustices in Guam on the part of the US military and to make people think the current “build-up” is good, and ultimately, gloss over the violence of the federal government, which continues to deny the Chamorro right to self-determination (2016b).

The DOD video of Rear Admiral Bolivar demonstrates the appropriation of the CHamoru language within the imperial-militarized space in an attempt to smooth over the resistance to the expanding militarization of the “build-up” and the current everyday militarization and the massive presence on the island. Because so many CHamorus serve in the US Armed Forces and are stationed off-island, the military is using social media platforms to reach a wider audience. The DOD is also hoping to reach out to the younger CHamoru population.

DeLisle’s political and legal resistance exposes the hypocrisy of the DOD “appropriating” CHamoru culture to pacify potential resistance to the current “build-up.” The imperial mentality employs a “local” who “speaks like one of us” to somehow excuse the Pacific pivot policies, normalize the everyday militarization, and (re)enforce the narrative that the “build-up” is good for the CHamorus. The “historical injustices” that DeLisle refers to are the post-WWII Indigenous land takings, the lack of compensation and War Repatriations, and lingering war-trauma for veterans, and their families. In addition, she describes the lack of self-determination as “violence of the federal government” and speaks to the varying forms of imperial force within the militarized context. If it is not destruction from everyday impacts, such as urban live-fire training or Unexploded Ordinances (UXOs), then it is the lack of political rights through the denial of self-determination. Here, DeLisle’s political and digital resistance speaks to the everyday and expanding “new era of the military” resistance, the efforts by the DOD to render US war legacies “invisible” by “glossing over” lingering issues relating to WWII. By visibly promoting the narrative of “protection” for the island, the video is the latest manifestation of US imperial ideologies. While the DOD uses new media platforms to promote further militarization, young CHamoru women are also using it to indirectly both resist the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expand resistance digitally and spiritually.

Ten Years of Women's Resistance

A renewed resistance to militarization on Guå'han peaked after the announcement of the Roadmap in 2006 and again in 2009 following the release of the *Guam and CNMI Military Relation: Relocating Marines from Okinawa, Japan to Guam, Draft Environmental Impact Statement* (DEIS) (Table 5, number 3). In 2010, this culminated in a successful lawsuit against the DOD for failing to consider alternative locations for a third Live Fire Training Range Complex (LFTRC) at Pãgat village on the northwest coast of Guå'han.¹⁰⁶ This expanding militarization was resisted digitally, politically, legally, and spiritually. It is briefly discussed further in the section, "2016 Miss Earth Guam: #RiseUpGuahan."

Fuetsan Famalão'an (Strength of Women) & the Guahan Coalition for Peace and Justice

In response to the 2006 Roadmap announcement and "consistent with their traditionally matrilineal social order to organize," the women's organization *Fuetsan Famalão'an* ("strength of women" or "strong women") "insisted that the build-up be accountable to the needs of women and children and to the health of the land and sea" (DeLisle, 2015, p. 32; Guahan Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, p. 1). Women challenged the US military planners to consider the segment of the local population that would absorb the majority of the impacts and "invoked an image of stewardship even deeper and older" than the US military or FSS (Guahan Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, p. 1). Maga'håga (female leader), Hope Cristobal, a steering committee member, wrote that *Fuetsan Famalão'an* was created to "ensure that the needs, the care, and the health of

¹⁰⁶ The political discussion is directly related to expanding US militarization because the local community has no voice regarding the military "build-up" due to the island's colonial political status. The ten-year experience since the 2006 Realignment announcement has shown the DOD's culturally inappropriate EIS process and lack of power (or desire) from local leaders to fanohge (stand-up) to the federal government and DOD. Lingering in political limbo has allowed for continued militarization. The military has more control over the lands and Congress has more power over governance. According to the Navy, Guam's "primary advantage lie[s] in its political status' as a 'sovereign' United States territory, and US forces can operate 'unconstrained'" (Davis, 2011, p. 221). Today, Guå'han remains "one of the most militarized islands on earth" (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 72).

girls and women are made a priority in the administration of power's 'Tip of the Spear' military expansion plans for the non-self-governing territory of Guam" (2008, p. 2).

Fuetsan Famalão'an's political and legal resistance is manifested through two forms: community organizing and written comments. Firstly, they organized community forums that created alternative spaces that were respectful of CHamoru approaches. In these forums, the community may verbalize their fears and concerns. Secondly, the organization led by maga'håga countered the militarized structures through written comments submitted to the DOD as part of the EIS process. Their public discussions, separate from the "Public Meetings" administered by the DOD, provided opportunities for the people "to voice their concerns about the massive militarization of our home island... and demand a policy of NO ADVERSE IMPACT on our way of life and on our culture without our informed consent" (Guahan Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, pp. 9-11). The DOD claimed that all of the community comments were taken into consideration. However, no policies have been directly changed. This demonstrates that there is no way to hold the DOD accountable. These political and legal forms of resistance inspired and galvanized others in the community to critically respond to the DOD proposals as well.

Several members from *Fuetsan Famalão'an* joined the *Guåhan Coalition for Peace and Justice* (hereafter Coalition) to pool resources, support each other, and share information and workloads. Other CHamoru women joined the Coalition "out of the concern for the threat to the safety of women and children on our island, as a result of the announcement of the United States-Japan Realignment" (Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, p. 1). One major element of the build-up is the relocation of 5,000 Marines. This has created concerns about ongoing violence surrounding military bases "along the fenceline," particularly against women and children in Okinawa, as well as within the "support economies" (Kirk & Okazawa - Rey, 2004). Although the DEIS framed the sexual violence as "isolated incidents" and reported that it was "generally low," after speaking and collaborating with women in Okinawa, maga'håga learned of the "voluminous sexual and heinous crimes committed by US military members towards women and female children" (Guahan Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, p.

1).¹⁰⁷

This informed the Coalition's written analysis of the DEIS document. Their comments outline specific areas of concern: the impacts from the increased population of Marines and the issues of family violence; rape; sexual gender-based violence (SGBV); and sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), including human trafficking and prostitution. Finally, the Coalition provides recommendations and strong support for the "NO ACTION Alternative." However, "there is no evidence that this is being seriously considered" (p. 11). According to the Coalition, the EIS study "is highly suspect and in apparent justification of the Pentagon's master plan; rather than as a means to inform the plan as required by its own US NEPA law" (p. 10).

Section 1502.14(d) of the Council on Environmental Quality regulations that implement the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) requires the DOD to indicate in the EIS a number of "Alternative" training proposals. The document lists "Alternative" variations of the proposed activities and construction but all have nearly

¹⁰⁷ **Fieldwork Journal, 14 June 2015. Talk-story session with maga'håga "T," Hagåtña, Guå'han:**

Before the "Roadmap" was even announced officially by the US, Japanese newspapers were running stories about the relocation of the Marines from Okinawa. The stories were featured due to the ongoing nonviolent resistance and pressure from the Okinawan community, and the reoccurring violence, including drunkenness, rapes of both local women (and girls), as well as those working in the "support economies," which are often based on SEA and human trafficking. The worst cases include murder, although due to the Status of Force Agreement, the US servicemen are not tried in the local legal system, but through the US military system, rarely resulting in more than an (additional) apology. "We relied on Japanese news sources in English, to learn about the plans for our own island. Even the politicians here were in the dark about the 'bi-lateral' agreement, between the US and Japan."

Fieldwork Journal, 30 September 2015. Collaborative conversation with a former female news reporter Ipan, Guå'han:

While working at the X newspaper, "a graph demonstrating the rates of sexual violence against women by the US military was removed from my story regarding the military build-up." Even after she quit, she posted something on Facebook saying that a ship was in port and that she was going to stay inside because she didn't want to deal with all of those men and their pent up aggression and sexual advances. Her (former) co-worker, who still works there, got in trouble for 'liking' the comment on Facebook. So there seems to be zero coverage of the sexual violence that comes along with the military, particularly young Marines aged 18-25, who is coming to be trained for killing.

the same devastating impacts. The “NO ACTION Alternative,” as demanded by the Coalition, is for none of the “Alternatives” listed by the DOD to go forward. This process is problematic as every “Alternative” includes increasing militarization without a true “No Action” option. This is a recurring issue within the EIS process, which is discussed further in Chapter 5.

Drawing from several studies linking Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and “aggression, suicide, domestic violence, sexual assault, depression, antisocial personality disorder, alcohol/drug dependence, behavioral problems in military children,” the Coalition points out the gravity of these concerns and the lack of DOD discussion. The current public health sector in the Mariana Islands, including women’s support groups, safe shelters, and police, are already strained with high instances of family violence, SGBV, and SEA. Furthermore, this increase in military personnel and their impact will put dangerous pressure on an already stressed public health system (Eugenio, 2017; Miculka, 2015).¹⁰⁸

The DOD either underestimates the impacts of the increased population of Marines and the support economies that accompany the build-up or it completely ignores it. The issues of family violence, rape, SGBV, and SEA (including human trafficking and prostitution) are completely omitted in the DEIS. Instead, the DEIS states that “the number of sexual assaults will not be impacted by the increase in population and purposes since there will be no significant impact, no actions should be taken to prevent or treat these problems” (Guahan Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, p. 16). Therefore, the DEIS concludes with “no proposed solutions” while the Coalition considers this omission “insulting and illegal” (p. 17). It is acknowledged that not all

¹⁰⁸ *Guå’han* filmmaker Brian Muna is creating a film regarding human trafficking in the Mariana Islands and Micronesia. See the *Madam the Movie* Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/madamthemovie>). Follow the hashtag: #IAmNotForSale. An additional issue that is rarely mentioned and always omitted from the impact statements is the large number of children left behind by US soldiers (Okazawa - Rey, 1995). For a historical account of US military soldiers and their Indigenous Pacific wives and families, see Judy Bennett’s (2016) book, *Mother’s Darlings of the South Pacific: The children of Indigenous women and US servicemen, World War II* (2016) and a recent review by Riseman, 2016. Grown children can trace US fathers here: <http://www.otago.ac.nz/usfathers/>.

military personnel perpetrate SGBV and engage in SEA the lack of discussion in the EIS documents and the absence of a plan leave the local population vulnerable.

Sexual exploitation and abuse are widespread within the support economies that surround every US military base worldwide. Women and children who are living along the fence are vulnerable to the influences of young male soldiers on R&R. Impacts include military prostitution, an industry dependent on forced labor and people smuggling. On Guå'han, human trafficking is already a problem. There are over 200 unregulated massage parlors for the military (and tourism) industry (Delgado, 2009). Local politicians, who are advocating for the build-up, have not addressed this industry. Even members of the Guam Police Department have been found guilty of “kidnapping, rape, and promoting prostitution” (Daly, 2016). The EIS document fails to list any types of mitigation efforts or commitments to funding, and it lacks any reference to the military strategies to handle such cases in the Mariana Islands. The military does not acknowledge the violence and prostitution that accompanies the military presence. These groups of young men have reputations for involvement in the sex industry and expressing violent types of behavior. These concerns are not just speculation but accompany the military bases worldwide.

The EIS report does not include procedures for prevention and response protocols for family violence, SGBV, SEA, and human trafficking. The Coalition notes, “sexual violence is an offense that has a high incidence of re-perpetrating among the sex-offender populations” (Guahan Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, p. 17). The idea of homeland protection through militarization security is preposterous since SGBV is an issue not only in the communities that surround and support the military bases, within the military institution itself (Sturdevant & Stoltzfus, 1993). Sexual violence is “the mycelium of US military culture and ideology... Gender and masculinity are at play; so too are racism and national chauvinism” (Fukushima & Kirk, 2013). Structures need to be created to protect both service people within the fence and the civilian communities beyond the fence.

The Coalition uses the federal legal framework created by the US Congress to highlight the (inter)national issue of military violence against women and to show that it is not a

problem relating to certain communities or locations but rather is a phenomenon entangled within the military (see Chapter 3, “Invisible Veterans”). Some military commanders not only tolerate SGBV and SEA but are also “complicit in covering up these incidents, punishing victims, and exonerating perpetrators or, at most, giving them a ‘boys-will-be-boys’ slap on the wrist” (Fukushima & Kirk, 2013). However, the Coalition points out that SGBV and SEA continue to be problematic. It is “so much the case, that military violence against women became the primary focus of the caucus during the 108th Congress and was the primary topic of discussion of the 111th Congress on 3 February 2009, with the establishment of the Military Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Act” (Guahan Coalition for Peace & Justice, 2010, pp. 14-16).

The US Congress, through the Military Domestic and Sexual Violence Response Act, *acknowledges* the problem of military domestic and sexual violence. However, the United States Institute of Peace, an additional federal agency, recently provided brief with recommendations for the next US Administration that questions the efficacy of current measures, entitled, “Ending Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in War and Peace” (2016), this brief outlines how SGBV “continues to undermine long-term security and stability” worldwide (Blair et al., 2016, p. 2). A section of the report entitled “Protectors As Perpetrators” explains how SGBV is perpetrated not only by armed combatants and civilians but also by those entrusted to protect civilians *from* SGBV and “[m]ilitary personnel may perpetrate SGBV within their own ranks, as has been documented within branches of the US armed services” (Blair et al., 2016). While the Brief recommends that the new US administration “prioritize legislative action on sexual assault within the US military and DOD that builds on the progress made by the Obama administration’s executive actions to expand victims’ rights within the military justice system, improve command accountability, and increase training,” the document does not acknowledge or discuss SGBV perpetrated *by* the US military on the local, civilian communities surrounding the US military overseas base network (Blair et al., 2016, p. 3). This demonstrates how women’s political and legal resistance in the Marianas Archipelago is misunderstood and their circumstances omitted, even by organizations working for “peace.” Therefore, maga’håga’s spiritual resistance is based

on protecting and defending as stewards of the environment and community, and they do not rely on US imperial ideologies and legal frameworks that leave them on the margins.¹⁰⁹

The “Question of Guam” as “both/neither” has repeatedly been discussed at various platforms organized by the UN. Maga’håga Hope Cristobal, and former Senator of the Guam Legislature, appeared before the UN in 2008 to address the lack of political rights and how this allows for further militarization of the Mariana Islands. She directly questioned the categorization of Guå’han as “domestic” by the US, who made a “unilateral decision” by entering into the “Bi-Lateral Agreement” with Japan. She considers this an “arbitrary US policy” since “the federal government never consulted the people of Guam [about] the impacts... with meetings closed to the general public” (2008, p. 9). The US maintains it is a “domestic issue” and not relevant to the UN. Military planners continue to take full advantage of Guå’han’s colonial status. This allows for military exploitation, occupation, and plans for massive expansion.

Our Islands Are Sacred

Despite transoceanic resistance to the *Guam and the CNMI Military Relocation; Relocating Marines from Okinawa, Japan to Guam* (Relocation) Supplementary Environmental Impact Statement (SEIS) documents, Steve Iselin, Principle Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Energy, Installations and Environment), signed the Record Of Decision (ROD) on 29 August 2015. The ROD finalized the EIS for the Relocation, without any signatories from the Mariana Islands, nor was any local politicians present (Frain, 2015). The 2015 EIS version is slightly different from the 2009 Draft EIS in that instead of 8,000 Marines and 9,000 dependents; it is now 5,000 Marines aged 18 – 25 and 6,000 dependents. While this is a decrease in the number of Marines, they will be rotated through on a six-month basis to conduct live-fire training.

¹⁰⁹The residents of the Marianas Archipelago have limited avenues to interact with the US federal government and the DOD. The United Nations framework is used to pressure the international community of the legal obligations of the United States as the colonial administrator. Remaining as a non-self-governing territory without determining political status is a continual violation of Article 73 of the 1945 Charter and Resolution 1514 of 1960 that states all remaining non-self-governing territories and inhabitants are entitled to self-determination and independence.

The demand for LFTRC remains the same and the Navy has decided Nasion lihing lina'la'machålik gi halmo tåno' yan tasi- puntan Litekyan (Ritidian National Wildlife Refuge Unit) will become a Surface Danger Zone (SDZ) for the range located at Northwest Field on the 22,000-acre Andersen Air Force Base (Hofschneider, 2016d).¹¹⁰ In the 1960s, the principle of eminent domain was enacted to create the Nasion lihing lina'la'machålik gi halmo tåno' yan tasi-puntan Litekyan, and placed it under the federal jurisdiction of US Fish and Wildlife. Today, through the US Congressional exemption provided by H.R. 4435, the same tåno' (land) has been passed from one US federal agency, Fish and Wildlife, to another US federal agency, the DOD. This has been done in the name of US “national defense.” Some women of the Mariana Islands see the US federal government’s control over tåno' as a way to restrict Indigenous residents from accessing their resources.

The artistic collective, *Our Islands Are Sacred*, which formed “in response to U.S. military plans to expand their training and testing activities in the Mariana Islands” staged a political resistance direct action at the Governor’s Complex. The locally elected Governor, the maga'låhi (male leader) of the island, Eddie Calvo, has not only remained uncritical of the expanding militarization and EIS proposed projects but publicly endorses and supports them; this is despite the lack of community consent. Due to his refusal to discuss concerns with them in the past, the women decided to hand deliver letters from the community to him at the Governor’s Complex, located at Adelup. High school students and women enacted written resistance, demanding answers regarding the use of their limited natural resources and the strain it will exert on already fragile public infrastructure and the islands. They outlined their apprehensions surrounding expanding militarization and the impacts on their children and community. They are extremely concerned about the 18 – 25-year-old Marines and

¹¹⁰ H.R. 4435, the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2015, authorized \$521.3 billion US for the DOD and includes an “amended version” of H.R. 4402, the Guam Military Training and Readiness Act, which allows for the US Navy to use Ritidian Unit, located within the Guam National Wildlife Refuge, as a the SDZ. The bill also included the Military Opportunities for Mothers (MOM) Act, extending maternity leave for women in the military from six weeks to twelve weeks. This is an example of the complex sexist politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. As a wildlife refuge is transferred to the DOD, female service members are given more time with their babies (Bordallo, 2014, 22 May).

their history of violence against women and children in Okinawa.

On 20 October 2015, the women and students organized a direct action to meet with Governor Calvo. They filled the conference room with concerned community members to standing room only, a visual demonstration of the number of people who are still against the build-up. They also filmed and photographed the women's political resistance live streaming the meeting to share it digitally across new media platforms, Facebook and Instagram. The digital resistance footage was then picked up by the local newspapers and shared further.

Not all residents are against the build-up, as many believe it will bring economic growth and bolster security. However, *Our Islands Are Sacred* have consistently shown that the jobs will go to off-island workers. Furthermore, the archipelago is in fact a target *because* of the US military presence. Liberation and Independence is not about the US military leaving completely, as they understand that is not a realistic demand. However, they want a place at the table, to be included in the security decisions that are made and have a say in what weapons are stored, tested, and used on the island. At the very least, the US military should be compensating for the restricted land occupied, instead of being used by the local community for farming or other commercial purposes. Because Guå'han is a US territory, the military does not need to lease or pay money to GovGuam and instead promotes that they are providing protection (free of charge!).

However, it is this imperial narrative of "protection" provided by the US that the two non-CHamoru women in power positions encourage and support, as discussed earlier in the chapter. Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero, a mother, educator, and *Our Islands Are Sacred* member, questions *why* Guå'han needs protection and how it is threatened by these nations in the first place. Weaving together statements from military commanders and government officials from both the US and Asia, she argues that any current threats to Guå'han are not aimed at the island or the people themselves but rather at the US military's offensive presence on the island. She asks, "If we are the 'Tip of the Spear,' who are we poking and will they poke back?" (personal communication, 12 July 2015, University of Guam). By questioning the narrative that the US military provides

protection, women continue to resist and challenge the everyday and expanding militarization through digital, legal, political, and spiritual written and direct action.

Miss Earth Guam: #RiseUpGuahan

The 2016 Miss Earth beauty pageant contest's slogan was "Beauties for a Cause." The event promoted itself as an "International Environmental Event channeling the beauty pageant entertainment industry as an effective tool to promote environmental awareness" (Miss Earth, 2016). While this and other beauty contests are problematic for many gender scholars due to hyper-sexualization and objectification, they are extremely popular within the Pacific and flourish within imperial-militarized environments. Local young women being required to walk the runway in bikinis and high heels for international audiences and judges is a contemporary form of imperial exoticism, despite the organizers considering it "empowerment."¹¹¹ However, Gloria Asunción Nelson used this public platform to digitally and spiritually resist everyday and expanding militarization and won the island-wide competition to represent Guå'han at the 2016 Miss Earth competition in the Philippines. The Miss Earth contest is only one example of how Western ideals of beauty and femininity are imposed on young Pacific Island women and how their objectification is promoted by both imperial ideologies as well as the US military itself.

DeLisle's doctoral thesis, "Navy Wives/Native Lives: The Cultural and Historical Relations between American Naval Wives and Chamorro Women in Guam, 1898-1945," explores the historical legacy of "beauty culture" in the Marianas Archipelago, particularly on Guå'han, in relation to imperial militarization. She discusses the links

¹¹¹ See Teresia K. Teaiwa's chapter, "Bikinis and Other S/pacific N/oceans" in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific* (2015) critiquing the relationship between the bikini, named after Bikini Atoll, the site of twenty-five nuclear tests between 1946 – 1958, in *Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ*, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, and colonization and militarization in the Pacific. She unpacks how bikinis sexualize the female body while "distract[ing] from the colonial and highly political origins of its name. The sexist dynamic the bikini performs-objectification through excessive visibility-inverts the colonial dynamics that have occurred during nuclear testing in the Pacific, that is, objectification by rendering invisible. The bikini bathing suit manifests both a celebration and a forgetting of the nuclear power that strategically and materially marginalizes and erases the living history of Pacific Islanders (p. 15).

between feminine islanders as “busloads of beautiful women” performing for the military male spectators and the promotion of US “loyalty” and “patriotism” during and after WWII (2008, p. 186).

The contemporary rendition of the sexist politics within militarization is visualized and celebrated every Liberation Day on 21st July. This annual event commemorates the day the US Marines “re-took” the island from Japanese Imperial Forces in 1944 with young CHamoru women competing for the titles “Liberation Queen” and “Liberation Princess” (Figure 19). They represent their villages and are encouraged by each Mayor’s office to raise money to support “worthy causes” and fund Liberation Day activities (Stripes Guam, 2016).

With the sexist politics of militarization dominating this context, Gloria Asunción Nelson’s took a divergent approach in entering the contest and creating a video for it. Her participation was a form of contemporary digital and spiritual resistance to imperial militarization for several reasons. Firstly, Miss Earth delegates representing Guå’han enter independently from the US, thus gaining a limited form of symbolic independence. It is a chance for Guå’han to be on an international stage as a separate political entity from the US, competing alongside other nation-states. Secondly, the 2016 Miss Earth theme, “Empowered to Make Change,” is a call to action and encourages young women to identify issues important to them and their communities. For Nelson, she used this platform, along with the hashtag #RiseUpGuahan, to “pay homage” to the *Inifresi* (the CHamoru Pledge) and highlight “her respect for the land, her closeness to the ocean, and all the elements that characterize the island of Guahan” (Figure 20)(Muna, 2016).

Nelson’s two-minute promotional film as contestant #8 includes four elements of digital and spiritual resistance, which are informed by matriarchal principles and new media technologies. Firstly, she educates the next generation of women; secondly, she connects with *i tãno’ yan i tasi* (the land and sea); thirdly, she honors her ancestors; and fourthly, she includes the hashtag #RiseUpGuahan to link this digital and spiritual resistance across multiple platforms: Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. In the video, Nelson recites the *Inifresi* in CHamoru to a young girl who repeats each phrase after

her. This represents the importance of teaching future generations to “protect and defend” what is CHamoru (Figure 21). She is a steward of the environment symbolized by planting a tree and representing CHamoru culture through her jewelry, “associated with the ancient Chamorro color agaga’ (deep reddish orange of the Pacific spondylus shell) and often interpreted today as “feminine” jewelry” (Bevacqua & Bowman, 2016, p. 80).¹¹² She is physically located on the sacred CHamoru Pãgat Village, the cliff line that the US Military proposed to turn into an LFTRC in the 2009 Relocation DEIS. She concludes the video holding the Flag of Guam and dedicates her entry in “memory to the beloved author of our first Chamoru pledge, Dr. Bernadita Camacho-Dungca.” She was a CHamoru educator and author of the *Inifresi*. As a CHamoru linguist and Indigenous rights activist, Camacho-Dungca is remembered as a CHamoru educational pioneer and maga’håga.

While it is tempting to dismiss the Miss Earth contest, as well as other beauty pageants, as objectifying and sexualizing women, Nelson’s entry resists the sexual politics and encourages *all* of Guå’han to “Rise Up” without explicitly explaining against whom. Inspiring fanohge CHamorus (to rise collectively) is a form of insider knowledge that CHamorus understand within the framework of the *Inifresi* and through the “protection and defense” of CHamoru culture. Through her entry video, Nelson digitally and spiritually resists imperial control by separate admission into the contest from the US. She resists expanding militarization by physically being located on *i tåno’ yan i tasi* (the land and sea) that the DOD had previously planned to transfer into a bombing

¹¹² Dr. Judy Flores discusses women’s value of Spondylus shell ornaments during the latte period, 800 A.D. until 1700 when “missionization destroyed the ancient way of life.” Spondylus necklaces, beads, and belts were passed from mother to daughter, but the shells are not found in the scared burials “until after contact period, when perhaps the last line of a maga’håga (high women) was buried fully adorned with Spondylus” (2011, p. 22).

Fieldwork Journal, 2 September 2015. Governors Complex, Adelup, Guå’han: I was fortunate enough to attend the presentation by Dr Judith R. Amesbury discussing who wears the ornaments- young or old? Men or women? Pre-latte period or Latte people? Attending it with Mom was even better, meeting her connections and me introducing her to mine. The answer to the question is: Respected and powerful women wore the jewelry!

range but which was legally resisted in 2010.¹¹³

Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!

The final section of this chapter analyses the legal, political, spiritual, and written direct action resistance during the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture (FestPac) closing ceremony on 3 June 2016. The Guå'han delegation staged a strategic and highly visible action, much to the surprise of the spectators as well as GovGuam. This public act of local resistance was also one of fluidarity (solidarity) with other territories across Oceania. It was disseminated via digital photographs and videos, Facebook and Instagram posts, as well as linked through the hashtag #DecolonizeOceania along with reflective comments and descriptive captions (Figures 22 and 24).

The Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture

FestPac is considered the “Olympics of Pacific Arts” and combines ancient Pacific culture practices and contemporary arts. First held in Fiji in 1972, the event rotates among Pacific island hosts every four years, with O‘ahu Hawai‘i as the location for 2020 (Pacific Festival Contemporary Arts Exhibition, 1996).¹¹⁴ The event provides a

¹¹³ Pãgat on Guå'han is an ancient sacred CHamoru village and burial location, registered as an archaeological site in the Guam National Register of Historic Places and by the US National Park Services since 1974. The DOD selected it as the location for an LFTRC in 2009. While CHamorus could not challenge the DOD plan outright because of the territorial status, they used the “national legal channels to oppose the proposal within the domestic US system” and presented Pãgat village as *part of* America to prove it as an “endangered historic place” (Na‘puti & Bevacqua, 2015, p. 850). On 17 November 2010, *We Are Guåhan*, an organization created in response to the further militarization, collaborated with the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the Guam Preservation Trust to file a lawsuit in the US District Court of Hawai‘i against the DOD for failing to consider alternative locations which would have less impact on historical and environmental sites. See the hashtag #SavePãgat. The court found the DOD violated federal historic preservation and environmental laws as outlined by NEPA. In December of 2011, the DOD “indirectly admitted to not doing enough research” that additional studies would be “appropriate” (Na‘puti & Bevacqua, 2015, p. 851). But the victory was “bittersweet” when in 2013 the DOD released a Supplemental EIS (SEIS) document, which identifies Litekyan (Guam’s National Wildlife Refuge) as the Surface Danger Zone (SDZ) adjacent to the LFTRC. The plan is that the bombs will fly *over* this site.

¹¹⁴ The 13th Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture will be held, 11- 27 June 2020 in O‘ahu, Hawai‘i (PA‘I Foundation, 2017). The Delegation Canoe Arrival will be on 12

platform for Pacific peoples to unite and “enhance their respect and appreciation of one another” (Festival of Pacific Arts & Culture, 2015). While FestPac is considered “heaven on earth” for researchers studying coconut cultures and artistic weaving, there remains a lack of critical scholarship approaching FestPac as a venue to discuss the cultural politics of the region and current challenges such as climate change, militarization, and political colonization. To have twenty-seven Pacific countries, territories, and islands converging, amplified by the people’s shared ancestry and varying stories of colonization, there must be space to discuss and dream while decolonizing and demilitarizing and (self)determining.

Guå’han hosted the 12th FestPac from 22 May through 4 June 2016. The festival’s theme was “Håfa Iyo-ta, Håfa Guinahå-ta, Håfa Ta Pätte, Dinanña’ Sunidu Siha Giya Pasifiku” or “What We Own, What We Have, What We Share, United Voices of the Pacific.” Over 2,500 artists, performers, and musicians slept in the schools and were bused around Guå’han (McLean, 2016). They performed, collaborated, and learned about each other’s creative cultures, as well as imperial histories and contemporary struggles.¹¹⁵

The 12th FestPac was the first time the festival occurred in two spaces: live at the multiple venues across Guå’han; and simultaneously across new media platforms in digital space. During the two weeks, professional and amateur photographers and

June. To learn more and volunteer see: <http://www.paifoundation.org/community-initiatives/festpac2020/>.

¹¹⁵ Maryann Talia Pau, an Australian-based artist, fuses weaving techniques learned from her Mama with Samoan heritage, with approaches she learned from Ceferino Sabation, from Waiben (Thursday) Island in the Torres Straight. Maryann resists the sexual politics of violence against women through a creative and international weaving “love and peace filled community project.” *One Million Stars to End Violence: Weaving Communities of Courage to End Violence* is an international campaign to weave one million stars for the Gold Coast 2018 Commonwealth Games. She facilitated a star weave workshop during FestPac with young CHamoru women weavers, as well as those from across the Pacific. Weaving is typically a woman’s activity in the Pacific, and they wove stars together in solidarity against the rape and murders of Indigenous Pacific women, as well as racism and harassment. The website: <http://www.onemillionstars.net>. Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/onemillionstarstoendviolence/> and Instagram: @onemillionstarstoendviolence with the hashtags: #onemillionstars #CG2018.

videographers documented the multisite event from diverse angles and perspectives. While the local media outlets and the media personnel that accompanied each island's delegation were quick to feature pictures and commentary of dancers, chanters, and artisans, their coverage ignored the contemporary controversies of the six remaining Pacific island colonies. Throughout FestPac, the lingering questions about Guå'han's political status, the current and planned militarization, as well as the numerous other delegates engaged in on-going struggles for self-determination and demilitarization were never addressed.

The Opening Ceremony of the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture

The opening ceremony of FestPac was live streamed on media outlets across Oceania with media crews from Malo Sa'oloto Tuto'atasi o Sāmoa (The Independent State of Samoa) and Aotearoa (New Zealand).¹¹⁶ The “spectacular” event lasted nearly five hours. Announcers introduced each delegation by country (or territory), while delegates performed through music, dance, and chants and presented gifts to Eddie Calvo, the Governor of Guam. The ceremony took place at Paseo Stadium in Hagåtña, and there was insufficient space for the thousands who showed up. Despite the logistical concerns, including lack of water, shade, and seating for the audience, the ceremony was filled with excitement. However, Guå'han's political colonization and militarization was demonstrated front and center; the first music to sound out at the 12th FestPac was the United States National Anthem, the Star Spangled Banner. The mood in the stadium was uncomfortable, although many placed their hands on their hearts as the audience included active duty service members and their families. In addition to the Star Spangled Banner, “U-S-A” was written in large letters across the stage, also front and center.

The imperial framings continued as each of the twenty-seven islands were introduced on the loud speaker. Guå'han was introduced as the “United States unincorporated territory, Guam!” and to many delegates, it was as if the colonial status was something to celebrate, rather than a violation of international law. The opening ceremony

¹¹⁶ See the opening ceremony on Māori Television, <http://www.maoritelevision.com/news/national/official-opening-12th-pacific-arts-festival-guam> .

continued, introducing the islands first by their colonizers and then their colonized names: “French Polynesia, an overseas collectivity” (Maohi Nui); “the French territory of New Caledonia” (legally a special collectivity, Kanaky); “the territory of Chile, Easter Island” (Rapa Nui); the “Republic of China, Taiwan”; “a territory of New Zealand, Tokelau”; and “New Zealand” without Aotearoa.

In addition to “U-S-A” written across the stage, the US flag flew higher than those of the other twenty-seven island nations that Guå’han was hosting. Flags are visual symbols of political control, whether as a colonial reminder or independence marker. In the Pacific, even territories have their own flag, which represents a form of Indigenous sovereignty. They may also serve as symbols of resistance, such as West Papuan Morning Star Flag (Branagan, 2013, p. 40). However, the United States flag always flies higher over Guå’han (Figure 23). The delegations took note asking, “why is the enormous US flag always towering so proud over Guam?” (personal communication, 24 May 2016, Hagåtña, Guå’han).¹¹⁷

Strategic Action during the Closing Ceremony

The imperial opening ceremony and the colonial sentiments throughout the main festival events spurred informal discussion (“talk-story”) regarding (de)colonization and (de)militarization across Oceania.¹¹⁸ Delegates and spectators did not see these issues being addressed or notice any critical discourse relating to political status or Indigenous rights. Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero, CHamoru FestPac Literary Arts

¹¹⁷ For an account of CHamoru “loyalty” during the Imperial Japanese Force occupation of Guå’han during World War II, and how one family in Inarajan village protected the US flag given to them by US Navy Commander Cook, see Flores, 2011, pp. 132, 133.

¹¹⁸ One incredibly powerful Human Rights forum and a series of decolonization discussions were held at locations beyond the main stage of Paseo Stadium. CHamoru and international rights lawyer and scholar, Julian Aguon, organized *In Defense of the Sacred: A Regional Forum on Human Rights and the Communities that Defend Them*. Professor Lisa Linda Natividad and the Bachelor of Social Work Program at the University of Guam organized four decolonization panel discussions and used this opportunity to share stories of colonization and exploitation, nuclear testing and militarization and struggles for self-determination with other Pacific territories. I was fortunate enough to attend these in person.

delegate on the Publications Subcommittee, participated in such discussions with other delegates. This experience inspired her to assist in organizing the strategic action. She recalled how surprised the delegates from neighboring islands were with not only with how colonized Guå'han is but also how CHamorus appeared to be proud of it. They asked: "How can you like to be colonized?" Because there was no indication otherwise, Leon Guerrero felt that the delegation needed to make a statement as colonized people to expose the injustices and recognize the need to change. "We wanted to show them that CHamorus are not happy with the status quo" and are exploring and pushing for "possibilities of independence" (Leon Guerrero in Na'puti, 2016). She recognizes the imperial ideologies and sexist politics of everyday and expanding militarization and wants an independent future for her children and her community.

After two weeks of collaborative conversations and inspiring interactions among Pacific Islanders, in which the tensions associated with fighting for different decolonization and demilitarization movements were discussed, the Guå'han delegates, as the hosts, felt empowered to resist the "colonized opening ceremony." This manifested into organizing a "straightforward, and clear action" that conveyed an "undeniable and international statement" through a "visual demonstration of solidarity for sovereignty" during the closing ceremony (Moneka Flores in Na'puti, 2016). FestPac served (and serves) not only as a public platform to share culture and art but also as a space to critically address the shared imperial influence and US militarization. Twelve Guå'han delegates conceptualized the closing ceremony as an appropriate venue to visually and publicly address the politics of Indigenous rights across Oceania and their continual colonization status as a possession of the US. With international media attention focused on Guå'han, soon slated to become a "forward strategic base," they may never have another opportunity or occasion to share the "necessary and very important political message" (Moneka Flores in Na'puti, 2016). With the closing ceremony as the last event of FestPac, the delegates hoped that it would leave an impression on both delegates and spectators.

Similar to the opening ceremony, each island nation or territory was called to the main stage and paraded across the large stadium field to be photographed and filmed. From a delegation of 500, twelve brave Guå'han delegates used this opportunity to "decolonize

the closing ceremony” while the “world was watching” (Moneka Flores and Kisha Borja-Kicho’cho’ Calvo in Na’puti, 2016). When “Guam” was announced, the twelve delegates quickly assembled to unfurl banners made from four FestPac uniform wraps with “Decolonize Oceania!” and “Free Guåhan!” written on them, much to the surprise of the audience and delegation (Figures 22 and 24). The members relayed that their “hearts were racing” and although they “couldn’t see specific faces in the crowd, we could hear ‘Biba’ and cheering!” (Moneka Flores in Na’puti, 2016).¹¹⁹ “Biba” is an exclamation of approval in CHamoru (personal communication, 25 June 2014). The action only lasted a few minutes but the stadium and other delegates, including those with the Guå’han delegation, took notice. Reflecting after the action was finished, an organizer marveled, “Did we just do that?!” (Kisha Borja-Kicho’cho’ Calvo in Na’puti, 2016).

The action organizers decided to use the delegation’s uniform wraps for symbolic and pragmatic reasons.¹²⁰ It was practical to utilize the wraps due to the strict security provided by the US National Guard. With this militarized presence at FestPac, delegates were not allowed to bring anything extra backstage, let alone signs. They were able to bring their wraps, as well as small pieces of fabric and paint pens to create solidarity armbands.

The strategic action showed solidarity with other islands struggling for (self)determination by acknowledging others who are not free, and visually demonstrating that they are not alone. Kerri Ann Borja, one of the twelve organizers, created 200 armbands on fabric and brought paint markers donated by an artist with the Aotearoa delegation. Backstage, delegates from all twenty-seven islands across Oceania were invited by the action organizers to write their own messages on the

¹¹⁹ Watch the [video](https://www.facebook.com/1768523633376324/videos/1798543663707654/) on the Independence for Guåhan Task Force Facebook page that includes the crowd cheering, “Biba Guåhan!”
<https://www.facebook.com/1768523633376324/videos/1798543663707654/>.

