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Hip-hop, Streetdance, and  
the Remaking of the Global Filipino

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Culture and Performance

by

Jeffrey Lorenzo Perillo

2013

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Hip-hop, Streetdance, and  
the Remaking of the Global Filipino

by

Jeffrey Lorenzo Perillo

Doctor of Philosophy in Culture and Performance

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Susan Leigh Foster, Committee Co-Chair

Professor Victor Bascara, Committee Co-Chair

New York-based African American, Latino, and Caribbean immigrant youth of the 1960s and early 1970s gave life to one of the world's major contemporary cultural movements: Hip-hop. Initially misunderstood as a faddish form of Black male musical expression, Hip-hop's cultural resistance practices were quickly recognized as four core elements (emceeing, turntablism, graffiti art, and b-boying/b-girling). In the global context, Hip-hop has generated scholarly discourse that points to either the cultural globalization of American Blackness or a "global village." My project interrupts this conversation and focuses on the unique, multi-site cultural history of Filipino identity as constituted through practitioners of Hip-Hop dance. My work argues that a community of Filipinos, situated in different geo-political loci—Berkeley, California, Honolulu, Hawai'i, and Manila, Philippines—configure prevailing concepts of Hip-hop while remaking conditions of

dispossession and displacement in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. My study advances its argument through a theorization of remaking comprised of three broad themes—Hip-hop dance is part of a repertoire for Filipino race relations; decolonization is tied to Hip-hop's institutionalization; and dance offers an alternative perspective of Hip-hop's globalization.

Using ethnography and choreographic analysis, I conduct close readings of select dances, dance events, and dancers in order to offer innovative views into the politics of race and culture. Specifically, I analyze the ways Filipinos in Berkeley remake the dominant racial paradigms of liberal multiculturalism and colorblindness with counter-hegemonic history and politics; Honolulu-based Filipinos create spaces for decolonization; and Filipinos in Manila rework the grammar of American neocolonialism to access otherwise proscribed spaces of gender and dance. Informed by fields of critical race studies, postcolonial studies, and performance studies, my dissertation uncovers the often neglected choreography of Filipinos to complement these fields and assert a practice-based approach to understanding global Hip-hop as a strategy for equality and social justice.

The dissertation of Jeffrey Lorenzo Perillo is approved.

Janet M. O'Shea

Lucy M. Burns

Victor Bascara, Committee Co-Chair

Susan Leigh Foster, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2013

This dissertation is dedicated to  
my Inang, Oliva dela Rama Lorenzo  
and Grandpa, Juan Pantua Perillo.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract of the Dissertation	ii
Acknowledgements	vii
Vita	xv
1	
Hip-hop, Streetdance, and the Remaking of the Global Filipino	1
2	
Doin' the Robot: Choreographing multiculturalism and colorblindness in Pilipino Culture Night	27
3	
Punctuated Spaces: Local Hip-hop dance culture	79
4	
Maria Clara and Hip-hop: Choreographing Filipinas	133
5	
"America in 3D": Stereoscopic Empire	182
Bibliography	202
Notes	230



## Acknowledgments

An earlier version of "Doin' the Robot: Choreographing multiculturalism and colorblindness in Pilipino Culture Night" appeared as "Doin' The Robot: Anxieties of Racial Futures," *Extensions: The Online Journal of Embodiment and Technology* 6 (2010). "Maria Clara and Hip-hop: Choreographing Filipinas," contains modified sections that were published earlier in "Empire State of Mind': Hip-hop Dance in the Philippines," *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, edited by Michael Viola & Brad J. Porfilio (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2012), 42-64.

In accord with Hip-hop practices of giving credit where it is due, I have the honor of naming everyone that helped make this project possible. This research is nothing without the energies and support of the individuals and groups of dancers and cultural workers that form a network across the Pacific. In Berkeley, lasting impressions have been made by fellow PCN chairs, especially Rani de Leon, Sharlene Aquiler, Joey Bernal, Karen Merto, and Frank Lozier. PCN Choreographers—Garrick Macatangay, Sarah Escosa, Christine Gatchalian, Raynelle Gipson, and Trisha Mitra—generously shared with me their knowledge and expertise in dance. Frank generously introduced me to Culture Shock, where I shared many dance floors with Kim Sims-Battiste, Lee Lee Coleman, Dani Clement, Angie Bunch, and Morvarid Shahidi, each modeled for me a Hip-hop dance way of life in their own ways. Pilipino American leaders including Allyson Tintiangco-Cubales, Tracy Buenavista, Hannah Masbad, Karmela Herrera, Tina Shauf, Stephanie Sampang, Tes Esparrago Lieu, Steph Carriaga, and Raissa Diamante guided my critical thinking about cultural politics. It was a privilege to collaborate with the 2010 PCN Producers Ading Brian Batugo, Eugene Pascual, and Joy Regullano and this work was rejuvenated by their creative community activism.

In Hawai'i, mahalos go to B-girl Mo-Shen, B-girl Jem, Nixon Dabalos, Skill-Roy, Style-Len, the mothers at the Center, and my students at the In-Motion program at Farrington High School, the Movement Performing Arts Center in Kaimuki, and the Samadhi "What If ..." Performance Arts Summer Experience. Henry Kaponu, Jonathan Syfert, and fellow dancers at Te Vai Ura Nui and Iona Contemporary Dance helped me learn about the local dance scene. Sky Fung has been most generous as a fellow 808-based Hip-hop dance scholar. I would also like to thank dancers of Samadhi Hawaii Aerial Company, David Linhares, Jamie Nakama, and Nicole Young.

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In my Manila, I spoke and danced with many people whose voices might not appear directly in this dissertation, but who will most definitely appear in later iterations. Maraming salamat rin sa lahat ng mga dancers: Michelle Salazar, Sandy Hontiveros, Pinky Nelson, James Wong, Robie Punsalan, Japheth Reyes, B-girl Eyevee, B-girl Beatch, B-girl Phlo, Madelle Enriquez, Charm Esteban, Joshua Zamora, Angelica Arda, Niño Guerrero, JJ San Juan, Jason Cruz, Gino Ong, Nica Carlos, Joy Aggabao, Steffi Maala, Ace Lebumfacil, Vince Mendoza, Mycs Viloso, Kath Sison, Kel Pariña, Lovela Sabio, Coach Jungee Marcelo, Jim Libiran, Eauj Corpuz, and Hitmaster Fish. Big ups to the Crew—Aye Alba, JM De Jesus, Xernan Alfonso, Sam Abriza, Michael Arda, Jeremiah Carcellar, Vimi Rivera, Chinky Ramoso-Asilo, Hanna Sollano, Ron Pajela, Rosie Pajela-Marzan, Yang Gagelonia, Louie Canaria, Trizza Tolentino, Toki Sta. Maria, Erik Javier, Randell San Gregorio, Wincheska Young, Shayna Young. I am indebted to the Philippine AllStars, especially Naomi Tamayo, Heidi Riego, AC Lalata, and Krista Roma. Thanks also to Tha Project, Roz Manlangit, and Carlo Posadas. At UP-Diliman, I had the unexpected honor of sharing intellectual ground with Ruth Pison, Clod Yambao, Roland Tolentino, Elizabeth J. Aguilar, Neal Matherne, Sarah Raymundo, and Sir Steve Villaruz. I am grateful to the cultural workers at the CCP including Josefina Guillen, Chinggay Bernardo, and Teresa Rances. I would like to extend much recognition to Jeng, Randy, and Zac Dizon for their wonderful hospitality. In Los Angeles, sunny smiles and thanks go out to Arnel Calvario, Anna "Lollipop" Sanchez, and Tiffany Bong for continuing to feed my thirst for dance histories.

There once was a graduate student that looked across a desk at his advisor and, in a blend of ma-arte and naiveté, confessed that he was not sure if he could make it. Thanks to his advisor, who quickly banished all doubts, that student is no longer inexperienced (ma-arte is debatable). My humble and eternal thanks go out to Susan Foster for seeing me through this journey. My thanks for her unparalleled skills at teaching, cheering, nudging, believing, reality-checking, and keeping it real, in every step of my scholarly development. In Victor Bascara, I found a one-of-a-kind mentor and Co-Chair whose counsel has shaped my academic and career trajectory in immeasurable ways. Our talks are indelible, and he is quite simply as good as it gets. Timing can often be everything. I consider myself one of the privileged ones to have entered WAC in time to study with Lucy Burns and Janet O'Shea, and I am honored to have learned from their expertise.

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When I was a high school senior applying to colleges, I applied to UC campuses in Berkeley, San Diego, and Irvine and purposely avoided Los Angeles. My perception of the world was narrow and although I do not regret my past decisions, I have now learned of the incomparable amalgamation of people and resources at UC Los Angeles. The position of my work at the intersection of two interdisciplinary departments informs these gestures of gratitude, peppered across north campus. Thanks to Barbara Gaerlan and the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Tita Domingo and the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures, at Isamara Ramirez at UCLA Graduate Division. At the Asian American Studies Department, credit goes to Stacey Hirose, Barret Korerat, Kenneth Kuo, Jessie Singh, Natalia Yamashiro-Chogyoji, Anne Bautista, Kyeyoung Park, and Grace Hong. I will refrain from going into too much detail about how much of an honor it was to TA for Keith Camacho, a winning and hard-working community activist-scholar. I have been lucky to share in the project of Asian American studies with Melany de la Cruz, Meg Thornton, and David K. Yoo of the AASC. Thanks also to Wendy Brunt of the Office of the Human Research Protection Program. The production of knowledge about Filipino Americans lives on with the tireless work of Jade Alburo and Eloisa Gomez Borah, Librarian Emerita.

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## VITA

### EDUCATION

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- 2007 M.A. American Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa  
Graduate Certificate in International Cultural Studies
- 2004 B.A. Integrative Biology with a minor in Education,  
University of California, Berkeley

### PUBLICATIONS, PEER REVIEWED ARTICLES

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- 2013 "Theorising Hip-hop Dance in the Philippines: Blurring the Lines of Genre, Mode, and Dimension." *International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* 9/1 (January): 69-96.
- 2011 "If I was not in prison, I would not be famous.!: Discipline, Choreography, and Mimicry in the Philippines." *Theatre Journal* 63/4 (December): 607-621.

### PUBLICATIONS, EDITORIALY REVIEWED

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- 2012 "Empire State of Mind?: Hip-hop Dance in the Philippines." *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, edited by Michael Viola & Brad J. Porfilio. Peter Lang Publishing 42-64.
- 2010 "Doin' The Robot: Anxieties of Racial Futures," *Extensions: The Online Journal of Embodiment and Technology* Vol. 6.

### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

---

- Undergraduate Courses autonomously designed and taught*  
*University of California, Los Angeles*
- 2012 Asian American Studies M98T/Dance M98T: Hip-hop Dance and Asian American Cultural Politics
- 2009 World Arts and Cultures 9: Beginning Critical Hip-hop Dance
- University of Hawai'i, Mānoa*
- 2010 American Studies 301: Hip-hop and American Cultures
- California State University, Dominguez Hills*
- 2010 Social Behavioral Studies 318/Asian-Pacific Studies 301: Contemporary Issues in Asian American Communities
- University of California, Berkeley*
- 2002 Ethnic Studies 98: Contemporary Issues in Pilipino American Culture
- Teaching Associate: Section taught under a professor from Department of Asian American Studies*  
*University of California, Los Angeles*
- 2012 Asian American Studies 10: History of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (3 sections)
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2009 Asian American Studies 97: History, Theory, and Practice of PCN

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS, PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

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- Nov 2012 Presenter. *The American Studies Association Annual Meeting*, San Juan, Puerto Rico. "Maganda at Malakas: Gendered Choreographies in Manila."
- Sept 2012 Presenter. *The Twenty-Ninth Conference of Ford Fellows: "Reflecting Forward: 50 Years of Diversifying the Academy to Meet Global Challenges,"* Irvine, CA. "An Empire State of Mind: Hip-hop Dance in the Philippines."
- May 2011 Presenter (*in absentia*). *Association for Asian American Studies Conference: Consuming Asian America*, New Orleans, LA. "Dancing Outside the (Balikbayan) Box: In-Kind Remittance as Filipino Hip-hop."
- April 2009 Presenter. *Association for Asian American Studies Conference: Challenging Inequalities: Nations, Races and Communities*, Honolulu, HI. "Smooth Criminals: Mimicry, Choreography and Narrative in CPDRC's dancing inmates."
- April 2009 Presenter. *Popular Culture Association/American Culture Association's National Conference, Black Music Area Group*, New Orleans, LA. "Filipino Soul: Narrativizing Philippine-American Imperialism through Hip-Hop Dance and Black Cultural Production."
- April 2008 Presenter. *Association for Asian American Studies Conference: "Where is the "Heart" of Asian America?"* Chicago, IL. "Flip-Hop: Performing the Local Filipino."

SELECTED HONORS & AWARDS, NATIONAL

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- 2012-2013 *Ford Foundation Dissertation Fellowship*, The National Research Council of the National Academies.
- 2012-2013 *Dissertation Year Fellowship*, Graduate Division, UCLA.
- 2011-2012 *Collegium of University Teaching Fellowship*, Office of Instructional Development, UCLA.
- 2010-2011 *Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship*, U.S. Department of Education, UCLA, CA, University of Philippines, Diliman.
- 2010-2011 *Humanities Program Fellow*, Asian Cultural Council, Philippines.
- 2009 *Fulbright-Hays Group Projects Abroad – Advanced Overseas Intensive Language Program*, Philippines (Tagalog), U.S. Department of Education, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa.

# 1 | Hip-hop, Streetdance, and the Remaking of the Global Filipino

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It was a rainy Friday in March as I transferred to my second jeepney.<sup>1</sup> Stepping up and then crouching down into the back, I squeezed my large frame between two pasaheros.<sup>2</sup> I passed my fare forward and we drove away from PhilCoA, the vernacular portmanteau for the gathering place of transportation options that line the road in front of the Philippine Coconut Authority.<sup>3</sup> Hand-in-hand, person-to-person my bayad moved toward the front of the vehicle until it finally reached the driver, whose hand was cupped behind his right ear in anticipation.<sup>4</sup> Once his hand closed, I looked in the rear view mirror and made eye contact with him to say, or mouth rather, "SM."<sup>5</sup> He nodded and scanned the streets. Earlier that day, Hip-hop performing artist Chelo Aestrid texted me to make sure I would be at SM North EDSA, a shopping mall in Quezon City, Manila, because she knew it would benefit my project; Aestrid, the rest of the Philippine Allstars and others in the Philippine Hip-hop community were putting on a concert.

This part of SM has an indoor space that is shaped like an upright cylinder. It makes a joke out of its name—"The Block"—and verges on the panoptic in the way each of the building's five floors open like concentric donuts into a center courtyard; each offering 360 degrees of gazing into the central ground floor stage.<sup>6</sup> This is where the AllStars concert takes place, surrounded by booths set up to inform, hire, and feed the Filipino public. High above these booths, skylights pop and

hundreds of people hang unceremoniously on the railings, leaning inward, with eyes on the show. The centerstage dance floor is elevated and conventional for a concert, although its clear, backlit plexiglass surface seems like it would be cruel to misplaced feet. The atmosphere is air-conditioned, clean, and shiny; a sharp and welcome contrast from the rainy, grimy atmosphere just beyond the shopping center's doors. Malls do, after all, have meaning in Filipino society beyond mass consumerism.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps, this is because malls are where people go to escape the unbearable weather, whether heat or unrelenting rain. Malls are the familiar words on jeepney placards telling you its route. Malls are where urban bakla cruise potential mates.<sup>8</sup> Malls are, as I too learned first-hand one day, where multinational companies actively recruit labor for overseas employment. And today, in this mall, beside the Kultura native crafts store and below a cinema, the Manila dance community was taking center stage as part of the U.S. Embassy event, "America in 3D: Diplomacy, Development and Defense."<sup>9</sup>

Designed to inform the Filipino public about visa applications, education abroad, and labor programs between the U.S. and the Philippines, "America in 3D" was a series of events and self-described "road show" that included cultural performers like the world-champion Philippine AllStars, a Hip-hop dance crew who presented an hour-long dance concert and subsequent choreography workshop.<sup>10</sup> The dancers that took the stage in the Philippine AllStars concert comprised a streetdance community including the Pinoy Funk 'n Styles (Poppers and Lockers), Pinoy House Community, KrumPinoy, and Stellars, a collective of Pinay dancers.<sup>11</sup> Thousands of fans had experienced the Allstars' concert and workshop online; some uploaded videos to YouTube and some viewed the live streaming of the events on the U.S. Embassy's Ustream channel. Beyond the strong live and online Hip-hop presence, "America in 3D" was not just about Hip-hop. Celebrity musicians and vocalists performed across an impressive range of genre. Workshops entitled "The Visa Process Demystified" and "Learn How to Study in the U.S." ran several times throughout the

weekend. The event, which took place in Quezon City, a component of Metro Manila, was just the first stop in a road show that has since set up camp in five different cities across the archipelago including Ilocos Norte, Baguio, Cebu, and Iloilo.<sup>12</sup> This brief glimpse into "America in 3D" immediately brings forward some of the stakes around "Filipino Hip-hop" that the cultural practices of dancers and choreographers of Filipino descent inspire me to think about.<sup>13</sup>

The contemporary Hip-hop and streetdancers of "America in 3D" belong to a genealogy that typically traces back to New York-based African American, Latino, and Caribbean immigrant youth of the 1960s and early 1970s who gave life to one of the world's major contemporary cultural movements. Initially misrecognized as a faddish form of Black male musical expression, Hip-hop's cultural resistance practices were quickly recognized as involving at least four core elements (emceeing, turntablism, graffiti art, and b-boying/b-girling).<sup>14</sup> For ethnomusicologist Joseph Schloss Hip-hop's strength lies in this diversity of ideas; a diversity which is in part reflective of the three distinct concepts—a multi-media cultural practice, rap music, and a type of attitude or generation—all signified by the singular "Hip-hop."<sup>15</sup> For the past forty years, these practices and ideas have continued to circulate across multiple borders of race, gender, empire, and nation.<sup>16</sup> Building from the work of Hip-hop scholar Jeff Chang, Sujatha Fernandes teaches us that "global Hip-hop culture" resides somewhere between ideas of transcendence and realities of the quotidian.<sup>17</sup> At one end of the spectrum is a transcendent, communal spirit. This hopeful type of universalism is exemplified by the extraordinary cultural ambassadorship of Afrika Bambaataa and his emblematic "Planet Rock."<sup>18</sup> At the other end, lies the need for dispossessed youth to plainly speak about "the street" and to their specific geographical and historical contexts.<sup>19</sup>

Joining in the discussion about Hip-hop culture's numerous developments across the globe, this research offers a multi-site, interdisciplinary meditation on Hip-hop dance. This project is interested in the particular assumptions beneath the universalism necessary for coalition building and

the specificity that rings true to everyday Filipino experience. My work advances the argument that by understanding how Hip-hop culture makes sense of dancing bodies we can achieve a better understanding of the politics of race and culture. The dominant conversation around global Hip-hop is one that points to either the cultural globalization of American Blackness or a "global village." My project interrupts this conversation and interrogates the adaptation and transformation of Hip-hop dance by Filipinos. What enables the popularity and more generally the phenomenon of Filipinos in Hip-hop dance? How do we understand the different types and forms that take shape? For the purposes of responding to these questions, I examine contemporary Hip-hop dance ecosystems and compare and contrast them in terms of cultural practice, processes of production, dance representations, and subjectivity. As I interpret the ways dancers define their practices, my work claims that Hip-hop enables us to clarify our past, enhance our present, and imagine who we might become as Filipinos. Despite this line of argument, the project also begins with a healthy skepticism of whether Filipinos in Hip-hop constitute a cultural movement of their own. Moreover, why is it important to understand the implications of Filipinos in Hip-hop?

The historical formation, geographic diversity, and cultural heterogeneity of Filipino people lend themselves to a piecemeal choreography.<sup>20</sup> I once asked my mother how many islands composed the Philippine archipelago; she replied that the answer depended upon whether it was low tide or high tide. My work examines how this seemingly fragmented community of Filipinos, continually rising and sinking with the tides, finds the means to survive. Situated in particular geopolitical loci—Berkeley, California, Honolulu, Hawai'i, and Manila, Philippines—I examine how Filipino dancers configure prevailing concepts of Hip-hop while remaking conditions of dispossession and displacement in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Informed by an unfathomable history of local, inter-racial, indigenous, and post/colonial dance systems, the often-neglected choreography of Filipinos calls for a reassessment of the existing paradigms of the global

Hip-hop cultural movement, what I see as key to understanding the implications of "America in 3D."

The strategies around choreography, heterogeneity, and belonging in Filipino Hip-hop demonstrate the value of spotlighting Hip-hop dance as configured and contested within the Filipino community. This study performs a type of critical interpretation around Hip-hop dance, but rather than positing a sole theory or approach, it features areas—Pilipino Culture Nights, afterschool programs, dance crews—that I argue act as crucial sites for remaking Filipinos. My argument is not interested with presenting a unified narrative of assimilation or linear development in terms of Hip-hop dance because none such exists.<sup>21</sup> Still, I am confident that this is a step toward denaturalizing common assumptions about theory, dance, and power and finding a space where Hip-hop, Filipino, and dance advocates agree. My study refrains from substituting dancers for DJs in the question posed to and reiterated by Asian American scholar Oliver Wang: "Why are there so many Filipino DJs?"<sup>22</sup>

What this study does attempt, however, is to historicize and contextualize the relations between dance and its other elements as understood by Hip-hop and streetdance practitioners. It also contributes a new theorization around remaking that comprises of three broad themes—Hip-hop dance is part of a repertoire for racial subjectivity of Filipinos; decolonization is tied to Hip-hop's institutionalization; and dance offers an alternative perspective of Hip-hop's globalization.<sup>23</sup> These themes recur through the body of this study in ways that presuppose the need for inquiry about the popular dance phenomenon in its own terms and in respect to relevant literature from Hip-hop, Filipino, and Dance studies. The process of remaking, as characterized by the study's themes, helps begin an overdue scholarly consideration of Filipino Hip-hop and Filipino dance in its contemporary forms. While my study does not offer dance criticism or spotlight dances based on their virtuosity or beauty, it does perform dance theorization with a curiosity about what dance

communicates and how dance signifies. As such, I remain committed to evaluating dances for the ways in which they come to acquire multiple, often, contradictory meanings as well as for what they say about dance at large.

In order to see how this research accomplishes these tasks this discussion will benefit from a clarification of the terms and principles that frequent its pages. The next three sections of the introduction offer a look at a multi-layered framework that involves three overlapping and interlocking discourses: global Hip-hop, Filipino studies and American empire, Dance studies and corporeality. These intellectual junctures equip us with a theoretical apparatus for unpacking the complex corporeal signifying of Filipinos in Hip-hop dance across multiple temporal and spatial zones. Moreover, this study speaks to gaps produced within each field in order to stretch the theories in their abilities to speak to and from Hip-hop's performing bodies.

### **What's so global about global Hip-hop?**

Historian Robin D.G. Kelley once declared that Hip-hop is always already global.<sup>24</sup> While existing Hip-hop scholarship has often shared Kelley's sentiment, clear on the importance of a global perspective on Hip-hop, it has, for better or worse, never reached a consensus on what the idiom means in the first place. When the concept of "global" gets fastened onto Hip-hop culture several questions arise: Is Hip-hop merely global in circulation and expanse?<sup>25</sup> Is it global in consumer consciousness?<sup>26</sup> Is Hip-hop global in the sense that the content of its art makes global references?<sup>27</sup> To respond to these questions and wrestle with the meanings and politics of Filipino Hip-hop requires an understanding of the terminology around Hip-hop culture.<sup>28</sup> The contemporary predicament is that of a contested, divided discursive space, shaped in part by at least four fundamentally different positions on what is "global" about global Hip-hop. A discussion of these incongruities proceeds with two related concepts—global and globalization—and helps to situate



Filipino dance experiences in the world via global Hip-hop, or put another way, to imagine a type of "global" Filipino.

A concept that has acquired heightened attention in academic accounts of Hip-hop over the past two decades is the adjective "global." As a term with distinct usage apart from "international," "world," "transnational," "diaspora," and "planet," there are different types of global rhetoric within Hip-hop studies.<sup>29</sup> The "global village" versions of Hip-hop see practices like rap or Hip-hop language as universal communicators of shared oppression that similarly take root across different nations worldwide and undergo syncretism and indigenization within traditional local cultures.<sup>30</sup> Global Hip-hop of this variety sees the U.S.-based, regional Hip-hop rubric as necessarily incomplete and interestingly carries a challenge against the role of hegemonic American culture in the world.<sup>31</sup> A type of post-American Hip-hop attitude advances and challenges the idea of Hip-hop as solely Black cultural practice or "property." For instance, in *Global Noise*, an anthology of essays on global iterations of rap, Tony Mitchell suggests that while rap is a local artist-driven practice, the flow of consumption of rap is still mainly from the U.S. outward.<sup>32</sup> While acknowledging the culture's U.S. origins, Mitchell sees scholarship that considers the diverse "glocal" dynamics of Hip-hop's "other roots" as a remedy for the Americocentrism of Hip-hop's contemporary circulation.<sup>33</sup> Mitchell sees this power dynamic produce a "colonialist" view of Hip-hop as "U.S.-owned musical subculture."<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, Mitchell locates this view in the notion of appropriation and Hip-hop scholarship that only relies upon U.S. metrics to evaluate non-U.S. forms.<sup>35</sup>

Unlike "global village" approaches, Afrocentric versions of global Hip-hop are defined by a particular relationship to African diaspora in trajectories from Africa to the U.S. and from the U.S.-based African-American communities outward to non-U.S. "places."<sup>36</sup> This scholarship similarly reads the practices of Hip-hop in regions, cities, nations, and diasporas outside of New York or Los Angeles, but usually within a larger rubric of Black popular culture's globalization. These studies

draw upon scholars like Paul Gilroy and Robert Farris Thompson.<sup>37</sup> Dipannita Basu and Sydney J. Lemelle, for example, take issue with Tony Mitchell's characterization of Hip-hop in the U.S., what they understand as unappreciative of "hip-hop and rap's African American social history, racial configurations, and cultural practice."<sup>38</sup> Between an anti-essentialist turn from African-American-centricity and a historicist aversion to postmodern hybridity, Basu and Lemelle focus their concerns with "the geopolitical realities of uneven development and resistance to it in the spaces of the 'third world', as well as those of 'third world' places and peoples in the 'first world'."<sup>39</sup>

Both usages of the term—global as counterhegemonic or as Afro-diasporic circulation—express a deliberate attempt at inclusivity toward a Hip-hop outside a normative New York and U.S.-based Hip-hop, yet I have misgivings about both approaches. On the one hand, for Mitchell global rap is important to support his thesis of rap as a universal musical language. Mitchell says, "The 'glocal' indigenizing dynamic has reproduced itself in hip-hop and rap scenes the world over, to the extent that it is arguable that rap can now surely be regarded as a universal musical language and its diffusion one that has taken root in most parts of the globe."<sup>40</sup> This universalism risks acting as a form of romantic utopianism or uncritical celebration. Basu and Lemelle, on the other hand, espouse a global Hip-hop that reifies a dichotomy between the "U.S. and the rest."<sup>41</sup>

Along with the concept of the "global," globalization as a term has gained increasing importance to Hip-hop scholars, journalists, practitioners, and audiences. According to Philippine scholars Perlita M. Frago et. al. the notion of globalization is one that is primarily an economic term denoting the implementation of neoliberal economic policies since the 1970s.<sup>42</sup> The specific policies vary by nation and institution, but they have mostly been thought to constitute "free market" oriented policies, reduced tariffs and tax breaks for multinational corporations, privatization of national government institutions such as health and education, abdication of the state's role in providing public goods and social protection for its citizens.<sup>43</sup> Globalization has also been theorized

in ways beyond a strictly economic sense as it is also recognized to have political, social, technological, and cultural dimensions.<sup>44</sup> Given that Hip-hop is both an economic and cultural giant, it seems fitting to turn to discussions around globalization as both an economic and cultural process as theorized by Hip-hop scholars.<sup>45</sup>

In regards to economic globalization, some scholars tend to see Hip-hop as an antidote for the negative effects of neoliberalism.<sup>46</sup> Political scientist M.T. Kato analyzed the intersection of Hip-hop and Bruce Lee films. Kato suggests that globalization is the latest stage of colonization and popular cultural practices like Hip-hop are part of the decolonizing struggle.<sup>47</sup> Brad J. and Shannon M. Porfilio's research assigns culpability to the neoliberal agenda for the stark and economic conditions faced by France's *banlieue* (suburban peripheries) youth. Porfilio and Porfilio note that increasingly youth such as rappers Disiz la Peste and Kery James are articulating responses to job loss, lack of social services, police state, and geographic dislocation.<sup>48</sup> In Alberta, Canada, Michael B. MacDonald documents how Canadian emcee-scholars practice Hip-hop in line with KRS-One's "Hip-hop Kulture," a concept that he views as organized against the logic of neoliberal globalization, which has deepened the financialization of everyday Alberta life and subordinated art forms like Hip-hop.<sup>49</sup>

While Kato, Porfilio and Porfilio, and MacDonald situate the practices of Hip-hop cultural workers within the context of globalization's economic dimensions, another group of scholars characterize Hip-hop movements in the world with the term cultural globalization. Ian Condry's ethnographic study of rap artists sought to clarify how the development of Hip-hop in Japan proved that then current theories on cultural globalization needed to be rethought; usually counterposed rubrics of localization and global connectivity should be seen as concurrent. Condry proposes an analytical focus on how cultural forms are put into practice within the spaces of cultural production—his theory of *genba* globalization.<sup>50</sup> As a theory and practice, *genba* globalization is

collaborative, improvisatory, historical, and global and local in reference. He sees Japanese Hip-hop as something that depends on *genba*. Condry's theory is useful for shifting the globalization discourse from pure, authentic Hip-hop that respectfully acknowledges Black American culture or represents "Japaneseness" or subjectivity to an emphasis on "performativity."<sup>51</sup>

This study builds upon these four groups of global Hip-hop scholars. As such one might expect to "read" Filipino Hip-hop as part of a "global village," an adoption of a Black Atlantic cultural form, a resistant tool against economic globalization, and a performative site of cultural globalization in action. One might very well interpret Filipino Hip-hop as any one of these. However, that does not quite go far enough and risks assuming Filipino practitioners are not creating theories and meanings of their own. Imposing any of the existing global Hip-hop frameworks says little about and does little justice to the actual political and global realities of Filipinos who are to varying degrees transforming Hip-hop and who Hip-hop mutually remakes. Instead, my work attempts to build upon this body of work by interpreting global Hip-hop in terms of Filipino intersubjectivity. Across the Pacific, Filipino subject formation within colonial discourses of modernity and racialized gender difference advances our existing understandings of global Hip-hop.

### **American imperialism and the Filipino performing body**

If a quartet of global "noises" ruptures any imagination of a harmonious global Hip-hop sound, the field of Filipino studies compounds this difference with its own tune: imperial amnesia.<sup>52</sup> To consider Filipino historical and cultural understandings of Hip-hop is to question the remarkable absence of post/colonialism in studies of Hip-hop.<sup>53</sup> Unlike U.S. forms of white-black racism, misogyny, and class inequality, social issues common to what Tricia Rose calls the "Hip-hop Wars," as well as the issues of dispossession and poverty that global Hip-hop have taken up, American

empire has yet to be fully integrated as a critical frame in Hip-hop scholarship.<sup>54</sup> Central to the understanding of Hip-hop as an (in)effective means of addressing post/colonialism are the misrecognition, politics of articulation, and performance of Filipino identity formation.

A fine example of this approach lies in Allan Isaac's *American Tropics*, where he explores the misrecognition of the Philippines to demonstrate the disclosure of more than a century of U.S. colonialism.<sup>55</sup> By exploring U.S.-based legal, literary, film, theater, and media coverage on contemporary events regarding Filipinos, Filipino America, and the Philippines, Isaac traces the spatial, temporal, and enfolded discursive boundaries of the "American Tropics," or unincorporated territories and their affiliated *noncitizen nonalien* subjectivities.<sup>56</sup> I have similarly chosen to hone in on Filipino misrecognition between Filipino and Asian American subjectivity, Filipino and Filipino American, between local and mainland Filipino. But rather than seeing these moments as borderlines of "what is proper and property to 'America,'" as Isaac's work does, my own asks how these moments challenge and confirm the global Hip-hop culture, its theories and practices.

Filipino studies like *American Tropics* provide keys toward putting into context any unimaginability or strange blend of familiarity and unknowing surrounding Filipino Hip-hop. The cultural incoherence of Filipino Hip-hop lends itself to an interpretation of what Sarita Eschavez See calls the "disarticulation" of empire.<sup>57</sup> Drawing upon the dual anatomical and rhetorical definitions of the term, See pinpoints two main disarticulations going on. The first is the American imperial forgetting and its historical and contemporary consequences, upon which U.S. colonial and postcolonial scholars have thus far elaborated.<sup>58</sup> The second is the consequence of imperial disarticulation resulting from the "politics of articulation" that Filipino American artists engage in (itself a response to cultural dispossession).<sup>59</sup> Following See's identification of Filipino American "subversive assimilation" in the punning of Rex Navarrete and bodily fragmentation of Manuel

Ocampo's paintings, I attempt to locate a "politics of articulation" that Filipino dancers and choreographers bring to life.

While Isaacs and See offer astute readings of the post/colonial dimensions of Filipino and Filipino American subjectivity, my research looks at the dancing body as a vehicle for Filipino American aesthetics. In light of understanding Filipino aesthetics and post/colonialism as it engages quotidian struggles and the performing body, it is helpful to consider Martin Manalansan's *Global Divas*. What best demonstrates Manalansan's thinking around the performing body is the spacious understanding of "drama" and "byuti," wherein he locates the everyday self-making of Filipino gay transmigrants. As a means of knowing the world through one's familial, behavioral, economic, spiritual, and sexual exigencies, "drama" suggests the ways "performance" always already occurs in the proverbial "off-stage" gendered and sexual identity-formation.<sup>60</sup> In this sense, Manalansan suggests that a symbolic place in the U.S. social imaginary requires an understanding of Filipino performance.<sup>61</sup>

Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns invokes and expands upon Manalansan's Filipino performance concepts of "drama" and "byuti" and the ways in which they complicate existing notions of Filipino gay identity as a dramatic rendering of a character in a (un)successful narrative of Filipino assimilation. Burns recasts the phrase, *puro arte*, which literally translates to "pure art" or "purely artifice," in order to put it to work as an "episteme, as a valuable lens for analysis of post/colonialism and Filipino subjectivity, and a way of approaching the Filipino/a performing body at key moments of U.S.-Philippine imperial relations."<sup>62</sup> Also following the concepts of "palabas" and "gaya," Burns extends a line of inquiry into the generative potential, rather than criticized unoriginality, that artful imitation or mimicry engender.<sup>63</sup> Shifting from the view of imitation as "pathological colonial mentality," *puro arte*, as an analytical methodology and performance strategy, reveals how practices of overacting and playful exaggeration are critical cultural practices.<sup>64</sup>

Encouraged by the works of Allan Isaacs, Sarita Eschavez See, Martin Manalansan, and Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns, this study continues their interrogative pathways along post/colonialism and performance as sites of contested meaning-making. Unlike their valuable, groundbreaking works, this study's scope is also guided by the discourse of Filipino dance, choreography, and corporeality.<sup>65</sup>

### **Dance Studies and Corporeality**

Hip-hop makes a cameo as one of the popular forms co-existing with contact improvisation in a wider New England movement environment in *Sharing the Dance*, Cynthia J. Novack's ethnographic exploration of the relationship between dance's cultural ideas and social values. Novack perceptively likens the athletic use of 360 degrees of space exhibited in breakdance to a similar use of space in contact improvisation. She features a photograph that is worth taking a closer look at here.<sup>66</sup> The image depicts the Mighty Poppalots, three young males dancing on an elevated outdoor concert stage for the 1984 First Greater Washington Break Dancing Competition. The central figure dances upright in mid-rotation (counter-clockwise) with his right leg stabilized and left leg turned outward from the toe. His facial expression makes apparent the concentration necessary to carry the other two dancers on his person. The first elevated dancer straddles his shoulders and has lain back almost horizontally behind the central dancers head. Intuition, personal experience with this same feat, and the fear on the dancer's facial expression all tell me that the hand gesture captured in this still photograph is likely the "sign of the cross." The second dancer has grabbed the first dancer's legs, placed his head between the calves, and kicked up his own legs. He is now airborne, suspended in counter-balance with the first. Rows of audience members stand at the feet of the stage with half-worried looks of awe at the dancers' inventiveness. One nervous onlooker covers his/her mouth and nose in anxiety.

Although a deeper engagement with Hip-hop was beyond its scope, Cynthia J. Novack's work makes an excellent case for the advantages of dance studies approaches. Up to now, this study has located its subjects about the global edges of Hip-hop to address post/colonialism across a Filipino horizon. While this bearing may provide access to a familiar unknowing of Filipino subjectivity in the contexts of U.S. imperial amnesia, it seems unlikely that Filipino racialization can account for the entirety of incoherence around "Filipino Hip-hop." Another piece of the confusion lies in a subtle birthmark on the canonical body of Hip-hop history. Imagine the "sign of the cross" dancer's facial expression when he picked up his copy of Jeff Chang's critically acclaimed *Can't Stop, Won't Stop* only to realize dance appeared on a mere thirty of its more than 465 pages.<sup>67</sup> While this study is not interested in propagating the difference between the concepts of music and dance in Hip-hop, perhaps there are deep-seated beliefs about the relationship between dance, the body, and power that can help productively make sense of Hip-hop dance's treatment thus far. Part of this project's thesis is that dance studies offers methods for Hip-hop: to address an often marginalized element, contextualize inequalities in performance as experienced by dancers, and expand the site of socio-political "content" from the lyrics of emcees. At the same time, an investigation of Hip-hop culture through the practices and ideas of Filipino dancers, suggests a new lineage of the emergent field of Asian American dance studies.<sup>68</sup>

In the process of complementing the gaps produced by the studies of Hip-hop's globalization and Filipino studies, this research illuminates how some of the challenges of dance are not endemic to Hip-hop but trace back to postindustrial differences between dance and music as cultural practices and means of production.<sup>69</sup> In speaking with many professional dancers, these differences come to life in the instances when dancers are disrespected or grossly underpaid for their labor. In their initial web presence, the Philippine AllStars identified this as one of their primary motivations for dancing Hip-hop:



The group hopes to elevate the status of dancers in the Philippines, because for too long have dancers been considered second-rate performers. Through their efforts and many talented others, they want to show that dancing is a great art form and should be more respected and rewarded than what is currently being offered by the entertainment industry.<sup>70</sup>

The everyday and professional performance hierarchy that elevates actors, singers, and musicians on the backs of dancers has direct influences on the practices of Filipino Hip-hop.<sup>71</sup> Evidently, this is not a new problem and the ever-changing scholarly space of dance seems like a window of opportunity for remediation.

How do existing understandings of Hip-hop, in the ways they reveal deference toward consideration of dance in its own terms (i.e. protocols, bodily gestures, visual and spatial dynamics) precisely contribute to a diminishing of dance? Let us reconsider the ethnographic example of "America in 3D" introduced earlier. Following the existing ways of understanding Hip-hop, the dancing in "America in 3D" has little significance beyond what it might say about the governmental validation and naturalized vibrancy of Hip-hop youth culture outside the U.S. Similarly, if we apply established views of Filipino dance as "a wholesome form of entertainment," and "simple, inexpensive recreation," then our concept of "America in 3D" falls short of factoring in the profound ideological stakes of dance.<sup>72</sup> In contrast, we might allow ourselves to remain open to the possibilities of dance as serving some kind of socio-political as well as representational function, so that we get closer to the epistemic, material, and social realities of dancers in contemporary global Hip-hop culture.

Beyond a normative rap-as-social-commentary model of understanding global Hip-hop, dance poses fundamental disagreements that cannot be resolved through lyrical analysis or verbatim testimony from practitioners.<sup>73</sup> *Sharing the Dance* inspires more than simply an ethnographic approach to dance, as marginalized Hip-hop element; it also offers us a conception of dance practices as

generative of culture and cultural movement itself. Put another way, dance practices do not merely reflect culture, but they also produce meaning of their own. A mindfulness about the ways in which we locate meaning in dance and culture helps explain Hip-hop dances that are often woefully derided as routines or predetermined sequences of physical gesture. As such, my purposes in situating Hip-hop within dance studies discourse has been to problematize this perception of Hip-hop dance as a supposedly straightforward dance.<sup>74</sup> How the life histories and lyrics of rappers offer social and political commentary on the world has been a standard focus in Hip-hop studies; how choreography, aesthetics, and innovative movement do so is relatively overlooked. An investigation that not only elaborates upon the internal logic of Hip-hop dance but also underscores how dance theory interfaces with Hip-hop will hopefully underline the tremendous potentials dance bears for global Hip-hop cultures.<sup>75</sup>

Building from existing dance-centered writings of Hip-hop by Sally Banes, Halifu Osumare, Thomas DeFrantz, Anna Beatrice Scott, and Joseph Schloss, my study tackles the multiple and sometimes competing notions of Hip-hop dance and streetdance.<sup>76</sup> Rather than propagating a Hip-hop "four-mula" in which dance is reduced to a mere component of a larger Hip-hop culture, I seek to understand the genres, modes, dimensions, and conflicts internal to Hip-hop dance.<sup>77</sup> As such, dancers often use "styles," or types of dance genre with particular histories, structural traits, and movement profiles, for identity formation and as a means to situate their craft in relationship to the larger dance community. The difference between Hip-hop dances and streetdances can vary between individual dancers but tends to depend on their delineation and grouping of voguing, wackin', breakin' (b-boyin', b-girlin'), lockin', poppin', robotin', dancehall, krump, LA style, New Jack Swing, and general Hip-hop (i.e. club dances and "choreo"). In general, breakin', lockin', poppin', robotin', New Jack Swing, and club dances are regarded as Hip-hop dance, while dancehall, krump, LA style, wackin', voguing are usually seen as streetdances with affiliation to Hip-hop dance. By propagating

terminology like Streetdance and LA Style (which I have not seen anywhere but the Philippines) dancers arguably assert a type of localization that recognizes both the historical lineages of the dance activity and an ambiguous blend of national and racial identification.<sup>78</sup> In addition to genre categorization, this study looks at competition, education, and commercial modes as well as dimensions of dance by which Filipinos are able to circumscribe Hip-hop in an ongoing practice of local dance practices and work their way around issues of Black appropriation underlying purist criticism.

One of the particular assumptions that my argument is interested in lies in the "natural" body. The issues of the "natural" body and its discipline crisscross with the notion of corporeality as theorized by Susan Leigh Foster.<sup>79</sup> A primary discourse around corporeality and Asian American racialization continues to be that of Orientalism.<sup>80</sup> Recent works apply dance studies approaches—which recognize the generative potentials of dance as discursive activity—while looking at subjectivity in order to expand upon solely aesthetic analyses of Asian American dances toward dancer's navigation of issues like belonging, migration, and racialization.<sup>81</sup> For example, scholars have unmasked the "Oriental Dancing Girl," which has effectively shifted our understandings of the foundations of American modern dance, as read through Ruth St. Denis's vexed relationship with Indian immigrant dancers in the early 20th century.<sup>82</sup> Following Edward Said's trailblazing work, *Orientalism*, Yutian Wong teaches us that the "Oriental Dancing Girl," is doubly sexualized as Oriental (stereotypical fantasy of sexual availability) and dancing (assumed sexualized activity). Asian American dance studies as a discourse can challenge what Wong calls, "invisible Orientalism," in U.S. dance history and potentially subvert neoliberal paradigms of multiculturalism.<sup>83</sup> Filipino Hip-hop offers an alternative genealogy of bodies that in some ways stands outside of the "Oriental Dancing Girl" lineage of Asian American dance studies. Wong's understanding of Asian American racialization counter-poses blackness and the Orient on a colonial spectrum such that one signifies

visible absence of culture and the other an ancient, tradition, and "perpetual(ly) foreign" culture.<sup>84</sup> Wong situates Asian American bodies against African American bodies on a "disembodiment spectrum" in which Asian American bodies are model minorities that "transcend" their racial bodies through naturalized intellectual power and African American bodies reflect bodily excesses.<sup>85</sup> This study builds off of previous works that have shown Filipino relations with blackness and African Americans are not as oppositional as this spectrum suggests.<sup>86</sup>

The discourses of global Hip-hop, Filipino studies and American empire, and Dance studies and corporeality relate to each other in ways that underscore the impact of this study. The discourse of global Hip-hop studies understands the contemporary moment in global and globalization terms. Hip-hop is a communicative link between nations in a "global village," a part of Africanist diasporic circulation, a resistant tool against globalization's economic dimensions, and a performance-based exemplification of cultural globalization's process. Filipino studies of American imperialism provide Filipino-centric approaches to global Hip-hop's different schools of thought and enable critique of Hip-hop's overlooked relationship with American exceptionalism. Dance studies and corporeality address global Hip-hop studies' marginalization of movement practices and offer new theories of body and dance as sites of social power. A consideration of dance studies also recontextualizes global Hip-hop in the frames of "world dance" and migration.

The field of Filipino studies provides relief from Filipino cultural aphasia by describing its contours and textures and offering new explanatory approaches for both systematic forgetting—imperial amnesia—and the creative techniques for maneuvering post/colonial conditions. Global Hip-hop studies offers an alternative to the often text-based postcolonial studies and continues a shift in Philippine dance studies toward contemporary, popular forms. Dance studies and corporeality contribute to a new branching of Filipino studies that centralizes dance and resituates post/colonialism and Filipino racialization within a wider investigation of corporeality.

For the last few decades, academic inquiries persuasively centralized and problematized dance as a marginal, ephemeral, ineffable activity; a collective effort which enables a comprehension of dance as part of an episteme, signifying process, political act, discourse, and tool for addressing inequalities in performance. A focus on global Hip-hop offers new theories from academics and practitioners alike for studying the broad activity of dance, an examination of popular forms in dance history, as well as alternative frameworks of globalization. The field of Filipino studies continues a shift in dance studies toward critical race and post/colonial ways of interpreting dance and emphasizes American imperialism.

### **"Don't Sweat the Technique"<sup>87</sup>: Filipino Hip-hop dance methods**

Filipino American scholars commonly deal with a “tricky” relationship between identity and scholarship, informed by the suspicious response to claims of “Filipino American Studies.”<sup>88</sup> In his introduction to *Cultural Compass*, Manalansan situates this relationship within his critique of ethnography.<sup>89</sup> Manalansan draws attention to the ways that ethnography was not only the tool of imperialism against Asian peoples, but it constructed an omniscient all-knowing author who took it upon himself to reveal the “reality” of his subjects and analyze patterns, symmetry, and logical social order.<sup>90</sup> Asian American and Filipino contemporary theorists alike argue for critical authorship that depicts divergent voices inclusive of the “native” but wary of replicating this god-like omniscient voice.<sup>91</sup> Inspired by the ethnographies of U.S. ethnic studies, this dissertation brings forth its argument through insights gained from a customized methodology of ethnography, choreographic analysis, and reflection.

My own ethnography focuses on a seemingly disconnected community of Filipinos situated across three geo-political spaces - Berkeley, Honolulu, and Manila - in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Specifically, I analyze the ways Filipinos in Berkeley remake the dominant racial paradigm of liberal multiculturalism with counter-hegemonic history and politics; Honolulu-

based Filipinos create spaces for decolonization and challenge enduring plantation hierarchies; and Filipinos in Manila rework the grammar of American neocolonialism to access otherwise proscribed gendered spaces. By selecting these three robust Filipino Hip-hop spaces, I can speak locally and broadly about the ways race and dance operate across borders, thereby producing knowledge unlike the existing nation-based paradigm of race. Ethnography allowed me access to how these dancers think about their lives, what the dance means to them, and how it relates to their specific cultural, social, economic, and political contexts. As part of understanding what dancers find meaningful in the form, I conducted open-ended and in-depth interviews with key contemporary and former practitioners, observations of live and recorded Hip-hop performances, competitions, and classes. This ethnographic method was specific to geographic locale because within each, I found that circumstances varied in terms of available resources, cultural fluency, serendipity, and positionality, and these differences shaped the ways I engaged with each "Filipino Hip-hop" community. Encouraged by Sarita See's analytical method in which the subjects of her study inform the methods of analysis with which she engages those subjects, each chapter carries its own kind of ethnography that reflects my own positionality as minority student, outsider that passes for Local, and diasporic scholar.<sup>92</sup>

While critical ethnography formed the basis for my broad methodological approach, a second and vital component involved channeling energies toward choreographic analysis of dance, inspired by Foster's groundbreaking *Reading Dancing*.<sup>93</sup> This approach encouraged an engagement with the semiotics of dance, its writing, and choreography.<sup>94</sup> Foster's work—and subsequent studies that employ choreography as a primary analytical method to investigate identity—have strengthened my decision to think comparatively about the ways Hip-hop operates in these distinct movement environments, to recall a term from Novack.<sup>95</sup> This study also leans on "reading dance" as method partly because it seeks to apprehend the ways Hip-hop dances not only refer to the world but also

reflect their own internal logic—an enlivening part of a dance discourse. In this light, each chapter takes its cues from a particular modality of dance representation. As opposed to relying on approaches of disciplines such as, say, kinesiology or journalism, Hip-hop dance lends itself to a system of inscription with consequent meanings that hold unique relationships to power; these relationships sometimes rub up against intellectual inquiries beholden to positivism or newsworthiness.

A third crucial methodological component resides in reflection of the ways ethnographic and choreographic analyses were mutually informed by my own particular set of experiences. I emphasize experience, not as a way of holding the reader at arm's length from the subject and saying that "my" experience alone could allow one to come to these conclusions. Rather, I want to keep in mind and give respect to the fact that these three sites were not chosen from a flattened map, but rather, for better or worse, reflect my personal, artistic, and scholarly trajectory. Traces of my particular experience, the labors that brought me to each community, are revealed and disclosed within each chapter. While other scholars might treat Hip-hop dance as part of an episteme for producing knowledge about Filipino Others, my writing treats Hip-hop dance as part of an episteme or way of knowing the world by drawing from my experiences as an undergraduate, practitioner (1998-2002), and cultural chair (2002) of Pilipino Culture Night (PCN) at University of California, Berkeley.<sup>96</sup> Berkeley was an inspirational space marked by newness and freedom to experiment, yet also a heightened feeling of racial marginalization and institutionalized racism. In Honolulu, Hawai'i, my experiences in 2005-2007 occurred during my first years of a graduate program at the University of Hawai'i. The combination of an introduction to academic literature on cultural activism and critical mass of Filipinos was influential. My ability to pass as Local in Honolulu also shaped the ways I experienced exotification. In Manila, Philippines, I saw the Hip-hop scene over a combined eleven-month period (between 2009 to 2011) under the auspices of Fulbright-Hays. Dancing Hip-

hop in the Philippines was significant because it was the country my father left forty years ago to enlist in the U.S. Navy. For me, the Philippines is neither a nostalgic homeland nor an exotic fieldwork site where "it's more fun."<sup>97</sup> Instead, the place carried with it a frequently imposed narrative about why diasporics return. As one popular artist snidely quipped, "So what are you, like, searching for your roots?"<sup>98</sup>

While this research unapologetically and inherently defies the logic of "searching for roots," it also concedes to such snark and serves as a necessary step toward personal and collective decolonization. I was born in Honolulu into a family that had recently emigrated from the Philippines in the 1970s. As a Filipino-American whose naturalization was, in part, a product of the U.S. Navy's recruitment practices in the Philippines, this study is about how understanding American empire can speak to traumatic historical and contemporary asymmetries between the U.S. mainland and settled lands of Hawai'i, and the Philippines. As a Hip-hop dancer and dance scholar, this study is a testimonial of my commitment to Hip-hop culture as much as it is about my scholarly curiosity, veteran skepticism, faith, and child-like wonder regarding the ways its values are articulated through dancing bodies. These three methods—ethnography, dance, and reflection—help destabilize the dominant assumptions around how Hip-hop acquires meaning and clarify the scholarly interventions of this study.