¹²⁰ Joey, the designer of the Guå’han delegation wraps, which include Indigenous CHamoru cultural symbols printed on them, was delighted to have the wraps serve as the “canvas” on which to write “Decolonize Oceania” and “Free Guåhan.” He addressed the cultural significances of incorporating them into the action to become “an extension of my art, more than a delegation uniform, became a sign of independence and freedom” (Joey in Na’puti, 2016).

armbands: “Demilitarize Hawai‘i,” “Decolonize Rapa Nui,” “Free West Papua,” and “Demilitarize Oceania” (Figure 24).¹²¹ 200 FestPac delegates supported the strategic action and demonstrated their solidarity by posing for pictures with their fists raised. These images were shared across media platforms to reach those who were physically unable to attend.¹²² While the call to action inspired each delegate for different reasons, it was a major aspect of the closing ceremony and the organizers were anxious to see how the media covered it.

Invisible Imperialism

Despite the visibility of the strategic action during the closing ceremony, the international, regional, and local media failed to feature or even mention any aspect of it. Imperial ideology rendered the resistance action insignificant, unworthy for reproduction, and thus invisible. The following day, there were no photographs, despite hundreds of others in circulation, and no written articles about the action in the media. The FestPac delegates and spectators, therefore, utilized the new media sites to document and disseminate the digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance.

Kisha Borja-Kicho'cho' Calvo and Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero, both members of the FestPac Literary Arts delegation and on the Publications Subcommittee and planners of the action, wrote letters to the editor of Guå'han's local newspaper, the *Pacific Daily News* (hereafter PDN). The largest newspaper on Guå'han, PDN began in 1947 as a military publication called the *Navy News* and is currently owned by *USA Today*. In fact, an off-island researcher found it “serve[s] to hegemonically maintain Guam's society as an unincorporated American territory” and employs “discursive strategies... to rally support for pro-American ideologies” (Dalisay, 2009, pp. 239, 240).¹²³

¹²¹ See the recent *Radio New Zealand* article, “New momentum towards decolonisation in Pacific” (2016c). Also see *The Scoop*, “Decolonisation Fundamental to Pacific Sovereignty” (2016 3 December).

¹²² In addition, the Aotearoa delegation wrote “Aotearoa” over “New Zealand” on the delegation island signs, and held the Tino Rangatiratanga Māori flag instead of the flag of New Zealand, which includes the Union Jack.

¹²³ A researcher from Washington State University applied critical discourse analytical technique to 60 news articles, 11 opinion pieces, 12 letters to the editor, and 7 editorials from the *Pacific Daily News* published on July 21 and July 22 (respectively, the anniversary of the liberation and the day after), between the years of 1994 (the 50th

Essentially, the newspapers serve as pro-military and pro-colonial spaces, uncritical of the status quo and expanding military projects.

Calvo and Borja also used Facebook and Instagram with #hashtags to share the images and video of the Guå'han delegation's action. Tiara Na'puti, a CHamoru academic activist and member of the Guå'han delegation and an action organizer, dedicated an episode of the local radio program, *Beyond the Fence* to the strategic action. As colonial powers wishing to ignore the calls for self-determination and demilitarization, the American-owned news outlets gave no coverage to the transoceanic fluidarity action.

Due to this “total silence and invisibility,” Calvo spent the following night writing, reflecting, debriefing on its importance. Her letter to the editor at PDN, entitled “Political Statement at FestPac Necessary,” was re-published in the *Pacific Islands Report*, a free online, syndicated news source with an edited daily digest of news, commentary, and analysis from across the Pacific Islands.¹²⁴ She outlined a number of reasons why the action was necessary, and as the hosts of FestPac and “the oldest colony in Oceania, it is very important that this message be made known” (Borja-Kicho'cho'-Calvo, 2016). She reiterated that the cultural is political and the political is cultural. They should not be treated as separate but should be encouraged to bridge the two because they are connected. FestPac cultural spaces are very political because continuing to “practice our art forms is a political statement that we are still here” (2016).

Through Calvo's writing and the spectator's digital photographs, the action was digitalized and shared across Oceania, despite the blackout of mainstream media. Facebook provided a more immediate and open outlet. In her letter, she stated:

FestPac isn't just about showcasing cultural facets of our Pacific nations; it's also about remembering our peoples' political struggles

anniversary of the liberation) and 2004 (the 60th anniversary). See Francis Dalisay (2009) article, “Social Control in an American Pacific Island. Guam's Local Newspaper Reports on Liberation” in the *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 33(3) p. 239.

¹²⁴ Pacific Islands Report is the publication of the Pacific Islands Development Program at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawai'i. Accessible at: <http://www.pireport.org>.

and resistance movements. We took this action at the FestPac Closing Ceremony to make a statement: We stand in solidarity with our sisters and brothers of Oceania and their struggles, and we want people throughout the region (and the world) to know the status with the status quo for the Chamorus of Guåhan. BIBA FestPac! BIBA Oceania! (2016).

In addition to Facebook and Instagram, Tiara Na'puti utilized the local radio program *Beyond the Fence* to further examine the action (Figure 24). Na'puti considered the FestPac venue as an empowering space to listen, learn, share, and connect as Indigenous people with shared histories of colonization. She was proud to visually resist the colonial political status of Guå'han on an international platform and to express solidarity with the similar ongoing struggles of others across Oceania. She devoted an episode, entitled "Decolonizing Oceania and the Festival of the Pacific Arts," to interview six of the twelve Guåhan delegates who organized the strategic action, as well as FestPac Programming Committee Chair, Monica Guzman.

During Na'puti's interview, Guzman described the action as "brilliant," although she was very "shocked" since the twelve organized it without the other 500 Guam delegates knowing. She confirmed that the closing ceremony was the perfect venue and appropriate place to make a statement to the Pacific since FestPac is about (re)discovering, (re)creating, perpetuating, and preserving cultures of the Pacific. She asserted that since Guå'han's colonial experience is more severe and ongoing compared to other places in the Pacific, CHamoru culture was/is decimated. Imperial influences were evident throughout the festival in visible ways, such as comparing performance and visual arts approaches, and through such concrete examples as how people on Guå'han drive more and speak the CHamoru language less. However, because of FestPac, CHamorus are inspired to "(re)search and bring our culture back" (Monica Guzman in Na'puti, 2016).

For each delegate who organized the action and was interviewed, there was overall consensus: "This is our chance to stand in solidarity to tell the world that CHamorus on Guå'han are not satisfied with political colonization or expanding militarization" (Na'puti, 2016). They continue to call for "for unity across Oceania" for decolonization and demilitarization. This transoceanic fluidarity creates an alternative future for their

islands, themselves, and generations to come. Creative forms of resistance by artists, poets, scholars, student activists, and many others “are contributing to a transoceanic consciousness rooted in social and political justice” (K. L. Camacho, 2011b, p. xxvii).

While critics demand concrete methods of “measuring” and “evaluating” the “success” of resistance, CHamorus respond that their efforts are “successful” because they are (re)educating, (re)searching, and (re)connecting with their culture, land, and language. They do not live their life in *response* to the US federal government and the US military’s continuous proposals. The women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance in the Mariana Archipelago is assisted by sacred Indigenous knowledge(s) and embraces new media technologies to navigate the imperial systems justified in the name of “national security.”

Summary of Fanohge Famalão’an: Women’s Resistance to Militarization in Guå’han

Table 7 Summary of My Findings: Five examples of women’s resistance to the invisible and visible sexist politics of everyday and expanding militarization in Guå’han.

Person or Organization	Resistance	Digital	Legal	Political	Spiritual	Nature of Militarization
1. Christine Taitano DeLisle	Written	<i>Facebook</i>	★	★		Everyday
2. <i>Fuetsan Famalão’an & Guåhan Coalition for Peace and Justice</i>	Written		★	★		Expanding
3. <i>Our Islands Are Sacred</i>	Written Direct Action	<i>Facebook</i> <i>Instagram</i>	★	★	★	Expanding

Person or Organization	Resistance	Digital	Legal	Political	Spiritual	Nature of Militarization
4. Gloria Asunción Nelson	Visual	<i>Facebook</i> <i>Instagram</i> <i>YouTube</i>	★	★	★	Everyday Expanding
5. FestPac Delegates	Written Visual Direct Action	<i>Facebook</i> <i>Instagram</i> <i>Beyond the Fence</i>	★	★	★	Everyday Expanding

This chapter showcased five examples of digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the sexist politics of everyday and expanding militarization. I began with a discussion of the spiritual significance of the latte stones as a symbol of visual sovereignty. The next section presented women’s historical resistance to US militarization within the “placental politics” framework, recognizing today’s resistance is part of a longer legacy of women’s resistance. The section “Women for the build-up” demonstrates why, for a demilitarized and decolonized future, it is not enough just to have (any) women in positions of power who support the “build-up” and justify imperial frameworks based on the “protector/protected” narrative. Ten years of women-led nonviolent resistance was presented through five examples: firstly, the written digital, legal, and political resistance posted to Facebook by Christine Taitano DeLisle about the occupation of the CHamoru language to smooth over the local resistance; secondly, the legal and political resistance by *Fuetsan Famalão’an* and *Guåhan Coalition for Peace and Justice* through community meetings and formal written comments to the DOD; thirdly, the more recent example of digital, political resistance by *Our Islands Are Sacred*, an artistic collective which organized a community gathering in the Governor’s office and recorded and posted their action to the new media platforms, Facebook and Instagram; and fourthly, the example of the Miss Earth Guam contestant, Gloria Asunción Nelson, who digitally, politically, and spiritually

resisted with her entrance video, reciting the *Inifresi* in CHamoru and including the hashtag, #RiseUpGuahan with her digital productions featured on Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube; fifth and finally, the example of digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance as a strategic direct action during the closing ceremony of the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts and Culture with the hashtag #DemilitarizeOceania. These instances of Indigenous women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance are grounded in ancient matriarchal systems, inspired through reciprocal frameworks, and combined with new media technologies to carry the resistance into the future. The next chapter analyzes the women’s current digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands as a response to expanding militarization. The proposed Pacific pivot projects portrayed as necessary for “national security” are the latest version of imperial control of the archipelago.

Chapter 5

Fan'tachu Fama'lauan: Women's Resistance to Militarization in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

This chapter continues with the decolonial and gendered analytical approach to the invisible and visible environmental politics of expanding militarization of the Marianas Archipelago, to examine Indigenous women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance. While the previous chapter examined CHamoru women's resistance to the sexist politics of everyday and expanding militarization on Guå'han, this chapter is devoted to CHamoru and Refalawasch women-led contemporary resistance to the escalating environmental politics of the United States' (hereafter US) militarization in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (hereafter CNMI).

While activists on Guå'han have been resisting the *United States–Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation Agreement* (Roadmap) since it was first announced in 2006, the Environmental Impact Statements (hereafter EIS) plans for the CNMI were released in April of 2015. Similar to Guå'han's imperial experience, the expanding US militarization is linked to the political relationship between the US federal government and the CNMI. This chapter begins by providing a summary of prior unfulfilled US Department of Defense (hereafter DOD) commitments and previous agreements, which fuel women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to expanding US militarization in the CNMI.

The DOD does not differentiate between Guå'han and the CNMI in a political sense, and according to the *Mariana Islands Training and Testing* (hereafter MITT) proposal every island in the archipelago is categorized as a "potential location" for a Live Fire Training Range Complex (hereafter LFTRC). The situation is further complicated because the LFTRC plans for Tini'an and Pågan islands (pronounced PAH-GAN) are contingent on the relocation of the 5,000 Marines and their dependents to Andersen Air Force Base on Guå'han. Tini'an and Pågan islands become LFTRCs, while Guå'han

provides the housing and an additional LFTRC. Although the projects are interconnected and interdependent, the DOD has released six EIS documents at various stages as if they are *separate* projects. This (illegal) tactic of “unbundling” is the focus of a lawsuit recently filed in the federal court in Sa’ipan and discussed in the final section of this chapter (Ngata, 2016). The shared imperial militarized experience in Guå’han and the CNMI creates a(n) (unintended) fluidarity between the islands. Mariana Island women continue to support each other in the long-term struggle against the DOD. While the CNMI is considered “America’s best-kept secret” by the tourism industry, it is also considered US “soil” by the DOD, which can potentially exercise eminent domain in the name of “national security” to use the land, sea, and air for military purposes (Ortigas, 2016; Villahermosa, 2016b).¹²⁵

Fan’tachu Fama’lauan: Women’s Resistance to Militarization in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

The first section outlines the latest Draft/Overseas Environmental Impact Statement to be released by the DOD in 2015, *The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Joint Military Training* (hereafter CJMT). The subsections include the communities’ concerns through “public meetings,” written methods of resistance through comment submissions as structured by the National Environmental Protection Act (hereafter NEPA), as well as a legal review of the CJMT document. The second section of the chapter outlines the women’s concerns about two main issues: unfulfilled DOD commitments and ignored previous agreements. The historical context of these concerns includes economic and environmental commitments. The section “Covenant Agreement” is specifically focused on the “Military Technical Agreement, Section 802” (hereafter MTA), as well as two prior programmatic agreements from 2010 and 2015 with signed Record of Decision (RODs).

The third section, “Women’s Resistance,” analyzes five women-led digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance efforts shared across new media platforms, through local organizational lawsuits, politically through archipelago-wide coalition building,

¹²⁵ The population of the CNMI is just under 52,000 people according to estimates from the 2015 Census. See the Office of the Governor & Lt. Governor for the CNMI: <http://gov.mp>.

and spiritually through the desire to return “home” to Pagan island. The first example is written digital, legal, political, and spiritual collaboration between Cinta M. Kaipat and myself. The second example is a Change.org petition created by a nurse and mother on Tini’an. The third is a letter written by CNMI and Guå’han politicians, which addresses legal and political issues. The fourth is a YouTube video created by the Guam high school all-girls class and through hashtags. Its creators express their legal, political, and spiritual fluidarity. The fifth example is the recently filed lawsuit by community organizations in the CNMI against the US DOD; this ongoing lawsuit confronts environmental politics and imperial militaristic expansion.

The resistance is complex, especially as the CHamoru and Refalawasch populations of the CNMI serve in the US military at high rates for their small population.¹²⁶ The forms of resistance demonstrate an understanding that the “US military” is not one, monolithic organization, but it is diverse. Indigenous residents proudly serve in the US Armed Forces, while at the same time they want to “protect and defend” their sacred lands and seas from becoming LFTRCs. “We definitely support our military’s needs to train and be ready, but please do not destroy our homes in [the] process” (Hofschneider, 2016h). The women leading the resistance also reiterate how they are not “anti-military,” but demand that the DOD explain unfulfilled commitments and uphold previous agreements, before drafting *new* agreements and making additional promises to the community. Environmental politics of expanding militarization is the foundation of their resistance.

The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Joint Military Training

The current surge in the women’s resistance is a direct response to the latest US military plans released to the public. In April 2015, Draft Environmental Impact Statement (DEIS)/ Overseas Environmental Impact Statement (OEIS) CJMT document

¹²⁶ See the story about the first Refalawasch to become an officer in the US Navy, *and* a woman (Department of Public Safety, 2012).

was released (Chapter 3, Table 6).¹²⁷ This 1,400-page document proposes the creation of LFTRCs on Pagan and Tini'an islands, and the use of the beaches for amphibious landings and the sea around the islands for war exercises and sonar testing.¹²⁸ The US Navy wants Tini'an for twenty weeks of live-fire training and twenty-two weeks a year of non-live activity, including munitions storage, danger zones, and airspace and seaspace restrictions. The military wants to employ the entire island of Pagan as a high-level bombing range for exercises from the land, air, and sea, including "guns-blazing war games" for at least sixteen weeks a year (Cloud, 2015). However, the document includes the possibility of such activity forty weeks per year on Pagan and forty-five weeks on Tini'an (Figure 25) (Hofschneider, 2016a).

After the release of this large and highly technical CJMT document, and as required by NEPA, the US military provided only thirty to ninety days for the public to submit written or verbal comments from elected officials, and governmental agencies, private-sector institutions, businesses, community organizations and the general public.¹²⁹ During this period, the DOD held (and controlled) culturally inappropriate "open-house style public meetings" at schools on Sa'ipan and Tini'an. In order to speak at the meeting, local residents had to register in advance and verbal comments were limited to three-minutes only.¹³⁰ Numerous residents are also US Armed Forces veterans, and they

¹²⁷ Note that the DOD considers the CNMI and an "Overseas" location, with the Overseas Environmental Impact Statement (OEIS) category, while the EIS document for Guå'han does not include it. Local women speculate this has to do with political status as a territory versus a Commonwealth.

¹²⁸ In March 2015, a federal court ruled that these sonar exercises and underwater detonations in the waters surrounding Hawai'i and off the coast of California violate the Marine Mammal Protection Act and the Endangered Species Act (K. Martinez, 2015). However, the Navy continues to use the same methods within the Mariana Islands Training and Testing (MITT) program. See: <https://www.nrdc.org/media/2015/150331-0>. Also see Chapter 1 of the Special Report, Pacific Outpost in the *Civil Beat* by Anita Hofschneider (2016a). For an explanation of MITT: <http://islandbreath.blogspot.co.nz/2013/11/help-save-mariana-islands.html>.

¹²⁹ In addition, the US military must follow Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, a separate consultation process to determine the "potential effects of the proposed action on historic properties." Available: <http://www.cnmijointmilitarytrainingeis.com/get-involved>.

¹³⁰ Four CHamoru and Refalawasch scholars and residents outlined how the EIS "public meeting" forum is culturally incompatible with CHamoru and Refalawasch methods of gathering community input and feedback. They discuss how reciprocal culture creates

spoke at these meetings of their experience of “protecting and defending” US interests abroad, and how they are now resisting the destruction of their homeland (Figure 26).¹³¹ Veteran Francella Kaipat Reyes delivered her testimony with her daughter Natasha by her side. As described by her auntie:

When she raised her right hand and swore to protect and defend her country and her people, she did so with no questions asked. And she endured the painful sacrifice of leaving her daughter motherless for 13 months while she was deployed overseas. She told us her feet touched the sands (and grounds) of Iraq, Afghanistan, and other remote places that’s [sic] hard for us to pronounce, let alone spell. Through it all, she gave her all and served as a loyal, patriotic daughter of the CNMI, serving her people and country. Today, she adds her plea to the chorus of voices asking for Uncle Sam not to destroy Pagan (Kaipat, 2015).

Peace activist, teacher, publisher, healer, and mother, Moñeka De Oro provided testimony at the *CNMI Joint Military Training Draft (CJMT) EIS/OEIS Public Meeting* held at Tini’an Junior Senior High School on 30 April 2015 (on the same date as the popular Tini’an Fiesta, a community event that nearly all 3,500 residents attend):

As a Chamoru, I would be remiss if I didn’t teach my students about the 4,000-year-old history and how our ancestors have fought hard over the last 500 years against foreign domination to keep our islands, our language, and our culture alive. We need to still honor them here today.

As a Peace Activist, I would be remiss if I didn’t teach my students that in the 239 years of American history, 222 of those years have been fighting wars and in conflicts all over the world. And Chamorus, Carolinians [Refalawasch], and Micronesians have been fighting, suffering and dying in these wars. And we STILL can’t vote for a

generous hosts, but there are “obligations and proper etiquette for the guests” [e.g. a US government agency like the military] (Cabrera, Kaipat, Marsh-Taitano, & Perez, 2015). Within the framework of being a “good guest,” the authors discuss how to properly and respectfully gather input from the community and the importance of oral culture.

¹³¹ Vincent Cing, a twenty-nine-year-old Army veteran from Tini’an is concerned about how some military services members might treat local people, “especially women and the environment. He said, ‘they just disrespect the culture and the island people. I don’t want them to come, to bring that and do that over here.’” However, since he was medically discharged after serving ten years, he would “go back there in a heartbeat” (as quoted in Hofschneider, 2016c). This is an example of Marianas’ patriotism. You can proudly serve the US, while still protecting and defending your islands and people.

president!

Enough is enough! Not one bomb, not one bullet in our islands!

I would be remiss if I didn't tell my students that there *is* a better way. Our ancestors knew a better way. They knew something that the American forefathers never knew. Something that the American consume-and-waste economy does not know.

That we are all one!

(Video posted on Alternative Zero Coalition's Facebook page, 5 May 2015).

At the EIS meetings, these women (one a soldier, the other a teacher, and both mothers) highlighted “protecting” and “defending,” while honoring the ancestors and the genealogy of resistance to keep the islands, language, and culture alive. The soldier vowed to protect and defend her people and country and served in the US military overseas. However, when she returned, “Uncle Sam” wanted to destroy her homeland. The teacher alluded to honoring the ancestors, whose knowledge is 4,000 years old—much older than the US “ideals” of democracy and freedom that come at the expense of the people of the Marianas and that are required curriculum in the local schools.

Despite the recurring release of numerous “lengthy, technical, complex American English-language documents that refer to one another, which have been 11,000, 4,000, and 1,500 pages long,” CNMI residents, including politicians, and even US federal agencies, have expressed strong opposition to the expanding militarization (Cabrera et al., 2015). A record number of nearly 30,000 comments opposing the project were submitted in response to the CJMT document (Hofschneider, 2016c). Residents and their supporters continue to voice their concerns through letters to the editors of the local newspapers, the *Marianas Variety* and the *Saipan Tribune* (Dayao, 2015a, 2015b; S. Frain, 2015b; Zotomayor, 2015b).

While maintaining that they are not “anti-military” or “anti-American,” local residents assert that the military must *at least* fulfill past promises. They believe that neither live-fire bombing on Tini'an nor the use of Pagan were included in the *Covenant Agreement*. They question the necessity of using their limited landmass and waters for high impact, live-fire training purposes. Cinta M. Kaipat, a CHamoru and Refalawasch

attorney who was born on Agrigan (an island north of her childhood home of Pagan) and who currently resides on Sa'ipan, asked, "how would they [the military] like it if this was done in their backyard? If they need to do this training so badly, why not in California, Washington [State], or Texas?" (2015). Her perspective and resistance will be expanded on in the third section of the chapter, "Women's Resistance."

Dentons Environmental Science Associates

People in the CNMI are not strangers to the US military acquiring, leasing, and releasing land for military purposes. The residents of the CNMI are familiar with live-fire training and war games as well. In addition to the public hearings and a record number of comments submitted, the politicians of the CNMI also oppose the further militarization of the archipelago. In April 2015, shortly after the release of the CJMT proposal, the Federal and Foreign Affairs Committee in the Marianas House voted 19-0 in favor of a resolution introduced by the late Governor Inos to "oppose any and all proposed military use of Pagan" (Cloud, 2015). The House Committee on Federal and Foreign Affairs Chair, Representative Angel Demapan, referred to Guå'han's experience with the DOD and to a successful lawsuit, which saved the sacred Pogat village from becoming an LFTRC. Representative Demapan stated:

The [US] military used the same tactics with the people of Guam when they tried to build a base in a Chamorro village which the people of Guam opposed. You would think after the military's experience with Guam that they would learn, but it appears that they didn't learn and they are treating us the same way and with the same tactics that they imposed on the people of Guam. But we will remain vigilant and we will fight for our position (as reported by Villahermosa, 2015).

In support of this stance, the CNMI administration hired a team of legal experts, Dentons Environmental Science Associates (hereafter Dentons), to review the "legal adequacy" of the CJMT proposal on behalf of the CNMI government. They found it "fails to meet even the most basic requirements... and the limited evidence presented in the document suggests that the CJMT would violate both federal and CNMI law" (Dentons US LLP Environmental Science Associates, 2015). Attorney Nicholas Yost of Dentons reassured the CNMI that "no one is above the law and that includes the

military.” Attorney Matthew Adams, also with Dentons, added that the DEIS lacks “alternatives, impact analysis, mitigation, and public input” and concluded, based on these initial findings, that the CJMT is “non-complaint with the basic principles of the NEPA” (Kedi & Scaliem, 2015).¹³²

Through similar avenues used in Guå’han to counter the initial military “build-up” announcement, CNMI women are employing digital, legal, political, and spiritual forms of resistance. First, they are leading local community campaigns focused on the legal rights of the local community and have filed a lawsuit in the federal court in Sa’ipan. Second, women’s political resistance reaches across the archipelago through coalition building and letter writing to local newspaper editors. Their resistance is supported by CNMI politicians who are engaged with the DOD and the federal government in 902 Talks, as outlined in the *Covenant Agreement*. Third, the resistance is digitally spreading beyond the archipelago across such new media platforms as Change.org, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Finally, the resistance efforts are grounded through the spiritual connection to the seascape and supported by matriarchal principles.

Unfulfilled Commitments & Previous Agreements

Women’s resistance in the CNMI is fuelled within the environmental politics of two concerns: unfulfilled DOD commitments and previous agreements, which are contradicted by the CJMT document. Two of the unfulfilled economic and environmental commitments included in the Military Training Agreement (hereafter MTA) and two previous DOD programmatic agreements are analyzed here to demonstrate how imperial ideologies justify the expanding militarization in the CNMI. The historical US military legacy and DOD interference in self-determination shape today’s expanding militarization, as well as women’s digital, legal, political, and

¹³² Adams also says that the CNMI is “one of the poorest, most isolated and least well-represented entities in the US.” Brian Turner, an attorney at the National Trust for Historic Preservation, says the EIS proposal demonstrates “environmental injustice” and “if this sort of thing were purposed in North Carolina [the continental United States], it just would never happen” (as quoted in Hofschneider, 2016a). Here, attorneys speak to the imperial ideologies that render the archipelago “invisible” and beyond the continental US.

spiritual resistance to it.

A brief historical overview of the controversies of the 1970s during the negotiations to create Commonwealth status begins the chapter, as this agreement structures the CNMI residents' avenues of discussion (and resistance) with the US federal government and the DOD. As indicated throughout this thesis, numerous DOD EIS documents have been released to the community for review since the 2006 *Roadmap* announcement. Each EIS released to the community is long and technical, as well as legally questionable. The two following programmatic agreements, MIRC and MITT, highlight the problematic process inherent within the imperial control of insular areas and US domestic legal frameworks. The latest CJMT document, released in 2015 concludes the chapter with a discussion of how the DOD plans contradict the local "homesteading" program designed for Pagan island.

Economic Commitment: A Joint-Service Air Force-Navy Base on Tinian

The CNMI road to self-determination was not without interference when in the early 1970s the DOD interjected and militarized the "mutually negotiated" political status process. During the negotiations that began in 1972 for the "Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States," the US Navy announced it needed to establish a \$300 million joint Air Force-Navy airfield, a multi-service airbase, a logistics supply depot, a marine amphibious training center, and an over-the-horizon radar facility on Tini'an. The DOD wanted to "lease" the entire island of Tini'an and remove the 900 residents.¹³³ Tini'an's protected, deep-water harbor would become an ammunitions wharf.¹³⁴ In response, Tini'an youth

¹³³ A 1974 US Air Force Socio-Economic Impact Study later confirmed such a move would result in "a deterioration of the Islanders' standard of living" (Micronesian Support Committee, 1982 p. 37). However, the study was not released to the public until *after* the vote on the Commonwealth Agreement.

¹³⁴ A similar Navy plan to construct an ammunitions wharf at Sella Bay in the south of Guå'han was successfully halted by the community through the "Save Sella Bay" petition, which gathered 15,000 resident signatures and was sent to the Department of the Interior. In November 1969, the Navy unilaterally and without consultation with GovGuam or the public, announced plans for \$100 million US new ammunition wharf, which would develop 12,500 acres of pristine and uninhabited section of the island, an area that the Guam Environmental Council wanted to see become a Territorial Seashore

organized a protest to demonstrate their opposition to “leasing” their island to the US government for 100 years. Nine hundred Tini’an residents, nearly the entire population of the island, attended this protest and Tini’an’s Mayor sent a petition to the United Nations, demanding a stop to the American “land grab.” Even businessman Jose C. Tenorio suggested the price being paid by the US for Tini’an was far too low (Farrell, 1991, p. 599).¹³⁵ The lease value of the land and waters immediately adjacent to Tini’an was determined at \$17.5 million US (approximately \$74 million today), while the entire island and waters surrounding No’os (Farrallon de Medinilla, FDM) were valued at \$20,600 US (approximately \$86,000 today) (p. 595).¹³⁶

As the political and legal resistance continued, both the US federal government and the DOD did not want to compromise the plebiscite or garner too much international attention. The US Congress and the US Department of the Interior (hereafter DOI) then created a controversial political status option ballot. Instead of considering the three categories for self-determination as outlined by the United Nations (Statehood; Free Association; or Independence) the ballot simply provided a “yes” or “no” option: remain part of the Strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (hereafter TTPI), something that the residents had been resisting for years, or become a “Commonwealth in Political Union with the United States of America.” The wording of the ballot made it impossible for anyone wanting Commonwealth status to reject any section of the *Covenant Agreement*, including the military plans.

In the last minute effort to smooth over the resistance, the Pentagon “compromised” to continue with the military project, but to take only take two-thirds of the island (17,799

Park. Despite the petition and the court’s decision, the Naval planners in Washington went ahead with the plans, invoking the principle of eminent domain (Rogers, 1995, p. 249). However, by 1974, the Pentagon finally agreed to a location already within Naval boundaries, today at Orote Peninsula where the ammunition dock “K” sits and is rarely used.

¹³⁵ Two-thirds of Tini’an are currently a restricted Military Lease Area, with the northern half categorized as the Exclusive Military Use Area and the southern half is the Leaseback Area (Pike, 2011). See Figure 25.

¹³⁶ The full *Covenant Agreement* can be accessed online: <http://www.cnmilaw.org/cnmicovenant.html>. The 2016 value was calculated by the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index Inflation Calculator. See http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.

acres) and not to relocate the villagers (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 96). The locals were promised US military base jobs, education for their children in base schools, use of the hospital, and other benefits. They agreed to those conditions and voted in favor of the project through the political status plebiscite. While the DOD secured two-thirds of the island, restricting it from the locals, the promises relating to the benefits for the community never came to fruition. The joint-base plan was never implemented, nor was the school or hospital (Hofschneider, 2016a). Many saw this not as true self-determination. Rather, the “United States, needing to ensure their military objectives, [and] rigged the Commonwealth Covenant plebiscite” (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 93).

Today’s Indigenous resistance to the militarization of the islands is met with the DOD response that they “knew about their military obligations when they voted for the Marianas Commonwealth Covenant.” When challenged about past “unfulfilled promises” made by the DOD and previous agreements, the (now former) Marine Forces Pacific Executive Director, Craig B. Whelden, claims that he “does not know what happened 30 or 40 years ago” (Zotomayor, 2015a, p. 4). This imperial handling of the islands and peoples has not been forgotten on Tini’an, particularly by the women, and it informs their ongoing digital, political, and legal resistance today (Figure 27).¹³⁷

Environmental Commitment: Chiget Mortar Range

For the past five years, Tini’an Mayors, CNMI Governors, and local historians have issued numerous requests for the DOD to clean up the *Chiget Mortar Range*. Tini’an

¹³⁷ **Fieldwork Journal, 20 June 2015. “Talk-Story” with Moñeka De Oro, mother, teacher, healer, activist:**

During her first week as a teacher at the Jr. high/high school on Tini’an, the US military was carrying out trainings on island and came to the school. They divided the kids up into 12 groups, doing different exercises, trying on uniforms, and even learning chants. They had them yell, “kill, kill, kill.” She was marking papers under the tree (journals about what ‘home’ means to them). No one else- teachers included- saw any problem with it. Many of the military guys were only a few years older than the high schoolers and would come and visit some of the female students. Some were excited and thought of them as “hot” and “exciting,” while others were scared and intimidated. Here on Guå’han and on Tini’an, women are leading the resistance and organizing. But she is careful not to compare the Northern Mariana Islands to Guå’han; or say, “on Tini’an we do it like this.” It is not her place (she is from Guå’han) and it was very sensitive as not to compare or judge.

Mayor, Joey P. San Nicolas, continuously demands this must happen before Tini'an considers the construction of additional LFTRCs (Chan, 2015a, 2015b; Zotomayor, 2015a). The 97.5-acre artillery range was used for live-fire training from 1945-1994 and remains a military "scar" and a "duded impact area." It is contaminated with chromium and iron, exceeding the 2008 Guam Environmental Protection Agency Pacific Basin Environment Screening Levels for groundwater that is a current or potential source of drinking water (Chan, 2015b).¹³⁸ Located next to the popular tourist site, the Tini'an Blow Hole, the range has remained closed. This serves as an example of what happens to a "high-impact area," such as those outlined in the CJMT. For those resisting militarization, it demonstrates an additional unfulfilled commitment by the DOD. Women's resistance in Tini'an maintains that they are not "unpatriotic" or "un-American," and in fact, "We believed in America," but historical (in)actions by both the US federal government and the DOD show otherwise (Hofschneider, 2016c).¹³⁹ The ongoing environmental degradation is an everyday aspect of militarization that fuels the women's legal, political, and spiritual resistance.

Covenant Agreement

On 24 March 1976, when President Gerald Ford signed the Covenant document into Public Law 94-241: 90 Stat. 263, "another island nation was acquired for the U.S. military" (Dé Ishtar, 1994, pp. 93, 94). *The Covenant* document outlines the political relationship between the US and the CNMI. "Article 1: Political Relationship, Section §§ 101, 103," states that the Mariana Islands will be under "the sovereignty of the

¹³⁸**Fieldwork Journal, 8 July 2015. Talk-story with Lucy Sablan, Garapan, Sai'pan:**

"I remember the live-fire on Tini'an in the 1980s. We heard it, felt it, and saw it here on Sa'ipan because of the close proximity. It is not just the Tini'an residents who are impacted— I can only image how intense it was for those ON Tini'an. We would watch the sky light up and the windows would shake." The current Tini'an Mayor, Joey San Nicolas, grew up on Tini'an and also remembers the "detonating in the northern Tinian and feeling the vibrations even though he was on the south side of the island" (Hofschneider, 2016c).

¹³⁹In addition to the LFTRC on Tini'an, another example of the US Military environmental contamination legacy is the forty-two leaking oil fuel tanks abandoned by the US Navy in the 1960s on Sai'pan, known as the *Tangpag Fuel Farm*. This is in addition to the millions of pounds of Unexploded Ordinances (UXOs) (Hofschneider, 2016a).

United States of America.” “Article I Id §102” also establishes that the US has “complete responsibility for and authority with respect to matters relating to foreign affairs and defense.” *The Covenant* continues to be a debatable document; one that many feel should be reconsidered to reflect true self-determination.¹⁴⁰ As the CNMI Guide website clarifies:

The Northern Marianas was not under the sovereignty of the United States when the Covenant was approved; the Government of the United States entered into the Covenant pursuant to its constitutional power to conduct foreign affairs. The United States did not grant the people of the Northern Mariana Islands their right of self-government by approving the Covenant; the people of the Northern Marianas reserved those rights when they approved the Covenant; by the Covenant’s own terms, the plenary powers of the Federal Government under the Territorial Clause are not applicable to the Northern Mariana Islands (Hafa Adai, n.d.).

Numerous residents feel that since the CNMI has more political rights as a commonwealth than a territory, the ability to resist the DOD plans is greater. This legal framework provides the residents of the CNMI with more power in the negotiation process and the locally elected leaders are more openly skeptical and critical of what the DOD is offering. Politicians from the CNMI claim sovereignty lies with the Commonwealth since the Commonwealth does not have a voting representative in the US Congress. Therefore, plenary power rests with US Congress, which can override any local laws concerning the Commonwealth. Restricting democratic jurisdiction of the Commonwealth is contrary to the basic principles of the UN Resolution on Self-Determination for Dependent Peoples (Farrell, 1991, p. 653). Issues of sovereignty and

¹⁴⁰ To see the whole CNMI Constitution, visit: <https://www.cnmilaw.org/constitution.html>. See the 30 June 2016 article discussing the creation of a second Marianas Political Status Commission intended to “examine whether the people desire to continue in a political union with the United States” (Hofschneider, 2016a). While the provision to “re-negotiate” the Covenant was deleted, the bill gives the “commission duties and powers to essentially examine whether the CNMI’s political status is still favorable and whether other political options like independence or free association are available” (Chan, 2016d). Also, see the *Overseas Territories Review*, a “forum for critical analysis of international issues and developments of particular relevance to the sustainable political and socio-economic development of Overseas Countries and Territories.” Available: <http://overseasreview.blogspot.co.nz/search?q=CNMI>.

control over the land are directly related to the contemporary military proposal for the use of the islands and seas.

The *Covenant Agreement* offers two sections for interaction between local CNMI political leaders and the DOD and the US federal government. Both the MTA relating to the military lease for Tini'an and "Section 902" permits consultations and discussions between the CNMI leadership and the US DOI to (re)assess "all matters affecting the relationship between them" (Villahermosa, 2016c).

In June 2016, the CNMI Governor Ralph Deleon Guerrero Torres traveled to Washington, DC for the Covenant 902 talks with the DOI and the DOD (Hofschneider, 2016a). Speaking to the DOD personally, regarding the proposed CJMT document, he stated: "We have an existing contract. That needs to be fulfilled before you start proposing anything else. That's what we want. Nothing more, nothing else" (Chan, 2016a). Torres referred to the MTA as the "existing contract." In addition, Torres wrote in a letter to Lt. Gen Anthony Crutchfield, the DOD's current point of contact, which prior programmatic agreements "with the military should move forward first before another agreement is signed" (Villahermosa, 2016d). These agreements included the *Mariana Islands Range Complex* (2010) (hereafter MIRC) and the *Mariana Islands Training and Testing* (2015) (hereafter MITT) (Chapter 3, Table 5).

Military Technical Agreement, Section 802

Commonly referred to as the "MTA," the Military Technical Agreement Article 8: Property, Section 802, Id.§104, states that, "property will be made available to the Government of the United States by lease to enable it to carry out its defense responsibilities" (Willens & Siemer, 2002). In addition, the MTA outlines the perimeters of the military lease and use of land on Sa'ipan, Tini'an, and No'os (Farrallon de Medinilla, FDM) islands. The MTA instructs the US to "recognize" and "respect" that the people "need, depend upon and cherish their very limited land," of 184 square-miles (F. Taitano, 2015). However, the extent of this recognition is unclear, and many are concerned that the US military may still use the principle of eminent domain and claim "national security" to push the militarization plans, whilst disregarding the *Covenant Agreement*.

Save Tini'an

While the MTA outlines the structure of the lease, including the acreage, price, and activities the military may conduct, the exploitation of Tini'an for an LFTRC is in direct violation of the agreement (Chamorro.com). The planned construction of an LFTRC will degrade land, destroy acres of coral, and put residents in risk of death and injury from the stray ordinance. Furthermore, the EPA (Environmental Protection Agency) is concerned that the plans will pollute the aquifer on Tini'an, the only groundwater source for its 3,100 residents (Hofschneider, 2016a).¹⁴¹ The late Eloy Inos, the 8th Governor of the CNMI, stated it would “violate the terms and spirit of the original Tinian land lease agreement” (Chan, 2015a).

Members of the *Tinian Women's Association* (hereafter TWA), a non-profit group dedicated to preserving the CHamoru culture and advocating for Tini'an women and children, submitted comments to the Navy's environmental review and passed out informational flyers to inform local residents. Deborah Fleming, who was a child during the formation of the Covenant and is now a spokeswoman for TWA, said that when two-thirds of Tini'an were leased by the US military in the 1970s, “use of the island as a firing range was never discussed, and elders would not have agreed to this. It is as far beyond” what local communities agreed to when they participated in the political status plebiscite. “Now we're presented with a totally different picture of using our island as a bombing range which we oppose because the plan fails to identify what those effects are, so that our people are aware about exactly what is happening” (Radio New Zealand, 2016a). TWA member Florine Hofschneider said in a media statement, “We refuse to accept the Navy's plan to subject our children to nearly constant bombardment” (Jones, 2016).¹⁴² The women's legal resistance is based on the MTA, while their political resistance is interwoven with the local politicians' efforts and

¹⁴¹ It would also (ironically) destroy the first peace monument built by US Navy Seabees in 1945 on Tini'an, after the Japanese Imperial Forces surrendered. In addition, the training is potentially going to destroy 200 sites that are eligible for the National Register for Historic Places (Hofschneider, 2016c).

¹⁴² See the short video with residents from Tini'an, accessible online: <http://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/asia/2016/08/voices-northern-mariana-islands-160831152622901.html>.

abilities structure through the Covenant 902 talks (Hofschneider, 2016a). As Ms. Flemming stated, “We believed in America. Instead what they want to do is destroy our island” (Hofschneider, 2016c).

It was due to the plans to create high-impact LFTRC on Pagan and Tini’an and to “acquire new property in the Northern Marianas for defense-related purposes” that the late CNMI Governor, Eloy S. Inos, initiated the Covenant 902 talks in May of 2013, and then again in 2015 (Villahermosa, 2016c). After Governor Inos’ passing in late 2015, Governor Ralph Deleon Guerrero Torres resumed the Covenant 902 talks, stating that they are not negotiations, but rather an “avenue” to discuss agreements

That made us a part of the United States. We are here to tell the United States what we are facing and the issues that we have. We are not asking for bailouts. We are asking them to look at our situation and perhaps give them a special approach because we do have a special relationship. But no negotiation (as reported by Chan, 2016a).

House Committee on Federal and Foreign Affairs

The Association of Pacific Island Legislatures (hereafter APIL) functions essentially as one “Blue Continent,” and is a collective of a dozen legislatures from island states across Micronesia (and includes American Samoa). On 9 July 2015, the APIL adopted Resolution No. 34-GA-16, CD1, entitled “Relative to expressing opposition to any and all proposed military use of the Northern Mariana Islands of Pagan and any increase in military activities on Tinian, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.” This resolution states:

The Covenant, which sets forth not only the scope and parameters of the political relationship between the CNMI and the U.S., including identifying those specific parcels of real property deemed necessary for national defense purposes, scarce land in the CNMI is once again being slated for increased militarization... extending far beyond FDM (Kedi & Scaliem, 2015).

The APIL argues that the Pacific pivot of US military must be “managed in a comprehensive manner... throughout the CNMI’s history, foreign powers and outside influences have made major decisions and have dictated the course of development” (Eugenio, 2014). This political resistance demonstrates a fluidarity and understanding among Pacific Islands, despite imperial meridians and colonial statuses (full Statement

by the APIL in Appendix D).

The 18th CNMI House of Representatives via House Joint Resolution 18 – 14 and the 19th CNMI Legislatures via House Joint Resolution 19 – 3, have opposed the military’s proposed Pagan plan for combined-unit live-fire trainings, and maneuvers. This entails the impermissible continuous use and occupation of the entire island of Pagan for warfare function areas, not limited to “amphibious warfare, anti-submarine warfare, mine warfare, strike warfare, air warfare, surface warfare, electronic warfare, and Naval special warfare” (Kedi & Scaliem, 2015).

The *Covenant Agreement* remains an important legal agreement and political framework that informs women’s contemporary digital, legal, and political resistance to the numerous EIS documents the DOD releases. The women refer to it as a basis of previous agreements, and as intending to hold the DOD accountable. However, the information that the document includes is just as important as what it does not. The Covenant does not discuss Pagan island, and most seriously, does not mention it for use as an LFTRC.

Save Pagan

The MTA outlined the lease for two-thirds of Tini’an, and all of No’os; however, it never mentioned any additional islands, including Pagan island. Pagan is 290 kilometers (180 miles) north of Sa’ipan, toward the northern end of the Mariana Islands. It is the Mariana Islands’ most biologically, and geologically diverse island and home to numerous endangered and threatened species, including an endangered fruit bat and a rare tree snail found nowhere else in the world.¹⁴³ This island is twelve kilometers long by four kilometers wide or eighteen-square-miles. It is shaped like a “tadpole,” with two volcanoes at either end (Figure 25) (Jordan, 2015, p. 9). Mt. Pagan is an active 1,870 feet volcano, which erupted in 1922 and then again in 1981, forcing

¹⁴³ The US Fish and Wildlife Service to document the endangered and rare flora and fauna in 2010 hired Dr. Michael Hadfield, a biologist at the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa. He considers Pagan a “biological treasure house,” not a “volcanic wasteland” like the DOD claim it is. He says that, “they [the DOD] pay little attention to that huge bunch of surveys” and previous studies, creating an incomplete and false EIS (Olson, 2015).

about 300 residents to evacuate to Sa'ipan. It is this community of residents, led by women, who are instrumental to the digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance.

The US Navy considers Pagan the “perfect” diverse training location. Its aim includes “tank maneuvers, amphibious landings, land mines, grenade launchers, rockets, mortars, missiles, shells, and air-dropped bombs up to 1000 pounds” from B-52s, drones, helicopters, and fighter jets (Chamorro.com, 2016). The black sand beaches, rare for the Mariana Islands, are large enough for “amphibious landings and trainings” with fleets of warships (U.S. Marine Corps Forces Pacific, 2015).¹⁴⁴ In addition, Marines carry out live-fire training at many bases around the world, and conduct beach landings at Camp Pendleton, San Diego, and Camp LeJeune, North Carolina. The former executive director of Marine Corps forces in the Pacific claims that, “We would protect it like it was our own” (Cloud, 2015). This includes dropping live-fire into the active volcano. Although the DOD states that the island is “uninhabited,” there are about a dozen residents currently living off and on the island (Cave, 2015; Olson, 2015, 17 April).

Homestead Program

According to Northern Islands Mayor, Jerome Kaipat Aldan, the CHamoru people's history on Pagan goes back to the 1300s, and despite forced relocation by Spanish, German, Japanese, and US colonizers, the ancestral connections remain strong to the volcanic and resource-rich island and waters surrounding it (Hofschneider, 2016b). Mt. Pagan is an active 1,870 feet volcano, which erupted in 1922 and then again in 1981, forcing the small Micronesian community of about 3000 to relocate to Sa'ipan. For over thirty years, more than fifty families who consider Pagan home have planned and are eager to return to the homesteads (Cave, 2015). It is this community of residents, led by women, who are instrumental in the digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance. The former residents who remain in Sa'ipan have formed coalitions and consistently advocate for the implementation of a homestead program, which will grant homestead lots to former residents (Todiño, 2014a). Mayor Aldan, who was six-years-

¹⁴⁴ Why the military needs to train in beach landings is “unclear.” There has not been an amphibious landing since the “successful invasion of Incheon on the Korean peninsula (over) sixty-five years ago” (Cloud, 2015).

old when the eruption forced his family's eviction, maintains that the homesteading plan is still in place and he is working for those on Sa'ipan who want to return to their home island (Todiño, 2014b).¹⁴⁵

The environmental politics of the expanding militarization of the CNMI is highlighted through the inconsistencies and contradictions of two previous projects, both with signed Record of Decisions (RODs): *Marianas Islands Range Complex* (MIRC) and *Mariana Islands Training and Testing* (MITT).

Mariana Islands Range Complex 2010

Similar to the actions of the 1970s, which promised resources for the local community in return for the militarization of their land and seascapes, the *Marianas Islands Range Complex* (hereafter MIRC) 2010 programmatic agreement between Guam, the CNMI, and the DOD committed to funding a \$1.2 million artifact curation facility on Sa'ipan and a \$500,000 cultural and interpretive center on Tini'an. These projects have not moved forward. Governor Torres states that before further proposals or agreements, "we would like to follow through on our previous agreements... if we do sign something and it is binding we would like to move forward with it" (Villahermosa, 2016d).

Even the US National Park Service (hereafter NPS) on Tini'an and Sa'ipan has pointed out that the DOD has ignored previous studies and promises of mitigation. The Department of the Navy document leaves many "unresolved issues," "seemingly

¹⁴⁵ Mayor Aldan's son serves in the US Army, and recently returned from the war in Iraq. Sowmangeyong Daniel Kaipat joined the Marines Corps after high school and served in Iraq, Okinawa, and Korea. At twenty-three, he was honorably discharged and moved to Pagan. His family also served: his uncle in the Gulf War and his cousin was discharged after a Humvee accident in the Middle East (Hofschneider, 2016b). This complexity is common within the resistance in the Marianas Archipelago. Nearly everyone has family who serves/ed. People can be against the use of their lands as LFTRCs while fulfilling their obligations to enlistment. If anything, it is due to their *prior* military service, that they *are* resisting. They have defended "freedom" and "democracy" overseas, so they know the true meanings of "sacrifice" and "protection" and "defense." Update: Mayor Aldan suffered a fatal heart attack on 20 February 2017 at forty-six-years. The community is currently in shock, and the future of the Pagan homestead program is uncertain (Pagarao, 2017).

ignored its own studies” which “backtrack and conflict” one another. This is outlined in an NPS report, written in collaboration with the Advisory Council on Historical Preservation, which addresses the MIRC project released five years ago (Chan, 2016c; Villahermosa, 2016d). The NPS is concerned about the impacts of the proposed training on both World War II (hereafter WWII) historical sites, and on ancient CHamoru sites, which are “finite and irreplaceable.” Ushi Point and the North Field WWII Landing Beaches on Tini’an formed the largest airfield in the world and are considered a National Historical Landmark District. The Hagoi wetland is the largest wetland and largest permanent freshwater source on Tini’an and is home to the endangered Marianas common moorhen. The site where the Navy wants to construct a twenty-five-foot surface radar tower contains ancient CHamoru archaeological sites, including several latte stone sets. This proposed design, location, construction, and frequency of training on the landmark district could potentially “damage,” “alter,” and “threaten this landmark’s ability to convey its physical character, and therefore to be interpreted and understood by the public” (Chan, 2016c).

According to the MIRC Agreement, the DOD is supposed to “coordinate with the NPS” to ensure that within this “layered historical landscape” there are zones for “resource protection” and the military enforces “activity mitigation” “to strike a balance between” stewardship and military training (2016c). However, according to the NPS, this has not been addressed regarding the Tinian National Historic Landmark district. For example, the grenade and mortar ranges and its high- hazard impact area overlap the landmark district boundary. Therefore, the NPS provides nine recommendations for the Navy to adhere to in order to preserve the integrity of the landmark district, including eliminating or modifying the amphibious assault landing ramps on the historic Landing Beaches (2016c).

This situation illustrates why history in the Marianas is so important, and how the resistance is based upon broken historical promises and ongoing impacts of war. The DOD both honors the North Field WWII Landing Beaches and the role they played in the “greatest invasion” of WWII, while at the same time, the DOD needs the beaches for “national security.” While the NPS provides a framework in which to resist the proposal based on “historical significance,” it nearly brushes over the Indigenous

connection to these land and seascapes as sacred areas separate from the US war history. While the NPS reminds the DOD of the site's historical significance, the DOD is even reluctant to officially recognize these areas within the greater atomic United States history. Residents believe that if the Landing Beaches were included as part of the NPS, this would complicate the DOD's militarization plans.

Local residents are concerned about the potential devastation of the tourism-based economy if access to northern beaches and WWII historic sites is lost (Chamorro.com, 2016).¹⁴⁶ Tini'an Mayor, San Nicolas, would like the atomic bomb pits on Tini'an to be included in the Manhattan Project historic sites for tourism.¹⁴⁷ As the location from which the atomic bombs dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima were launched, Tini'an was very much the frontline of WWII. The mayor is asking Marianas Forces Pacific to support the DOI in incorporating Tini'an into the new Manhattan Project National Historic Park, the 409th national park within America's National Park System (Zotomayor, 2015a, p. 4). Despite the monumental role Tini'an played in dropping the atom bomb, the Manhattan Project park is currently limited to three sites: the Los Alamos Laboratories, New Mexico; Oak Ridge, Tennessee; and Hanford, Washington. The community sees this as potential leverage to preserve Tini'an, even if it is within the US National Park System. The federal government fails to even symbolically recognize the role Tini'an played and has excluded it from the National Park System.

Mariana Islands Training and Testing 2015

In addition to the lease of Tini'an, the DOD acquired access to the entire island and waters surrounding No'os as part of the *Covenant Agreement* (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 93).

¹⁴⁶ As mentioned in the Introduction, for Guå'han, the conservative estimate of an annual loss of \$118 million in tourism revenues did not warrant the Guam Visitors Bureau (GVB) to oppose the build-up, causing the community to question the true mission of the GVB. For a full discussion, see Christine Taitano DeLisle's article "Destination Chamorro Culture" (DeLisle, 2016a, p. 563).

¹⁴⁷ During the recapture of Tini'an, US Forces used napalm bombs, the first time during warfare, against the Japanese. The US military WWII legacy in the Marianas includes the use of Tini'an to load and launch the atomic bombs. By mid-August 1945, the North Field was the largest airfield in the world almost twenty-miles long with B-29s taking off and landing around the clock. On 6 August 1945, Enola Gay, loaded with "Fat Man" took off from Tini'an to "devastate Hiroshima." Today, "old people tell stories that speak of "things" down there under the ground" (Dé Ishtar, 1994, p. 95).

No'os is a 206-acre uninhabited island forty-five nautical miles north of Sa'ipan. Today, the US Navy uses the island as a Live Fire Training Area, a bombing range from the air and sea. Aircraft bombers drop 500 - 2000-pound bombs, including air-to-ground missiles and mines; naval ships fire deck-mounted machine guns, cannons, and high explosive missiles (Figure 28) (Anchitoff & Galvin, 2002; Joint Region Marianas Public Affairs Office, 2016).

No'os is home to more than a dozen species of migratory birds, which used to be protected under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (MBTA). The Center for Biological Diversity, as supported by the local community, successfully sued the Navy in 2002 for failure to comply with the MBTA, stating that the bombing kills and harms migratory birds (Anchitoff & Galvin, 2002). A District Judge for the District of Columbia issued an injunction immediately halting all military activities at No'os. The court ruled that the Navy's trainings that harm or kill migratory birds violate the MBTA (2002).

While the Navy acknowledged that it was killing migratory birds and that other live-fire training facilities exist elsewhere, they continued the bombing. As part of its FY2003 defense authorization proposal, the DOD submitted to Congress a *Readiness and Range Preservation Initiative* requesting certain exemptions from six environmental laws: Migratory Bird Treaty Act (hereafter MBTA), Endangered Species Act, Marine Mammal Protection Act, Clean Air Act, Solid Waste Disposal Act, and Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act. The DOD was successful in obtaining exemption from the Migratory Bird Treaty Act, and in 2015, the Navy created the *Mariana Islands Training and Testing* (MITT; see Chapter 3, Table 5, number 2), a million square-nautical miles of ocean around the Mariana Islands for the military to carry out live-fire exercises and weapons testing (Chamorro.com, 2016). This allows for the continual bombing of No'os within Warning Area 517, an "irregular shaped polygon comprising of 14,000 nautical square miles of airspace that begins south of Guam and extends into international waters. W-517 supports surface and aerial gunnery, missiles, and laser exercises," and the MITT increased the annual bombing allowance by nearly 300 percent (Joint Region Marianas Public Affairs Office, 2016, 23 September).

A local fisherman's account of the impact and destruction caused by the live-fire training was featured on the community organization's *We Are Guåhan*, YouTube channel. The military targets are on top of the island, and if "they keep on doing that, FDM will become two islands... the center is getting thinner, and I guarantee it is going to collapse" (We Are Guahan, 2015). This is important as an example of the impact of live-fire training, despite the DOD's assertion that they are "very good stewards of the environment" and will "mitigate" the impact (Zotomayor, 2015a).

Women resisters state that the military already has access and uses the island for live-fire. Their legal and political resistance is based on previous agreements and legal documents, which the women believe the DOD should honor and respect first, before acquiring additional land for testing and bombing that were not agreed to. Local residents question, "Why do they need more of our sacred and scarce land? How does this benefit us? It doesn't!" (personal communication, 5 July 2015). Women's digital and spiritual resistance informs the legal and political aspects as well. The final section of this chapter analyzes five women-led efforts.

Women's Resistance

Four women-led organizations based in the CNMI are involved in the resistance, each with varying focuses and goals. The community group, *Tinian Women's Association*, cites the DOD's unfulfilled past commitments and previous agreements as the source of their legal and political resistance. The *Guardians of Gani'* spiritually resist militarization to protect the sensitive and unique environments of the Northern Mariana Islands, and honor the genealogical connection to the archipelago. Digital resistance by *Alternative Zero Coalition* and *PaganWatch* employ new media technologies to foster fluidarity and seek to control the future development of Pagan, as former residents express their desire to return home.

Women's digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance efforts are presented in chronological order since May 2015. They are organized in relation to my autoethnographical experience that has been directly guided and supported by Cinta M. Kaipat on Sa'ipan. First, with Kaipat's encouragement, I wrote a letter to the editor of local newspapers, followed by a virtual introduction to the online petition creator on

Tini'an. Then she sent me an invitation to join the *Alternative Zero Coalition* (hereafter AZC). Fluidarity across the archipelago includes my involvement in the creation of a letter delivered directly to President Obama, and the collection of signatures and endorsements from interested organizations and politicians on Guå'han. Finally, in looking to the future, as the community waits for additional EIS documents to be released by the DOD, women-led community organizations, along with a young woman attorney from Tini'an working with *Earthjustice*, filed a lawsuit against the DOD with the federal court in Sa'ipan. The Northern Islands Mayor's Office has created a *CNMI Northern Islands Facebook* page to highlight the beauty of the islands, and for other users to share their stories and visualize the connection (Figure 29).

Digital, Legal, Political, and Spiritual Resistance with Cinta M. Kaipat

Cinta M. Kaipat is the first Refalawasch woman to become a lawyer. She was born on Agrigan, the island north of Pågan and was educated by Peace Corps volunteers sent to teach all levels of elementary school on Pågan beginning in 1966 (The Peace Corps, 2015, p. 5). Her life experience embodies the complex political relationship between the CNMI and the US. She continues to visually tell the story of her connection to the island, and demonstrates her determination to return there to create a “thriving community” again. She provides a caption for context and to honor her 1st Grade Peace Corps teacher, Mrs. Carol Waldrip, and visually represents where “my formal education truly began” (Figure 30). In 1978, Kaipat finished her senior year of high school in the continental US at the invitation of the Burrells, her former and last Peace Corps teachers on Pågan. She then completed her BA at DePaul University in 1993, and then went on to graduate with a Juris Doctorate from the University of Minnesota Law School in 1997. She returned to the Mariana Islands in 1998 to fight to preserve the Refalawasch culture and protect Pågan from various outsider investors, as well as local and international investors. She worked in the Office of the CNMI Attorney General as an Assistant Attorney General as a prosecutor in the Criminal Division and later worked in the Civil Division. She also worked for the Department of Labor, first as a Hearing Officer (Administrative Law Judge), and was later appointed to the position of Deputy Secretary of Labor. She served as Congresswoman in the CNMI House of Representatives, 15th CNMI Legislature, from 2006-2008. Today, as a cultural

consultant, community advocate, documentary filmmaker, founder of *Beautify CNMI*, co-founder of *PaganWatch*, and AZC, she combines her Indigenous knowledge(s) with modern visual story-telling technology to tell her story and highlight the cultural significance of the island of Pagan.¹⁴⁸

Kaipat is a strong advocate for the “homesteading” program and wants to create an alternative future for her islands and people through ecotourism. She asserts that, “live-fire training is incompatible in every sense of the word with resettlement of Pagan and the rest of the Northern Islands” (Kaipat, 2015). These plans would “kill the dreams of hundreds of families who long to resettle on Pagan and the other inhabited Northern Mariana Islands” (Cave, 2015). The people, not the Pentagon and Washington, DC, should decide the future for Pagan. Many want to develop an eco-tourism industry, while others want to revive copra production, which flourished during the German and Japanese colonial era (Jordan, 2015).

In the past, community movements supported with digital resistance, have proven highly effective. A prior campaign to save Pagan originated when Japanese investors proposed to dump millions of tons of contaminated nuclear debris from the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami on the island (Hofschneider, 2016b). The success in resisting the Japanese proposal came years after CHamorus and Refalawasch defeated another scheme to mine the island and give only seven percent of the profits to the former residents.¹⁴⁹

I first connected with Kaipat through the *Alternative Zero Coalition* Facebook page

¹⁴⁸ In 1997, the documentary film, *Lieweila: A Micronesian Story* told of the Refalawasch culture, for the first time. It won the award for “Best Documentary at the 1999 Boulder Community Media Awards.” “Lieweila” means to “listen to our story” and the film is a “call for all people to listen to the stories of the past” (The Making of Lieweila Film. A Story Behind the Story, 1999). Visit Landlocked Films to order the film and read a summary and reviews: http://landlockedfilms.com/?page_id=557. From 2001 – 2010, Cinta served as the cultural consultant for the one-hour documentary for PBS *Insular Empire*. See www.theinsularempire.com. She is currently the co-writer, co-producer, and co-director of the forthcoming documentary film, *Too Beautiful to Bomb* documenting the “communities’ efforts to stop the US military from turning our populated home island of Pagan into live-fire bombing ranges.”

¹⁴⁹ See the website: <https://savepaganisland1.org>.

prior to beginning my fieldwork (Figure 31). The name “Alternative Zero” directly confronts the last “No-Action Alternative,” the DOD category required to be included in the EIS by the NEPA. The EIS document lists a number of “alternative” training variations of the proposed activities, but all with nearly the same devastating impacts. In effect, the “No-Action Alternative” still allows for live-fire trainings and installation construction, and the EIS document fails to provide a true alternative without any militarization. Therefore, the name “Alternative Zero” clearly asserts that the community does not want *any* of the proposed alternatives. They want “zero” of the proposed projects and their variations. AZC is a loose collective, comprised of approximately a dozen scientists, scholars, community members, and former residents of Pagan who are all working to protect and defend the island and their future. The coalition is leading digital and community resistance against the military plans, especially the high-impact, live-fire bombing, amphibious exercises, and sonar testing.

Following our digital collaboration, and due to Kaipat’s encouragement and support, I wrote a letter to the people of the Marianas through the editors of the local newspapers on Sa’ipan (Appendix E). Both the *Mariana Variety* and the *Saipan Tribune* published it in print, and on their Facebook pages. Kaipat was the first to notify me that it was published (Figure 32). Our online collaboration created momentum and served as an introduction before my arrival in the CNMI. Cinta posted the published letter on my Facebook page the morning it was published in print and online. “Olomwaay” is Refalawasch and “Si Yu’us Ma’ase” is CHamoru for “thank you” (Figure 33).

After collaborating our efforts through new media platforms to spread awareness about the military plans with my letter to the editor, I created my first academic poster, entitled: “Sankattan Siha Na Islas Mariãnas” or “The Northern Mariana Islands” in CHamoru (Figure 34). It was also posted and shared on the *Alternative Zero Coalition* Facebook page on 11 June 2015. This type of digital resistance before arriving in the archipelago enhanced my autoethnographical fieldwork experience by establishing connections and laying the foundation to demonstrate my sincerity and commitment to the people of the Mariana Archipelago. As opposed to researchers of the past, I am determined to ensure that the (re)search on women’s resistance is respectful to them, and relevant to their efforts. By the time I arrived in Sa’ipan, I had already established

friendships and working relationships with many of the women (Figure 35).

“Don’t Drop Bombs in My Backyard!”

Arley Long from Tini’an created the letter: “DO NOT use the inhabited US islands of Tinian and Pagan as a HIGH IMPACT bombing range” on the online petitioning platform, Change.org (Figure 36). Long’s letter petitioned the legal and political “decision makers,” including the DOD, in which they (the islanders) have no input; the President of the United States, who they cannot vote for; the United States House of Representatives, in which they have a non-voting delegate; and the United States Senate, in which they are without representation (Figure 37). Within a number of weeks, the petition gathered 121,454 signatures from across the globe, and stories were featured in *The Guardian* and in the US military publication, *Stars and Stripes* (McCurry, 2015; Olson, 2015).¹⁵⁰ Resistance scholars often measure the “success” of the resistance by the number of people involved. However, this ‘measurement’ is not appropriate for the Marianas Archipelago with its small population. There are also cultural issues of non-confrontation and not openly disrespecting elders or authority. Nevertheless, the high number of digital signatures for the online petition did encourage the women activists that others are concerned beyond the archipelago. Garnering this much overseas attention reveals that is not due to lack of *interest* that people beyond the archipelago are not involved, but rather that their political representatives and the (inter)national media fail to inform them. This thesis contributes by helping to inform people and bring the issues to international attention.

As an online petition platform, Change.org allows for “petition updates” to provide up-to-date information regarding a cause, as well as comments from those virtually signing a petition. I created an article for the *Asia Pacific Report*, an online independent Pacific news regional outlet based at the Te Amokura (Pacific Media Centre) at the Auckland University of Technology School of Communications Studies. This digital form of resistance (re)search was featured as “an update” on the petition site 3 March 2016 (Figure 38). The article highlighted the intention of eight community organizations to

¹⁵⁰ View the online petition: <https://www.change.org/p/united-states-department-of-defense-do-not-use-the-inhabited-us-islands-of-tinian-pagan-as-a-high-impact-bombing-range>.

sue the US Navy over the Mariana Islands Training and Testing (MITT), a project that fails to comply with the Endangered Species Act (Chapter 2, Table 2: New Media Platforms, the final entry).

There are debates regarding the “success” of online petitions, with some scholars criticizing “clicktivism” for not translating into real action beyond the digital realm into politics or social movements (Johnson, 2011). Others maintain that “hashtag activism” and “digital technologies have imbued everyday citizenship with more power than ever before” (Elmer, 2015, p. 61). In this case, the online petition did transfer into real action and inspired the people of the Mariana Islands to know that thousands of people *beyond* the archipelago signed on in fluidarity (solidarity).¹⁵¹ The “one response” from the decision makers came from Representative Mike Honda of California, who is Chair Emeritus of the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus. Representative Honda expressed his support for the digital petition, and his statement commented how the House of Representatives considered the National Defense Authorization Act in June of 2015:

My good friend Delegate Gregorio Kilili Sablan from CNMI offered an amendment that would have required the Department of Defense to reach an agreement with the Government of the Northern Marianas on the nature and scope of activities before any funds could be expended for expanded military activities in the Northern Mariana Islands... I voted in support of the amendment. Unfortunately, it was defeated by a vote of 173-256 (Honda, 2015).

Although the online petition has since closed, the site contains comments from signatories, media updates, and links to share on new media platforms. The women protectors and defenders believe that the more people know about the Marianas Archipelago, the more likely the resistance will result in the stopping of the Pacific pivot in the Marianas Archipelago. This is an era of Indigenous resistance as defenders of Mauna Kea, the 4,200 meter high volcano on the Big Island of Hawai‘i and digitalized as #WeAreMaunaKea, which (so far) has halted the construction of an

¹⁵¹ I believe online petitions do serve a purpose, since this petition was a post I shared on the *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page and reached hundreds of people beyond the archipelago. However, after the 2016 election, I began receiving numerous online petitions to sign, “Fight Trump” etc. I do see the potential of online petition fatigue.

additional telescope, and the water protectors at Standing Rock, North Dakota resisting the “black snake” of oil pipelines with #NoDAPL and #WaterIsLife (Ngata, 2016, 18 October; NYC Stands with Standing Rock Collective, 2016). Sharing and honoring sacred rights in one place; inspire fluidarity and solidarity with others struggling elsewhere. Digitally, the protectors in Oceania and the continental US embody the reciprocal connection between the sacred environment and themselves.

Many feel that the people of the Marianas Archipelago have sacrificed enough in the name of “national security” and that it is time for the US and DOD to uphold not only their international responsibilities to ensure decolonization and demilitarization efforts are respected, but previously agreed-upon documents. Support from male politicians and “decision makers,” combined with women-led community groups and legal expertise, is leading the resistance. The global support motivated community groups on Sa’ipan to create a formal letter to President Obama, delivered directly to the White House in 2015.

“Petition to Save Pagan and Tinian Islands from U.S. Military Live-Fire Bombing”

Community organizations, including *PaganWatch*, *Guardians of Gani*, *Fanacho Marianas* (Stand Up Marianas), *Mariana Islands Nature Alliance*, and *Oceania Resistance* (my research-oriented Facebook page) on AZC letterhead, encouraged politicians from both the CNMI and Guå’han, to endorse their three-page letter. Dated 30 September 2015 and printed on AZC letterhead with the title “Petition to Save Pagan and Tinian Islands from U.S. Military Live-Fire Bombing,” the letter was addressed to “The Honorable Barack H. Obama.” It was also copied to The Honorable Sally Jewell, Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Eloy S. Inos, Governor of the CNMI; the Honorable Ralph Deleon Guerrero Torres, Lt. Governor; the US Senate, the US House of Representative, the Honorable Gregorio “Kilili” S. Sablan; the Pentagon, Edward Manibusan; Attorney General of the CNMI, and Pete A. Tenorio; Secretary, Department of Public Lands, CNMI. A supporter in Washington, DC physically delivered the letter to the White House (a full copy is available in Appendix F).

This letter was endorsed by nine CNMI politicians, including the 19th CNMI

Legislature Senate President, Victor B. Hocog; Senator Arnold T. Palacios; Senator Sixto Kaipat Igisomar; Joseph P. Guerrero, Speaker of the House of Representatives; George N. Camacho, Floor Leader, House of Representatives; Representative Angel A. Demapan, Representative Joseph Lee T. Guerrero; Representative Antonio Sablan; and Jerome K. Aldan, Mayor of the Northern Islands. From Guå'han, two signatures from the 33rd Guam Legislative included: Speaker Judith T. Won Pat, and Vice Speaker Benjamin J. F. Cruz. Numerous community activists also signed: Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero from the artistic collective *Our Islands Are Sacred*; long-time activist Hope A. Cristobal and LisaLinda Natividad from *Guåhan Coalition for Peace and Justice*; Michael Lujan Bevacqua from *Independence for Guam Task Force*; and Baltazar Aguon, co-producer of the documentary film, *War on Guam*.

As a result of the online petition, community organizations lobbied politicians in the CNMI to endorse the letter to President Obama. I relayed this news to people on Guå'han, who wanted to sign on to it as well. Over a hundred email exchanges later, including organizing digital and scanned signatures, emails confirming certain politicians had already signed, while others waited to see if others would, the letter was finalized.¹⁵² This archipelago-wide form of women-led political resistance is carried out through community organizations and coalitions and is supported and endorsed by local politicians (Figure 39). In addition to digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance, high school women on Guå'han expressed their fluidarity through the public and digital new media platform YouTube.

“Guåhan in Solidarity with Tinian and Pågan”

In 2015, the History and Culture of Guåhan class at the Catholic all-girls high school

¹⁵² **Fieldwork Journal, 12 June 2015. Ipan, Guå'han:**

Cinta had sent me a copy of the letter to Obama. I printed it out that morning to sign and decided to show it to Victoria-Lola. She said Our Islands Are Sacred and the Guam Legislation should also sign it! I connected Cinta and her via email, and it got carried away! Cinta sent out an email saying that Won Pat would sign it, and thus other CNMI officials would also sign it. However, later in the night, Victoria-Lola said that Won Pat did not want to be the only one who signed it... and wanted to make sure other CNMI lawmakers were also signing it. Luckily they all got on board! Even Vice Speaker BJ Cruz will add his name to it!

Academy of Our Lady of Guam, launched a “video campaign in solidarity with the rest of the Marianas Islands” to support their sisters in the north. The students created the three-minute video, *Guahan in Solidarity with Tinian and Pagan*, stating, “The United States military has made plans to use our islands as live-fire ranges without consenting the Indigenous people that inhabit these precious islands.” The short video opens with dramatic music and beautiful imagery of Tini’an and Pagan islands, and then abruptly cuts to President Obama giving a speech, representing the 2011 “Asia Pacific Pivot” announcement he gave in Australia. The first minute includes archival footage of US flags and soldiers marching, as well as explosive live-fire military bombings and amphibious landings, analogous to those proposed for Tini’an and Pagan. A news correspondent with a non-American accent narrates, stating, “the US military has not taken Indigenous and cultural factors into account. The military plans to lease the ‘uninhabited island’ in its entirety so the Navy, Army, Air Force, and Marines can carry out live-fire trainings.” They contrast the colonial-military imagery with a young woman on the beach waving the Guå’han flag, similar imagery as seen within Nelson’s Miss Earth video in Chapter 4 (Figures 20 and 21).

The juxtaposition of imagery is understood as the imperial ideologies pushed by the US federal government and the DOD. Framed as “national defense,” the imagery includes symbols of empire -- flags, military weapons, and troops. As the music shifts to relaxing instrumental, a dozen young women line up on the beach, representing a more sacred and Indigenous approach to social systems. Joining hands, the women express unity and solidarity with their sisters in the islands to the north. They display the signs: “❤️ Pagan,” “Prutehi yan Difendi,” and “Protect and Defend Pagan and Tinian,” “Our Islands Are Sacred,” and “We Stand with Pagan and Tinian.” The final scene shows the young women all coming together at the main intersection in downtown Tumon Bay, the tourist district. They include the hashtag #WeStandWithPaganandTinian. The video ends with the hashtag #OurIslandsAreSacred and encourages the viewers to “Join the Movement” to protect Pagan and Tinian (Figure 40). The video currently has over 13,500 views and has gained support globally.¹⁵³ Again, it is not appropriate to measure

¹⁵³ This is highlighted in the article, “Resisting Political Colonization and American Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago,” I created for *AlterNative: International*

the success of the resistance in an empirical manner, including the number of views the YouTube video received, but it is a factor in digital fluidarity for communities to have the island-wide, archipelago-wide, and even global digital connection.

Similar themes in the resistance on Guå'han are shared throughout the archipelago. Such resistance often references the *Inifresi*, the CHamoru pledge, through the phrase “prutehi yan difendi,” and the statement “Our Islands Are Sacred,” which is also the name of the artistic community organization that endorsed the letter to President Obama. The symbols of fluidarity included in the #OurIslandsAreSacred #WeStandWithPaganandTinian hashtags, link the movements across the archipelago, both digitally and culturally. Arley Long, the mother who created the online petition on Tini'an, included the link to the YouTube video under “updates” on the Change.org online petition as well.

It is through digital and community resistance that CHamoru and Refalawasch women of the Mariana Islands foster transoceanic fluidarity and visualize an alternative decolonized and demilitarized future for themselves and generations to come. The resistance in the Mariana Archipelago navigates within Indigenous collective cultural frameworks and adapts digital technologies and new media platforms.

Legal Resistance: Suing the US Navy and US Department of Defense

The final section of this chapter analyses future possibilities, as women-led community groups filed a lawsuit against the DOD in the United States District Court for the CNMI on Sa'ipan on 27 July 2016. Kimberlyn King-Hinds, the local attorney working with the environmental law organization *Earthjustice*, is a young woman from Tini'an. In addition to gathering community support, she has the support of CNMI elected officials, including the Mayor of Tinian, the Governor of the CNMI, and Mayor Aldan of the CNMI, who was the first to oppose the live-fire training (J. Perez, 2016). The women-led legal resistance and the filing of a lawsuit against the US Navy and DOD in the federal court on Sa'ipan are specifically related to the ten years of EIS documents released since the 2006 *Roadmap* announcements, culminating into the CJMT

Journal of Indigenous Studies. See Chapter 2, Table 1: Academic Scholarship, number 2).

document released in 2015.