### **Routes of Remaking**

The justification for selecting these as sites of study lies, not only in my personal connection to them, but also in their explanatory power and ability to advance the understanding of Hip-hop dance as an embodied political strategy for Filipinos. Each of these places engenders its own corresponding questions around race and the problems and powers of Hip-hop. While the most obvious organizational order is perhaps the contested term, Pacific Rim, the dancers in this study



clearly undertake a trajectory, which Vicente L. Rafael describes and Victor Bascara reminds us of "zigging and zagging" across the "local" and "global" in coincidental, regional, and colonial ways.<sup>99</sup> The University of California, Berkeley and the University of the Philippines-Diliman (UPD) both share a reputation for student activism and academic excellence.<sup>100</sup> In one of its percussive dances, Berkeley's PCN even depicted the agricultural labor of Filipino workers such as those remembered in Hawai'i's Filipino Centennial Celebration. Hawai'i and the Philippines belong to the same American imperial cohort, along with Guam, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Honolulu and Manila similarly serve as the densely populated urban center of a tropical archipelago that faces issues regarding preservation of indigenous cultures, natural resources, and American "influence." As I understood it, Hip-hop did not flow from the fountainhead of New York across the Pacific to Honolulu and then to Manila. Alternatively, Filipinos did not migrate with cultural luggage in hand from Manila to stopover to Honolulu on their way to California. Nonetheless, similarities and circuitry such as these make periodic appearances throughout the body of this study and help complicate, if not confound, conventional ideas about transnational flows of culture.

The obvious question that we might ask ourselves when confronted with the notion of "remaking the global Filipino" might be simply, what is being remade and remade into what? The structures that Filipino Hip-hop benefits from are shaped by formal public and private institutions—universities, local and municipal departments—and cultural or community institutions—such as annual Pilipino Culture Nights, after-school programs, community centers, dance studios, and variety shows. The popularity and broader phenomenon of Filipinos in Hip-hop dance is facilitated by individual dancers, dance crews, communities, and social organizations, both Filipino and non-Filipino, who undertake several processes of remaking. A few remarks now on how the dissertation takes us through these cohesions of thought will help intimate their activities. As a matter of comparability, dance animates each chapter and every chapter takes its cues from a

particular modality of dance. In "Doin' the Robot," I dissect the Pilipino Culture Night and dance theatre production, *Home* (2000), a student-produced annual performance, as an entry point into the relationship between Affirmative Action (race-based admissions policies) and dance-based articulations of racial agency. Typically, these culture nights work to affirm a connection to a country of familial origin through the performance of traditional and folk forms, however, for *Home*, the dancers and choreographers used several styles of Hip-hop to construct a new narrative about identity and a new connection to the Philippines. While existing scholarship focuses on the "born again" mode of traditional folk dance within the PCN genre, my analysis centralizes streetdance styles (Popping and Robotic dancing), Filipino dancing bodies, and remittance cardboard boxes used as props; the configuration, or inter-subjectivity, of these elements rework ideologies of multiculturalism and colorblindness in an innovative response to collective Filipino diasporic cultural aphasia.

The multiculturalism that conventional Pilipino Culture Nights often reproduce in order to render Pilipino dancing bodies legible gets jumbled in Hawai'i, an archipelago with its own "rainbow" multiculturalism. In "Punctuated Spaces," I posit that an understanding of what Hip-hop dance means to its participants leads us to think deeply about what Hip-hop might mean to shared social justice movements of Native Hawaiians and Local Filipinos. In order to complement the contemporary framework of Pacific Islander Hip-hop, I situate Hip-hop in the lives of Honolulu-based Filipinos amongst portraits of the Local Filipino and the concept of "Aloha Mabuhay." I analyze material culture from the Filipino Centennial Celebration commemorating 2006 as the one-hundredth year since the landing of the first sakadas, the group of Filipino labor immigrants to Hawai'i that paved the way for successive groups totaling over a hundred thousand via the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) from 1909 to 1946.<sup>101</sup> Pacific Islander Hip-hop and Local Filipino discourses help crystallize my ideas around at-risk Filipino youth across habitats in

Honolulu where they are introduced to Hip-hop's dances and train in its movement vocabulary. Inspired by the landscape, the chapter "island hops" across habitats—from an afterschool program to a dance studio to the Monarchy, an inter-island breakdance competition. More than the sum of its parts, the lessons of gendered racialization, spatial navigation, and playful innovation that surface provoke fresh new looks at Hip-hop dance practices and their implications for Local Filipino, Asian Settler, and Native Hawaiian communities.

Just as bgirls in Hawai'i have found ways to destabilize the hegemonic hip sways of the "hula girl," Pinays in Manila have constructed within Hip-hop an alternative choreographic script from the nationalist archetype of proper femininity. Polynesian dance was in fact a popular dance trend in Manila in the 1970s and even appeared in the curriculum at the University of the Philippines as "Hawaiian Dance Class."<sup>102</sup> If post/colonialism's absence and presence is a dynamic that, to the general reader, is least palpable in Berkeley and more felt in Honolulu, it is perhaps most expected as a lens of exploration in Manila. The common denominator between "Doin' the Robot" and "Punctuated Spaces" has been the ways that dancers organize, play with, or defer to the aesthetics of Hip-hop; the choices they make around Hip-hop can orient them in relation to educational policies (Prop 209) that seek to exclude and commemorative narratives that seek to promote community.<sup>103</sup> "Maria Clara and Hip-hop" continues this exploration about the ways that Hip-hop dance is more than merely reflective or oppositional to Filipino subject formation. By drawing an argument from both ethnography and choreographic analysis, I underline the labor of Pinay dancing bodies by situating them in the context of Philippine dance history, martial law, and regulations of competition dance. Overall, this chapter considers the configurations of gendered dimensions of dance during the rise of neoliberal structural adjustment—a time period shared by Hip-hop's global development—and does so in terms of the dance community in Manila, Philippines. The conclusion

of this study returns to the earlier example of Hip-hop dancing in "America in 3D" to synthesize the examples within the body of the study.

## Endtroduction

"Actually," replied the small man who had been alluded to, "nowhere in the world can be found another more indolent than the *indio*, nowhere in the world."

"Nor one as vicious and as ungrateful!"

"Nor one so uncouth!"

The blond man began to look uneasily at everybody.

"Gentlemen," he said in a low voice, "I believe we are in the home of an *indio* ... those young ladies..."

"Bah! Don't be so apprehensive! Santiago does not consider himself a native, and besides he is not present and even if he were...those are the foolish statements of newcomers. Let a few months pass and you will change opinion after you have frequented many fiestas and their *bailujan*, slept in many beds and eaten plenty of *tinola*."<sup>104</sup>

According to Padre Damaso, a putative villain in Jose Rizal's national novel *Noli Me Tangere* (1887) the *bailujan*, or dance gatherings, were a way of knowing; a way of naturalizing the differences between fresh-off-the-boat Spanish peninsulares and "indio" Others.<sup>105</sup> Unlike Padre Damaso's concept of dance, this study seeks to engage a discussion that puts less emphasis on what dance says about native "authenticity," but similarly speaks to this notion of dance as a crucial part in the formation of an episteme. By turning to the theories and practices of Filipinos in Berkeley, Honolulu, and Manila we can see this dance as a critical component of adopting, transforming, and creating global Hip-hop. As we will see in "Doin' the Robot" and its discussion of Pilipino Culture Nights, Filipinos are configuring dance and Hip-hop practices as a necessary part of world-making.<sup>106</sup>

## 2 | DOIN' THE ROBOT:

### Choreographing multiculturalism and colorblindness in Pilipino Culture Night

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*Bass booms. Arms bend. Eyes gaze outward. A group of robotic dancers dressed in shiny black aprons push large cardboard shipping boxes onstage in their theatrical rendition of a factory production line.<sup>107</sup> As a group, these steel-faced robot-dancers move about seemingly detached from their actions. Each of them holds a uniform, almost generic expression devoid of emotion. This detail highlights the miming nature of their dance and packing process. Each of their balikbayan boxes, as they are popularly named in Pilipino diasporic culture, contains an automaton-dancer — a robotic interpretation of Philippine folk dance.<sup>108</sup> Whereas the uniform robots resist emoting, the automata-dancers perform signature affective personalities differentiated by costume and movement vocabulary that derive from familiar Philippine “traditions.” One of these automaton-dancers dons the mannerism and garments of the bamboo-dodging folkdance, the Tinikling. This dancer wears a plain white t-shirt and festive, colorful floodwater pants. The handkerchief tied around his neck frames his mandatory smile. Both the robot-dancers and automaton-dancers execute a bodily movement intent on distinguishing “natural” human movement from robotic movement. As the two groups — robots and automata — dance, we hear the Nine Inch Nails track “Closer” echo across the 2,000 seats of Zellerbach Auditorium at the University of California Berkeley. “Assembly Line,” the dance performance I have just described, is an integral part of a larger theater production, Home, the Pilipino American Alliance’s 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Pilipino Culture Night (PCN).*

In the 1970s and 1980s, out of West Coast U.S. universities, Pilipino Culture Nights grew as a performance genre that sought to bring the Pilipino community together in celebration of cultural heritage and ethnic identity. Produced and performed by mostly middle and working class Pilipino Americans, PCNs represent the culmination of a year process distilled into a two- or three-hour theatrical production, which incorporates dance, music, costume and song from a standardized repertoire. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, narratives and skit elements were added to express Pilipino American experiences and/or facilitate transitions between the established dance suite format. Also in the 1990s, increasingly sophisticated PCNs came under attack by academics and

community veterans for a wide variety of reasons not limited to content, format, and productivity.<sup>109</sup> The critiques mainly addressed PCN issues on essentialism, authenticity, orientalism, and the negative effects of time and energy toward participants' academic success. During the 1990s, shaped by the removal of race-based public university admission policies, Pilipinos took these critiques to the stage and began radically playing with PCN form and content.

Typical of these new culture nights, UC Berkeley's Pilipino community presented *Home*, in April 2000, a production which departed from standard conventions by removing "traditional" PCN dances, music, and linear narrative script. This show, *Home*, queried the centrality of the conventional Philippine folk dance forms. Instead of reconstructing the customary repertoire, *Home* created new works built around Pilipino American history, while maintaining familiar markers of PCN and Philippine culture (bamboo sticks, costumes, immigration narratives). *Home* also lacked the conventional opening national anthems. In addition to a series of varied, original pieces (spoken word, vignettes, dialogues, monologues, and skits) engaging with Pilipino American themes, *Home* utilized innovative choreography, the Africanist aesthetic of call and response, and digital technology in constructing narratives of Pilipino American experiences. *Home* participants turned to anti-essentialist critique, revision, and choreographic strategies of abstraction. The show's producers decided to go against the wishes of community members and defer reconstructing standardized folkloric dances.<sup>110</sup> Rather, *Home* approached PCN as a space to revise history and it did this in part by incorporating movements from U.S. popular dance.

I analyze a central dance of *Home*, entitled "Assembly Line," as described in the earlier vignette, to exemplify its choreographic strategy to metaphorically expose the nuts and bolts of mechanically re-producing Cultural Nights.<sup>111</sup> A close reading of "Assembly Line" enables different insights into the nexus of race, Hip-hop dance, and Pilipino identity. First, I posit that critical race studies provides Hip-hop dance with a theoretical framework that denaturalizes race and figures it

amidst conflict, body, history, institutional formations, and intra-racial dynamics. To demonstrate these interventions, I consider the contrasting ways that Pilipinos have experienced Affirmative Action. From a Pilipino perspective, Affirmative Action provides entryway into reckoning with the structural dimensions of racial formation for Pilipinos—differences between Pilipino and African Americans, Pilipinos and Asian Americans, and Pilipinos and other Pilipinos.

Racial essentialism and authenticity form the core of any defense or critique of PCN. Those who defend the genre argue that it provides young Filipinos with a space for defining themselves within an educational system in which they remain largely invisible, while those who critique it counter that the form is stiff, mechanistic, and a flimsy substitute for "real" political action. In response to the longstanding culture-in-a-box formula, itself a counter-narrative to U.S. racial experience, PCN has experienced several changes. These changes included the addition of African American forms of popular dance in a section entitled "modern." The ways in which "modern" dancing bodies were valued chronicle shifting racial strategies from racial agency to multiculturalism to colorblindness.

To unpack this exceptionality as it emerges in the bodily rhetoric of performance, I discuss "Assembly Line" as an embodiment of earlier PCN criticisms put forth by Pilipino scholars and veterans.<sup>112</sup> I highlight the dance in terms of its three components—automata, robots, and balikbayan boxes. Automata situate the restricted artistic freedoms afforded by folkdance within a larger system of multiculturalism. While automata present the advantages of this multiculturalist mode of dance—an alternative to assimilation and treatment of Philippine culture as heterogeneous—their robotic dancing also presents the obscured consequences of multiculturalism. Victor Bascara teaches us of the resonances between multiculturalism and globalization as they relate to (the failures of) U.S. imperialism and manifest as tools for managing American difference.<sup>113</sup> In *Home*, this diversity is signaled by automaton movement vocabularies and upset by the homogeneity

delivered in their movement dynamics and musical accompaniment, thus suggesting an ironic subversion of multiculturalism and the "given" nature of Pilipino culture.

Like the automata, the robots similarly contest the "given" nature of Pilipino culture albeit in very different ways. Divergent theories of the Robot as melancholic symbol and African American popular dance offer generative contexts within which to unpack the meaning of the dancing robots in "Assembly Line." The identical robot dancers assign a negative value to racial difference and symbolize colorblindness as racial ideology. The balikbayan boxes distinguish between dancers/performance space and active robots and passive automata. Critical for replicating the Pilipino diasporic practice of in-kind remittance, these cardboard packing boxes also duplicate the cultural logic of globalization, PCN, and Filipinizing of African American dance; they thereby call into question the cost-benefits of culture nights and Pilipino diasporic cultural practices.

A discussion of "Assembly Line" contributes to the field of Asian American studies by examining structural inequalities affecting Asians in the U.S. through non-written materials by highlighting how these dancers criticized the de-personalizing and estranging conditions shaped by anti- and post-Affirmative Action racial politics and the lack of Pilipino and Pilipino American educational resources. "Assembly Line" presents choreography of the (mal)functions of multiple racial ideologies for Pilipinos that also asserts the need for more dance studies that seriously grapple with institutionalized racial formations of colorblindness and multiculturalism. In essence, this chapter demonstrates the ways dancers employed Hip-hop aesthetics of certitude to demonstrate Hip-hop as a major vehicle for Pilipino engagement with histories of American imperialism and contemporary globalization regardless of where they call "home." In this way, Hip-hop culture enables a process of "remaking" that articulates their relationship between post/colonialism and performance. In order to put forth an exegesis of "Assembly Line," underpinned by understanding choreographic elements of this performance, one must first begin with an understanding of race



relations within Hip-hop dance and the articulation of Pilipino racial experiences.

### **Hip-hop Dance, Race, and Authenticity**

In the scholarly study of Hip-hop, cultural practices are divided between scholarship that focuses on musical elements and those that emphasize dance, performance, and theatrical forms.<sup>114</sup> This division continues to shape conversations of race in ways that mutually inform Hip-hop inside and outside of educational settings. While studies that deal with Hip-hop's performance aspects centralize a continuum of Africanist aesthetic and West African tradition, music-based studies of Hip-hop develop a discourse around race dominated by issues of originality and authenticity.<sup>115</sup> The authenticity paradigm, in particular, links practitioners, particularly those involved with arts requiring higher levels of physical presence (dance, emceeing, spoken word) with essentialist notions of blackness, poverty, and illicit behavior.<sup>116</sup> Common knowledge in both scholarly and street circles of Hip-hop, a particular notion of authenticity influences how non-Black Hip-hop practitioners are legitimated and marketed. Hip-hop scholar/deejay, Oliver Wang, agrees with this view, maintaining that through the Hip-hop authenticity paradigm, mainstream media and scholars unintentionally marginalize and erase the presence, contributions, and interventions of non-Black practitioners in terms of their particularly racialized bodies.<sup>117</sup> Sociologist Michael P. Jeffries adds, "The narrative [of black purity] thrives in the commercial sphere in large part because representations of spectacular, oppositional ghetto blackness are captivating and salable to consumers in a range of social milieus."<sup>118</sup> In line with these studies, there exists a growing body of scholarship that seeks to understand what Hip-hop means for Native American, Latina/o, Pacific Islander, Asian, white, and Arab-American participants.<sup>119</sup> For Hip-hop scholarship regarding Asians, cultural politics has ranged between Afro-Asian, Desi, and globalization paradigms.<sup>120</sup> Pilipinos in Hip-hop operate at an intersection of race relations that similarly challenges "pure Hip-hop" as a euphemism for the notion

of black purity Jeffries' identifies.<sup>121</sup> Yet, at the same time, Hip-hop's Pilipino participants do not quite align with the existing alternatives to the "black purity" paradigm.<sup>122</sup>

Embedded amongst this discourse of race and Hip-hop, lies the discussion of Asians, Asian Americans and specific groups like Pilipino Americans that are often categorized within that group for political, economic, and practical necessity. Taking into account that the problem of authenticity in Hip-hop stems from the 'naturalization' of race, I advance the claim that critical race studies provides Hip-hop dance with a theoretical framework that denaturalizes race and figures it amidst conflict, body, history, and institutions. Considering how different people and groups of people experience racism and how intra-racial difference exists ultimately illuminates and expands the ways we think about race and Hip-hop dance in tandem. I use a discussion of the complexity of Pilipino racial formation in larger contexts in order to grapple with the categories of Asian and Pilipino, the main social self-identification systems of the dancers in "Assembly Line," to argue for a nuanced understanding of racial formation in Hip-hop contexts.<sup>123</sup>

The theoretical framework of "racial formation," first introduced by Michael Omi and Howard Winant, presents a concept of race that is fluid and contingent, contested and constructed.<sup>124</sup> In an effort to move away from the reigning biological, behavioral, and cultural explanations for racial structural inequalities in the post-Civil Rights era, racial formation forms a major strand of thinking in U.S. studies of race.<sup>125</sup> This framework defines "race" as,

... A concept, which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies. Although the concept of race invokes biologically based human characteristics (so-called "phenotypes"), selection of these particular human features for purposes of racial signification is always and necessarily a social and historical process.<sup>126</sup>

This theory contributes to our discussion by rejecting two competing notions of race. On the one hand, "racial formation" holds that race should not be seen in essentialist terms, as objective, fixed biological data. On the other hand, this theory challenges race as merely a historical, abstract

problem for which the solution lies in declaring one's self as "beyond" or "blind" to race. I am drawn to this definition of race because, while most writing on Hip-hop invokes race as a significant factor, theorists often neglect an explicit development of race as a contingent, contested theoretical tool.<sup>127</sup>

Racial formation, as a means of challenging the *a priori* concept of race, is shaped by the specific contexts and conditions with which it co-exists. One of the advantages of framing Hip-hop dance within racial formation lies in its extension of attention beyond everyday race to institutional racial identities. Critical race scholars have made strides in exploring different racial formations by looking at ways legislation has inhibited immigration, citizenship, employment, language, and educational attainment based on race.<sup>128</sup> Their attention to these dimensions of race provides a glimpse into how discrimination operates unevenly in relation to racial differences. Angelo N. Ancheta, for instance, demonstrates the ways that anti-Pilipino racism has differed from anti-Black racism. While Blacks and Pilipinos are often figured similarly as racial others subordinate to whites in order to maintain a status quo, Pilipinos can also undergo a "foreigner within" racialization despite actual citizenship, birth origin, or immigrant status. For example, Pilipinos have experienced workplace discrimination due to spoken accent, despite English fluency, and have been restricted from speaking Pilipino language in the workplace, despite the allowance of other European foreign languages.<sup>129</sup> The ways Pilipinos and Pilipino Americans have experienced racism differently from Blacks reaffirms the utility of disambiguating the conversation about race and Hip-hop for the cast of "Assembly Line."

In addition to an understanding of how people belonging to different racial groups have been treated differently at institutional levels, there are ways that categorization of different ethnic subgroups within a single racial category can similarly lead to unproductive claims and inaccurate representations that affect public perception and discrimination. Groups of Pilipinos in the U.S. can

be stratified by gender identity, sexuality, labor migration, language fluency, economic income level, educational attainment, citizenship, birth origin, and regional identity. Relying solely on institutional definitions of race as a vector of social analysis can belie heterogeneity within racial groups. In the 1990s, for instance, Pilipinos were regarded as having high levels of educational achievement.<sup>130</sup> Education researchers have contended that this image obscured the economic division between first generation, post-1965 immigrants, those entering through the Immigration and Nationality Act (its prioritization criteria and family reunification), and second and third generation Pilipino Americans, mostly less educated, working class immigrants that were recruited through U.S. agricultural labor needs.<sup>131</sup> Ricardo Trimillos offers a scheme of classification of performing artists that is useful for understanding the diversity within the term "Pilipino American." Each type is based on their specific birth origin, politics of belonging/exclusion, immigration contexts, and cultural labor's materialism. Trimillos' generative taxonomy provides examples that refute a singular shared Pilipino racial experience and, when considered in terms of Hip-hop culture, encourages a closer look at shared racial minority experiences in Hip-hop culture. Given this Hip-hop authenticity paradigm of essentialized blackness, there are several advantages for understanding how racial formation works within Hip-hop.<sup>132</sup>

### **The Affirmative body and its disembodiment**

In order to understand racial formation for "Assembly Line," a dance performed by Pilipino undergraduates of the University of California, one must understand the racial context within which these dancers stepped onstage.<sup>133</sup> The story their bodies tell begins with the passage of constitutional amendments ending California's Affirmative Action policies in public sector employment, education, and contracting. In the U.S., Affirmative Action is a set of federal and state government policies that considers race, color, religion, national origin, gender, and sexual orientation. As a nation-wide

program, Affirmative Action began in 1961 with President John F. Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 that ensures minority inclusion and redresses historical and existing injustices. Affirmative Action programs are examples of what Michael Omi and Howard Winant call the active institutional realities of race.<sup>134</sup> A consideration of the contrasting ways that Pilipinos have experienced Affirmative Action disparately from other Asian American groups provides entryway into examining what I term "the Affirmative body," a robust and full-bodied subject and subjecthood that remains in-step with statist racial codes. In the 1990s, Affirmative Action experienced some decline and the disembodiment of the Affirmative body, its anti-thesis, represents the subject detached from its tangible, concrete form.<sup>135</sup>

For the lives of people in the U.S. in the post-Civil Rights Era, the disembodiment of Affirmative Action existed in at least two types. First, for survivors of hate crimes seeking antiracist justice a common obstacle existed in relation to the problem of attribution—the inability to attribute or pin the injurious effects of perpetuated racism onto a physical body, with intent to commit discrimination.<sup>136</sup> Anti-discrimination law often depends on intention in order to assign culpability. This factor demarcates legal parameters that provide impunity to bodies that commit unjust behavior.<sup>137</sup> Second, the disembodiment of Affirmative Action was constituted by the interplay of codes of institutional racial legibility that excluded certain bodies with further displacement and dispossession of entitlements, reparations, or adequate services. For Pilipino racialization, this disembodiment is fused with multiple notions of liminality.<sup>138</sup> The Pilipinos' historical positioning as foreigners, subjects of the American colonial racist project, and immigration status as "nationals" in relationship to racialized labor practices constitutes its figure as liminal (between two ambiguous states), a status mirrored in the anti-thesis of the Affirmative body.<sup>139</sup> To help outline some of the concrete events that inform such conditions of uncertainty for the second-generation Pilipino students at the University of California we can look at various sides of the Affirmative Action

debate.

In the 1990s, the UC Regents, the governing board of the University to which California Governor Pete Wilson serves as official president, and University of California Regent, Wardell "Ward" Connerly led a movement to pass Proposition 209, which eliminated all Affirmative Action programs "based on race and gender preference in admissions, hiring, and contracting in the UC system beginning in the Fall of 1997."<sup>140</sup> Proposition 209's passage was part of a larger attack on Affirmative Action that created a dynamic that sent contradictory messages about race to people of all backgrounds. While several legal cases—*Bakke v. Regents of University of California*, *Gratz v. Bollinger*, *Grutter v. Bollinger*—upheld the rights of academic institutions to consider race and ethnicity in policies with the reasoning that diversity benefited people from all races and ethnicities, Affirmative Action policies have receded.<sup>141</sup> Proposition 209, for instance, emphasized "merit" in a way that offered colorblindness as the alternative to race-conscious Affirmative Action. While purported to serve institutions that valued diversity, the new policies actually disavowed difference and removed programs that worked to redress racial and gender injustices and proved historically beneficial to underrepresented minorities, including Pilipinos, at academic institutions. While the post-Civil Rights era augured the Affirmative subject and its disembodiments, the following (re)emergence of "meritocracy" would generate the ambivalent body—generated by mixed attitudes of institutions toward different racial groups. In justifying the racial "order" (i.e. status quo of white supremacy) through an obscured, abstracted, and ahistoricized term like "merit," the ambivalent body converged with the liminal racial formation of Pilipinos.<sup>142</sup>

Promoted by conservative politicians and lobbyists, Proposition 209 was part of a series of anti-diversity referenda that had terrible consequences for California's racial minorities. According to the decade retrospective study by Equal Rights Advocates (ERA), a nonprofit legal organization committed to economic and educational rights of women and girls:

The passage of Prop 209 had an initial chilling effect on applications from African Americans, Latinos and American Indians (“underrepresented minorities” or URM students) to CA public universities across all selectivity levels . . . The absence of a “critical mass” of URM students at both undergraduate and graduate UC schools has increased feelings of isolation among URM students and subjected them to greater stereotyping by the institution and the majority group. These outcomes also impact student performance, and frequently result in hostile learning environments for students of color.<sup>143</sup>

ERA contends that race-based policies and initiatives, including the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 (1994) and anti-bilingual education Proposition 227 (1998), proved to be effective tools for mobilizing the state's white voters against a majority non-white demographic. These setbacks are given another perspective by studies performed by the universities themselves. In a study by the Faculty Fellows Program of the California State University, Proposition 209 deterred potential underrepresented minority applicants and enrollees by engendering perceptions that they would be unwelcome or encounter hostility at California's public universities.<sup>144</sup>

Given this background and political climate for underrepresented minorities in general, one may wonder about the ramifications for specific groups like Asian Americans. While Affirmative Action admission policies ended for most minorities in 1996, Asian Americans were actually removed from Affirmative Action and educational opportunity programs in 1986. It was at that time when the UC Regents passed a referendum in part resulting from the perception that, unlike African-Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, Asian Americans were "overrepresented" in universities.<sup>145</sup> This action can also be traced to another dynamic of Pilipino racial formation, the Asian American model minority myth, or the naturalized academic success of people of Asian descent. On the one hand, anti-Affirmative Action groups relied on the Asian American model minority myth to 'explain' Asian American educational achievement. In this strange twist, while the language of the referendum invoked "merit," as a valued trait, proponents used essentialist notions of race to help remove Affirmative Action. Simply put, Affirmative Action proponents used racism to promote merit. At the same time, the public displayed modern day "yellow peril" fears that the

passage of Prop 209 would ultimately benefit Asian Americans most.<sup>146</sup> This yellow peril inferred public assumptions around which African American and Latino groups were entitled to benefit from Prop 209 and Asian American groups were undeserving regardless of merit.<sup>147</sup>

The Affirmative Action discourse around Asian Americans illustrates the discriminatory effects of treating sub-groups within racial categories similarly. According to Filipina scholar Priagula Citadelle, while Asian Americans as a group increased in representation (UC Berkeley 33% in 1991), Pilipino American admission and enrollment rates for UC Berkeley declined.<sup>148</sup> According to Buenavista's critical race study of Pilipino higher education, Pilipinos experienced an 81.6 percent positive change in admission to an unidentified West Coast elite public university over the ten-year period of 1996 to 2005, which at first glance portrays Pilipinos with educational access.<sup>149</sup> But, in light of raw numbers, Buenavista reveals that Pilipinos remained at about three percent of their admitted class. The small initial Pilipino admit population makes any change seem significant and obscures the reality of underrepresentation of Pilipinos in her study. Unlike East Asian American groups, Pilipinos display lower statistical admission, occupation, and educational attainment rates.<sup>150</sup> Legal scholars suspect institutional representatives use stereotypes against Asian Americans during admissions to preserve a majority white population.<sup>151</sup> Although scholars predicted removal of Affirmative Action would result in an increase of Asian American students, such a rise has not been the case for Pilipino Americans.<sup>152</sup> Given the relatively similar California populations of Chinese and Pilipinos, their contrasting student enrollment is indicative of the drastic differences in access to selective institutions between U.S. API communities.<sup>153</sup> Also unlike Asian American groups such as Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans, Pilipino experience was characterized by even less peer, faculty, and staff role models, and less courses, curriculum, and research on Pilipino Americans, all factors that can add to feelings of alienation and increased attrition rates.<sup>154</sup>

Despite these differences, Pilipinos have been institutionally circumscribed within Asian



America and as a result, subjected to interracial relations based upon Asian American formations of race.<sup>155</sup> The dichotomization of Asian American versus Black and Latino impacts of Affirmative Action is a dynamic by which discourse has been framed.<sup>156</sup> Proposition 209 proponents used higher educational success rates of Asian Americans as proof of meritocracy and that Affirmative Action was no longer necessary for all.<sup>157</sup> These proponents contended that the success of Asians was proof that other minorities did not need the program. Some proponents even argued the admission chances for Asian American minorities are negatively impacted by Affirmative Action and thus support its removal. Others have countered how these views neglect to see how Affirmative Action has historically benefited specific Asian American groups like Pilipinos, thus elucidating the problematic framing of the racial problem as a competition between racial minorities — the "overachieving" model minorities and the "lazy" or "unqualified" other racial minorities.

For Vijay Prashad, the Asian American model minority finds its structural roots in state policies like the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act (1965) that preferences professionals, scientists, and "artists of exceptional ability."<sup>158</sup> Prashad argues that Asians and Asian Americans with higher economic and educational status are often deployed as weapons of anti-Black racism. Neoconservatives promote an image that Asians are naturally successful or proof of strict meritocracy and the so-called American dream. Such strategies were used in order to blame the so-called dysfunctional Black family for its own deplorable conditions and to refute a substantive redistribution of power.<sup>159</sup> In theory, one might apply this logic to Pilipinos as part of the Asian American category that was removed from Affirmative Action in 1986. However, in actuality, Pilipinos seem like poor tools for anti-Black racism because Pilipinos have similar educational experiences and underrepresentation in higher education with Blacks and Latina/os.<sup>160</sup> Beyond upsetting the Asian American model minority myth, disrupting the 'natural' success of Asians, and thereby disrupting the logic by which neoconservatives argue the 'natural' dysfunction of Black

families, these realities reveal the institutional, relational, and political construction of race.

Affirmative Action debates often relied on a discourse built around the false parallelism between an existing racial order and an abstracted, ahistoricized 'meritocracy.' What was prescribed in the post-209 wake of the eroding Affirmative Action services? Wilson was clear in his attempt to prohibit race consciousness with what many saw as an unjust colorblind regime.<sup>161</sup> Priagula writes on Affirmative Action and the colorblind regime as one of three "touchstones" in her survey of Pilipino exploitation as reflected by the U.S. legal system.<sup>162</sup> Priagula locates the colorblind regime in legislative histories of educational segregation,

I describe the notion originating in Harlan's dissent in Plessy, that "our constitution is colorblind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law." Today, the colorblind regime has amounted to the uncritical application of strict scrutiny analysis anytime race has been invoked in our constitutional jurisprudence, regardless of which groups are bearing the burdens or reaping the benefits of the practice at issue.<sup>163</sup>

Priagula's comment reflects U.S. society's growing inability to critically analyze how race continues to regulate and empower social groups and rather than deal with existing racial realities, only results in a false sense of security. For instance, in 2009 social psychologist Dierdre M. Bowen conducted a study that found that there are more reported incidents of overt racism and internal/external stigma in states that ban race-based admissions, like California, as opposed to other states.<sup>164</sup>

These brief glances into the Affirmative Action debates reveal regional particularities for Pilipinos, differences between Pilipinos and Blacks, Pilipinos and Asians and give texture and weight to the post-Proposition 209 atmosphere, that brought this specific group of "Assembly Line" dancers together and which they then recreated on the stage. To return to the intersection of race and Hip Hop, these examples from Affirmative Action discourse further illustrate the complications with dismissing non-Black Hip-hop participants or simply applying Hip-hop theories based on African-American history. Rather, these intersections call for a more nuanced attention to multiple

dimensions of race—one that considers Asian-Black relations, anti-Pilipino discrimination as uniquely different from anti-Black discrimination, Pilipino as distinct from Asian American, and Pilipinos in coalitions with other underrepresented and disenfranchised groups.<sup>165</sup>

Racial formation from a Pilipino viewpoint exemplifies the limited ability of educational and government institutions to deal with social inequality and the multiple, intra-group, and inter-group dynamics of race. The ambiguous body of Pilipino racialization forms a counterpoint to the Affirmative body of US racial politics, law, and education. Nonetheless, this discussion of racial difference provides a snapshot into how racial discourse creates conditions that shaped the experiences of dancers in "Assembly Line." In this context, their actions should be understood as a strategy for building a fluency in the grammar of racial structures that continually attempted to regulate their freedom to express the widest ranges of humanity. Moreover, these policies slowly changed the physical rhetoric from one that entitled racial minorities to state provisions as a means of addressing historically rooted exclusion, on the one hand, to a rhetoric of "underrepresentation" and "merit" in which, the students, instead of the state, were burdened to prove their value. As part of the latter, people were to disregard their physical phenotype but regard their physical capabilities, in order to be "included."

### **Automata Suite: PCN "Formula," Debates, Modern Attachments**

The first section of this chapter introduced racial formation as an alternative to the problematic racial essentialism and race-neutrality existing in Hip-hop and focused on Affirmative Action to understand the everyday and institutional importance of nuanced race consciousness for Pilipinos. The problem of racial essentialism and authenticity as they pertain to Pilipinos in PCNs helps us interpret the Automata of *Home* as a particular type of robot dancing derived from Philippine folk dance. The Automata also use folk dance to speak to self-exotification, the limits of

modernity, and mechanical imitation of 'human' (folk) forms of life. Before we can explore how the Automata choreography articulates these concepts and comments on the larger politics of multiculturalism that typically govern PCNs, we can benefit from a general history of PCN, its critical reception, and adaptations.

PCN stands as one of the dominant modes of formal cultural production by Pilipinos in the U.S.<sup>166</sup> At the same time, PCN might be seen as one of many Culture Night traditions for ethnically identified groups of Asian American students.<sup>167</sup> In 2011, I observed Chinese, Hong Kong, Indian, Indonesian, Japanese American, Korean, Khmer (Cambodian), Taiwanese, and Vietnamese groups produced their own individual Culture Nights at UCLA. For PCNs, it is common knowledge that San Francisco State University produced the first in 1970 and there are PCNs (or variants like Pilipino Cultural Celebration and Barrio Fiesta) at all nine campuses of the University of California. These student-initiated cultural programs began at different points in California's public education history with inaugural PCNs at Berkeley, Irvine, and Los Angeles in the late 1970s, then a decade later at Davis, Riverside, San Diego, Santa Barbara, and Santa Cruz in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and most recently at Merced in 2007.<sup>168</sup> PCNs belong to a broader culture and network of Pilipino American-based collegiate organization events in which Pilipinos re-connect with high school classmates to collaborate and sometimes compete. This California Filipino network at times includes Filipino groups from other West Coast states and includes events such as California State University at Fullerton's Friendship Games, Cal Poly Pomona's Sports Fest, and fraternity-hosted dance competitions.<sup>169</sup>

Any analysis of a PCN, should consider the particular contexts of that group and location. University of California at Berkeley PCN takes place geographically in the city of Berkeley, across the Golden Gate Bridge on the eastern side of the larger San Francisco Bay Area.<sup>170</sup> From a demographic standpoint, the 2000 Census reveals Berkeley's population (102,743) to be largely white

(59.2%), Asian (16.4%), and Black or African American (13.6%) with only 1,182 (1.2%) people identifying as Filipino alone.<sup>171</sup> Filipinos form the fourth largest Asian population (16.4%) in Berkeley behind the Chinese (7.4%), Japanese (2.3%), Korean (1.9%), Asian Indian (1.7%) groups.<sup>172</sup> The percentage of Filipinos in Berkeley is disproportionate to their actual state population. Out of California's total population of 33,871,648 people, Filipinos made up 918,678 (2.7%) making them the second largest group within the state's Asian population (10.9%), behind the Chinese (2.9%) group.<sup>173</sup> These numbers have remained relatively the same up to 2010.<sup>174</sup> According to the U.S. News & World Report, University of California at Berkeley is the highest ranked national public university and culturally. It is known as a flagship site of liberal student activism particularly for the Free Speech Movement in 1964-1965.<sup>175</sup>

In the context of racial minority status and Asian diversity, for audience members, PCN can perform the work of building community between Filipinos, defining "Filipino" against a white majority, and distinguishing Filipinos from other Asians. With such a high level of significance, it should come as no surprise that scholars have undergone extensive and peripheral analyses of the "PCN genre," establishing foundational understandings for the types of ideological and practical work such productions can accomplish.<sup>176</sup> Pilipino American scholar, Theodore Gonzalves, recounts the main criticism shared by veterans in the community over what he describes as the "culture-in-a-box" PCN formula:

...indispensable characteristics in the essentialist logic of the PCN. These are (a) the opening of the show with both the Philippine and the U.S. American national anthems, (b) the use of Tagalog in the programs, (c) the marking of bodies through Philippine costumes, (d) the standard (required) inventory of Philippine dance styles, and (e) the narrative within the show as a vehicle for historicizing the Pilipino American experience.<sup>177</sup>

The formula provides a useful and familiar format within which people in the U.S. could learn, celebrate, and produce something by Pilipinos and for Pilipinos. It served as a template for a yearly event and space where folks from different disciplines could converge and collaborate. This space

was one in which Pilipinos could expect to re-enact Philippine "traditions" of dance and act out contemporary Pilipino American narratives. These expectations make more sense when considering how specific Philippine dance 'styles' became standardized as part of a "universal" PCN canon of dances arranged into four distinct suites. The PCN canon refers to the suite-based format in which conventional PCN content is divided in the show's program in terms of ethnic, linguistic, regional cultural groupings. In the 1996 PCN at Berkeley, for example, the show's program included "muslim suite," "spanish suite," "regional suite," and "barrio suite."<sup>178</sup> These PCN suites sought to draw their authority as authentic through their source material, the repertoire of the Bayanihan Philippine Dance Company (aka Bayanihan).<sup>179</sup> In 1958, Bayanihan won first place at the Brussel's World's Fair against thirteen other national dance groups and began touring the globe promoting and popularizing Philippine dance customs.<sup>180</sup> Indeed, these dance customs were the product of the pioneering work of Francisco Reyes Tolentino, researchers, educators, and cultural nationalists in the 1930s, working with the research tools available to them, who documented sacred rituals, games, and ceremonies from rural provinces for preservation and education (see "Maria Clara and Hip-hop").<sup>181</sup> During the American colonial period, a time when a cohesive, collective national identity was necessary for evidencing self-governability, the Philippine folk dances were employed in public schools to effectively manage state power through the arts. In today's U.S. universities, some of these same folk dances are used to produce counter-narratives to hegemonic curriculum that often omits, deletes, or suppresses Pilipino-specific knowledge.

In the 1980s and 1990s, dancing in PCNs had become faster-paced, heavily produced, and more concerned with virtuosity and movement skills.<sup>182</sup> Gonzalvez and others have asked in various ways, "What are the values and functions of PCNs?" and "In what ways might have Pilipino culture outgrown the culture-in-a-box formula, and its suite-format of presenting dance?" Across several disciplines, scholars began exposing the widening gap between the popular and critical success of

PCN. At San Francisco State University, Gonzalves questioned how PCNs mechanically portrayed a Philippine culture compressed within an annual spectacle rather than emphasized the everyday, shifting realities of culture.<sup>183</sup> At the University of California, Los Angeles, Anna Alves wrote on the importance of situating PCNs within local politics of their student organization.<sup>184</sup> Resounding Gonzalves' alarm, Michelle Bautista raised concerns around modernity while noting the speed of the Tinikling going overdrive.<sup>185</sup> Veteran Pilipino scholar, E. San Juan Jr. added to the discussion chastising PCN's inability to directly and adequately engage with the Philippines as a contemporary, living political subject re-constructing itself amidst the legacies of imperialism.<sup>186</sup> Furthermore, both Gonzalves and San Juan identified a secondary, more practical critique on the negative effects that PCN production can have on the academic success of its participants. Southeast Asian Studies scholar Barbara Gaerlan drew from Edward Said's theoretical framework to recognize the contradiction between a progressive Pilipino American student body and the Orientalist nature of the Bayanihan-based Muslim suite.<sup>187</sup> The historical struggle by educators and elites in Manila cultural nationalists was to represent the Philippines as a Commonwealth that was both historically rich in diverse cultural practices and modern in aesthetics. In one sense, these cultural politics usually remain absent from multiculturalist PCNs that rarely deal with dances as products of historical and social formation. In another sense, these cultural politics also created a system that placed a higher burden on cultural performance to be more "authentic."

PCNs accomplish a particular type of cultural work for both performers and audiences. PCNs are yearlong processes of community building at UC Berkeley. The coordinator of the production is usually elected to the leadership position in the spring of the previous academic year and this person or pair of people has usually played an important role in that year's program (i.e. Assistant Producer, Script Director, Head Choreographer). The leadership role is demanding, stressful, and overwhelming; and I speak from experience. In 2001, I had to give a public

presentation on my vision for PCN 2002 in front of the community and other candidates. After a question and answer period, the community then voted on the spot. During the summer, the PCN coordinators organize their board members through retreats full of team building and scheduling for the upcoming academic year. During the year, periodic programming publicizes and introduces students to the various aspects of PCN and various auditions and castings sort students prior to weekly dancing, singing, acting, and music rehearsals. The demand of regular mandatory meetings can be both the burden and strength of PCN. The issue of missing rehearsals or lateness prompt organizers to do reminder and wake up phone calls or require tardy participants to do push-ups. Some students will not return to PCN during their Junior or Senior year because of the amount of time that is required. On the other hand, the weekly practices mark out the space and time for people to get to know each other better, enabling first and second year students a chance to develop friendships that go well beyond PCN season.

At the end-of-the-year showing, parents, family, friends, and classmates are offered a peak into the community. Most of the responses around the type of cultural work PCNs accomplish for performers and for audiences and family members occur in the middle of the show during intermission, or after the show over a meal or at the official after-show dinner (usually hosted by an alumni group). Some students have family members drive in from Southern California or closer regions (across the Bay). For myself, 2000 PCN was the first time I had seen my god brother in at least a year and thus the show gave us reason to reconnect. I remember when my onstage experience of *Home* ended and we had to clean up the green rooms and backstage area before we were allowed to greet our family and friends in front of Zellerbach. It was difficult looking for my god brother and his wife, my dorm mates, and my dancer friends amidst the other theater-goers. I took my god brother, who had driven up from San Jose, to a Japanese restaurant off of University Avenue and over a replenishing meal, I expected him to be amazed at our PCN. Instead, he said that it was



predictable, given Berkeley's long student activism, for our Pilipino community to re-stage protests of the I-Hotel eviction.<sup>188</sup> I remember reflecting on how my god brother was underwhelmed and "read" the show as romanticized activism. I got defensive and found myself deeply wanting to convey how radical the show's content was in the context of other PCNs. I don't think I was ever able to persuade him, but I came to accept that there was a sense of community that outweighed whether our audience members "got it."

PCNs provide people with a focal point with which to talk to each other about the changing face of Filipino identity whether delineated in terms of generation, geography, or cultural representation. Filipinos in the Philippines correspond with Filipino Americans about PCNs in ways that reveal PCN's multiple interpretations. In 2005, Theodore Gonzalves delivered a paper "Dancing into Oblivion," at the Ateneo de Manila University-Philippine's lecture series for its cultural journal, *Kritika Kultura*. Following the talk, several Philippine scholars published their responses.<sup>189</sup> Ricardo G. Abad, Artistic Director of Ateneo de Manila's resident theatre group, published his personal reaction to Gonzalves' criticism and an excerpt from a Filipino American professor who had recently watched a PCN at Berkeley. What kind of cultural work do PCNs like *Home* accomplish for audiences and family members? According to this Filipino American professor, "The audience itself is a spectacle to behold. They are made up of parents of cast members coming in from out of town and Filipino student groups from nearby campuses and Southern California have made it a tradition to attend. They get to cheer their lungs out at the mention of their school during the informal opening remarks. It's rowdy."<sup>190</sup> PCNs provide a performance experience for Filipino audiences from different cities to gather and support each other's creative expression. They offer Filipino parents a chance to see what their children have to say about the cultural traditions, histories, and customs they have (or have not) handed down. The colleague's other observations mix an awe with the "rowdy" atmosphere, the Berkeley brand of activism, and the integration of contemporary Hip-

hop and folk dance forms, with her criticism of the show's duration, recycled humor, and the large demands of the production on students (which she sees as the root of absences in her classroom).<sup>191</sup>

Abad's response provides a glimpse into the perception of PCNs by Filipino cultural scholars in the Philippines:

Filipinos, then, whether they be in the Philippines or the United States, and maybe too in other Filipino diasporas around the world, are negotiating an identity suited to their present socio-economic and political situation. Both groups see that their self-definition is being threatened, bewail the loss or decline of those distinct cultural elements, and seek ways to restore or fortify a sense of local identity. The search for identity is thus a strategic device to gain pride and self-esteem, a source of personal and communal empowerment. / But is it fair to say that while the Filipinos in the Philippines seek a Filipino identity to become better Filipinos, the Filipinos in the United States seek a Filipino identity to become better Americans – or better Filipino-Americans? Many of the Filipino-Americans who attend the PCN are American citizens and therefore have a stake in American culture. If they make it in American culture, they make it as Americans of Filipino descent, and not as native Filipinos born and bred in the Philippines. The search for identity thus has different objectives in different places.<sup>192</sup>

Abad draws a connection between the ways Filipinos in the "United States" and Filipinos in the Philippines seek ways to strengthen identity according to their particular social, economic, and political contexts as a source of empowerment. Abad asks an interesting question, basically about loyalty and belonging, as he seems to conclude that unlike Filipinos in the Philippines that seek to become better Filipinos, American citizens of Filipino descent seek to be better Filipinos, Filipino Americans, and/or Americans all at once through their identity practices.

PCN as identity practice, however, can incite conflicts over value, authenticity, and legitimacy at multiple levels. First, the Philippine folk authenticity paradigm holds PCN bodies to the culture-in-a-box essentialism rooted in a specific Philippine nation-building history. How graceful and lithe one performs Spanish dances, or how fast they can perform the Tinikling— these were the informal standards of "doing" dance in a PCN and they were the hallmarks of its worth and success. These elements of virtuosity were also measures by which audiences with little access to Pilipino racial histories "read" dance in PCNs. These measurements of ahistoricized skill paralleled and

compounded the emphasis on meritocracy-based rhetoric that Proposition 209 and its proponents discussed earlier. Rather than strictly following the templates of folkdance left behind by Francesca Reyes Tolentino and other early pioneers, Pilipino Americans often unknowingly respond to such expectations by producing hyper-staged folk dance. With each decade the canonical dances seemed to go through a game of "telephone" that altered their forms with faster tempos, increasingly difficult spatial formations and transitions, and arbitrary costume substitutions. These changes codify "authentic" Pilipino subjecthoods while creating ideological, cultural, and dance hierarchies within which less than authentic Pilipinos/dance could have a place.<sup>193</sup> In this context, Pilipino dancing bodies in the PCN genre did not construct authenticity as an either/or quality; whereupon one is or not authentically Pilipino. Instead, PCNs became the contested sites of authenticity as a question of gradation, with levels of "authenticity" correlating to the presence of select dances (i.e. Singkil and Tinikling) and achievement of spectacle and exoticism approaching Bayanihan's performances. The frequency with which multiculturalist PCNs have operated in confluence with a white supremacist discursive apparatus has perhaps hindered even the most successful scholars from an accurate assessment of the multiple architectures of Pilipino cultural activism.

*Home* represents students' attempts at UC Berkeley to turn from state-oriented versions of race and toward what racial theorist and sociologist Howard Winant calls creative-action versions of racial agency—radical acts, self-reflected action, situated creativity in the moment of crisis.<sup>194</sup> There are several ways to understand the relationship between racial politics and this turn from "traditional" and arguably modern forms of representation. In "Parricides, Bastards, and Counterrevolution: Reflections on the Philippine Centennial," Vicente L. Rafael problematizes the triumphalist tone of commemorations of 1898 events and offers a reading of Filipino-American artist-activists as "heirs" to the revolution and its figures, Rizal, Bonifacio, and Aguinaldo. Rafael states, "As with Rizal and company, they feel the intensity of their dislocation whether at home or

abroad, and seek to make that sense of alienation the basis for their engagement with the world. Similarly, they share with the first generation of nationalists a keen fascination with new technologies of expression that allow them to speak past the language of convention and received identities."<sup>195</sup> Rafael's insights seem applicable to *Home* and in the context of the racial and multicultural discourse surrounding Pilipinos in the post-Affirmative Action era, these Pilipino American works serve more as a rebuttal to imposed state-versions of race, an attempt to re-define these parameters, a potential threat to the longstanding tradition of essentialist cultural representation.