The historical concerns informing the women's resistance include the DOD's unfulfilled economic and environmental commitments, the violation of the MTA within the *Covenant Agreement*, previous US Military programmatic agreements, and how the DOD's future plans for Pagan island prevents those former residents from returning. The lawsuit accuses the US navy and the DOD of failing to produce one concise EIS report, violating the National Environmental Policy Act. The second complaint is similar to the case where the residents on Guå'han successfully sued for in 2010. The DOD has not considered *any* alternative locations for high-impact and LFTRCs, which would potentially cause less harm (Hofschneider, 2016a).

On 27 July 2015, the Law Office of Kimberlyn King-Hinds (F0495) of San Jose Village, Tini'an, filed Civil No. 16-00022, in the United States District Court for the CNMI on Saipan on behalf of the organizations: the *Tinian Women's Association*; *Guardians of Gani'*; *PaganWatch*; and the Center for Biological Diversity (the full Complaint is in Appendix G). The listed defendants include: the United States Department of the Navy; Ray Mabus, Secretary of the Navy; United States Department of Defense; and Ashton Carter, Secretary of Defense. The plaintiffs are claiming that the Navy violated the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), 42 U.S.C. §§ 4321 et seq., when it failed to evaluate the environmental effects of military tests in an initial Environmental Impact Statement relating to the permanent stationing of thousands of United States Marines on the island of Guå'han and the proposal to conduct live-fire training for those Marines on the islands of Tini'an and Pagan in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI), as related to the Pacific pivot foreign policy. According to the complaint, the Navy failed to:

Evaluate in a single environmental impact statement (EIS) the impacts of both permanent stationing of Marines on Guam and the training on Tinian and Pagan the Navy claims those Marines will need to perform their national security mission. In addition to segmenting illegally the environmental review of its Guam and CNMI Military Relocation project, the Navy further violated its NEPA duties when it refused to consider alternative locations outside of the Mariana Islands where the Marines could accomplish their mission with fewer adverse impacts (Underlined in the original

(King-Hinds, 2016, 27 July).

The environmental advocacy group *Earthjustice* is assisting in the lawsuit on behalf of the *Tinian Women's Association; Guardians of Gani'*, a nonprofit organization established to protect "Gani'," which refers to the Mariana Islands north of Sa'ipan; *PaganWatch*; and the *Center for Biological Diversity*. The Navy is in violation of the NEPA by failing to evaluate the "connected actions" between the build-up on Guå'han and the training in the CNMI or to evaluate the impacts of the proposed training at the same time into a single EIS. Therefore, the plaintiffs asked the court to have the 2010 and 2015 Records of Decision (hereafter ROD) regarding the Marine relocation from Okinawa to the Mariana Islands vacated and set aside. *Earthjustice* attorney, David Henkin, who, along with Tini'an-based attorney Kimberlyn King-Hinds, represents the plaintiffs, reminded the media that the "Navy has made a decision to move 5,000 Marines and their families to Guam without considering all the alternatives or whether Guam can absorb that many people in such a short time" (Figure 41)(Pang, 2016b).¹⁵⁴

If the ROD were removed, it would halt the build-up on Guå'han as well, since the projects are in fact dependent on each other, despite the DOD sidestepping that claim (Dumat-ol Daleno, 2016). Craig Whelden, formally of Marine Corps Forces Pacific said the plans to boost the presence of Marines on Guam and increase training in the CNMI were separate. "They are not directly related, they are indirectly related," he said. "Marines stationed on Guam need a place to train" (Hofschneider, 2016h).¹⁵⁵ However, the attorney Henkin stated:

The Navy blatantly violated those mandatory legal duties when it decided to station Marines on Guam without any consideration of the destruction from live-fire training the Navy claims those Marines will need or of other places those Marines could be trained with far fewer impacts (as reported by Pang, 2016b).

Delegate Gregorio "Kilili" S. Sablan, the CNMI non-voting representative in the US

¹⁵⁴ On 5 December 2016, the U.S. Department of the Navy filed a motion to dismiss the lawsuit of four environmental groups for lack of jurisdiction (Manabat, 2016). However, the groups maintain their right to sue (Torre, 2017).

¹⁵⁵ While Congresswoman Madeleine Bordallo's legal jurisdiction is as a non-voting delegate for Guå'han, she has recently been visiting the CNMI promoting the "build-up" with military planners and officials from the DOD (Chan, 2016b).

Congress, supports the “right of concerned citizens and community groups in the Marianas to raise grievances” through the NEPA. He also recognizes that the islands play an important role for “national defense” of the US and that is “why two-thirds of Tinian, major portions of land on Saipan, and the entire island of Farallon de Medinilla (FDM) have been leased to the federal government for military purposes” (Dumat-ol Daleno, 2016).

Florine Hofschneider of the TWA said that, “when the Northern Marianas agreed to remain part of the United States [entering into the Covenant to Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with the United States of America in 1975], destroying the northern two-thirds of our island [Tini’an] with live-fire training and bombing was never part of the deal” (Jones, 2016). Her protection and defense resists the proposed high-impact training involving rockets and grenades planned for twenty weeks per year and “non-live-fire” activities for twenty-two weeks a year because of their impact on future generations.

The Indigenous CHamoru and Refalawasch families who once called Pãgan home will be prevented from returning if Pãgan becomes a target for bombing practice four months a year. Whelden claimed that high-explosive munitions would “only be used on the volcanic hull area of Pãgan,” while the wide beaches are perfect for amphibious exercises (Hofschneider, 2016h). The groups state in a complaint that such military training poses “existential threat” for the *Guardians of Gani’* and others who advocate a return to “a more traditional, productive and fulfilling lifestyle.” The Guardians and their members view Gani’ [islands north of Sa’ipan] as the “last frontier to revive their traditions and culture” (Sputnik News, 2016).

While the issues of high-impact and live-fire training are beyond the scope of the Covenant, and the military already uses two-thirds of Tini’an and all of No’os, the women are adamant in resisting the additional acquisition of Pãgan. Attorney King-Hinds is determined to use her Indigenous knowledge(s) and honor cultural frameworks, as well as her legal power and Western education to protect and defend the Mariana Islands.

King-Hinds received her law degree from William S. Richardson School of Law, the

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in 2014. She has worked pro bono providing legal assistance to non-citizens with immigration-related issues and low-income clients who were appealing lost public benefits. She assisted in getting temporary visas for human trafficking victims and has conducted community outreach to raise awareness of issues affecting citizens of the Freely Associated States in Micronesia, including the Federated States of Micronesia, Aolepān Aorōkin M̧ajeļ (the Republic of the Marshall Islands), and Beluu er a Belau (the Republic of Palau). She assisted in the development of policy pertaining to gender-based harassment as a graduate assistant at the Office of Gender Equity at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Honolulu, in 2012. She is concerned about the sexist and environmental politics of the militarization plans, even if the majority of the Marines are stationed on Guā’han.

King-Hinds is inspired by her father, who, as a young lawyer, began his law career during the Civil Rights movement and did some work with Martin Luther King, Jr. “I’ve never aspired to become a lawyer. I went to law school because I wanted more tools that I could use to help my community,” she said. “What I’ve learned from my dad is that the law can be your liberator or oppressor” (Bagnol, 2014). Posted under the 2 October 2014 interview in the online edition of the *Marianas Variety*, “magahet” (truth) wrote, “there seems to be many female lawyers in the CNMI, and I am proud to be one of them, and you should, too. Biba Famalao’an!”¹⁵⁶

Now, the people of the CNMI are in the waiting period for the next EIS document to be released since the DOD has “agreed to perform an additional analysis of the potential environmental impacts,” with a new report due this year and a Record of Decision expected in summer 2018 (Hofschneider, 2016a, 2016h).

Conclusion of Fan’tachu Fama’lauan: Women’s Resistance to Militarization in the Northern Mariana Islands

This fifth chapter analyzed how unfulfilled commitments and previous agreements fuel CHamoru and Refalawasch women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance in the CNMI. While the majority of the community would rather have “zero”

¹⁵⁶ “Biba Famalao’an” in CHamoru means, “power to the women!” (Bagnol, 2014).

militarization, as indicated in the name, *Alternative Zero Coalition*, the only legal avenue to hold the DOD accountable is to refer to past agreements and commitments. Women are honoring their ancestral knowledge(s) to protect their communities and defend their sacred and scarce land and seascapes from further US militarization. Their resistance combines digital technologies and new media platforms to foster fluidarity and unity between Guå’han and the Gani’ islands (the Northern Mariana Islands). Through digital, political, and legal resistance, they are visualizing and imaging alternative futures for the Mariana Islands as places to re-establish spiritual practices with eco-tourism possibilities. This is part of the long-term and continuous involvement of many dedicated mothers, sisters, aunties, grandmothers, educators, politicians, and friends in the Marianas. Because militarization is a step-by-step process, so is demilitarization. These women understand that refusing any form of the military is not possible (just yet), but they apply legal pressure to enforce previous promises and agreements.

Table 8 Five examples of women’s resistance to the invisible and visible environmental politics of expanding militarization in the Northern Mariana Islands. The person or organization, the resistance approach, digital platforms, legal, political, or spiritual aspects, and the nature of the militarization the resistance is directed at.

Person/Organization	Resistance	Digital	Legal	Political	Spiritual	Nature of Militarization
1. Cinta M. Kaipat & Sylvia C. Frain	Written	<i>Facebook</i>	★	★	★	Expanding
2. Arley Long	Written	<i>Change.org</i>	★	★		Expanding
3. Guå’han and CNMI politicians	Written		★	★	★	Expanding
4. History and Culture of Guam Class of 2015	Visual	<i>YouTube</i>	★	★	★	Expanding
5. Law Office of Kimberlyn King-Hinds & <i>Earthjustice</i>	Written		★	★		Expanding

While feminist security studies as a practice and a discipline assists in shedding light on the impacts of militarization on women and children, recognition of Indigenous accomplishments and additional inclusion of their approaches is possible through a decolonized and gendered lens. CHamoru and Refalawasch women's approaches of honoring their matrilineal heritage, respecting family genealogy, and cultivating the connection to the land and seas provide strength. It is through CHamoru and Refalawasch epistemologies that they resist the narrative of US militarized security protection. CHamoru and Refalawasch women continue to nurture transoceanic fluidarity with other Indigenous Oceanic women who are also impacted by US colonial military occupation. Collectively, they are challenging the gendered framing of feminine locales in need of masculine "protection."

Conclusion

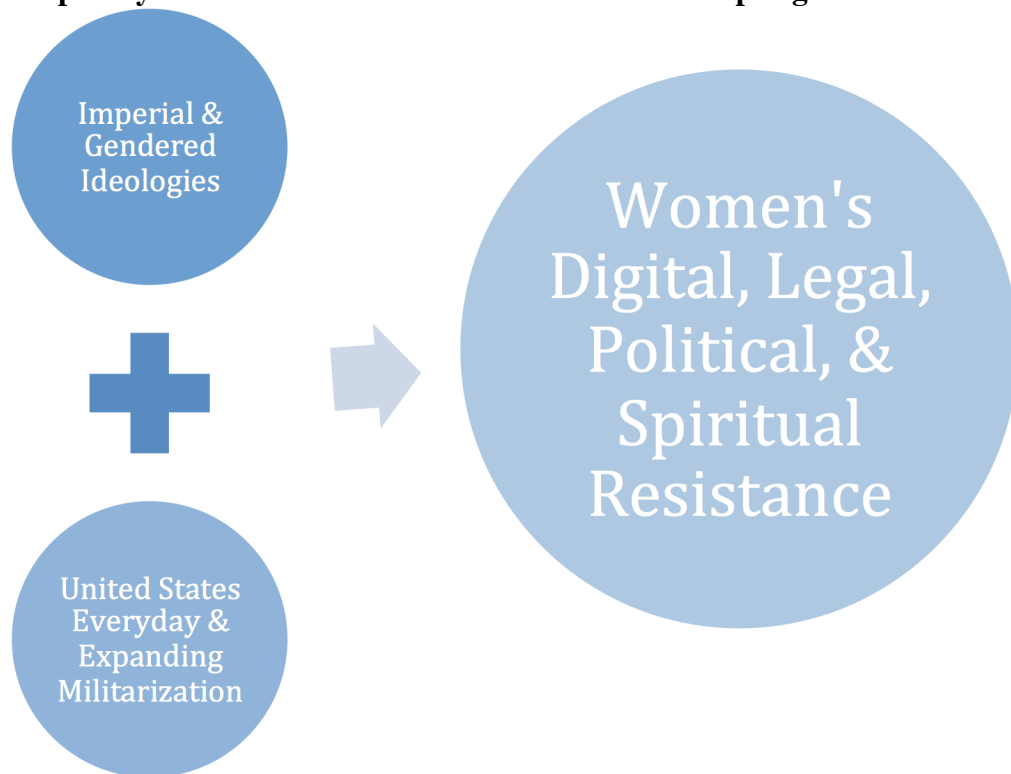
Fluidarity for the Future

Summary of the Thesis

I have offered decolonized perspectives of Oceania and the archipelago and developed the (re)search *as* resistance analytical approach to examine the sexist and environmental politics of the everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago. This thesis offered insight into the perplexing contemporary circumstances of the territorial/imperial, national/(trans)international, and domestic/foreign space of the Marianas Archipelago. It demonstrated how territories *belong* to the United States (US), while democracy is denied to the very residents who serve in the US Armed Forces protecting “freedom” and “democracy” overseas. Remaining as a non-self-governing insular area of the US is contradictory to the founding principles of the US and the US Constitution. However, this political limbo is strategically justified and reinforced through imperial ideologies and by the US Department of Defense (DOD) through the “protector/protected” narrative. As two separate insular areas under control of the US, everyday and expanding militarization in the archipelago is possible and deemed “necessary” in the name of US national security.

This project contributes to the analysis of Indigenous women’s resistance to the invisible and visible aspects of militarization. Understanding the sexist and environmental politics provides greater insight into women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance. The everyday militarization manifests as sexual violence in the “support economies” and the toxic environmental impacts “along the fenceline.” Table 9 illustrates the driving forces that compel the women to continue to resist colonization and militarization as outlined in the first half of the thesis. The second half of the thesis provided ten examples of women’s resistance. This (re)search was a contemporary investigation of militarization that is currently unfolding in the archipelago and contributes to the work of academic activists researching in scholarly solidarity.

Table 9 The ideologies that inform the continuing militarization and contemporary women’s resistance in the Marianas Archipelago.



The ten resistance examples by CHamoru and Refalawasch women are based on the reciprocal relationships of community and connection to the archipelago’s scared land, atolls, seas, and skies. The term, “fluidarity” best summarizes the women’s collective approach to contemporary resistance, which combines ancient matriarchal principles and new media technologies. Together, women are rising to protect and defend their family, community, and environment. Their resistance may be regarded as “mild” or even “submissive” to outsiders, the US federal government, or the DOD. As Pacific scholar Teresia K. Teaiwa stated, “The perpetrators of colonialism made a grave mistake in failing to recognize the power of women” (1992, p. 126). I extend this to include the contemporary situation in the Marianas Archipelago.

Women’s resistance is incorporated into everyday life as they raise their families, support their communities, and safeguard their environment. Measurements used within resistance studies to analyze mass mobilizations and large-scale revolutions do not apply to the archipelago. Instead, the digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance occurs in spaces and ways that many outside researchers may miss altogether. Instead,

these researchers ask (re)colonizing questions: Why don't the people resistance stronger? Why are they so submissive? This approach will be met with a form of passive, but polite resistance from the community. The researcher will be excluded from sacred spaces, and the residents will be less likely to share their knowledge(s) and insight. The researcher will be seen as another outsider coming in to tell the residents what to do— from how to raise their children, what language to speak, where they can and cannot fish and farm. These researchers will overlook the deeper herstory of resistance as survival and resistance as resilience. CHamoru Attorney Leevin Camacho, confirms that it is “tough to continue to drum up public opposition after so many years of fighting the proposals” (Hofschneider, 2016d). While individuals may suffer from “build-up burn-out,” the collective community continues in fluidarity (“Mary,” personal communication, 25 June 2015).

Their transoceanic resistance adapts and evolves with time and is part of a 500-year legacy, continuing into the 21st century. The naming of the islands by outsiders have shifted from a “spoil of war,” to “Where America’s Day Begins,” and “America’s Best Kept Secret” (Ortigas, 2016). I countered these colonial framings as a form of resistance and privilege the Indigenous ancestral place names and the phrases to describe the archipelago used by the local community: “Where America’s Democracy Ends;” “Where America’s War Begins;” “Islas Sinahi Pacifico” (the Crescent Islands of Peace); and “Where the Women’s March on Washington Begins” (A Mighty Island, 2017; Todiño, 2016).

The invitation from the famalåno’an (women) to (re)search their digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the sexist and environmental politics of militarization provided a deeper understanding of their concepts of resistance to “protect and defend” the sacred. I learned to ensure my approaches were attuned with CHamoru frameworks based on chenchule’ (reciprocity) and mangåffa (family). I was taught to honor the connection to i tåno’ (the land) and i tasi (the sea) as well as the manganiti (ancestral spirits). Respetu (respect) for mañaina (elders) and i manfåyi (those with wisdom) was central to my (re)search as I listened to famalåo’an and maga’håga (women leaders). I was (re)minded to be patient when “(re)searching” the sacred fuetsan famalåo’an (strength of women) in the Marianas Archipelago and to always look for magahet

(truth). I based this (re)search designed *as* resistance upon women's input and suggestions.

I employed a decolonized and (self)reflective style and used (re)search *as* a form of resistance. As a non-Indigenous (re)searcher, I demonstrated the implications of (re)learning imperial histories and unitized critical theoretical and emancipatory conceptual frameworks within this emancipatory research design. I honored the resistance of the past by (re)conceptualizing taught histories. Resistance studies and feminist security studies must acknowledge Indigenous ways of being and long histories prior to the creation of these new disciplines. What "counts" as resistance must be expanded beyond a Western concept of direct and confrontational action by large numbers of people. Feminist security studies, which creates space for a gendered approach to security studies, must welcome Indigenous voices and varying strategies, as their lived-experience is the embodiment of the impacts of security policies created and deployed by men.

I applied my qualitative research questions to understand ten examples of Indigenous women's resistance in the Marianas Archipelago from 2006 – 2016. Indigenous women digitally, legally, politically, and spiritually resist the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization in Guå'han and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI) through a combination of ancient matriarchal principles and new media technologies. The invisible and visible dimensions of militarization as a gendered process include World War II legacies and war trauma, as well as the lack of funding for Indigenous and women veterans. The sexual and environmental impact of militarization affects those communities "living along the fenceline," as well as the "support economies" that cater to servicemen were discussed.

Through reflective (re)search *as* resistance, I created and disseminated open and public, understandable and informative, accessible and shareable, and useful scholarship which is relevant to other academic-activists and others working for decolonization and demilitarization.

Contribution of the Thesis: “Rise of the Woman = Rise of the Nation”

My analysis of the imperial and military history of the archipelago revealed how this continues to influence the contemporary situation. I highlighted the nature of the sexist and environmental politics of everyday and expanding militarization, including the invisible and visible elements, to provide a better understanding of how women sustain their resistance and which approaches they employ. CHamoru and Refalawasch women’s connection to the land and atolls, water and seas, and environment and skies supports their resistance efforts which ebb and flow in waves just as does the ocean surrounding the islands. Their resistance peaked with the release of the 2006 *United States-Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation Agreement* in Guå’han, and it is rising in the CNMI with the 2015 *Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands Joint Military Training* document. Across the archipelago women resisters are rising, supported by ancient matriarchal cultural principles and new media technologies. Table 10 shows this combination of past and present to protect and defend the future.

Table 10 The combination of matriarchal power and digital tools sustain Indigenous women’s resistance. The phrases, “fanohge famalão’an” in Guå’han and “fan’tachu fama’lauan” in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, refer to “women rising” and their conceptualization of resistance.



The complexities of the resistance vary between Guå’han and the CNMI due to divergent colonial histories, World War II experiences, and contemporary political statuses. While the sexist politics of everyday militarization is more evident on Guå’han, it is also a concern for those resisting the environmental politics of expanding militarization in the CNMI. Different forms of imperial domination and military occupations impact the ongoing struggle for decolonization and demilitarization in Guå’han and the CNMI. Guå’han is seen as more Americanized and thus colonized

with less political power, while the CNMI maintains their language, culture, and political power. However, throughout the archipelago, it is women and women-led organizations that resist the imperial and gendered “protected/protector” discourse.

On Guå’han, the women’s power is centered on matriarchal societal structures (Figure 6) and reciprocal resistance genealogies and “women activists have staked their roles as stewards over community and lands” (DeLisle, 2015, p. 32). The CHamoru principle of “inafa’maolek” (environmental and societal interdependence, working together to make good for everyone, to restore balance) includes the importance of women’s roles to fulfill obligations to their families, community, and environment. Encouraged by the words of the *Inifresi* (the CHamoru pledge), women are dedicated to “protecting and defending” the land and culture. In practice, CHamoru “women once again [are] coming to the fore” and their protection and defense resists everyday militarization and expanding military projects (p. 3). Digital efforts are supported by new media technologies, especially mobile and screen devices. Legal resistance incorporates US domestic federal laws and UN human rights legal frameworks. Political resistance is through solidarity with politicians across the archipelago rather than with those in Washington, DC. Women continue their spiritual connection to the past. Everyday resistance and “placental politics” inform the digital, legal, political, and spiritual elements and support the written, visual, and direct action resistance (Table 7). The newest generation of protectors and defenders continue the struggle by honoring their maga’taotao (ancestral heroes and leaders) as they foster a renewed fluidarity (solidarity) across the archipelago. Through these five examples, I employed a critical and gendered analysis to demonstrate the implications of women’s resistance on Guå’han. While, within the current nonviolent resistance studies framework, it may appear that the resistance is not “successful” because there are not large numbers of (measurable) people in the streets, I argue(d) that this framework does not apply to this case study (E. Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013; Sundberg & Melander, 2013).

Based on unfulfilled commitments and ignored previous agreements, the women in the CNMI also honor cultural frameworks to protect and defend their community and future generations from expanding militarization. The environmental politics of WWII continue to harm and haunt the community, and the women want prior promises made

by the DOD to be upheld. While many residents serve(d) in the US Armed Forces, they maintain that they are not “anti-military” or “anti-American;” however, they do not want their sacred islands used for live-fire bombing. Many see the Gani’ islands (the Northern Mariana Islands) as a site to re-connect with cultural ways of the past and to support the community and as a potential eco-tourism locale. The examples presented, analyzed, and discussed in this thesis are only ten out of hundreds of forms of resistance currently happening at both the community level and across new media platforms and digital spaces. I encourage everyone to explore further how the contemporary colonial status supports and reinforces the everyday and expanding militarization not only in the Marianas Archipelago but also across Oceania and around the world. However, I understand that this project has scholarly disadvantages and I do not expect all academics to view it as an all-inclusive endeavor.

Limitations

This hybrid thesis approach contains scholarly and research limitations, three of which I will address directly. Firstly, it is not a replicable project or study. Secondly, it is not empirically designed like other nonviolent resistance studies with measurable “successes” and “failures.” Thirdly, I did not directly include men’s experiences or non-Indigenous military perspectives.

While it is not replicable, similarities can be drawn between other Indigenous resistance protector movements across Oceania, such as Mauna Kea #WeAreMaunaKea, on the Big Island of Hawai‘i and in the continental US at Standing Rock, North Dakota #WaterisLife (Goodyear-Ka ‘ōpua, 2017). I recognize that no one can relive my personal experience and connection to the archipelago. However, I do encourage other researchers, particularly non-Indigenous scholars working with Indigenous communities, to decolonize their research approaches and utilize emancipatory methods applicable to their project. I am in the process of writing a journal article specifically for academic-activists for the *Journal of Resistance Studies: Special Issue: “Researching Resistance: on Methods and Ethics in Resistance.”* I included my experiences and lessons learned to offer advice for other (re)searchers while acknowledging it is an ongoing learning process. As outlined in Chapter Two, I

absorbed how to approach (re)search in a respectful and reciprocal manner, and to be flexible and open when working within Indigenous communities. While this thesis ends, (re)search *as* resistance is a continuing project (particularly under a Donald J. Trump Administration).

With regard to the second limitation, this thesis may not be considered “academic” enough to “prove” or “measure” the “success” or “failure” of the women’s resistance in an empirical way. However, the purpose of this project is not to determine if their resistance “works,” but rather to understand their “fluidarity” and how I can assist and support their efforts. As a non-Indigenous (re)searcher and outsider to the community, it is not my place to dictate what is “wrong” or “right” within the resistance. Even determining the “success” or “failure” (according to my settler reality) is a form of re-colonization of Indigenous ways of being. With a “settler responsibility,” I (re)learned colonial histories with respectu (respect) for Indigenous knowledge(s). For many academics, (self)reflective methodologies, such as autoethnography, are mere “navel gazing,” “descriptive,” “not analytical enough,” and “do not prove anything” (Reed-Danahay, 1997). Similar complaints are lodged against Indigenous methodologies, epistemologies, and approaches to knowledge(s) within Western academia (Pathak, 2013). I am honored to have created this women-centred hybrid thesis in such a collaborative way. I am proud to be more than an “ally.” I am instead an “accomplice” with my Indigenous sisters and aunties. The work of an “accomplice” in anti-colonial struggles is to attack colonial structures such as the US federal government, the DOD and even universities (Indigenous Action Media, 2014). I will continue to confront and unsettle colonialism in my own space and from my own (settler) perspective. This (re)search *as* resistance approach leads to the third limitation.

The potential third critique of the thesis is that I did not include men’s experiences (although their work, vision, and creativity greatly supported the thesis) nor did I interview non-Indigenous military personnel or planners. I respond by pointing out that the military discourse is located within the narrative of Environmental Impact Statements (EIS) documents accessible in Tables 5 and 6. My informal interactions with non-Indigenous military service members while in the Marianas Archipelago exposed me to the individuals who are “just doing my job” and who are removed from

the larger military plans. Their involvement in the “build-up” is on a “need to know basis,” and they are not fully aware of how the Roadmap will be implemented (“John,” personal communication, 19 June 2015). Therefore, I choose to focus on the Indigenous women’s perspectives since those are generally left out of EIS documents and federal press releases.

Fluidarity for the Future

The outcome of the 2016 US Presidential election promises uncertain times ahead. For the people of the Marianas Archipelago, it serves as a reminder of their lack of inclusion in the US electoral system. However, it does not reveal anything colonized peoples of the US did not already know. Current US policies are based on historical racist and sexist ideologies which are routinely upheld regardless of who is president. The US continues to deny Indigenous rights in the name of “national security” and “economic opportunity” and Donald J. Trump makes this obnoxious and obvious. This year will perhaps be a turning point for decolonization on Guå’han as the Trump campaign had issued a statement regarding the US colonies (Raymundo, 2016). Those in the CNMI will perhaps now be heard resisting the use of their islands for live-fire bombing or, potentially, their archipelago could be further militarized. The relocation of more than 5,000 Marines is assumed to begin in 2022 with the first wave comprising of 2,500 Marines. The remainder would be due by 2027 (Pang, 2016c). President Trump says he wants to “make the military great again,” but politicians in the CNMI are “optimistic” about the political inclusion of territories (Republicans and Democrats, 2015; Villahermosa, 2016a, 2017).

Peace Studies, as a discipline is now part of the US political discourse, including planning and implementing strategic, nonviolent, legal, and political resistance. The future of resistance on new media platforms is boundless. This thesis contributes to the growing push against militarization, colonization, sexism, and racism. The largest mobilization of women and men in US history took place the day after Donald Trump’s inauguration, and the women of the Marianas Archipelago led the way. Women on Guå’han digitally linked their Fanonhge Famalão’an (Women Rise) March with the global action, and it was on Guå’han “Where the Women’s March on Washington”

began (Figures 42 and 43)(A Mighty Island, 2017). In addition to the digital, legal, political, and spiritual forms of resistance discussed by US-own media outlets, Indigenous protectors and defenders across the continental US see renewed support from non-Indigenous supporters, including US military veterans (DiChristopher, 2017).

The purpose of this thesis is to provide open and public, accessible and shareable information in fluidarity (solidarity). As I wrote this conclusion, President-Elect Donald J. Trump is sending shockwaves across the globe. People of the Marianas Archipelago are now more than ever discussing (de)colonization and (de)militarization. They are hopeful that there is an increased chance of decolonization and demilitarization as the world begins to learn more about their situation. Once again, women are leading these resistance efforts. Once again, women are rising in the Marianas Archipelago: fanohge famalão'an and fan'tachu fama'lauan!

For up to date information regarding the demilitarization and decolonization movements in Oceania and the current activities of numerous groups, please visit or contact the Facebook page: [Oceania Resistance](#).

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Appendix A – Charter of Feminist Principles for Pacific Feminists



Charter of Feminist Principles for Pacific Feminists

The inaugural Pacific Feminist Forum took place from the 28th – 30th of November 2016 at the University of the South Pacific in Suva, Fiji. The forum brought together over 100 feminists from the Pacific region. In a collective space we acknowledged those who came before us, recognised our diversities, identified our challenges, celebrated our achievements, rearticulated a shared vision, shared strategies, built new and strengthened old alliances, and further defined our shared politics.

Our diversities include; women, girls, lesbians, bisexual, trans diverse people, gender non-conforming identities, ethnically diverse women and girls, women of indigenous minorities, women with disabilities, sex workers, women living with HIV and aids, women living in rural and remote areas, young women, older women, heterosexual women, women in sports, women in non-traditional roles, women in creative industries and women in the informal sector and others.¹

A key outcome of the forum was the creation of the Charter of Pacific Feminist Principles. Participants at the forum endorsed the Charter and recommended further endorsement by those who were not able to be at the forum. It sets out the collective principles that are key to our work as Pacific Feminists. The Charter is a living document and is intended to guide our analysis and practice.

Defining Ourselves as Feminists

We are Feminists from Oceania. We have common bonds of *wansolwara* (ocean), *vanua* (land) and *tua'a* (ancestors). We recognise that our strength lies in our diversity. We respect our differences. We work towards transformative change by upholding the rights of women, girls, and non-gender conforming people. We want the best full lives for ourselves and our Pacific communities. Our work and love is focussed on the lives of the women and the people on our many islands and atolls, and the whole planet.

¹ From here on when we mention 'women and girls' we refer to specific identities and needs of lesbians, bisexual, trans people, intersex people, fa'afafine, leiti, and other non-heteronormative Pacific identities, women with physical disabilities, women with psychosocial disabilities, sex workers, living with HIV aids, women living in rural and remote places, young women, the girl child, older women, heterosexual women, women in sports and creative industries.

As feminists in the Pacific we recognise multiple intersecting forms of patriarchy, long standing and unequal gendered power relations and emerging processes of oppression. Our journeys as Pacific feminists to address these are varied and diverse. We recognise the specific challenge of geographical location in the richness of the vast Pacific Ocean. We also acknowledge our geopolitical histories and their contemporary manifestations as part of the global economic south. We are in solidarity with south communities in the global north, such as indigenous, ethnic minority, Pacific diaspora and climate frontline communities. The diversities of our cultures, experiences, and the multiple social, political, economic and ecological challenges we face as climate frontline states are our realities.

The pandanus mats of our current struggles reveals our history of: gendered cultural and social hierarchies; criminalisation of LGBTQI; gender based violence; sex work and human trafficking; poor education systems; underfunded health systems; lack of attention to mental health, including societal stigma; internally displaced persons; rise in fundamentalist religious groups; ethno-nationalism; colonisation including the world's last remaining colonies and territories; forced foreign and domestic military occupation; the erosion of democratic spaces; unfair trade; aid; hyper-development and no development; enforced labour regimes; extractive industries; environmental and nuclear disasters, closure of the commons, ecological damage; climate change, refugee and enforced migration and more.

We affirm that our Pacific feminist and women's activism is vibrant and always growing, and draws on its rich lineage and herstories. We acknowledge that there is still a long way to go and this Charter guides our future work.

Our Principles as Feminists

Wherever we are working, as individuals, in our homes, workplaces, in governments and intergovernmental institutions, regional development institutions, as funders, civil society organisations and social movements, we commit and believe in the following feminist principles:

- Women's human rights are, indivisible, inalienable and universal
- All Pacific women and girls have the right to live free of patriarchal oppression, discrimination and multiple, intersecting forms of sexual and gender based violence and discrimination
- Feminist solidarity should be based on mutual respect, honesty and open discussion of differences;
- Universal, comprehensive, integrated and quality health and education systems, including Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR), and comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) is supported
- Safe systems of care, wellbeing and support should be available for all women and girls

- Issues of freedom of choice and autonomy regarding sexual orientation, gender identity, expression and sexual characteristics (SOGIESC), affirm the inextricable links between bodily integrity and autonomy, SRHR and social justice, as central to our advocacy
- Ensuring the inclusion and explicit needs of women and girl's with disabilities
- Women and girl's knowledge, skills and lived realities are acknowledged and affirmed
- Inclusive multiculturalism where the knowledge, skills and lived realities of Indigenous Pacific peoples, as well as of all ethnic minority groups, including descendants of indentured and settler communities, in all their diversity, are acknowledged and affirmed
- We commit to non-violence, human security and peacebuilding
- We will strengthen alliances that assist feminist social movements to dismantle patriarchy, colonisation, neo-liberal development and militarisation
- We acknowledge men and boys as participants and allies in our work

Our Principles as a Collective

Whenever we organise collectively as Pacific feminists, we commit to the following:

- The leadership of women's organisations and networks in our region should be led and managed by Pacific women from small island states
- Recognising the leadership of women of all ages, including older women, young women and girls, and women of all intersectional identities
- Spaces of power sharing are created across our diversities, in socio-economic and other class and privilege systems, generations, ethnicities, spiritual beliefs and other intersectionalities
- We recognise our privilege or lack of it, including education, cultural and traditional status, ethnicity, race, urban status, language, sexuality and others
- Transparency, accountability, and financial responsibility are practiced in our collectives, partnerships, coalitions, networks, organisations and institutions
- Feminist ethics is practiced everyday
- All women and girls, including those in rural, remote and urban communities must have access to information and communication platforms, including feminist, appropriate and accessible media and Information and Communications Technologies (ICT)
- Social and economic justice, including sustainable livelihoods, universal social protection and fair and decent work are realised
- We will collectively escalate our work to address the climate and ecological crisis of our times, and protect our commons and our planet

- We commit to decriminalization of LGBTQI people of all countries in the Pacific region, and advancing legal rights of all LGBTQI people, with focus on third gender legal recognition
- We commit to decriminalization² of sex work in all countries of the Pacific
- We commit to decriminalization³ of abortion in all countries of the Pacific
- We commit to protecting women human rights defenders including trans human rights defenders
- We commit to escalate and support innovative feminist social organising efforts by all Pacific women, inclusive of marginalised rural, remote and urban communities

The Pacific Feminist Charter is endorsed by participants of the Inaugural Pacific Feminist Forum.

² The call for decriminalization of sex work is based on evidence that criminalization makes sex workers less safe, by preventing them from securing police protection and by providing impunity to abusers. Decriminalization does *not* mean the removal of laws that criminalize exploitation, human trafficking or violence against sex workers. These laws remain. It *does* mean the removal of laws and policies criminalizing or penalizing sex work.

³ Decriminalising abortion means the removal of laws and policies that criminalise women who have an abortion, or those who assist women who have an abortion. Laws that put women in jail for having an abortion are unjust, separate women from their families and lead to unsafe abortions that endanger women's lives.

Appendix B – Military Sexual Trauma Fact Sheet

Military Sexual Trauma

What is military sexual trauma (MST)?

Military sexual trauma, or MST, is the term used by VA to refer to experiences of sexual assault or repeated, threatening sexual harassment that a Veteran experienced during his or her military service. The definition used by the VA comes from Federal law (Title 38 U.S. Code 1720D) and is “psychological trauma, which in the judgment of a VA mental health professional, resulted from a physical assault of a sexual nature, battery of a sexual nature, or sexual harassment which occurred while the Veteran was serving on active duty, active duty for training, or inactive duty training.” Sexual harassment is further defined as “repeated, unsolicited verbal or physical contact of a sexual nature which is threatening in character.”

More concretely, MST includes any sexual activity where a Servicemember is involved against his or her will -- he or she may have been pressured into sexual activities (for example, with threats of negative consequences for refusing to be sexually cooperative or with implied better treatment in exchange for sex), may have been unable to consent to sexual activities (for example, when intoxicated), or may have been physically forced into sexual activities. Other experiences that fall into the category of MST

include unwanted sexual touching or grabbing; threatening, offensive remarks about a person's body or sexual activities; and threatening and unwelcome sexual advances. The identity or characteristics of the perpetrator, whether the Servicemember was on or off duty at the time, and whether he or she was on or off base at the time do not matter. If these experiences occurred while an individual was on active duty, active duty for training, or inactive duty for training, they are considered by VA to be MST.



How common is MST?

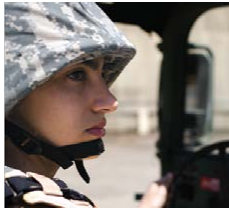


VA's national screening program, in which every Veteran seen for health care is asked whether he or she experienced MST, provides data on how common MST is among Veterans seen in VA. National data from this program reveal that about 1 in 4 women and 1 in 100 men respond “yes,” that they experienced MST, when screened by their VA provider. Although rates of MST are higher among women, because there are so many more men than women in the military, there are actually significant numbers of women and men seen in VA who have experienced MST.

It's important to keep in mind that these data speak only to the rate of MST among Veterans who have chosen to seek VA health care; they cannot be used to make an estimate of the actual rates of sexual assault and harassment experiences among all individuals serving in the U.S. Military. Also, although Veterans who respond “yes” when screened are asked if they are interested in learning about MST-related services available, not every Veteran who responds “yes” necessarily needs or is interested in treatment. MST is an experience, not a diagnosis, and Veterans' current treatment needs will vary.

How can MST affect Veterans?

MST is an experience, not a diagnosis or a mental health condition, and as with other forms of trauma, there are a variety of reactions that Veterans can have in response to MST. The type, severity, and



duration of a Veteran's difficulties will all vary based on factors like whether he/she has a prior history of trauma, the types of responses from others he/she received at the time of the MST, and whether the MST happened once or was repeated over time. Although the reactions men and women have to MST are similar in some ways, they may also struggle with different issues. Race/ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and other cultural variables can also affect the impact of MST.

Although trauma can be a life-changing event, people are often remarkably resilient after experiencing trauma. Many individuals recover without professional help; others may generally function well in their life, but continue to experience some level of difficulties or have strong reactions in certain situations. For some Veterans, the experience of MST may continue to affect their mental and physical health in significant ways, even many years later. Some of the experiences both female and male survivors of MST may have include:

Strong emotions: feeling depressed; having intense, sudden emotional reactions to things; feeling angry or irritable all the time

Feelings of numbness: feeling emotionally 'flat'; difficulty experiencing emotions like love or happiness

Trouble sleeping: trouble falling or staying asleep; disturbing nightmares

Difficulties with attention, concentration, and memory: trouble staying focused; frequently finding their mind wandering; having a hard time remembering things

Problems with alcohol or other drugs: drinking to excess or using drugs daily; getting intoxicated or "high" to cope with memories or emotional reactions; drinking to fall asleep

Difficulty with things that remind them of their experiences of sexual trauma: feeling on edge or 'jumpy' all the time; difficulty feeling safe; going out of their way to avoid reminders of their experiences

Difficulties in relationships: feeling isolated or disconnected from others; abusive relationships; trouble with employers or authority figures; difficulty trusting others

Physical health problems: sexual difficulties; chronic pain; weight or eating problems; gastrointestinal problems

Although posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is commonly associated with MST, it is not the only diagnosis that can result from MST. For example, VA medical record data indicate that in addition to PTSD, the diagnoses most frequently associated with MST among users of VA health care are depression and other mood disorders, and substance use disorders.

Fortunately, people can recover from experiences of trauma, and VA has effective services to help Veterans do this.

How has VA responded to the problem of MST?

VA is strongly committed to ensuring that Veterans have access to the help they need in order to recover from MST.

- Every VA health care system has a designated MST Coordinator who serves as a contact person for MST-related issues. This person can help Veterans find and access VA services and programs. He or she may also be aware of state and federal benefits and community resources that may be helpful.
- Recognizing that many survivors of sexual trauma do not disclose their experiences unless asked directly, VA health care providers ask every Veteran whether he or she experienced MST. This is an important way of making sure Veterans know about the services available to them.
- All treatment for physical and mental health conditions related to experiences of MST is provided free of charge.
- To receive free treatment for mental and physical health conditions related to MST, Veterans do not need to be service connected (or have a VA disability rating). Veterans may be able to receive this benefit even if they are not eligible for other VA care. Veterans do not need to have reported the incident(s) when they happened or have other documentation that they occurred.
- MST-related services are available at every VA medical center and every facility has providers knowledgeable about treatment for the aftereffects of MST. MST-related counseling is also available through community-based Vet Centers. Services are designed to meet Veterans where they are at in their recovery, whether that is focusing on strategies for coping with challenging emotions and memories or, for Veterans who are ready, actually talking about their MST experiences in depth.
- Nationwide, there are programs that offer specialized sexual trauma treatment in residential or inpatient settings. These are programs for Veterans who need more intense treatment and support.
- To accommodate Veterans who do not feel comfortable in mixed-gender treatment settings, some facilities have separate programs for men and women. All residential and inpatient MST programs have separate sleeping areas for men and women.



In addition to its treatment programming, VA also provides training to staff on issues related to MST, including a mandatory training on MST for all mental health and primary care providers. VA also engages in a range of outreach activities to Veterans and conducts monitoring of MST-related screening and treatment, in order to ensure that adequate services are available.

How can Veterans get help?

For more information, Veterans can speak with their existing VA health care provider, contact the MST Coordinator at their nearest VA Medical Center, or contact their local Vet Center. A list of VA and Vet Center facilities can be found at www.va.gov and www.vetcenter.va.gov. Veterans should feel free to ask to meet with a clinician of a particular gender if it would make them feel more comfortable.

Veterans can also learn more about VA's MST-related services online at www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp and see video clips with the recovery stories of Veterans who have experienced MST at <http://maketheconnection.net/conditions/military-sexual-trauma>.



May, 2015

Appendix C – United States-Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation

United States-Japan Security Consultative Committee Document

United States-Japan Roadmap for Realignment Implementation

May 1, 2006

by

Secretary of State Rice
Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld

Minister of Foreign Affairs Aso
Minister of State for Defense Nukaga

Overview

On October 29, 2005, the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee (SCC) members approved recommendations for realignment of U.S. forces in Japan and related Japan Self-Defense Forces (SDF) in their document, “U.S.-Japan Alliance: Transformation and Realignment for the Future.” In that document, the SCC members directed their respective staffs “to finalize these specific and interrelated initiatives and develop plans, including concrete implementation schedules no later than March 2006.” This work has been completed and is reflected in this document.

Finalization of Realignment Initiatives

The individual realignment initiatives form a coherent package. When implemented, these realignments will ensure a life-of-the-alliance presence for U.S. forces in Japan.

The construction and other costs for facility development in the implementation of these initiatives will be borne by the Government of Japan (GOJ) unless otherwise specified. The U.S. Government (USG) will bear the operational costs that arise from implementation of these initiatives. The two Governments will finance their realignment-associated costs consistent with their commitments in the October 29, 2005 SCC document to maintain deterrence and capabilities while reducing burdens on local communities.

Key Implementation Details

1. Realignment on Okinawa

(a) Futenma Replacement Facility (FRF)

- The United States and Japan will locate the FRF in a configuration that combines the Henoko-saki and adjacent water areas of Oura and Henoko Bays, including two runways aligned in a “V”-shape, each runway having a length of 1,600 meters plus two 100-meter overruns. The length of each runway portion of the facility is 1,800 meters, exclusive of seawalls (see attached concept plan dated April 28, 2006). This facility ensures agreed operational capabilities while addressing issues of safety, noise, and environmental impacts.
- In order to locate the FRF, inclusive of agreed support facilities, in the Camp Schwab area, necessary adjustments will be made, such as reconfiguration of Camp Schwab facilities and adjacent water surface areas.
- Construction of the FRF is targeted for completion by 2014.
- Relocation to the FRF will occur when the facility is fully operationally capable.
- Facility improvements for contingency use at Air SDF bases at Nyutabaru and Tsuiki related to replacement of Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Futenma capabilities will be made, as necessary, after conducting site surveys and before MCAS Futenma is returned.
- Requirements for improved contingency use of civilian facilities will be examined in the context of bilateral contingency planning, and appropriate arrangements will be made in order to realize the return of MCAS Futenma.
- In principle, the construction method for the FRF will be landfill.
- The USG does not have a plan to operate fighter aircraft from this facility.

(b) Force Reductions and Relocation to Guam

- Approximately 8,000 III Marine Expeditionary Force (MEF) personnel and their approximately 9,000 dependents will relocate from Okinawa to Guam

by 2014, in a manner that maintains unit integrity. Units to relocate will include: III MEF Command Element, 3d Marine Division Headquarters, 3d Marine Logistics Group (formerly known as Force Service Support Group) Headquarters, 1st Marine Air Wing Headquarters, and 12th Marine Regiment Headquarters.

- The affected units will relocate from such facilities as Camp Courtney, Camp Hansen, MCAS Futenma, Camp Zukeran, and Makiminato Service Area.
- The U.S. Marine Corps (USMC) forces remaining on Okinawa will consist of Marine Air-Ground Task Force elements, such as command, ground, aviation, and combat service support, as well as a base support capability.
- Of the estimated \$10.27 billion cost of the facilities and infrastructure development costs for the III MEF relocation to Guam, Japan will provide \$6.09 billion (in U.S. Fiscal Year 2008 dollars), including \$2.8 billion in direct cash contributions, to develop facilities and infrastructure on Guam to enable the III MEF relocation, recognizing the strong desire of Okinawa residents that such force relocation be realized rapidly. The United States will fund the remainder of the facilities and infrastructure development costs for the relocation to Guam—estimated in U.S. Fiscal Year 2008 dollars at \$3.18 billion in fiscal spending plus approximately \$1 billion for a road.

(c) Land Returns and Shared Use of Facilities

- Following the relocation to the FRF, the return of MCAS Futenma, and the transfer of III MEF personnel to Guam, the remaining facilities and areas on Okinawa will be consolidated, thereby enabling the return of significant land areas south of Kadena Air Base.
- Both sides will develop a detailed consolidation plan by March 2007. In this plan, total or partial return of the following six candidate facilities will be examined:
 - Camp Kuwae: Total return.
 - Camp Zukeran: Partial return and consolidation of remaining facilities and infrastructure to the extent possible.
 - MCAS Futenma: Total return (see FRF section above).

- Makiminato Service Area: Total return.
- Naha Port: Total return (relocated to the new facilities, including additional staging area, to be constructed at Urasoe).
- Army POL Depot Kuwae Tank Farm No. 1: Total return.
- All functions and capabilities that are resident in facilities designated for return, and that are required by forces remaining in Okinawa, will be relocated within Okinawa. These relocations will occur before the return of designated facilities.
- While emphasizing the importance of steady implementation of the recommendations of the Special Action Committee on Okinawa (SACO) Final Report, the SACO relocation and return initiatives may need to be re-evaluated.
- Camp Hansen will be used for Ground SDF training. Shared use that requires no facility improvements will be possible from 2006.
- Air SDF will use Kadena Air Base for bilateral training with U.S. forces, taking into account noise impacts on local communities.

(d) Relationships among Initiatives

- Within the overall package, the Okinawa-related realignment initiatives are interconnected.
- Specifically, consolidation and land returns south of Kadena depend on completing the relocation of III MEF personnel and dependents from Okinawa to Guam.
- The III MEF relocation from Okinawa to Guam is dependent on: (1) tangible progress toward completion of the FRF, and (2) Japan's financial contributions to fund development of required facilities and infrastructure on Guam.

2. Improvement of U.S. Army Command and Control Capability

- U.S. Army command and control structure at Camp Zama will be transformed by U.S. Fiscal Year 2008. The headquarters of the Ground SDF Central Readiness Force subsequently will arrive at Camp Zama by

Japan Fiscal Year 2012; SDF helicopters will have access to Kastner Heliport on Camp Zama.

- Along with the transformation of Army headquarters in Japan, a battle command training center and other support facilities will be constructed within Sagami General Depot (SGD) using U.S. funding.
- In relation to this transformation, the following measures for efficient and effective use of Camp Zama and SGD will be implemented.
 - Some portions of land at SGD will be returned for local redevelopment (approximately 15 hectares (ha)) and for road and underground rail (approximately 2 ha). Affected housing units will be relocated to Sagamihara Housing Area.
 - A specified area of open space in the northwest section of SGD (approximately 35 ha) will be provided for local use when not required for contingency or training purposes.
 - Portions of the Chapel Hill housing area of Camp Zama (1.1 ha) will be returned to the GOJ following relocation of affected housing units within Camp Zama. Further discussions on possible additional land returns at Chapel Hill will occur as appropriate.

3. Yokota Air Base and Air Space

- Air SDF Air Defense Command (ADC) and relevant units will relocate to Yokota Air Base in Japan Fiscal Year 2010. A bilateral master plan for base use will be developed to accommodate facility and infrastructure requirements.
- A bilateral, joint operations coordination center (BJOCC), established at Yokota Air Base, will include a collocated air and missile defense coordination function. The USG and GOJ will fund their own required equipment and systems, respectively, while both sides will coordinate appropriate funding of shared-use equipment and systems.
- The following measures will be pursued to facilitate movement of civilian aircraft through Yokota airspace while satisfying military operational requirements.
 - Establish a program in Japan Fiscal Year 2006 to inform commercial aviation entities of existing procedures to transit Yokota airspace.

- Return portions of Yokota airspace to Japanese control by September 2008; specific portions will be identified by October 2006.
- Develop procedures in Japan Fiscal Year 2006 for temporary transfers of air traffic control responsibility to Japanese authorities for portions of Yokota airspace, when not required for military purposes.
- Study the conditions required for the possible return of the entire Yokota airspace as part of a comprehensive study of options for related airspace reconfigurations and changes in air traffic control procedures that would satisfy future patterns of civilian and military (U.S. and Japanese) demand for use of Japanese airspace. The study will take into account both the lessons learned from the Kadena radar approach control (RAPCON) transfer experience and the lessons learned from experiences with collocation of U.S. forces and Japanese controllers in Japan. This study will be completed in Japan Fiscal Year 2009.
- The USG and GOJ will conduct a study of the specific conditions and modalities for possible civilian-military dual-use of Yokota Air Base, to be completed within 12 months from commencement.
 - The study will be conducted on the shared understanding that dual-use must not compromise military operations and safety or the military operational capabilities of Yokota Air Base.
 - Based upon the outcome of this study, the two governments will consult and then make appropriate decisions on civilian-military dual-use.

4. Relocation of Carrier Air Wing from Atsugi Air Facility to Marine Corps Air Station (MCAS) Iwakuni

- The relocation of Carrier Air Wing Five (CVW-5) squadrons from Atsugi Air Facility to MCAS Iwakuni, consisting of F/A-18, EA-6B, E-2C, and C-2 aircraft, will be completed by 2014, subsequent to the following: (1) completion of necessary facilities, and (2) adjustment of training airspace and the Iwakuni RAPCON airspace.
- Necessary facilities will be developed at Atsugi Air Facility to

accommodate Maritime SDF E/O/UP-3 squadrons and other aircraft from Iwakuni, taking into account the continued requirement for U.S. operations from Atsugi.

- The KC-130 squadron will be based at MCAS Iwakuni with its headquarters, maintenance support facilities, and family support facilities. The aircraft will regularly deploy on a rotational basis for training and operations to Maritime SDF Kanoya Base and Guam. To support the deployment of KC-130 aircraft, necessary facilities will be developed at Kanoya.
- U.S. Marine Corps CH-53D helicopters will be relocated from MCAS Iwakuni to Guam when the III MEF personnel relocate from Okinawa to Guam.
- Training airspace and Iwakuni RAPCON airspace will be adjusted to fulfill safely the training and operational requirements of U.S. forces, Japan SDF, and commercial aircraft (including those in neighboring airspace) through coordination by the Joint Committee.
- A bilateral framework to conduct a study on a permanent field-carrier landing practice facility will be established, with the goal of selecting a permanent site by July 2009 or the earliest possible date thereafter.
- Portions of the future civilian air facility will be accommodated at MCAS Iwakuni.

5. Missile Defense

- As both sides deploy additional capabilities and improve their respective ballistic missile defense capabilities, close coordination will continue.
- The optimum site for deployment of a new U.S. X-Band radar system has been designated as Air SDF Shariki Base. Necessary arrangements and facility modifications, funded by the USG, will be made before the radar becomes operational in summer 2006.
- The USG will share X-Band radar data with the GOJ.
- U.S. Patriot PAC-3 capabilities will be deployed to Japan within existing U.S. facilities and areas, becoming operational at the earliest possible time.

6. Training Relocation

- Both sides will develop annual bilateral training plans beginning in Japan Fiscal Year 2007. As necessary, a supplemental plan for Japan Fiscal Year 2006 can be developed.
- Initially, aircraft from three U.S. facilities — Kadena, Misawa, and Iwakuni — will participate in relocated training conducted from the following SDF facilities: Chitose, Misawa, Hyakuri, Komatsu, Tsuiki, and Nyutabaru. Both sides will work toward expanding use of SDF facilities for bilateral training and exercises in the future.
- The GOJ will improve infrastructure for training relocation at SDF facilities as necessary after conducting site surveys.
- Relocated training will not diminish the quality of training that is currently available to U.S. forces in Japan, taking into account facilities and training requirements.
- In general, bilateral training will commence with participation of 1-5 aircraft for the duration of 1-7 days, and develop over time to participation of 6-12 aircraft for 8-14 days at a time.
- At those SDF facilities at which terms of joint use are stipulated by Joint Committee agreements, limitations on the number of joint training events will be removed. Limitations on the total days and period per training event for joint use of each SDF facility will be maintained.
- The USG and GOJ will share costs for bilateral training as appropriate, bearing in mind the priority of maintaining readiness.

Appendix D – Association of Pacific Island Legislatures, Resolution No. 34-GA-16, CD1



Association of Pacific Island Legislatures

American Samoa
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands
FSM, State of Chuuk
FSM, State of Kosrae
FSM, State of Pohnpei
FSM, State of Yap
Island of Guam
Republic of Kiribati
Republic of the Marshall Islands
Republic of Nauru
Republic of Palau
State of Hawaii

A RESOLUTION

APIL Resolution No. 34-GA-16, CD1

“Relative to expressing opposition to any and all proposed military use of the Northern Mariana Islands of Pagan and any increase in military activities on Tinian, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.”

1 **WHEREAS**, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (“CNMI”)
2 contributes to the defense of the United States by being a valuable strategic military
3 defense asset in the Pacific region and by leasing its scarce real property including,
4 but not limited to, more than two-thirds of Tinian island, valuable portions of
5 Tanapag, Saipan, and the entire island of Farallon de Medinilla (“FDM”) for military
6 trainings, maneuvers, and live-fire bombings and other exercises; and

7 **WHEREAS**, more than forty (40) years after signing the Covenant to
8 Establish a Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in Political Union with
9 the United States of America (“Covenant”), which sets forth not only the scope and
10 parameters of the political relationship between the CNMI and the U.S., including
11 identifying those specific parcels of real property deemed necessary for national
12 defense purposes, scarce land in the CNMI is once again being slated for increased
13 militarization, namely manned and unmanned live-fire bombing and related military
14 trainings and maneuvers by land, sea, and air extending far beyond FDM; and

15 **WHEREAS**, given the significant land, sea, and airspace that the military has
16 already taken for national defense purposes, the people of the CNMI, through several

ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC ISLAND LEGISLATURES Res. No. 34-GA-16, CD1

1 public hearings, together with the 18th House of Representatives via House Joint
2 Resolution 18-14 and the 19th CNMI Legislatures via House Joint Resolution 19-3,
3 have opposed the military’s proposed Pagan plan for combined-unit live-fire trainings
4 and maneuvers, which entails the impermissible continuous use and occupation of the
5 entire island of Pagan for warfare functional areas (“WFA”) not limited to
6 amphibious warfare, anti-submarine warfare, mine warfare, strike warfare, air
7 warfare, surface warfare, electronic warfare, and Naval special warfare, among others;
8 and

9 **WHEREAS**, the CNMI Joint Military Training Proposal would also expand
10 military operations in the CNMI by introducing unit-level training on leased lands on
11 Tinian – a plan opposed by Tinian’s residents and because of consequent adverse
12 impacts on access to areas of cultural and historic significance as well as access to
13 natural resources critical for subsistence, and additionally because said plans would
14 result in the destruction of their lands and the long term contamination and ultimate
15 degradation of their environment; and

16 **WHEREAS**, the jurisdictions that constitute the membership of the
17 Association of Pacific Island Legislatures (“APIL”) function essentially as one “Blue
18 Continent” such that the “re-pivot” or “re-balance” of U.S. military presence in the
19 Pacific must be managed in a comprehensive manner, especially in light of the fact
20 that the Mariana Islands Training and Testing seeks to nearly double the ocean space
21 that has been already taken and controlled by the military per the Mariana Islands
22 Range Complex (“MIRC”), i.e. increasing it from 501,873 square nautical miles to
23 984,469 square nautical miles – making the combined ocean area occupied for
24 military training equal to the combined sizes of the states of Washington, Oregon,
25 California, Idaho, Nevada, Arizona, Montana and New Mexico combined; and

ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC ISLAND LEGISLATURES Res. No. 34-GA-16, CD1

1 **WHEREAS**, Dentons US LLP, the contracted team of experts reviewing the
2 Draft Environmental Impact Statement (“DEIS”) on behalf of the CNMI government,
3 has concluded, based on its initial findings, that the DEIS is non-compliant with the
4 basic principles of the National Environmental Policy Act (“NEPA”); and

5 **WHEREAS**, the CNMI, for its own sake as well as that of the Blue Continent
6 as a whole, hereby respectfully requests that the APIL takes all necessary measures to
7 oppose the proposed military exercises on Tinian and Pâgan and further oppose the
8 increased military exercises within the Northern Islands, as there is an urgent need to
9 collaborate with the members of the APIL on these issues, and for said members to
10 participate meaningfully in the process of developing a comprehensive strategy to
11 protect our land, sea, and air from ecologically destructive bombing and other military
12 activities; now, therefore,

13 **BE IT RESOLVED** by the Association of Pacific Island Legislatures, 34th
14 General Assembly, July 7-10, 2015, Island of Pohnpei, FSM, that the Association of
15 Pacific Island Legislatures hereby expresses its opposition to any and all proposed
16 military use of the Northern Mariana Islands of Pâgan and any increase in military
17 activities on Tinian, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands; and

18 **BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED** that the APIL President shall certify and the
19 APIL Secretary shall attest to the adoption hereof, and that copies of the same shall
20 thereafter be transmitted to the Chief Executives and the Legislative Presiding
21 Officers of each member jurisdiction of the Association of the Pacific Island
22 Legislatures and shall transmit copies to His Excellency Barack Obama, President of
23 the United States, the Honorable Eloy S. Inos, Governor of the CNMI, the Honorable
24 Representative Mac Thornberry, Chairman of the U.S. House Armed Forces
25 Committee, the Honorable Senator John McCain, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed

ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC ISLAND LEGISLATURES Res. No. 34-GA-16, CDI

1 Services Committee, the Honorable Ash Carter, U. S. Secretary of Defense, the
2 Honorable Ray Mabus, Secretary of the Navy, General Joseph F. Dunford, Jr.,
3 Commandant of the Marine Corp, the Honorable Gregorio C. Kili Sablan, U. S.
4 Congress Delegate of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Honorable Madeleine
5 Bordallo, U. S. Congress Delegate of Guam and the Mayors of Rota, Tinian and
6 Aguigan, Saipan, and the islands north of Saipan.

DULY AND REGULARLY ADOPTED ON THE 9TH DAY OF JULY, 2015.

**KENNETH A. KEDI
PRESIDENT**

**FERNANDO SCALIEM
SECRETARY**



Appendix E – To the Editors of the Marianas Variety and the Saipan Tribune

Sylvia C Frain

To the editors of the *Marianas Variety* and the *Saipan Tribune*

24 May 2015

I am a Ph.D. candidate with The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago/ Te Ao O Rongomaraeroa in Dunedin, on the South Island of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. I am writing from Aotearoa to tell the people of the Marianas that they are not alone in the struggle to protect our scared planet. You have friends and supporters beyond Oceania that stand in solidarity with you in opposition of the proposed military live-fire training on Pagan and Tinian.

I grew up on the other side of Oceania in California, and although I was not raised in the Marianas, my mother lives there and I have been visiting every summer for several years. Over the past year, I have become increasingly involved with the nonviolent and artistic resistance occurring in the Marianas and throughout Oceania in relation to the American foreign policy Asia-Pacific Pivot and Trans Pacific Partnership. I have been in contact with Moñeka De Oro, using her powerful statement from the CNMI Joint Military Training Draft EIS/OEIS Public Meeting at Tinian Junior Senior High School in my methodology chapter and her poetry in a poster I presented. I contacted Arley Long regarding the online petition and asked ways in which she would prefer for me to publicize it and share. Most recently, I joined and contacted Alternative Zero Coalition. I established direct communication with Cinta M. Kaipat and asked if there was particular message that I should include in my research and presentations. Cinta asked me to please continue, “raising awareness of our strong desire to stop the military's destructive plans to bomb Pagan and Tinian.”

As a combination of scholarship and activism, I worked to raise awareness of the further colonisation and continual militarisation of the Marianas through several methods and at varying venues across Oceania.

In March, I spoke on *Mutiny Radio*, in collaboration with *KPFA*, broadcasted from the Mission District in San Francisco and available online. I discussed the proposed build-up of the Marianas and other Oceania activism on “Women’s Magazine with Global Val”; an hour-long radio program that presents and discusses women’s lives and issues globally and locally from “a radical, multiracial, feminist, mujerist, womanist perspective.”
(<http://podcasts.prcollective.org/WomensMagazine/WomensMagazine-20150227.mp3>).

In April, I gave an artistic presentation on the Community and Cultural Development: Pacific Projects Panel at the Contemporary Pacific Arts Symposium (CPAF). The transnational event held at Footscray Community Art Centre, on the banks of the Maribyrnong River on the traditional lands of the Wurundjeri people, Kulin nation in Melbourne, Australia.

Two weeks later, I presented research at the National Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies’ Research Seminar Series: Nonviolent Visual Resistance on Guåhan and in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). Photography as a form of nonviolent resistance to contemporary colonialism & everyday militarization. In May, I presented the visual poster entitled: *Tip of the Spear* also at Te Ao O Rongomaraeroa in Aotearoa. Following the presentation, at least 10 people from Aotearoa signed the online petition. I also shared the link with the Association for Anthropology in Oceania (ASAONET) email list serve and War Resisters’ International tweeted it on their official twitter account. Here is a direct link: www.tinyurl.com/StopIslandBombing.

In addition to speaking and presenting about the continual militarization of the Marianas, other nonviolent resistance organizations and groups have been showing solidarity through social media. Facebook organization page, ‘Alternative Zero Coalition’ (<https://www.facebook.com/AlternativeZeroMarianas?fref=ts>) and Facebook community page ‘Our Islands are Sacred’ (<https://www.facebook.com/ourislandsaresacred?fref=ts>) are at the forefront of providing logistic information, status updates, and video commentary regarding the

Department of Defence's proposal. Facebook public groups, 'We Are Guåhan Public Forum' (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/201035718843/>) and 'Manhita Marianas-Marianas Together' (<https://www.facebook.com/groups/471177866379761/>) create space for dialogue and brainstorming. The network of organizations 'DMZ-Hawai'i/ Aloha 'Aina' (<http://www.dmzhawaii.org/?p=11107>), and the Facebook community 'I Oppose the Expansion of US Bases in Okinawa' (<https://www.facebook.com/closethebase?fref=ts>), also shared stories of protecting the Marianas and opposing US military Asia Pacific- Pivot. Other Facebook groups that share the online petition and continue to collaborate include, Pacific History Association, Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, Peace Movement Aotearoa, and the Pacific Youth Council.

Stella Magazine (<http://www.stellamag.com>), a "thinking women's magazine based in Papua New Guinea" will feature regular stories from the Marianas beginning this August to spread awareness to Pasifika communities.

Although I am based on the South Island of Aotearoa, I am also a Research Associate with the University of Guam/ Unibetsedåt Guåhan (UOG) Micronesia Area Research Center (MARC). I am returning to the Marianas in the first week of June to highlight the activities relating to nonviolent and artistic resistance visually. I manage the Facebook Page: 'Oceania Resistance' (<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Oceania-Resistance/883965481628059?ref=hl>) as an online visual platform that shares my activism and research, offers news and articles, photographs and films, features events, highlights youth organizations, and showcases artistic activism in Oceania.

I am hoping to show the tremendous momentum that is growing within the CNMI and beyond. Oceania is intensifying; from the protectors on top of Mauna Kea in Hawai'i, to the 'kayakivists' in harbour of Seattle, to the elders in the streets of Okinawa, the teachers in the school hall of Tinian, environmentalists in Alaska, lawyers in the Marshall Islands and the Pacific Warriors from across the region, international solidarity and activism is directly challenging militarisation and exploitation.

I aim to contribute to the resistance and offer my solidarity and support to stand up for scared lands. If you have any questions, comments, input or suggestions, I can be reached at Sylvia.Frain@postgrad.otago.ac.nz.

Appendix F – Petition to Save Pagan and Tinian Islands from the U.S. Military Live-Fire Bombing, Letter to the Honorable Barack H. Obama from the Alternative Zero Coalition



ALTERNATIVE ZERO COALITION
P.O. Box 509214, Saipan, MP 96950

September 30, 2015

The Honorable Barack H. Obama
President of the United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Obama:

Subject: Petition to Save Pagan and Tinian Islands from U.S. Military Live-Fire Bombing

Hafa Adai and Tirow!

The accompanying petition comes to you from one of America's greatest treasures -- the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. It is a fascinating place of stunning beauty, rich in natural and cultural resources. It is the physical, cultural homeland and identity of the Chamorro and Refaluwasch (Carolinian) people who have a deep love for these sacred islands that have sustained, protected and shaped them for over 4,000 years. It is also the newest part of America as a result of these same Chamorro and Refaluwasch people coming together with representatives of the United States and negotiating a Covenant Agreement that brought these islands into the American family.

There is a sentence in the Covenant Agreement that serves to describe what the petition is all about:

"The United States will continue to recognize and respect the scarcity and special importance of land in the Northern Marianas Islands."

The sentence speaks to the intent of the Covenant Agreement in regards to land. It documents that the negotiators understood and appreciated that the Chamorro and Refaluwasch people need, depend upon and cherish their very limited land, and acknowledges that the islands and the ocean around them are synonymous to Chamorro and Refaluwasch identity. It instructs the United States to recognize and respect this in the future.

PaganWatch
PMB 326, Box 10001
Saipan, MP 96950

Guardians of Gani
P.O. Box 500370
Saipan, MP 96950

Fanacho Marianas
P.O. Box 180
Tinian, MP 96952

MINA
P.O. Box 506645
Saipan, MP 96950

Oceania Resistance
144 Asplinal Avenue, Suite 201
Hagatna, GU 96910

The Honorable President Barack H. Obama
September 30, 2015
Page 2

The negotiators on both sides of the table also recognized the need of the United States for a military presence in the Northern Mariana Islands. To address this need, the Chamorro and Refaluwasch negotiators agreed to move people off the northern two-thirds of Tinian in order to lease the area to the Department of Defense (DoD) for the purpose of building a military base. This same base would also provide the people of Tinian with significant employment, business opportunities and the use of some facilities, including the base hospital and school. Other land leases gave the DoD use of Tanapag harbor on Saipan, adjacent land in Garapan, and an entire island for military training. These leases satisfied the stated needs of the Department of Defense.

These land concessions on the part of the Chamorro and Refaluwasch negotiators are a testament to their sincere concern and respect for the needs of the United States. The lands leased to the DoD were not rocks and desert. They were large areas of beautiful, healthy, and useful land. They were given for lease in good faith, with full understanding of their value.

Now, 37 years after the Covenant Agreement, the US military is moving to use the leased Tinian land as a bombing range. They also plan to invoke eminent domain to take the most beautiful island of all, the island of Pagan, which many consider our cultural heart, and use it for a highest level live-fire bombing range. In all, the military leased lands would constitute nearly 25% of our entire land mass, much of it being our most useful, valuable land resources.

The consequences of such a use on the land and the people of the Marianas will be severe. Our tourism-based economy will be devastated. Our lands and waters will be contaminated, permanently damaged and destroyed. Unexploded ordnance will accumulate on the land and in the waters of Tinian and Pagan. Tinian's 3,000 people will live in dangerously close proximity to a live-fire bombing range. Access to fishing grounds as well as all the islands north of Saipan will be severely curtailed. We will lose our freedom of movement on land, sea and air to military closures for security and safety reasons. We will become an isolated, shunned community dominated by the military and surrounded by bombing ranges.

The petition that we present today was signed by over 120,800 people. In it, the people of the Northern Mariana Islands are joined by tens of thousands of other Americans and people worldwide who are outraged by the US military's behavior. They are alarmed by their blatant disregard for the rights and needs of the people of the Marianas. They are alarmed that the US military continues to destroy beautiful islands for training. They are concerned about the message this sends to the world about the United States' commitment to the American ideals of equality, rights, liberty, opportunity, and democracy. We urge you to listen to the many voices that this petition represents. They are telling you that what the US Military intends is WRONG.

PaganWatch
PMB 326, Box 10001
Saipan, MP 96950

Guardians of Gani
P.O. Box 500370
Saipan, MP 96950

Fanacho Marianas
P.O. Box 180
Tinian, MP 96952

MINA
P.O. Box 506645
Saipan, MP 96950

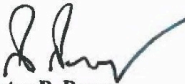
Oceania Resistance
144 Aspinal Avenue, Suite 201
Hagatna, GU 96910

The Honorable President Barack H. Obama
September 30, 2015
Page 3

There are many alternatives to training that the US military has suppressed or ignored -- alternatives that don't put the entire burden of multi-national live-fire bombing on one tiny American community. We ask that you instruct the US military to fully explore and develop other options and immediately cease their efforts to build bombing ranges in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

Respectfully,

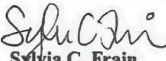
ALTERNATIVE ZERO COALITION


Peter P. Perez
Co-Founder
PaganWatch


Cinta M. Kaipat
Co-Founder
PaganWatch


Cecilia K. Sejepeo
Vice President
Guardians of Gani


/s/
Juanita M. Mendiola
Founding Member
Fanacho Marianas



Sylvia C. Frain
Founder
Oceania Resistance


 for
Frankie Eliptico
Chairman
MINA


ENDORSED BY

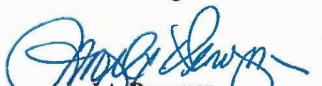
/s/
Victor B. Hocog
Senate President
19th CNMI Legislature



Arnold T. Palacios
Senator, The Senate
19th CNMI Legislature



Sixto K. Igisomar
Senator, The Senate
19th CNMI Legislature



Joseph P. Delton Guerrero
Speaker, House of Reprs.
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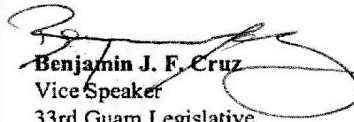
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The Honorable President Barack H. Obama
September 30, 2015
Page 4



Judith T. Won Pat, Ed.D
Speaker
33rd Guam Legislative



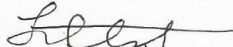
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Victoria-Lola Leon Guerrero
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Our Islands Are Sacred



Hope A. Christobal
Chamorro Studies Association &
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Dr. LisaLinda Natividad
Guahan Coalition for Peace and
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Dr. Michael Lujan Bevacqua
Independence for Guam
Task Force



Baltazar Aguon
Co-Producer
"War on Guam"

cc: The Honorable Sally Jewell, Secretary of the Interior
The Honorable Eloy S. Inos, Governor
The Honorable Ralph DLG. Torres, Lt. Governor
The U.S. Senate
The U.S. House of Representatives
The Honorable Gregorio "Kilili" S. Sablan
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Appendix G – Civil No. 16-00022 Complaint for the Declaratory and Injunctive Relief

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 on this date
 JUL 27 2016
 Clerk
 District Court
 for the Northern Mariana Islands

8 Counsel for Plaintiffs

9 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
 10 FOR THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

11 TINIAN WOMEN’S ASSOCIATION;
 12 GUARDIANS OF GANI; PAGANWATCH
 13 and CENTER FOR BIOLOGICAL
 14 DIVERSITY,

CIVIL NO. **CV 16-00022**
 COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY
 AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

15 Plaintiffs,

16 vs.

17 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE
 18 NAVY; RAY MABUS, Secretary of the
 19 Navy; UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
 20 OF DEFENSE; and ASHTON CARTER,
 21 Secretary of Defense,

22 Defendants.

23 Plaintiffs Tinian Women’s Association, Guardians of Gani, PaganWatch and the Center for
 24 Biological Diversity (collectively, “Plaintiffs”) complain of defendants United States Department of the
 25 Navy, Ray Mabus, in his official capacity as Secretary of the Navy, United States Department of
 Defense, and Ashton Carter, in his official capacity as Secretary of the Department of Defense
 (collectively, “Defendants”) as follows:

1 (actions arising under the laws of the United States); 28 U.S.C. § 1361 (actions to compel an officer of
2 the United States to perform his duty); and 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201-2202 (power to issue declaratory
3 judgments in cases of actual controversy).

4 6. Venue lies properly in this judicial district by virtue of 28 U.S.C. § 1391(e) because this
5 is a civil action in which officers or employees of the United States or an agency thereof are acting in
6 their official capacity or under color of legal authority, a substantial part of the events or omissions
7 giving rise to the claims occurred in this judicial district, and plaintiffs Tinian Women’s Association,
8 Guardians of Gani and PaganWatch reside here.

9

10

PARTIES

11 Plaintiffs

12 7. Plaintiff Tinian Women’s Association (“the Association”) is a non-profit organization
13 based on Tinian and chartered in 1991 that is dedicated to addressing issues affecting Tinian’s women
14 and children, including, but not limited to, the preservation of Chamorro culture, language, and ancestral
15 sites, as well as protection of Tinian’s environment. The Association’s members include women, men
16 and children who live on Tinian and care deeply about these issues.

17 8. The Association identifies itself as “the voices that care,” and actively participates in
18 social, economic, and other development on Tinian. In furtherance of its mission, the Association drafts
19 laws, lobbies the Northern Marianas Commonwealth Legislature, holds conferences and forums on
20 topics of concern to Tinian residents, has initiated a study on the Chamorro language, advocates for
21 environmental protection, works to clean up and protect ancestral grounds, and promotes women’s
22 rights and youth development.

23 9. The military training the Navy now claims Guam-based Marines would need to conduct
24 on Tinian is antithetical to the Association’s environmental, cultural, health, and economic interests,
25 would undo many of the accomplishments the Association has already achieved, and would severely

1 compromise the Association’s ability to protect its interests in the future. Accordingly, the Association
2 and its members have worked actively to oppose the proposed training on Tinian associated with the
3 Guam and CNMI Military Relocation project. The Association has distributed flyers to educate its
4 members and the public at large regarding the anticipated impacts on Tinian of the proposed training and
5 provided assistance to Tinian residents who wished to submit comments during both scoping for the EIS
6 for CNMI Joint Military Training (“CJMT”) – where the Navy first publicly identified the scope of the
7 training it now proposes to conduct on Tinian and Pagan as part of the Guam and CNMI Military
8 Relocation project – and the public comment period on the CJMT draft EIS. The Association and its
9 members submitted comments both during the CJMT scoping process and on the CJMT draft EIS.