### **The Rise of the Modern Suite and *Home***

Contrary to what their name suggests, Pilipino Culture Nights are not only concerned with culture and dances rooted in the Philippines. In addition to producing counter-narratives to hegemonic curricula out of Philippine folk dance, with this formula PCN forerunners often strived to express the cultural interests of Filipino Americans in the U.S. As such, they address the double binds of modern minority performance. On the one hand, this bind asks subjects to return to "tradition," or undergo a process of "restoration of a cultural heritage to a social identity."<sup>196</sup> On the other hand, subjects are expected to distance themselves from that very tradition as proof of their modernity in a way that counters the stereotypes of backwardness historically placed upon Filipinos.<sup>197</sup> In the 1990s, these subtexts manifested in changes made to the PCN canon with the inclusion of Pilipino cultural forms from outside of the folk repertoire in what is termed the Modern suite. Unlike the "muslim," "spanish," "regional," and "barrio" suites that derived from Philippine folk repertoire, Modern suites displayed primarily Hip-hop dance, and sometimes include jazz, lyrical, swing, or tap dance. Modern suites are telling reflections of how Pilipino Americans see their own cultural situations in the U.S. and present dance practices fundamental to their membership to contemporary youth culture in the U.S.<sup>198</sup> The Modern suite cannot be found in the Bayanihan's

roster of dances or any other Philippine folk dance troupe's oeuvre, and for this reason rarely incur critiques of authenticity as "traditional" dance pieces do.<sup>199</sup>

The local contexts within which PCNs emerge shape one's understanding of how one year's production makes meaning for the cast and audiences. Likewise, looking at late 1990's UC Berkeley's PCN, those preceding *Home* (1999-2000), and the role of the Modern Suite, provides a better understanding of *Home* as both exceptional and part of a 1990's PCN dance tradition of redefining Filipino culture. As the program for UC Berkeley's PCN *Pakinggan Mo Ako* (1995-1996) reads:

Modern suite reflects the dual nature of Pilipino American culture. It is as much a symbol of our adaptation and assimilation into the American cultures as it is a continuance of our strong Pilipino tradition of expression through music and dance. Just like our *manongs* and *manangs* who danced Swing in the 20's taxi-dancehalls, we, as Pilipinos in America have been carving out our own niches within American culture. This year's Modern Suite incorporates some of the many flavors of Pilipino American dance, which include Hip-Hop, R&B, House, Jazz, Techno, and Pop.<sup>200</sup>

PCN choreographers understood the Modern Suite of PCN in both historical and sociological contexts. By likening their dance and musical practices to Pilipinos in the 1920s they reflected a growing need to connect to the U.S.-based histories of Pilipinos and reflected a classical sociological view of immigrant adaptation that assumed innate links between assimilation and social success. It is important to note that *Pakinggan Mo Ako* fit the PCN formula outlined earlier in some ways as it began with both the Philippine national anthem "Lupang Hinirang" and "Star Spangled Banner." Like many multiculturalist PCNs, the Modern Suite was sequenced just before the intermission at the end of Act One. We can speculate that this ordering of dances does at least two things. It prevents those that attend PCN only to see the Modern Suite a chance to leave without disturbing the show. It also ensures these folks will stay for the entire first half of the program. The multiculturalist program lists the "choreography" by name and choreographer. Dances such as "Smack It Up, Flip It ..." and "Like It Raw" by Frank Lozier, "Deep XTC" by Elwyn Cabebe, and "Mellow Cats Dig" by Julie Munsayac and Pat Taba, offered a dramatic tonal contrast to the

customary Philippine folkloric components in PCN.<sup>201</sup>

By 1997, choreographers and writers made several steps to link PCN's "modern" dancing with a narrative story that attempted to keep in mind its multi-generational audience: it framed the Hip-hop dance as a part of a daughter's cotillion, a traditional coming-of-age event for Filipinas; it included the mother as she recalled her memory of her own cotillion; it featured a "Swing" dance that was written as the "hip-hop dance" of her grandfather's time, when in the 1920's and 1930's Filipino men would frequent taxi-dance halls.<sup>202</sup> For *Tagasalaysay/Storyteller: A Story of Culture* (1997-1998) the sepia-colored program reads:

As a diasporic community, Pilipinos have adapted to and influenced the various cultures they have encountered all over the world, and American is a cultural representation of our socio-political position in America. American also portrays the duality of Pilipino-American culture, as it is both an act of assimilation into American culture as well as an extension of Pilipino tradition of expression through movement and music. This speaks to the fluidity and permeability of Pilipino culture, in particular, and culture, in general./ Throughout the course of time, Pilipinos in America have always been able to add their own unique interpretations to the current styles and dance. Just like our *manongs* and *manangs* who danced Swing in the 20's taxi-dancehalls, we, as Pilipinos today in America have been carving out our own niches within American culture.<sup>203</sup>

There is a combination of retention and revision in the rhetoric employed by PCNs to communicate the rationale behind the Modernsuite dances. In some instances complete sentences are recycled to convey the ideas behind Pilipino American culture. The common themes in *Pakinggan Mo Ako* of duality, adaptation and assimilation, permeability, and niche-carving were traded in for more specific attention to issues of contemporary racial politics in *Tagasalaysay/Storyteller: A Story of Culture*.

Changes such as these only intensified for the next years. For instance, the program for *Re: Collections* (1998-1999) was designed like a photo album, featuring various polaroid-like photos, handwritten and typewriter fonts, and irregularly spaced text. The "regional" suite was differentiated between "mountain" and "tribal" suites. By this time, the "modern" suite had been renamed "American" for the second consecutive year and its layout featured a poem and cast photo with this caption:

This year's choreography will combine the diverse styles and variations of hip-hop, tap and jazz dance. This collection of dance types reflect long history of protest intrinsic to the arena of cultural production. Jazz's principle of improvisation provided a site for creative resistance to the mainstream. Similarly, hip-hop culture draws from this history, emerging from the ghetto as a response to modern oppressive forces. Through this presentation, the fusion of styles collapses time and distance, allowing an understanding of the complexity of the historical experiences of racial oppression.<sup>204</sup>

Instead of the classic theme of assimilation of the previous years (*Pakinggan Mo Ako* (1995-1996) and *Tagasalaysay/ Storyteller: A Story of Culture* (1997-1998)), artists highlighted themes of "resistance to the mainstream" and culture as a response to "modern oppressive forces." These changes represented, in many ways, modestly shifting ideas around race and performance.

In contrast to these PCNs that circumscribed modern and Hip-hop cultural dance forms in the singular Modern Suite, *Home* radically integrated Hip-hop and contemporary movement practices into most of the components of the 1999-2000 production.<sup>205</sup> While the previous shows borrowed from Bayanihan and presented cultural dances in multi-ethnic "suites," *Home* made novel use of the elements Water, Earth, Air, Fire, and Love as analogs to suites and tropes around which performances of immigration, agricultural labor, communication, protest, and family relations could be organized. Each element began with a reading of spoken word poetry. There was a pre-show element in which dancers dressed from the traditional suite dances, Pandanggo Sa Ilaw, Lumagen, and two museum docents posed in the foyer/atrium of Zellerbach. Audience members posed with these living artifacts of Pilipino culture in ways that intimated the Kodak Zone of Benito Vergara.<sup>206</sup>

There are two elements that demonstrate *Home* as a departure from PCN conventions. The first element, Water, featured a "lyrical" dance section that mimicked a popular creation myth accompanied by percussive wooden instruments and flutes. As the kulintang, or indigenous percussion instrument, began playing a colorguard/flag team portion entitled Tides, and a cast of twenty-four women formed the waves with their arms and scarves. As the waves cleared, a Spanish galleon named "Señora de Buena Esperanza" emerged, made up of eighteen men lunging forward

and through the stage as if it were the Pacific Ocean. As a drum sequence began, the "indios" used each lunge to "row" with bamboo sticks as oars and scraped the stage with large circular motions. Resembling the Vinta dance in the folkloric "Moro" suite, two parallel sticks formed the ship's deck as one Spanish conquistador stood and perched five feet above the stage. After the conquistador descended and exited the stage, the "indios" remained and proceeded to move about in a series of formations. This dance culminated in the construction of the skeletal form of a house, representing the first Filipino American settlement.

The second element, Earth, featured a performance, "Toil," that creatively imagined the migrant labor struggles of Pilipinos in the U.S. Using rakes, shovels, spades, and buckets, dancers orchestrated the percussive musical accompaniment to their own choreography. They formed duets, groups of four, and large circles passing their tools to each other and clapping against each other's bodies. One dancer, Sarah Escosa, led a call-and-response portion that elicited audience participation in creating the rhythm for the dance's final section. In these ways, the dancers expressed the histories in which "[t]housands of Pilipinos became farm workers in the fields of Hawai'i, Alaska, and California in conditions that can only be seen as criminal. Pilipinos toiled the fields of grapes, asparagus, sugar cane, lettuce, and more and became migrant laborers as they followed harvest times across the states."<sup>207</sup>

"Assembly line" was sequenced in the Air element, and after a central video section, which had two parts: Travel and Commercialism. Commercialism featured parody commercials for cultural commodities—t-shirt company "So So Brown," fish sauce (patis), and a Tinikling and Tae Bo-inspired fitness program entitled "Tinkling Bo with Tito Boy Banks" that promised consumers the ability to get in shape and feel the Filipino pride in their abs and in their buttocks for five easy payments of \$49.95. A mock CNN, PCN 4 (Pilipino Communication Network), informed audiences



with statistics about the Pilipino population according the US Census. The last commercial was for "Those Darn Filipinos," Balikbayan Box Set, a five-piece product distributed by the Consumer Culture Network (a spoof of the QVC). The product advertised, "We got all kinds of Filipinos from all walks of life," and listed its selling price as twenty installments of \$1 million dollars. For those in the audience familiar with Philippine colonial history, they might have noticed that beyond using the same price by which the U.S. bought the Philippines from Spain in 1898, the advertisement made explicit reference to temporal and psychological dimensions of colonialism with its unit label #400yrsofLife and the caveat "consciousness sold separately." This advertisement for the heterogeneity of Pilipinos tells the audience to "Buy culture. Buy Filipinos. In a Box," and helps set the critical tone for the robotic dance which followed.

### **The Automata**

Picture this: Several Robots have just completed a short group number and are now pushing cardboard balikbayan boxes onstage, placing them in varying formations. No sooner are they done situating the boxes and begun miming packaging and taping their parcels, when from within the cardboard containers another set of android-like dancers emerges. These are the automata. They represent the "traditional" Philippine dance repertoire derived from the Bayanihan Dance Company. There is an automaton from the Spanish suite in a lavish gown. There is a Tinikling automaton from the Rural suite. Each automaton proceeds to strike poses from their respective dance from within the boxes. Each one also maintains the appropriate facial mannerism. If we go to PCNs looking for "authentic" Philippine dance, this is probably the closest thing to it we will see in *Home*.

Three-fifths into *Home*, after the Water and Earth suites, and the Air section's "Tinkling Bo" exercise info-mercial, the performance "Assembly Line" premiered. For practical matters, I describe and analyze portions of "Assembly Line" out of chronological order. While the "Assembly Line"

dance begins with Robots on stage alone, before they bring the Automata inside cardboard balikbayan boxes, I start with the Automata because these dancers enable a discussion of the Filipino-specific multicultural racial and gender politics of which *Home* problematizes. The common knowledge of "authentic" dances and characters of Philippine folk dance are the main referent for the ironic register that automata choreography aims to achieve. As described earlier, how one executes the automata choreography provides a window into what the dance means. Put another way, doin' the automata dance teaches us the ways the folk dances they reference are not givens, but rather, constructed and contested sources of Pilipino meaning. The denaturalization of "Pilipino" stands as a common thread running through the critiques of scholars like Gaerlan, Gonzalves, and San Juan Jr.<sup>208</sup> Performing the caged eyes of an automaton and restraint in emotion and gesture, in some ways, force us to question the relationship between folk dance and artistic freedom. Also, the automaton has a particular use of time. It doesn't simply map the cadence of music onto the body. The automaton directs the dance's trajectory between bodily endpoints and smoothes out the path in-between. There are also distinct levels of human-machine-human representations we can examine. The Pilipino American dancers imitate automata that in turn imitate "Philippine" choreography and individual personalities—derived from culture-in-a-box essentialism.<sup>209</sup> These personalities act more like an accessory, instead of a trait of humanity. They parody facial and bodily emotional projections—proud Mountain warrior, regal Muslim court subject, graceful señorita, and enthusiastic Rural peasant—that have become PCN fundamental criteria for distinguishing one ethnic minority from another. This ironic version of 'owning' one's own culture, calls attention to a blanket past and forces us to wear the mask of our possible future—auto-exotification.<sup>210</sup>

In addition to the insights one gains from the automaton robotic choreography, we can also understand the dance from the perspective of a seated audience member. There are several compelling and significant components of the group Automata choreography, namely the

movement dynamics and vocabulary, and their relationship to other dancers. By reading these choreographic components, the Automata do not just say something about PCN culture but also express a social message about how the givens of Pilipino culture relate to the larger system of multiculturalism to which PCNs get inscribed. Productive for understanding this larger system, we can turn to critical race scholar Devon Carbado who has described three inter-related, commonly oppositional (though not wholly) racial dynamics: racial preference vs. race neutrality; colorblindness vs. color consciousness; multiculturalism vs. assimilation. If assimilation is taken to mean that an ethnic minority must relinquish their cultural practices to be included within a majority demographic, multiculturalism then follows as “We’re all different, live up to your difference, and that’s harmony.”<sup>211</sup> In one sense, this logic usefully satisfies a need to refuse assimilation that provides a model for comparison to other ethnic minority groups and their forms of cultural performance. Outside PCN, we can see how PCNs might be analogized to other annual CN's or cultural performance productions like Vietnamese Culture Night, Nikkei Student Union Culture Night, Queer Culture Night, or Cal Hawai'i Club Luau. For Pilipinos, however, this limited space for representation and alternative to assimilation exists in the culture-in-a-box formula, a diverse, heterogeneous pluralism of different ethno-linguistic groups that is handy for refusing a singular, monolithic definition of Pilipino culture. The Automata, their choreographic components and estranged aura inject a sense of artifice and detachment onto this alternative to assimilation and suggest that it may not be as functional as previously thought.

We see this heterogeneity in the Automata movement vocabulary, each one directly derived from the PCN canon or the standardized Philippine folk dance repertoire seen in multiculturalist PCNs. Appearing like music box figurines, Automata alternate posture, rise up and perform the variety of traditional dancing bodies not as a menagerie but as simulacrum. The mechanized archetypes of folklore dancing bodies include cultural representatives of Singkil, Tinikling, and Vinta

among other different ethno-linguistic regions of the Philippines. Because their costumes and choreography are representatives of different ethnic regions within the Philippines, it seems important that no one group is duplicated. Instead, they appear like equals, in what seems to reflect how dances in multiculturalist PCN are plucked from their respective local region and time period for a common purpose—be it through graceful, joyous, or savage presence—to look "traditional."

Whatever ways the Automata appear different in costume and vocabulary, their movement dynamics are homogeneously mechanical. The usually wide array of movement qualities are collapsed into the Automata's flat, uniform quality—a mechanistic, kinesthetic self-vocoder-like-operation. The flatness of their gestures choreographically renders critiques of the "evenness" of presentation in "traditional" PCN. In so doing, Automata theorize a critique of a brand of multiculturalism that might be described as tolerance-but-not-acceptance. These representatives move like propertyed Disneyland animatronics to bow to their ethnographic origins and blankly smile at their facsimile. The Tinikling dancer takes what would previously be the dynamic, sweeping, curved arm, and breaks the sequence into fragmented segments, each with its own tickin' endpoints. In the context of Hip-hop, this choreography is not a pure deconstruction of "folk" but rather draws from the popular dance, the Robot (to be discussed in the later section), as it exhibits "traditional" dance infused with dynamics of isolations and "dime stops." In the context of post/colonialism, this fragmentation brings to mind Sarita See's theory of colonial melancholia, in which the frequency in "fragmented" and broken bodies offers an aesthetic useful for understanding the counter-normative will to abstract.<sup>212</sup> See's decolonized eye locates "disenfranchised grief" and two components of melancholia—unconscious nature and lowered self-esteem—that also confront the psychological functions of multiculturalist PCN.<sup>213</sup> In this sense, the Automata's fragmented choreography acts a racial strategy for highlighting racial exclusion and decolonization. For instance, another dancer manipulates the malo, a multi-functional Southeast Asian garment, around her head, not with its

“proper” fluid quality, but with a fixed rigidity. The bodily rhythms of the Automata, how they apportion the folkloric gestures into discrete measures of time and space to convey a message about multiculturalism and its artificial reduction of individual, different cultures—uneven inter-regional histories of slavery, colonialism, patriarchy, and genocide—into discrete time and space. It suggests that multiculturalist PCNs flatten uneven histories and social realities and trade on grappling with intra-group hierarchies in exchange for celebrating diversity. This also works to question the multiculturalist PCN ideal of egalitarianism beyond the realities of contemporary Philippine political culture. The usually dynamic, at times participatory folk dances, when rendered by Automata, appear flat and merely for display purposes only. This speaks to multiculturalism's surrender of multi-dimensional engagement with difference.

In relationship to the other dancers, Automata in “Assembly Line” have a contained, managed life of their own. Unlike the other robots, which go through motions of stamping, taping, as if preparing the packages for delivery, the Automata seem to have little task beyond display. If we look closely, we can notice the subtle absence of touching or direct force between the robots “packing” the Automata into the boxes and the Automata themselves. The lack of contact adds to the frozen, plastic personalities of the ethnic regions, and detached affect projected by individual Automata to generate an air of estrangement around the performance. The lack of tactility also correlates with the notion of cultural hegemony as indirect force. This subtlety implies to the audience that the dancers are compelled to embody an “It’s a small world” mechanics of multiculturalism, because, while multiculturalist dance often fails to comment on something more tangible (i.e. racial exclusion), it exists as one of the few spaces for “cultural” representation.

Finally, because PCN is a celebration of the “cultural” and “ethnic,” rather than racial, the Automata convey a message about the limits of ethnicity-based multiculturalism as a paradigm for knowing Pilipino-ness. Outside the dance's choreography, but in the context of the racial realities

earlier described, Automata offer more insights into a multiculturalism that while tolerant of difference, at the same time, does not accept difference.<sup>214</sup> What the dance is unable to render is the additional risks of multiculturalism; uncritical celebration of difference, inter-racial or mixed racial identity, “diversity fatigue,” and balkanization without seriously grappling with the issues each cultural group prioritizes. For instance, multiculturalism fails to deal with racial realities within which these practices emerged. Because multiculturalism operates with the basic unit of culture and not race, it fails to directly engage the racial terms with which Pilipinos felt increased burdens to prove, evidence, and express under Prop 209’s removal. These limitations suggest ethnicity-based approaches might not be equipped to account for the ways that Pilipino culture has often been partially, if not centrally informed by a racialized experience, racial exclusion/inclusion by law, and race-based quotas. In the least, figuring ethnic over racial dynamics has often elided material and real differences between Pilipino-U.S. relations and Asian-U.S. Relations.<sup>215</sup> That being said, the ethnic paradigm, however understood by those involved, persists as a deliberate albeit often unconscious, backdrop enacted and embodied by Pilipinos annually.

In conclusion, what have usually been the ready-made tools for celebrating the importance of Pilipino culture and ethnicity for minorities coming-to-age in the U.S. during the rise of multiculturalism, by representing the Philippine folk as estranging, artificial process of PCN in "Assembly Line," serve as tools to reveal the faulty wirings of that same multiculturalism. It is not that the dance says that multiculturalism is a type of ideology that only says "It's okay to be different because it diversifies the product," but it says something more about the estranging cloud of difference as an end game. In sum, their choreography informs practitioners and viewers about how minorities in US are now triply bound. PCN dancers must be authentic but not ethnocentric. They must be modern, but not ahistorical. They must be Pilipino, but not only Philippine-based.

## Robot Suite: A Tale of Two Robots

*To dance the robot, I use an internal monitor, an automated program that tells me what physically distinguishes “natural” human movement from robotic movement. Hence, the robot bodily logic premises an always-already “human” subject that continually confronts its own “humanity” by masking its supposedly innate, conventional, fluid lines and curves with punctuated stops and starts, or locks. I reveal the seams and stitches of fluidity as not natural but constructed. I generate the movement. For example, as I pull from the wrist to abduct my forearm transversely across my upright body, I consciously await to capitalize on a backbeat and contract a muscle group surrounding my radius and ulna. This movement happens in four beats and inadvertently makes my loose fingers tremble for a half-beat after. Much of the robot is about this deconstruction of movement.*

*At the same time doing the robot is also about restraint and holding back. I restrain my body from relaxing its rigid posture for too long. I hold back from flexing more than a localized group of muscle tissue. I clench my jaw but leave my cheeks relaxed, mouth slightly open. “Closer” is such a familiar song that it feels like I’m on top of the beat. I make the time feel slow as I lay out my torso in a wave originating from my pelvis and catch one beat with my right shoulder poppin’. My tall height and thin frame are put to good use in creating illusions of linearity. We generate the movement and meaning. We don’t cover much ground though. Traveling is neither a priority nor privilege. I can only tell this after performing, by holding the short distance I cover on the ground in direct contrast to the dance’s duration. 5:26. We slide back to look downstage at the unpacked box in front of us.*

Earlier I discussed racial formation as an alternative to the problematic racial essentialism and race-neutrality existing in Hip-hop. I also focused on anti-Affirmative Action policies for Pilipinos at UC Berkeley as related to the colorblindness rhetoric of their promoters. Although race-neutrality in Hip-hop and colorblindness in Prop 209 are dissimilar, these two ideas are brought together in the robot. How the Robot in this particular performance manages to accomplish this act forms the bulk of this section. As a popular cultural representation, robots, while often varying in degrees of complexity and intrigue, are often perceived literally, as material, concrete icons of human technology. In what follows, that perspective gets upset by examples showing how first, robots signify the abstract and intangible desires, melancholia, and anxieties of humans and second, robots signify a specific popular dance with origins in African-American communities. The historical contexts for the Robot create possibilities for the psychological and racial meanings inscribed by the dance.<sup>216</sup> I unpack the robot choreography in terms of movement vocabulary, dynamics, gender, and affect, in order to advance a theory about how the Robots in this dance de-essentialize the Pilipino racial body, only in order to embody colorblindness, and destabilize race-neutrality as a practical

option.

According to Eric G. Wilson, theorist of robots, the term “Robot” was first coined by Karel Capek in his 1921 play R.U.R. in which artificial humans, a race of slaves, rebelled against their masters.<sup>217</sup> The word “robot” originates from the Czech word *rab*, or slave, and derives from the Czech word *robota*, or work.<sup>218</sup> Wilson's account of the historical significance of the robot traces the representations of androids as far back as the early 1800s and romantic age and argues that the psychology behind why humans create robots, a type of android, or synthetic human being, lies in melancholia. First, humans project their own melancholia about the fall of Man onto androids. Secondly, humans create androids with the hope of “the possibility that human beings might be able to transcend their self-centered fears and desires and return, egoless, to Eden.”<sup>219</sup> Wilson posits melancholia in regards to the connections between android and android-maker. He suggests that the machine is either a projection of unconscious desires (dark, irrational, unseemly, monstrous) embodied by the humanoid but functioning to show the seams of the Self—the unconscious desire to descend from the ego. Alternatively, the android can be a projection of the maker’s conscious ideals (perfection and transcendence) and functions as an object of idolatry—the conscious desire to ascend from the ego. For android-makers to imitate the android then might mean the embodiment of either one’s unconscious desire to descend or conscious desire to ascend from the ego.

Wilson's theoretical framework about androids represents social anxieties about the Fall of Man or deception of Man/truth. This theory seems to hold weight against the plethora of robotic representations in 1990s and 2000s popular print, television, and cinema. Machines from Terminators to Matrix tend to deal with ontology, existential definitions, and the dual panic that machines will replace humans or that humans secretly are machines.<sup>220</sup> For PCN dancers, these anxieties seem wittily re-scripted as racial anxieties over many of the everyday and institutional racial developments discussed earlier. Although race consciousness is notably absent from Wilson’s



discussion (a point that perhaps exposes it as a particular trope of "universal" white male objective voice) the dance positions race as fundamental to understandings of the robot.

We can now walk back from this discussion of robots and melancholia toward robots and dance. The common knowledge of the robot as a popular dance associated with Hip-hop dance genre of Poppin' and originating from African-American communities forms the basis for recognizing this choreography as "American," a subtext of the dance. An understanding of the robot starts from a wider scope than simply a tradition of imitating robots and instead from a decentralized history of West Coast, American popular dances like Poppin' and Lockin'. The pop in Poppin' refers to a sudden muscle contraction usually executed with one's triceps, forearms, neck, chest, and backs of knees. According to Jorge Pabon aka Popmaster Fabel, Poppin' gained popularity in Northern California in the 1970s by folks like the Electric Boogaloo Lockers (later to drop the "Lockers") who were inspired by Chubby Checker's "Twist," James Brown's "The Popcorn," "The Jerk," and cartoon animation.<sup>221</sup> African-American dancers turned to everyday movement and developed different local forms of Poppin'.<sup>222</sup> Various cities in Northern California—San Jose, San Francisco, Oakland, East Palo Alto, Richmond, and Sacramento—had their own specific dance culture/styles perhaps informed by the fact that back then imitating another's style (biting) was prohibitive and met with physical violence.<sup>223</sup> While Pabon documents Roboting as a style that came from, if not at least associated with, Richmond, we are left wondering what exactly Roboting involves. How does it look, feel, and move? What is the robot exactly? For Hitmaster Fish, "Poppin' is the dancing robot."<sup>224</sup> Fish, a self-proclaimed 1.5 generation O.G. (aka Hip-hop dance pioneer) grew up in the Bay Area and has traveled throughout Asia teaching Poppin' in various countries including the Philippines and he never shies away from defining dances and the moves that make them up. Fish operates from the premise that the classic robot dance is stationary, without music, and without rhythm. In contrast, Poppin' ("dancing Robot") moves in accordance to

the rhythm, pacing, and temporality of music. In this definition, the "Assembly Line" dancers perform Poppin' choreography that is based upon the basic vocabulary and energy of the Robot. What does it mean to dance the Robot? Attempting to learn the robot from Hitmaster Fish in the Spring of 2011 in Manila has allowed me to reflect on what makes Poppin' a unique form of dance when compared to Bboyin', Lockin', or general "Hip-hop." I suspect the difference lies in how Poppin' works better as an individual dance. When performed as an individual, as in an urban street performance, one is able to highlight original thoughts, musicality, and creative style. In contrast, when performed as a group, as in "Assembly Line," Poppin' more easily displays uniformity than both Bboyin' and Lockin'. It allows the dancers to look similar to each other, to be perceived as sharp, clean, and synchronized.

Between these two tales of the robot, one is offered several different questions about PCN robots and several ways to read race in their robotic choreography. First, how does the PCN robot act as a philosophical transcendence from the self-conscious ego or Freudian-brand of subjectivity and does that mean transcendence from one's race-consciousness?<sup>225</sup> Second, is the PCN robot to be read as a spoof on the anxiety of a white majority demographic over an increasing racial minority demographic? Related to this, are we directed to read this white anxiety as one that fears the crisis of whiteness similar to the robot, that whites will be replaced by racial minorities or that they themselves are minorities? Fourth, how might we read the robots as markers of Pilipino anxiety over the constructedness of race and the ongoing endorsement of colorblindness?<sup>226</sup> Does the Poppin' in "Assembly Line" intend to substitute African-American culture with Pilipino culture? Does Berkeley's PCN knowingly invoke the Robot and Poppin for its origins in Northern California? Does Assembly Line attempt to deconstruct Pilipino but end up essentializing African-American? In order to address these questions, we can engage the Robot popular dance and PCN robot choreography in its own right.

## The Robot

The scene of uniform Robots assembling diverse Automata in cardboard balikbayan boxes constituted the main event of "Assembly Line." As with the Automata choreography, the opening of this section featured a description of how one executes the robotic choreography and provides a window into that meaning. Doin' the robot dance does not necessarily deconstruct the popular dance it references as African-American popular culture in the way the *Home* Automata deconstruct and fragment Filipino folk culture. Nonetheless, the *Home* robot presents choreography that enables a discussion about the "natural," not as a given but as construction, a contested model for expressing identity and minority culture. The dance asks performers to mask emotion through careful monitoring and regulation of internal and external parts of the body. The performers' mask is constituted by even-keeled energy and repressed external naturally expressive movement. On one hand, insomuch as robots are seen as ideals of efficiency and perfection, this might be read as the transcendence of the ego. On the other hand, in the context of PCN, we highlight our body's lack of Philippine folk signifiers and ironically present ourselves as a slightly deracialized ideal. More than teaching us that "controlled" is choreographically constructed in opposition to the "natural," the human to the robotic, this robot movement quality gives a peek into the mind of a racialized body trying not to be racialized and lays bare the phenomenology of the unmarked.

Executing the robot also consists of another external action, a movement dynamic: fragmenting pathways. The robot also consists of isolation, a type of managing different body parts to move only when we call upon them to move; often against their biological order or sequencing. For example, outside of Poppin', if we wanted to turn our body from facing front to facing left one might naturally move our entire body as a whole or might gradually start with parts, either the top parts head, torso, and lower body to follow. Within Poppin', we might first isolate the turning of the

lower half of our body and start with a twist generated at the pelvis, while keeping the rest of the body facing front. Then one might twist at the neck to bring the head facing left, keeping the torso front with the restraint of the back muscles. Finally, we might use those same back muscles to join the torso to the same direction. Although this might be related to what Sarita See calls colonial melancholia for which fragmentation is an aesthetic developed by Pilipino American artists dealing with disenfranchisement, performing this movement teaches us about managing different body parts as an internal task that comes to be the robot's other bodily logic second only to control.<sup>227</sup> In the context of PCN, where performing folk dances is usually driven by modernist expression (external expression of internal emotion), the robot gives us a peek into what kind of cognitive work might replace that expression in the unmarked body.

The robot popular dance, however, is not an unmarked ideal like Wilson's theory would suggest but a particular dance with aesthetic codes regarding what looks good. That is what makes it so special for underlining the limits of the colorblindness ideology for embodied practices like dance. Granted, the dance is effective because its fragmenting also relates to the ways that doing the robot mitigates one's relationship to time; making us feel like we punctuated time with a pop; or riding three beats as a wave along your arm to your hand. Despite this new temporality, because the robot dance is governed by linear aesthetic it has a slight body ideal of lanky bodies. Also because the small movements are central to its aesthetic, the robot does not allow for much locomoting as it might distract from the small movements.

The lessons one learns from physically performing the robot are in many powerful ways buttressed by the messages that same dancing conveys to audiences. Watching the robot dance, as an audience member, there is a range of similar signifiers we might gravitate toward. As I have suggested, the robots might signify to audiences an aesthetic representation of the social anxieties regarding humanity and technology or a knowingness of Northern California African American

popular dance. Both interpretations seem important and true. In the context of racial formation, audiences might be read as entering a social contract based on a tension between precision (gestural) and ambiguity (racial and gender). The affectless robotic dancer forces the audience to bring to mind and counterbalance the conventional PCN dancer, one who moves fluidly, naturally expresses emotions, and perhaps even gets swept up by the heat/passion of the moment. The robots of "Assembly Line," accomplish this through their generic, uniform movement vocabulary, lack of dynamics, and estranging affect which all collaborate to theorize how these variables shape Pilipino racial identity.

The robot dancers' performance has two sets of movement vocabularies. The first, executed when they alone command the stage, seems designed to set up the fact that they are doing the robot. The second occurs when they are miming the process of packing the balikbayan boxes, which provide inter-subjectivity and a type of task-oriented narrative, both useful for to an audience member who is expecting a multiculturalist PCN and attempting to wrap their head around the dancing. The first movement vocabulary draws strictly from the Hip-hop genre of Popping. They move across the stage by sliding, "Sac'ing," and Fillmore phrasings. They perform the more familiar hinged elbow swing gesture. This section appears generic, lacks a clear narrative or concept and seems ambiguously representational. In the context of PCN, perhaps because there are no indigenous or national dance movements featured, this Robot section takes on a racial and gender ambiguity and aesthetic.

In general, every dancer performs the same choreography, which apart from making them identical, makes them forgettable and replaceable. This attempt at embodying colorblindness gives us a type of movement-based social contract wherein difference detracts value. Far from setting up an ideal of virtuosity, the vocabulary seems to sit at a low enough technical level to be inclusive for dancers that are not necessarily trained in Hip-hop. If anything, the ideal that these robots set up is

one of uniformity to an unmarked shell. Only two of the nine robots are performed by male dancers but all the costumes are the same. The unisex black sleeveless vests are marked with a red "x" and drape loosely over black long-sleeve shirts and pants, which result in minimal skin exposure. The women's hair is plainly styled back in a ponytail. This ideal of being unmarked is further constituted by the uniform movement vocabulary and dynamics, and neutralized of difference in racial and gender choreography, and communicates an ideology of colorblindness that allows us to work and be validated within a contemporary popular racial system—one that often assigns a negative value to racial difference. Critical Race scholar Patricia J. Williams discusses this notion as a type of “visual ideology” when she discusses the first hiring of a Black dancer by the Radio City Music Hall Rockettes in October 1987. Williams discusses this controversial hiring, the arguments justifying the reluctance of hiring nonwhite dancers, as a way of underlining how so-called neutral or colorblind remedies fail. Williams revisits the company director’s arguments for maintaining an all-white cast:

‘One or two black girls in the line would definitely distract. You would lose the whole look of precision, which is the hallmark of the Rockettes.’ I read this and saw allegory—all of society pictured in one statement.<sup>228</sup>

If a collective white body signifies aesthetics of uniformity and precision, according to the Rockettes spokesperson, the black body “definitely” equals ugliness, imbalance, and distraction from whiteness. At the same time, if the institutionalism of the Rockettes is valued strictly based on its original intent, such aesthetics punishes racialized bodies auditioning for a so-called equal opportunity employer. Besides signaling how the black dancing body is predetermined before it actually gets to “perform,” this highlights the limits of intent-based paradigms of racial discrimination. This point is driven home by the robot's role as factory workers, the more active and sentient dancers onstage relative to the Automata.

The second section of "Assembly Line" begins when robots leave and re-enter pushing the seemingly empty boxes onstage. When the Automata begin to rise up from the boxes, the robots

begin to mime the actions literally involved in the factory assembly line packing process. There could be a gendered aspect to the narrative of women factory workers *maquiladoras* or male automobile factory workers in Detroit. But it's not clear which one emerges as more salient. This section of robot dancing defines the factory workers as active only in opposition to the Automata as passive. This indicates that colorblindness not only allows us to move differently from multiculturalism's essentialist choreography but also allows us to act as managers of mediators—highlighting processes of managing diversity or those that adhere to multiculturalist ideology. In this theory, colorblindness promotes and rewards denial or suppression of all types of difference—cultural, racial, and gender. As post-racial bodies, the robots have some power in their occupational function of assembling the Automata. By controlling the Automata, robots show how colorblindness privileges deracialized bodies above racialized bodies. But the robots dance suggests more than diversity training. It is important to acknowledge the dance's focus on materialism and the class relationship between the robot factory workers, their labor, and their Automata products—a relationship that occurs by the uniformity and gender/race neutral choreography. By centering class, the dancers dramatize how colorblindness asks us to treat race-based identity as less valuable than other social dynamics like class and this emphasis on materialism reflects how colorblindness also asks us to ignore the immaterial damages of racial exclusion.<sup>229</sup>

While the dancers are continually moving, their movement lacks dynamics beyond the narrative of the assembly line. There are many elements that make up, what is for the most part, a flat dance. The robot dancers have no emotional expression, and that allows for a better "distillation" or stripping away of everything the viewer's eye can see. This distillation offers up the minute movements, now more visible and bare-boned for reception and appreciation. From the audience perspective, spatial organization in this dance, the surface, shape, and size, is almost unremarkable. The shapes their bodies create are linear in terms of blocking and there is no clear

hierarchy between dancers.<sup>230</sup> They perform on the singular surface of the stage, performing one knee slide, but never jumping or getting on the ground otherwise. This helps the dynamics seem, similar to the Automata, stilted, stiff, self-conscious, strained, and unnatural. The size of the group is relatively small (nine) and they don't travel across the stage much and this enables audiences to pay greater attention to the finer details of the dance.

From the audience's viewpoint, the uniform movement vocabulary works convincingly with the lack of (or neutralized) gender differentiation in costume, movement, spatiality, or musicality among dancers. With little hip and heavy limb emphasis, according to the Hip-hop dance genre, this dance might be seen as slightly masculine. However, the movements lie within a range of capability and style that is inclusive of both women and men. For example, there are no physical lifts involved in which one gender might "lead" the other and there are no moves that require great upper body strength or exceptional flexibility--commonly assumed gender differences in Hip-hop dance. In the couple dancing that does occur, the gender of the robot and Automata couples seem irrelevant. This embodies a system in which difference only has negative use-value and makes a nod to how colorblindness might affect the ways race and gender are often mutually related, how people experience race.

In general, the look of the dance produces a feeling that is cold, estranging, restrained, in the way that it calls for very little participation from the audience. As dancer/actors, the robots don't give us enough reason to care for them very much, though we might very well regard them as cool. This might be aided by the lighting of the dance—progressing from low reds to greenish blues—that gives off a type of coolness. However, when the robots stop to look at their watches, they come off as uninterested and fake. Also their packing gestures, forming arcs from out toward inside the boxes seem mechanical and lack emphasis and weight. This, of course, seems all deliberate as the whole time the dancers look controlled and self-aware, evoking a feeling in the audience that is a



little ominous and a little ambivalent. Because the dancers' aims seem far from evoking applause, jaw dropping, or heart tugging, how are viewers supposed to react to this dance? The lack of differentiation in gender and race creates a feeling of doubt around the dance rather like that moment of doubt when we meet someone for the first time that might 'pass' as Pilipino but perhaps could also be from another Southeast Asian country, or Guam, or mixed race African American and Latino. This helps reflect their ambivalence about colorblindness as a practical way of living; an ambivalence that is only reiterated in their selection of the robot as a dance to be featured in PCN. Is the robot dance about 'passing' via racialized choreography like Pilipino folk dance, dances originating in African American communities, or dances popularized by Whites? Or is the dance about neutralizing racial choreography with the robot as a futuristic ideal of colorblindness?

Earlier I discussed how Prop 209 drafters and proponents like Ward Connelly held that U.S. society must act in a color-blind fashion and race should not play a part in educational policy. By replicating a type of colorblindness ideology similar to the logic behind Affirmative Action punditry, the dancers embodied a statement regarding the terms of their own inclusion on the University's stage; spotlighting how colorblindness asks us to ignore hyper-racial realities of institutional racism and potentials for racial agency.<sup>231</sup> By showing the estranging effects resulting from dancers "ignoring" their own racial realities, performing an arguably non-Pilipino dance like the robot at a Pilipino time and place like PCN when people expect Pilipino markers of choreography, this dance exposes the on-the-ground frailties of colorblindness. In this way, the dancers testify that racial difference cannot simply be disregarded as useless nor celebrated as essential.

In this sense, Cheng's notion of racial melancholia—racialized subjects are constituted by their grieving—appears like a counterpoint to celebration. Celebration then appears like an older strategy involving racial uplift or a kind of cultural nationalism version of racial pride, perhaps modeled after the Afro-centric aesthetic of the New Black Arts social movement in the 1960s and

seen as the Pilipino American cultural nationalism, Philippine flag, Baybayin tatoos, and hyper-Tinikling. For PCN subjects, at stake is the ability to assess the work minority subjects must psychically perform amidst institutional racism and counter with PCNs, the reductionist notions of “inferiority complex,” “white preference,” and assimilationist paradigms with a better understanding of the negotiation, one involving grief.

In several ways, the robots as factory workers cannot stage a complete profile of colorblindness (nor do I think they should be expected to). The staged robot choreography is subject to multiple interpretation such as psycho-social technological anxieties and African American popular dance. Be that as it may, the ways that it does not present the robot as a colorblind ideal, might actually point to a lot of the weaker points of colorblindness as a practical reality. We can look at two distinct examples. First, colorblindness potentially affords us with seeming escape from the anxieties, pressures, and mortality associated with being racialized. This might have been rendered by the dance had they given off a look of ease and facility with their execution. Instead, the dance's cold and alienating affective message and the high degree of effort and energy required to execute the robot properly, reveal that any escape colorblindness offers can only be into a state of continual restraint and holding back. Second, colorblindness treats racist history as something we should 'get over,' and dismisses any engagement with contemporary racism, serious or everyday, as race-mongering — essentially negative use-value point. The non-tactility between factory workers and racialized products suggests this but does not carry it through. Also, colorblindness as an ideal, like multiculturalism, fails to deal with interracial difference.

Using the robot and Poppin' vocabulary allows the PCN dancers to move outside of the 'natural' of PCN, namely the essentialist system that only sees Pilipino as hyper-Tinikling and blurs the differences between racial and ethnic. If there is any meaning to be wrung from that, it provides a means to de-essentialize the body. The "natural" in this conversation serves as a kind of bodily

logic, not like the contact improvisational body's sense of "natural," but more like the way "natural" is employed in thinking about race.<sup>232</sup> In one sense, we might connect this to Eric Wilson's android melancholia, and see the PCN robot signifies a coupled projection of the unconscious desire to show the constructedness of the racialized ego (Automata) and conscious desire to move beyond these templates, although sensitive to the estranging pursuit of colorblindness as an ideal (robot). In another sense, we can remember how Omi and Winant gave us a theory for contesting race in society as essential and colorblind. The robot choreography offers a glimpse at the treatment of race as situated in Hip-hop dance as a physical, relational, contingent tool rather than a natural property of the dancers. So, while part of African-American culture, the Poppin' that the PCN dancers perform is less likely tied to African-American racialization, as say Alvin Ailey or Krumping, because of its origins in mimesis (of robots) rather than authenticity (of roots). Thus, while rooted in everyday popular culture at its origins, Poppin' or the dancing robot operates more as abstraction and less as a racial embodiment. As such, the robot not only allows the dancers to embody colorblindness—what it would be to be beyond or blind to race—but also raise questions about what is problematic about that ideological position, or what is impossible about that in reality. Their generic, uniform movement vocabulary, lack of dynamics, and estranging affect all collaborate act like a primer for dancers and audience members about colorblindness and race relations. On the one hand, for the robot dancers, colorblindness as an ideal post-racial future that affords Pilipinos a certain ideological mobility. Despite this mobility, the robot dancers also demonstrate how colorblindness doesn't exactly work, especially in body-based activities like dance and for Pilipinos. Rather, robotic dancers signal the nation-state, "Pilipino," race and ethnicity, and colorblindness and multiculturalism as terms and paradigms that fail to appropriately address the intersectionality of their lived experiences as Pilipino dancing bodies.

## The Balikbayan Box

As discussed earlier, in the context of Gonzalves' formula, "Assembly Line," allegorizes the mechanistic packaging of "culture in a box." Balikbayan boxes are appropriate in this piece for multiple reasons. Literally naming those who are returning to the Philippines, *balikbayan* translates from Pilipino to English as "return nation" or "homecoming."<sup>233</sup> Balikbayan is used to name Pilipinos going to the Philippines for vacation or for retirement and there are even special immigration visas for processing Balikbayan.<sup>234</sup> The moniker is also used when talking about the large cardboard boxes, or balikbayan boxes, returners use to pack souvenirs, gifts, clothes, candies and supplies for friends and relatives in the Philippines.<sup>235</sup> It is important to note how the contents rarely change; usually canned goods, candies, undergarments, instant coffee and items thought to be either unobtainable or difficult to purchase in the Philippines. With increasing globalization and access to American products in the Philippines, balikbayan boxes have been noted as having little economic logic and no real use for their recipients.<sup>236</sup> For example, rice is one of the common items sent from the U.S. to the Philippines, a country famous for its rice production.<sup>237</sup> Some claim that the products, when attainable in the Philippines simply "taste different" or cost too much. On one hand, the boxes are considered markers of wealth, indirectly reminding the sender and recipients of the Balikbayan's social capital in America.<sup>238</sup> On the other hand, because of the little economic logic, the practice of balikbayan boxes is seen as a method of maintaining diasporic relations, dealing with emotions of belonging, and participating in an economy of affect.<sup>239</sup> With the social practice of balikbayan boxes in mind, there are several ways we can see the balikbayan boxes function in "Assembly Line."

By looking at the dance from the point of view of the boxes, we can read how the subjectivity of the two groups—Automata and robots—is mitigated by these pieces of cardboard and their significance as parts of commonly held Pilipino social practices. Initially, the "packers" are

seen rising from the depths of their respective boxes and rotating left and right across the audience, but immobile and never stepping out of their containers. The Automata perform their respective folklore dance moves, while the other robots rotate the boxes that house them to spell out “CULTURE,” “FILIPINO,” and finally, “PILIPINO” from lettering on the sides. The literal signification of Pilipino culture and Pilipino-ness on the boxes attempts to physically turn a phrase. On the surface, the performers' statement is about one's role in the process of packaging multiculturalist commodities. Through this performative industrialization metaphor for the traditional PCN process, the performers suggest that the ways Pilipinos re-assemble and name Pilipino identity are changeable. By the end of the dance, the robots seem either unable or unwilling to manage the job at hand, which suggests that they embody a theoretical stance not about identity-in-motion, but one that lays bare identity-going-through-the-motions.

The boxes can be interpreted to have at least three levels of meaning. First, the boxes represent their literal usage as shipping containers re-tooled for the functions of dance. The boxes act like props for the robot packers further labeling their role as active. For the Automata, the boxes act as a performance space from which they cannot escape, further supporting their role as confined. The boxes serve as a physical divide between the robots and Automata, meant to materially render the differences between performing modernity/future and performing tradition/past. In the service of performance, balikbayan boxes are “delivered” to the audience members watching the PCN, *Home*.

Second, these cardboard boxes represent the dance suites, structural legs of PCNs that strictly adheres to a canon and what is seen as confining in the PCN paradigm, inspired by the Philippine's Bayanihan Dance Company. Recalling how PCN critics viewed the PCN as inhibiting a more productive engagement with Pilipino culture, the robots packing Automata represent the PCN participant preparing the annual production of Barrio, Muslim, Spanish, and Mountain suites. Like

balikbayans, or returners, sending predictable contents overseas, PCN participants are tasked with the duty of packing a predictable set of cultural “traditions” expected for receipt by PCN audiences (family members of cast, alumni, social networks, and non-Pilipinos). Choreographically, the robots as factory workers highlight the process of selecting “what goes inside” PCN. They accomplish this by constructing themselves as PCN participants arranging the standardized repertoire of “traditional” Pilipino dancing bodies into linear, geometric formations that signify their bound and stale traits. As a self-aware version of this PCN paradigm, the ominous feeling evoked by the dancers seems to warn about the dessication of Philippine culture into mere commodities. The Automata as balikbayan box "contents," draw a connection between the candies, SPAM, and underwear usually packed in balikbayan boxes and the standardized dance repertoire of Tinikling and Singkil. The Automata reference the constraints of being the package, auto-exotification, or what they render as commodifying one's self within a touristic multiculturalist PCN canon. This effect is a re-staging of what is often presented by multiculturalist PCNs as authentic cultural heritage, as a cold, estranging manufacturing process.

Third, the boxes enable “Assembly Line” dancers to appropriate the robot and Poppin', the African American popular dance, as the social practice of packing balikbayan boxes, a particularly Pilipino practice. The Filipinization of American popular dance is further cemented by the carrying over of balikbayan box discourse on relevance and economics to Pilipino American dance practices. Just as the balikbayan box has been critiqued for its irrelevance to recipients, “Assembly Line” problematizes the relevance of “traditional” cultural repertoire and Bayanihan-inspired PCN formulas (represented by the literal boxes) to their audiences. The boxes also help link two different evaluations about the cost-benefits of culture. The “Assembly Line” draws a parallel between criticism about the economic logic of the boxes (i.e. sending rice to the Philippines) with concerns about PCNs and their increasing costs in terms of time, money, and academic success of its

participants. Similarly, the boxes represent how multiculturalist PCN deals with culture in terms of celebratory moments that are apportioned as discrete in time and space. The boxes, representing both the social practice of in-kind remittance and the social practice of PCN, cast a cloud of doubt about the relevance and cost-effectiveness of cultural shows and Pilipino diasporic culture.

Beyond the insights drawn from the literal and figurative ways of seeing these balikbayan boxes—performance space and prop, ideological divide, PCN canon, Pilipino social practice—we might also add intra-racial class hierarchy. As discussed earlier, balikbayan boxes are considered social capital for recipients vis-à-vis their neighbors and indirect reminders of socio-economic stratification between diasporic senders and Philippine-based recipients. Like the brand-named toothpaste, underwear, and other commodities sent overseas, the standardized repertoire that Automata portray remind audiences what is essential and daily necessity. By featuring the standard repertoire, not only as essential but also as commodities being exchanged between two subjects, “Assembly Line” riffs on the function of the standardized repertoire and PCNs as a marker of wealth, privilege, and transnational social capital.

At the same time, by portraying balikbayans that do the robot, dancers destabilize the balikbayan narrative of projected desire to return and refigure scholarly critiques of “traditional” PCN participants-as-returners engaging in relationships with a romanticized, multiculturalist Philippines, frozen in its past. Appropriating the notion that PCN is primarily used as an attempt to search for one’s roots, robots and Automata map the concept of “home” onto dance repertoire, or the mechanical commodification of Philippine “traditional” culture.

## **Conclusion**

Ironically, the artificially-intelligent, nameless robotic machines help map PCN into more of a “lived culture” than the continual commodification of traditionally lively, human, soulful folk

dancers. Whereas Automata and robots execute a seemingly forced labor, they also lay bare the drudgery of previous PCNs, full of personality and portraits of folk life. In this sense, these dancers speak to how PCNs echo divisions between the psychic and material conditions of Pilipino diaspora.<sup>240</sup> As Automata, Pilipinos theorize an “authentic” transnational heterogeneity and de-naturalize the boundaries of Pilipino dancing bodies. Whereas Philippine folk dancers in previous PCNs thought, commented, critiqued, and embodied investigations to physically bring them closer to their “roots,” the Automata embody and compel audiences to rethink these previously stable categories of knowledge (Philippine folk dance). Automata enable a reconsideration of the presumptions of Philippine folk multiculturalisms confluence with US liberal multiculturalism pre-Affirmative Action. At the same time, the era of multiculturalism was increasingly influenced by race-neutral initiatives. The robots make possible the critiques of these colorblind racial ideologies that were promoted successfully by anti-Affirmative Action.

By looking at "Assembly Line," through critical race theory we are encouraged to re-think the anti-Affirmative Action policies as more than just part of the dismantling of Civil Rights gains but also a shifting bodily rhetoric. Although PCNs usually perpetuate liberal multiculturalism's problematic attributes of essentialism, *Home* offers the proof that the genre is flexible enough to rehearse race-conscious agency. By examining the Automata, Robots, and balikbayan boxes, the dance reveals ways to confront the alienating and disembodied effects of multiculturalism and colorblindness as reigning racial ideologies. Making ominous and robotic gestures at dance in the so-called post-racial era, these Pilipinos appropriate the conventional mode of PCN—an attempt to search for one’s roots—and productively question the very concepts of "home" that diasporic practices such as Culture Nights often presume.