10 10. The Association and its members are concerned that the proposed training on Tinian
11 would cause overwhelming damage that would effectively drive residents, including the Association’s
12 members, out of Tinian. More specifically, the Association and its members are concerned that the
13 proposed training would cause devastating noise, pollution and health risks, loss of native species, loss
14 of agricultural land, damage to the coral reef and other marine resources, loss of access to traditional
15 fishing areas and lost productivity of traditional fisheries, damage to and loss of access to cultural and
16 historical resources, harm to the tourism industry that is vital to the local economy and well-being of
17 Tinian residents, and restrictions on travel between Tinian and Saipan, Rota, and other CNMI islands, as
18 well as travel to Guam and the Philippines.

19 11. Because Tinian has a medical clinic but no hospital, the Association and its members are
20 concerned that travel restrictions associated with the proposed training would interfere with ability of
21 Tinian residents - including, but not limited to, the Association’s members - to get advanced healthcare
22 on Saipan, on Guam or in the Philippines in a timely manner. Travel restrictions associated with the
23 proposed training would also isolate families from each other and inhibit the practice of family
24 gatherings for important occasions such as weddings or christenings, as many families are dispersed
25

1 over several islands and travel frequently between islands to visit each other and perpetuate their culture
2 and language.

3 12. As residents of Tinian, the Association's members regularly use and plan to continue to
4 use the land, waters, infrastructure and economy on Tinian to live, and to educate their children about
5 their culture and ensure its continued existence. The Association and its members are concerned that, if
6 the proposed military training on Tinian were to occur, the Association's members would no longer be
7 able to live productive or healthy lives there, and will also lose important elements of their culture. To
8 protect its organizational interests and the interests of its members in improving the lives of Tinian
9 women and children through, among other things, protecting the environment and embracing their
10 culture, the Association brings this action on behalf of itself and its adversely affected members.

11 13. Plaintiff Guardians of Gani ("the Guardians") is a non-profit grassroots organization
12 based on Saipan and founded in 2013 that is dedicated to protecting "Gani," which refers to the Mariana
13 Islands to the north of Saipan, including Pagan, and the heritage of the indigenous people of Gani,
14 including, but not limited to, safeguarding and reclaiming the birthright of indigenous people to access
15 and to resettle Gani. The Guardians' membership consists of residents of the Northern Mariana Islands,
16 including, but not limited to, members who are of Chamorro and Carolinian heritage.

17 14. Recognizing that the environmental health of their islands, the health of their people, and
18 the survival of their culture are inextricably linked, the Guardians and its members work to promote
19 stewardship, conservation, and preservation efforts for Gani. The Guardians advance their mission by
20 discussing relevant issues, especially the U.S. military's activities in the CNMI, on a local radio show.
21 Additionally, the Guardians and its members attend public meetings to contribute their perspectives on
22 relevant issues, lobby for their interests at the Northern Marianas Commonwealth Legislature, author
23 articles for the local newspaper, and make presentations at local schools. The Guardians and its
24 members also work with the local government to reestablish the homestead program, which would
25 further efforts to promote resettlement of Gani by providing housing and infrastructure there.

1 15. For years, the Guardians and its members have advocated for the preservation and
2 resettlement of Gani and have worked towards a future in Gani that allows a return to a more traditional,
3 productive, and fulfilling lifestyle. The proposed training of Guam-based Marines on Pagan poses an
4 existential threat to the survival of the environment and culture on Pagan and plans to settle there.
5 Accordingly, the Guardians and its members have focused their efforts on opposing any such military
6 activities.

7 16. The Guardians and its members are concerned that training on Pagan associated with the
8 Guam and CNMI Relocation would effectively eliminate opportunities to resettle Pagan and would
9 severely restrict travel to Pagan, preventing the indigenous peoples of Pagan from exercising their
10 birthright to access their home island. The proposed training on Pagan would turn the island into a war
11 zone, with surface danger zones established for live-fire training blanketing nearly the entire island and
12 cutting off access by sea or air for much of the year. Even if resettlement were permitted in the small
13 area in the south of Pagan outside the surface danger zone, life there would be intolerable, with
14 deafening noise from live-fire training, insufficient arable land and restricted access to fisheries whose
15 resources would be depleted by the proposed training.

16 17. The Guardians and their members are further concerned that the proposed war games on
17 Pagan would preclude the establishment of a robust ecotourism industry, which is central to the
18 Guardians' plans to provide a stable economic base for resettlement. In addition to preventing tourists
19 from accessing Pagan, the proposed training would result in destruction of the historical, cultural and
20 natural resources, both terrestrial and marine, that are necessary to draw tourists to Pagan.

21 18. The Guardians and its members are deeply concerned about the health impacts of the
22 proposed training on Pagan. The people of the CNMI already experience high cancer rates, which the
23 Guardians attribute to leached chemicals and other contamination associated with U.S. military activities
24 during World War II. The Guardians and its members believe these health impacts would be worsened
25 by the proposed military training on Pagan.

1 19. The Guardians and its members are further concerned that existing historical and cultural
2 sites on Pagan, as well as those historical artifacts and cultural information that have yet to be
3 discovered and researched, would be destroyed and lost forever if the proposed training on Pagan were
4 to proceed.

5 20. The Guardians' members travel to Pagan regularly, with the next trip to Pagan planned
6 for August 2016, and intend to continue to do so. Members of the Guardians also have plans to resettle
7 Pagan.

8 21. The Guardians and their members view Gani as the last frontier to revive their traditions
9 and culture. The proposed training associated with the Guam and CNMI Military Relocation would
10 render Pagan unlivable and inaccessible, adversely affecting the interests of the Guardians and its
11 members. The Guardians bring this action on behalf of itself and its adversely affected members.

12 22. Plaintiff PaganWatch is an unincorporated association based on Saipan and founded in
13 2004 that is dedicated to advocating for the rights of residents of Gani, including Pagan. PaganWatch's
14 membership includes, but is not limited to, individuals of Chamorro and Carolinian descent who are
15 current or past residents of Pagan. Some PaganWatch members currently live on Pagan, while others
16 want to return to live as their ancestors did: to farm, fish, work, engage in cultural practices, and pass on
17 such traditions and way of life to their children to preserve their culture and heritage.

18 23. PaganWatch's mission is to protect Gani and its people by advocating for the rights of the
19 current and former residents of those islands, especially their right to resettle there, and to protect the
20 rights and interests of the people of Northern Marianas descent in the CNMI's public land, including
21 Pagan. Initially, PaganWatch was created to oppose the pozzolan mining that was proposed for Pagan,
22 which would have eliminated the current and former residents' access to and ability to resettle on Pagan.
23 PaganWatch's opposition and advocacy work resulted in the restructuring of public land management in
24 the CNMI and has helped to foster a settlement plan and development plan for the residents of Gani.
25

1 24. In response to the proposed military training on Pagan associated with the Guam and
2 CNMI Military Relocation project, PaganWatch has continued to advocate for residents' right of access
3 to public land, and to work to reestablish their right to resettle on the islands of Gani, including Pagan.
4 PaganWatch has promoted those rights and interests through outreach in local media, by authoring
5 articles, posting online updates about military activities and plans in the CNMI, hosting meetings for
6 PaganWatch's members, and lobbying and working with local government.

7 25. In 2015, PaganWatch submitted comments on the CJMT draft EIS. Among other things,
8 PaganWatch pointed out the Navy's failure to comply with NEPA's mandate to consider in a single EIS
9 the environmental impacts of both the training proposed for Pagan and the relocation of Marines to
10 Guam that the Navy claims necessitates this training.

11 26. PaganWatch members have cultural, social, economic, health and aesthetic interests in
12 the preservation of Pagan, and in settling there. They are concerned that the military training the Navy
13 now claims Guam-based Marines would need to conduct on Pagan will prevent the resettlement of
14 Pagan, restrict access to fishing areas and travel, destroy cultural resources, exacerbate existing health
15 issues caused by previous military activity in the area, destroy the economy by eliminating natural,
16 cultural and historical resources that sustain the tourism industry, and severely damage the environment.

17 27. The training on Pagan associated with the Guam and CNMI Military Relocation project
18 would adversely affect PaganWatch's and its members' interests by destroying Pagan's natural,
19 historical and cultural resources, cutting off access to the island and effectively preventing resettlement.
20 The proposed training would adversely affect PaganWatch's members' ability to maintain their own
21 health, economic, and cultural wellbeing and would impede their ability to provide a better life for future
22 generations. PaganWatch brings this action on behalf of itself and its adversely affected members.

23 28. Plaintiff Center for Biological Diversity ("the Center") is a nonprofit conservation
24 organization with more than 45,000 members, including members who reside in the Mariana Islands,
25 dedicated to the preservation, protection, and restoration of biodiversity and ecosystems throughout the

1 world. The Center works to insure the long-term health and viability of animal and plant species, and to
2 protect the habitat these species need to survive and recover. The Center is actively involved in species
3 and habitat protection issues throughout the United States and the world, including working to protect
4 plant and animal species from habitat destruction and harmful activities.

5 29. The Center has worked to protect the wildlife of Guam and the CNMI since at least 2000,
6 including through the filing of petitions to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (“the Service”) to
7 designate species as threatened or endangered, and to designate critical habitat for listed species,
8 pursuant to the Endangered Species Act. These petitions include the Center’s December 2013 petition
9 to list the Tinian monarch as a threatened or endangered species, which is currently pending before the
10 Service.

11 30. In April 2000, the Center filed suit against the Service, challenging its failure to designate
12 critical habitat for several endangered species from Guam and the CNMI, including species that would
13 be harmed by the Guam and CNMI Military Relocation proposal. In April 2002, the court entered a
14 settlement agreement requiring the Service to finalize new rules regarding critical habitat for these
15 species, which were published in the Federal Register in October 2004.

16 31. In December 2000, the Center filed suit against the Navy to halt the killing of migratory
17 birds as result of live-fire training exercises on Farallon de Medinilla in the CNMI. In March 2002, the
18 court held that the Navy violated the Migratory Bird Treaty Act by killing birds without a permit
19 through its live-fire training exercises.

20 32. In February and August of 2010, the Center submitted comments on the EIS the Navy
21 prepared for its Guam and CNMI Military Relocation proposal. In December 2013, the Center
22 submitted comments on the draft EIS for proposed Mariana Islands Training and Testing Activities. In
23 July 2015, the Center submitted comments on the draft CJMT EIS.

24 33. The Center brings this action on its own behalf and on behalf of its members, including
25 members who use and enjoy specific areas and public lands on the islands of Guam, Tinian and Pagan

1 for a number of activities including, but not limited to, hiking, biking, bird watching and photographing
2 scenery and wildlife. The Center and its members derive recreational, spiritual, scientific, educational,
3 and aesthetic benefits from their use and enjoyment of these activities on Guam, Tinian and Pagan. The
4 Center and its members intend to continue to use and enjoy specific areas and public lands on Guam,
5 Tinian and Pagan in the future, including this year.

6 34. The aforementioned cultural, social, economic, recreational, spiritual, scientific,
7 educational, aesthetic and other interests of Plaintiffs and their members on Guam, Tinian and Pagan
8 will be adversely affected and irreparably injured by the proposed major expansion of the United States
9 military's presence and training activities on these islands through the Guam and CNMI Military
10 Relocation project. Plaintiffs' and their members' injuries are the result of the Navy's failure to comply
11 with NEPA prior to authorizing this major expansion. These are actual, concrete injuries caused by the
12 Navy's failure to comply with mandatory duties and procedures under federal law. The injuries would
13 be redressed by the relief sought.

14

15 Defendants

16 35. Defendant United States Department of the Navy is an agency of the United States
17 Department of Defense. The Navy is responsible for complying with NEPA prior to making decisions
18 regarding the stationing of Marines on Guam and training activities on Tinian and Pagan.

19 36. Defendant Ray Mabus is sued in his official capacity as Secretary of the Navy and is the
20 highest-ranking official within the United States Department of the Navy.

21 37. Defendant United States Department of Defense is the federal agency with ultimate
22 responsibility for implementing and enforcing compliance with provisions of law that have been
23 violated as alleged in this Complaint.

24 38. Defendant Ashton Carter is sued in his official capacity as the Secretary of the
25 Department of Defense.

1 Public Involvement In Environmental Impact Statement Process

2 43. Preparing an EIS provides important opportunities for public involvement in federal
3 agency decision-making, and NEPA commands federal agencies to “[m]ake diligent efforts to involve
4 the public in preparing and implementing their NEPA procedures.” Id. § 1506.6(a).

5 44. After publishing in the Federal Register a Notice of Intent to prepare an EIS, an agency
6 normally must invite the public to participate in “scoping,” which is “an early and open process for
7 determining the scope of issues to be addressed and for identifying the significant issues related to a
8 proposed action.” Id. § 1501.7.

9 45. The agency then prepares a draft EIS in accordance with the scope decided on in the
10 public scoping process and circulates the draft EIS for public review. Id. §§ 1502.9(a), 1502.19. The
11 agency must seek public comments on the draft EIS, “affirmatively soliciting comments from those
12 persons or organizations who may be interested or affected.” Id. § 1503.1(a)(4).

13 46. The agency must “assess and consider comments [on the draft EIS] both individually and
14 collectively” and respond to these comments in the final EIS. Id. § 1503.4(a); see also id. § 1502.9(b).
15 “Possible responses are to”:

- 16 (1) Modify alternatives including the proposed action.
- 17 (2) Develop and evaluate alternatives not previously given serious consideration by
18 the agency.
- 19 (3) Supplement, improve, or modify its analysis.
- 20 (4) Make factual corrections.
- 21 (5) Explain why the comments do not warrant further agency response, citing the
sources, authorities, or reasons which support the agency’s position ...

22 Id. § 1503.4(a).

23 47. The agency must file the final EIS with the Environmental Protection Agency (“EPA”),
24 which then publishes in the Federal Register a notice of filing. Id. §§ 1506.9, 1506.10(a). The agency
25

1 must wait at least thirty days after publication of this notice before making a decision on the proposed
2 action. Id. § 1506.10(b)(2).

3
4 Required Scope Of Environmental Impact Statements

5 48. An EIS must discuss, among other things: the environmental impact of the proposed
6 federal action, any adverse and unavoidable environmental effects, any alternatives to the proposed
7 action, and any irreversible and irretrievable commitment of resources involved in the proposed action.
8 42 U.S.C. § 4332(2)(C).

9 49. NEPA requires connected and cumulative actions to be considered together in a single
10 EIS. 40 C.F.R. § 1508.25(a)(1), (2).

11 50. The CEQ regulations define “[c]onnected actions” as actions that:

- 12 (i) Automatically trigger other actions which may require environmental impact
13 statements.
14 (ii) Cannot or will not proceed unless other actions are taken previously or
15 simultaneously.
16 (iii) Are interdependent parts of a larger action and depend on the larger action for
their justification.

17 Id. § 1508.25(a)(1); see also id. § 1502.4(a) (“Proposals or parts of proposals which are related to each
18 other closely enough to be, in effect, a single course of action shall be evaluated in a single impact
19 statement”).

20 51. “Cumulative actions” are those “which when viewed with other proposed actions have
21 cumulatively significant impacts and should therefore be discussed in the same impact statement.” Id. §
22 1508.25(a)(2); see also id. § 1508.7 (“‘Cumulative impact’ is the impact on the environment which
23 results from the incremental impact of the action when added to other past, present, and reasonably
24 foreseeable future actions regardless of what agency (Federal or non-Federal) or person undertakes such
25 other actions”).

1 52. The alternatives section “is the heart of the environmental impact statement.” Id. §
2 1502.14. In this section, agencies must “[r]igorously explore and objectively evaluate all reasonable
3 alternatives,” devoting “substantial treatment to each alternative considered in detail . . . so that
4 reviewers may evaluate their comparative merits.” Id. § 1502.14 (a), (b); see also id. § 1508.25(b). The
5 core purpose of the alternatives analysis is to “sharply defin[e] the issues and provid[e] a clear basis for
6 choice among options by the decisionmaker and the public.” Id. § 1502.14.

7 53. Compliance with NEPA’s requirement for federal agencies to consider a range of
8 alternate courses of action is necessary to achieve Congress’ declared purpose to “encourage productive
9 and enjoyable harmony between man and his environment” and “to promote efforts which will prevent
10 or eliminate damage to the environment.” 42 U.S.C. § 4321.

11

12 Duty To Supplement NEPA Analysis

13 54. Federal agencies, including the Navy, are obliged to “prepare supplements to either draft
14 or final environmental impact statements if:”

- 15 (i) The agency makes substantial changes in the proposed action that are relevant to
16 environmental concerns; or
17 (ii) There are significant new circumstances or information relevant to environmental
concerns and bearing on the proposed action or its impacts.

18 40 C.F.R. § 1502.9(c)(1).

19 55. Federal agencies generally must “prepare, circulate, and file a supplement to a statement
20 in the same fashion . . . as a draft and final statement.” Id. § 1502.9(c)(4).

21

22 **FACTUAL BACKGROUND**

23 56. There are currently no Marines permanently stationed on Guam or in the CNMI. The
24 only training by Marines that currently takes place in the Marianas occurs on a transient basis.

25

1 57. On Tinian, the only live-fire training transient Marines currently conduct occurs at a
2 sniper training range where small arms are fired into bullet traps.

3 58. Plaintiffs are informed and believe, and on the basis thereof allege, that no military
4 training currently takes place on Pagan.

5

6 The 2010 Final Environmental Impact Statement And Record of Decision

7 59. In July 2010, the Navy issued a final EIS to evaluate the relocation of approximately
8 8,600 Marines from Okinawa to Guam (“FEIS”). The relocation was proposed to implement an
9 agreement the United States and Japan reached in 2006 to reduce the number of Marines permanently
10 stationed on Okinawa.

11 60. Despite numerous public comments urging the Navy to examine alternate locations for
12 the stationing of Marines relocated from Okinawa, the Navy refused to do so. In its FEIS, the Navy
13 claimed that Guam was the only location for the realignment of these forces that could satisfy the United
14 States’ national security needs and treaty obligations.

15 61. The FEIS acknowledged that “[t]he need for Marine training and operations is closely
16 dependent on the relocation. Marines can only be ‘readily and rapidly deployable’ if they are able to
17 meet training and readiness requirements.”

18 62. The FEIS purported to analyze the facilities and operational and training requirements of
19 the Marine Corps units relocating to Guam, including the impacts of the construction and operation of
20 all live-fire ranges needed to provide required training. The FEIS concluded that Guam could not
21 accommodate all required live-fire training ranges, and, accordingly, the Navy looked outside Guam for
22 locations to build and operate live-fire ranges.

23 63. Despite numerous public comments urging the Navy to analyze locations outside the
24 Mariana Islands to build and operate live-fire ranges for the relocated Marines, the Navy refused to do
25 so. The Navy claimed in the FEIS that live-fire training for the relocated Marines that could not be

1 accommodated on Guam must take place in the CNMI and further asserted that the island of Tinian was
2 “the only suitable location for this training for Marines based on Guam.” The FEIS expressly rejected
3 consideration of the island of Pagan as a training location.

4 64. The FEIS stated that the relocated Marines would need the following live-fire ranges on
5 Tinian: a Rifle Known Distance Range, an Automated Combat Pistol/Military Police Firearms
6 Qualification Course, a Platoon Battle Course, and a Field Firing Range. The FEIS specified that the
7 weapons to be employed on these ranges would be limited to pistols, rifles and squad automatic
8 weapons firing bullets. The FEIS noted that proposed training would not use heavy machine guns,
9 mortars, artillery, rockets or missiles.

10 65. The EPA published the Notice of Availability for the FEIS in the Federal Register on
11 July 28, 2010.

12 66. On September 20, 2010, the Navy issued its record of decision based on the FEIS (“2010
13 ROD”). In the 2010 ROD, the Navy decided to relocate the approximately 8,600 Marines from
14 Okinawa to Guam and to build and operate the live-fire ranges on Tinian described in the FEIS.

15
16 Developments Following Issuance Of The 2010 ROD

17 67. In 2012, the United States and Japan modified their 2006 agreement on reducing the
18 number of Marines stationed on Okinawa. Under the revised agreement, approximately 9,000 Marines
19 would leave Okinawa, but only approximately 5,000 would be relocated to Guam. The remaining
20 Marines would be relocated to Hawai‘i, and, on a rotational basis, to Australia.

21 68. After the 2010 ROD’s issuance, the Navy reassessed the live-fire training required for
22 Marines to be relocated to Guam to carry out their mission, concluding that the live-fire training
23 analyzed in the FEIS and selected in the 2010 ROD would not be adequate. Instead, the Navy
24 concluded that substantially more intense and destructive live-fire training was necessary, requiring the
25 use of artillery, mortars, rockets, amphibious assaults, attack helicopters and warplanes, and ship-to-

1 shore naval bombardment. The Navy further concluded that this ramped-up training could not be
2 conducted on Tinian alone, but rather that live-fire ranges would have to be constructed and operated on
3 both Tinian and Pagan.

4 69. The live-fire training on Tinian that the Navy now deems necessary for Marines to be
5 stationed on Guam includes, but is not limited to, a High Hazard Impact Area where high explosives
6 from ground-based and aviation training activities would be employed. Ground-based activities would
7 include the use of hand grenades, 60- and 81-millimeter mortars, and rockets. Aviation activities would
8 use live munitions from machine guns and rockets and delivery of inert aviation ordnance. Additionally,
9 artillery – including, but not limited to, over 13,500 155-millimeter, high explosive rounds per year –
10 would be fired at the High Hazard Impact Area.

11 70. To train Guam-based Marines adequately, the Navy also now believes it necessary to
12 construct and operate on Tinian an Anti-Armor Tracking Range, a Tank/Fighting Vehicle Stationary
13 Target Range, a Multi-Purpose Training Range, a Tank/Fighting Vehicle Multi-Purpose Range
14 Complex, an Infantry Platoon Battle Course and an Urban Assault Course. Live-fire training at these
15 ranges would include the use of rifles and machine guns, as well as grenade and rocket launchers.

16 71. The Navy has further concluded that Guam-based Marines would need to conduct non-
17 live-fire Tactical Amphibious Landing Beach training at four beaches on Tinian: (1) Unai Babui, (2)
18 Unai Chulu, (3) Unai Lam Lam and (4) Unai Masalok.

19 72. On Pagan, which the 2010 FEIS concluded was neither needed nor suitable for training
20 Marines to be stationed on Guam, the Navy now contends it must establish a High Hazard Impact Area
21 centered on Mount Pagan to support ground-based, air-to-ground and ship-to-shore live-fire training.
22 Ground-based training would include a Field Artillery Indirect Fire Range, a Field Artillery Direct Fire
23 Range and a Mortar Range, where Marines would employ 120- and 155-millimeter artillery rounds and
24 60- and 80-millimeter mortar rounds. Air-to-ground training would include an Offensive Air Support
25 Range, a Close Air Support Range, an Anti-Air Warfare Range and Combined Arms Training to

1 Support Close Air Support and Naval Gunfire Support Training. Air-delivered munitions would include
2 bombs of up to 2,000 pounds and air-launched rockets. Ship-to-shore naval gunfire training would
3 pound the island with 5-inch high explosive rounds.

4 73. The Navy further claims that Marines stationed on Guam would need to conduct live-fire
5 tactical amphibious training on up to six beaches on Pagan (Red, Green, Blue, Gold, North and South).

6
7 The 2015 Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement And Record Of Decision

8 74. The Navy concluded that the substantial reduction in the number of Marines to be
9 relocated to Guam from 8,600 to 5,000 would affect aspects of the actions analyzed in the FEIS and
10 approved in the 2010 ROD, such as the size and location of the cantonment and family housing areas on
11 Guam. Accordingly, the Navy prepared a supplemental EIS to evaluate those changed circumstances
12 (“SEIS”). The SEIS also evaluated alternate locations for the development of a live-fire training range
13 complex on Guam, a decision the Navy had deferred in 2010.

14 75. The EPA published the Notice of Availability for the SEIS in the Federal Register on
15 July 17, 2015.

16 76. Despite the Navy’s finding that the live-fire training on Tinian evaluated in the FEIS and
17 selected in the 2010 ROD would not permit Guam-based Marines to perform their mission, the Navy
18 rejected public comments calling for evaluation in the SEIS of the impacts of the live-fire training on
19 Tinian and Pagan that the Navy now deems necessary. Instead, the Navy stated it would analyze the
20 impacts of the relocated Marines’ live-fire training on Tinian and Pagan in an entirely separate EIS – the
21 CJMT EIS – a draft of which was issued in April 2015.

22 77. The SEIS states that any “decision regarding proposed training ranges as evaluated in the
23 CJMT EIS would supersede the 2010 ROD with regards to Tinian range projects.” Moreover, in the
24 SEIS, the Navy announced it “has deferred any implementation of the Tinian training ranges from the
25 2010 ROD pending the outcome of the CJMT EIS.”

1 on Tinian and Pagan specifically to train relocated Marines. Plaintiffs are informed and believe, and on
2 the basis thereof allege, that the actions on Tinian and Pagan would not proceed unless the relocation to
3 Guam took place previously or simultaneously. Finally, stationing and training of the relocated Marines
4 are both parts of a larger action – satisfying the United States’ national security needs and treaty
5 obligations – and depend on that larger action for their justification.

6 83. Defendants’ failure to evaluate the aforementioned “connected actions” in a single EIS
7 violates NEPA. See 40 C.F.R. § 1508.25(a)(1).

8 84. Alternatively, Defendants violated NEPA by failing to consider within a single EIS the
9 overall cumulative impacts of relocating Marines to Guam and the live-fire range construction and
10 operations on Tinian and Pagan the Navy has concluded are necessary to train Guam-based Marines to
11 carry out their mission. See 40 C.F.R. § 1508.25(a)(2).

12 85. The Navy’s reliance on the legally deficient FEIS and SEIS to issue its records of
13 decision to proceed with the relocation of Marines from Okinawa to the Mariana Islands was arbitrary,
14 capricious, an abuse of discretion, not in accordance with law, and/or without observance of procedure
15 required by law within the meaning of the APA, 5 U.S.C. § 706(2).

16
17 **SECOND CLAIM FOR RELIEF**

18 **(VIOLATIONS OF NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT AND ADMINISTRATIVE**
19 **PROCEDURE ACT – FAILURE TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES)**

20 86. Plaintiffs reallege and incorporate herein by reference each and every allegation
21 contained in all preceding paragraphs of this Complaint.

22 87. NEPA requires that an EIS analyze reasonable alternatives to a proposed action. See 40
23 C.F.R. § 1502.14. Despite being urged to do so by members of the public, including Plaintiffs, the Navy
24 refused to give detailed consideration in its FEIS or SEIS to any alternate locations outside the Mariana
25

1 Islands for stationing and/or training Marines relocated from Okinawa. The FEIS's and SEIS's deficient
2 alternatives analyses violate NEPA.

3 88. The Navy's reliance on the legally deficient FEIS and SEIS to issue its records of
4 decision to proceed with the relocation of Marines from Okinawa to the Mariana Islands was arbitrary,
5 capricious, an abuse of discretion, not in accordance with law, and/or without observance of procedure
6 required by law within the meaning of the APA, 5 U.S.C. § 706(2).

7
8 **PRAYER FOR RELIEF**

9 WHEREFORE, Plaintiffs respectfully request that the Court:

- 10 1. Enter a declaratory judgment that Defendants have violated and are violating the National
11 Environmental Policy Act and Administrative Procedure Act by adopting and relying on the legally
12 deficient FEIS and SEIS to issue records of decision regarding the relocation of Marines from Okinawa
13 to the Mariana Islands.
- 14 2. Vacate and set aside the 2010 and 2015 Records of Decision regarding the relocation of
15 Marines from Okinawa to the Mariana Islands.
- 16 3. Issue any appropriate injunctive relief.
- 17 4. Award Plaintiffs the costs of this litigation, including reasonable attorney's fees; and
- 18 5. Grant Plaintiffs such further and additional relief as the Court may deem just and proper.

19
20 DATED: July 27, 2016 at Saipan, CNMI.

21 LAW OFFICE OF
22 KIMBERLYN K. KING-HINDS
23 P.O. Box 520064
24 San Jose Village
25 Tinian, MP 96950

By: 
KIMBERLYN K. KING-HINDS
Counsel for Plaintiffs

Appendix H – PhD Accomplishment Timeline

October 2013

- Began with the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies & the Art History Department.
- Submitted Proposal, *Peace Photography in Post-Conflict Settings: Focusing on Peace Building in Timor-Leste*.

November 2013

- *Thesis Writing for Postgraduates: Practical* workshop at the Student Learning Centre.
- Word and EndNote 7 IT Training courses.

December 2013

- Joined Foucault Reading Group with PhD Students in Media, Film and Communication, University of Otago.

January 2014

- Joined Dunedin Free University.
- Research Assistant for PECA (Peace Education Curriculum Analysis) with Dr. Katerina Standish.
- Research Assistant with the Critical Peace Research Project, headed by Dr. Richard Jackson.
- Attended *PhD Domination* workshop with the Otago Graduate Research School.

February 2014

- First draft of Visual Culture and Photography Theory Literature Review.
- Planned *Women War and Peace Film Series*.
- Submitted entry for the Rachel Tanur Memorial Prize: Visual Sociology.

March 2014

- Attended workshop *Leading Postgraduate Groups and Networks* at the Student Learning Centre.
- Formed a *Resistance Studies Cluster* with PhD student Rula Talahma.
- Attended Marae Preparation workshop with the Māori Development Office.
- Began Resistance Theory Readings.

April 2014

- Puketeraki Marae visit in Karitane with the Peace Centre.
- Attended *Double Displacement: the Business of Photography* by Geoffrey Batchen with the Department of History & Art History.

Due to a medical condition, took a Medical Deferral from 1 May - 1 October 2014

September 2014

- Interview by Dr Vivian Dames on *Beyond the Fence* Radio program, episode 201 *Peace Photography Post 9/11*.
- Began advising a student on Guam with her college entrance essay.
- Applied for the Australian National University's (ANU) Pacific Research Colloquium 2015. Unsuccessful.
- Cognitive and Educational Assessment by Karen Wards as requested by the Disability Information and Support Services at the University of Otago.

October 2014

- Received "Highly Commended" for my entry to the Otago Graduate Research School's *Thesis in Three Pictures Competition*.
- Participated in *50 Kupu Moments* Photo Exhibition at Te Tumu: School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies as part of Te Wiki o Te Reo Māori (Māori Language Week) at the University of Otago.
- Installed *Dragon Naturally Speaking* by the Disability Information and Support Services.
- Moved to Central Otago

November 2014

- Began rough draft of Resistance Literature Review, Theoretical and Methodical framework chapters.
- Established as a distance learning with the University Library.
- Applied for the STINT collaborative program with the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Uppsala, Sweden and the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, at the University of Otago. Successful!
- Joined the Fossil Fuel Divestment Otago University Team. Calling for the University President and Board of Trustees to freeze new fossil fuel investments and commit to full fossil fuel divestment within five years.

December 2014

- Bought a new computer: updated Word through the University, purchased EndNote 7, and installed Syncplicity.
- Submitted comments to the Naval Facilities Engineering Command (NAVFAC) Pacific regarding the Guam Training Range Review and Analysis (TRRA) opposing the Live Fire Training Range Complex (LFTRC) to be constructed on

the National Guam Wildlife Refuge as part of the Guam and Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands Military Relocation Roadmap.

- Contacted editors of *Women Talking Politics* at the University of Auckland to coordinate submission of 800 word *Research Notes* in 2015.

Planned for 2015

- Apply for Ethics Approval for fieldwork to be conducted June - September 2015 on Guam. Successful!
- Apply for Contemporary Pacific Arts Festival Symposium in Melbourne 9 & 10 April 2015. Successful!
- Apply for National Peace Workshop in Wellington, 17-19 April 2015. Did not hear back.
- Establish an online presence from a visual autoethnographical perspective regarding my ongoing research. Perhaps titled: *Pasifik Resistance?*
 - Links to articles, films, events, resources, photo galleries of artistic resistance and activism within the Pacific
 - Feature *Beyond the Fence* weekly podcasts
 - Share information from *We are Guahan* Facebook group regarding the military build-up on Guam
 - Information about the Pacific Climate Warrior & Fossil Fuel divestment campaigns
 - Link resistance and solidarity movements against US military occupation of Hawaii, Okinawa (Japan), Jeju (Korea), the Philippines
 - Ongoing lawsuits by the Marshall Islands & Tahiti against the US and France for the Nuclear Testing programs of the 1950s & 1960s
 - Independence struggle in West Papua

January 2015

- Launched Facebook page: *Oceania Resistance*. Currently have 160 “likes”.
- Accepted into the STINT collaborative program with the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Uppsala, Sweden and the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, at the University of Otago for 2016.
- Submitted Application for Contemporary Pacific Arts Festival Symposium in Melbourne 9 & 10 April 2015. Successful!
- Submitted Application for National Peace Workshop in Wellington, 17-19 April 2015.

February 2015

- Began Wenner-Gren Anthropology Fieldwork Application due 1 May. Unsuccessful.
- Signed up for CRS 23 April

- Submitted NAPALI Leadership Course application for O’ahu 9-17 July. Unsuccessful.
- Accepted to speak on a panel at the Contemporary Pacific Arts Festival Symposium in Melbourne 9 & 10 April 2015. Successful!
- Finalized Ethics Review Application- submitted to Richard.
- Join Pacific History Association, ASAO, ASAANZ.

March 2015

- Entered the University of Otago Bulletin Photo Contest. Unsuccessful.
- Attended the Seminar by Dr Chris Andersen, an Indigenous photographer at Te Tumu - School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies.
- Successful fieldwork funding application. Flights to Guam and Saipan, Rota and Tinian will be funded by NCPACS.
- Participated in the 10th Annual Women’s ART Show, Guam Council on the Arts and Humanities Agency. Guam.
- Interviewed on ‘Women’s Magazine with Global Val’, Mutiny Radio.FM.
- Attended the Cyanotype Practical Photography Workshop, Hullabloo. Cromwell Historic Precinct, New Zealand.

April 2015

- Presented at the Contemporary Pacific Arts Symposium. Footscray Arts Centre, Melbourne, Australia. ‘Community & Culture Development with Pacific Communities. Panel A – Community Arts Projects: Nonviolent Visual Resistance on Guåhan and in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). 9-11 April 2015.
- Attending the documentary, “The RedFern” as part of the Marx Conference in Melbourne.
- Presented at the Centre Research Seminar Series: Visual Resistance on Guåhan & the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands. Photography as a form of nonviolent resistance to contemporary colonialism & everyday militarization. The National Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Otago. 23 April 2015.
- Accepted as a Research Associate with the University of Guam *Unibetsedât Guåhan* (UOG) Micronesia Area Research Center (MARC). Guåhan, Micronesia May 1, 2015 - April 30, 2018.
- Submitted Wenner-Gren Anthropology Fieldwork Application. Unsuccessful.
- Submitted a PhD Stipend Application with the International Centre for Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC). Unsuccessful.
- Submitted an entry to Wenner-Gren’s *Capacity Building Visual Essay Contest*. Unsuccessful.
- Have 203 ‘likes’ on *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page.

May 2015

- Submitted Drafts of Theoretical Framework and Methodologies and Methods Chapters to Richard and Erika

- “Tip of the Spear” Poster Presentation at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago. 19 May 2015.
- Discussant for Ria Shibata’s paper: *War, Identity and Collective Guilt in Sino-Japanese Relations*. The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies University of Otago.
- Paper accepted into 'trans/forming feminisms' conference to be held at The University of Otago between 23rd and 25th November 2015.

Travelled from Aotearoa New Zealand to Guahan, Guam to begin fieldwork

June 2015

- Submitted article for New Militarisation Youth Bulletin (War Resisters League).
- Submitted application for advisory committee for the Young Feminist Fund.
- Conducted 10 fieldwork interviews.
- Spoke on “War for Guam” documentary panel, University of Guam.
- Presented and facilitated workshop: Dinaña’ Famålao’an (Gathering of Women).
- Scholar specialist for Northern Marianas Humanities Council Planning Grant. “Researching and visually documenting the community’s response to the military build-up.”
- Blog entry for National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies’ blog *Voices on peace and Conflict: Resisting the United States Military in the Marianas*.

July 2015

- Travelled to Saipan, the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas to conduct 4 interviews.
- Entered Postgraduate Research Poster Competition. Unsuccessful.
- Submitted comments to the CNMI Joint Marianas DOD
- Peace Workshop at Island Girl Power, Melesso for girls ages 8-13.
- Attended “One Marianas Moment” in response to the militarisation of the Marianas.

August 2015

- Submitted article to Stella Magazine (stellamag.com).
- Met with Dr Tom Hasting with the Oregon Peace Institute
- Interviewed on Women’s Magazine radio program, KPFA San Francisco.
- Submitted paper to PeaceVoice, a project of the Oregon Peace Institute.
- Have 203 ‘likes’ on *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page.