### 3 | PUNCTUATED SPACES:

#### Local Hip-hop dance culture

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*In an episode of MTV's "Randy Jackson Presents America's Next Best Dance Crew," Hype 5-0 opened their performance with the strumming of an ukulele and soothing female voice declaring "Welcome to Paradise." In this contingent of the Hypersquad Dance Company located in Hawai'i, men wore glaring red and yellow "aloha" T-shirts and black pants and women donned grass skirts. Their hips swayed with exaggeration and the males bounced on their back legs, projecting cheesy smiles. They soon disrobed and tossed these costumes offstage. A male dancer lip-dubbed "Gimme something to dance to!" and they lunged stage right to begin their dance to the viscerally commanding track, Ester Dean's "Drop It Low, Girl."<sup>241</sup> In the middle of the dance, which consisted of knee drops, quick formation changes, pumping chests, and popping, the women of Hype 5-0 turned their backsides to the camera and reprised the introductory reference to their geographic origin, hit a mock hula pose and switched their hips to four singled out percussive beats.*

This introductory, arguably parodic, vignette presents but one example of the conflicting cultural references that Hip-hop in Hawai'i invokes for a global audience.<sup>242</sup> Somewhere between the gentle hula hands and percussive punches, the Hip-hop Honolulu community has "dropped it low" enough to counter Hawai'i's touristic "off the map" status and achieve visibility in Hip-hop's commercial mainstream. The meteoric rise of Hawaiian Hip-hop in the global cultural landscape offers sharp contrast to the much more gradual shifts in political and economic status of underserved groups in Hawai'i. Along with Native Hawaiians and Micronesians, Filipinos constitute one such group and in Spring of 2007 I was able to witness first-hand, efforts by Local Filipinos working to address their social status. I attended *Pamantasan* a conference for college students organized by Filipinos Linked in Pride (F.L.I.P.), and joined Filipinos across the state of Hawai'i collaborating under the theme "Reach for the summit, reach for the sky."<sup>243</sup> The event brought to

the fore intersecting academic, social, and cultural issues. The keynote speaker was Dr. Amy Agbayani, Director of Student Excellence, Equity, and Diversity at the University of Hawai'i (UH) in Manoa.<sup>244</sup> She highlighted the significance of the annual event with the stark and persistent underrepresentation of Filipinos in higher education, despite the high Filipino demographic.<sup>245</sup> In a move to identify a key component to sustainable progressive reform, one attendee raised a question during a break-out session, "Where are the Filipino youth?" Randy Cortez, a second-year student at UH responded, "I know where the youth are. They're at the Filcom in Waipahu breakdancing."<sup>246</sup> Cortez referred to the Filipino Community Center by its colloquial handle, Filcom, and meant to reference the recent Hip-hop events there. Cortez' words represent something different yet connected to the mainstream cross-over of Hype 5-0 in the open question around Filipino youth culture and institutional barriers to higher education. Inspired by Cortez's suggestion, this chapter highlights the continuing effort by the Filipino community to know itself through Hip-hop dance cultures in Hawai'i.

In "Doin' the Robot," I explored an example of Filipino Hip-hop in Berkeley that elucidates Filipino American racial formation and choreographies of multiculturalism and colorblindness. In this chapter, I am similarly interested in how notions of multiculturalism complicate the potentials of racial agency within Hip-hop. Following the overarching framework of my dissertation, this chapter advances the claim that Hip-hop is a prime contemporary means for Filipinos engagement with histories of American imperialism and contemporary globalization. Remaking as an articulation of the relationship between post/colonialism and performance for Filipinos becomes clearer through a meditation on several prominent aspects of Honolulu's Hip-hop landscape.<sup>247</sup> First, a review of previous studies of Hip-hop in Hawai'i lays out the "cultural maturation" narrative.<sup>248</sup> A discussion of the social construction of Locality and the Local Filipino<sup>249</sup> is followed by Aloha Mabuhay—a process of commemoration—thus providing context for the trade-offs between Hip-hop and Local

Filipino discourse. As an embrace of the problematic "rainbow" melting pot myth, Aloha Mabuhay also represents a rhetoric which misses an opportunity to establish Local Filipinos as allies to Native Hawaiian groups that face similar colonial traumas and militarism under U.S. empire and share their subordinate position in society.<sup>250</sup> Unlike the underrepresented racial minority status of Filipinos in Berkeley, Local Filipinos, when joined with Native Hawaiian groups, constitute over 40% of the state's population and a powerful opposition to the status quo of white and Japanese majority.<sup>251</sup> Building bridges between the Native Hawaiian and Local Filipino communities requires actions at multiple levels of society and culture. The contemporary framework of Pacific Islander Hip-hop is a productive avenue for thinking about Hip-hop in the lives of Honolulu-based Filipinos because it presents an opportunity to pursue a change in attitudes around social justice issues including an expanded serious recognition of the transoceanic indigenous decolonization movement and confrontation of U.S. empire and Asian settler colonialism.<sup>252</sup>

Critical thinking about what Hip-hop dance can mean to shared longstanding social justice movements of Native Hawaiians and Local Filipinos must begin with an understanding of what Hip-hop means to its participants. In order to explore the particular dance cultures of Hawai'i, I reflect on my own experiences teaching Hip-hop dance in an afterschool program in Kalihi, a stigmatized and marginalized community on Oahu. The rest of the chapter toggles between the competitive and the studio environments as sites for understanding the spatial and gender practices that drive Hip-hop. For practical reasons, my discussion is limited to select spaces and does not survey the multiple sectors of Hawai'i Hip-hop dance culture including Waikiki street performers, non-Oahu-based dancers, and local music videos. Nonetheless, this work contributes to a growing body of evidence around contemporary diasporic Filipino cultural formations that counter their image as tranquilized, inferiorized, or deleted by official histories. The political contexts amplify the stakes of Hip-hop for Filipinos as postcolonial subjects in the U.S. Although the following only

provides a glance at the punctuated spaces of Filipino Hip-hop in Hawai'i, their implications gesture toward larger questions regarding contradictions between racial groups that are well-represented, yet underserved.

### **Pacific Islander Hip-hop**

Since the late 1990s, academics have produced a growing body of literature that has examined Hip-hop as an emergent cultural practice, not in Brooklyn or Los Angeles, but in places such as New Zealand, Oahu, Samoa, and Guam.<sup>253</sup> Across these various former U.S. and British colonial societies on islands in the Pacific Ocean, dance histories of Hip-hop communities share striking compositional similarities that include: participation of indigenous youth; reference to native images of male warriors; the issue of distinguishing between superficial mimicry and self-conscious reference to Black American cultural representations; high regard for cultural productions that use oral language to convey an overt indigenous and post-colonial political message; and reference to cultural developments during the 1960s. A discussion of the existing literature on Hawai'i Hip-hop illustrates these patterns and the conditions of possibility as they offer to a contemporary discussion of Local Filipinos in Hip-hop.

Hawai'i is a Pacific site that experienced heightened political consciousness in the 1960s. Hawai'i is also decidedly the Hip-hop locale in the Pacific with the most intense links to mainland U.S. Hip-hop circles. Hip-hop scholars like Jeff Chang, M.T. Kato, April K. Henderson, Roderick Labrador, and Halifu Osumare each studied in Hawai'i and some continue to reside and work in the archipelago.<sup>254</sup> In her landmark study on Hip-hop in Hawai'i, popular culture and dance studies scholar, Halifu Osumare gives "props" (proprs or respect) to the Hip-hop community in Hawai'i by defining "Hip-hop, Honolulu Style" first temporally and second constitutively, comparing its components against the normative economic infrastructure of urban mainland cities (most likely the

Bronx and Brooklyn).<sup>255</sup> Osumare constructs a timeline from 1982 to the year of her ethnography (1998-1999). While 1982-1985 reflected an early Hip-hop that was imitative, influenced by breakdance movies, and a markedly "trendy new mainland fad," 1990's Hip-hop was more mature and no longer mimicked mainland Black American style.<sup>256</sup> Throughout the 1990's, the youth of the eighties displayed this maturity with new adaptations, use of Native Hawaiian culture, and engagement of Hip-hop as an enduring lifestyle.<sup>257</sup> These changes took place alongside a developing economic infrastructure that resonates with normative Hip-hop culture in urban areas of the continental U.S. This infrastructure consists of nightclubs, recording stations, radio stations, recording and clothing companies.<sup>258</sup>

Osumare writes about how Hip-hop has shifted from the 1980s to the end of the 1990s and offers a provocative thesis of Hip-hop "Honolulu style," namely that Hip-hop culture and rap are the latest in a long history of cross-cultural embodiments of music and dance in the islands.<sup>259</sup> Unfortunately, Osumare's analysis falls short of following through on its promise. Part of the complications with the "Honolulu Style" framework lies in the ways it unintentionally reproduces inequalities by assuming "popular culture" began when working class haoles (foreigners and often whites) came into contact with Kanaka Maoli, or indigenous and Native Hawaiian people of Hawai'i. From this narrative vantage point, Kanaka Maoli have a "natural affinity" for Western culture, and Hip-hop is simply the latest example of this essentialized behavior.<sup>260</sup> Her writing implicitly opposes the commodified Hawai'i in its citation of Haunani K. Trask's political writing and the Hawaiian Renaissance. Yet, it also extends a simplification of *terra nullius*.<sup>261</sup> While usually a term invoked in regards to land ownership, *terra nullius* also seems appropriate for describing the devaluing of indigenous, local, and settler aesthetics and politics of performance in Hawai'i. Evidently, this "Honolulu style" narrative evaluates Hip-hop in Honolulu based on how it meets the standards of "normative urban hip-hop culture" (a term which is left undefined).<sup>262</sup> This approach naturalizes a

cycle of Other-mimics-West cultural studies and produces a metric of evaluation based on establishing "cultural maturity," a status only afforded to subjects engaged in overt political statements through oral practices, such as the Big Island rap group, Sudden Rush.<sup>263</sup>

According to Pacific Islander Hip-hop scholarship, it might seem that Filipinos in Hawai'i-based Hip-hop participate in an activity that either imitatively or consciously operates between Black American and Native Hawaiian cultural politics. Far from remarkable, this failure to address race relations in ways beyond the Hawaiian-African exchange replicates issues of Filipino invisibility and forgetting common to the work addressed by Filipino American historians. As understood by Filipino American scholarship, the site of cultural performance has actually been the anti-dote for supplementing the absence, omission, or distortion of Filipino American histories. According to Filipino American scholar, Theodore Gonzalves,

If Filipino Americans fail to be authors of their own histories in a traditional sense of what a text is, then it places a special burden on culture to represent a sense of what a text is. A yearning for historical knowledge or continuity doesn't stop just because the texts aren't there. Cultural expressions take up that burden.<sup>264</sup>

Whereas Gonzalves speaks of the burden in a broad collective sense, filmmaker and Pinay scholar, Celine Salazar Parreñas speaks of a personal burden felt by performers themselves. The burden to speak for a collective, such as the Filipino community, is adamantly rejected by Parreñas as she states "I do not intend, nor is it possible for me, to speak across the power inequalities in our community, even if people persistently put the noose on my neck. No, thanks! I do not speak for others."<sup>265</sup>

In contrast, Pinay activist-scholar, Johanna Almiron, recounts,

The deliberate decision for some Filipino artists to speak only for themselves as artists does not help social movements. It's a denial of the way the collective identifies with the artist. It's ungrateful to the community that supports their work. When the community lifts me up and claims me, it's a new charge upon me, the individual artist, to be socially responsible.<sup>266</sup>

Almiron keys into something that resonates with breakdancers in Hawai'i as they simultaneously identify and represent themselves as individual performers and crews. The perspectives of Gonzalves, Parreñas, or Almiron, the act of seeing cultural performance and collective identity—a response to such minority status, burden, or empowerment—offer provocative textures for understanding the Filipino experience in Hip-hop. However, given Hawai'i's high Filipino population density, the Filipino American narrative of Filipino “invisibility” that has come to characterize much of mainland Filipino American studies seems impractical and unproductive. As past scholars have illustrated, the politics of Filipino American identity and indeterminacy take different shape in Hawai'i as, in theory, individuals of Filipino descent are asked to reconcile between Asian settler colonialism and colonial mentality, a complex set of the relationships between U.S. colonial histories of the Philippines and an individual's sense of identity, feelings of invisibility, and inherent inferiority to European and American culture and society.<sup>267</sup> In their negotiations of the everyday, Filipinos in Hawai'i make trade offs, consciously and unconsciously. To better understand these compromises, and the particular ways they manifest in separate, yet interconnected, sections of society, we can turn to the social construction of the Local Filipino.

### **Why there are no Filipino Americans in Hawai'i**

In his provocative essay, "Why There are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i," ethnic studies scholar, Jonathon Okamura advances the argument that Hawai'i's "Local" identity accounts for the nonsalience of Asian American identity, even while some East Asian American groups can be considered political and economic dominants.<sup>268</sup> While Local identity remains important due to increasing external and internal forces such as overdependence on tourism, foreign investment, and military, Okamura concludes that Local identity is not a viable social movement. In so doing, Okamura works to debunk the rainbow image of Hawai'i, a blend between America's melting pot

mentality and Hawai'i's Local islander inclusivity. In reality, Local is discursively constructed as a counterpoint to a set of groups including the "nonlocal," haole, immigrants, military, tourists, and foreign investors.<sup>269</sup> Okamura's writing demonstrates how Local culture and Hawaiian culture have been scapegoated to act as natural glue for social divides. The very notion of a "local" obfuscates differences among Native Hawaiians, descendants of Polynesians that arrived from the Marquesas islands (400 AD) and from Tahiti (900-1100 AD), and people who are descendants from immigrant plantation groups since the 20th century.

The heuristics of a project that focuses on Filipino identity in Hawaiian contexts brings material and ideological differences between Filipino and Filipino American to the fore. As if to confirm a corollary of Okamura's thesis, it soon became evident that most people that I met employed the identifier, "Filipino," rather than Filipino American, despite acknowledging U.S. birth, citizenship, or generation status, and as such, the terms Filipino American or Filipino American culture, in everyday usage seemed inappropriate to impose upon them. The absence of "American" in self-identity may suggest many things: the de facto sense of Otherness and conscious exclusion in U.S. settings that individuals feel toward themselves or the Filipino subject; the singular "Filipino" may simply be seen as everyday practice for most Filipinos in Hawai'i; or the response may be in part dependent on subjects' perceived or known co-ethnicity to myself, the researcher.<sup>270</sup> The latter case may suggest that for Filipinos in Hawai'i, steps of identification usually begin with the more general ethnic category, Filipino, although markers of birthplace, residence, high school affiliation are surveyed by both parties as implications of generation and class categories. As respondents rarely employed the term Filipino American, I deliberately avoid this term and opt for "Local Filipino."<sup>271</sup> Filipinos in Hawai'i have a general unfamiliarity or uncomfortable formality with the term "Filipino American."<sup>272</sup>



Despite the past century, Filipinos, *not* Filipino Americans, continue to inhabit the popular imagination in Hawai'i and find inclusion in the panethnic Local identity. The fact that we celebrate "Filipinos in Hawaii [sic]" as opposed to "Filipino Americans in Hawai'i" says much about how our community names itself and how we think about ourselves in relation to the world. As Jonathon Okamura cogently argued, despite the benefits of the Local identity for people of Hawai'i and the popularity of melting pot myths it contributes to, "the tradition of tolerance allows for Hawai'i's people to avoid acknowledging and confronting the institutionalized inequality among ethnic groups and the resultant tensions and hostilities that are generated."<sup>273</sup> Furthermore, Okamura showed how in the 1970's, Local Filipinos employed the Local identity to distinguish them from Filipino immigrants. Local Filipinos thought the new immigrants validated the persistent, residual plantation hierarchies, which often still use us Filipinos as the butt of many Local jokes.<sup>274</sup> While living in Honolulu, I often encountered this local "rainbow" in the form of derisive jokes about Filipinos as dogeaters, as people that could pick up objects with their feet, and as people that wear an array of different colors as if they got dressed in the dark. From Filipinos and non-Filipinos, I occasionally heard racist and primitivist epithets like "bok bok" to describe a Filipino's stereotypically flat nose. Examining the current ethnic relations in Hawai'i with regards to Filipinos highlights further contradictions of local culture. Some of these include the regionalisms perpetuated in the multitude of Filipino organizations of ethno-linguistic heritage and performing the same types of work leaving an overworked, over-tapped, or regionalized Filipino bloc in Hawai'i. Other inter-ethnic disputes reside in the production of Hawaiiiana (Hawai'i-inspired crafts) in the Philippines and the local economic overdependence on tourism and Japanese business interests.

Since the first Sakadas, a term given to the first Filipinos arriving in Hawai'i on December 20, 1906, the Local Filipino experience is typically seen as one shaped by migration experience.<sup>275</sup> Most Filipinos in Hawai'i can usually trace their immigration to one of several major and minor

"waves" of immigration: male Filipinos contracted to work in the sugar cane and pineapple plantation fields that entered as American "nationals" during the U.S. colonial period, mostly from the Ilokos regions; Filipinos whose lineage finds its entrance after the War Brides Act of 1945; Filipinos who found entrance into the U.S. post-1965 U.S. Naturalization and Immigration Act—initially consisting of predominantly female professional and skilled immigrants and families seeking reunification; immigrants fleeing martial law under the Marcos regime in the 1980's; those enabled by family reunification and petitioning by established Local Filipino families; those migrating from the continental U.S. or other sites of Filipino diaspora such as Canada. Local Filipinos, individuals and collectives, typically draw from these widely varying immigration experiences in order to make decisions about how to understand, reflect, and retell their histories.

University of Hawai'i professor Belinda A. Aquino opines on the history of the Local Filipino in her essay for the Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission.<sup>276</sup> She concludes that after post-1965 legal reforms Filipinos in Hawai'i emerge "Out of the Crucible" as demonstrated by her exhaustive list of Filipino successes. From behind this list of social and political prominence, Aquino argues against co-ethnic critics wherein she claims, "In our characteristic impatience, we tend to berate the community for 'sleeping too long.'"<sup>277</sup> Despite the apt caution around victimhood paradigms, Aquino's narrative positioning of American idol contestant Jasmine Trias and Ben Cayetano as markers of success also sidesteps the reality of continued systemic political and economic exclusion. On the one hand, the crucible metaphor Aquino offers posits vivid imagery of the Filipino's transcendence from a previous moment of great trial. On the other hand, crucible, simultaneously, calls to mind a container in which different substances are melted. By the latter meaning, Aquino's prescription for Filipino success smacks of melting pot mythology and the benevolence of history.<sup>278</sup> Perhaps the most convincing evidence against Aquino's central assertion that Filipinos are "out of the crucible" is the simple fact that she also acknowledges, Filipinos have

yet to find success or substantive mobility in the economic sphere. For the majority of Local Filipinos, the narrative of the "crucible" and the myth of social inclusion and tolerance is a direct reference to the histories of exclusion for the Sakadas recruited and hired to work in Hawai'i a little more than a decade after the nation was illegally overthrown; an event underrated in the Local Filipino narrative.

### **"Aloha Mabuhay"? Keepsake-ing Local Filipino Cultural History**

In the context of Filipino historical formations in Hawai'i and "Hip-hop, Honolulu Style," the idea that Hip-hop culture and rap are the latest in a long history of cross-cultural embodiments of music and dance in the islands, inhabits a place alongside a host of events and ventures commemorating 2006 as the one-hundredth year since the landing of the first Sakadas. These fifteen migrant worker men were recruited and delivered by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) to provide cheaper labor in sugar fields already employing Japanese, Portuguese, Hawaiian, Korean, and "Other Caucasian" plantation workers.<sup>279</sup> The Sakadas are largely memorialized as the group of Filipino labor immigrants to Hawai'i that paved the way for successive groups totaling over a hundred thousand through HSPA from 1909 to 1946.<sup>280</sup> For years Sakadas received less wages and lived in worse housing conditions despite performing the same physically demanding labor as their Caucasian, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Puerto Rican co-workers.<sup>281</sup> Nearly one hundred years later, the state of Hawai'i recognized their arrival with the 2002 passage of ACT159 - House Bill 1942 that created the Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission which would plan the 2005 calendar of events packed with beauty pageants, barrio fiestas, sports tournaments, and conferences.

To gain a sense of the magnitude of the germane temporal significance and the ways a community actively, collectively remembers, I analyzed the Souvenir Program (Souvenir Book). This

program is substantial because it strived to capture the breadth of the last one hundred years and was especially large with one-hundred fourteen glossy-paged. It was produced by First Hawaiian Bank and a nineteen member "Souvenir Book Committee" and published by Hagadone Printing Company, Hawai'i's largest commercial printer.<sup>282</sup> Edited by the author of the essay I mention above, Philippine Studies scholar, Belinda A. Aquino, the Souvenir Book was produced by the Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission located at just over one mile from Wallace Rider Farrington High School. From a Pilipino Culture Night perspective, the book presents striking similarities to multiculturalist PCN programs. Despite the difference in scale between state and public university, the Souvenir Program is like a PCN program in its use of letters from desks of officials, timetable of events, mixture of local business and personal congratulatory advertisements, and educational agenda.

At face value, as a "souvenir," the book successfully provides a keepsake of the Centennial events by presenting ideas and sentiments from a plethora of political, economic, and personal cross-sections of the Local Filipino community. Messages from the desks of twenty-one government and public officials including then President of the Republic of the Philippines Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Senator Daniel Akaka, Congressman Neil Abercrombie, Congressman Ed Case, State of Hawai'i Governor Linda Lingle, and Former Governor Benjamin Cayetano (the first U.S. governor of Filipino ancestry), and others provide a powerful opening section to the Souvenir Book.<sup>283</sup> Each letter includes a headshot of the official superimposed onto their text upon their signed official letterhead in a way that establishes a sense of authority or rather executive and legislative stamps of approval for the Centennial.

The program, as memento, aims to educate and inform its readers through a medley of essays and reports including "Filipino Century in Hawaii: Out of the Crucible," "Chronology of Filipinos in Hawaii," "Postscript: Beyond the 100 Years," "The Sakada Tree," and "Lawaran: Portrait

of a Cultural Legacy."<sup>284</sup> Connecting Filipinos through a remarkable number of personal, local community organization, and commercial announcements, the book includes advertisements for memorabilia like the limited edition commemorative silver coin (\$49.95 + tax) that depicts the Centennial logo on one side and a map of the Republic of the Philippines with the text "Aloha Mabuhay" on the reverse.<sup>285</sup> The Local Filipino with interests in a more experience-based remembrance might be attracted by the announcement of "Lakbay Puso: Journey of the Heart," a ten-day trip itinerary for Hawai'i Philippine Centennial Province Tour 2006 with Governor Linda Lingle with mention of the state-province sisterhood pact between Hawai'i and four Philippine provinces: Ilocos Sur, Cebu, Pangasinan, and Ilocos Norte.

The Souvenir Book's community- and family-based advertisements offer a curious assortment of clubs, Hawai'i regions, and Philippine provinces, while conveying Centennial praise through pages that vary in appearance. Some pages look like résumés, some like yearbook pages, others like some mixture of the two.<sup>286</sup> The endorsement for the Oahu Filipino Community Council addresses a letter-like message to "Our Beloved Sakadas/With great appreciation for paving our way to be what we are and who we are now. Your sacrifices will never be forgotten and will live from generation to generation/Mabuhay ang Filipino!"<sup>287</sup> This advertisement, like many others, lists its 2005-2006 officers and fifty-two unit organizations such as *Annak ti Batac iti* Hawaii and United Pangasinan of Hawaii.<sup>288</sup> In other community submissions like the United Filipino Council of Hawaii and Filipino Business Women's Association, yearbook-esque headshots of twenty to thirty incumbent officers are not uncommon.<sup>289</sup> The endorsement by the Garcia family lists the name of the members that first immigrated to Hawai'i from Pangasinan and each of the eleven family members' job title, geographic location, and secondary family members.<sup>290</sup> While these endorsements clearly act as fundraising projects vital for raising the capital for the year's programming, they also

perform discursive labor in constructing a particularly diverse, multi-regional, polylingual, white-collar, and organized portrait of the Local Filipino.

Like many of these advertisements, the listing for Waipahu's Filipino Community Center also provides a window into the ways Filipinos employ race and ethnicity to navigate the historical and contemporary multi-ethnic space of Hawai'i. This two-page advertisement crowns the Filipino Community Center as "Every Filipino's Legacy."<sup>291</sup> The description of the building's structural components invokes more than it intends:

The villa tile roof building of Spanish architecture conjures up images of colonial Intramuros, the old Manila. The Spanish design blends well with the sugar mill plantation smoke stack. Arguably, it could be called the "queen" of Waipahu's 21st century renaissance. It is but fitting, after all it is the biggest Filipino Community Center outside of the Philippines and is architecturally designed to repeat the Filipino's penchant for Spanish inspired buildings. And although it is in every aspect Filipino, it is also multi-cultural in that the renters, guests and four caterers belong to different ethnic origins. It is a building built on Filipino pride and bayanihan spirit and yet still retains enough spirit of aloha to everyone who wants to work, rent, learn and enjoy the daily activities without regard to ethnicity.<sup>292</sup>

It is important not to read too much into one quote, but this excerpt is significant because it projects the uncredited author's need to refine, culturally, many of the complex asymmetries between Local identity and Filipino diaspora. With this quote, we see the peddling of smoothly transitioned Filipino historical oppression and enslavement first, under a friarocracy in the Philippines and secondly, under plantation hierarchies in Hawai'i. Both colonial structural systems are objectified as architectural structures and simplified as design "styles"—implicitly claiming that not only do Filipinos have a taste for colonialism, but Filipinos' different types of oppression halo-halo (mix) together. Living there at the time, it seemed to me that under the cool logic of Local, the idea of aloha had once again been hijacked, to sprinkle over our halo-halo, now a rainbow shave-ice, giving us brain-freeze about any ideas we should have about difference, and by doing so, the systemic social inequalities that mutually construct those differences.

This Souvenir Book offers a provocative view into the ways Local Filipinos remember and forget difference in Hawai'i. Their images of belonging, community membership, and cultural syncretism seem to unconsciously address the fragmentation and alienation of global capitalism for Filipino laborers and their descendents. Indeed, the keepsake-ing of specifically Local Filipino histories importantly documents their contributions to Hawai'i's history beyond a panethnic paradigm. At the same time, in place of images of Asian American assimilation or Local panethnicity, or dual white/immigrant identity, we are presented with another two-piece confluence of Hawaiian and Filipino cultural values in the term "Aloha Mabuhay." In the framework of this recollective and affective composite, the arc of the Local Filipino narrative is fairly clear. For instance, we, the readers, are offered intimate glimpses into the lives of Local Filipinos like Dr. Aida Ramiscal Martin who goes beyond informational lists of other pages including her home address with her message "Orchids of Congratulations!" Dr. Martin provides a photograph of herself standing with a smile, somewhere between patience and pride, beside six of her students, clearly those she considers as family, and text that depict her role as a sixth grade teacher, topped with a list of her students' success between 1999 to 2005.<sup>293</sup>

As an example of active keepsake-ing, Dr. Martin's endorsement and the Souvenir Book's hundreds of organizations and résumé-type ads project an image of white-collar success. The memory of Sakadas, a particularly blue-collar remembering, is rendered constructive if the community can simultaneously distance itself from that type of work through demonstrable modernist progress. This cultivation of a Local Filipino psyche gives rise to mixed feelings for at least two reasons. First, the book, by refraining from any engagement with the Native Hawaiian community, inadvertently reproduces the "disappearing Indian" trope, a component of what American Indian scholar Andrea Smith terms the second pillar of white supremacy.<sup>294</sup> The "Aloha Mabuhay" of Local Filipino emphasizes a softer type of solidarity, unlike other Filipina settler

activists that recognize dual acts of U.S. empire in the Philippines and Hawai'i.<sup>295</sup> Second, the commemoration of the Local Filipino is less successful at grappling with the ways material inequalities and unfair working conditions that Sakadas experienced have been reprised in the plight of present-day hotel workers, some recruited from the Philippines to work for wages lower than their actual educational credentials. In these contexts, how then, does Hip-hop Honolulu respond, counter, or collude with this larger contiguous Local Filipino representation, one that trades on the prospects of cultivating critical thinking about competing intra- and inter-group politics in order to retain a "bayanihan spirit" seen as necessary for motion beyond and above a hundreds years of anti-Filipino racism, colonial mentality, political disenfranchisement, and economic immobility? For one view into Hip-hop Honolulu as a space for working through colonial psychological traumas, I turn to the In-motion program in Kalihi, Oahu.

### **Putting Racial Agency In-Motion**

According to Native Hawaiian culture and worldview, an ahupua'a is a wedge-shaped geographic partition that plays an important social role in distributing existing natural subsistence (waterways, flora, fauna) and establishes a relationship with the land of Hawai'i built upon custom and stewardship.<sup>296</sup> Today, the ahupua'a of Kalihi on the island of Oahu is also home to upwards of 40,000 people and Hawai'i's highest concentration of public housing projects (nine in total).<sup>297</sup> Issues with drugs, illicit conduct, gang activity, and poor maintenance are factors that led past State Representative Karl Rhoads, vice-chairman of the Human Services and Housing Committee, to use language like "ghetto" and "hot bed of crime" when referring to the area.<sup>298</sup> Given the marginalized status and ethnic tensions afforded to those that call this locally stigmatized space home, it is perhaps fitting that, in Hawaiian language Kalihi translates to "the edge."<sup>299</sup> What are the processes



involved in the social construction of Kalihi as a particularly historical and contemporary space?  
Who are the individuals that could be considered inhabitants and stewards (hoʻa`aina) of Kalihi?

Wallace Rider Farrington High School is located in Kalihi, this largely working class community made up of Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and other Pacific Islanders. The setting surrounding Farrington provide a crucial insight into the experience of Kalihi's youth. Twice a week, I would drive my moped up to the campus cafeteria and pass by large groups of students walking home or to other afterschool destinations. Farrington students are typically not bussed in from other communities, picked up after school by parents, or driving their own cars. Farrington is framed amidst a growing, contradictory environment specific to the socialization and settling of immigrant communities. Innovation juxtaposes tradition as a Toyota dealership sits across a shop that primarily sells barong, the Filipino traditional (formal) shirt from the Spanish colonial era. Farrington sits in the center of businesses, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Bishop Museum, and a government-subsidized housing community, and also the major freeway (H-1) that connects the West Side of O'ahu to downtown Honolulu. The larger community within which Farrington operates is distinctly marked by various small Filipino businesses, like crafts stores, convenience stores, and eateries. When I first arrived to Honolulu in 2005 to begin graduate school, my Auntie Charlene took me to a Hawaiiana craft store owned by her friend, who when letting me pick out any item from his store as a gift, told me that most were made in the Philippines. This mix of institutional, commercial, and Filipino-specific bodies helps construct Farrington spatially as a remarkable site for exploring Hip-hop dance in In-Motion, a multi-activity afterschool program at Farrington High School.<sup>300</sup>

The diverse surroundings that frame In-Motion at Farrington are not consistently portrayed in public discourse. Around the time of the program's inception an article in the island's major newspaper drew attention to In-Motion's efforts to address the health needs of people in densely populated areas. In an article entitled, "Program gets people active in urban Honolulu," Mary

Vorsino reported, “Officials wanted to have big open spaces and recreation programs available in the ‘urban core’ without building a new park or dedicating too much money to the project.”<sup>301</sup> The significance of this statement lies in its blend of coded racial lingo and well-intentioned bureaucratic refrain. For In-Motion there were two aspects: health and race. A growing body of Hip-hop research has found several health-positive potentials in areas of therapy, body images, anti-gendered violence, media literacy, and adult-youth communication.<sup>302</sup> While promising, these studies, which often focus predominantly on Hip-hop music in African American communities, also tend to presume a singular notion of race and overlook the host of literature that grapples with racial discourse as irreducible.

Similar to my earlier discussion on racial agency in Filipino Hip-hop in California, we might take this opportunity to revisit the idea popularized by race theorists Omi and Winant that "race" should be understood in terms of both cultural representation and social structure.<sup>303</sup> According to the liberal racial project, because "state actions in the past and present have treated people in very different ways according to their race, ... race continues to signify difference and structure inequality."<sup>304</sup> According to the neoconservative racial project, state policy should not recognize race but rather take action according to a colorblind ideal.<sup>305</sup> A racial project is "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines."<sup>306</sup> It is critical to recognize race beyond the representational processes as some scholarship has limited understandings about difference in the islands as a "unique cultural mix" or "interesting."<sup>307</sup> Osumare writes,

By virtue of Hawaii's (colonial) history with the U.S. mainland and its unique geographic position as crossroads between East and West, the 50th state offers a particularly complex example of the globalization of hip-hop culture. Hawai'i floats geographically and culturally in the North Pacific, connecting Asia, Polynesia and Micronesia, and the Americas in historical and contemporary ways (figure 3.1). Particularly as gateway to the Pacific Rim—the mid-way point between the United States mainland and Asia—Hawai'i is an interesting composite of Native Hawaiian, American, and Asian cultures.<sup>308</sup>

In direct contrast, another set of intellectuals has worked to make clear the differences in political, social, and economic power in Hawai'i. After cross-analyzing race-specific data from the U.S. Census, Department of Health, Hawai'i State Legislature, and Department of Education, Ethnic Studies scholar, Jonathan Okamura concluded that:

... Occupational, income and educational status data from the 2000 U.S. Census for ethnic groups in Hawai'i indicate that Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans and Whites continue to be the dominant groups in the ethnic stratification order, while Native Hawaiians and Filipino Americans continue to occupy subordinate positions.<sup>309</sup>

In light of these contrasted narratives of race and how it shapes Hawai'i, the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* seems to rely on neoconservative racial code ("urban core") for Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders and Filipino settlers, low income, working class, and recent immigrant families. Beneath the premise that the "urban core" is underserved remain the deeper social and political developments that helped constitute this group of people as such. In order to recognize Hip-hop dance as a racial project requires recognition of the interplay of multiple racial determinants that deeply influence Hawai'i as a discursive field comprised of Native Hawaiian historical and contemporary sovereignty, U.S. colonization and militarization, racialized immigration policies for Asian settlers, and international Japanese political economies.<sup>310</sup>

Inspired by the ability of Hawai'i's largest newspaper to treat contested discursive fields as if they are simple facts of life, an act that is both practical and unhelpful, I chose to reflect on In-Motion. In particular, I will offer an alternative depiction from the "urban core" through a survey of my experiences teaching at In-Motion, responses to a general survey, and the socio-historical contexts related to the student's experience, site, and dancing. In similar fashion to most contemporary ethnographies, my identity (projected and perceived) naturally played a role in the intellectual project. In multiple ways, Hawai'i, for myself, made evident the slippery distinctions between outsider/insider. First, the fact that I was born, but not raised in Hawai'i, has always had

mixed influences on my life. Most of my childhood and youth had been spent returning to the island archipelago as space of my childhood, tourist destination, and place my family had once known living in the military housing of Pu`uloa (Pearl Harbor). While my father had only been stationed there for a few years, most of the memories of my childhood recounted to me by my parents were about living in Hawai'i. For a Filipino person like myself, the prospect of working with a critical mass of Filipinos (the population of over a million Filipinos in Hawai'i) to build critical consciousness mitigated alienation I felt in the mainland U.S. and amplified the stakes of community-building. These factors actually influenced my initial motivation to pursue graduate studies in Honolulu. At In-motion I was not only a part of the event, but rather, I played an active role as a leading figure. In these ways, I configure my understanding of Hip-hop Honolulu in contrast to an ongoing debate around white academic "outsiders" setting up "camp," observing and surveying urban communities.<sup>311</sup> It seems fairly clear that my identity as a "Hip-hop collegian" and dancer afforded me an access, symbiosis, and intimate familiarity with Local Hip-hop culture.<sup>312</sup> Yet, to what extent did my identity as a Filipino, non-white, non-black, influence my understanding of Hip-hop?

In-motion, as noted earlier, is a project whose mission is to promote healthy, active bodies in the community. It is managed by a partnership between the state Department of Education and City and County of Honolulu's Department of Parks and Recreation and under a grant from the Department of Health. Although most participants are Farrington High students, In-Motion is open to the public, voluntary, free of charge, and when I started, it was entering its second year of programming. Most of the programs run twice a week, either afterschool, during lunch, or before school, in various facilities and sections of campus. The Hip-hop program ran Tuesdays and Thursdays and I taught for two semesters, Spring 2006 and Fall 2006. Since January 2006, I witnessed instability in enrollment, ranging from a handful of students to over twenty. These

fluctuations in participation influenced a marked anxiety around low enrollment at the start of the second semester. Our staff attempted to resolve this problem with increased publicity. Before our Fall 2006 program began, I performed with a friend in Farrington High School's open courtyard amphitheater during the student's lunch period. Our choreography was accompanied by a recorded track by Hip-hop/R&B songstress, Ciara. Her song, "Get Up" was used for In-Motion's initial classes' choreography. The attendance records from the first four classes was promising—twenty, thirty, twenty-three, and seventeen students respectively. The interest was greater than expected and so much so that the supervisor had to change the venue to accommodate the number of students to counter heat exhaustion in spaces not originally designed and ventilated to accommodate such physical activity. Ultimately, our class found our home in the cafeteria, the only room large enough, with fans and windows, with the meager reflection from a fire extinguisher and trophy case to see traces of our own dancing bodies.

From the first class, my personal goals were to act as a role model and guide for the students in achieving their greatest potential. I wanted them to see that if they practice hard enough they can become skilled dancers and they can apply this logic to other aspects of their life. My goals included creating a space in which students could develop self-worth and dignity in their bodies, play with performance, and engage a more broadly defined version of Hip-hop. I hoped to accomplish the latter by introducing dance that incorporated self-reflection, theatrical narratives, music performed by less commercially-circulated "conscious" artists. I also had the basic goal to get to know what the students really wanted to get out of participating with In-motion and apply this information to the lesson plans. To get them to open up, rather than begin dancing immediately, I let the students know about my role as their instructor and a little about my background. Upon initial observation, I noticed the large number of students was mostly female and entirely comprised of members of Local ethnic groups. After hearing from them, I explained my own personal background and

immediately asked others to volunteer their own stories. On that first day, nineteen out of twenty students revealed that they were also Filipino. I was intrigued. There seemed to be a mix of 1.5 and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Filipinos. In the second meeting, more Samoan, Native Hawaiian, and mixed-ethnic background students attended.

In order to build a greater connection with my students and provide the timid individuals an alternative opportunity to voice their ideas, I distributed a general survey. I inquired about their motivations, goals, experience, and asked them if they would be interested in a leadership position. Interestingly, none of their responses included health or physical fitness, the program's explicit goals. Most of the student responses attributed interest in learning how to dance, spending time with friends, or simply having fun. A small set of the responses was unexpected. One student commented on her ballroom dance experiences in the Philippines, while another confessed she wanted to learn secretly so she could surprise her friends.

Given the diverse range of responses of the survey, how was I to reconcile the aims of the program, students, and my own pedagogy? In terms of race, I found myself thinking about models of assimilation and whether, by learning Hip-hop dance, my students were simply learning how to speak what some describe as the contemporary “language of transnational capital.”<sup>313</sup> Did they see Hip-hop as a part of Local "rainbow" multiculturalism? Does my racial and social position provide proof for arguments that perpetuate this racial project? Surely, my own identity could be interpreted in assimilationist terms. My students could see me as a product of a U.S. meritocracy in which systems of racial injustice have been dismantled. I could be seen as a product of two post-1965 immigrants and their efforts at assimilation.

These thoughts encouraged me to think about ways to teach Hip-hop *against* these ideas. I found myself approaching Hip-hop dance class as a space in which I could engage my students in a more nuanced understanding of difference, using musical accompaniment from different parts of

the Hip-hop globe. I found that after we danced, some students stayed behind to talk and help me close the building and that was when I would learn the most about the social problems they seemed to use Hip-hop dance to work through. One Local boy had a mother that he never saw because she had worked constantly with two jobs. One student came to class with an arm set in a plaster cast and claimed that he simply punched a tree until it hurt. More than one student voiced their concerns to me and said they were "too shame" to perform in public. I prepared the group to perform at a community event: the National Federation of Filipino American Associations (NAFFAA) Centennial Festival. The Festival occurred at Bishop Museum, walking distance from Farrington High School, and the audience consisted of hundreds of Local Filipinos. In the end, their successful showing and my teaching experience further convinced me that Hip-hop dance—for fun or health—and race-consciousness are not mutually exclusive. As the weeks progressed I had hoped to open more dialogue about Local multiculturalism and explore for myself the Local phenomenon of "shame" but these plans never quite materialized. In part because I feared that it was unreasonable given the time and resources and out of the scope of the program.

As per the reading of my experiences with In-Motion, Kalihi is a space that connects Local Filipino youth and provides a positive identity for raising self-esteem and developing self-worth in the context of incumbent scarring, embarrassment, and shame. These conditions should be seen as forms of contemporary psychological manifestations of colonialism and anti-Filipino racism.<sup>314</sup> Beneath the program's objectives of health and fitness, youth have potentials to engage in face-to-face levels of social discourse that have come to shape the contours of Hawai'i as "unique." Local youth use Hip-hop dance to maintain and transform Kalihi into a space of vibrant creative expression by working through hurt, anger, or shame that are products not only from historical colonization but also from economic, geographic, and social exclusion. From a pedagogical perspective, the dominant format for Hip-hop dance class and the ways that they are represented in

local establishment media are inadequate to address race at systemic levels, although this is a necessary aspect for achieving race-conscious social justice. The difficulty around Hip-hop dance in Hawai'i, in part, lies in the lack of room, to "work out" the issues of race that have been fundamental to its development as popular youth culture—issues that outsider, "minority," and amateur teachers like myself are still figuring out. And yet while the In-Motion program constitutes a site more successful as a space of response than reflection and its limited ability to engage with the racial structures undercuts a critical engagement with Local identity, it still provides a much needed service to a population that is often underserved.

### **The Monarchy B-boying Competition: Inside the Royal Cypher**

*At the Monarchy, one young dancer sprang forward and playfully taunted his opponent as he toprocked and opened his set. The competitor comically mimed the young dancer's arm motions as if to highlight that dancer's uncoolness. Another teenager spun four times on his beanie-clad head and fell into a chair freeze while his crew all lifted their arms fanning the fancied heat coming off his compacted body. Yet another lanky, floppy-haired dancer tapped the floor to signal to the judges that his opponent had committed a stylistic error—falling out of a freeze and touching the ground. These dancers served up derision more easily than they gave props. They aimed to show the judges that they knew their James Brown—proven by display of their beat-savvy accents. And for ten adrenaline-pumping minutes they communicated, congratulated, and competed, almost entirely without verbal expression.*

In-Motion provides a glimpse into the issues of navigating structural racism with the praxis of Hip-hop, but an exploration of Hip-hop culture in Honolulu would be incomplete without discussion of the Local competitive arena. The competitive scene described in the vignette above is often the most documented and centralized aspect of b-boying culture, even though most b-boys spend less time battling than training and performing. One exceptional example of the competitive Hip-hop community resides in the Monarchy, which overlapped temporally with events of the Filipino Centennial and took place in 2006-2007.<sup>315</sup> This event was intent on finding "Hawai'i's Royalty of Breakdancing" through a series of inter-island breakdance competitions billed as "the



biggest crew battle in Hawai'i."<sup>316</sup> "[S]pecial guest judges from the mainland" whittled the dozens of crews down to one championship battle that culminated on Oahu.<sup>317</sup> Mostly young, local competitors danced within crews made up of three to eight members for rounds of ten minutes each. There were several installments of the Monarchy: the Maui preliminaries event at Queen Ka'ahumanu Mall on December 23, 2006, Maui Finals at Maui Filcom Center on January 12, 2007, Oahu's top four crews on January 26, 2007, Kaua'i and Big Island, and Finals on Oahu on March 30, 2007 (Spring Break). The event that I attended took place at the Filipino Community Center (known as FilCom in the community). An investigation of the Monarchy from a space-based analytical framework promotes a deeper understanding of b-boying culture and ultimately intimates Hip-hop dance's values of challenging its own community members to analyze their own practices.<sup>318</sup>

To get inside the cypher (b-boying social space) and analyze the interactive nature between individuals at the Monarchy requires beginning with the idea behind it all, the search for "Hawai'i's Royalty of Breakdancing." By comparing the Monarchy with literature on b-boying spaces, this section walks through the event's varying dimensions of social and cultural function. In the context of Local Filipino culture and disenfranchisement, the actual reality of the Monarchy event delivered an important message about underserved youth populations carving a playful, artistic and competitive space for themselves through an event that was loyal to Hip-hop cultural conventions of space but also infused with new meanings.

The key to understanding the success of the Monarchy lies in the integration of its elements—the structure, style, and relationship between the form and content. To underscore an analysis of these components I narrow my discussion to the Monarchy's (a) serial design, (b) interactive nature, and (c) the ways it relates to New York b-boying spatial aspects. The Monarchy's success resulted in part from its successive design, which, as previously noted, incorporated preliminaries on neighboring islands, Kaua'i, Maui, Big Island, and Oahu. It was not a one-night

only, annual concert, or talent show. This serial structure infused the event with a different type of energy and gave participants a different sense of inter-island community investment. The Monarchy provided the narrative drive for the lives of youth from month-to-month in ways that one's own school homeroom or typical football game might not. When I asked B-girl Mo-Shen about her competitive motivation she replied, "for the challenge and because it's fun."<sup>319</sup> But, after experiencing the Monarchy for myself, I am inclined to believe that the Monarchy was not only a space for entertainment or even stress relief and exercise—as other participants claimed. The Monarchy helped Local youth negotiate their own dance-based metrics and pushed them to think and re-think about how competitions operate on a value system of their own. A bad competition is one that is not competitive at all and where folks walk away not learning anything new about the community. A good competition is made up of good battles, how close the loser lost and how faithful the competitors stayed. A good competition perhaps is competitive in an unconventional way. It revises the ways that individuals engage dance as a live embodied experience and suggests that they re-conceive "the field" of peers before them.

The Monarchy was a wheelhouse for the attributes that scholars and b-boys have historically gained from the practice—ability to overcome shyness, expertise to perform under pressure and capacity to project confidence.<sup>320</sup> But if we look beyond the b-boy competitor, the judges' roles emerge as similarly significant for understanding b-boying competitions. American Studies scholar Imani K. Johnson describes the judges' role:

The social act of battling is actually policed in competitions. Judges determine winners and losers, and only a generous few explain their decisions. Thus, the competition socializes to conform in some ways to the demands of the structures and codes that characterize b-boying as a practice. Competitions are an opportunity to transmit this approach and represent it to the community.<sup>321</sup>

In a practice where judges "make decisions depending on their tastes, preferences, and the principles they hold dear" the lack of explanation of battle decisions can feed into heated community

debates.<sup>322</sup> Johnson describes such controversial rulings like one at the Ten Year Anniversary of Freestyle Sessions in Los Angeles between the Mighty Zulu Kings (MZK) and Gamblerz Crew in which many audience members interpreted the Gamblerz loss as a result of judges who overly favored "old school" sets—individual style, footwork, burns and less power moves—national bias for the U.S. over Japanese team, and cultural stereotypes of "too clean or too precise" Asians and arrogant Americans.<sup>323</sup> On the one hand, some see one's evaluative criteria (as judge or spectator) as a marker of their insider-outsider status to b-boying culture. San Francisco Bay Area b-boy, Smily states, "If a purely power dancer goes up against a purely style dancer, the winner will be determined by the judge's bias. Since 2005, judges usually gave it to the style b-boy. People unfamiliar to breaking are likely to give the battle to the dancer using power."<sup>324</sup> On the other hand, at the Monarchy, "insider-outsider" dynamics have a particular colonial dimension in which "mainland judges" can infer a type of inherent prestige or status with an assumed proximity to more "authentic" Hip-hop cultures.<sup>325</sup>

The prospect of evaluation from outsider judges is a mixed blessing. Judges originating outside Local Hip-hop offer the resident b-boys a promise of growth and legitimacy, enabled by what b-girl and popular dance scholar Mary Fogarty calls "imagined affinity."<sup>326</sup> At the same time, sometimes the burns and physical insults that prove to be most successful are those that make imaginative allusion to real local cultural referents and "inside jokes" that might make less sense to outsiders. At the Monarchy, one competitor completed his set with a freeze that placed him spatially at the foot of his opponent, a local teenager with a closely faded multi-color buzz cut. After his freeze, the b-boy quickly stood up, pulled an imaginary spoon out of his pocket, and made a scooping gesture at his opponent's head. At first the motion was subtle, fluid, and timed perfectly, but then the b-boy seemed to recognize that the judges did not "get it" so he made his gestures more exaggerated. His movements quickly turned amateurish and arched as if to ensure the judges would

recognize the other b-boy's shaved head as an imaginary shave ice, a staple of local food culture, as the majority of the crowd had already. While this interaction does not represent the majority of the rounds at the Monarchy, it is instrumental in depicting ambivalence around b-boy interactions between judges and competitors. On one side, Local b-boys operate as authorities of a Local cool aesthetic that relies in part upon the recognition and approval of mainland b-boy experts whose perceived measure of "authenticity" gets couched as "special."<sup>327</sup> On the other side, judges, as strangers to Local culture tasked to interpret a battler's intentions vis-à-vis their actual executed movements, can inadvertently stifle the breadth of innovation and artistry that is vital for performing the befitting "hip" to Local Hip-hop.

This is not to suggest that participants of the Monarchy are limited to riffing off of local culture. In fact, an example of a deliberate allusion to Hip-hop's origins is visible in one of the non-dance aspects of the Monarchy. In another type of competition, a "Writers Battle," young visual artists, equipped with broad-tipped Sharpies and Prismacolors design vibrant and stylized illustrations and textual art pieces. There are two notable aspects of the Writers Battle that occurred at the same time as the main dance battle. The first is that the battle did not occur on the dance floor or wall but upon pieces of cardstock, each standardized by outlines of a New York subway train car. The reality that Hawai'i has no subway train-form of mass transit amplifies both the recognition of Hip-hop's origins and the innovative content of the Local Honolulu Hip hop scene's writers. The second aspect of the Writers Battle is that the presence of the competitors in relationship to the dancers. Several writers sat with their backs against the walls heavily concentrated on their act of writing. Other writers formed in the outdoor courtyard, heads lowered close to their pieces, almost indifferent to the seeming disorder that surrounded them. The finished pieces are displayed along the walls of the room and evidence of the intertextuality between members of Hip-hop diaspora. Like the semi-cyphers that surround the main cypher, these writers' bodies and their finished pieces,

drew my eye away from the center stage, afforded the opportunity to explore the event beyond the usual b-boy-centered point-of-view, and gave me pause to consider anew the established notion of b-boying social space, known as the cypher.

According to Joseph Schloss, a scholar of New York breakdance, b-boy spaces consist of three main aspects: shape, size, and surface.<sup>328</sup> I highlight the details of b-boying spaces at the Monarchy because it best demonstrates the dancer's appropriation of Hip-hop signifying practices. At the Monarchy and in b-boying events in general, the cypher is the most commonly recognized dance shape. Schloss states,

The cypher is a social space that teaches many valuable lessons to b-boys and b-girls: a connection to Five Percenter spirituality and politics, a connection to other circle-based elements of hip-hop, the ability to overcome shyness or reserve, developing one's general ability to perform under pressure, the ability to project confidence, and the ability to seamlessly correct mistakes.<sup>329</sup>

This statement is part of Schloss' extensive discussion around the cypher's historical origins, authenticity, improvisation, competition, and its parallels in African Diasporic dance, religious rituals, and martial arts.<sup>330</sup> The notion that African diasporic dance, religion, and martial arts practices address issues of belonging and exclusion for individuals of African descent beyond the geographic borders of the continent is a common rationale underlying Hip-hop studies. But the particular demographics of the Honolulu Hip-hop scene inspires query into the meanings of these practices for members of the Filipino diaspora.

In the context of Filipino cultures, social dance spaces have parallels in forms that predate and persevere in the wakes of Spanish and American colonialism, particularly those from ethnic minorities. Ramon A. Obusan and Esteban Villaruz write,

Most young men's dances enact a fierce fight or a martial art. Among the Badjao, Tausug and Samal, the **silat** (or **kuntao**, **lima**, **pansak**) belongs to the general and martial langka which style makes it a gamesome dance. The Badjao learn this out at sea or on a boat where they spend most of their lives. Among the Maranao, the youth is initiated into the **marinaw**

which is a pre-combat chant and ceremony which lead into the full-fledged sagayan dance that transforms him into a respectable young man. Like the sagayan, the Subanon *so ten* supplicates the spirits to give strength and courage to a warrior who shakes a shield and palm leaves (bold emphasis in original).<sup>331</sup>

The presence of Philippine "ethnic dance" characterized by adolescent masculinity, martial vocabulary, spiritual function, and mimesis of violence underscore the parallels between b-boying and Philippine culture.<sup>332</sup> While it might be unreasonable for one to expect a familiarity with Philippine ethnic dance among Filipinos in Honolulu, the similarities present an interesting pattern of continued youth cultural choreographies arguably both despite and because of large-scale structural changes of colonialism and migration.

Just as the shapes of dance hold important roles in meaning-making—size matters. The magnitude of the dance area and the self-control necessary to adapt to different sizes establishes a connection between today's dancers and the not-so-well-documented community dances, crowded nightclubs and parties that served to first develop b-boying in Bronx in the 1970s.<sup>333</sup> At the Monarchy I observed examples of both small and large cyphers. The smaller cyphers popped up sporadically. These cyphers revealed a more intimate style of b-boying and seemed to be managed by beginners and style-based dancers for training purposes. The larger cyphers were maintained by power move-specialists and dancers with highly stylized toprocks. These larger, wider cyphers essentially seemed more public, impersonal, advanced, and aimed at projecting one's technical skills and personality.

The cypher's different surfaces—from wet and sticky nightclub floors to rough concrete—create the conditions through which breakdancers highlight their individual versatility, knowledge of their own repertoire, decision-making and self-control.<sup>334</sup> At the Monarchy, there are two main types of dance surface: laminate tile dance floor that looks like light oak and the surrounding carpet. Dance surfaces have both ideological and functional meanings.<sup>335</sup> The Monarchy dance floor does not project an image of cool, rawness, "the streets," or the struggle against exploitation of urban

poor living conditions noted in traditional Hip-hop culture.<sup>336</sup> But it does promote a wider range of spins, gliding, power and air moves in a way that is less injurious than concrete. Similarly, the "uncool" carpeting has the benefit of providing safe landings from stalled freezes and airmoves, albeit with the added risk of carpet burns. While the inner positioning of the dance floor seemed useful for concentrating attention to the main events at the Monarchy, the outlying carpet seemed to garner just as much dancing before *and* during battles. While the amount of off-center action countered the "competitive" atmosphere it also highlighted the ludic qualities of the dancers and added to the immersive experience that the event offered all participants—dancers, judges, and less mobile enthusiasts. Such non-competitive dynamics in what was billed as the "the biggest crew battle in Hawai'i" led me to question the efficacy of the event itself.<sup>337</sup>

It stands to reason that the activities I observed should be seen, similar to the In-Motion program, as acts of cultural labor executed by underserved youth populations in the face of systemic inequality. Unlike In-Motion, however, the Monarchy offers more of a window into the uniquely "organic" importance of serial design, interplay, and connection to existing b-boying spatial aspects of Local Hip-hop. Even so, there are particular areas where the community is less surefooted and these mitigated the success of the Monarchy. We can recall the event's internal goals of searching for "Hawai'i's Breaking Royalty" in particular as an indicator of how the Monarchy falls short in developing a language to deal with the complex and contestatory racial and ethnic politics shaping the lives of its participants, mostly descendents of Asian settlers in Honolulu. Beyond the event's title and the use of King Kamehameha images on publicity flyers, there was no other instance or reinforcement of the idea of the Monarchy. This suggests that the theme was less about literal definition of people of royal Hawaiian genealogy status, and more about invoking the superficial trope of the Monarchy used to reference power, locality, and place (hence the map images of the island archipelago in promotions).<sup>338</sup> In the context of the continued Hawaiian sovereignty

movement, the title and publicity flyers represent a hollow appropriation of images representations of Native Hawaiian people and a (successful) attempt to capitalize on "cool" and masculinize the indigenous monarchy to serve as local proxy for Hip-hop's popularly theorized Black cool aesthetic.<sup>339</sup> Here, it might be instructive to return to the Centennial Souvenir Book's engagement of Native Hawaiian culture. While the Souvenir Book inadvertently reproduced the "disappearing Indian" trope and simultaneously constructed a narrative of "Aloha Mabuhay," the promotional materials of the Monarchy appropriate Native Hawaiian codes in an attempt to localize the New York image of Hip-hop. Both cases speak to the appropriation of Native Hawaiian cultural signifiers for socially constructing Local Filipino subjectivity.

In her studies of the black dancing body, Brenda Dixon Gottschild explores the dancing body as a process of relaying the tensions between paradoxical roles and as a symbol of black pride and as the “negative space around which the white dancing body was configured.”<sup>340</sup> I find that Gottschild's theory for the Black dancing body provokes doubt around Local organizers' use of the Native Hawaiian body in the Monarchy. If we were to suppose the Native Hawaiian body acts as both a symbol of pride and negation, what racial body is configured in its negation?

Eager to unpack the ways these issues of race play out in the experiences of b-boys in Honolulu, I turned to veterans and amateurs in the field and was met with a mixed understanding of the ways racial and ethnic difference characterize the Monarchy. For some, like Local Filipino Style-Len (Leonard Acio) of the Rock Steady Crew, Hawai'i chapter, Hip-hop is a family affair. Style-Len recounted how he met Crazy Legs, President of Rock Steady Crew, one of the most well-known b-boy crews, after he performed in 1983 at the Oceana Hotel.<sup>341</sup> Style-Len began practicing B-boying after getting backstage to meet Crazy Legs and other foundational breakers such as Ken Swift, Kuriaki, Baby Love, Devious Doze, and Buck 4.<sup>342</sup> Today, Style-Len's son, Desmond “B-boy Des” Acio, competes alongside his father at competitions, like those held at the Filcom Center in



Waipahu, and helps teach youth as young as five at the Center, a performing arts studio in his hometown of Kalihi.

Skill-Roy (Roy Ramey), like Style-Len, is also of the Rocksteady Crew Hawai'i Chapter, but self-identifies as "from here, born and raised in Kalihi."<sup>343</sup> He recalled that in 1986-1987 breaking stopped and was "kept alive" by a few who would "bust it out at parties for a kick."<sup>344</sup> Skill-Roy's accounts parallel those of Jeff Chang, who claims New York's "bedroom b-boys," incubated Hip-hop dance culture when it was otherwise believed to be a dead fad.<sup>345</sup> In our interview, Skill-Roy objected to the rising popularity of *So You Think You Can Dance*, a reality television competition he saw as unfair and unrealistic asking b-boys to perform ballet technique but not asking ballet dancers to perform power moves. Skill-Roy's comments struck me as a very matter-of-fact way of pointing out the glaring non-fungible nature of dancers. When we discussed the racial demographics of the b-boying community, he described the crowd as "multicultural" and simply reflective of the Local mixture. Skill-Roy was quick to emphasize that the crews that compete at the FilCom are not just from Waipahu and assert that, "[a]s far as the hip-hop scene and the raw elements of b-boying, that's the biggest events [sic] that are happening right now."<sup>346</sup> This statement suggests that there are multiple types of Hip-hop events co-existing in Honolulu and that for himself and his principles of rawness and scale, Funky4Corners events like the Monarchy are the most "legitimate." What I also find significant about these comments are their ability to downplay race in favor of both a multiculturalist Locality and b-boying culture. While Skill-Roy is able to speak frankly about difference between dance and commercial representation, there is an inability to speak directly about racial difference.

Skill-Roy's Localist comments stood in disagreement with those of other dancers and one in particular that I met early in my research at the Center Dance Studio (aka the Center) in Kalihi. I first heard about the Center through my In-Motion students at Farrington High School. At the

Center, I met Nixon Dabalos, of the Awesome Breaking Crew (ABC), who also teaches and trains with Rock Steady Crew at the Center. Dabalos, thirty-years-old and a private caterer, immigrated from the Philippines in 1985 and began breaking soon after seeing kids who transferred from the mainland breaking at Farrington High School's Winter Ball 1988.<sup>347</sup> Dabalos' accounts of his crew originally training in front of Farrington's auditorium (where many young dancers still train), because it provided access to a free power source, resonate with early accounts of breaking spaces for African American and Puerto Rican immigrant youth in New York.<sup>348</sup> When I asked Dabalos for his thoughts on race and the recent events organized by Funky4Corners, he says, "About 80% are Filipino."<sup>349</sup> While, this rough estimate points to one of the difficulties of b-boying events—obtaining accurate data that accounts for the social demographics of its participants—my own observations and informal interviews with other respondents support Dabalos' estimates.

The disparate ways Skill-Roy and Dabalos make sense of race and b-boying in family, local, and Filipino circles speak to the bewildering space of the Monarchy. In some ways, the Monarchy actually abuts, cordons, and de-emphasizes markers of racial history. Behind the competitors of the Writers Battle and juxtaposing their displayed artworks lies a greenish mural of prominent Filipinos. It seems to watch over the action and inscribe the events within a backdrop of Local Filipino history. Behind a corner of the judges side of the cypher there stands a statue and plaque meant to pay respect to the first Sakadas, as noted earlier, the fifteen Filipino agricultural contract laborers that arrived in Hawai'i in 1906 aboard the SS Doric. Curiously, the statue is physically and aesthetically separated from the Monarchy by glaring yellow caution tape. Perhaps the organizers thought the statue might be damaged by air moves-gone-awry. Maybe whoever put up the tape predicted that a dancer might hurt their body on the Sakada's sharp-edged tools. Whatever the actual intentions, this separation only made the absence/presence of racial history more haunting. In particular, for someone like myself that had approached the event with intent to be consciously

aware of representations of race, the caution-taped Sakada statue was an apparition warning me and highlighting the absence of collaboration between the Funky4corners community and the Filipino Centennial Commission more apparent.

As read through the Monarchy, an interactive dance experience, Hip-hop Honolulu speaks persuasively to the importance of space and place in constituting multiple forms of identity. The fact that Nixon Dabalos shrugged his shoulders when asked about his awareness of the Filipino Centennial community events on Oahu highlights the potential bridges between Hip-hop and Local Filipino groups. Not to be outdone, Dabalos replied, “*This is* the Filipino scene for me.”<sup>350</sup> I could not agree more. With each moment of the Monarchy, I was led into a deeper level, a different nook of Local Hip-hop. The Monarchy offers us an example of the Local ways that cyphers operate: the large cyphers on laminate and small cyphers on carpet differ from the “rawness” of New York concrete; the dancers’ draw from Local culture to localize “authentic” New York cyphers; the Writers Battles adds another Hip-hop core element to an otherwise b-boy-centered event. At the same time, an exploration of the event’s inability to produce a clear understanding of race as it promotes and inhibits the lives of its participants suggests one of the shortcomings within the current b-boying cultural conversation. In particular, despite its successes as a Hip-hop space, the Monarchy’s construction of Hawaiian masculine cool aesthetics, imprecision of multiculturalism, and mixed messages about Filipino racialization undermine the community’s ability to speak to race realities at hand. This would be a further step toward dealing with the material terms of spatial and land politics for Native Hawaiians and Asian settler colonialism. In the context of these ideas, a shared emphasis on the significance of space, cultural fluency, and community investment of Hip-hop and Native Hawaiian politics remains a hopeful space of growth in Hip-hop dance practices.

### **“Those girls were too cocky”: Politics of B-GirlHood**

The sedimentary notions of space and identity that rise to prominence in the Monarchy events do not act as some sort of pretext from which a celebratory sense of community, Local or otherwise, emerges. Rather, the scene serves as a prism through which one sees Filipino subjects as active and tacit partners in Asian settler colonialism. The mechanisms by which dancers form, express, and challenge historical and contemporary notions of gender provide a necessary line of inquiry into the ways individuals invest new meanings into "sticky" concepts—Hip-hop music's historical development in post-industrial society and the globalization of Hip-hop cultural arts as Africanist diasporic tradition.<sup>351</sup> In the same instant these mechanisms naturalize Filipinos as benefactors of a "local" or "homegrown" identity formation, which obscures the material and genealogical contradictions between Filipino settler and Native struggles. Indeed, as this section will demonstrate, Hip-hop culture provides educational and competitive practices that allow women in Hawai'i to resist colonial formations popularly engendered in dance like the stereotypical "hula girl." Nevertheless, what compromises the emancipatory potential of this scene are the ways in which heteronormative notions of gender performance play a major role in shaping the terms and conditions through which Hip-hop dance, an art form, competitive sport, lived cultural practice, and discrete system of knowledge production, succeeds for men more than women.

And yet, a resistant spirit and politics associated with Hip-hop culture assuages a liberal notion of gender relations by rendering hypervisible female bodies actively participating in the lived culture despite its constraining images of women. For example, feminist scholar Charla Ogaz writes, "I am a fan of, if overidentified with, the old-school b-girls. When I see b-girls take the circle, I'm not only deeply impressed, but also pleasantly enraptured with the sense that females can overcome seemingly all-pervasive, personality-saturating fear of male arenas and deliver the beauty of the dance for their own sake, against almost all odds."<sup>352</sup> Indeed, Latinas, African American, Native American, and Asian American women have not had it easy in Hip-hop culture given that pervasive racial

stereotypes like the Puerto Rican *mami* and Black Jezebel undermine the ability of women to move freely through Hip-hop worlds.<sup>353</sup> Raquel Rivera, a leading scholar on Puerto Rican Hip hop offers this claim: "Actress Jennifer Lopez's ass is a good example of how Puerto Rican *mamis* have been eroticized within the hip hop zone as tropical Butta Pecan Ricans part of a ghetto black "us."<sup>354</sup> African American literacy activist, Elaine Richardson has identified the links between female rapper Lil' Kim (Kimberly Jones) and use of the myth of immoral Black Jezebel by prosecutors in the perjury trial, United States of America vs. Kimberly Jones and Monique Dopwell.<sup>355</sup> Gender politics have also shaped the experience of dancers in Hip-hop such that they have curbed the movement vocabularies they execute. As B-girl Baby Love recounts when she joined the Rock Steady Crew in South Bronx in 1981, women displayed slower, jazz-derived movements to "avoid looking like guys" and so as not to be perceived as threats to the male-dominated culture.<sup>356</sup>

The neglect of female-gendered social practices, like Double-dutch jump rope, and the narrow construction of female dancers can be seen as byproducts of these texts' inherent aim, to legitimate Hip-hop as a subject of scholarly research.<sup>357</sup> Scholar Nancy Guevara has argued, even "traditional" Hip-hop studies that recognize the racial, class, and artistic prejudices that African American and Latino males must often overcome to be given "props" have themselves outright discriminated or else tacitly marginalized women.<sup>358</sup> Jorge Pabon's trailblazing essay, "Physical Graffiti: The History of Hip-Hop Dance," lacks any female sources despite often invoking the terms interchangeably as "b-boys/b-girls."<sup>359</sup> Tricia Rose's most recent straight-shooting monograph walks through critics and defenders versions of sexism and misogyny in Hip-Hop from a plethora of angles, but always from the standpoint of commercial music, rap, and emcee-based controversies.<sup>360</sup> Joseph Schloss, b-boying ethnomusicologist, "attend[ed] virtually every major b-boy event in New York City between 2003 and 2008, and stud[ied] the dance both formally and informally," yet out of twenty-eight Hip-hop pioneers, experts, and contemporaries interviewed, he only includes the voices

of three b-girls.<sup>361</sup> Halifu Osumare's text, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*, which includes a forty-four page chapter on Hip-Hop Culture in Hawai'i, is also absent of the voices of female practitioners.<sup>362</sup>

When oral historians, intellectuals, and journalists do include female voices, discourse on gender, feminism, and anti-sexism in Hip-hop can be sorted into two types. The first type provides the historical and Black cultural politics germane to a majority public's understanding of Hip-hop. The second sort provides the internal perspective of Hip-hop's often overlooked, yet essential, b-girling and dance element. First, the majority of scholarship derives from music-centered sources, media portrayal of female rappers like Foxy Brown, Lil Kim, and Missy Elliot, underground artists like Medusa, and controversies propagated by male artists like Nelly and 2 Live Crew. For example, Kaila Adia Story, African American Studies scholar contextualizes Hip-Hop music video vixens in relationship to the Venus Hottentot and colonial desires of excess black sexuality that overlook the value of women's intellects, beliefs, and personalities.<sup>363</sup> Second, there is a growing number of Hip-hop studies by Nancy Guevara, Charla Ogaz, Alesha Dominek Washington, MiRi Park, and Sunaina Maira that focus on the experiences of female dancers and b-girls.<sup>364</sup> Both sets are valid and necessary and neither is more legitimate than the other. For instance, Toni Blackman, Hip-hop activist and once designated U.S. Hip Hop Ambassador by the Department of State, was introduced to the culture through its dance.<sup>365</sup> Although she is not a professional dancer nor known for her dancing, this aspect of the culture was a crucial pathway to her current role as author, diplomat, organizer of Rhyme Like a Girl, and founder of Freestyle Union, a group that employs freestyling for social responsibility.<sup>366</sup> From a critical dance studies perspective, studies on b-girls rely heavily on quotes from interviews and verbalized expressions. In so-called "Hip-hop Honolulu-style," then, a focused inquiry regarding the ways women act, embody, and perform complicity and resilience to

gender inequalities, allows for discussion of females beyond video vixens, outsiders, or cheerleaders, and it also remains attentive to the multiple dimensions of dance.<sup>367</sup>

Insofar as Hip-hop cultural modes of expression provide an alternative to existing hegemonic stereotypes of women, in Hawai'i, these expressions also undermine efforts to critically engage with the ongoing politics of colonialism in Hawai'i.<sup>368</sup> As mentioned earlier, female dancers in Hawai'i continually navigate between colonial politics engendered by an enduring "Hula girl" stereotype that works to objectify female bodies, evaluate their labor based upon their abilities to receive the touristic gaze, fulfill foreign expectations of Hawai'i as an unpopulated, exotic paradise, and circumscribe their physical abilities based upon colonialist notions of racial "authenticity."<sup>369</sup> Of course, this does not mean that Hula and other Polynesian dances that saturate the choreographic landscape of Hawai'i have not held continued important meaning for the Kanaka Maoli and numerous settler groups in Hawai'i.<sup>370</sup> Many scholars have documented Hula as a compelling practice of spirituality, cultural preservation, diasporic belonging, and wellness, as well as a mode of oppositional politics of resistance.<sup>371</sup> Nevertheless, counter-hegemonic iterations of Hula remain more marginalized, economically and politically, than their touristic cousins. If the decision for females to participate in the Hip-hop dance world means an uphill battle against both internal and external male hegemony, as Nancy Guevara contends, in the U.S. settler state of Hawai'i, such dance aesthetics also offer a promising alternative to the continued colonial "Hula girl" trope.<sup>372</sup>

Female dancers in Hawai'i navigate a complicated blend of gendered choreography—the Black and Latina colonial hypersexuality of Hip-hop's "video vixens," colonial "dusky maidens" of Hawai'i, and the muted dancing body of b-girls valued more for what they say than how they dance. Yet, how might we characterize their pathways to Hip-hop's promise of transformation? What constitutes Local women's experiences, choreographies, and physical rhetorics as unique? A Local women-centered discussion of first educational and then competitive venues aids in exploring a

response to these queries and a deeper understanding of Hip-hop cultures at large. Privately owned studios make dance palpable through a process of mediation that involves the interests and motivations of studio owners, teachers, students, and parents, whereas competitive Hip-hop venues are shaped by event production companies, dancers, judges, and audiences. Beneath the conditions of possibility and resilience that Hip-hop dance and b-girling offer as an alternative to the misogyny of the hula girl and video vixen stereotypes, there exist multiple gendered experiences suggested by the little sisters, mothers, and B-girls breathing life into the scene.

As noted earlier, I first heard about the Center Dance Studio in Kalihi from my students at Wallace Rider Farrington High School. After teaching class one day, I decided to explore the space myself. So I grabbed my helmet and jumped on my moped. I took off from Farrington in the direction I was told, about two miles makai (toward the ocean) and came upon a set of businesses arranged in a shopping plaza. There was a grocery store, fast food chicken restaurant, and thriftshop among others. After some searching I finally found the stairwell to the second floor and a sign posted that indicated I was in the right place. From the outside, the Center was completely unassuming. It was tucked away in a blank white hallway (reminded me of a telemarketing office that I worked in when I was in high school). Behind a small office, a display room for trophies and dance shoes, lay the main, and only, studio. The Center offered a variety of dance classes—Ballet, Breakdance, "Hip-Hop," Hula, and Jazz —taught by a majority female staff to a largely youth clientele, and it was this space and curriculum that helped me reflect on gender relations between women and girls in Hip-hop.

Beyond the physical aspects of the space, the studio also serves sociological functions by providing a common version of dance categorization within which individuals orient themselves in relationship to Hip-hop culture not only through the experience of musical consumption but in linking such acts with physical, kinesthetic, visual processes. In short time I learned that participants



of the Breakdance class were also regular participants in the events of Funky4Corners, and this encouraged me to explore the studio as a space in connection, rather than isolation, to the "street." For those familiar with breakin' as the fundamental dance component of Hip-hop culture, the idea that there are two separate classes for "Hip-hop" and "Breakdance" might seem confusing, redundant, or proof of the studio's "inauthenticity." While the Center space might appear like a luxury for whom Hip-hop is defined as cultural practice confined to "the streets," for many girls, teens, and mothers, the studio provides both a training ground and "safe space" that prepares b-girls and b-boys for Hip-hop's competitive venues without fear of being mocked or derided.<sup>373</sup>

The Center's version of Hip-hop and Breakdance seemed like a "closed system" of order and disorder. In line with pedagogical conventions of breaking described by previous scholars, the Breakdance class was rather informal.<sup>374</sup> Mostly male dancers trickled in at different times and this added to the loosely structured atmosphere of the class. A pair of instructors was responsible for the class, watching individuals and providing advice here and there, but several others took on positions of authority and offered to teach me. There were two groups of breakers present, split spatially and organically between advanced and beginner dancers. In the advanced group, one spiky haired young male, Style-Len's son, B-boy Des, worked on his 1990s, a movement that involved spinning vertically inverted on one hand. Still others worked on hand hops, in which they also balanced precariously inverted on one hand and kicked legs toward the ceiling to lift off the ground successively. In another corner of the studio, Erwin worked with his partner Benjamin on a synchronized toprock sequence. Both groups improvised with an array of specific skill sets, types of freezes, power moves, floorwork, and phrasings. Although the Breakdance class used the same physical space as the Hip-hop Class, the former's students relied less upon the mirror. Both classes used the same medium-sized boombox, however, during the Breakdance class various individuals would swap out the music when the mood called for it and insert their personal compact disc. On

one hand, the decentralized authority and continuously adaptive atmosphere of the Breakdance class seemed uncertain and chaotic. On the other hand, the training in musicality, canonical breaking movement skills, and division of experience levels, presented a more customized, individualized version of the dancing than that which I observed in the Center's Hip-hop class.

In the Hip-hop class, a group of local girls and teenagers learned a new set of visually dynamic movement phrases per session and rarely turned their backs from the mirror. This class differed depending on the female instructor's preferences, but the sessions consistently offered relatively structured and pre-determined sequences of movement. The mirror helped the students maintain appropriate positioning on the dancefloor, positioning that also helped the students see their reflections in the mirror. They adjusted their gestures according to the instructor's example. Essentially, the teacher alone determined the musical and movement dimensions of the dance, and she led her students through a pop or R&B track, count by count. Students arrived to class on time and left at the end of the designated one-hour session. Hip-hop class at the Center not only reflected a structured regularity that had the potential to instill values of discipline, but also ensured a space where females could support each other; a dynamic that was harder to locate in the Breakdance class. Old school b-girl, Aika Shirakawa, has spoken about her early teenage experiences attempting to learn popping but being excluded by male teachers in the early 1980s.<sup>375</sup> Additionally, B-girl Honey Rockwell, a Latina of Rock Steady Crew in the mid 1990s, has emphasized the value of safe, autonomous spaces to help women build their skills and "get out of their shell."<sup>376</sup> In the context of the historical exclusion experienced by women within b-boy culture, studios like the Center present the promise of comfort and relative safety. Also, structured Hip-hop classes send a message of security and equal access to dance knowledge for female youth in Hip-hop culture.

Any simplified image of oppositional gender essentialisms of masculine disorder and feminine order is disrupted by the fact that women at the Center have different ideas about gender

regardless of the ways that male hegemony attempts to infer a commonly shared experience. To understand this claim one needs to look at women as a group that occupies different roles in Hip-hop. Against the back wall of the studio, for example, mothers of Local youth sat and observed the action on the dancefloor. Overhearing my conversations with some of the breakers, and perhaps because I looked new to the class, a couple of the mothers offered their perspectives on the matter. Gender dynamics are fluid as told by Corazon Mahal, mother and third generation Local Filipino.<sup>377</sup> With a hint of derision she told me that girls tend to spend too much time talking during class. She enrolled her three sons (nine-year old Junior, seven-year old Jerwin, and four-year old Jansen) in the Breakdance class for social reasons, to gain discipline and enjoyment.<sup>378</sup> Cherry Torres, mother of ten-year old Joe, travels one hour from Mililani (a community in central Oahu) to take her son to the Center in Kalihi.<sup>379</sup> She is aware of the masculine and Filipino dynamics of the class and attributes this to a sort of genealogy of Filipino male instructors that usually share their knowledge with students closest to their own family and peers. While they may have not provided a clear vision of gender in breakin', the mothers I met contributed to the space's intergenerational dynamic, one that is often omitted in studies of breaking that focus only on the dancer or choreographer-performer.

At the Center, I also met B-girl Jem who, upon seeing me struggle with some footwork, offered some advice. In between our training we talked about the Hip-hop scene outside of the classroom. B-girl Jem began breaking after her older brother, Junior, a senior at Farrington High School, introduced her to the dance form. B-girl Jem trains with her crew and the classes are complementary to the competitive Hip-hop setting. At events like the Monarchy, she explained, mostly all-male crews compete.<sup>380</sup> For this reason, B-girl Jem admires and respects the members of the only Local b-girl crew, Another Girls' Battle (AGB). Composed of an older generation of b-girls in their late twenties and early thirties, AGB's exceptionality also draws from the fact that in Honolulu typically b-girls are singular exceptions to all-male crews.<sup>381</sup> This snapshot of active

women in the Hip-hop scene as linked to their roles as dancers, sisters, and mothers, points to areas of future research necessary to complement the existing portraits of women in Hip-hop. Although they are particular experiences of Local women, they also present glimpses of spatiality, access, and difference to the male-dominated image of Honolulu-based Hip-hop.<sup>382</sup>

### **The Monarchy as Gendered Space**

At the Monarchy, Another Girls' Battle huddled together before their first competitor opened the cypher. B-girl Remedee wore dark red sneakers, a black t-shirt, and a beige undershirt that hung low and accentuated her hips. Her eyes were hidden behind the brim of a black engineer cap. Her elbow bands were both functional and fashionable. B-boys typically begin a set with toprocks, an upright introductory phrasing that emphasizes an individual's sense of rhythm, musicality, and character, and B-girl Remedee was no different. Her crewmates b-girls Floorluv, Juju, LG, Ahn-It, and Stylet lined up behind her. They bent their knees and clapped; a visual and percussive backdrop as Remedee dropped down to the floor. B-girl Juju fixed her bandana and hair while Stylet pounded her fist in the air toward Remedee's set, a gesture of encouragement. Audiences stood on chairs, sat in seats, and folded in cross-legged masses risking personal injury for a closer look at the action.

To the cynical observer, b-girl or b-boy, AGB's dancing may not have stood out as remarkable.<sup>383</sup> They lacked the power and air moves of the Rock Steady Crew and Awesome B-boy Crew, and generally approached the cypher with a relaxed attitude. Yet, the significance of these representations of dancers lay not in their virtuosity but in their ability to shift the male-dominated b-boying conversation. Their very name, Another Girls' Battle, frames Hip-hop gender politics as part and parcel with politics outside of Hip-hop. The practice of naming is an important aspect of Hip-hop culture and aesthetics and AGB's name aims to work against Hip-hop's detractors.<sup>384</sup>

Responding to the idea that Hip-hop is responsible for demeaning women, Another Girls' Battle sends a message that the discrimination and social inequality experienced in male-dominated b-boyin' culture are everyday issues women face whether inside or outside the cypher proper. This coincides with Nancy Guevara's claim that women in breakin' must deal with internal and external male hegemony.<sup>385</sup>

What are the types of gender-based difference within Hip-hop necessary to parse out multiple consequential distinctions between the choreography of battles? Because battles are diachronic, crews often make snap judgments about who opens the cypher and when other members will take their turn depending on the previous competitor's set, an individual's specialties and energy level. B-girl Remedee, for example, opened the cypher because she is known in local circles for her toplocks. The fact that these women are much older than individual b-girls in otherwise all male crews suggests that age has played a factor in their affiliation. Their age also perhaps explains why, b-boy competitors would target them over the younger b-girls with lewd burns (physical insults) in attempts to distract AGB members during their set. The ways they "back up" dancers that enter the cypher seems much more organized and linear than the b-boy crews they battle. These details also highlight how "masculinity" has been relatively absent as an analytic in previous scholarly inquiries of Hawai'i-based Hip-hop.

Gendered movement, clothing, and tactility constitute the Monarchy, although those in attendance may not have verbally acknowledged these terms. Insofar as that breakin' repertoire—toplocks, floorwork, freezes, power and air moves—depends upon an individual dancer's height, limb length, weight, center of gravity, agility, flexibility, and strength, these often gendered traits have direct relationships to the difficulty or energy necessary to perform.<sup>386</sup> It is not always the case that b-girls dress similar to b-boys, but there is something to be said about the unspoken ways breakin' movement vocabulary, especially those that require inversion, curb female performers from

wearing gendered dress. In the absence of gendered costume, differences in bodily movement, hair, and behavior have assumed more responsibility in marking gender. At the Monarchy, B-girl Floorluv, for example, wore a green t-shirt with rolled up sleeves, exposing her arms. She hopped left with her right foot in front and the hair beneath her dark blue bandana bounced a beat delayed. Both white sneakers landed simultaneously like scissor tips. She took another lighter hop and the back foot slid inward and continued rocking. Unlike Floorluv's dark blue jeans, B-girl Juju's camouflage Capri pants lent her more range of motion as she six stepped counter clockwise and then reverse. At the top of the reversal she planted her hands and forehead on the floor and kicked both legs into the air to transition into a modified chair freeze. She wore a burgundy shirt, complement to her Capris and white shoes, and a beige bandana that made it easier for her to pivot on her head. In the context of the hypersexualized Black and Latina Hip-hop "video vixen," the clothing b-girls wear is significant because what a woman wears can intentionally and unintentionally send particular messages to audiences, judges, and competitors. When a b-girl, like Floorluv, exposes her arms with rolled up sleeves or tank tops, she can emphasize her repertoire of strength moves. When b-girl Ahn-It covers her torso, she prevents chances that her womanly figure might distract eyes from her movements, yet she also opens her self up for back-handed "she's good because she's like a guy" commentary.<sup>387</sup>

It is worth noting that the significance of gender relations as read through gestures of dancers at the Monarchy branch out beyond these moments of dancing. With a sense of ritual, crews line up on opposite sides of the floor until one makes their way across and initiates props, a gesture of mutual respect taking different forms—handshaking, daps, snapping, head nodding, eye-brow raising, and hugging.<sup>388</sup> In Local custom, women greet one another with hugs and kisses on the cheek signaling appreciation, affirmation, and affection relative to familiarity. Unlike male forms of touching, like daps and dap hugs, which are forceful and punctuated, the ways women touch are

more gradual, suggesting a restricted range of tactility allowed between males under the dominant cultural paradigm and propagated in the male-dominated Hip-hop space.

At the Monarchy, the variety of ways battles are designed—who can compete and how they compete—can also provide provocative views on the culture's gender-based biological and cultural relations. Unlike football, surfing, and other popular Honolulu youth-based team competitions, dancing pits girls against boys in both solo and team contexts. This format is significant because such battles offer potential for novel everyday exchanges between women and men. Perhaps this is what makes battle formats more surprising when they replicate "traditional" narratives of haole heterosexual courtship as gendered repertoire. It seems reasonable to deduce that for many b-boys and b-girls, these battles are not reflections of Local Hip-hop gender politics but different opportunities for leisure and pleasure. For example, dancers are invited to participate in “Mr. and Mrs. Smith” battles that offer a space for b-girl inclusion, albeit a constrained one.<sup>389</sup> In contrast to the solo, "3-on-3", and crew battles, “Mr. and Mrs. Smith” are the only battles marked by gender. B-girl Jem, who I had met at the Center, competed in “Mr. and Mrs. Smith” battles with her friend and classmate, B-boy Luke.<sup>390</sup> Jem and Luke battled in the “Mr. and Mrs. Smith” battles in February 2006 and 2007, and she gave me the sense that the battle was an opportunity to dance as equal partners in a team, with her friend, who happened to be male, rather than a specifically gendered form of expression. Yet, in a holistic context, the structures of these battles that explicitly recognize gender are decidedly gimmicky. The Funky4Corners stages these battles around the ritual romantic holiday, Valentine’s Day, as a revision of the "Battle of Sexes." The “Mr. and Mrs. Smith” battles are interesting because they secure a place in Hip-hop for women alongside men while, at the same time, maintaining a fixed colonial male/female binary. As the battles un-ironically white wash the cypher by donning names that are emblematic of haole heterosexual marriage, they also maintain gender borders. Theoretically, b-boys can battle b-girls and b-girls can battle b-boys at their own

discretion in informal, spontaneous cyphers, however, in the "Mr. and Mrs. Smith" battles gender borders are impermeable and b-girls are expected to go head-to-head only with other "Mrs. Smiths."

The gendered movement, attire, gestures, rituals and questions of who a b-girl should battle that ring true through the Monarchy and Honolulu Hip-hop challenge the existing threads of gender—neutrality, blindness, and transcendence—by prominent experts. Some pioneers proclaim an equal opportunity type of b-boy pedagogy. Richard Santiago describes this type of logic to scholar Joseph Schloss in his past teachings,

I was [teaching] them the same way I would do b-boys. "You want to be a b-girl? That's it: you gonna do the same training." ... I don't care [if] you're a girl ... This is the game. When you're in that cypher, it's no "b-girl cypher" or "b-boy cypher." No. It's a cypher! There's no gender breakdown. This is what you got. You want to do it, you do it!<sup>391</sup>

In this quote we see the concept of gender neutrality as one that maintains a status quo of male privilege reliant on an omission or ignorance of the lived realities of b-girls like Baby Love and Honey Rockwell in New York since the 1980s. The "Mr. and Mrs. Smith" code in Honolulu that b-girls only battle b-girls resonates with accounts by Baby Love, an old school Latina B-girl, and the main b-girl of New York Rock Steady Crew in the 1980s. The historical accounts that b-girl Baby Love did not battle much because there were few other b-girls around suggests a small, yet significant, point that the "old school" norm was not gender neutrality but clearly defined gender borders. In this way, b-girls only battled other b-girls, even when there were many prospective b-boy opponents.<sup>392</sup> It is, perhaps unsurprising, that some b-boy pioneers ask b-girls to train in similar ways as b-boys because those are most likely the techniques that b-boys feel qualified to teach. Yet, Santiago's view is controversial because it goes beyond that idea and asks b-girls and b-boys to disavow the gender difference and inequalities they actually experience. The notion that b-girls have been (and continue) to be handed down b-boying knowledge that demands that they train the same as b-boys, reveals not only the gender inequality-through-neutrality of b-boying foundation, but the



deficiencies of such learning practices as they seem ill-fit for preparing competitors who must actually be prepared to adapt to several types of gendered battles.

Beyond the "Mrs. and Mrs. Smith" battles, there are opportunities for b-girls and b-boys to engage in Hawai'i-based Hip-hop rivalries. In these other settings, one factor that undergirds who b-girls battle is whether b-boys are willing to battle b-girls in the first place.

It is not uncommon for some b-boys to shy away from battling b-girls. Some b-boys believe that their personal mores around gender would impede on their battle approach, and anything less than their most aggressive efforts make them vulnerable to losing. Other men consider it beneath them, an insult, or a too easy win to battle a woman. Others too may battle but spend the bulk of the time focused on overly-sexual gestures of domination. While certainly not all b-boys share these opinions and would happily (and unmercifully) battle a woman who challenged him, b-girls are aware that gender differences sometimes play a role in the cypher. In any case, to not battle a b-girl in a culture that thrives on competition undermines the willingness of b-girls to compete on the same plane. I presumed the young man left because the situation seemed to get out of hand, and few recognized his grievances. And I guessed that she intended to piss him off but had failed to grasp the severity of such a breach. Despite the intensions of either party, they brought the most insidious aspects of the culture to bear on the battle. And with that, the cypher fell apart.<sup>393</sup>

As Johnson theorizes, whereas the b-boy's decision to battle a b-girl can be opportunity for sexist exploitation, the "b-boy retreat" can signal perceptions of weakness, elitism, and pity and lead to the cypher's failure.<sup>394</sup> Unlike a "successful" cypher, whereby dancers participate in a social space that teaches lessons about "a connection to other circle-based elements of hip-hop, the ability to overcome shyness or reserve, developing one's general ability to perform under pressure, the ability to project confidence, and the ability to seamlessly correct mistakes", Johnson observes gender as an inhibitor.<sup>395</sup>

While, in reality, "b-boy retreat" is less likely to occur in formalized battle structures like "Mr. and Mrs. Smith," for crews made up of all women these situations are commonplace. At the Monarchy, some b-boy competitors would visibly hesitate and actively push their crewmates forward to battle b-girls so they would not have to. For the sole "all b-girl" crew, AGB, the structures of battles that attempt to account for gender difference can be just as gimmicky as "Mr. and Mrs.

Smith" battles and twice as insulting. As I noted earlier, by their crew name, "Another Girls' Battle" they intend on blurring gender politics across b-boy and non-b-boy circles. Tapping into their title and its meaning, Funky4corners took explicit actions to contextualize the importance of gender in AGB's participation proclaiming "Women face everyday battles and being taken seriously on the floor is just "Another Girls' Battle" Witness as the ladies of AGB battle it out in "The Ultimate Hawaii(sic) B-Boy / Girl Crew Battle".<sup>396</sup> What makes this gesture surprising is the fact that organizers decided to cancel a much-advertised B-girl battle and place the sole B-girl crew (AGB) to register in the "Newbies" category.<sup>397</sup> Organizers alleged, "Unfortunately no other b-girl crews showed up, leaving no option but to battle in the Newbies category."<sup>398</sup> The Newbie title is provocative because just as Funky4corners' gestures toward creating a space for B-girls to battle, they clearly see b-girls as inherently lesser than b-boys. By placing AGB in the "Newbie" category the production staff ideologically infantilized the crew and cemented their role in a type of b-boy paternalism. This categorization disregarded the fact that AGB are not new to breakdancing and calls into question how b-girls are configured in the scene. By reframing the categorical discrimination as a technicality, organizers can obscure their paternalism as well as the normative male gaze.

The b-boy paternalism behind the subordinate categorization of AGB co-signs on conservative gender theories that exist both inside and outside b-girl/b-boy cultures. A popular ideology held by b-boys and b-girls lies in what can be described as a gendered version of "colorblindness." Some scholars have even taken this gender ideology beyond the scope of breaking's internal culture. For instance, Joseph Schloss states,

The idea that a b-boy or b-girl should be judged on their skills rather than their gender (or any other factor, for that matter) is central to the ideology of the dance. At the same time, it sets a clear standard that can be carried over into other aspects of life: if you expect to be taken seriously, you should be prepared to compete on an equal footing with anyone.<sup>399</sup>

The dangers with this kind of statement lie in its abandonment of the possibilities of a gender-conscious and race-conscious standpoint. By promoting a meritocracy of b-boy skills, this view aligns with colorblind ideologies that incorrectly assume a "difference-free" ideal over a reality that is systematically, if informally shaped, by difference. Beyond the accuracy or significance in the lives of the Schloss' informants (or to his own life), any characterization of such terms as universal or "carried over into other aspects of life," in the context of social justice, is evidently flawed. A smaller group of breakers and breakin' scholars differs from Santiago and Schloss, whose depictions of Hip-hop and gender as mutually exclusive concepts seem like strategies of privileging their respective aims. These individuals seem to reflect the reality of inconsistent politics of gender for b-girls. Alesha Dominek Washington, for example, writing on the importance of gender and safe spaces for b-girls, concluded, "Overall hip-hop is more than just being a man or a woman. It is truly a state of being..."<sup>400</sup> Washington's writing seems to recognize the spectrum of global Hip-hop, and a key tension in both the realness of b-girl experiences and transcendence of Hip-Hop.

Notions of gender neutrality, "blindness," and transcendence, seem more capable of tacitly allowing sexism to persist in favor of a male dominant status quo than "keeping it real." This is perhaps related to the male gaze traceable in a minority of responses to the individualized bravado of AGB's competitors, as one viewer commented on this projected stylized attitude stating, "Those girls were too cocky."<sup>401</sup> This comment curiously straps on the phallic modifier to AGB's members and implicitly signals an assumption that even in a form where bragging is norm, femininity should be constituted in humility.<sup>402</sup> Comments such as these act like little proofs that gender "blindness" and Hip-hop transcendence are inaccurate descriptions of Honolulu Hip-hop. At the Monarchy, b-girls can experience things differently, produce different interactions, and garner different reception. In these varied processes, women have potential to unsettle the normativity of b-boying spaces and challenge competitors', judges', and observers' assumptions about B-girlhood in Honolulu. Their

dancing leads to a much more varied place than that constituted by Hip-hop's hypersexualized "video vixens" and Hawai'i's "dusky maidens."

## **Conclusion**

The Hip-hop landscape in Honolulu is made up of several prominent areas, or punctuated spaces, that contribute and complement a wider understanding of Filipino Hip-hop culture. Unlike previous studies of Pacific Islander Hip-hop that depend on a logic of cultural maturation or comparison to mainland forms, Hip-hop Honolulu should be considered in its own right. In some ways, Hip-Hop Honolulu does not appear to resolve into a singular narrative with a unidirectional trajectory, but instead, demands from its participants a scattered attention to cultural, racial, gender, educational, and competitive arenas. An attention to dance cultures, a high spatial intelligence quotient, and ability to navigate gender practices, as points of value and analytical approaches are all useful for analyzing what the culture means to its particular participants. The incongruity of Asian American and Filipino American cultural politics in Hawai'i require an approach that questions the trade-offs between Hip-hop's promise and the concessions of Local Filipino discourse. The social construction of the Local Filipino reveals a rhetorical strategy for dealing with residual plantation hierarchies. The problematic "rainbow" melting pot myth enables Filipinos to distort the realities of inter-racial stratification and re-imagine a history of upward social mobility in attempts to reconcile with enduring economic and social subordination. Aloha Mabuhay is a process of collective remembering and forgetting that misses the opportunity for Filipinos to see themselves as allies to Native Hawaiian groups that share their subordinate position in society and face similar colonial traumas and militarism under U.S. empire.

For Filipino youth in Honolulu, what Hip-hop means and why it matters is specifically and intimately tied to postcolonial, racial, and gendered immigrant experiences. At In-Motion and the

Monarchy, two different views into Hip-hop dance manifest even as the groups similarly built a sense of empowerment through a cultural politics of decolonization at the level of the psyche and self-esteem. The health-centered Hip-hop of In-Motion evidenced the ability of Kalihi's youth to successfully re-purpose their existing spaces and work through "urban core" realities of social and economic marginalization. The experience also revealed the pedagogical challenges of appropriately integrating critical reflection on relevant systemic forms of race in Hip-hop dance.

At the Monarchy, a window into Hip-hop's interactive competition scene, an "outsider" culture was made more "raw," legible, and legitimate with the ways it agreed with New York b-boy spaces. Nonetheless, the Monarchy's hollow use of Native Hawaiian representations and mixed messages about Filipino racialization seem to replicate the problematic rainbow melting pot and undermine the community's ability to deal with race realities. The picture drawn by reflections from In-Motion and the Monarchy's b-boying spaces is incomplete given the dynamics of what b-girlhood offers. Local women, as b-girls, sisters, and mothers, complement existing portraits of Pacific Hip-hop and provide a clearer image of b-girls beyond their verbal expressions. The studio can often be the space where b-girls and b-boys spend the most amount of time dancing. In this way, it can be an instrumental, if often underappreciated, source of pedagogical difference, gendered access, and alternative representations to the male, music-centered image of Honolulu-based Hip-hop.

Existing b-boying studies shield patriarchal and misogynistic aspects of the culture in an armor of terms like "foundation," style, and individual identity. These terms are virtually unassailable behind a patchwork of "mysticism" and "keeping it real."<sup>403</sup> The gender politics of b-girl spaces in Hip-hop in Honolulu feel entirely different from the sexism debates as described by prominent scholars of Hip-hop culture.<sup>404</sup> Contrary to the mystique are the concrete gender experiences of Hip-hop Honolulu, of which we might think in terms of multi-tiered phenomena: meta, meso, and micro. Relatively abstract concepts such as gender neutrality in b-boy pedagogy, gendered

colonialism in battle design, and b-boy paternalism provide meta glimpses into the ideal, irrational, and indefensible. There is then a meso-level of circumstances—including snap decisions around competitor sequencing, b-boy retreats, crude and lewd burning, b-girl and crew naming practices—that are tangible and directly observable in head-to-head battle. Third, a host of scattered micro-differences in movement vocabulary, costume, tactility, "looks," and commentary play smaller but important parts in the ways b-girls occupy and move through the cultural landscape. These gendered, spatial, and racial experiences inspire hope and call for fresh new looks at Hip-hop dance practices and their implications for Local Filipino, Asian Settler, and Native Hawaiian communities.

## 4 | MARIA CLARA AND HIP-HOP:

### Choreographing Filipinas

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Around the corner it's like Vegas, or better yet like Reno  
Niggaz poppin', welcome to our casino, cause you and me know  
hundred percent like a c-note  
Lookin for a bitch that's half-Black and Filipino  
And when I meet her I'mma offer her some indo  
'Tongue-kissin' on the window of a pearl white limo  
Don't wanna be your man, I'm your nigga  
Touch me here, I'll get bigger  
While I'm diggin I'll get deep into your liver  
I'm game type  
Love fuckin' bitches in the same night  
My words are aphrodisiacs if you say 'em right  
The club be poppin' so I'm stoppin' at the Fat Burger  
Look through the paper it's another black crack murder  
The city's full of surprises, you can live or you can die  
You can fuck on the first night, or try, in the late night

—Tupac Shakur, "Late Night" (2002)<sup>405</sup>

Murder dem Murder dem just one word body a third of them'  
Kick kick game can't injure Nicki,  
that's why they nick nick named me Ninja Nicki,  
I'm such a yes, and you're a no-no,  
Live with a dragon, and wear a Kimono,  
I'm from the Philippines, badder than Billy Jean,  
Guess that is why I get more head than a guillotine?

—Nicki Minaj, "Higher than a Kite" (2008)<sup>406</sup>

The epigraphs to this chapter reveal the modest cameos and slight portrayals of Filipinas and the Philippines in the dominant Hip-hop industry.<sup>407</sup> Shakur's "Late Night" is a relatively mellow rap that tells of his escapades with his crew the Outlawz. Shakur depicts a Filipina as the mixed racial object of heterosexual pursuit, coupling her body, tongue, and liver to notions of gambling,

recreational drugs, and money. In the second example, Minaj embraces East Asian signifiers (ninja, dragon, kimono) to locate the Philippines as geographic source of her "bad-ass chick" prowess. For both these African American rappers, Filipinas are poetically linked to instruments of deviance (Filipino/indo and Philippine/Billy Jean/guillotine) that themselves serve as vehicles for advancing their own "extraordinary" sexual virility. Shakur positions himself as a "California star" whose words are like aphrodisiacs and Minaj "gets more head than a guillotine."<sup>408</sup> In some sense, these lyrics merely operate rationally within an African American Hip-hop context of cultural exchange with Asian cultural references and philosophies.<sup>409</sup> At the same time however, these popular Hip-hop representations depict Filipinas through an orientalist gaze; they reproduce essentializing stereotypes regarding racialized sexual exoticism.

The issues that Tupac Shakur and Nicki Minaj surface act as points of departure for examining the meanings Filipina bodies accrue in the realm of popular performance. The sketch of Filipinas through the business-as-usual pen of U.S. popular rap reveals the staying power of western orientalism. A serious look at how Filipina bodies actively participate in the realm of popular dance and culture offers an alternative to these orientalist representations and opens up this study's heretofore discussion of the remaking of the global Filipino.<sup>410</sup> In "Doin' the Robot" I discussed the neutral gendering of Robots performed by Filipino Americans in UC Berkeley's *Home* as a metaphor of and criticism against colorblindness in the post-Affirmative Action era. In "Punctuated Spaces," I surveyed the ways that Honolulu-based b-girls navigate b-boy paternalism and provocative Hip-hop notions of gender "blindness." From a methodological perspective, the gendered dimensions (meta, meso, and micro) of Local Filipino Hip-hop in Honolulu I witnessed in the mid-2000s prompted my attention to gender during ethnographic exploration of Hip-hop in Manila in 2009 and 2011. Following the two preceding chapters, this chapter continues reframing the existing global Hip-hop conversation toward the choreographic means for Filipino engagement with post/colonialism and



contemporary globalization by focusing on femininity. Rather than a readily legible oppositional resistance to Western and Filipino patriarchies, Filipina bodies in Hip-hop reveal a more ambivalent affinity to the post/colonial and neoliberal dynamics between the Philippines and the U.S. By focusing on the feminine, we are able to tease out these fraught dynamics as they offer unique insight into the remaking of Filipino identity, expand our earlier discussions from Poppin', Robotin', and b-boyin'/b-girlin', and locate global Hip-hop as it is inscribed within a wider context of Filipino dance history. This chapter addresses the ways Filipinas participate in Hip-hop dance in Manila while speaking about this study's themes: Hip-hop dance is part of a Filipino repertoire for racial subjectivity, Hip-hop's dual institutionalization and decolonization, and dance's role in rethinking Hip-hop's globalization. This chapter suggests that given the context of Filipino dance, the femininity and gender rules available in Hip-hop are part of a longer conversation regarding nation building based on the metropolitan subject and multiple others including diasporic, provincial, and foreign immigrant bodies in Manila.

The sequence of this chapter begins with a discussion of Filipinas, dance, and performance in the context of Spanish colonialism and American empire. The next section highlights the dancing within the late 1970s Philippine television show—*Penthouse 7*—in order to open up a neglected history in the Philippines of gendered choreography that includes Hip-hop dance. Observations at a contemporary all-female Hip-hop dance competition, "Confi-dance," are followed by a discussion of the dance performed by Stellars, an all female dance collective. Throughout, I feature Manila-based dancers—Sandy Hontiveros, Ace Lebumfacil, Katherine Sison, and Leal Marie Diaz—in order to offer glimpses of gendered Hip-hop choreography.<sup>411</sup> Casting light on the performance of dances in the 1970s and today, allows me to talk about the institutional training, professional world, and dance pedagogy of Filipina/os in Hip-hop. The patchwork story of dance that follows speaks to the various contradictions of Filipino Hip-hop and the surprising links between foreign, folk, and Hip-

hop dancers that complicate the prevailing frameworks of global Hip-hop.