September 2015

- Participated the United States Institute of Peace online course: “Civil Resistance and the Dynamics of Nonviolent Movements.”
- Article “Small Guam, Huge U.S. Military Base Expansion” published on Truth Out, War is a Crime, Counter Punch online.
- Attended Guam Museum Presentation: “Who Wears the Beads? 2,000 Years of Ornaments from an Archaeological Site on Guam” By Judith R. Amesbury
- Attend first MARC series: Dr Mike Carson speaking about Litekyan (Ritidian) and Guampedia’s advanced screening of the documentary “Hasso I Guinahan Guahan”
- Documented with still photography and video: “Ancestors Reflections” curated by Dakota.
- Delivered a letter written by Our Islands are Sacred to the Governor’s Office
- Entered Peace Direct photo competition. Unsuccessful.
- Private screening of “Mothering Guahan” with the filmmaker and Director of the Women’s and Gender Studies Department at the University of Guam
- Co-organized Guam’s first International Peace Day celebration with Dinaña’ Famålaho’an in Maite, Guam. 20 September 2015.
- Presented “Oceania Resistance, A Digital Peace Photography” exhibit.
- “Scholarships and Master Degree Applications in Australia & New Zealand.” The History of Guam Course 211-01. University of Guam Unibetsedåt Guåhan (UOG) Guåhan 28 September 2015.
- Attend the 5th Guam International Film Festival (GIFF) ‘Community, Education & Entertainment’ September 26-30
- Signed the Alternative Zero Coalition letter addressed to Barack Obama asking him to reconsider the proposed use of Pagan and Tinian in the further militarisation of the Marianas.
-
- **October 2015**
 - Interviewed on Beyond the Fence, Ep. 221 (10/2/15) “THAAD in Guam and the Militarization of Space” 02 October
 - Submitted Abstract for the 22nd Pacific History Conference. Mo’na: Our Pasts Before Us May 19-21, 2016 Guam, Mariana Islands. #Guam. Accepted!
 - “Postgraduate Peace Studies Programs Relevant to the Pacific.” The David O. McKay Center for Intercultural Understanding, Brigham Young University-Hawaii, Laie, Hawai’i. 05 October 2015.
 - Met with Dr Anne Stone with The Matsunaga Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution at the University of Hawai’i, at Mānoa.
 - “Building solidarity throughout the Marianas and Oceania. Discussing postgraduate opportunities for Chamorro students.” The Marianas Club and the Centre for Pacific Island Studies at the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa. 09 October 2015.

- Met with Dr Moana Nepia and Dr Mary Perez Hattori at the Center for Pacific Islands Studies, at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa to discuss the Peace Centre's PhD program.
- Attended the presentation: "The Trial of Ta'isi O. F. Nelson: New Zealand's Colonial Justice and Indigenous Resistance in 1930s Samoa" by visiting scholar Patricia O'Brien at the Center for Pacific Island Studies, UH Mānoa.

Returned from fieldwork 15 October 2015

- Applied for Conference Funding from the Division of the Humanities to attend the 22nd Pacific History Conference. Granted \$2,500.
- Skyped with the Youth Programme Coordinator for the War Resisters International in coordinating the Centre's involvement with the Week of Action Against the Militarisation of Youth.
- Awarded "Best Poster 2015" by NCPACS.
- Organized STINT flights for Uppsala University in April 2016.

November 2015

- Skyped with Critical Geography scholar at the University of Hawai'i, Hilo, Dr Sasha Davis.
- Presented at Trans/forming Feminisms: Media, Technology and Identity International Conference presented by the Department of Media, Film and Communication, University of Otago, 23-25 November 2015. Paper titled: *#OurIslandsAreSacred: Indigenous Resistance and Digital Activism in the Mariana Archipelago*.
- Have 320 'likes' on *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page.
- 'Youth Resistance in the Mariana Islands: Protecting sacred sites from the United States Military' published on the antimili-youth.net website, part of War Resister's International.
- Blog entry for National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies' blog Voices on peace and Conflict: *International Week of Action Against the Militarisation of Youth & Building Zones of Peace*.

December 2015

- Wrote for *Feminist Academic Collective* blog: "Creating safe space in our research, at conferences and online".
- Applied for "Konferencian Dinana Islas Marianas" conference to be held on Pagan island in June 2016.
- Submitted 500 word Abstract "Decolonising and Feminising Resistance Studies: Oceanic solidarity in the Mariana Archipelago" to the *Resistance Studies Journal* special edition: Gender, Development, Resistance. Paper was not accepted for special issue, but editors will contact me for collaboration in the future.
- Submitted a photo-essay with Ignacio (Nash) Camacho for *Storyboard: A Journal of Pacific Imagery* at the University of Guam. Litekyan, Guåhan/Ritidian, Guam. Unsuccessful.

- Submitted an entry for the Rachel Tanuar Visual Sociology Award 2016. Unsuccessful.

January 2016

- Submitted the abstract: “When do Colonies Count as America? Securing and Resisting the ‘home-land’ in Oceania” for the panel: *Alternative Territorialities: Resistance to U.S. Settler Colonialism & Militarisation* for the American Studies Association 2016 Conference November 2016.
- Submitted the manuscript, “When the Homefront is also the Frontline: America’s Military Colony in the Mariana Archipelago and Indigenous Women’s Resistance” for the special edition of *Feminist Formations* at John Hopkins University.
- Finalized edits for NZPSA *Women Talking Politics* news item “Against the Militarisation of Guam: Activism and Research”.
- Submitted a Situation Report for *AlterNative* journal “The United States Pivot to the Pacific and the Continual Militarisation of the Mariana Archipelago”.
- Submitted the 2016 Dissertation Fellowship Application for the Ford Henry Guggenheim Foundation.

February 2016

- Joined Resistance Studies Network. Listed as a Member’s Research
- Joined the New Zealand Political Studies Association: The Media and Political Communication Network.
- Contacted for edits for the manuscript, “When the Homefront is also the Frontline: America’s Military Colony in the Mariana Archipelago and Indigenous Women’s Resistance” for the special edition of *Feminist Formations*.
- Contacted for edits to the Situation Report for *AlterNative* journal “The United States Pivot to the Pacific and the Continual Militarisation of the Mariana Archipelago”.
- Contacted from the *Resistance Studies Journal* and asked to submit a paper based on the abstract “Decolonising and Feminising Resistance Studies: Oceanic solidarity in the Mariana Archipelago”.

March 2016

- Submitted the White Poppy Peace Scholarship \$1000 application. Unsuccessful/ never heard back.
- Submitted revisions for the manuscript, “When the Homefront is also the Frontline: America’s Military Colony in the Mariana Archipelago and Indigenous Women’s Resistance” for the special edition of *Feminist Formations*.
- Published: *Stella Magazine: Star of the Pacific* “Artistic Resistance in the Marianas.” Issue 16, page 102.

- Published: The research magazine of New Zealand Political Studies Association (NZPSA), *Women Talking Politics* “Against the Militarisation of Guam: Activism and Research” Issue 2, December 2015, page 8.
- Published: Asia Pacific Report “Mariana Islands community groups to sue US Navy over at risk wildlife” March 3.
<http://asiapacificreport.nz/2016/03/03/mariana-islands-community-groups-to-sue-us-navy-over-at-risk-wildlife/>
- Applied to be a Features Editor for E-International Relations (e-ir.info). Unsuccessful.
- Skyped with Earth Justice Media and Program coordinators regarding collaboration with Asia Pacific Report.
- Attended: Introduction & Advanced the Treaty of Waitangi workshop at HEDC, University of Otago. 23 & 24 March 2016.
- Presented at the Centre Research Seminar Series: Transoceanic Fluidarity: Resisting the American Militarized Empire in the Mariana Islands. The National Centre for Peace & Conflict Studies, University of Otago. 24 March.
- Paper, “When Do Colonies Count as “America”? Securing and Resisting the “home-land” in Oceania” accepted for the session Alternative Territorialities: Resistance to U.S. Settler Colonialism & Militarization at the American Studies Association annual meeting 17-20 November 2016, Denver.
- Joined the American Studies Association (ASA).

April 2016

- Submitted “Austronesian Seafaring as Resistance in the Mariana Archipelago” to *The Journal of Resistance Studies*.
- Met with Nina Berman, Associate Professor at Columbia University to discuss her 2016 Aftermath Project photography project: “Acknowledgment of Danger,” which will document the toxic legacy of war on the American landscape.
- Visited Sally Roesch Wagner, Ph.D., Founding Director, The Matilda Joslyn Gage Foundation, Adjunct Faculty, The Renée Crown University Honors Program, Syracuse University and Public Scholar, New York Council for the Humanities. We discussed the role of Indigenous women from the Onodaga Nation.
- Toured the Skänoñh—Great Law of Peace Center, with the director Philip P. Arnold who is also Associate Professor, Religion-Native American Studies at Syracuse University, Syracuse.
- STINT exchange at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University 20 April – 2 May.
- Screened the documentary film: “War for Guam” for Pax et Bellum student group and Class 14 Rotary Peace Masters Students at University of Uppsala, 27 April.
- Presented: “Indigenous Resistance to American colonization and militarization in the Mariana Archipelago” at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University 28 April.

- Began the Pacific Islanders in Communications (PIC) Research & Design Grant Application for the “Too Beautiful to Bomb” documentary to be filmed in June on Pagan Island.
- Contacted to edit the Situation Report for *AlterNative* journal “The United States Pivot to the Pacific and the Continual Militarisation of the Mariana Archipelago” into a full article.
- Alternative Zero Coalition endorses Campaign Nonviolence, Pace e Bene Peace and All Good.
- Have 378 “likes” on *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page.

May 2016

Travelled to Guahan from Aotearoa

- Submitted “From a Sacred Site to a Superfund site: The Continued Resilience and Resistance of the Haudenosaunee” to *Stella Magazine*.
- Submitted the full article, “Resisting Political Colonization and American Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago” to *AlterNative* Journal.
- Accepted as a Human Security Fellow with the Pacific Islands Society
- Presented “Hashtag Guam/ #Guam #Guahan. How digital photography and social media on Guam is redefining who photographs the Pacific” at the 22nd Pacific History Association Conference, Guam, 19-21 May 2016.
- Submitted “War for Guam” Film Review to *Asia Pacific Inquiry* Journal.
- Applied for Social Movements, Resistance and Social Change III Conference, September 2016 in Wellington.
- Attended the Canoe Summit 2016 at the Latte of Freedom, Guam 26 May.
- Hired as a Research Assistant for Judy Bennett within the Art History and History Department for the project, “Coconuts as a Commodity.”

June 2016

- Attended Forum: Chamoru Women Academics “Home and Away” as part of Fest Pac
- Attended “In Defense of the Sacred: A Regional Forum on Human Rights and the Communities that Defend Them” as part of FestPac
- Travelled to Saipan to meet with Scott Russell, Director of the Northern Mariana Islands Humanities Council.
- Attended the Alternative Zero Coalition meeting.
- Attended the inaugural Pacific Literature Conference, University of Guam.
- Submitted revisions for the manuscript, “Women’s Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago: A US Colonial Homefront and Militarized Frontline” for the special edition of *Feminist Formations*.

July 2016

- Accepted with stipend for Social Movements, Resistance and Social Change III Conference, September 1, 2, 3 2016 in Wellington.
- Conducted fieldwork research for “Coconuts as a Commodity.”
- Met with Dr. Sasha Davis regarding Chamorro resistance
- Made revisions and resubmitted “War for Guam” Film Review to *Asia Pacific Inquiry Journal*.
- Worked with editors and copy editors creating the final draft of “Resisting Political Colonization and American Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago” to *AlterNative* journal.

Returned to Central Otago Aotearoa from Guahan

August 2016

- Began MOOC on Pacific Studies offered by the University of the South Pacific (USP). Six-week online course.
- Submitted “Indigenous Resistance to American colonization & militarization in the Mariãnas Archipelago” and abstract to the University of Otago Anthropology and Archaeology Department for 8 September presentation. Worked with graphics coordinator to create flyer for the speaking series.
- Submitted Abstract for NZPSA 2016 Conference to be held in November in Hamilton, entitled, “Indigenous Resistance to American colonization & militarization in the Mariãnas Archipelago.”
- Submitted written report to the Associate Dean thanking them for the Conference Funding from the Division of the Humanities, which enabled me to attend the 22nd Pacific History Conference.
- Created table of contents and six chapter outlines for dissertation.
- Have 405 “likes” on *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page.
- Submitted rough draft of chapter 2 of dissertation: Critical histories and hashtags.
- *AlterNative* journal article, “Resisting Political Colonization and American Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago” published: 12(3) pp. 298-315.

September 2016

- Attended Moana Symposium at Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision 2 September
- Presented “Transoceanic Fluidarity: Resisting the American Militarized Empire in the Marianas Islands” the Social Movements, Resistance, and Social Change III conference at Victoria University, Wellington. 3 September
- Poster Presentation at NCPACS “Oceania Resistance: New Media Platforms as Sites of Resistance” Tuesday 6 September 2016.

- Presented “Indigenous Resistance to American colonization & militarization in the Mariñas Archipelago” Seminar for Anthropology and Archaeology Department Thursday 8 September 2016.
- Joined the New Zealand Federation of Graduate Women (NZFGW) Otago.
- Submitted “Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!” Strategic Action for Decolonization during the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts Closing Ceremony” to *Women Talking Politics*, NZPSA.
- PeaceWrites, University of Sydney Australia “*Litekyan, Guåhan/ Ritidian, Guam*”
- Submitted an abstract “Digital Autoethnographical Fieldwork in the Mariñas Archipelago” and bio for Workshop on “Feminism & Militarism – Reflections on a complicated relationship.”

October 2016

- Accepted to present (via Skype) for the Workshop on “Feminism & Militarism – Reflections on a complicated relationship.” University of San Francisco 18 & 19 November.
- Completed Drafts of dissertation chapters 1, 2, 3
- Attended the HEDC workshop “How to impress your examiners - a workshop for doctoral candidates.”
- Met with Brian Johnson for a Personal Performance Coaching session
- Submitted, “When Do Colonies Count as ‘America’? Securing and Resisting the ‘home-land’ in Oceania” for the American Studies Association (ASA) Sakakibara prize.
- Submitted, “When Do Colonies Count as ‘America’? Securing and Resisting the ‘home-land’ in Oceania” for the American Studies Association (ASA) Wise-Susman prize.
- Made edits for the *Women Talking Politics* article, ““Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!” Strategic Action for Decolonization during the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts Closing Ceremony.
- Made revisions and edits to the article, “Women’s Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago: A US Colonial Homefront and Militarized Frontline” for the *Feminist Formations* Special Edition on “Homefront Frontlines.” Added my photographs to the publication.

November 2016

- Submitted, “Indigenous Resistance to American Colonisation & Militarisation in the Mariñas Archipelago” for the NZPSA Postgraduate Conference Paper Prize. Unsuccessful.
- “When Do Colonies Count as ‘America’? Securing and Resisting the ‘home-land’ in Oceania” pre-recorded presentation for the American Studies Association (ASA) Annual Meeting, Denver, Colorado, United States, 17-21 November 2016.
- Finalist for the 2016 Yasuo Sakakibara Prize of the American Studies Association, for “When Do Colonies Count as ‘America’? Securing and Resisting the ‘home-land’ in Oceania.”

- “Digital Autoethnographical Fieldwork in the Mariãnas Archipelago” Skype presentation for the Workshop on “Feminism & Militarism – Reflections on a complicated relationship” University of San Francisco, San Francisco, California, United States, 18-19 November 2016. Also included a photo slideshow with 40 images from my fieldwork experience.
- Applied for Research/Teaching Fellow position in the International Relations Department at ANU- unsuccessful.
- Applied for Research Advisor position at the University of Otago. Unsuccessful.
- Submitted ““Free Guãhan! Decolonize Oceania!” Visual Resistance during the Festival of Pacific Arts Closing Ceremony” to *Amerasia Journal* special call for papers, “Exhibiting Race and Culture Issue.” With Dr Tiara Na’puti.
- Have 455 “likes” on *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page.
- Submitted the paper, “The Marianas Archipelago: where America’s colonial homefront and militarized frontline meet” for the Research Escalator Session at the NZPSA conference in Waikato.
- “Indigenous resistance to political colonisation & American militarisation in the Mariãnas Archipelago.” Paper presented at the New Zealand Political Science Association/ Te Kãhui Tãtai Tõrangapũ o Aotearoa Conference, the University of Waikato/ Te Whare Wãnanga o Waikato, Hamilton Aotearoa New Zealand. 30 November 2016.
- Submitted abstract, “(Re)searching Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago” for special CfP for the *Journal of Resistance Studies*, Researching Resistance: on Methods and Ethics in Resistance Studies. Successful!

December 2016

- Applied for Lecturer in English and New Media Studies within the School of Language and Culture and Faculty of Culture and Society position at Auckland University of Technology (AUT). Unsuccessful.
- Published in Women Talking Politics, 3, 12-14. “*Free Guãhan! Decolonize Oceania!*” *Strategic Action for Decolonization during the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts Closing Ceremony*.
- Submitted an abstract, “2016 Miss Earth Guam: #RiseUpGuahan” for a book Chapter in *Beauty Pageant Book*, edited by Leelanee Malin, Howard University.
- Applied for RA position for Marshen Grant, “A New Politics of Peace? Investigations in Contemporary Pacifism and Nonviolence.”
- Endorsed the first “Charter of Feminist Principles for Pacific Feminists” 7 December. Charter outlines “collective principles that are key to our work as Pacific Feminists.”
- Submitted full draft of thesis: *Indigenous women’s digital, legal, political, and spiritual resistance to the visible and invisible sexual politics of everyday and expanding militarization in the Marianas Archipelago*
- Wrote letter of recommendation for Samantha Marley Barnett for the Asian and Pacific Islander American Scholarship Fund.

- Co-submitted an abstract with Samantha Marley Barnett for the Mobilization Conference on Social Movements and Protest: Nonviolent Strategies and the State, San Diego, May 5-6, 2017. Title: *Indigenous Resistance in Guåhan: Decolonizing America's Empire*. Successful!

January 2017

- Abstract, “(Re)searching Resistance in the Marianas Archipelago” for special CfP for the *Journal of Resistance Studies*, Researching Resistance: on Methods and Ethics in Resistance Studies. Successful, full paper due March 15, 2017.
- Abstract accepted into Conference on Social Movements and Protest: Nonviolent Strategies and the State, San Diego, May 5-6, 2017.
- Abstract accepted into New Zealand and Pacific Studies Association (NZSA) Conference “Contested Territories in the Pacific” Strasbourg, France, July 7-10, 2017.
- Film Review, *War for Guam*, published in *Asia Pacific Inquiry* 7(1) pp. 126-129.
- Paper submitted for *Micronesian Educator- A Journal of Research and Practice on Education in Guam, Micronesia and the wider Pacific*: Special Issue on Militarization of the Mariana Islands.
- Final edits for *Feminist Formations* manuscript.
- Applied for *Writing Launch Scholarship*.
- Submitted abstract for Militarism & Migration Conference, San Diego April 21-23, 2017. Successful!
- First Chapter of thesis sent to proof reader

February 2017

- Sent Chapter two to proof reader
- Applied for Visiting Assistant Professor position with the Department of American Multicultural Studies at Sonoma State University
- Applied for Visiting Assistant Professor position in Environmental Sustainability at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
- Reformatted and Updated CV
- Submitted chapters 3, 4, 5, and the conclusion to the proof-reader.
- Applied for New Zealand Federation Graduate Women (Otago Branch) Travel Award to attend the New Zealand and Pacific Studies Association (NZSA) Conference “Contested Territories in the Pacific” Strasbourg, France, July 7-10, 2017.
- Applied for a Postgraduate University of Otago Publishing Bursary (Doctoral) to publish in *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*.
- Submitted doctoral thesis, “Fanohge Famalão’an & Fan’tachu Fama’lauan: Women Rising Indigenous Resistance to Militarization in the Marianas Archipelago.”
- Have 485 “likes” on *Oceania Resistance* Facebook page.

Figures



Figure 1
Memorial to the "Fallen Brave of Micronesia"
Antonio B. Won Pat International Airport, *Guå'han* (Guam)
Photograph by the author taken 25 April 2014



Figure 2
 Pacific Globe: Pacific Island countries and island groups on a world globe
 Source: CartoGIS, College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University;
<http://asiapacific.anu.edu.au/mapsonline/base-maps/pacific-globe>

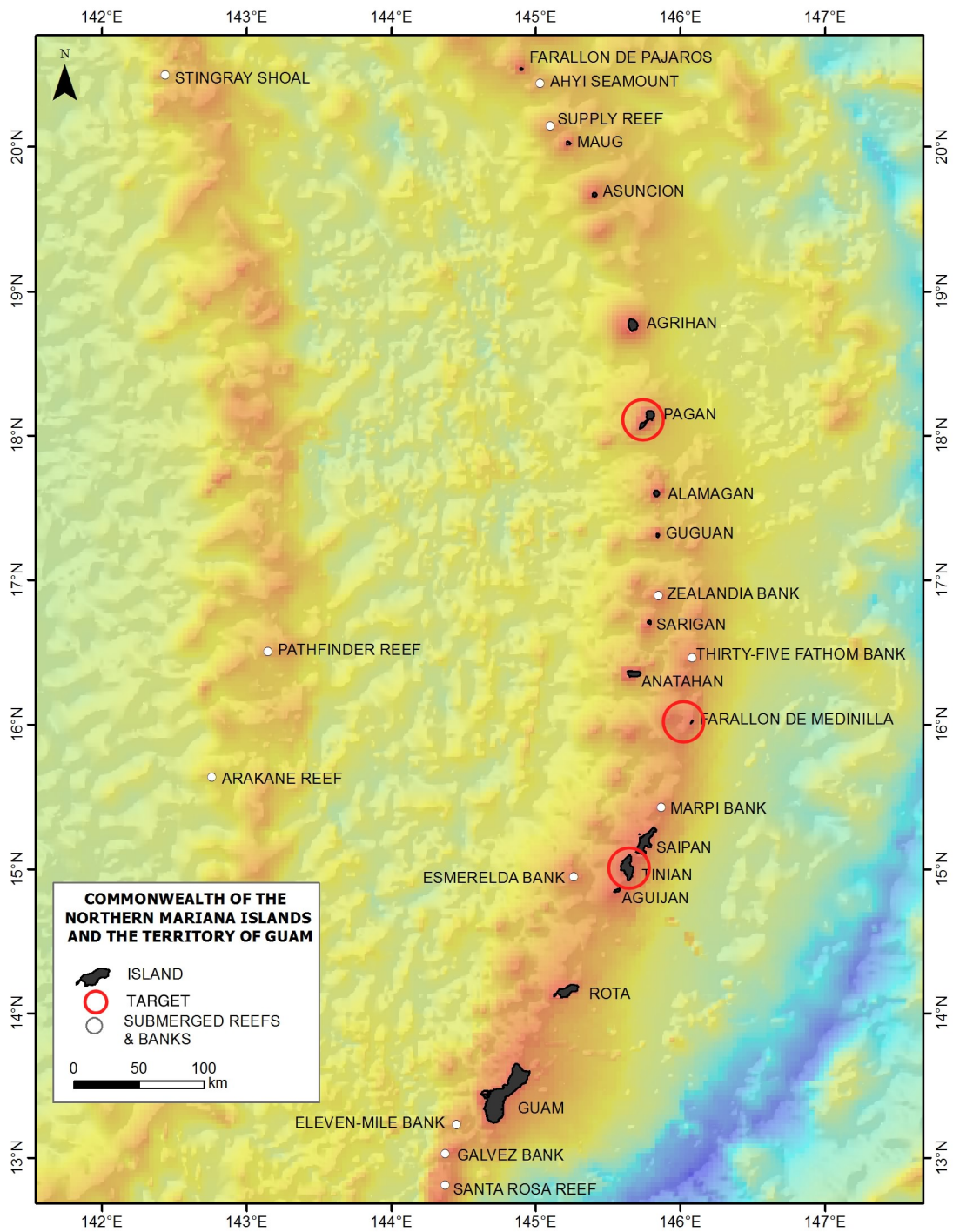


Figure 3
 The Marianas Archipelago with the islands of Tinian, Pagan, and Farallon de Medinilla circled in red as bombing targets for the US Navy, September 2013
 Image from the blogpost “Navy to conquer Marianas Again” by By Leevin T. Camacho & Daniel Broudy

Source: <http://islandbreath.blogspot.co.nz/2013/09/navy-to-conquer-marianas-again.html>

An Indigenous scholar's request to other scholars.

 ALICE TE PUNGA SOMERVILLE · TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 2016

1. Engage[1] with[2] my[3] scholarship.[4]
2. Engage[5] with[6] scholarship[7] by other[8] Indigenous[9] scholars.[10]
3. Yep that's pretty much it.[11]

[1] Treat it as scholarship with which you as a scholar can engage: do not treat it as (or refer to it as) perspective or culture. Your bibliography will show who you have been reading – so will your comments and your arguments.

[2] Read what has been written, assume that what you're writing on might have been written on by Indigenous people, and consider that there is no reason to think about Indigenous participation in scholarly conversation as necessarily being any different than participation by any other people in scholarly conversations. (Except that *not* being engaged with is a special and unique privilege accorded to Indigenous scholars all the time, and bears striking resemblance to the centuries-old practice of assuming Indigenous people are not present.)

[3] The scholarship produced by me with all of its disciplinary, personal, institutional, contextual and formal specificity – please do not refer to 'Indigenous scholars' as if all of our work is the same or about the same things. My name is Alice Te Punga Somerville (please do not assume that Te Punga is a middle name – if you are not sure how to cite or refer to me or alphabetize an index or list of conference presenters I am happy to answer questions about that) and my work, like the work of all scholars, is connected to my own unique set of circumstances, experiences and inheritance.

[4] By scholarship I mean publications, presentations and other public writing and discussion. By publications I mean books, journal articles, book chapters, creative work. Engage it as scholarship: not as perspective, culture or worldview.

[5] See note 1.

[6] See note 2.

Figure 4 a

Alice Te Punga Somerville, “An Indigenous scholar's request to other scholars”
Note posted on Facebook, 13 September 2016
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/notes/alice-te-punga-somerville/an-indigenous-scholars-request-to-other-scholars/10154473137695786>
Screenshot by author

[7] See note 3. Additionally, for a whole lot of reasons you and I both know, there are reasons that Indigenous scholars have had (and continue to have) less access to certain kinds of publication venues. Even after considering the large number of books, articles and chapter written by Indigenous scholars you may find a great deal of Indigenous scholarship in research theses, reports, book reviews, oral presentations, interviews and other less conventional (and yet still scholarly) spaces. Consider that there might be scholarship relevant to your discipline or research area which has been published or presented in interdisciplinary (including Indigenous Studies) or other-disciplinary spaces: make good use of your library's search engine or google scholar if you feel flummoxed about the question of how to find scholarship by Indigenous scholars.

[8] I am not ever the only Indigenous scholar; actually, no Indigenous scholar is ever the only Indigenous scholar. Indigenous scholars are part of a vast network globally: there is, consequently, a sense of community as well as a sense of multiplicity in the Indigenous scholarly world. Scholarship which does not engage this wide range of scholarship misses out on the opportunity to make the most of the intellectual work in which Indigenous scholars are engaged.

[9] By Indigenous, I mean people who are Indigenous to the specific land where we/ you are located as well as Indigenous to the nation state where we/ you are located as well as Indigenous to another space on the globe on which we/ you are located. There are so many Indigenous scholars in such a wide range of disciplines, institutions, countries and career stages that it is exhausting (as well as exhilarating) trying to keep up with all of the scholarship being produced by them all. Looking for Indigenous scholarship does not make you a member of the identity police: you will find that when an Indigenous scholar wants you to know they are Indigenous they will let you know - in their writing, in their contributor/ biographical notes, in their university websites, in their acknowledgements and introductions.

[10] Many Indigenous scholars have doctoral and/ or masters-level research training; for reasons that you and I both understand there are fewer Indigenous scholars with these degrees than any of us would like. You have an opportunity to use whatever power you have to engage with the work of, draw attention to, and even train Indigenous scholars. This is a win-win: you get to benefit from the wonderful intellectual contribution of even more Indigenous scholars, and Indigenous scholars get to be treated like scholars.

[11] If you are seeking absolution, guilt-reduction, or to think harder about your place in the academy, please refer to points one and two. We have written about all of that too.

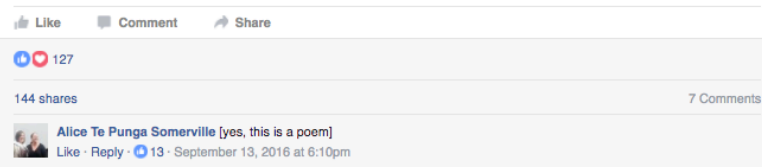


Figure 5 b

Alice Te Punga Somerville, “An Indigenous scholar's request to other scholars”

Note posted on Facebook, 13 September 2016

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/notes/alice-te-punga-somerville/an-indigenous-scholars-request-to-other-scholars/10154473137695786>

Screenshot by author



Hagan Guåhan

Daughter of Guam

Figure 6
Graphic from Zea Nauta's blog "Hagan Guåhan, Daughter of Guam"
Source: <https://haganguahan.com>



ai_si_doll



♥ jesilb, ajtornito and 155 others

ai_si_doll God and family first, always! 🙏
#magahaga #matrilinealsociety #matrilineal

View all 5 comments

haganguahan Metgot i haga sa bonita hamyo 🌸

Figure 7

Three generations of matriarchal power
@ai_si_doll Instagram post (5 October 201)
Source: https://www.instagram.com/ai_si_doll/



@OceaniaResistance

Oceania Resistance:

#OceaniaResistance

New Media Platforms as Sites of Resistance



Oceania Resistance Facebook page as an online visual platform to display academic research on Oceania Resistance, specifically focusing on Guåhan and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI).

Oceania Resistance
This Week
12 Page Likes, 1,002 Post Reach, 2,843 Post Reach, 365 People Engaged

My research is part of an ongoing collaboration of academics, artists, and activists who explore decolonization and demilitarization efforts through a gendered lens. I investigate resistance to political colonization and American militarization in relation to the United States "Pivot to the Pacific" foreign policy strategy, throughout the Mariana Archipelago.

The aim of this project is to identify and evaluate the role digital spaces play in supporting "new methods for teaching, creating, reviewing, publishing, and disseminating scholarship" (Walker, 2016). Through digital autoethnographical and participatory action research, I demonstrate how the new media platforms Facebook and Instagram become sites of resistance. Through the collaborative efforts, open and public content is reviewed and created, published and disseminated on the Oceania Resistance Facebook page and linked through the hashtag #OceaniaResistance.

Within the last five years, political groups in the Mariana Archipelago have "pioneered" a new format of Chamorro activism by using online social media platforms for public advocacy and information dissemination. They are able to reach audiences beyond traditional mainstream media outlets, enabling alternative perspectives and providing space for "those who would otherwise not have a voice against oppression" (Cruz III & Somera, 2016, pp. 6, 22). Oceania Resistance supports these decolonization and demilitarization efforts through academic activism.

Bibliography

Cruz III, M. L., & Somera, L. P. (2016). *A Analysis of Chamorro Cyberactivism*. University of Guam Communication Studies.
Highfield, T., & Leaver, T. (2013). A methodology for mapping Instagram hashtags. First Monday, 20(1). Walker, L. (2016). Beyond Academic Twitter: Social Media and the Evolution of Scholarly Publication. Retrieved from <http://www.digitallpologylab.com/hybridped/beyond-academic-twitter/>



Created by Sylvia C. Frain
September 2016

Reviewing, publishing, and disseminating open and public scholarship

Reviewing open and public scholarship

I wrote a letter to editors of the Mariana Variety, Saipan News & Views, Micronesia's Leading Newspaper Since 1972, with Saipan's 1st Interactive News Website & the Saipan Tribune, CNMI's Daily Online Newspaper. It outlined to the people of the Mariana Archipelago that they are not alone in the struggle in for decolonization and demilitarization and I am committed to offer my support using academic scholarship for political action. The Mariana Variety shared it online, and Alternative Zero Coalition (AltZero)Marianas, a coalition of residents and organizations "dedicated to opposing military plans that will harm land, sea, and people of the Marianas." Received individual reviews and "Dinwagay" (thank you in Rorlaenach), as well as Alternative Zero Coalition Facebook page reposting the article that was also published in the Saipan Tribune, and a member of the coalition sharing the Oceania Resistance Facebook page.

Disseminating open and public scholarship

Created a blog post for the Countering the Militarisation of Youth @antimllyouth, a War Resisters' International project working to end young people's engagement in war. I gave an overview of the historical legacies and cultural elements that produce resistance in the Mariana Archipelago. The United States continued political colonization and continued militarization of the lands, sea, and people of the Mariana Archipelago is resisted through artistic, channels and on new media platforms, such as blogs, Facebook, and Instagram. Both the Countering the Militarisation of Youth @antimllyouth Facebook page and War Resisters International @warresisters.org shared the blog post and linked (tagged) it to Oceania Resistance Facebook page and included the hashtag #YouthAgainstWar.

Disseminating open and public scholarship

RNZ @RadioNewZealand created an in-depth article outlining the US military plans, and federal lawsuit comments members, including Alternative Zero Coalition, have filed against the Department of Defense. The Oceania Resistance Facebook page is a platform to share news and information, as the military plans and resistance responses are happening in real time. At first glance, it appears that the post did not receive many "likes" (only 1), yet, it had 99 Reactions, Comments & Shares, "reaching" 1,286 people. Post "reach" is the number of people who saw this specific post and content in their news feed.

People of the Marianas, you are not alone
Mariana Variety - Saipan News & Views - Micronesia's Leading Newspaper Since 1972, Saipan's 1st Interactive News Website.
Like Comment Share
Kathy G. Marsh, Rick Perez and 14 others like this.
Write a comment...
Gus Kapeit Olmway, Sylvia
Alternative Zero Coalition <http://www.saipantribune.com/>... A growing momentum to protect sacred lands - Saipan News, Headlines, Events...
Alternative Zero Coalition Thank you, Sylvia Frain, from the people of the Marianas.
Laurie Peterka Thank you Sylvia Frain!
Oceania Resistance Community 222 likes

Countering the Militarisation of Youth
November 20, 2015
Sylvia C. Frain from the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies - University of Otago and Oceania Resistance writes for antimllyouth.net for the Week of Action, #YouthAgainstWar
"Youth Resistance in the Mariana Islands: Protecting sacred sites from the United States Military"
I WANT YOU
Youth Resistance in the Mariana Islands: Protecting sacred sites from the United States Military...
The United States Department of Defence (DOD) currently utilizes over 30 million acres of land at more than 5,000 different locations around the world. These military bases and colony units are often overlooked aspects of the...
ANTIMLL-YOUTH.NET

Oceania Resistance
The US plans have been in the pipeline for at least six years, with Alternative Zero Coalition members, including Alternative Zero Coalition, have filed against the Department of Defense. The Oceania Resistance Facebook page is a platform to share news and information, as the military plans and resistance responses are happening in real time. At first glance, it appears that the post did not receive many "likes" (only 1), yet, it had 99 Reactions, Comments & Shares, "reaching" 1,286 people. Post "reach" is the number of people who saw this specific post and content in their news feed.
1,286 People Reached
27 likes, 1 comment, 36 shares
US military plans prevent difficult balancing act for Marianas
As well as the US military, it is envisaged that the military would use the two islands for bombing and large-scale exercises involving multiple arms of the American military and its regional allies.
Get More Likes, Comments and Shares
Boost your post for \$7.99 per post or 100 people
1,286 people reached
Like Comment Share

Creating open and public scholarship with hashtags #oceaniareistance

In addition to textual written scholarship, visual images can foster solidarity and create a collective identity among activists. Visual content combined with textual hashtags is a method of categorizing online data and becomes sharable new media resistance. Hashtags are "social tags of certain ideas, discussions or visualizations" online. (Highfield & Leaver, 2015). They are a tool to organize, communicate, interlink, and group content and topics across new media platforms in real time. They operate similar to empirical data coding in quantitative research and thematic analysis in qualitative research.

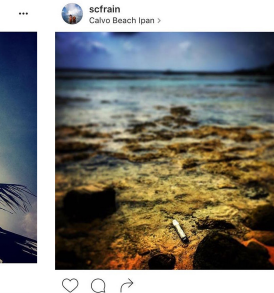
Each hashtag is a "keyword," just as featured at the beginning of academic journals articles. The four images below were created during my digital autoethnographical fieldwork and posted on Instagram. The first two images are colonial/decolonial representations and last two are visualizations of everyday militarization. They are linked together through #oceaniareistance.

The incidents of the Mariana Islands are second-class American citizens because the islands are insular areas and belong to rather than being a part of the United States. This image visualizes the political colonization by exhibiting how the United States flag is always flown above the Guam flag as a constant #colonialreminder.

A local graphic artist uses his work to resist colonization through creating the history books and offers a double call to decolonise your mind and #decolonizethemind.

Everydaymilitarization can be both seen and unseen. A common daily experience for residents of the Mariana Islands includes fighter jets, bomber airplanes, and patrol helicopters flying overhead, shaking windows and rattling the house.