### **Filipina Dance History**

Our discussion of Filipino Hip-hop dance choreography finds foundation in multiple histories of the Filipina dancing body. The significance of Filipinas and Hip-hop must be understood in the context of the ongoing influence of foreign performance forms and the inequality of power between the indigenous peoples of the Philippine archipelago, Spain, and United States. Beginning with 16th century Spanish colonization, movement practices from Europe and other Spanish colonies were introduced to the native population.<sup>412</sup> Upon witnessing the indigenous percussive music and dances of the natives, the Spanish extinguished or co-opted many pagan and Hindu religious rituals, icons, and ceremonies, particularly in Luzon and the Visayas region.<sup>413</sup> Ethnic minorities including Filipino Muslims in the southern regions and Highlanders (mountain-dwelling ethnolinguistic tribes) in Luzon, Palawan, and Mindoro managed to maintain a line of pre-Hispanic, non-Christian ceremonial practices.<sup>414</sup> Dances of ethnic minority groups portrayed a wide range of human life and served many purposes including worshipping spirits, headhunting, courtship and weddings, avenging death, comedy, and even torture.<sup>415</sup> Across a range of religious, ceremonial court, mimetic, war, and mating dances, Muslim dances show a "Hindu-Malayan quality" that often require special skills.<sup>416</sup> For nationalist scholars, ethnic minority dances serve as markers of resistance or escape from total colonial domination and point to a heterogeneity that is both consistent and in conflict with a light/dark racial rubric.

In the lowland areas like Manila, the Spanish clergy employed dance as a tool of colonialism, teaching it in schools, and asking natives to perform for dignitaries.<sup>417</sup> Dance, along with instruction in western musical instruments and singing, also served to transmit foreign Christian rituals and sacraments.<sup>418</sup> Elite and assimilated natives danced Hispanic forms like the jota, pandanggo

(fandanggo), habanera from Cuba, paseo, marcha, and paso doble for feasts and special occasions.<sup>419</sup> Spaniards also introduced dances from other European origins. For example, since the 1850s, natives adopted the escotis/chotis (derived from the schotische), the balse (derived from the German waltz), and the Polish mazurka.<sup>420</sup> Unlike the wide range of human life evidenced in ethnic minority dances, most of the Spanish colonial dances featured male-female partnered dancing in the service of their union. Balitaw, a typical balse, was performed for courtship purposes.<sup>421</sup> The Sayaw sa Obando was a fertility dance directed at San Pascual Baylon, Santa Clara, and the Virgin of Salambao.<sup>422</sup> Derived from the Spanish fandango, pandanggos were often wedding dances that natives indigenized and localized as in the pandanggo sa ilaw (fandanggo from light), for example, where female dancers balanced tinghoy (oil lamps) on the backs of their hands and head while executing waltz and sway-balances.<sup>423</sup> For Philippine dance researchers, the Spanish colonial era dances have helped construct an authentic, culturally rich identity founded upon the Filipino body's "characteristic adaptability" while bracketing the question of gender.<sup>424</sup>

In the midst of the Philippine-American War (1899-1913), the American occupation brought several formative changes to the racialized and gendered dimensions of dance with the introduction of vaudeville as a form of popular entertainment and its Filipinized form (also known as bodabil), ballet, modern dance, and African American dance forms.<sup>425</sup> Dance scholar Reynaldo G. Alejandro writes that these forms were "readily assimilated" and consisted of dances such as "incidental dancing in local *bodabil*," (italics in original) the Big Apple, Castle Walk, Fox Trot, Lindy Hop, Swing, and Tango that appeared in both social dance halls and theaters.<sup>426</sup> While the Spanish clergy asked natives to perform Hispanic dances and sing pleasant as well as "profane and immodest tunes" for important visitors, it appears that the American military (along with expatriates and Filipino natives) were entertained by imported minstrel troupes.<sup>427</sup> Female vaudeville entertainers, foreign and native, are notable in Philippine dance history for the simple fact that their proper names—unlike the

records of indigenous, folk, and Spanish dances—are part of historical documents and their "billing" leaves a sense that they had "signature" choreography.<sup>428</sup>

Throughout the American colonial period (1899-1946), the U.S. transitioned from "manifest destiny" to "benevolent assimilation" as guises to naturalize rule by entwining itself in the material, medical, psychological, educational, and social fabrics of native lives.<sup>429</sup> To give an idea of the inseparability of American empire and education, within three weeks of occupation in 1899 and by June 1900 the U.S. military opened seven schools in which 100,000 pupils were learning from Army officers and enlisted soldiers who acted as English teachers.<sup>430</sup> In his 1932 study, George Goss writes of Physical Education's rise in American colonial Philippines since 1910, with the Y.M.C.A., Bureau of Education, and Philippine Amateur Athletic Federation emerging as organizations that promoted athletics.<sup>431</sup> Goss cites a 1927 study by Juan C. Nanagas entitled, "Vital Capacity and Physical Standards of Students of the University of the Philippines," that champions the historical hybridization of the aboriginal population.<sup>432</sup> In 1915, the University of the Philippines formed an Athletic Association and later a Department of Physical Education in 1921.<sup>433</sup> That same year, the U.S. Assistant Director of Education, Camilo Osias, spoke on the Bureau of Education's objectives that hint at stereotypes of natives: "It is essential to provide in our educational system an adequate program of physical education to promote bodily health and vigor because happiness and usefulness depend upon a sound body as well as upon a sound mind and morals."<sup>434</sup> Physical education is an example of an ideological state apparatus (ISA) that saw modernity in the changes it brought to the indigenous population.<sup>435</sup> Often contrasting these developments as superior to those brought by Spanish colonialism, Goss implied that the absence of a standard system of competition, despite several forms of games in the islands, constitutes American colonial Physical Education as a step toward progress.<sup>436</sup> And yet, in the early years of Philippine athletic organizations under American empire, the standardized system for baseball, track and field, swimming, tennis and basketball

competition was strikingly arbitrary. A central authority, the Director of Education at the Bureau of Education, determined which teams "have the right to compete" in Manila regardless of winning preliminary provincial meets, and girls teams from distant locations were discouraged from traveling.<sup>437</sup> Physical education also played a crucial role in the preservation of folk and social dances and thus informs their contemporary presence and value.

Another significant way that gendered choreography plays a role in Filipina discourse lies in the folk dances that underwent preservation and canonization during the American colonial period. The story of how Francisca Reyes Tolentino began researching Philippine folk dances has profound gender and class dimensions. In 1921, as part of her student assistantship in Physical Education, Tolentino was tasked with the duty of presenting Philippine folk dances for the annual Manila Fiesta Carnival.<sup>438</sup> She was dismayed at the lack of documentation, only finding Ferdinand Magellan's accounts in 1521.<sup>439</sup> While walking in Tondo, she came across a group of *lavanderas* (laundry women) and their conversation led to her dance dilemma. The *lavanderas*, possibly former dancers, then enlisted male rig drivers to help demonstrate the *carriñosa*, a Visayan courtship dance.<sup>440</sup> This account suggests several interesting ideas regarding the ways gender, labor, and dance converged for the first undertaking of academic Philippine dance research. We might imagine that the *lavanderas* and rig drivers were possibly migrants from the Visayas region who had journeyed to Manila for better employment opportunities amidst American centralization efforts. Along with the *carriñosa*, Tolentino collected and notated the music, physical movement, and bodily positions of three other dances—*aburaray*, *salakot*, and *areruana*—for public presentation.<sup>441</sup> *Aburaray* is also gendered in that it supposedly reflects Filipino "hospitality" in the actions of a girl (probably nicknamed *Aurora*) who balances a wine glass and offers it to various male audience members.<sup>442</sup> The *salakot* is an all-girl dance that uses the native hat of the same name to protect ladies from the sun and rain. The fact that the *Aruana* translates to "here is, Juana," suggests that Tolentino gained more access to dances

that were female-centered.<sup>443</sup> Despite the provocative links to specific socio-economic class, ethnolinguistic region, weather, and perhaps individual women, for some scholars, these dances were still valued for the ways they naturalized mutual, essentialized gender relations between Filipino and Filipina bodies.<sup>444</sup> In the post-war period, these interactions were only further employed in a standardization-as-preservation imperative through several books and a canon that formed the basis for internationally circulated Filipino national identity.<sup>445</sup>

In the decades prior to Aquino's dance research, the presence of European, American, and Pacific Islander foreigners in Manila also significantly established new forms of western proscenium dance in the colony; they introduced ballet and its modern dance alternatives to natives.<sup>446</sup> The students of foreigners would go on to produce significant works and found companies and schools of their own from the 1940s to 1970s.<sup>447</sup> These new developments in dance both continued and produced new methods for understanding colonial gender inequalities while beginning a lineage of dances authored by Filipinas.<sup>448</sup> These changes existed apart and in relation to the folk dance movement spearheaded by Francisca Reyes Tolentino Aquino. In 1922, Anna Pavlova performed at the Manila Grand Opera House.<sup>449</sup> One of Pavlova's students, Madam Lubov "Luva" Adameit formed the Cosmopolitan Ballet and Dancing School in 1927.<sup>450</sup> Adameit, who taught Remedios de Otyeza<sup>451</sup> and Leonor Orosa-Goquingco,<sup>452</sup> is noted for melding Filipino native and ballet techniques in "Planting Rice," "Cariñosa," (on pointe shoes), and "Maria Clara."<sup>453</sup> Adameit's "Maria Clara" references the literary character from *Noli Me Tangere*. As mentioned in the introduction of this study, Jose Rizal's novel *Noli Me Tangere* is an excavation of the social ills of the Philippines in 1892. Maria Clara's character represents a notion of Filipinas from the perspective of elite, native males, an ilustrado class, that with the engines of nationalism continued throughout the American colonial period. Often coded as "mother country," Maria Clara was a key part of Rizal's attempt to

employ the familiar literary format of a love story with a male protagonist to appeal to a wide native pre-nationalist readership.<sup>454</sup>

Today, Maria Clara, the stereotype, inhabits if not dominates Philippine collective conscience and refers to a racially mixed, young woman who is “shy, demure, modest, self-effacing, and loyal to the end.”<sup>455</sup> In 1957, Lucrecia Reyes-Urtula co-founded the Bayanihan Philippine Dance Company and in 1992 she wrote an essay on Hispanic Philippine dance with Prosperidad M. Arandez.<sup>456</sup> In it they explain that Maria Clara also came to be the name of a costume, a silk or satin floor-length skirt for the dances like the mazurka and jota, a waltz dance popularized in the Spanish colonial period and accompanied by a rondalla, and staple of the national folk repertoire.<sup>457</sup> Maria Clara names the suite of Hispanic-influenced dances featured in both Bayanihan Philippine Dance Company's repertoire and multiculturalist Pilipino Culture Nights. Emily Noelle Ignacio observes that contemporary Filipino nationalists often embrace a Spanish-influenced Filipina-Maria Clara stereotype, constructed in opposition to the abject Americanized Filipina-prostitute stereotype, in order to produce Filipino cultural authenticity.<sup>458</sup> Maria Clara exists as shorthand for ideal mestiza femininity that romanticizes Catholic moral propriety as read through dress, manners, and sexual practice. What Maria Clara, as costume, dance suite, or stereotype obscures is the original function of the literary character in Rizal's project of raising critical consciousness before and during the Philippine Independence movement. More specifically, lost is how *Noli* expressed the direct correlation between colonialism and failure resulting from the character's “proper” colonial behavior.

The historical discourse of Filipinas, dance, and performance has inscribed the female body with particular notions of gender, race, and nation that impact gestures toward a critical understanding of Hip-hop dancers in the Philippines.<sup>459</sup> At times, within the Hip-hop community, such ideals shape gendered expectations of Filipina dancers that result in a treatment of their bodies

as the site of social disciplining. At other times, Filipina contemporary practitioners find ways to negotiate these multiple hegemonic forces, navigate the nexus of gender, imperialisms, and Hip-hop conventions and carve out spaces of their own.

### **Penthouse Dancers: "I've been looking for you!"<sup>460</sup>**

*We hear the announcer Archie Lacson introduce the group of Penthouse dancers as "Modern II." The men are wearing suit jackets and the central woman, Sandy Hontiveros, is wearing plum-colored high-waisted slacks and a tight, long sleeve pleated blouse. The women are in the front row and the men are in the back. The group walks backwards up to the camera. They swirl, lock, and drop down to the right knee. Their lock is brief, distinctly bent over, but straight-backed. Their twirls are loose and give the impression of fingers snapping in the air rather than twirling wrists. Their feet are neither kicked nor extended, but rather placed; they simultaneously raise their knees and lean their torsos back. The pacing of the dance seems incredibly fast and almost in an effort to keep up with the music. Only the woman in blue emotes while the others seem quite reserved. The host announces, "Only a Penthouse dancer can do that."<sup>461</sup>*

This dance has been viewed 21,003 times, but along with the other *Penthouse 7* performances uploaded online they have helped gain over 165,000 views.<sup>462</sup> Thirty years before Youtube was ever an option for circulation and consumption of dance videos, these dances were first televised on a variety program that aired every Sunday from 1974 to 1981.<sup>463</sup> *Penthouse 7* aired weekly on Sunday nights and gleaned its name from the television station on which it appeared, Channel 7, which later became GMA7.<sup>464</sup> According to Sandy Hontiveros, one of the Penthouse dancers, the idea behind *Penthouse 7* was to feature dances in a party atmosphere by people that were relatable to home viewers.<sup>465</sup> The relatable dynamic was achieved in part by the production's modest set—consisting of a sala (living room or lounge), a dance floor, and a bar—on which the dances took place, just one of the two small studios that GMA owned at the time. Recognized by scholars as a cultural descendent of bodabil, *Penthouse 7* exists as a significant vehicle for introducing the dance form, Locking, to the Philippines.<sup>466</sup>

It is worth noting that unlike other dancers, Hontiveros views Locking and Hip-hop as separate, the latter not becoming mainstream in the Philippines until the 1990s. In the early 1970s nightclubs of Los Angeles, Locking was popularized out of Don Campbell's attempt to imitate the



"funky chicken," which gave audiences the impression that the joints at his wrists, elbows, and hips were locked.<sup>467</sup> The core of the dance—the lock—is a posture in which the elbows are out at ninety-degree angles, one leg is bent, and the opposing hip juts out laterally. The lock operates like a form of punctuation for each phrase and combination of points, twirls, and knee drops. According to Jorge Pabon of the Rocksteady Crew and Universal Zulu Nation, Campbell and his group, the Lockers, appeared as guests for various television shows such as *Saturday Night Live* and the shows of Johnny Carson, Dick Van Dyke, and Carol Burnett.<sup>468</sup> Pabon asserts that in the 1970s Hip-hop dance forms like Locking and Popping belong to a group of Hip-hop dances that developed out of the U.S. West Coast funk culture and movement (often referred to as funk styles).<sup>469</sup> In the 1980s, media erroneously labeled these forms "breakdancing" or depicted them as derivatives of "hip-hop."<sup>470</sup> At the same time, as Locking, Popping, and Roboting developed and spread to different communities, disagreements emerged amongst the dancers themselves regarding the identities of these dances and the validity of terms such as poplocking.<sup>471</sup> Pabon sees this inaccuracy as a consequence of miscommunication, an issue in Hip-hop history that undercuts the dance.<sup>472</sup> According to OG Skeeter Rabbit, a U.S. Locking legend, the bold, colorful creativity of forms of streetdance like Locking and Popping are grounded in the civil rights struggles of African American communities and the shift toward increased television programming featuring racial minorities like *Soul Train*.<sup>473</sup>

The legislative gains that informed the colorful U.S. versions of Locking find an antithesis in the suspension of civil rights that contextualize the inception of an upper class iteration of Locking in Manila in the 1970s. Across the Pacific, in the Philippines, dictator Ferdinand Marcos made several institutional changes affecting dancers and artists in contradictory ways, including declaring Martial Law (Proclamation No. 1081) on September 21, 1972. From then until EDSA I in 1986 the dictator removed Filipinos' civil rights of habeas corpus and right to assembly.<sup>474</sup> The corrupt ruler

and military-run government created a volatile climate in which opposition and innocents were incarcerated, and dissidents disappeared in broad daylight.<sup>475</sup> In Manila's theater community, many artists were arrested or went underground, and they drew from epic and vaudeville traditions to create more mobile, versatile forms of protest theater like "lightening plays," U.P. Repertory Company's *dula-tula* (play-poem), or Peryante's *dulangangan* (street theater).<sup>476</sup> Marcos also drove the rapid urbanization of Manila through a series of increased neoliberal structural adjustments.<sup>477</sup> Neferti Tadiar teaches us that martial law consolidated Manila as a "supralocal metropolitan government," formed the Metro Manila Commission, and drove a beautification and slum-cleaning movement all essentially to seduce foreign capital.<sup>478</sup> As part of his objectives in elevating the Filipino national image to the world, Marcos leveraged the local patron-client political system to make substantial institutional changes to the arts world via the Cultural Center of the Philippines, Philippine High School for the Arts (PHSA), inspired from Michigan's Interlochen Center for the Arts, and the National Museum.<sup>479</sup> Beyond these institutions, between 1972 and 1986 Marcos made several Presidential decrees, proclamations, and executive orders that were ostensibly aimed at benefiting artists.<sup>480</sup> In light of these dynamics, the Marcos dictatorship had contradictory consequences for some professional dancers.

Hontiveros is an example of the unanticipated ties that the Marcos dictatorship had to Filipino Hip-hop. The fact that Hontiveros and the Penthouse dancers often performed at parties in the Palace at the request of the Marcoses raises questions about Philippine dance history's essentialized Filipina hospitality as means of seducing foreign capital. Could it be that Locking functioned as a practice of neoliberalism? In an attempt to answer this precarious question we might consider how Hontiveros' experience subverts the common assumption that global Hip-hop is only a product of Filipinos copying what they saw on television or film. As a child, Hontiveros began training in Polynesian dance and then modern ballet under Alice Reyes, who had by then founded her dance

company with Eddie Elejar at the Cultural Center of the Philippines.<sup>481</sup> The company later became Ballet Philippines, which is "widely recognized today as a cornerstone of the Filipino cultural identity."<sup>482</sup> It was not ballet but folkdance that Hontiveros and others performed as part of Fiesta Filipina (a folkdance company) when they toured abroad for two years and acquired firsthand knowledge about Locking and U.S. streetdances.<sup>483</sup> As their company performed in cities like New York, Los Angeles, and San Diego, they would visit local nightclubs and learn contemporary popular dances.<sup>484</sup> When she returned from the trip, Hontiveros joined Penthouse 7 and helped introduce Locking and other dances like the "LA Walk and New York Hustle."<sup>485</sup> In this way, the folk tours inadvertently operated as a type of cultural exchange in which dancers would export Filipino folk dances to U.S. audiences and inadvertently import African American "folk" dances to Philippine audiences. In addition to this "folk tour pathway" of global Hip-hop, youth would receive Betamax video recordings from diasporic Filipino relatives living abroad of shows like Don Cornelius' *Soul Train* and Jeff Kutash's *Soap Factory* and these would inspire domestic Filipino dancers to imitate and remake the styles.<sup>486</sup> Hontiveros recounts that one of the Penthouse dancers even worked for an airline and would actively import videos from diasporic relatives.<sup>487</sup>

*Penthouse 7* became a phenomenon for the generation of youth that grew up under Marcos dictatorship for a variety of reasons. Particular dimensions of space and body in *Penthouse 7* dancing made their movements more accessible to audiences. The spatial organization of the dancing supported the popular reception of the program, as the party scene atmosphere and modest lounge set placed dancers closer to the audience/partygoers (proxies for home viewers) rather than "above" them. For Hontiveros, the absence of an ideal physique, presence of "sometimes chubby" and short bodies, also helped the viewing public identify with the dancers and the show, and thereby replicate the moves in their own local communities and schools.<sup>488</sup> Penthouse dancers introduced new, exotic, and foreign ways of dancing as youth-relatable entertainment in a program that Filipinos say

embodied the "spirit of the '70s."<sup>489</sup> The types of dancing on the show also fell into a few different categories: Locking, swing dancing, and select popular dances (the Robot, the Rock). All the Penthouse dancers were Manila-based, and they all came from different backgrounds of training—Hontiveros was a ballerina, Ray An Fuentes specialized in funk, Mike Monserrat studied tap—and divided the compositional duties for each show.<sup>490</sup> Hontiveros and the other Penthouse dancers led two instructional segments and later incorporated the movements from these tutorials in two performances. The format was deliberately designed to provide dance as an accessible activity for the masa (social masses).

Even despite the volatility of the martial law era, the ways that some artists and dancers like Hontiveros and Nelson benefited from Marcos' rule inform the positive light with which they recall this period in their lives.<sup>491</sup> The martial law era changes in economics and infrastructure would contribute to the dramatic expansion of mass consumer culture and urban middle class.<sup>492</sup> Given that Marcos controlled most media outlets and only allowed content that did not threaten his rule, it seems likely that *Penthouse 7*'s promotion of urban upper middle class culture through dance and its relatable delivery was contiguous with Marcos' aims of "decolonization" through the institutionalization or elevation of the status of Filipino people through culture and the arts. Beyond systemic changes in arts and culture, Marcos also provided exemptions to many dancers from a widespread curfew that attempted to restrict people's mobility from midnight to four o'clock in the morning.<sup>493</sup> For Hontiveros and Nelson, these exemptions literally gave the dancers license to dance at a time when other youth were confined indoors.<sup>494</sup> Was the show's popularity attributed to an engaging format that mitigated the dreariness of curfew? Or was *Penthouse 7*'s success due to the curfew's guarantee of an audience that would be at home to watch?<sup>495</sup> These questions remain to be answered. What is clear is that the show entitled Penthouse dancers with mobility—on Manila streets to get to and from the studio and also to travel to provinces like Bacolod or Iloilo when

requested by Imelda Marcos during the week. This demonstrates the unexpected ways that African American popular dances were both inculcated in the martial law era and transmitted across the archipelago.<sup>496</sup>

One of the striking features of *Penthouse 7* is the way that in its aspirations to educate the public about popular dance and music, and while introducing their audiences to the latest trends, artists, and fashions, the show categorized dancers in ways that inadvertently spoke to the racial intersubjectivity of Filipinos. The production was made up of two groups: Latin and Modern. The original Latin group included Rudi de Leon, Tito Garcia, Rosie Garchitorena, Nini Morato, the Cel and Carla Onrubia, Susan Payawal, Angie Pineda, and Art and Jun Zamora.<sup>497</sup> The Modern group included Jojo Abella, Joannie and Marlyn Feliciano, Helen Garchitorena, Anna Garcia, Ronnie Henares, Sandy Hontiveros, Irma Lacap, Raul Monasterio, Mike Monserrat, and Benny and Ida Ramos.<sup>498</sup> The Robot, the Bump, the Jacksons, the LA Walk, the New York Hustle give us a sense of the African American popular dances that inspired their programming.<sup>499</sup> As their show was upgraded from an hour to an hour and a half, additional dancers like Ray An Fuentes, Pipo Liboro, Poncy Quirino, and Gina Valenciano taught Locking, swing, The Rock, and Errol Flynn.<sup>500</sup> By labeling African American dances "modern," only in the sense that they were thought to differ from Latin-infused dances, the program counter-posed what it conceived as "Latin" with African American cultural forms. Both were necessary for the show to symbolically and un-ironically render the urban Filipino as a body with cultural fluency across a continuum from Spanish colonialism to American post/colonialism. This point does not detract from the agency that dancers executed in selecting particular American forms over others and introducing Locking, or a variation of the form, in the Philippines years before it appeared in other parts of Asia, or the other breakthroughs the show afforded its dancers.

Hontiveros does not consider their dancing as imitation and points to "swing" as a good example why. From her office, Executive Director of Arts in the City, Hontiveros showed me a video of the Modern section; the partnered dancers continuously moved, according to Hontiveros, in what they called swing or "hand dancing."<sup>501</sup> Men would lead women as in Latin ballroom dancing, and there were also lifts, though close to the ground. For Hontiveros, this was a uniquely Filipino combination of the different hustles that never quite developed in the U.S. (i.e. the L.A. hustle and New York hustle).<sup>502</sup> Penthouse dancers would rehearse for two hours on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday at the house of host, Archie Lacson.<sup>503</sup> On Sundays, Lacson's wife would tape the shows, and it was a post-shoot ritual to watch, learn from mistakes, and bond at Lacson's house. The close-knit group began experimenting with swing in the beginning of disco's development in Manila before films like *Saturday Night Fever* and *Thank God It's Friday* became hits. Penthouse dancers in the Modern group taught the dance on the program, and youth would learn the movements at home and perform them in schools and nightclubs. Within these nightclubs, students would sharpen and put their moves to the test in non-televised dance competitions, and sometimes the winning groups would be invited to perform on *Penthouse 7*. This working chain of dance is one of the reasons that record companies enlisted dancers in their musical production process.<sup>504</sup> Hontiveros worked as an Artist and Repertoire (A&R) representative and scouted talent for record labels. Once or twice a month, Hontiveros would visit the record companies and select music for *Penthouse 7*, with first-use conditions that ensured the group was setting trends and not following them. In this capacity, Penthouse dancers were also part of the Filipino record labels' move to create their own dance groups or "recording dancers" to do promotional performances and promote new music by composing dances like "the Rock" specifically for individual tracks.<sup>505</sup>

The contemporary website Youtube allows Filipino youth of this generation to wistfully remember the era in a way that underlines the show's paradoxical relatability of an upper crust image to a country under martial law.

wow... look at all the socialites and the matronas at the back ground... I'll bet these socialites are cronies of the Marcoses... hehehe!!!! (user raffydpogi)<sup>506</sup>

Brings back memories -- the spins, the hammerlocks, the cross body lead, the lifts, the wrap around turns, whether to do the split step on the fourth or the third beat, and Mike Monserrat's knitted ties and pleated trousers! Where are they now -- mike, ponce, marlene, ida, sandy, et al et al? (user Quasijess)<sup>507</sup>

I hardly missed the show when it was aired live on Ch 7. LOVED the dance moves and was trying to pick up some steps. But i hated the high society, burgoise pretension crap! Archie and the gang were awesome. Was a fan and still am. Missed the good old 70s. Best decade of the century.! Happy to lived in this era. (user angmamimitik)<sup>508</sup>

These comments emphasize the sharp contrast between the illusions of metropolitan societal elitism and the genuine pleasure it provided its viewers. While raffydpogi draws the eyes of other viewers to the non-dancing bodies and humorously ties their onscreen roles to their imagined patron-client roles, Quasijess' remark centers on the dance movement and dress. Quasijess' knowledge and inquiry about individual dancers by name helps identify him as an active participant in the culture. This platform enables fans, new audiences, and original dancers to communicate and exchange ideas about the dance. For instance, in response to angmamimitik's comment, Hontiveros (as user mbhonti) countered the perception that the show's high society image was its primary concern.<sup>509</sup> Not one to shy away from questions posed by commentors, Hontiveros emphasized the fact that the show actually succeeded on a "shoestring budget."<sup>510</sup>

The impression of the connection between upper echelons of Manila and the Penthouse dancers that viewers perceived coincided with the Marcos dictatorship's project of glamorous Filipino cultural nationalism. Hontiveros explained that during the disco and funk era, the gender barriers that mandated Filipinas to be "Maria Clara" and demure were still very palpable.<sup>511</sup> For this

reason, swing dancing was likely more acceptable than other popular dance forms. And yet, what remains striking is the fact that Hontiveros and a few daring women were able to popularize dance forms like Locking; dance movements that they themselves generally considered masculine.<sup>512</sup> In these uncoupled forms of popular dance, female dancers were not valued for their ability to follow a man's lead but for their individual style and particular skill set regarding dance genre. In addition, female dancers, along with males, were valued for their relatable personality, a trait buttressed by the format of the low technical difficulty of instructional dances, spatial configuration of audiences and dancers, and set props. This is not to imply that *Penthouse 7* was a site of homogenous feminist ideal; it was first and foremost a commercially sponsored program.<sup>513</sup> At times female models would be hired to promote alcoholic beverages or other products. It would mislead readers to suggest that the television program deliberately set out to empower women through dance, because for *Penthouse 7*, gender was secondary to swing, Locking, and other dance instruction. Nonetheless, the show included the space for a female performance of Locking alongside more traditional gendered representations of femininity.

From 1982 to 1987, a reboot entitled *Penthouse Live!* was hosted by Martin Nievera and Pops Fernandez and attempted to continue the success of *Penthouse 7*. In stark contrast to its predecessor, *Penthouse 7* (1974-1981), a party scene, dancer-centered variety show, *Penthouse Live!* focused on guest artists, rather than its house dancers, though they would still have two or three dance performances. *Penthouse Live!* dancers like Pinky Nelson were all professionals, unlike the earlier *Penthouse* dancers.<sup>514</sup> The arrangement of space differed drastically as dancers were often on a stage, which physically and symbolically divided the dancers from the audience.<sup>515</sup> There were more choreographed "spot numbers" and swing was replaced with jazz dance. These are some of the reasons that Hontiveros thinks the show did not take off in the way that *Penthouse 7* did; everyday people could not imagine themselves doing the choreographed, technically challenging jazz



performances and taking these to the clubs or campus.<sup>516</sup> This difference in popularity did not inhibit Nelson's professional opportunity, like Hontiveros, to parlay her dancing on the show into Artist and Repertoire (A&R) work with a record label.<sup>517</sup> *Penthouse 7* proved to be a space for dancers to experience greater levels of artistic equality in the entertainment industry. In addition to the ways that dancers took center stage, introduced African American "folk" dances to Philippine audiences, benefitted from systemic changes to support for Filipino culture, and impacted the music industry as tastemakers, *Penthouse 7* and its dancers were able to inspire generations of dancers that would follow.

### **Bases, breakbeats, and b-boys**

Following the success of *Penthouse 7* some of its dancers appeared on other television shows that also featured popular dancing. Such was the case for Mike Monserrat and Ray An, who hosted *Dance10*. The dancing on this show had significant impact for youth of the 1980s and Ace Lebumfacil in particular.<sup>518</sup> During the early 1980s, before Lebumfacil was performing funk and "commercial jazz" among other styles for *DanceStand Show*, *RPN-9*, *The Sharon Cuneta Show*, and artist Randy Santiago, he was a b-boy.<sup>519</sup> As a b-boy who was active in the scene from 1981 to 1984, Lebumfacil's Hip-hop dance testimony resonates with the Filipino history of vaudeville in that both point to the U.S. military as a port of entry for American forms of performance to the Philippines.<sup>520</sup> Lebumfacil recounts,

I think the most influence that we had back then was this(sic) b-boy's that were sons of expats that we have in the Subic Bay [Naval Base] in Olongapo and Clark [Air Base]. 'Cause what they do is of course they have Filipino friends. Some Filipino friends have houses there and they went to Manila and then they just asked these guys their friends to visit Manila and then see Manila, and then in the clubs in the discos they would do some routines there...'cause these guys are mainly 16, 15, 14 year old kids who were already doing the b-boy moves but it was not that advanced then so that's why we could catch up easily.<sup>521</sup>

Lebumfacil's emphasis on the importance of male friendship points to a trope of American colonial history.<sup>522</sup> The day that commemorates official Philippine Independence (July 4, 1946) following Japanese occupation is uncannily named Philippine-American Friendship Day. By identifying Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base, Lebumfacil inscribes a history of b-boyin' in the Philippines with the history of American military forces.<sup>523</sup> Subic Bay was a site for foreign naval power in the Spanish colonial period. After Philippine independence, the U.S. controlled the military base in several lease iterations, ostensibly to secure United States military assistance in the Philippines. Activist groups have accurately highlighted how the U.S. military affronts true independence and augurs pollution, lack of transparency, and sexual violence.<sup>524</sup> Until today, the site remains a symbol of the neocolonial tension around U.S. exceptionalism and Philippine sovereignty.<sup>525</sup> American Studies scholar Vernadette Gonzalez argues that even after the military bases transformed into "special economic zones" they operated as ideological and material sites for continued legacies of American empire.<sup>526</sup> Yet, from the accounts of Lebumfacil, Subic Bay enabled interracial relations between local Manila b-boys, like Jay "J Mastah" Cambay and Info-Clash Breakers, and African Americans, like those that formed the group "Friends Forever."<sup>527</sup> His accounts refute a common assumption that global Hip-hop is a product of American culture's globalization through only mediascapes, or from Filipina/os only copying what they saw on television or film.<sup>528</sup> Rather, he testifies to how Hip-hop's spread involved interracial social exchange between youth and a byproduct of American extra-territorialism. Lebumfacil states,

They call themselves 'Friends Forever' and their hand was like (Lebumfacil makes a hand gesture in the shape of two crossing F's)...How was that? I think it was like this, two F's. I don't know. And they were doing this before battles. And this guys are mostly, the kids were mostly black kids. 'Cause not too much white kids were doing b-boying back then....and you know what the funny thing was? All the time we thought b-boys were like 98 percent black thing cause we never seen any documentation or any video source that would tell us differently. Only then when I did my research I bought this tape. I had some videotapes or some cds brought by some of my friends or relatives. Only then, that I knew that there were

Latinos involved in the formation, in the foundation rather, of the style. So that's the only time I knew. But before we thought it was only, a solely black thing.<sup>529</sup>

In addition to complicating the negative realities of American military presence, Lebumfacil's early 1980's Manila b-boy memories provide a glimpse at the racial dimensions of Hip-hop. Enabled by his positioning in Laguna, a town peripheral to Manila, Lebumfacil gained firsthand knowledge that he could then cross-reference with additional media through his own social network. Lebumfacil's account reflects a racial misunderstanding in Hip-hop that was perhaps maintained in the Philippines by a previous generation of Penthouse dancers, grouped into a dualism of Latin and Modern. As he states, Latino's were involved in the "Modern" as well.

Given that these events occurred in a time before the internet, it is not hard to imagine how conflicting narratives about Hip-hop dance might have emerged among different groups of Filipina/os. While popular dancers and b-boys of the late 1970s and early 1980s, like Lebumfacil and J Mastah, battled locally and abroad in local b-boy groups (Slyzx, The Eclipse, Info-Clash Breakers, Ground Control), U.S. commercial forms of Hip-hop music and films like "Rapper's Delight" and *Flashdance* were being released in the Philippines. In order to watch MTV music videos Filipinos had to patronize video rental stores as this preceded local distribution (and regional MTV Asia in 1995).<sup>530</sup> The manner in which Lebumfacil recalls histories of Hip-hop movement vocabulary reveals the value he placed on origin.<sup>531</sup> Far from assuming Hip-hop came from some monolithic "American" cultural fountainhead, Lebumfacil describes how popular dancers contextualized their practices in terms of regional place (East Coast or West Coast U.S.). Popular dance moves included "the worm," "dolphin dives," "the tic-tacs."<sup>532</sup> Breakers performed toprocking and a majority of the moves came from the U.S. West Coast.<sup>533</sup> By re-inscribing the imported dance forms into a pre-existing world of dance, individuals like Lebumfacil were able to draw from its power as foreign social capital while also challenging that form's exceptionalism.

An interesting development in the b-boy scene that Lebumfacil relays is the 1980s rise of the culturally cool "Manila boys," in which urban Filipino male youth fashioned a type of identity tied to education (where one attends school), location of one's home (what subdivision one lives in), and dress (what brand of clothes one wears).<sup>534</sup> The hip "city boy" image of Manila boys had an antagonist in the "Probinsyano," someone from a province outside of Manila or uncool enough to produce a "Probinsyano effect." He described the period of time when he was an active member of a twenty-member gang called LG (aka Litro Gang), named after the liter of Coca-cola that they would win when playing basketball.<sup>535</sup> Although he lived in Laguna, Lebumfacil attended San Sebastian Recollectos in Manila and in this way he was able to see what dress was "porma"(on trend). As a member of LG Lebumfacil would battle with 15 variants of popping including the robocop, ragdoll, bullwinkle, and spiderman. The difference between these dances and those popularized on *Penthouse 7* is clear. The degree to which Lebumfacil's dancing was successful depended on his ability to embody Metropolitan Manila as a conduit for American popular culture.

B-boy history in the Philippines echoes that of bodabil because of its initial ties to the U.S. military. With the influx of media, the streets, parks, and nightclubs proved to be important sites for Manila-based youth to negotiate ideas of class, place, and racial politics.<sup>536</sup> In high contrast to the previous popular dance forms, Manila club dances were mimetic and imitated everyday movement of humans, animals, popular American cartoons, comics, and films, and resulted in constructing one's urban identity. By distinguishing regional place and racial identities of participants, Lebumfacil's account unsettles the potential essentialism and universalism of the preceding "American" forms.<sup>537</sup> The notion of characteristic movement as a marker of place is a custom that continues today, for instance, in the name uniquely used in the Philippines, "LA style," which is ascribed to the particular form of R&B-accompanied streetdance popularized by Southern California-based Hip-hop choreographers.

## **"Confi-Dance" and the Mechanics of Streetdance**

Three decades after Lebumfacil began dancing, a new group of youth have been making dramatic strides to bring a new array of Hip-hop dances to life in Manila. On a rainy Saturday in October 2011, I attended the finals of "Confi-Dance," a school-based all-female streetdance competition.<sup>538</sup> Rain had poured down since early morning as it was only a few days after Typhoon Pedring and talk was in the air about a new bagyo coming Sunday.<sup>539</sup> I left the University of the Philippines, where I was residing, around noon by hopping onto an SM North EDSA-bound jeepney.<sup>540</sup> On the jeepney, a little boy stared at me. The boy pointed me out to his parents, called me what sounded like Kuya Dave or Jay, and his parents smiled at his act of mistaken recognition. So did I. It was just what I needed to help lighten my spirits, having felt like my body was not made for this type of weather, partly worn down from lugging around bags of gear, and clutching my sad, deformed post-Pedring payong (umbrella).<sup>541</sup> I hopped out of the jeepney and ascended the escalators and around the corner I immediately saw Jared, my research assistant and contact for the event. I learned that the high school competition, which was closed off to the public, was already underway. I waited at Hapadog following the advice of another Fulbrighter, who studied Filipino fast food.

The event took place in the mall area and we waited in line for about an hour, until being allowed indoors. It was wet, cold, and raining. There were about 250-300 audience members, friends, family, coaches, choreographers, and alumni in line. We were all heavily anticipating the event as there has been a lot of build-up with the semi-finals competition and this was the second year they were holding this competition. Alongside the other audience members waiting to enter the venue, we wrapped clockwise around the building, left to discuss current events, take pictures, and sing-along to Kings of Leon's pop rock hit "Use Somebody" blasting from the outdoor speakers.

The conversation I had with Sam and Mike and Dan (all members of the University of the Philippines (UP) Streetdance Club and/or Crew) migrated from the "controversial" Skechers Eliminations where the Company of Ateneo Dancers (CADS), defending champs, did not advance into the Finals, to the weather, to Sam's World's HHI experience, to his work schedule (he had just shot for a television show, *Mr. Showman*, until 5am).

Today's event—what the organizers called the "ultimate battle"—was a culmination of a series of preliminary dance events including a registration period, groove sessions, auditions, and dance-offs that started back in June 2011.<sup>542</sup> Today, teams of high school and college women took the stage at the SM North EDSA Skydome, a circular space with proscenium spatial organization.<sup>543</sup> An unknown announcer instructed dancers to sit in their designated school sections and refrain from practicing in the aisles or inside the building. Because I was affiliated with UP, I sat in their area, which was located about 15 rows in front of stage left. This vantage point was better than seats for other groups like UP Manila and De La Salle University, which were further from the stage and against the wall bleachers, but worse than the seats for actual performers. While in the seats, drops of water were dripping from a hole in the tarp/tent of the skydome. We moved our chairs back because of this. After a few performances I moved closer, directly in front of the judges table, to sit with the women of Stellars. I was directly center stage and close enough to read emotions on the competitors' faces. Though I was seated on the floor, I was figured between the dancers and the very judges they sought to impress making it a great location for observation.

The consideration of the dance competition as a contested site of meaning-making between dancers, choreographers, audiences, and judges is useful for exploring Filipino Hip-hop as a social, historical phenomenon. Similar to the robotic dancing in UC Berkeley's *Home*, the dances at "Confidence Dance" are executed on an elevated stage in a "concert" format and each dance has a distinct beginning, middle, and end. Unlike the dancing that is performed at the Monarchy, this type of Hip-

hop competition centered on streetdance, not only b-boyin'/b-girlin' and cyphering, as a means for both creating and resolving conflicts.<sup>544</sup> Similar to both breakin' and streetdance competitions they provide the public with a relationship between the artistic choices of the performers and the standards of the field as understood by organizers of the competition and judges—usually veterans, professionals, and experts in the field. Rules around judging streetdance competitions in Manila have acquired the curious title, "mechanics."

The significance of this particular competition is complicated. On the one hand, "Confidence Dance" offers extraordinary compensation—200,000 pesos or \$4,651 U.S.—and television exposure; other dance competitions typically only offer gift certificates and limited viewership. This competition is designed for women and all the judges are female teachers/choreographers in the Manila Hip-hop scene. Also the mash-up element is particularly innovative and thus essentially common ground for Hip-hop and Filipino culture. Nevertheless, I had a difficult time overlooking the competition's main sponsor, a company that specializes in feminine hygiene wash and vaginal whiteners, as a continuation of oppressive racial and gender inequalities established with Spanish colonialism and American empire.<sup>545</sup> One might consider how participants did not recognize this sponsorship as problematic and the professed aim of "Confidence Dance" of female empowerment as a case of misplaced good intentions. It is perhaps through the non-issue status of its main sponsor's product, that the competition portrays dual mundanity and absurdity, a variation of colonial and national entanglement that Vincente Rafael calls white love.<sup>546</sup>

While we might imagine an inverse correlation between white love and physical empowerment, as we learned from the experiences of the Penthouse dancers, things are not that easily experienced or explained. The competition mode and the rules around judging give us significant views into some of the ways contemporary Filipina bodies remake cultural meanings out of dance. The list of finalists demonstrates the extent to which Hip-hop dance has undergone

institutionalization in higher education, a process that is directly tied to colonial physical education, Francisca Reyes Tolentino Aquino's dance research, and the use value ascribed to the competing physical body. In part, institutionalization ensures that crews have rehearsal space, an identity, a replenishing supply of new recruits, and a sense of legitimacy for wary parents. The competition aimed to be an opportunity for girls and young women to build together and show their confidence in themselves.<sup>547</sup> Entering the finals, the three top spots were held by St. Benilde Romançon Dance Company, UP Streetdance Company, and LSDC-Street. There were ten finalists competing today, De La Salle University-College of St. Benilde Romançon Dance Company, University of the Philippines-Manila's Belle, Far East University-Institute of Arts and Sciences (IAS) Dance Company, De La Salle University's LSDC-Street, Asia Pacific College's HewRhythmics, University of the Philippines-Manila's Indayog, University of the Philippine-Diliman's UP Street Dance Company (U.P. Street), College of the Holy Spirit, Miriam College's Company of One, and Ateneo de Manila's The Company of Ateneo Dancers (CADs). The crews varied in terms of organizational longevity from longstanding groups like Indayog—founded in 1988—to Belle, a group that had just formed in February 2011. The institutional residence and/or sponsorship of these crews are a remarkable departure from the mostly non-school related crews in U.S. forms of Hip-hop dance and the Culture Night-derived "modern" groups of Filipino American Hip-hop dance.<sup>548</sup>

The rise of university-sponsored dance teams owes in part to the pioneering work of Jerome Dimalanta, himself historically connected to local and global influences. We can recall that during the American colonial period, European and American choreographers taught Manila-based Filipinos in ballet and modern dance. Trudle Dubsy and Ricardo Cassell were two such artists in the 1930s and 1940s that influenced Corazon Generoso Iñigo.<sup>549</sup> Later in her career, as a professor at the University of the Philippines, Iñigo directed the Filipiniana Dance Company, with which Dimalanta was himself a member and toured internationally, first to France and Germany in 1992.<sup>550</sup>



A year before his first tour with the Filipiniana Dance Company, Dimalanta first learned streetdance from Jungee Marcelo, who had moved to the Philippines from the U.S. In the early 1990s, at the Sweatshop studio on Katipunan Ave in front of Miriam College, Marcelo taught the dances he had learned while living in Los Angeles.<sup>551</sup> In 1996, Dimalanta began teaching his own streetdance course at the UP College of Human Kinetics where he trained several influential dancers—Von Acilo, B-girl Eyevee, Mycs Viloso, Rosie Anne Aquino Pajela-Marzan, Love Sabio.<sup>552</sup> In 1997 he founded the UP Streetdance Club and many of these dancers "handle" other university and high school-based groups in the contemporary dance community.<sup>553</sup>

Dimalanta's influence on the Manila streetdance community lies not only in his choreographer-dancer relations to students, but in multiple ways. Dimalanta, the Crew (the group he founded), and the UP Streetdance Club (the university organization he started), operate like a multi-generational family.<sup>554</sup> Dimalanta trains his dancers to take their streetdance training into future professional arenas including the commercial entertainment industry, fitness world, and academia. In 2006, Dimalanta produced the first scholarly assessment of Hip-hop in the Philippines in his master's thesis, "The Adapatation and Development of Street Dance in the Philippine Setting" for his degree in the College of Human Kinetics at the University of the Philippines, Diliman (U.P.).<sup>555</sup> Following his example, some of his students have produced undergraduate theses of their own including Maria Theresa Angelica S. Arda's "Motivation of Winners in Skechers Streetdance Battle"(2010).<sup>556</sup> Dimalanta and his dancers also began the current trend in Manila of addressing one's choreographer or artistic director as "coach."

As a leader in the Manila Hip-hop and streetdance community, Dimalanta holds expert opinions on street culture that often fall between the cracks of concert dance and folk dance scholarship. In an interview with Dimalanta, I asked him about the term "tambay" that often appears in graffiti on the streets of Manila in the phrase, "Huwag itambay dito," and that holds

relevance for understanding Hip-hop's relation to streetdance. According to Dimalanta, *tambay* originally came into vernacular lexicon in the late 1980s and early 1990s in the phrase "*tambay sa kalye*"(standby the street).<sup>557</sup> The original usage of the term referred to bodies on streetcorners that were either idle, drinking, gossiping, or gambling. Based upon apparent attempts to prevent loitering by property owners or residents, *tambay* unproductivity interestingly outweighs any damage caused by spraypainting on one's own building. Another more moderate meaning of *tambay* refers to youth that skip classes to hangout with friends, drink, or play video games.<sup>558</sup> This second meaning of "hanging out" is currently a more popular usage amongst youth. But the initial word is instructive when thinking about the development of "streetdance" and the choreographic construction of "the street."

In these contexts, the mechanics in the all-female competition, "Confi-dance," help us think about gendered Hip-hop choreography because they control for variables of masculinity performed by male dancers. How were "Confi-dance" contestants and the dances with which they compete evaluated? A unique element of the mechanics lies in its requirement to "mash-up." Contrary to the inexactness that the term suggests, the rules around mash-up required that groups incorporate Hip-hop with at least four sets of eight counts of at least one other dance genre (contemporary, ballet, jazz, folk dance, etc).<sup>559</sup> The mash-up element is an innovative twist on traditional dance competitions that usually only expect competitors to perform streetdance genres.

The Filipinas in dance teams at "Confi-dance," were awarded points that, according to the mechanics, fell into three major categories—overall effect (40 points), choreography (40 points), and technique (20 points).<sup>560</sup> While "overall effect" consisted of abstract elements like intensity, projection, crowd appeal, confidence, and showmanship ("The crew members should perform with enthusiasm, passion, and a natural ability to 'sell it' on stage"), a more concrete, and in my view,

interesting element of this category was "street presence/attire."<sup>561</sup> The mechanics provided details about what "street presence" in order to remedy any misconceptions amongst competitors:

This is the capability of the crew members to demonstrate an authentic and uninhibited representation of hip hop dance. Street presence includes attitude, energy, posture, and street style. Clothing and accessories worn should represent and reflect the real character and natural style of the urban street environment with a unique look that sets the crew apart. Crew members do not have to be identically dressed or in a uniform, individuality of dress is encouraged. Crews may wear stylized clothing representing their routine's theme. Theatrical costumes are not typical of the urban street (ex. Storybook characters, animals, Halloween costumes, etc.), and are not recommended. Lewd or overtly sexy costumes/undressing during the routine is not allowed.<sup>562</sup>

In these guidelines, organizers assert a unique affinity between street presence, dress, and the "right" and "wrong" ways to dance Hip-hop. Proper female bodily comportment is linked to "natural style," and that which is "authentic and uninhibited," while improper dancing commits the mistake of presenting fantasy and fictional characters rather than the supposed "real character" of the urban street. Rather than a routine or predetermined sequences of physical gesture, we see here the machinery of the urban dancing body as one that relies upon the authenticity and individuality of Hip-hop convention. The area for moral missteps seems rather small between having the "natural ability to 'sell it' on stage" and avoiding disqualification from "lewd or overtly sexy costumes/undressing."<sup>563</sup>

The mechanics emphasize "variety" in a way that adds more layers to the acquired knowledge audiences and judges are required to bring to the dance. This heterogeneity becomes especially important when faced, as judges are, with the task of keeping track of which styles crews performed, how they performed them, and how they compared with other, commensurable or incommensurable, styles of other crews. The idiom that "more is better" is quite pervasive in this particular competition. In "Confidence," the definition of streetstyles and the privileging of variety (5%) become clearer as the mechanics assert:

A minimum of three (3) dance styles must be performed in a routine to receive variety points. The more styles a crew includes and performs correctly in the routine, the higher the variety score will be. Crews should include a broad selection of street dance styles selected from the list below without excessive use of the same move or patterns. A varied range of styles should be shown in the choreography of arm, leg, and body movements. The following are a list of Street dance styles from early foundation to present: Locking, Popping, B-boying/Girling (breakdance), Wacking/Punking, Tutting, Vogueing, House Dance, Party dances or Club dances (popular or trendy dances), Hiphop dance/Choreography, Krumping, Stepping/Gumboots.<sup>564</sup>

Streetdance styles represent a wide-range of geographical roots and routes from Los Angeles (Locking, Krumping, Wacking/Punking) to New York (B-boying/Girling, Vogueing) to the South and South Africa (Gumboots) to non-specified origins (Party dances and "Hiphop dance/Choreography"). The ultimate winners of "Confi-Dance," LSDC-Street, collectively performed a piece that blended Hip-hop dance, Locking, Wacking, Dancehall, and Krump.<sup>565</sup>

It seems useful to discuss LSDC-Street and two of the displayed styles as they are particularly gendered as masculine and feminine. As a dance form that began in South Los Angeles, Krump is the more intense, serious, and combative spiritual and social practice that branched off of clown dancing.<sup>566</sup> Thomas Johnson created clown dancing, in the post-LA riots era, to entertain children at birthday parties.<sup>567</sup> Dressing up in a clown costume and masked by make-up, as Tommy the Clown, Johnson drew from gangsta boogie and stripper dancing and formed the Hip-hop Clowns.<sup>568</sup> Later, Krump developed further by close-knit crews who competed and battled in Los Angeles and Long Beach, as popularized in Dave LaChapelle's questionably essentialist documentary *Rize* (2005).<sup>569</sup> This film, in its eagerness to "document" the African diasporic cohesion between non-specific African dancing bodies and African American krumpers, also notably marginalizes the presence of Filipino American clown dancers and krumpers (i.e. Rice Track Clowns and later Rice Track Family).<sup>570</sup> For Manila-based Filipinas at "Confi-Dance," Krump functions more as part of an arsenal of multi-style streetdance repertoire, instead of an aesthetic means to "exorcise the demons or conjure spirit" as seen in Los Angeles.<sup>571</sup> Yet, LSDC-Street's use of Krump similarly "spins" the

hyper-masculine aesthetics of this dance to defy a stereotype (of femininity), albeit different from that of racialized threat or violence in South Los Angeles. Interspersed within the winning "Confidence Dance" performance of LSDC-Street, Krump is peppered with moments of b-girling and gymnastics.

As one of the styles of feminine movement that LSDC-Street performs, wacking (or whacking), is also one of the understudied forms of streetdance.<sup>572</sup> Born in the late 1970s and early 1980s in Los Angeles, wacking is a streetdance that was created in nightclubs by the African American gay community.<sup>573</sup> Unlike voguing, which is known to reference the New York fashion industry, whacking, according to Lollipop Sanchez, draws from the mannerisms and poses of Hollywood actresses and thus reflects more detailed and sequenced arm, hand, and wrist movement in comparison to voguing's more static poses.<sup>574</sup> In addition to these movement referents, LSDC-Street successfully blended jazz movement to meet the mash-up requirement of the competition.<sup>575</sup> The ways in which the "Confidence Dance" competition mandates a mash-up and incorporation of at least three streetdance styles works to constitute streetdance as a dance with a cohesive identity. The mash-up element also helps create an aesthetic around variety and presentational authenticity that is consistent with the characteristics of theatrical Filipino folk dance. Additionally, the emphasis on quantity or a multitude of styles seems to echo the dual "happiness and usefulness" of American colonial physical education; it also speaks to the notion of productivity nicely captured in the Filipino word, *masipag* (industrious). In the context of the changing vernacular and neoliberal structural adjustments, the choreographic constitution of streetdance for Metropolitan Manila harkens back to the mutually constitutive bodily categories of *masipag* (productive) and *tambay* (unproductive). The dynamic that results from mechanics can be innovative and individual and yet draw from racialized and gendered histories of dance, movement vocabularies, and human worth.

## Dalhin Filipina

*Stage left. A group of four Filipinas face inward. Stage Right. A group of five Filipinas face inward. They march toward the center and upon meeting, turn frontward, hands at their lower backs, rescripting the military's "at ease" stance into a dance. Ankle-length combat boots, nude stockings, and high-waist black panties. Army green vests and caps cover let-down hair. Their uniforms blend a military masculinity with a feminine mystique. They each place their right hand across their body, upon their left thigh and slowly pull it up, caressing the greater length of their thigh and pelvis. It stops short. Tick. It forms the back-end of a rifle, which they cock. Tick-tock.*

The judges of streetdance competitions interact with competitors and audiences in ways beyond implementing standards of mechanics in their ranking of various teams. The movement above depicts the stage entrance of *Stellars*, an all-Filipina Hip-hop dance collective, and their *itsura*(appearance) as it immediately conjures a strange cinematic blend of *Flashdance* and *Apocalypse Now* with strong impressions of Janet Jackson's "Rhythm Nation." The breakdown of the dance is characterized by two central musical and dance sections each representing two facets of Filipina femininity. The first matches the tough, precise, and durable masculinity that Hip-hop has come to stand in for. The second section projects a more fluid and (physically) multi-dimensional femininity. Before we take a closer look at the dance, I should note that the dance itself relies on accepting the premise of militarism as a reservoir of masculine symbolism. Exhibition dances like these can perform important functions within Hip-hop dance competitions. Many times, exhibition pieces are performed by non-competing crews and by veterans that no longer qualify or choose to compete because of their age or status as professionals. Sometimes cultural outsiders like foreigners and diasporic Filipinos, who happen to be visiting, contribute exhibition pieces. The differences in age, race, culture, genre, and mode that exhibition dances present can serve to disrupt the, at times, monotony of competitive dances that have to meet certain time and space criteria or hit particular marks regarding genre. As many of the members of *Stellars* were judges, their exhibition piece also displayed the authority and expertise that justifies their ability to judge. The context surrounding its performers allows for a juncture to expose "counter-mechanics" of streetdance and build outward

from the mechanics of dance competition toward other ways gender and sexuality shape the Hip-hop dance community of Manila. While mechanics often appear to leave no room for negotiation with emboldened warnings such as "**\*Protests are prohibited and will not be accepted regarding any score or result of a decision,**" there are often ways that the mechanics of competitions like "Confidence" are less than absolute in practice.<sup>576</sup> Dancers might not make formal protests regarding decisions, but it is not uncommon to see informal reactions by dancers who have turned to social media sites to comment or dispute the "fairness" of judges' decisions or the "realness" of a crew's dance. In at least one instance, dancers have made pre-competition appeals to organizers to raise questions about the age qualifications of other applicants. In most instances, the level to which judges are required to follow mechanics also varies. For example, as one of the judges for the All-Styles battle, a component of the UP Chosen Ground in 2009, we were not given a mechanics guide sheet but rather expected to use our best judgment on-the-fly. For a competition I judged for UCLA sororities and fraternities, we were given a sheet with guidelines only a few minutes before the competition began. In many instances, judges must draw from previous embodied knowledge, instinct-driven estimations, and individual note-taking strategies, when evaluating competitors.

According to Katherine K. Sison (aka Kath), one of the dancers in Stellars, the exhibition piece is a means of communicating ideas about dance, femininity, and Filipina subjecthood. Sison, and several of the dancers in Stellars, acted as judges for "Confidence" and the dancing that they witnessed in the preliminary stages of the competition shaped the choreographic choices Stellars made regarding this particular piece. Sison majors in nursing at Capitol University in Cagayan de Oro City, in the southern part of the Philippines. In high school she began dancing Hip-hop and jazz, but in November 2010 she moved to Manila, and in January she started training and dancing with Stellars and the Philippine Allstars.<sup>577</sup> At the time of our interview, Sison was working as a dancer in Quezon City, Manila. She has performed with the Allstars in the theatrical production,

Kaos, in Resorts World Hotel and Casino. When I asked about being Pinay and a Hip-hop dancer, Sison explained:

For me, Pinays are different from others. For me, it's on how we deliver our self to everybody. It's different, it's kinda ... what you call this ... you're very expressive when it comes to dancing and then, we're not, some of us are like focusing on the technicalities of one's self, but the most important [thing] there is in how we get the feelings inside us and it really affects, ah, touching the people watching us because we give everything we have. Yeah I guess that's the difference being a Pinay and other dancers.<sup>578</sup>

As Sison describes how affect and expressionism are important elements of her personal notions of Pinay identity, I cannot help but think of the similarities between Martha Graham's choreographic approaches that sought to emote an interiority and authenticity of self, and thus, develop empathetic witnesses. Yet unlike Graham's methods that usually drew from myth to "recompose the person as an individuated, yet integrated, microcosm of the world," Sison usually comes to her understanding of expressionism from a scattered history of instances where gender played a determining factor in how she danced.<sup>579</sup> Sison feels that men should cease underestimating women in Hip-hop dance because people, both male and female, are imperfect, "So kung ano yung meron sa girls na wala sa boys ok lang yung ... just accept everybody's style/So whatever girls have and that the boys lack, that's okay ... just accept everybody's style."<sup>580</sup> Sison asks for tolerance and acceptance of the real ways that men and women are able to dance and part of this tolerance arises from a clearer understanding of the ways that women dance. As we were talking, it seemed like two terms kept arising that brought me confusion—Sexy Hip-hop and Ladies' Hip-hop. When I asked Sison about the difference between these two terms she made a distinction between Sexy Hip-hop, defined by training and type of movement, and Ladies Hip-hop, defined by ability to deliver something (*i-dala*) and subjecthood.



I guess it's almost the same but Sexy Hip-hop, it's more on how do we use our body. It's like when we are doing our rehearsals, ... we're using every parts of our body like doing caressing our body. But when you compared it to with Ladies Hip-hop it's more on how do ladies um bring themselves, ... bring themselves and making use of [their] body, it's different.<sup>581</sup>

Sison's statement helps me put into context the presence of Hip-hop dance classes in Manila that derive their names from genre categories like Sexy Hip-hop and Ladies' Hip-hop. Unlike the conventional way of delineating classes by skill level (i.e. Beginner/Intermediate/Advanced Hip-hop), these novel genre categories provide dancers with a way to play around with defining and re-defining a plurality of Hip-hop styles. The fact Sexy Hip-hop and Ladies' Hip-hop are not limited to the conventionally feminine-styled streetdance genres (i.e. wacking and voguing) leaves their curriculum even more open. Also, the absence of Sexy Hip-hop and Ladies Hip-hop in "Confidence Dance" mechanics among the listed "variety" of streetdance styles tells us that these genre are essentially educational or perhaps taken as givens in the all-female competition. Like many of the Filipina dancers I spoke with, Sison told me of experiences regarding discrimination based on preconceived notions about the supposed inability of women to dance at the same "level" as men.<sup>582</sup> When I pressed on, Sison relayed her belief in essential gender differences in dance whereby men not only diverge from women in form but "their strength is different with the girls."<sup>583</sup> The plural categorization of gendered Hip-hop enables Sison, and perhaps other Pinay dancers as well, to develop a wider range of skills for competing.

Unlike many of the dancers that I spoke with that hail from the metropolitan Manila area or regions one or two hours away, Sison, as noted earlier, is originally from Iligan City, Mindanao, a southern region of the Philippines. Mindanao's geographic proximity to Southeast Asian countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand home informs its Islamic history and the contemporary Filipino Muslim population is the largest group of non-Christians in the Philippines.<sup>584</sup> According to Sison, while there are clear differences between the Hip-hop dance community in Manila and that

which she has come from in Mindanao, they are not essentialist but rather tied to the lack of opportunities necessary for developing one's talent and confidence.<sup>585</sup> While, she sees the dancers in Mindanao as equals to Manila dancers in terms of technical proficiency, the lack of opportunities in Mindanao shapes what she sees as a hunger for "exposure." In Sison's mind, these circumstances informed her crew's rationale when asked by their talent agency to take "gigs" without compensation: "Sige, okay lang yan. Okay lang yan basta mag-expose tayo./Go ahead, that's okay. That's okay as long as we'll be exposed."<sup>586</sup> For Sison, the differences between Hip-hop culture and Muslim culture for members of her crew generated the most tension around issues regarding dress.<sup>587</sup> While customs around covering the Muslim female body are seen as hindrances to the conventionally sexy dresses that her group was known for, Sison notes that she knows many "good" Muslim dancers ranging from those that are simply more conscious of their costumes to those that are pasaway (stubborn) and wear the costume the dance demands.<sup>588</sup>

Given her views on Pinay identity, experience with gender discrimination, and witness to the tensions Muslim female crew members navigate in Hip-hop dance, it might come as little surprise that when I asked Sison about gender equality in Hip-hop dance, her reply was conditional, individualist, and hesitant. In her estimation, "Binigyan tayong Diyos ng parepareho lang na talents pero it's up to us kung paano natin igogrow yung sarili natin as a dancer. /God gave us both equal talents but it's up to us whether we will grow ourselves as a dancer."<sup>589</sup> Sison reflects the reverence, agency, and meaning many dancers in the Philippines ascribe to religious figures such as God, Jesus, and Catholic saints. Reynaldo Ileto has written extensively about the ways that Filipinos have remade the Catholic drama, the pasyon, beyond mere mimicry.<sup>590</sup> In this light, Sison's response to issues of gender inequality reflects the limitations of dance discourse in explaining the ways many Filipino dancers attribute dance's power to a higher power while still allowing room for human agency.<sup>591</sup>

In order to "grow" their selves as dancers, Sison and Stellars use the exhibition piece as a means of communicating dance values with which competitors are to learn and develop.<sup>592</sup> When I asked Sison about Stellar's Lactacyd performance, she explained that the concept of the dance revolved around the transformation from a group of masculine lady soldiers to sexy soldiers and back to masculine "soldier soldiers." The dance served as a means to communicate to the competitors:

We built that [exhibition dance] kasi(because) we wanted to make a difference, kasi(because) before I judged the Lactacyd auditions, and then I saw that the dancers are doing the same. Same concept and the same dancing, dance styles...For example the intro, they make a jazz intro, jazz, and then they follow it with Hip-hop and then they mash up other styles like breaking, krumping, wacking. So what we did is we made a concept that's a different from others.<sup>593</sup>

Sison's comment is interesting in the ways it describes certain aspects of the audition dances as weak. From the perspective of the mechanics, the audition dances, individually, are fine enough, but in the context of the other competitors, they fail to set themselves apart. Moreover, jazz stands as a common denominator for which competitors are basically penalized because of its commonality and repetition in auditions. So, how did Stellars respond to this repetition? Allow me to describe the Stellars dance here: Competitors and fans who watched this live performance saw Stellars' pelvises sink down and back only to thrust fully upward to the strangely familiar voice of Michael Jackson, "Who's baaad?" And this began what Sison calls the masculine lady soldier section, a set of percussive military sequences that had them changing spatial positions, striding through transitions.<sup>594</sup> In a closed V formation they squatted, legs wide open, and took three precise hops to the right. Three hops back left were done while turning their knees in and out. In another phrase, they took sweeping kicks backward to open V. Each woman stood there with a wide stance, hands inverted on her hips so her chest concaves. A commanding snap of the pubis sent a wave that trembled down to their boots and led boot heels to lift one after the other. In another sequence, a

cluster of bodies convened only to quickly part as one dancer stepped and krumped downstage, highlighting her mini-set unusually with a straight-leg high kick.

The second section began with the dancers in a rank and file line with their heads down. We heard the scratched opening to Missy Elliot's "Bad Girls" and this announced the shift to dancehall, wacking, and Ladies Hip-hop. The girl in front began looking around in-synch with the drumline cadence and the rest fanned outward with each brass note, performing a slowed down chest pop with each step. The last pop ended with their hands slowly rising and lowering away from their chest, as legs vibrated, building up tension. Bo-boom-boom. The women bucked as their chests pop back, forward, down.<sup>595</sup> Bo-boom-boom. From this now lunging position they crouched their upper bodies and grooved their knees in and out. In a phrase that remakes the precise closed V of the masculine lady soldier section, they placed their hands on each others' shoulders, lay slightly back, and travel stage-right. Instead of hopping, they body rolled, and crank their knees in/outward. This move elicited a "Hey!!!" from the crowd unlike the previous phrases. The voice of Janet Jackson told the audience to "breath" and her track "So Excited" began a series of slower paced phrases. This dance joined the linear with the undulatory, and the masculine and feminine, as an example of how the Stellars performances are often carefully, intentional aesthetic works.

The Stellars' compositional choices suggest how exhibition and competition modes of Hip-hop dance overlap as systems of meaning-making. In this system "kuha," "dalhin," and "dating" are terms, as used by Sison in describing the choreography of "Confi-dance" competitors, that help name the signifying processes of dance. Kuha means something close to a notion of precision or apprehension of one's embodiment of the appropriate form according to genre. For instance, "Naidentify ko siya na they danced folk dance pero it's not really precise. Pero hindi ganun ka nakuha nila sayawin/I identified the fact that they did folk dance, but it was not really precise. But they didn't really get the movement."<sup>596</sup> When she talks about the female dancers—like Gigi Torres,

Ellen Kim, and the Beat Freaks—from whom she draws inspiration it is notable that Sison feels the need to give a disclaimer about gaya (copying) because the notion of imitating American culture and originality is often a very contentious topic in the Philippines: "Yun so parang I'm not used to yung ginagaya ko yung style nila. Pero I'm looking to how they bring themselves. So parang as a dancer hindi ko siya ginagaya, kung paano siya manamit, pero yung aura na binibigay niya./There, so it's like I'm not accustomed to copying their style, but I'm looking at how they bring themselves. It's like, as a dancer, I don't imitate her, how she dresses, but the aura she is giving it."<sup>597</sup> For Sison, there is no ideal body for Hip-hop, but rather, agency is defined by an individual dancers' or crews' ability to deliver (i-dala) a dimension of authentic or original self-expression; this agency allows Sison to abnegate any potential claims of "biting." Finally, the concept of dating (arrival) focuses on the viewer's sensation and perception; it is rarely ascribed to dancers but rather to the dance itself and the meaning that is "arrived" at through the dancer's actions. These common terms illustrate the importance of Filipino language in the role of meaning-making and across genre (Ladies' Hip-hop), mode (competition), dimension (language), and conflict (gender discrimination).

The Stellars' exhibition dance and the "Confi-Dance" finalists' competition dances are defined by their functions and these differences shape the ways these groups of dancers differently negotiate femininity. Stellars choreography is a dialogue between the finalists and a communicator of dance values based on what Stellars witnessed in auditions weeks before. The success depends on whether it influences more inter-group diversity. In contrast, "Confi-Dance" finalists' choreography for the "ultimate battle" takes the standards of mechanics into serious consideration.<sup>598</sup> The success depends on whether they persuade judges to award them points in accordance to the mechanics, which themselves hold aesthetic demands of urban authenticity and variety. These differing purposes of exhibition and competition dances inform the fact that the Stellars group exhibited five distinct genres, while the LSDC-Street finalist group featured eight different streetdance and dance

styles in their choreography. From the perspective of competitions, linguistic terms like dating also point to the "counter-mechanics," a disparate set of subjective components of judging that undermine the objectivity for which mechanics strives. From the perspective of Sison, these terms articulate her approach to Hip-hop dance; an approach that she sees as experiencing major shifts since training with Leal Marie Diaz (aka Mommy Lema or Lema) and Stellars.

### **Mommy Lema and "drawing out" Stellars**

While organizers of dance competitions can imbue Hip-hop with a dynamics that appears mechanistic, the stories of dance collectives like Stellars offer us a more organic view. Up until now, I have spoken about Stellars as an all-female dance crew. Here, I would like to focus on its provenance as a loosely defined communal space for Pinays to grow as dancers outside of their respective co-ed crews and classes.<sup>599</sup> I now take a step back from "Confi-dance" and underline Stellars origins because it helps suggest ways we can continue to rethink the unexpected significances that the competition mode of Hip-hop dance can hold beyond winning and losing. Diaz first brought this community of women together in 2007 and the AllStars juniors and Stellars call her "Mommy" suggests the family-style relationship between the dancers. Since the 1980s, a decade in Manila which she characterizes with a lack of access to Hip-hop educational resources, Diaz's experiences in dance give us pause to think about the ways that gender informs Hip-hop dance in Manila.

A few weeks prior to "Confi-dance," I organized an interview with Diaz and suggested that we meet at Greenhills Mall, one of the places near the AllStars Dance School. I planned to do a little writing prior to our meeting and I posted up at a local cafe. Apparently we had the same idea because while I was working, I saw her come into the cafe. She told me she was meeting a shoemaker to discuss an order for the upcoming AllStars Dance School concert. Stellars was

wearing heels for one of their pieces. From a distance, I caught glimpses of their interaction Diaz was pointed out parts of the prototype heels that needed adjusting. I got the sense that Diaz was an artist that paid careful attention to the various aspects of dance's artistic production and held a genuine passion for dance.

Born and raised in the Philippines, Diaz's love for dance began as a five-year old who found inspiration in popular American artists like Michael Jackson, Janet Jackson, Madonna, Rick Springfield, and Cindy Lauper.<sup>600</sup> Diaz had access to these artists' music videos through two routes—her aunt, then a teenager, would rent MTV footage through Betamax and video rental stores, and also relatives from the U.S. would visit and bring videos, like that of Madonna's *Blond Ambition Japan Tour 90*(1990).<sup>601</sup> These American pop sensations became sources for Diaz's artistic creativity and views on taste, caliber, and production. At the same time, her then budding dance career was importantly nurtured by familiar figures, namely her grandmother and dance teachers. When we spoke, their importance registered in the way Diaz's voice cracked as she began speaking about the 1980's when her grandmother would walk her, despite the rain, to ballet class in Bicol. In Manila in the mid-1990's, Diaz' dance grew from a love of Hip-hop at nightclubs, like Mars on Pasay Road with Jay Mastah and Art Strong, acknowledged pioneers in Filipino Hip-hop.<sup>602</sup> Diaz describes this period in her life:

It's in Pasay road, it's one of like the clubs that has like "Vibe [entertainment]" every Fridays. And DJ Steve Mills, he's from Canada. One of the first deejays here who started bringing culture, the culture from Canada to where, how dancers are supposed to be, how dj's are supposed to be treated, how the club is supposed to feel like every Friday. Something like that. It's basically 'cause Hip-hop was already up there you know and then it's starting here, most of the people were into emceeing and rapping at that time and not so much in dance. I think the only thing that's present that time is like underground b-boy. That was slowly ... it was really slow paced. So I love Hip-hop but at the same time, I love dance in general. So I ended up learning different kinds of dance. And it taught me to be diverse in what I do. The foundation that I have for dance, I kind of like I would say I was able to use it a lot in Hip-hop ... Basically I kind of fused them together with what I learned and with what I'm still learning.<sup>603</sup>

Diaz recounts a personal story that marries her two lives—Hip-hop cultural life and dance life. First, Diaz's description of Mars nightclub reveals her opinions about what constitutes a proper culture.<sup>604</sup> Diaz talks about "Hip-hop culture," as a lifestyle that is understood in terms of how dancers and dj's are treated and the appropriate feelings and atmosphere that a club elicits from those in attendance. Diaz also credits Filipino-Americans that she met while dancing in nightclubs, in addition to the childhood exposure to pop American artists through locally distributed media, for shaping and influencing her tastes in music and ideas around Hip-hop as a lifestyle.<sup>605</sup> Perhaps as notable as the way she traces the flow of Hip-hop cultural practice along a Canada-Philippines pathway, is the way Diaz makes a distinction between underground b-boying and dance proper. By the time Diaz encountered Mars, she had already been dancing for a decade, a period that included dancing with the De La Salle University-Taft dance company and various professional companies since age 16. These experiences inform her identification, despite the b-boying scene, of a troubling lack of development in dance.<sup>606</sup> The mix of experiences sparked an early desire to strengthen the dance scene in Manila from the mid-1990s to today.

One of the ways that Diaz works to strengthen the dance scene in Manila lies in addressing the urgent and longstanding need to broaden the narrow spaces afforded to women in dance. This issue became clearer through Diaz's experiences dancing for popular television programs like *Eazy Dancing* and seeing dance on contemporary programs like *Eat Bulaga* or *Wowowee*.<sup>607</sup> As I asked about the bodily emphasis of Ladies' Hip-hop, Diaz spoke of the deliberate use of hips (*balakang*) but a conscious attempt to steer clear away from *kendeng-kendeng*.<sup>608</sup> As a recent example of a longer pattern in popular dance that has yet to relinquish the spectacle of a woman's waist (*bewang*), *kendeng-kendeng* can consist of hips moving side-to-side, bouncing, or shaking.<sup>609</sup> *Kendeng-kendeng* was popularized on noontime television programs by spokesmodels of William Revilliam on *Will Time Big Time* (2011). *Kendeng* and other dance crazes—like the twisting about of *shembot*



and swaying backsides of kembot—usually have their own songs and choreographies.<sup>610</sup> These dances are highly visible entities of Filipino culture and considered playful "novelties" and easy for people to embody; an ease that is cumulative in the ways each seems to remake its precedent in gesture and name. In 2004, a University of the Philippines student, Shallum L. Lee, wrote about these dances in her/his senior thesis on Pinoy Pop Culture.<sup>611</sup> Lee cites sociologist Sarah Raymundo, who believes the popularity of novelty dances also lies in the relatability of the masses to the groups that popularize them, such as the Sex Bomb Girls.<sup>612</sup> It is not uncommon to see adults prompt their pre- and grade school children to perform these dances as entertainment during familial gatherings and community festivities. Both the Penthouse dances of the 1970s and 1980s and the novelty dances of the late 1990s and 2000s were staged on massively popular television programs and owe their success to audience relatability.

At the same time, spokesmodels, or what are often commonly referred to as "promo girls," act as figures that distinguish, for Sandy Hontiveros, noontime shows from variety shows.<sup>613</sup> Revealing the difference she observes in the social status of Filipina dancers in noontime shows in the 1970s when compared to contemporary versions, Hontiveros states, "Dancers were never used as decorations."<sup>614</sup> Novelty dancing demonstrates one way that media corporations and Filipinas employ popular dance to make household, food, and beverage products relatable and accessible to a broad consumer class. Novelty dancing and its relatability have also elicited mixed response. In 2010, the Commission on Elections enlisted the Sex Bomb Girls to promote "Bilog na Hugis Itlog (egg-shaped circle)," a song and dance that educated voters about computerized ballots. It seems clear that dancing for a voter education campaign and dancing in front of a year's supply of laundry detergent for a noontime show are far from the same. And yet, in response, Archbishop Oscar Cruz criticized the participation of Sex Bomb Girls as an "ominous sign" of election disaster.<sup>615</sup> Diaz aptly points out that it is the daily noontime show ritual of pretty Filipinas grinding and gyrating their hips

that degrades women and that her own choreography eschews.<sup>616</sup> For art historian Rina Corpus, the Sex Bomb dancers must be understood in the context of the "largely male and macho viewership" and seen as "predisposed by unequal sexual power relations upholding the ideology of patriarchy in its catering to the culturally conditioned 'pleasures' of a largely male and macho viewership."<sup>617</sup> This patriarchal ideology informs the "You think that's all we can do?" attitude that infuses Diaz's dance choreography.<sup>618</sup> This sentiment should not be mistaken for the morality-based criticism of the Archbishop against the Sex Bomb dancers.<sup>619</sup> Rather, Diaz's standpoint desires for gender-conscious liberating movement and individual choice regarding bodily emphasis.

In addition to the ways that the gender politics of noontime television dance can influence the choreographic choices Hip-hop dancers make, within the Hip-hop dance community there lingers a slight bias against women as the naturalized weaker sex.<sup>620</sup> While she recognizes the contemporary historical moment as one in which women's status in Hip-hop is rising, Diaz says that one of the things that Stellars wants to change is the notion within Hip-hop communities that women are less technically proficient in dance than males.<sup>621</sup> A contradictory trait of Hip-hop is that despite its bias against women, it nonetheless provides a means to connect with female sources of inspiration:

I would say there is an American or not just American but worldwide flavor to it because basically you kind of draw in inspiration from strong women in history and strong women that represent an icon, you know. Like women that has made a stand ... Women with substance you know. I guess it's ... you really don't wanna... because women in the Philippines yes we're very patient, we're very you know, like, martyr and stuff, but at the same time, you want women to be strong and say, "Hey! It's time for Filipinas to stand up and speak up and be aware of the issues that we have nowadays." There are women like that here but I think that [Hip-hop's] influenced already globally. But if you're saying it's Maria Clara then you are not really trying to step it up more ... for women to be strong.<sup>622</sup>

Statements such as these from Diaz reveal the ways that contemporary Filipino Hip-hop has an international semiotics ("flavor") for signifying and advancing local, contemporary Filipina cultural politics. By describing it as a practice of engaging historical and resistant female figures, Diaz

distinguishes the female Hip-hop dancer apart from the existing domestic models of empowered women. According to Diaz, the concept of Maria Clara is associated with "mahinin," a submissive, "old fashioned" personality and behavior that makes it difficult for audiences to think of the women in Hip-hop like Stellars as Filipino. In order to challenge the dominant image of Filipinas as patient martyrs, Diaz draws inspiration from strong, iconic African American women with substance like Mary J. Blige and Alicia Keys. The global influence of Hip-hop provides useful alternatives to the Filipina tropes of Maria Clara, martyrdom, and patience, which are actually illusions of female strength for Diaz.

The lingering internal gender bias in Hip-hop is one of the frustrations that catalyzed Stellars. If an epiphanic identification about dance in Mars nightclub began the story of Stellars, that impulse was then recharged in 2005 when Diaz competed in the U.S. and saw women that could shift between styles of dance. Soon after she returned to Manila, Diaz began identifying and hand-picking girls from her regular Ladies Hip-hop classes who "looked hungry," or exhibited a strong desire and receptivity to learn. Unlike crews that hold formal auditions, Stellars formed more organically without a premeditated objective of a cohesive crew and identity. Diaz texted girls and invited them to separate classes she personally arranged. At first in 2007, the goal was to develop more female dancers that were "whole" dancers, or could embody their own femininity and also shift to "move almost like men."<sup>623</sup> Diaz began training girls in "guy movements" and they gradually improved. In 2009, she reassessed the situation and noticed that while girls were getting stronger in Hip-hop, there was something lacking in self-expression and affect.<sup>624</sup> Diaz re-formatted her program to hold workshops that "draw everything out" from women. Through her experiences in professional dance companies, Diaz has come to an understanding that a performer should be able to draw everything out and understand what she does completely. She invited her own former teachers to hold intensive workshops that experimented with evoking feeling or personal experience.

This marked a prominent shift in Diaz's pedagogical theories about dance that moved away from the telos of mastering a dichotomized repertoire of masculine and feminine movement. In the re-formatted program, Diaz's approach incorporated reflexivity and "what the women already have" toward a general goal of attaining better knowledge of how they could use their body.<sup>625</sup>

How does a dancer come to terms with the contradictions of Hip-hop's origins, gender, and dance? Diaz states:

You know, like, it came from the U.S., so you can't really deny the ... the swag that it has. So you have to give credit to that. And at the same time, maybe, the flavor that the girls have would be their own flavor alone, itself. Or what the girls have. I encourage the ladies to draw out their own character, not someone else's. But what I'm telling them is: "Don't copy my character because what I am right now is what I experienced in my life. How I move, how I touch my body, and how I throw my hands up in the air. That's who I am. Then, you have to find that, that character in you." And that's what I always tell the girls, "You have to have your own individual style. You be strong as a woman. You be strong and dance like a guy. But you have to find strength from the experiences that you've had in life." So I guess, yes there's still that quality of a Filipina that comes about them because it's different from every girl that ... I'm just there to teach them technique, how to draw it out. But I'm not there to make them ... to be like me, you know, or to be somebody else that they're not. I'm not gonna tell them that. It's their individual style that I want them to come out.<sup>626</sup>

Diaz's pedagogical theories about dance underscore a couple of tensions around Filipino Hip-hop. Different from the word's reference to promotional gift bags at Hollywood award shows, "swag" within Hip-hop and street culture contexts refers to an aura of confidence articulated in one's mannerisms, how she/he carries their self, and dresses. By acknowledging and linking the concept of swag to the U.S., Diaz does not simply mean that Hip-hop has resulted in the social construction of swag as an essential American cultural trait, but that somehow the U.S. also imparts a swag upon Hip-hop. Whether this dialectic is derived through U.S. military global dominance, American imperialism in the Philippines, or an image of American youth of color, is an open question. What is clear is the value that Diaz places on discouraging copying. Potential Hip-hop criticisms of "biting" and postcolonial scoffs at Filipino Hip-hop as imitative fall away when the authenticity framework of Hip-hop is figured within the realm of personal self-discovery. It is a small but significant point

that Diaz does not discourage copying because she adheres to a dominant Hip-hop logic of authenticity but because she believes copying inhibits one from tapping into the autobiographical power of dance. Within Hip-hop, by respectfully crediting its origins, Diaz buffers potential criticism of Filipino Hip-hop as ahistorical, while at the same time, asserting the value of individual character. For Diaz, a Pinay dancer should have the freedom to emphasize the way she returns a voyeur's gaze, or carries a sense of personal swag, creates angles with her limbs, or appropriates traditionally masculine codes.<sup>627</sup> Her objection to a "just steps" mentality about dance is one that claims the body as politically agentic and imbues it with an instrumentality for language, empathy, or narrative believability.<sup>628</sup> Reflexivity as a means of developing individual style and a shared Filipina identity is just another way of challenging what is seen as an endemic bias against women in Hip-hop and the societal expectations for Filipinas to be mahinhin (demure).<sup>629</sup> Under Diaz's direction, *Stellars* has helped expand the historically limited development of dance in Hip-hop culture and challenge the hegemony of gyration as a ritual of modern consumption and repertoire of post/colonialism.

## **Conclusion**

Notwithstanding the examples of popular Hip-hop representations like Tupac Shakur and Nicki Minaj that opened this chapter depicting Filipinas through an orientalist gaze, Filipina Hip-hop practitioners have their own history, theories, and concepts around gendered, sexualized essentialism. Within the multiple contexts of dance in the Philippines, the asymmetrical relationships between Filipino natives, Spain, and United States come to light. For Filipinos, ethnic and folk dances have come to function in nationalist rhetoric as proof of the country's character—resistant to subjugation, racially heterogeneous, and resource-rich. *Bodabil*, ballet, modern dance, and African American dances were vehicles for new gender dynamics and performance formats that continue into the contemporary moment. From physical education, an American colonial apparatus, Filipinos

first notated and recorded dances that have since come to naturalize stereotypical notions of Filipino women as coquettish and demure.

In the context of Marcos dictatorship and institutional artist-based changes, African-American forms of dance spread and *Penthouse 7* popularized Locking in the archipelago. Through her history of modern ballet, Hontiveros is an example of the contradictions of Filipino Hip-hop and the folk dance tours and Filipino diasporic media pathways of global Hip-hop. Penthouse dancers made artistic, social, and professional breakthroughs while, at times, subverting existing gender conventions of choreography. In addition, Manila-based youth interacted with military dependents to develop b-boying, poppin', and an urban/rural masculinity dichotomy in Manila boy/Probinsyano. *Penthouse 7* benefited from and acquiesced to the classed beautification and neoliberal project of the Marcos dictatorship. As a privileged few, Penthouse dancers also impressed many and inspired some of the contemporary leaders in streetdance.<sup>630</sup>

American colonial physical education sought to standardize imported American sports amongst natives and the mechanics of competition dance similarly tries to put order where it sees fit. The machinery of streetdance competitions illuminate the ways that urban dance cannot be reduced to a set of rules or judges biases, but also, depends on fairly transparent metrics regarding an aesthetics that attempts to resolve dualities of authenticity and innovation, clarity and "mashing-up." Beyond winning and losing, dancing at Confi-dance, as seen through Sison and the Stellars dance, can elucidate "counter-mechanics," notions of gendered choreography, and areas of subjectivity and dialogue. Artists like Sison and Diaz represent the contemporary Filipina dancer, one that navigates gender biases that are both external and internal to Hip-hop. Similar to the accounts of Hontiveros and Diaz is the foregoing of hip gyration, a marker of female degradation, and the Filipino diasporic media as a pathway for source material. Unlike the instructional segments of *Penthouse 7*, Diaz speaks of a reflexive pedagogy. Unable to repudiate "swag," an index of the American post/colonial power

of Hip-hop, Diaz's choreography seeks to draw out "what the women already have." Across the realms of tourism, commercial television, competition, and community, Filipinas have and continue to be leaders and integral to Hip-hop in Manila. While their portraits offer but a glimpse at the wider community, they, nonetheless, provide an opportunity for considering the processes of Filipino remaking.

## 5 | "America in 3D":

Stereoscopic Empire

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“THE ship still sinks.”

—Director James Cameron  
prior to releasing the newly 3-D converted “Titanic.”<sup>631</sup>

I want to conclude this study with the event that I described in the project's introductory chapter, "America in 3D," because it manages to enfold within itself many of the powers and problems of Filipino Hip-hop and streetdance that I have highlighted across the three geo-political spaces of Berkeley, Honolulu, and Manila. Similar to the previous chapters, the following argues that Filipino Hip-hop and post/colonialism hold inextricable links, which in this case I call stereoscopic empire. Unlike the focus on femininity in "Maria Clara and Hip-hop," the following discussion aims to apprehend the ways the internal logic of Hip-hop dance can be complicated by the interests of nation-states, enduring post/colonial apparatus of spectacle, and possibility of transforming Filipino identity. Inspired by its exceptional context, I offer a meditation on "Pinays Rise," a striking component within "America in 3D," that like a knot to be undone, entangles the themes underlying Filipino Hip-hop—Hip-hop dance acts as a part of a Filipino racial repertoire, Hip-hop reveals dual institutionalization and decolonization processes, and dance offers an alternative view of Hip-hop's globalization.



Chelo Aestrid's "Pinays Rise" is a four-minute live performance that blends pop music and Hip-hop dance, featuring twelve dancers from Stellers. The song was released on Aestrid's first solo album, *Love, Life, and D'Light* (2011). The strength of this Hip-hop dance performance lies in its ability to articulate a no-nonsense understanding of contemporary gender politics within Hip-hop while simultaneously expressing a Filipina point of view. The political imperative of the dance—female empowerment—is not new but novelty lies in the way the dance embodies its politics. The choreography holds onto enough of the album's lyrical structure to feature different streetdance styles and formations as it progresses through intro and outro, verse, chorus, and bridge. The outfit Aestrid dons is nothing like the traditional Filipina terno; none of the butterfly sleeves and sparkling sequins typical of Filipino beauty pageants.<sup>632</sup> Rather she rocks a tight-fitted black leather jacket, chains and studs galore; black tight pants and an exposed midriff below a reddish-black mesh tube top. Her signature undercut is bleached blonde and spells out confidence.<sup>633</sup> At one point, Aestrid draws our eyes to her black mid-top boots with a high kick to accent the break in the lyric "You ain't gonna find girls like us." Although "America in 3D," served as a U.S. diplomatic tool to promote values of democracy and neoliberal policies, the dancing was also an effective navigational strategy for Hip-hop dancers to configure the labor of Pinay dancing bodies in new ways, and further incorporate themselves within a global Hip-hop horizon, while dialectically constituting the terms of Hip-hop as global. For a better understanding, allow me to describe a section of the dance:

*Stellers form a semi-cypher and three individuals go in—a krumper, a Hip-hop dancer, and a b-girl. The krumper's eyes are squinted as her mouth forms an ugly kind of smirk. Her fists pound the air and her chest pop sends her backward back into the cypher's perimeter. The Hip-hop dancer gyrates her spine and confidently winds a wave up her body like a cyclone. This wave travels up her arms until her right hand reaches her ear; her dance is a call and she now listens for the crowd's response. This gesture also reveals a knowingness of the song's literal as well as rhythmic aspects. Her hand-to-ear bodily movement corresponds with the lyrics, "let me hear ya?" She thrusts her hips in a left-right-left syncopation at the audience and bends over. She's only forward long enough to slap the ground and quickly spring her torso back up in a reverse body roll. The b-girl is the third dancer to go in. She drops in with a dolphin dive and proceeds with a complicated set of kickbacks, footwork, and freezes. This triptych of streetdance—krumper, Hip-hop dancer, and b-girl—reflects an array of gender variance in the hardness of krump, referentiality of Hip-hop, and finesse of b-girling.*

The array of gendered movement described in the preceding vignette acts as a foil for the feminine type of wacking-inspired dancing that comprises the first two choral sections of "Pinays Rise."<sup>634</sup> The dance begins with three Pinays holding oversized, vibrantly colored musical instruments. Unlike the dances in "Confi-Dance" that featured a spliced mix of several sampled beats and melodies, this choreography employs a single, cohesive song. The song starts and the dancers mime the gestures of a rock band. They are the same instruments or props in the music video, which runs on the stage's screen and acts like a backdrop for the live performance.<sup>635</sup> Directed by Treb Monteras II, the "Pinay's Rise" music video is rendered in a komiks (Filipino comic book) style. Its aesthetics are apparent in the comic book font, lyrics, sound effects, and framed text boxes overlaying characters' dialogue and thoughts. The serial nature of the narrative of this work holds particular weight in the context of Filipino culture because it evokes the gendered desires and shift in popular reading practices in the postwar era, dynamics that Filipino literature scholar Soledad R. Reyes has understood as a moment that created icons of Filipina representation.<sup>636</sup> In the video, for a brief shot, the graphic crown of Darna is superimposed on the real image of Aestrid. Created by Mars Ravelo, Darna is the Filipino superheroine from komiks and movies whose popularity began in the 1950s and continues today. Narda, a komik character from a barrio (rural town), transformed into Darna when she swallowed a white stone and thus gained the superpowers of flight, strength of twenty men, and near invincibility.<sup>637</sup> While Darna's cultural significance during the anxiety-ridden and tumultuous post-war presidencies of Quirino and Magsaysay may have articulated an implicit desire or served escapist function for the reading public, Aestrid's cultural meaning is one that explicitly plays with the genre borders of social realism and fantasy.<sup>638</sup> By reference to Darna, Aestrid summons an iconic Pinay potency to her work and by doing so accentuates the social realism and populism that overlap Hip-hop and komiks as cultural practices.<sup>639</sup>

What meanings does "Pinays Rise," as a Hip-hop dance performance, come to produce in the Filipino context and global Hip-hop culture? Aestrid's assemblage of movements conveys an assertive, ludic departure from normative notions of global Hip-hop and instead sits between irony and Hip-hop "authenticity." She stares straight into the camera and bats her eyelashes in an exaggerated, punctuated fashion. This direct and sarcastic choreography playfully challenges the essentializing male eye with an unapologetic essentialism of its own. In the live performance, during the final lyric, "Pretty, intelligent, nice and why? Because I'm a Filipina," Aestrid and Stellars curtsy, each of their knees awkwardly turned inward. Some dancers top off this darling-ness with a shoulder dip, others hold the seams of their long shirts—each winking at the subordinate role and limited mobilities of women in Hip-hop and society at large. In addition (and contrast) to this ironic femininity, the other movements that the "Pinays Rise" dancers perform convey a rawness built upon a deliberate display of diversity quite visible in the dance's cypher (described in the vignette). The "show and prove" activities around the many ways Filipinas move also inadvertently remake a particularly Filipina racial heterogeneity exhibited with the song's lyrics "Mestiza, Chinita, Morena, let me hear ya?" and point to the theme of Hip-hop as part of a Filipino racial repertoire.<sup>640</sup>

"Pinays Rise" shares much of the same multi-style Hip-hop dance vocabulary that Stellars and "Confi-Dance" competitors perform; there is a great distance between the images these groups construct and the globally circulated image of Imelda Marcos waltzing in her infamous shoe collection.<sup>641</sup> "Pinays Rise" challenges this gendered trope of feminine urbanity and tawdry high culture by rallying a broad class of Filipinas. In the "Pinays Rise" circle, Filipinas physically spring forward, reach out, and spiral upward in a communal medley that indicates that it is not despite, but through their individual streetdance styles and gestures that Pinays collectively rise. Their performance also cues us to the alternative perspective dance offers for thinking about Hip-hop and globalization. This dance accomplishes this by bridging the female Filipino and Hip-hop dancing

figure as laboring bodies. They do so in the company of lyrics that spell out the racial and occupational diversity under the banner of "Pinay." The variety of Pinay labor is remarked upon in the lyrics:

We nurses, care-takers, the lovin' lovin' don't stop  
We business-women and dancing traffic cops  
There ain't nothing a Super Pinay can't do  
We ruling nations, while lookin' fly-high-high too!<sup>642</sup>

In the music video, Aestrid and Stellars portray characters that occupy these various jobs and must abandon their duties to help support a fellow Filipina who is out-numbered by an all-male dance crew in a cypher.<sup>643</sup> Lyrical references to global Filipina labor offer a multi-faceted "we" (i.e. "We nurses," "We business-women," "We ruling nations") that is ordinary to Filipino culture and extraordinary for Hip-hop contexts. Ethnic studies scholar Catherine Ceniza Choy speaks to the inextricable roots of U.S. imperialism (i.e. Americanized nursing schools and English language curriculum in the American colonial period) as fundamental for explaining the normalcy of "we" and the fact that Filipinas comprise the largest population of overseas nurses.<sup>644</sup> By emphasizing the role of Filipinas in a care chain, Aestrid further encircles the Filipina Hip-hop dancing body within the contemporary discourses of global Filipinos.<sup>645</sup> The krump, Hip-hop, b-girl, and wackin' vocabularies of the dance demonstrate a proficiency and transcendence in the context of expectations of the Maria Clara folk dances or gyrating hips of noontime television. This dancing and the message of female empowerment it delivers seek to actively re-make Filipinas and create a world where Filipina bodies can get down.

Up to now I have discussed how "Pinays Rise" speaks to themes of Hip-hop as Filipino racial repertoire and a dance approach to globalization and Hip-hop. But how does "Pinays Rise" demonstrate the dual institutionalization and decolonization of Filipino Hip-hop we observe in U.S. West Coast Pilipino Culture Nights or Manila-based university-sponsored dance clubs? A few days

earlier, I had met one of the main organizers of "America in 3D," Public Affairs Officer for the U.S. Embassy in Manila and Philippine-American Educational Foundation (PAEF) Board Chairman, Rick Nelson.<sup>646</sup> Upon seeing him in the crowd at the AllStars concert portion of "America in 3D" he invited me to sit in the front row and introduced me to the U.S. Ambassador and Honorary PAEF Board Chairman, Harry Thomas.<sup>647</sup> As a representative of the U.S. State Department, Thomas personally represented one of the three main bodies of U.S. presence in foreign nations like the Philippines.<sup>648</sup> The Department of the State, along with the Department of Defense and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), plays a pivotal role in advancing national security policy. In 2009, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton invoked the three-word alliteration, "Diplomacy, Development, and Defense," in her testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee:

Secretary [of Defense] Gates and I are here together because our departments' missions are aligned and our plans are integrated. The foreign policy of the United States is built on the three Ds: defense, diplomacy, and development. The men and women in our armed forces perform their duties with courage and skill, putting their lives on the line time and time again on behalf of our nation. And in many regions, they serve alongside civilians from the State Department and USAID, as well as other government agencies, like USDA.<sup>649</sup>

The U.S. seeks to integrate the efforts of the Department of the State, Department of Defense, and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to effectively promote U.S. interests, both domestically and abroad. Nonetheless, this 3-D foreign policy has not been without criticism. For instance, Nafees Asiya Syed highlights budget and spending differences between agencies to suggest, "[t]he emphasis on defense at the expense of development and diplomacy raises serious questions about whether American foreign aid can achieve its stated goals and whether America is most effectively promoting peace and stability throughout the world."<sup>650</sup> Secretary of State Clinton's testimony inadvertently supports this criticism as she concedes that diplomacy and development amount to only six percent of the national security budget.<sup>651</sup> Still, according to Nathan Finney, military writer for the counter-insurgency-focused online magazine, *Small Wars Journal*, the 3-D

foreign policy provides “a national security tool chest that has been enhanced with a wide variety of capabilities which would flow from the integration of our nation’s soft power.”<sup>652</sup>

If Finney were to experience the road show, "America in 3D," he might argue that the event all but confirms his views on "soft power." The Quezon City version of "America in 3D" enlisted the talents of several cultural resources for a three-day program including Martin Nieverra, who had hosted *Penthouse Live* in the 1980s. After *Penthouse*, Nieverra became a singer/actor popularly known as the "concert king" of the Philippines. He opened the weekend's program with platinum recording artist, Jaya. The Manila Hoedowners, a square dance club, taught square dance and tapped into the popular Filipino love for line dance. Workshops entitled "The Visa Process Demystified" and "Learn How to Study in the U.S." ran several times throughout the weekend. Musical and vocal performances across the weekend featured a remarkable genre diversity: country music of Miles "Asia's Ambassadors of Country Music," Broadway and Popular music of Stephanie Reese, Gospel by the Greenhills Christian Fellowship Chancel Choir, Jazz by the UST Jazz Ensemble, and American Pop by Jed Madela. The Block Cinemas housed films/discussions in three theatres on subjects like "Trafficking in Persons," "Freedom of the Press," "U.S.-Philippine History," "Strengthening Democracy," "Protecting Labor Rights," and "Families in America."<sup>653</sup> The Philippine Basketball Association coaches and players offered an extensive two-day youth basketball clinic that was organized in three age categories in the Sky Dome.<sup>654</sup> Fil-Am White House Executive Chef Cristeta Comerford conducted a digital video-conference on Saturday morning to inform people about important things like "what's President Obama's favorite meal?" This exhaustive (and exhausting) itinerary of events was intent on demonstrating that the U.S.-Philippine relationship was undeniably in-sync, at least in cultural terms. American culture was deeply integrated and perfected by Filipino bodies and Filipino culture (and cuisine especially) had infiltrated the upper echelons and intestines of American society. Yet, if Defense is the main tool (94% of the national security budget)

of foreign affairs, what is to be surmised by the seemingly heavy hand of America's "soft power" in the "America in 3D" road show? What are the narrative energies that this 3-D foreign policy draws upon to achieve its intended effects?

Here, it seems useful to consider the ideas behind "America in 3D" as a cultural scenario. While the three "D's" in "America in 3D" point to the collective efforts of the Department of the State, Department of Defense, and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to effectively promote U.S. interests, these interests in the Philippines are shaped by the archipelago's position as an Asian ally, similar to Japan, South Korea, Australia, and Thailand.<sup>655</sup> This relationship is different from the relationship between the U.S. and China, India, or Russia—countries that the U.S. sees as "21st Century Centers of Influence." From the dominant Americocentric Hip-hop standpoint, the difference between Asian allies and "Centers of Influence" point to key fissures of any imagined homogenous, monolithic Asian Hip-hop culture.<sup>656</sup> Given the existing "global village" approach to Hip-hop, these distinctions suggest the limits of treating American-Asian Hip-hop exchanges similarly. The U.S. sees the Philippines as an important figure in its plan to "pivot" to Asia and manage relations with these "21st Century Centers of Influence," and in the context of "America in 3D," this warrants a new attempt to re-brand the U.S.-Philippine relationship and American image to the Filipino public.

For producers and consumers of American popular culture, the notion of 3-D immediately conjures up several images. Perhaps, for those of us born in the U.S. in the late 20th century, the first image is that of the paper framed glasses with red and blue (cyan) color filters, or "anaglyph glasses." Whether for American comic books, movies, or cereal boxes, these frames tend to hold a special place in our childhood or past. That being said, 3-D strikes me as a particularly useful alternative to the common view of a U.S.-Philippine relationship as made up of dichotomies (native and foreign, pre-colonial and post-colonial, traditional and modern, and Filipino and American). If

we follow the historical lineage of 3-D as a medium for perceiving reality, the "America in 3D" road show only seems to gain more persuasiveness.<sup>657</sup> Essentially, by viewing two slightly different versions of the same scene, taken together, the human body creates for itself an illusion that the two dimensional image is three dimensional through stereopsis, a sense of depth produced by psychological and physiological depth cues.<sup>658</sup>

In light of its recent popular resurfacing, 3-D has had a mixed reception from critics and public alike.<sup>659</sup> 3-D has generally been accepted as a technological upgrade, to give audiences a sense of image realism. According to journalist Dan Engber, when 3-D is applied to concerts or live performances it has a way of recreating the excitement and "live-ness" of a performance on the proscenium stage.<sup>660</sup> When applied to films with unusual or exotic landscapes, 3-D has the ability to create a new cinematic space.<sup>661</sup> Engber holds out hope for stereoscopic experiences as he states, "[3-D] has or had the possibility (unrealized as of yet) to be more of a paradigm shift than an upgrade in cinema. It has the possibility of something deeper, more complicated, and more mind-bendingly awesome."<sup>662</sup> In this sense, it serves U.S. interests to ride the wave of 3-D's resurgence in American popular cinema in an attempt to recreate a landscape of the imagined America in a way that Filipinos could enter. In cases such as Star Wars and Disney movies where 2-D films have been re-released in 3-D format, experts have expressed disappointment in how this usage fails to shift the cinematic paradigm or create new worlds but instead merely passes off something old for something new and more costly.<sup>663</sup>

At its core, 3-D represents a technology for making sense of two different scenes, giving them a sense of depth. 3-D has also been criticized as a gimmicky, nausea-inducing attempt at rebooting a franchise.<sup>664</sup> These definitions of stereoscopy shed light on my own mixed reaction to "America in 3D," made up of part skepticism and part hopeful possibility. Part of the questions surrounding the efficacy of the event originated from its own promise to effectively champion U.S.-



Philippine relations. On the one hand, in its use of a variety of cultural agents and career fair resources, the road show was both broad and transparent in its attention to cultural production and labor migration as integral sites for fortifying the diplomatic and development aspects of U.S.-Philippine relations. On the other hand, the activities that directly related to the third "D"—Defense—in "3D" remained unclear and a far cry from the paradigm-shifting potentials of visual 3-D.<sup>665</sup> Absent from this conversation was the history of U.S. militarism in the Philippines including the contemporary activities in the Southern Philippines as well as the participation of Filipinos in the U.S. Navy and other branches. For example, for many progressive activists in the Philippines, the U.S. military presence in the Philippines is less than welcome.<sup>666</sup> About the substantial differences between U.S.-Philippine relations of both historical and contemporary formation, these powerful specters left me, not in child-like wonder, but simply wondering.