Unexploded Ordnance (UXOs) are routinely found in the jungles, at the beach, and even at the airport in the Mariana Islands. My motor's dog discovered this highly toxic and flammable explosive #UXO and after the Department of Defense UXO specialist unit excavated the area, the Guam Daily Post #postgram, "an alternative news source for Guam" was a story about it.



thereseterlajge, pacific_aesthetics and 26 others
scfrain #guam #guahan #whyisthatflagontop #colonialreminders #ilandspolossession #oceaniareistance

betsydobbins, thereseterlajge and 14 others
scfrain #decolonizemyoumind #decolonizethemind #decolonizet #guahan #guam #chamorroartists #oceaniareistance check out Kie Susuico's work: <http://www.guampedia.com/kie-susuico/>

millsindgren, ds2000 and 11 others
scfrain #everydaymilitarization #guahan #guam #rattiesthehouse #oceaniareistance al_si_doll They've been overtly active these lay few weeks at all hours of the day

captainflaam, valogna and 14 others
scfrain #uxo #guam #discardedmilitarymunitions #Guahan #marianais #rimty #highlyexplosive #phosphorus #everydaymilitarization #oceaniareistance

Figure 8

"Oceania Resistance: New Media Platforms as Sites of Resistance"

Academic poster presented by the author at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago, 8 October 2016



Figure 9
Screenshot of the Oceania Resistance community Facebook Page
Page created and maintained by the author
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/OceaniaResistance/>

YOUR PAGES



Oceania Resistance

This Week

2,843
Post Reach

365
People Engaged

Figure 10
Screenshot of the Oceania Resistance Facebook page's "insights" or (inter)actions for
the third week of August 2016
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/OceaniaResistance/>



scfrain

Guåhan, Islas Mariånas >



♥ millislindgren, ds2000 and 11 others

scfrain #everydaymilitarization #guahan #guam
#rattlesthehouse #oceaniaristance

ai_si_doll They've been overtly active these lay few weeks at all hours of the day 😞

Figure 11

#everydaymilitarization on Guå'han includes helicopter flyovers

@scfrain Instagram post (post and photograph by the author)

Source: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BGT43BuMi1r/?taken-by=scfrain>



scfrain

Calvo Beach Ipan >



♥ capitainflaam, valogna and 14 others

scfrain #uxo #guam #discardedmilitarymunitions
#Guahan #marianas #nimby #highlyexplosive
#phosphorus #everydaymilitarization
#oceaniaresistance

Figure 12

An #UXO Unexploded Ordinance that Ginger the dog found on the beach
@scfrain Instagram post (post and photograph by the author)

Source: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BGT43BuMi1r/?taken-by=scfrain>

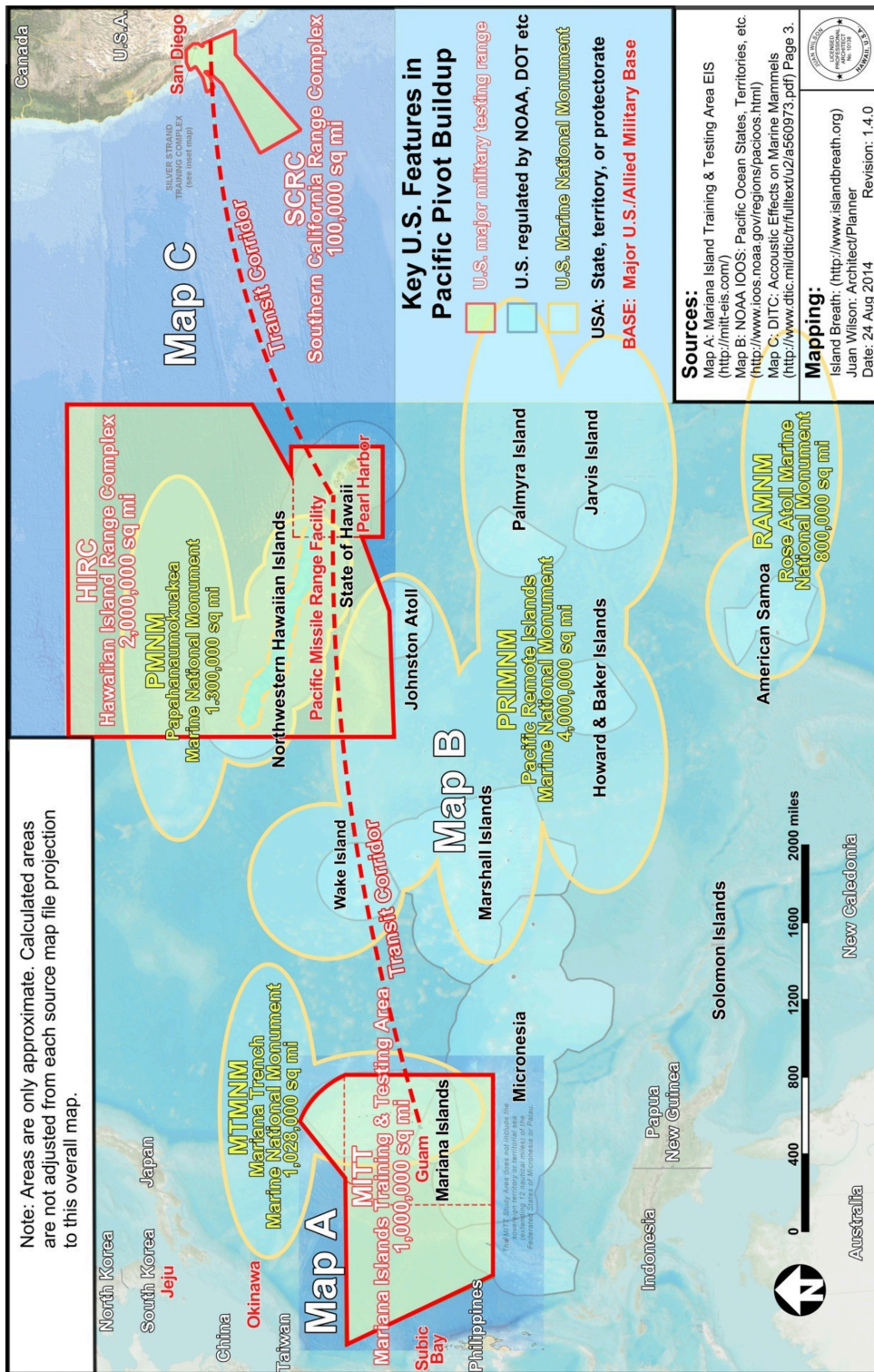


Figure 13
 Key U.S. Features in Pacific Pivot Buildup, 2014
 Map by Juan Wilson
 Source: <http://islandbreath.blogspot.co.nz/2014/06/the-pacific-pivot.html>



liamariabarcinas



♥ 123 likes

liamariabarcinas 🌐 Foundation 🌐

Figure 14

“Foundation”: Latte stone, the symbol of resistance

@barcinas_sisters Instagram post, 3 October 2016

Source: <https://www.instagram.com/liamariabarcinas/>



Figure 15

Artwork created for “Chinemma’, Nina’maolek, yan Inarespetu para Direchon Taotao” the conference on “Resistance, Resilience, and Respect for Human Rights,” hosted by the women of Guå’han, 14-19 September 2009
 Printed artwork by Talagi mounted on magnet
 Provided to the author by the artist



Figure 16

Latte Stones

The top capstone is called tāsa and the bottom column is called haligi

Photographs by Zea Nauta

Source: <https://haganguahan.com/category/photo/>

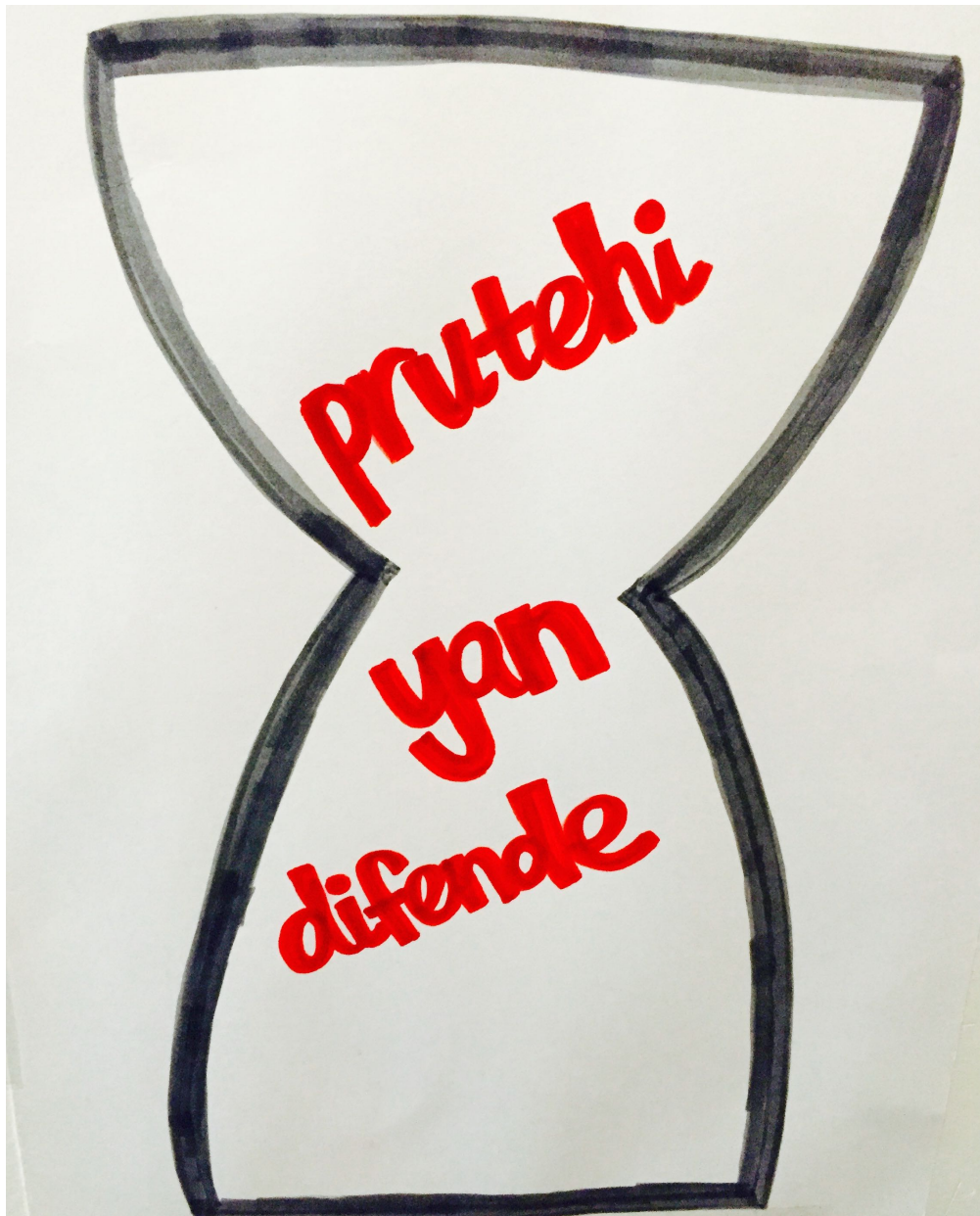


Figure 17
“prutehi yan difende” (protect and defend)
Handmade image posted on an office door at the University of Guam, July 2015
Photograph by the author



Figure 18

The Secretary of the Air Force, Deborah James (left) awarding Congresswoman Madeleine Z. Bordallo (the Guam non-voting delegate in Washington, DC) the US Air Force Distinguished Public Service Award on 7 December 2016

Source: <https://bordallo.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/bordallo-receives-us-air-force-distinguished-public-service-award>



Figure 19
Still from a Public Service Announcement video by Rear Admiral Bette Bolivar
Posted on the Joint Region Marianas Facebook page, 3 March 2016
Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ylwmmAIuBj8>



Figure 20
A member of the United States Marines Corp escorts the Liberation Day Princess
Liberation Day parade on Guå'han, 21 July 2015
Photograph by the author

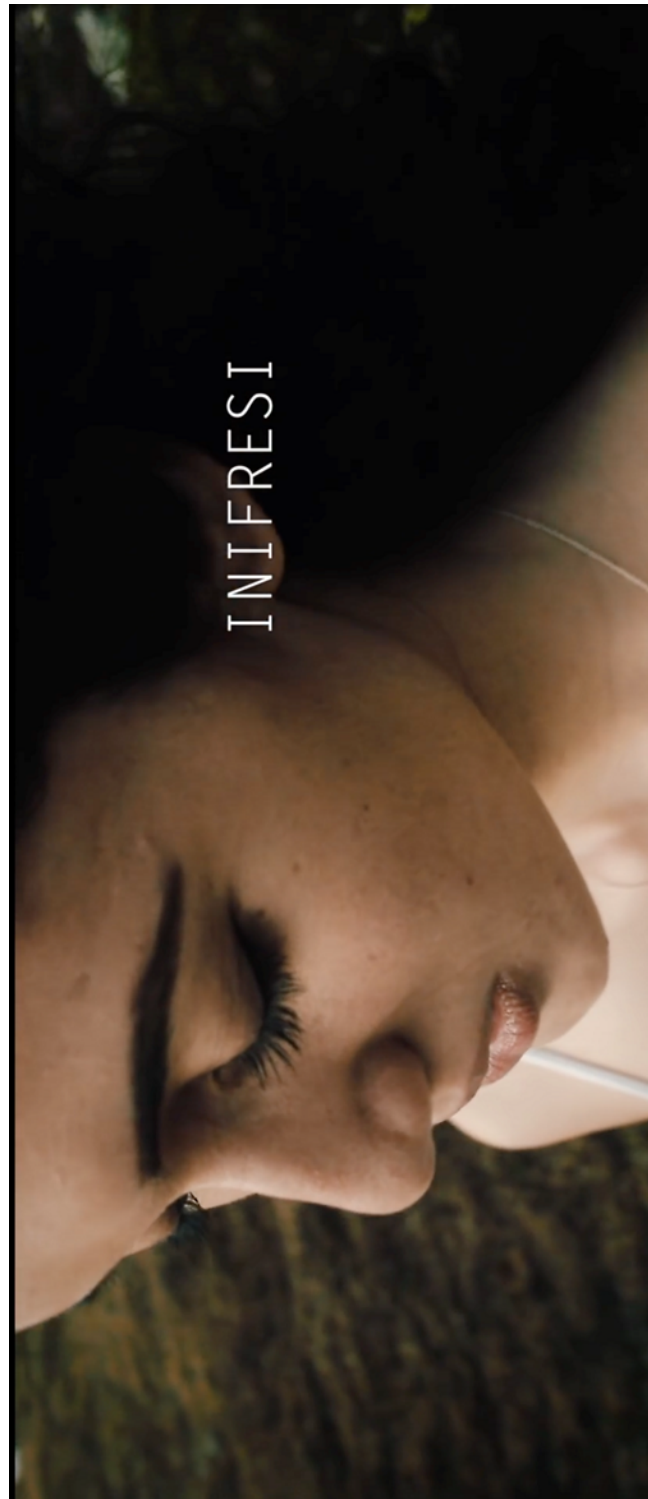


Figure 21

Gloria Asunción Nelson: Miss Earth Guam Contestant #9 "INIFRESI"
Screenshot from a video created by Brian Muna Films for the Miss Earth contest #8
Posted on YouTube, 22 February 2016
Source: <https://youtu.be/QdM7h17Tt18>



Figure 22

Gloria Asunción Nelson: Miss Earth Guam Contestant #9 “INIFRESI”
Screenshot from a video created by Brian Muna Films for the Miss Earth contest #8
Posted on Youtube, 22 February 2016
Source: <https://youtu.be/QdM7h17Tt18>



Figure 23

Guå'han delegates holding banners that declare "Free Guåhan! Decolonize Oceania!"
during the closing ceremony of the 12th Festival of Pacific Arts
Hagåtña, Guåhan. 5 June 2016
Used with the permission of Tiara Na'puti



Figure 24

The US flag is larger and always flies higher, Guå'han
Photograph taken by the author on 4 June 2016 and posted on Instagram
Source: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BGT43BuMi1r/?taken-by=scfrain>



Figure 25

Screenshot from the *Beyond the Fence* Facebook page for episode 248.

Text on armbands: “Free Guahan,” “Decolonize Hawai’i,” “Demilitarize Oceania”

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/beyondthefencekprg/photos/a.948452628523298.1073741828.941167959251765/1088510627850830/?type=3&theater>

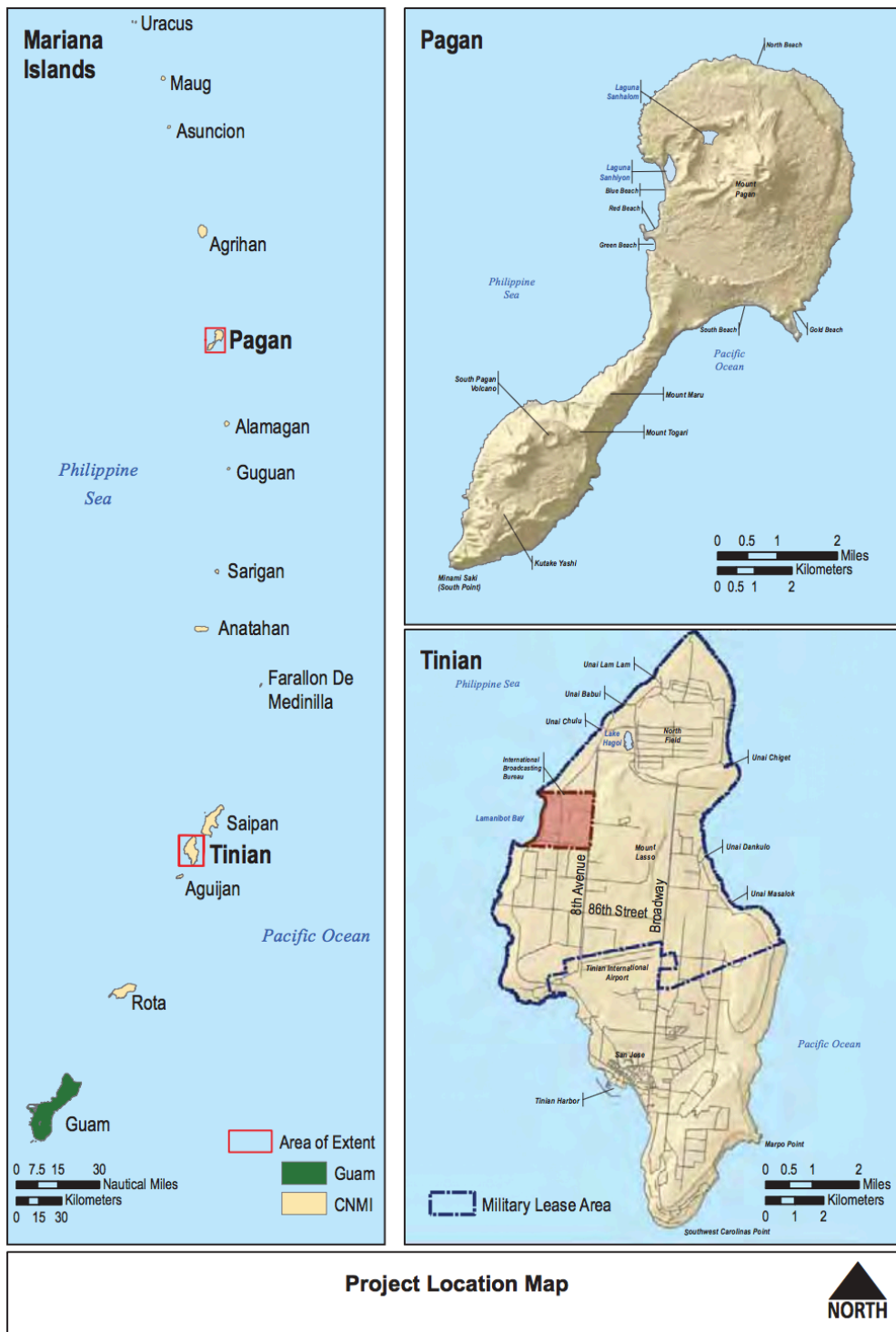


Figure 26
 “Project Location Map” indicating which islands the US Navy plans to develop into
 Live Fire Training Range Complexes
 Map from the “Draft Environmental Impact Statement/Overseas Environmental Impact
 Statement for Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands Joint Military
 Training,” 2015

Source: <http://www.cnmijointmilitarytrainingeis.com/documents>

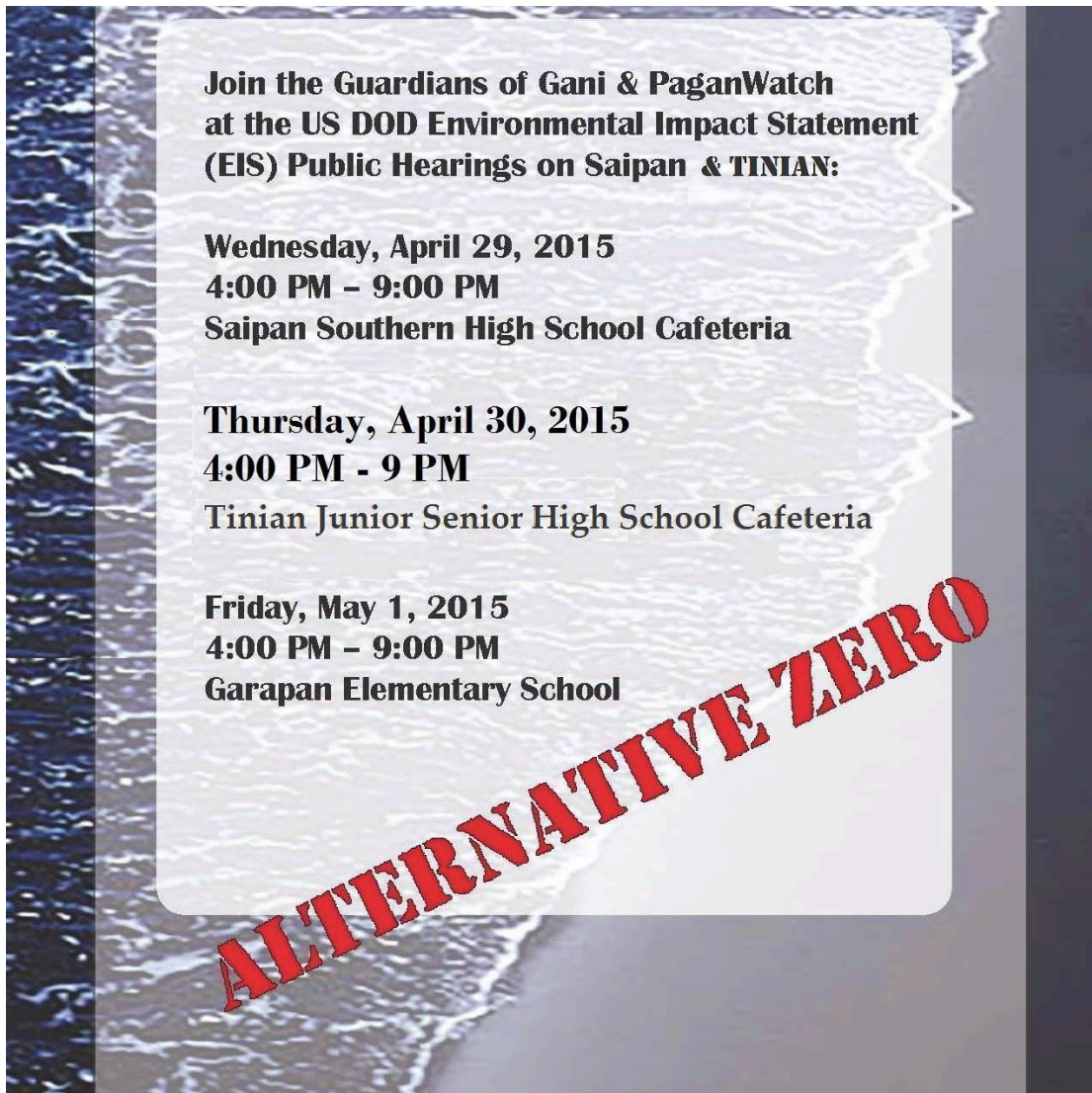


Figure 27

Resistance flyer created by the Guardians of Gani and PaganWatch, 2015
“Alternative Zero” refers to the supposed “alternatives” the CJMT proposal offers
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/AlternativeZeroMarianas/photos/a.837916642956746.1073741825.837912532957157/837916649623412/?type=3&theater>



ai_si_doll



♥ jesilb, kisha.bqc and 129 others

ai_si_doll #putitainobiu or #bougainvillea
#turquoise prayer beads against strong winds
and the ever beautiful sea at suicide cliff in
#tinian ... Prayers for love lost and emotional
healing.

Figure 28

Prayers and healing for Tini'an
@ai_si_doll Instagram post, 13 January 2015
Source: https://www.instagram.com/ai_si_doll/



Figure 29

Screenshot from the video *69th Bomb Squadron Dropping M117s on FDM*

Video by Bryan Freeman, posted on Youtube, 22 June 2014

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqNy-K5shbU&feature=youtu.be>



CNMI Northern Islands

Just now · 🌐

"As a Pagan native, I have many precious childhood memories of this beautiful island. It remains a paradise. The water is clean and uncorrupted. It is pristine, a natural wonder." <http://www.progressive.org/.../protecting-paradise-pagan-isla...>



👍 Like

💬 Comment

➦ Share

Figure 30

Life on Pagan Island, c. 1970

Photograph by Cindy and John Burrell, Pagan island Peace Corps volunteers

Posted on Northern Mariana Islands Mayor's Office Facebook page, 22 October 2016

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/cnminorthernislands/photos/a.1088671794534928.1073741828.1084761041592670/1096821527053288/?type=3&theater>

6-2-15: 1ST INSTALLMENT OF CINTA'S SLICE OF LIFE ON PAGAN

This is where my formal education truly began -- in this simple, two-room school house called Pagan Elementary School. The wonderful lady in this photo is my late 1st Grade Peace Corps teacher Mrs. Carol Waldrup. In 1st grade, I recall her needing me to translate for her and vice versa with my classmates. Back then, we had no use for those dreaded naps that we were forced to take. Heck, who needs a nap in 1st grade? We used to line up every morning while the flag was raised and drank our cup of milk before heading off to class.

One day, around Christmas, we came to school to find paper stockings with our names filled with candy and all sorts of rare goodies hung on the bottom of our chalkboard. Mrs. Carol told us that Santa and his reindeer landed on the rooftop of our Pagan Elementary School and brought us the goodies! I don't recall if the older kids, like the boy in this picture, my older brother Fernando (Ando) were also visited by Santa.

When I was serving my term in the House of Representatives (2006-2008), I was quite pleasantly surprised when Mrs. Carol's brother-in-law Carey tracked me down and eventually reunited me with his brother Wayne, Carol's husband, who taught with her at Pagan Elementary. This was the first Peace Corps couple that my late father, Francisco Borja Kaipat, recruited to teach us on Pagan. This is proof that we had a thriving community back then and we can have this again -- provided we succeed in stopping the U.S. military from their plans to use Pagan and Tinian for live-fire target practices. Our people want to return to Pagan to resettle there. We must not accept defeat even if some call it a "done deal." We MUST fight on, no matter how daunting the task because the alternative is just too horrible to accept.

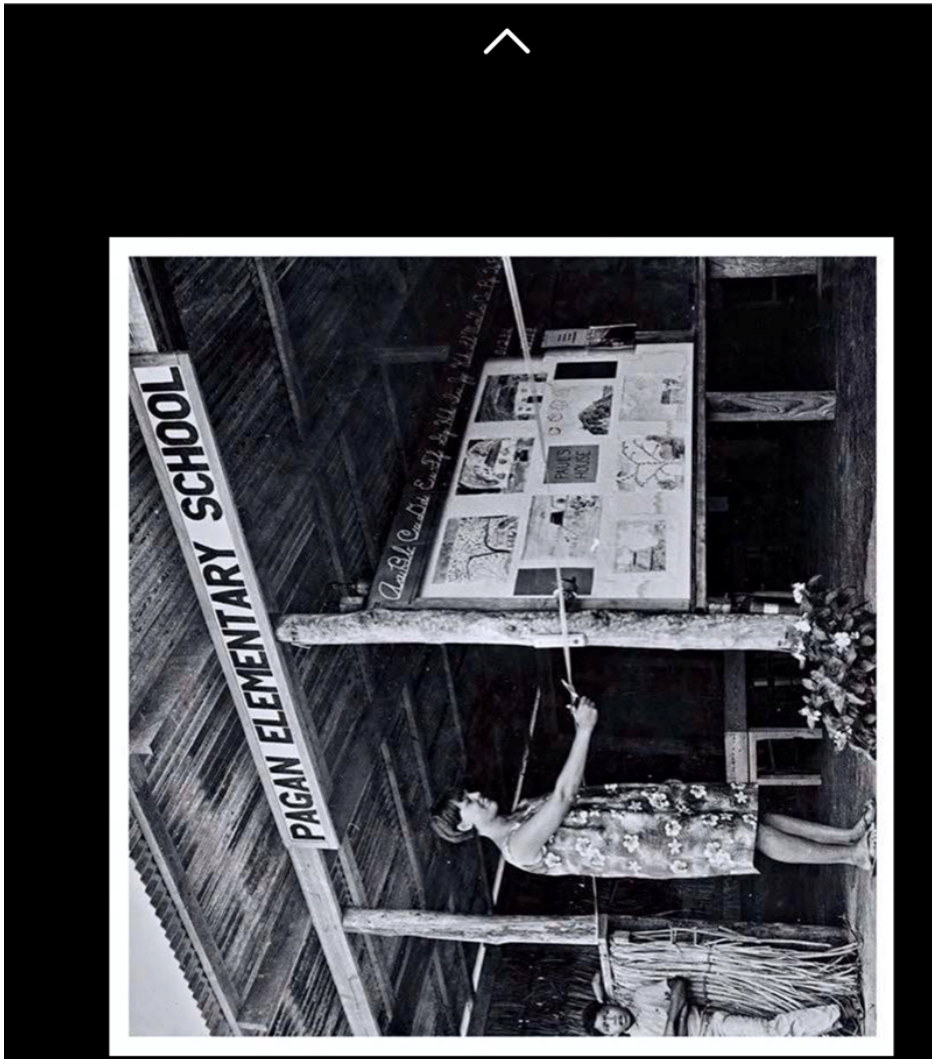


Figure 31
"Cinta's Slice of Life on Pagan"


Posted on Alternative Zero Coalition Facebook page by Cinta M. Kaipat, 2 June 2015
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/AlternativeZeroMarianas/photos/a.838859229529154.1073741829.837912532957157/854774874604256/?type=3&theater>




Figure 32

The logo for Alternative Zero Coalition, based on Sa'ipan in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

Source: <https://www.facebook.com/AlternativeZeroMarianas/photos/a.837916642956746.1073741825.837912532957157/840271059387971/?type=3&theater>


Cinta M. Kaipat ▸ **Sylvia C. Frain**
▼
 Yesterday at 8:45am · 👤

<http://www.mvariety.com/.../77356-people-of-the-marianas-you-...>





People of the Marianas, you are not alone

Marianas Variety - Saipan News & Views -
 Micronesia's Leading Newspaper Since 1972.
 Saipan's 1st Interactive News Website.

MVARIETY.COM | BY MARIANAS VARIETY

Like · Comment · Share


Cinta M. Kaipat Dear *Sylvia*, The people of the Marianas send you their most heartfelt gratitude, thank you, Olomwaay and Si Yu'us Ma'ase for your support!
 Unlike · Reply · 👍 1 · Yesterday at 8:50am · Edited


 Write a comment...






Figure 33
 “People of the Marianas, you are not alone”
 Post by Cinta K. Kaipat on the Facebook page of the author, 29 May 2015
 Screenshot by the author



People of the Marianas, you are not alone

Marianas Variety - Saipan News & Views -
Micronesia's Leading Newspaper Since 1972.
Saipan's 1st Interactive News Website.

MVARIETY.COM | BY MARIANAS VARIETY

Like · Comment · Share



👍 Kelly G. Marsh, Rick Perez and 14 others like this.

Top Comments ▾



Write a comment...



Gus Kaipat Olomwaay, Sylvia.

Unlike · Reply · 👍 1 · 19 hrs



Alternative Zero Coalition <http://www.saipantribune.com/.../a-growing-momentum-to.../>



A growing momentum to protect scared lands - Saipan News, Headlines, Events,...

SAIPANTRIBUNE.COM

Like · Reply · 10 hrs



Alternative Zero Coalition Thank you, Sylvia Frain, from the people of the Marianas.

Unlike · Reply · 👍 1 · 20 hrs



Laurie Peterka Thank you Sylvia Frain!

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Oceania-Resistance/883965481628059?ref=hl>



Oceania Resistance
Community · 222 Likes

👍 Liked ▾

Unlike · Reply · 👍 2 · 22 hrs


Figure 34

Digital collaboration of Cinta M. Kaipat, Gus Kaipat and the author
Post on the *Alternative Zero Coalition* Facebook page, 29 May 2015
Screenshot by the author



Figure 36
Cinta M. Kaipat (right) and the author at the Alternative Zero Coalition meeting in
Sa'ipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, 9 July 2016
Photograph by Tiara Na'puti

Don't drop bombs in my backyard!

 **Arley Long** Tinian, MP




The small Pacific islands of Pagan and Tinian are home to pristine beaches, majestic mountains and colorful sea life. They are also home to 2,800 American citizens, as they are part of the Marianas, a US territory. **The US Navy has plans to bomb these islands as part of a training exercise, obliterating their rare coral ecosystems, wildlife, and important historic artifacts. The islands' residents would be relocated, kicked off their ancestral land for the sake of bomb testing. We cannot let this happen.**

Petition Closed

121,454 supporters

28,546 needed to reach 150,000

 Share on Facebook


Add a personal message (optional)

 United States Department of Defense: DO NOT use the...

 Post to Facebook

 Send a Facebook message

 Send an email to friends

 Tweet to your followers

 Copy link

 Embed

Figure 37

“Don’t drop bombs in my backyard!”

Screenshot from a Change.org petition Created by Arley Long of Tini’an, May 2015
Source: <https://www.change.org/p/united-states-department-of-defense-do-not-use-the-inhabited-us-islands-of-tinian-pagan-as-a-high-impact-bombing-range>



Decision makers






	<u>Department of Defense</u>	Follow
	<u>President of the United States</u>	Follow
	<u>United States Department of Defense</u>	
	<u>U.S. House of Representatives</u>	Follow
	<u>U.S. Senate</u>	Follow

Figure 38

“Decision Makers” that were subject of a petition regarding the militarization of the Marianas Archipelago


Screenshot from a Change.org petition Created by Arley Long of Tini’an, May 2015
Source: <https://www.change.org/p/united-states-department-of-defense-do-not-use-the-inhabited-us-islands-of-tinian-pagan-as-a-high-impact-bombing-range#response-28935>



United States Department of Defense: DO NOT use the inhabited US islands of Tinian & Pagan as a HIGH IMP...
by Arley Long · 121,454 supporters

PETITION UPDATE

<http://asiapacificreport.nz/2016/03/03/mariana-islands-community-groups-to-sue-us-navy-over-at-risk->

 **Arley Long**
Tinian, MP

MAR 3, 2016 — Please continue to share our petition. we are so close to victory! Si YU'US MAASE

 Share  Tweet  Email

Discussion


15 Comments

Sort by Oldest ▾



Add a comment...



Beverly Craig · Works at Centers for Spiritual Living
REAL people live on the Mariana Islands. Their lives should NOT be put at risk!
[Like](#) · [Reply](#) ·  1 · 4 March 2016 13:10

 **Petition Closed**

121,454 supporters

28,546 needed to reach 150,000

 Share on Facebook ^


Add a personal message (optional)




United States Department of Defense: DO NOT use the...

 Post to Facebook

 Send a Facebook message

 Send an email to friends

 Tweet to your followers

 Copy link


 Embed

Figure 39

Screenshot of a petition update that includes link to the news article the author created for the *Asia Pacific Report*, 3 March 2016

Source: <https://www.change.org/p/united-states-department-of-defense-do-not-use-the-inhabited-us-islands-of-tinian-pagan-as-a-high-impact-bombing-range/u/15703025>



Figure 40

Speaker of the 28th-33rd Guam Legislature Judith T. Won Pat (left) and Congresswoman and lawyer Cinta M. Kaipat, who served in the CNMI House of Representatives during the 15th CNMI Legislature, as panellists on the X Chromosomes Panel, 2008

Kaipat sent this photograph to Won Pat during the email exchange to gain endorsements for the letter addressed to President Obama.

Photograph courtesy of Cinta M. Kaipat



Guahan in Solidarity with Tinian and Pagan



Tasi Yanger

Subscribe 25

12,841

+ Add to Share ... More

79 5

Published on May 6, 2015

The Academy of Our Lady of Guam's History and Culture of Guahan, Class of 2015 created this video campaign in solidarity with the rest of the Marianas Islands. The United States military has made plans to use our islands as living firing ranges without consenting the indigenous people that inhabit these precious islands.

Please share to express your support and solidarity with the Marianas. STOP THE US MILITARY PLANS TO TAKE SACRED LANDS FROM THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THE MARIANA ISLANDS.

Category Comedy
License Standard YouTube License

Figure 41

Guahan in Solidarity with Tinian and Pagan

Video posted on Youtube by high school seniors on Guå'han, 6 May 2015

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bL5yDV0IZtQ>



Figure 42

Women from the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands who are leading the lawsuit against the Department of Defense

Left to right: Ayesha Nibbe, Emma Huckabay Perez, Deborah Fleming, Juanita Masga Mendiola, David Henkin, Cinta M. Kaipat, and Kimberlyn King-Hinds.

Photograph taken 9 February 2017 after the hearing on the Navy's Motion to Dismiss
Photograph courtesy of Cinta M. Kaipat and accessible on Facebook at
<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10209594038141158&set=a.3753452988252.2150580.1034236083&type=3&theater>

**The Rise of the Woman =
The Rise of the Nation**

**FANOHGE
FAMALAO'AN
GUÅHAN MARCH**

**Friday, January 20, 2017
5:00 - 6:30 p.m.**

Meet at Chamoru Village
(Paseo Parking Lot, playground side)

**March to Women of the
Islands monument** (Alupang)

This event is a sister march of the
Women's March on Washington.

Email: fanohge.fam@gmail.com

Figure 43

Flyer for the “FanoHge Famalao’an” (Women Rising) Guåhan March
A sister march of the Women’s March on Washington, 20 January 2017
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/403503289996645/photos/>



Figure 44
Fanohge Famalão'an (Women Rising) Guåhan March, 20 January 2017
Video posted on Facebook by Mighty Island Productions, 22 January 2017
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/themightyisland/videos/1002333173204587/>