Yet, just as conventional stereoscopy can create a new cinematic space that draws viewers into the screen's world, the "America in 3D" road show ostensibly creates a new relationship between attendees, performers, and organizers in the immersive experience of "America." "America in 3D" draws from the same creative powers of stereoscopy to make something new or to generate a buzz around the U.S. as much as its Filipino performers create buzz about their place in the world. I went into "America in 3D" thinking it would confirm the criticisms of Filipino scholars and activists calling for real decolonization and independence, but I came away with a much more ambivalent response about the neocolonial, neoliberal, gendered relationship between the Philippines and the U.S. Part of this response had to do with the message of female empowerment delivered by "Pinays Rise." Another part of my reaction is attributed to the evident labor of Hip-hop practitioners, many of who saw this opportunity as a means of building better relations with the U.S. embassy in Manila.

It is important that we not mistake dancers such as the Philippine AllStars as pawns of U.S. foreign policy. These relations proved extremely useful when qualifying for visas that are necessary

for competing in the annual U.S.-based world championship of Hip-hop dance, World Hip-hop International (WHHI). Indeed it is in part due to their success from winning gold medals at WHHI in 2006 and 2008 and folk hero-like popularity at the global level of Hip-hop dance that the U.S. Embassy benefited from their participation. Moreover, it is no small point that the AllStars used their dance concert and workshop as a space for addressing widespread misconceptions about Hip-hop cultural codes in places like Quezon City, Cebu, and Laoag, among masa (social masses) who have little access to Hip-hop workshops and classes outside the Philippines. By providing these classes for free they even provided people from lower economic sectors an opportunity to experience Hip-hop dance. For example, the AllStars produced instructional videos that were projected onscreen before different dance components of the concert took the stage. Before the Pinoy House Community took the stage, for instance, a video introduction to House—a club style of dance that draws from electronic music and fast-paced upright footwork—gave audiences a glimpse at House during recent international competitions in France and Singapore. These short, but significant video essays seemed to prove to the Filipino public that these dance styles are part of a larger system of global Hip-hop culture; thereby challenging the Americocentricity offered up by the rest of the road show. The pairing of these videos with live performance gave youth an image of Hip-hop unlike the Youtube videos of U.S.-based dance reality television shows and televised Philippine dance reality competitions. Their ability to use source materials from their own battles enabled the AllStars to speak from their experience, rather than from some ur-text of Hip-hop. For them, it seems clear, whether dance diplomats for the Philippines or U.S., at the end of the day, any move toward advancing a better understanding of Hip-hop is a step in the right direction.

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This dissertation attempted to incorporate ethnography, dance, and reflection with Filipino Hip-hop dancers to elucidate how their practices articulate interior cultural theories of race, post/colonialism, and gender. In accord with Joseph Schloss' call to "put theory back in the hands of practitioners," recurring themes have emerged in our conversation.<sup>667</sup> Within and across these three spaces, I historicized their experiences in the context of PCN history, centennial narratives of social mobility, and post/colonial Philippine dance. I also contextualized the relations between dance as understood by practitioners in terms of Affirmative Action, Pacific Islander Hip-hop, and neoliberalism. Erstwhile studies of global Hip-hop offer compelling debates between the notions of a "global village," appropriation of Black Atlantic culture, resistance against neoliberalism, and actualization of globalization. From these often nation-bound studies, my multi-site research departed significantly.<sup>668</sup> My dissertation has shown that Hip-hop is principal to the ways Filipinos engage histories of American imperialism and contemporary conditions of neoliberalism *regardless* of whether they occupy "local" or "global" cultural spaces and regardless of whether they constitute the racial minority or majority. Whether underrepresented U.S. racial minorities, partners in shared Hawai'i-based panethnic identity, or agents in a Filipino national metropolis, theirs is a Filipino-specific process of "remaking."

The ethos of remaking, or articulating the relationship between post/colonial subject-formation and performance, rejuvenates Filipino Hip-hop. Robots in *Home* attempted to remake Philippine folk and ethnic dances, updating them with Poppin' aesthetics and meta-PCN critique. In the Monarchy, dancers enacted a form of remaking that emulates the original New York Hip-hop culture. Dancers in "Pinays Rise," for instance, played with historical gendered essentialisms, challenging their authority. By underlining the transformational powers within Filipino Hip-hop culture, remaking also allows us to recognize the unfinished nature of Filipino Hip-hop. Affirmative Action continues to be debated across the U.S. and the government continues to divest itself of

public education.<sup>669</sup> PCNs continue to be produced at UC Berkeley and students there continue to play around with the form and function of the show. I was invited to deliver the keynote speech to the community dinner that followed the 2010 PCN, "Check-it," a show that incorporated a public service campaign advocating for Filipino participation in the U.S. Census. Stellars still train regularly and hold workshops, and Diaz has hopes that in time they will compete at the international level. In 2008, Penthouse brought together dancers, now in their 50's, who had long since migrated to other parts of the globe with those that still lived in Manila for a live reunion show. According to Hontiveros they are always "threatening" to do another.

I began the study with skepticism of whether Filipinos in Hip-hop constituted a cultural movement of their own, not unlike my doubts going into "America in 3D." Both cynical impulses were gradually replaced with ambivalence. So much about what characterizes these dancers' Hip-hop practices comes from histories of imperialism and Filipino cultural institutions. We could consider, with broad strokes, the material presented in the three chapters and revisit how the processes of remaking are inherently historically contingent. Late 19th century notions of gender, racial hybridity, and nation meant to criticize Spanish colonialism have proliferated in the popular imaginary as conservative, gendered essentialism. In the early 1900s, performance genres introduced to entertain American soldiers, foreigners, and natives initiated a ritual for disseminating and discerning popular taste, and a social dynamic from which Hip-hop dance transmission would later benefit. Around the same time as physical education took root in Manila, in the context of global capital's need for cheap labor, the first group of Filipino migrants to Hawai'i, the sakadas, paved the way for successions of immigrants. Research accomplished by Francisca Reyes Tolentino Aquino within the American colonial system of physical education, preserved dances that existed in the pre-colonial, Spanish colonial, and American colonial period.

In the 1970s, the international touring of these dances, along with media imported by a growing diaspora, offered a unique pathway through which Hip-hop dance forms "flowed" into the Philippines. Yet, while Philippine home audiences were learning Locking and other African American social dances from Penthouse dancers on Filipino television, diasporic Filipinos were also participating in the forms. As b-boying in Manila initially took root, Filipinos in Honolulu met Rock Steady Crew in 1983. This same period witnessed the initiation of PCNs in Berkeley, Irvine, and Los Angeles. As Filipino youth in the 1980s came together to celebrate heritage through music, song, and theatrical drama, they also drew upon the same folk and ethnic dances popularized by Philippine national troupes. The 1990s witnessed the birth of PCN Modern (a vehicle for incorporating Hip-hop dance) in the U.S. West Coast and the institution of streetdance in universities in Manila. "Hip-hop" finally crossed over into the Manila lexicon in the 1990s, although bboyin', Poppin', Lockin', and other forms were already present. Filipino and non-Filipino youth like Dabalos and Skill-Roy adapted Honolulu's marginalized spaces into sites of creative expression and, perhaps because Honolulu-based Hip-hop dance lacked the infrastructure of PCN or universities, they kept the dance alive at parties. In the 2000s, PCNs saw radical changes and PCN Modern suites "outgrew" the original genre conventions. Honolulu-based Hip-hop found new room for growth in events production companies and the Filipino community center to work through psycho-social consequences of systemic economic exclusion and post/colonialism. In the second half of the 2000s, Filipina Hip-hop dancers in Honolulu and Manila demonstrated overt engagements with post/colonial gender tropes and Manila-based crews flourished inside and outside universities, competed internationally, hosted foreign choreographers, and collaborated with the nation-state, even while they challenged the Americocentricity that Hip-hop discourse continues to champion.

In the introduction, I considered the question of whether Filipino Hip-hop is successful. I have shown that the answer is yes, but not in the ways that one might expect, and not in all the ways

that it could. To clarify further what I mean by this allow me to expand upon our three themes— Hip-hop dance is part of a repertoire for racial subjectivity of Filipinos, Hip-hop's paradoxical institutionalization and decolonization, and how dance offers a different perspective of Hip-hop's globalization—as they have manifested across the body of the dissertation.

To begin with the assumption that race is irreducible gives us a space to understand how Hip-hop dance operates as part of a repertoire, or system of embodied knowledge, of racial subjectivity for Filipinos. PCN's emerged as events of celebratory multiculturalism for West Coast Pilipino youth and the 1990s emergence of Hip-hop dance in PCN modern suites reflects another site for racial agency based not upon folk, indigenous, and ethnic roots but in Filipino-American domesticity. *Home* points to PCNs' potential, beyond representation, of engaging systemic forms of race and illuminating the intra-racial relations between Filipinos in the Philippines and diaspora. While Poppin' and robotic dancing enabled critiques of multiculturalism, colorblindness, and the Affirmative bodied/disembodied dichotomy, the show itself was an exception. For the most part, the theories and practices of race that dancers articulate across the three sites are uneven in that not all amount to a singular, shared, overt political statement in and of itself. I was surprised to find that Filipino Hip-hop in Honolulu fits more conventional notions of localization/globalization. Mixed messages about Filipino racialization can be complicit to the touristic image of Hawaiian rainbow multiculturalism, unlike the progressive activism found in noted Hawaiian forms of rap. Nevertheless, at the after-school program, In-Motion, and the inter-island breakin' competition, the Monarchy, Hip-hop dance can serve as a form of empowerment for "urban core" youth faced with socio-economic marginalization. "Urban" is a locus of profound importance for Filipino Hip-hop as the racial and class coding of at-risk Filipino youth in Honolulu forms a counter-point to the choreographic constitution of the metropolitan body in Manila by *Penthouse 7* in the 1970s. The Monarchy referenced New York, Native Hawaiian and Local identifiers, while the Penthouse

dancers set trends by making "Latin" and "Modern" dance relatable. Dancers like Hontiveros and Diaz challenge the hegemonic mestiza (mixed European-native Filipina) archetype of femininity and subvert the regime of gyrating hips that confines Filipina popular choreography. Hip-hop continues to figure within the transformational and racial practices by which dancers navigate race across Filipino-American, Local Filipino, and metropolitan Filipina margins.

One of the main contradictions that Filipino Hip-hop's institutionalization raises is the nature of contemporary processes of decolonization. Filipino Hip-hop is partially rooted in the institution of American colonial physical education, which established a new practice of organized sports and standardized competition. Physical education sought to import notions of usefulness, vigor, and modernity to the Filipino physical body. The institutionalization of physical education in the American colonial period leads to two different lineages of Filipino Hip-hop and its standardization. First, Philippine dance tells us that physical education played a crucial role in the preservation and canonization of native folk and urban social dances. These developments inform the contemporary availability of folk and ethnic dances with which Filipino diasporic youth adopt and adapt in order to address cultural aphasia. Some Filipino American youth add a Modern suite to PCN to incorporate U.S. Hip-hop dances. These practices led to more substantial changes, as in *Home*, using Hip-hop to express a knowingness of the PCN formula. Most sought to form a communal sense of identity as underrepresented minorities within U.S. institutions of higher learning. The formulaic production of PCN finds resemblance in the "mechanics," or systematized regulations of Manila-based Hip-hop dance competitions, a window into a second lineage of American colonial physical education. As in "Confidence," regulated dance competitions can both inspire and hamper creative innovation. They expanded upon the Maria Clara repertoire society affords for Filipinas, while placing Hip-hop empowerment in the service of colonial cosmetics and hygiene. The rules and systemization around competition also help us explain the legitimacy that

Hip-hop dance as physical activity secures within Manila's secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. These are some of the fastest-growing sites of Filipino Hip-hop in part due to their resources, semesterly replenished membership, prestige, and geographic access. So far the tensions between standardized (i.e. school-based crews) and more informal practices of Hip-hop (i.e. Stellers) have been productive in nurturing educational, competition, commercial, and concert modes of Hip-hop dance. The fact that Honolulu-based Filipinos had neither the infrastructure of PCN or university support at hand for Hip-hop is perhaps telling of the ways their dancing offers a different view than that of Berkeley and Manila. Filipino Hip-hop stood outside the formal narrative of Filipinos in Hawai'i, though the parallels between the multiculturalist PCN program and the Centennial souvenir book suggest that PCNs (that incorporate Hip-hop) would probably thrive in Honolulu. In light of the advances that dancers have gained in institutions of education, Filipino community, and international diplomacy, the disparate spaces of Berkeley, Honolulu, and Manila all help reframe what Hip-hop's "institutionalization" really means.

The third recurring motif that illuminates the process of remaking is the alternative perspective dance and choreographic analysis offers for understanding Hip-hop's globalization. First we might be reminded that literature usually defines globalization as the 1970's and ongoing implementation of neoliberal "free market" economic policies, enabling of multinational corporations, and divestment of the state's role in providing public goods for its people.<sup>670</sup> Given this definition, Hip-hop literature usually characterizes Hip-hop as a universal language of shared oppression that is rooted in globalization and is subjected to indigenization in local contexts (aka "global village") or Afrocentric global Hip-hop defined by a particular relationship to African diaspora in trajectories from Africa to the U.S. and from the U.S.-based African-American communities outward to non-U.S. "places." Additionally scholars tend to see Hip-hop as an antidote for the negative effects of economic globalization or the performative site of cultural globalization



(the heightened connectivity of cultures, people, and ideas across borders and intensifying processes of local/global signification). In some ways, our dance-based approach to Filipino Hip-hop has revealed to be consistent with these theories of Hip-hop and globalization. As such, Filipino Hip-hop offers particular examples: *Home* functioned to address the removal of Affirmative Action, after-school programs helped Filipinos cope with the health and spatial constraints of life in Kalihi, and dancers simultaneously localized Hip-hop within Manila while utilizing global Hip-hop codes. Be that as it may, across these three communities, the discourse of Filipino Hip-hop diverges from accepted notions of Hip-hop's globalization. Far from being symptomatic of the implementation of neoliberal structural adjustments, dance refracts how people make sense of these changes. The terms "modern," "street," "urban," and "community" gain momentum, as categories for naming the dances of Hip-hop and constituting new forms of racial and cultural capital; forms which are notably still reliant upon older notions of heterogeneity, "usefulness," and authenticity. Perhaps the most conspicuous example is the late 1980s and early 1990s rise of "masipag" (industrious) subjects juxtaposed against "tambay" (unproductive). These categories point to the ways Filipinos conceive of dance, beyond physical education, as useful for expressing, "escaping," or transforming Filipino corporeality and the material conditions within which they exist.

These choreographies of Hip-hop's globalization are not without their contradictions. The Locking in the U.S. serves as an index of the ascendent black pride in the post-Civil Rights Era. Even so, the legislative gains that informed the colorful U.S. versions of Locking find an antithesis in the dictatorial oppression of civil rights during martial law—which set the stage for Penthouse dancers to introduce a high-class version of Locking in Manila. Decades later, Hip-hop dance in PCN underscores meritocracy as a system used to walk back legal guarantees of equality. More recently, Hip-hop is seen as a contemporary global cultural movement and dance of which Filipinos in Manila are exceptional champions. In the World Hip-hop International championships this last

August 2011, Filipinos were prominent members and leaders in dance crews competing for Germany, Finland, Australia, and Ireland in addition to the U.S. and the Philippines. In addition to the Philippine Allstars, who won gold medals in 2006 and 2008, the Crew represented the Philippines and won the World Championship in 2012. This group, directed by Jerome Dimalanta, is composed of alumni from his streetdance courses at the University of the Philippines. Even so, the successes of Filipinos in Hip-hop dance and other areas of popular culture has yet to yield a substantive cultural shift, to revisit the discourses laid out in this study's introduction, in the way that the public and mass media talks about global Hip-hop, systematically forgets empire, and reads dance. The international presence and success of Filipinos, as dance delegates who represent a range of countries at the World Hip-hop International, further evidences the limitations of nation-bound studies of global Hip-hop and the need for a shift toward an understanding of the broader racial, post/colonial, and gendered realities and possibilities of Hip-hop.

The areas for future research speak to the limits of this study, which vary between those directly related to a lack of resources or access and the necessary borders drawn to maintain focus on the subject of my argument. Dance is certainly not the only way Filipinos convey ideas about and produce culture, just as Honolulu, Berkeley, and Manila are not the only places where Filipinos dance Hip-hop. As such, there is a story to be told about Filipino endeavors in Hip-hop's other elements—Filipino emcees like Francis Magalona, Kiwi and Bambu of Native Guns, Blue scholars, Djs like the Invisible Skratch Pickles and Kuttin' Kandi, and graffiti artists(writers) like Mike Dream.<sup>671</sup> Additionally, the ideas that this study has put forward cue us to a hitherto understudied area of Hip-hop culture in the critical race and post/colonial dance studies approach to global Hip-hop's other lineages.<sup>672</sup> As I have shown, an understanding of Hip-hop benefits from a focus on its dances in the context of shifting racial, gender, and post/colonial dynamics; the shifts in civil rights and neoliberal divestment in public education in California, local institutionalization in Honolulu,

and globalization and urbanization in Manila are this study's proofs. The case of "America in 3D," and the many examples of ambivalence within Filipino Hip-hop, point to a necessary reluctance to assuming Hip-hop to be inherently resistant, and an uneasy need to see Hip-hop as having operated and emerged in tandem with cultural globalization and neoliberalism. Even so, "America in 3D" alludes to how Hip-hop practitioners and national leaders can reach mutual agreements and in turn spark meaningful dialogues about the lived practice of Hip-hop, in its own terms. The colors of change that "remaking" produces, like the anaglyph glasses, are not exclusively red or blue, but nonetheless, hold potential to shift paradigms and offer insight into "something deeper, more complicated, and more mind-bendingly awesome."<sup>673</sup>

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Wang, Oliver S. "Spinning Identities: A Social History of Filipino American DJs in the San Francisco Bay Area (1975--1995)." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2004. ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305212057?accountid=14512>.

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Jeepney" is a colonial relic, repurposed and radiantly appropriated for modern transportation uses. Modeled after leftovers from World War II, these U.S. military jeep-like portmanteaus seat 15 to 20 passengers and derive their popularity from their low cost (compared to buses, taxis, and personal vehicles), kitschy character, and pervasiveness on urban streets.

<sup>2</sup> "Pasajeros" is the Filipino word for "passengers." I refrain from using italics for Filipino words in instances where I am speaking in Filipino contexts. This is a practice inspired by Noenoe Silva's work. See Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 13.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of my fieldwork, fare was eight pesos or about 20 cents in U.S. currency. There is usually a fee reduction for students.

<sup>4</sup> Fare.

<sup>5</sup> "SM" stands for Shoe Mart.

<sup>6</sup> The Block is an annex of the SM City North EDSA Complex, one of the largest retail shopping malls in the Philippines.

<sup>7</sup> Consider Roland Tolentino's *Sa Loob at Labas ng Mall Kong Sawi / Kaliluba'y Siyang Nangyayaring Hari: Ang Pagkatuto at Pagtatanghal ng Kulturang Popular*, in which he replaces "bayan" (nation) with the "mall" (popular culture) from a canonical line in Philippine poem by Francisco Balthazar. Roland Tolentino, *Sa Loob at Labas ng Mall Kong Sawi / Kaliluba'y Siyang Nangyayaring Hari: Ang Pagkatuto at Pagtatanghal ng Kulturang Popular* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> Bakla is a Tagalog word that usually refers to gay, homosexual, and effeminate Filipino males.

<sup>9</sup> The event took place March 18-20, 2012.

<sup>10</sup> The concert was held a 7pm on Friday night and the workshop took place on Sunday at noon. I will discuss "choreography" as a theory and historical term later.

<sup>11</sup> Female Filipino

<sup>12</sup> SM City Baguio on July 8-10, 2011; Robinsons Place, Ilocos Norte on August 25-26, 2011; SM City Cebu on September 16-18, 2011; SM City Iloilo on March 2-4, 2012.

<sup>13</sup> While many of the dancers I spoke with did not refer to their own practices as "Filipino Hip-hop," I employ the phrase as shorthand for the conceptual juncture for ideas about Filipino post/colonial nationalism, racial formation, gender relations, global Hip-hop, and the dancing body.

<sup>14</sup> Jeff Chang, "Introduction: Hip-Hop Arts: Our Expanding Universe," in *Total Chaos: The Art and Aesthetics of Hip-Hop*, ed. by Jeff Chang (New York, NY: Basic Civitas, 2006), ix-xv.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph G. Schloss, *Foundation: B-Boys, B-Girls, and Hip-Hop Culture in New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 4. At the same time, Schloss shows how this slippery term has resulted in a discourse that tends to overemphasize literary analysis and moral or artistic legitimacy debates, consequently disengaging the scholar from Hip-hop communities, privileging the scholar's word over the practitioner's voice, and further disembodiment practices such as b-boying.

<sup>16</sup> See J. Lorenzo Perillo, "Theorising Hip-hop Dance in the Philippines: Blurring the Lines of Genre, Mode, and Dimension," *International Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* 9, no. 1 (January 2013): 69-96. Elsewhere I have sought to problematize this categorization: "Practitioners and scholars have long countered this configuration, what I refer to as the Hip-hop 'four-mula,' because it has failed to reflect the real-world nuances or deal with each element's own histories and integral roles in Hip-



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hop culture. Moreover, the four-mula complies with a purist approach that fails to recognise how the 'Hip-hop universe' continues to expand past these elements." (79)

<sup>17</sup> Jeff Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation* (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2005), 179; Sujatha Fernandes, *Close to the Edge: In Search of the Global Hip Hop Generation* (New York, NY: Verso, 2011), 1-4.

<sup>18</sup> Fernandes, *Close to the Edge*, 1-2.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

<sup>20</sup> Choreography here refers to both its universalizing assimilation of global difference and its more hopeful "promise to affirm the local's connection to the global, recognizing the specific and intensive physical commitment that any body must invest in order to ground itself in the world." (72) Susan Leigh Foster, Chapter One: "Choreography," in *Choreographing Empathy: Kinesthesia in Performance* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 15-72.

<sup>21</sup> Reynaldo C. Ileto, "Outlines of a Nonlinear Emplotment of Philippine History," in *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital*, ed. Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1997), 98-131. Ileto demonstrates how these dominant histories perform two-fold operations: remembering that which is held valuable by developmentalism and forgetting that which is "dissonant, disorderly, irrational, archaic, and subversive"(125).

<sup>22</sup> Oliver S. Wang, "Spinning Identities: A Social History of Filipino American Djs in the San Francisco Bay Area (1975-1995)," (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2004), 13, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305212057?accountid=14512>.

<sup>23</sup> Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, IN: Duke University Press, 2003). I employ repertoire in accord with Diana Taylor's usage of the term as it seeks to intervene within Western modes of knowledge production. Taylor conceives of the archive (materials that endure the passage of time such as written text, bones, and architecture) as mutually related, rather than opposed to the repertoire (material that is embodied or performed such as oral knowledge, dance, and ritual). Taylor shifts the focus from language, as privileged by canonical cultural studies scholars and (post)structuralists to a performance studies-informed focus on embodied practices as a way of knowledge production and transmittance.

<sup>24</sup> Robin D.G. Kelley, "Foreword," in *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), xi.

<sup>25</sup> Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle, "Introduction," in *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture*, ed. Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), 1-15.

<sup>26</sup> Eric K. Arnold, "From Azeem to Zion-I: The Evolution of Global Consciousness in Bay Area Hip Hop" in *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture*, ed. Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), 71-84.

<sup>27</sup> For example, some global Hip-hop artists offer criticisms against the social and economic injustices resulting from processes of globalization. See Brad J. Porfilio and Shannon M. Porfilio, "Hip-Hop Pedagogues: Youth as a Site of Critique, Resistance, and Transformation in France and in the Neoliberal Social World" in *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, ed. Michael Viola and Brad J. Porfilio (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2012), 110-131; Horton, Akesha. "Hip-Hop as a Global Passport: Examining Global Citizenship and Digital Literacies through Hip-Hop Culture." in *Hip-Hop(E): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, edited by Brad J. Porfilio and Michael J. Viola (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2012), 249-69.

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<sup>28</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*. While Joseph Schloss speaks about three different concepts of Hip-hop, this project is based more on the concept of Hip-hop as a lived culture more than the other two—rap music and minority racialized youth practices.

<sup>29</sup> See Halifu Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop: Power Moves* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); H. Samy Alim, Awad Ibrahim, and Alastair Pennycook, eds., *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009); Fernandes, *Close to the Edge*; Patrick Neate, *Where You're At: Notes from the Frontlines of a Hip-Hop Planet* (New York, NY: Riverhead Books, 2003); Ian Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Amanda McCall and Albertina Rizzo, *Hold My Gold: A White Girl's Guide to the Hip-Hop World* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 2005); Mitchell, ed., *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001); Brad J. Porfilio and Michael J. Viola, eds., *The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop* (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2012); My motivation for zeroing this project about the "global" rather than these other terms is not about celebrating terminology but one which seeks to question the simplification that categories can seemingly and unintentionally impose upon otherwise contradictory and contested ideas.

<sup>30</sup> William Eric Perkins, "Youth's Global Village: An Epilogue," in *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*, ed. William Eric Perkins (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).

<sup>31</sup> Mickey Hess, "Introduction: 'It's Only Right to Represent Where I'm From': Local and Regional Hip Hop Scenes in the United States," in *Hip Hop in America: A Regional Guide*, edited by Mickey Hess (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2010), vii-xxix.

<sup>32</sup> Roland Robertson, "Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity," in *Global Modernities*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, and Roland Robertson (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995), 25-44; Tony Mitchell, "Introduction: Another root—Hip-Hop outside the USA," in *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*, ed. Tony Mitchell (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 2.

<sup>33</sup> Mitchell, "Introduction," 10-12.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. As Mitchell states "the globalization of rap music has involved modalities of indigenization and syncretism that go far beyond any simple appropriation of a U.S. idiom."(33)

<sup>36</sup> Marcyliena Morgan, "The Hiphop Archive and the Globalization of Hiphop Language," Keynote Address presented at the Hiphop Literacies Conference, "The Globalization of Black Popular Culture," Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, May 10, 2012.

<sup>37</sup> See Basu and Lemelle, eds., *The Vinyl Ain't Final*; Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*; Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, eds., *Global Linguistic Flows*.

<sup>38</sup> Basu and Lemelle, eds., *The Vinyl Ain't Final*, 5. They also seem to inaccurately characterize Mitchell's characterization of U.S. Hip-hop as monolithic and static.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Mitchell, "Introduction," 12.

<sup>41</sup> Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle, "Introduction," in *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture*, ed. Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), 1-15; This division is reflected in the physical organization of their book chapters—"Side One: Grooving to the Vinyl Stateside-Rap and Hip-hop in the U.S." and "Side Two: Rap and Hip-hop Groove Globally."

<sup>42</sup> Frago et. al. base their findings through social scientific examination of Philippine civil society

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groups. See Perlita M. Frago, Sharon M. Quinsaat, and Verna Dinah Viajar, eds., *Philippine Civil Society and the Globalization Discourse* (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 2004); E. San Juan, Jr., "The "Field" of Language: Articulating Class, Ethnicity, Race," in *From Globalization to National Liberation: Essays of Three Decades* (Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2008), 56-79. E. San Juan defines globalization as a spreading and continuation of capitalism and "a euphemism for the almost uncontrolled expansion and domination of the world economy (particularly of the underdeveloped countries of the "periphery") by a few transnational corporations based in Europe, Japan, and North America." (57). Iwabuchi's theory of globalization re-orientes the discourse around Japan. See Koichi Iwabuchi, *Recentering Globalization: Popular Culture And Japanese Transnationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).

<sup>43</sup> Neferti X. Tadiar, *Fantasy-Production: Sexual Economies and Other Philippine Consequences for the New World Order* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004); Neferti X.M. Tadiar, *Things Fall Away: Philippine Historical Experience and the Makings of Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009); Frago, Quinsaat, and Viajar, eds., *Philippine Civil Society and the Globalization Discourse*.

<sup>44</sup> Frago, Quinsaat, and Viajar, eds., *Philippine Civil Society and the Globalization Discourse*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* The researchers interviewed left political blocs, national policy research and/or network non-governmental organizations, and sectoral and/or issue-based research and advocacy non-governmental organizations. For these reasons, it makes sense that their respondents elaborated least upon the cultural aspects of globalization.

<sup>46</sup> Jeff Chang, "It's a Hip-hop World." *Foreign Policy*, no. 163 (Nov. - Dec., 2007): 58-65. In an article that asserts Hip-hop as local, global, world, and planet, Chang states that "Hip-hop events such as the Battle of the Year create spaces for a globalization from the bottom, bringing people together cross barriers of geography, language, and race"(65).

<sup>47</sup> M.T. Kato, *From Kung Fu to Hip Hop: Globalization, Revolution, and Popular Culture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007).

<sup>48</sup> Brad J. Porfilio and Shannon M. Porfilio, "Hip-Hop Pedagogues: Youth as a Site of Critique, Resistance, and Transformation in France and in the Neoliberal Social World," in *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, ed. Michael Viola and Brad J. Porfilio (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2012), 110-131.

<sup>49</sup> Michael B. MacDonald, "Hip-Hop Citizens: Local Hip-Hop and the Production of Democratic Grassroots Change in Alberta," in *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, ed. Michael Viola and Brad J. Porfilio (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2012), 99.

<sup>50</sup> Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan*. As a term, *genba* refers to the nightclubs where Hip-hop is performed as well as social and cultural position. Ian Condry's theory seeks to disrupt the false dichotomy of indigenization and McDonaldization he sees dominating globalization discourse, as explains that *genba* actually has several definitions: a "place where something actually happens, appears, or is made," "a place where something bad happens, such as a traffic accident or the scene of a crime," "places where something is produced: anime studios, film locations, a construction site, a recording studio"(89).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* While I find several useful insights in Condry's text, I have fundamental disagreements with some of his research design. In particular, "Configurations" diverges from Condry's as he approaches issues of globalization from a color-blind point of view, a perspective that steers the ways he construes globalization and the racial politics in Hip-hop as separate issues. Moreover, it is unclear why he sees the commercial success of rap as a legitimate reason for focusing on rap versus the other elements and how he relies on "performativity" as a theory divorced from its own developments in gender and performance studies.

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<sup>52</sup> Antonio T. Tiongson Jr., “Reflections on the Trajectory of Filipino/a American Studies: Interview with Rick Bonus,” in *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio Tiongson Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 162-171. Filipino American studies is historically understood as a U.S. centered, heteronormative, poststructuralist, and reflexive field that has focused on immigration, settlement patterns, and global movement of labor. It has also been seen as having an ever-present and contested relationship to Asian American studies.

<sup>53</sup> For purposes of implicating the messy project of American imperialism in the Philippines and Filipino diaspora, I employ the forward slash to simultaneously express postcolonial and colonial dimensions of Filipino experiences. In instances where I speak of the field or scholarship of postcolonialism, I present the word without the slash.

<sup>54</sup> Tricia Rose, *The Hip Hop Wars: What We Talk About When We Talk About Hip Hop* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2008); Fernandes, *Close to the Edge*.

<sup>55</sup> Allan Punzalan Isaac, *American Tropics: Articulating Filipino America* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* Spatially, Isaac frames his work with the unifying notions of “tropics”—the “figurative turns in language” and the geographic zones marked by hot and dry climate conditions. Isaac merges these two ideas to carve out the terms and conditions that force people to negotiate cultural, juridical, and imaginative parameters to delimit what is proper and property to “America.”

<sup>57</sup> Sarita Echavez See, *The Decolonized Eye: Filipino American Art and Performance* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), xv-xviii.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* The scholars See cites are Vicente Rafael, Oscar Campomanes, E. San Juan Jr., Dorothy Fujita-Rony, Catherine Ceniza Choy, Allan Isaac, Augusto Espiritu, and Mae Ngai. By this understanding, American imperial forgetting depends upon the omission of not only the Philippines as colonial territory but also Filipinos as distinctly racialized bodies.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* As See suggests, “[a]ccording to the politics of this aesthetic, the empire falls apart—it is in fact cannibalized by its radical interior”(xviii).

<sup>60</sup> Martin F. Manalansan, IV., *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). This difference is reflected in Filipino gay transmigrants' Catholic practices such as block rosaries and cross-dressed Santacruzans, the latter which in Manalansan's words reflects “an aesthetics that engaged other forms of “distance” [that Filipinos occupy] with the white hegemonic world and realigned relations to other groups such as the home country and Latino and black gay men”(140).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* Rather than assuming and demonstrating the social construction of a monolithic Filipino gay male identity, Manalansan shows how identity involves multiply constituted and contextualized scripts of selves. The people in his study appear like portraits of ongoing global, gendered, sexualized performance, and post/colonial power negotiation between their relationship with these scripts and the world. “The primacy of the everyday provides an ethical basis for considering the theatrical aspects of social life. Performance in this book, therefore, is not only a matter of just “acting,” but rather is about the aesthetics of Filipino gay men's struggles for survival.” (16).

<sup>62</sup> Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns, *Puro Arte: Filipinos on the Stages of Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 2.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 13; Doreen G. Fernandez, *Palabas: Essays on Philippine Theater History* (Quezon City: University de Ateneo Press, 1996); Rolando B. Tolentino, “Transvestites and Transgressions: *Panggagaya* in Philippine Gay Cinema,” *Journal of Homosexuality* 39, no. 3-4 (2000): 325-337.

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<sup>64</sup> Burns, *Puro Arte*. Burns writes that puro arte acts are "at once a force of transformative and thwarted possibilities and a call to improvisation and critical engagement" (145).

<sup>65</sup> Philippine dance theory emerges alongside a plethora of practices including indigenous, ethnic, folk, classical ballet, modern, contemporary, social, festival, popular, tourist, theatre, and street. For major contributions to Philippine Dance, Theatre, and Performance Studies see: Francisca Reyes Tolentino, *Philippine National Dances* (Quezon City, Philippines: Silver Burdett Company, 2006 (1946)); Basilio Esteban Villaruz and Ramon A. Obusan, *Sayaw: An Essay on Philippine Ethnic Dance*, ed. Cultural Center of the Philippines (Manila: Sentrong Pangkultura ng Pilipinas Special Publications Office, 1992), 14; Basilio Esteban S. Villaruz, *Treading Through: 45 Years of Philippine Dance* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 2006); Elena Rivera Mirano, *Ang Mga Tradisyonal Na Musikanag Pantinig Sa Lumang Bauan, Batangas* (National Commission on Culture and the Arts, 1997); Patrick Alcedo, "Sacred Camp: Transgendering Faith in a Philippine Festival." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 38, no. 1 (2007): 107-32; Resil B. Mojares, *Theater in Society, Society in Theater: Social History of a Cebuano Village, 1840-1940* (Quezon City, Metro Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1985); Fernandez, *Palabas*; Sally Ann Ness, "Dancing in the Field: Notes from Memory," in *Moving History/Dancing Cultures: A Dance History Reader*, ed. Ann Dils and Ann Cooper Albright (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 67-89; Rina Angela P. Corpus, *Defiant Daughters Dancing: Three Independent Women Dance* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 2007).

<sup>66</sup> Cynthia Novack, *Sharing the Dance: Contact Improvisation and American Culture* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990). The movement of the Mighty Poppalots resembles contact improvisation's athleticism and gymnastic ability to use 360-degree space. The costuming, music, and presentation, however, point to different origins, aesthetics, and meanings; break dancing, among other things, is about adolescent male prowess and performance, black and Hispanic street culture, and "the social/political commentary of the rap music which accompanies it." (144).

<sup>67</sup> Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*. A glance through Chang's index reveals Hip-hop's core element of dance in the items: "dance styles," "breakdance," "b-boying," "Crip Walk" (76-77, 80-81, 114-118, 136-139, 156-165, 192-193, 203, 210, 228, 301-302). This marginalization of the dance element of Hip-hop culture was in part remedied by his later anthology, which was organized around the elements of emceeing, discjockeying, b-boying, and graffiti art. See Jeff Chang, ed., *Total Chaos: The Art and Aesthetics of Hip-Hop* (New York: Basic Civitas, 2006).

<sup>68</sup> Mary Fogarty, "A Manifesto for the Study of Popular Dance," *SDHS Conversations* XXXI (2011): 4-5; Julie Malnig, "Introduction," in *Ballroom, Boogie, Shimmy Sham, Shake: A Social and Popular Dance Reader*, edited by Julie Malnig. 1-15. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008. Within the field there exists a strand of "popular dance" studies, as enumerated by Canadian scholar Mary Fogarty, that productively aims to destabilize high/low divisions in dance studies, and at times examines Hip-hop forms of movement. Unfortunately this lineage also often inadvertently aligns with projects of colorblindness and imperial forgetting. American scholar Julie Malnig presents a provocative discussion on the interchangeable usage of "social," "vernacular," and "popular," when scholars analyze recreational and theatrical forms of dance that cues us to the ways these terms have been unable to adequately unpack and address racial dimensions of dance (4-6).

<sup>69</sup> Philippine Allstars, "Beyond Hip Hop' Philippine Allstars Multiply website," <http://allstars2005.multiply.com/> (accessed 26 February 2011); Mark Franko, *The Work of Dance: Labor, Movement, and Identity in the 1930s* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2002); Priya Srinivasan, *Sweating Saris: Indian Dance as Transnational Labor* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2012).

<sup>70</sup> Philippine Allstars, "Beyond Hip Hop."

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<sup>71</sup> Several of the professional dancers with whom I spoke articulated a desire to challenge the narrowly constructed role of the "backup dancer" in relationship to the "true" artist.

<sup>72</sup> Tolentino, *Philippine National Dances*, vii.

<sup>73</sup> See Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, eds., *Global Linguistic Flows*; Basu and Lemelle, eds., *The Vinyl Ain't Final*; Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan*; Fernandes, *Close to the Edge*; Neate, *Where You're At*; Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*; Alim, Condry, Basu and Lemelle, Fernandes, Peate—all use rap emcees to make their argument. Osumare highlights dance within an Africanist approach.

<sup>74</sup> There are a few drawbacks in dance studies methods. There is a double labor in dance scholarship that requires scholars to train in movement technique and research publication. Academic culture is usually characterized with a status quo of white and race-neutral forms of dance. When Filipino dance has appeared in scholarship, it has often focused on indigenous and "ethnic" forms. See Kathleen Foreman, "Dancing on the Endangered List: Aesthetics and Politics of Indigenous Dance in the Philippines," in *Moving History/Dancing Cultures: A Dance History Reader*, ed. Ann Dils and Ann Cooper Albright (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 384-88; Ness, "Dancing in the Field: Notes from Memory."

<sup>75</sup> To be sure, following the work of Stuart Hall and Geoge Lipsitz, culture is unfinished, contradictory, and partial. Yet, one can imagine how Hip-hop culture beseeches questions about what the open question of Hip-hop means for dancers helping to sustain and perpetually innovate it.

<sup>76</sup> Sally Banes, "Breaking Is Hard to Do: To the Beat, Y'all," *Village Voice* (April 22-28): 31-33; Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*; Thomas F. DeFrantz, "The Black Beat Made Visible: Hip Hop Dance and Body Power," in *Of the Presence of the Body: Essays on Dance and Performance Theory*, ed. Andres Lepecki (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004); Schloss, *Foundation*; Anna B. Scott, "What's It Worth to Ya? Adaptation and Anachronism: Rennie Harris' Puremovement and Shakespeare," in *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader*, ed. Alexandra Carter and Janet O'Shea (New York: Routledge, 2010), 78-90.

<sup>77</sup> Perillo, "Theorising Hip-hop Dance in the Philippines: Blurring the Lines of Genre, Mode, and Dimension."

<sup>78</sup> Maria Adelaida "Madelle" E. Paltu-ob, interview with author, digital recording, Manila, Philippines, May 26, 2011. When asked about the she sees a difference between Hip-hop and Streetdance, Madelle, a former member of the Philippine Allstars, prominent leader in the Filipino Hip-hop community, and working mother, told me, "Streetdancing is very Filipino."

<sup>79</sup> Susan Leigh Foster, "Introduction," in *Corporealities: Dancing knowledge, culture and power*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), xi-xvii. As I understand it, corporeality renders the relationship between the social, political, and bodily. In this respect, corporeality refers to a bodily reality as a series of "nots," not natural, not neutral, not passive, and not derivative. Corporeality does not hold a synonymous relationship to the "body," although it is often necessarily affiliated and related to the body as a concept. By this I also mean that all concepts of corporeality are not equivalent. Corporeality is not a single, universal term, but rather a contested signifier used to refer to debates against different types of "natural," "universal," "abstract," and "neutral" bodies.

<sup>80</sup> Janet O'Shea, "At Home in the World?: The Bharatanatyam Dancer As Transnational Interpreter," *The Drama Review* 47, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 176-186. O'Shea reveals the ways that the late twentieth century bharatanatyam dancer can be read as both participant in the dance's historically rooted paradigm of orientalism and rebel of such interpretative constraints with translational experiments of her/his own.

<sup>81</sup> Yutian Wong, *Choreographing Asian America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2010); Priya Srinivasan, *Sweating Saris: Indian Dance as Transnational Labor* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple

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University Press, 2012); Lucy Mae San Pablo Burns, "Splendid Dancing": Filipino "Exceptionalism" in Taxi Dancehalls," *Dance Research Journal* 40, no. 2 (Winter 2008): 23-40; SanSan Kwan, *Kinesthetic City: Dance and Movement in Chinese Urban Spaces* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>82</sup> Wong, *Choreographing Asian America*, 18-20; Srinivasan, *Sweating Saris*.

<sup>83</sup> Wong, *Choreographing Asian America*, 14. "Invisible Orientalism" is Wong's theory about the exclusion of Asian bodies from the realms of making American culture.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>86</sup> See Nerissa S. Balce, "Filipino Bodies, Lynching, and the Language of Empire," in *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 43-60; Burns, *Puro Arte*.

<sup>87</sup> This section title is adopted from the album title, *Don't Sweat the Technique* (1992), of African American rappers, Eric B. and Rakim. The title is also a nod toward the theories around the body and technique by French sociologist Marcel Mauss. See Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body" *Economy and Society* 2, no. 1 (February 1973): 70-87.

<sup>88</sup> Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., "Reflections on the Trajectory of Filipino/a American Studies," in *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 162.

<sup>89</sup> Martin F. Manalansan, IV, "Introduction," in *Cultural Compass: Ethnographic Explorations of Asian America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000, 1-16.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Manalansan, *Global Divas*, 3.

<sup>92</sup> See, *The Decolonized Eye*.

<sup>93</sup> Susan Leigh Foster, *Reading Dancing: Bodies and Subjects in Contemporary American Dance* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1986).

<sup>94</sup> Foster, *Reading Dancing*, xvii.

<sup>95</sup> Recent scholarship includes: Harmony Bench, "Choreographing Bodies in Dance-Media," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304852055?accountid=14512>; Rosemary Candelario, "Eiko & Koma: Choreographing Spaces Apart in Asian America," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/900577965?accountid=14512>; Ana Paula Höfling, "Dancing, Fighting, and Staging Capoeira: Choreographies of Afro-Brazilian Modernity and Tradition," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1030435694?accountid=14512>; Jose Luis Reynoso, "Choreographing Politics, Dancing Modernity: Ballet and Modern Dance in the Construction of Modern Mexico (1919--1940)," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1027936388?accountid=14512>; Cristina F. Rosa, "Choreographing Identification: The Presence of Ginga in Samba, Capoeira, and Grupo Corpo," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2010), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/863673042?accountid=14512>.

<sup>96</sup> The office of cultural chair has since been renamed to Executive Producer.

<sup>97</sup> "It's More Fun" references the national tourism slogan, "It's More Fun in the Philippines," launched in January 2012. It attempted to depict activities like "going up stairs" with the Philippine's touristic selling points, like the rice terraces. The campaign, which still continues, received criticism and even became a social media meme for highlighting the contradictions of Filipino society. See "It's More Fun in the Philippines" *Know Your Meme*. Posted 2012. Last modified July 2012.

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<http://knowyourmeme.com/memes/its-more-fun-in-the-philippines> (accessed 19 Feb 2013)

<sup>98</sup> As things go, this script inevitably imposed itself upon me and I found myself wielding it to render my dancing body and my project legible.

<sup>99</sup> Arif Dirlik, "The Asia-Pacific Idea: Reality and Representation in the Invention of Regional Structure." *Journal of World History* 3, no. 1 (1992): 55-79; Vicente L. Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Victor Bascara, "'zigging and zagging across temporal and textual realms': On Writing Histories of the Philippines in American Studies," *American Quarterly* 59, no. 4 (Dec 2007) 1247-1254.

<sup>100</sup> At the University of the Philippines-Diliman (UPD), Streetdance scholar, Jerome Dimalanta provided immeasurable support in many of my initial interactions with the Manila scene.

<sup>101</sup> Belinda A. Aquino, "The Filipino Century in Hawaii: Out of the Crucible," in *Filipinos in Hawaii: 100 Years & Beyond*, ed. Belinda A. Aquino (Honolulu, HI: Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, 2005), 52-59.

<sup>102</sup> Leila C. Arias, "The effects of Selected Dance Activities on the Agility, balance, flexibility, leg power and leg strength of college women," Seminar paper presented at College of Education, University of the Philippines, Diliman, October 20, 1975.

<sup>103</sup> Belinda A. Aquino, ed., *Filipinos in Hawaii: 100 Years & Beyond* (Honolulu, HI: Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, 2005).

<sup>104</sup> José Rizal, *Noli Me Tangere*, translated by Ma. Soledad Lacson-Locsin, ed. Raul L. Locsin (Honolulu: SHAPS Library of Translations, University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 7.

<sup>105</sup> In the novel, it is unclear what type of dancing takes place at *bailujan*, but it seems likely that they are Spanish forms of social, partnered dancing. This makes an interesting implication because it implies that Father Damaso sees the active process of dance further supporting his essentialist claims about Filipinos as inactive and lazy.

<sup>106</sup> The notion of creation is an important concept related to pananampalataya (Filipino indigenous worldview).

<sup>107</sup> Hitmaster Fish, interview with author, Manila, Philippines, April 18, 2011. The robot is an American popular dance that consists of its own movement vocabulary consisting moves such as isolations, dime stops, and double dime stops. It has multiple origins but they mostly occur in the 1970s during which individuals imitated various mediatized representations of animated robots. According to Hitmaster Fish, the Poppin' genre is defined as "the dancing robot," a phrasing which interestingly highlights the non-dance nature of the robot.

<sup>108</sup> By the 1987 Philippine Constitution the national language officially became "Pilipino," as opposed to the version of popular "Tagalog," the language of the ethnolinguistic region from which most of the national language is derived. In the same instance, persons of Philippine ancestry or nationality became termed "Pilipino." My use of terminology "Pilipino" vs. "Pilipino" is directly informed by my experiences as a Pilipino American during my undergraduate education at UC Berkeley (1998-2002). In the early 1990's, the Pilipino community at UC Berkeley made the decision to use the "P" instead of the "F" when identifying themselves, with the reasoning that the letter "F" does not exist in the Philippine national language of Pilipino. Since then, debate has arisen whether that is an accurate claim. This identity-naming practice varies upon different communities, further speaking upon the complexities of this group's self-characterization through use of pre-American Philippine customs. Currently, many community and national organizations use the "F" and Pilipino (i.e. Pilipino American National Historical Society and National Federation of Pilipino American Associations). Yet still, many college groups use the "P," especially when titling PCNs (i.e. San Francisco State University's Pilipino Academic Collegiate Endeavor group, University of California



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at San Diego's Pilipino Cultural Celebration event, etc.). To my knowledge, there is no "FCN" or "FACN." For the purposes of this chapter, I maintain the conventions practiced at University of California at Berkeley throughout unless otherwise called for by other authorship.

<sup>109</sup> Theodore Sanchez Gonzalves, "When the Lights Go Down: Performing in the Filipina/o Diaspora, 1934-1998" (PhD. diss, University of California, Irvine, 2001), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304685354?accountid=14512>; Theodore Gonzalves, *The Day the Dancers Stayed: Performing in the Pilipino/American Diaspora* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009); Barbara Gaerlan, "In the Court of the Sultan: Orientalism, Nationalism, and Modernity in Philippine and Pilipino American Dance," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 2, no. 3 (October 1999): 251-287; Michelle Bautista, "Philippine Cultural Nights," in *Fil-Am: Pilipino American Experience*, ed. Alfred A. Yuson (Makati City: Publico, Inc, 1999), 157; Anna Maria Alves, "In search of "meaning": Collective memory and identity in Pilipino Cultural Night at UCLA" (Master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1999).

<sup>110</sup> In 2010, I co-facilitated with Anna Alves for UCLA's Asian American Studies 97 course: "History, Theory and Practice of Pilipino Cultural Night: SPCN Committee Winter Course & Workshop." As part of the course, we invited Rani De Leon, coordinator of "Home" to speak on a panel entitled: "UCLA SPCN Process and Production Discussion: Alternative Aesthetics & Meanings." In this panel, De Leon recounted the opposition he experienced during the production process. In many ways, the longstanding PCN tradition informed the resistance of many community veterans to promote and participate in "Home" and some individual attempts to persuade the organizers to revert to more standard PCN practices.

<sup>111</sup> My understanding of *Home* derives from my past experiences as an undergraduate at UC Berkeley and member within the production. While I was not part of the actual "Assembly Line" performance, I was a "modern" dancer and choral member in the larger production. My participation in "Home" inspired me to rethink my participation in the previous year's PCN (re: Collection). "Home" also heavily influenced my involvement in the next two PCNs at Berkeley in roles ranging from dancer/choreographer, actor, to cultural chair, the title given to the executive producer of the production. Beyond PCN at Berkeley I have viewed PCNs hosted by UCSD, UCLA, UCSC, and SDSU. These experiences have afforded me opportunity to think about the role of dance within a longstanding "minority" tradition of PCN. My various roles in this network influence my understanding of "Home" as an exceptional PCN.

<sup>112</sup> Gonzalves, "When the Lights Go Down," 178. Gonzalves states, "Culture—more specifically cultural practices—is not simply an item to preserve in a box, to be shown with reverence, or to be stored in its pristine state." Faced with the irrationality and irrelevance of re-presenting a romanticized, static Philippine past on stage in front of PCN veterans (and resident Pilipino scholar, Theodore Gonzalves), *Home* participants choreographed innovative dances based on Pilipino American history. Gonzalves lectured at UC Berkeley's Ethnic Studies Department in 1999-2000, the year of Home's production, and mentored organizers of Berkeley's PCN.

<sup>113</sup> Victor Bascara, *Model-Minority Imperialism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxxvi.

<sup>114</sup> Gail Hilson Woldu, "The Kaleidoscope of Writing on Hip-Hop Culture," *Notes* 67, no. 1 (September 2010): 9-38. Woldu provides an example of a literature review of writing on Hip-hop culture with an emphasis on music. Woldu categorizes writings of Hip-hop based language. A writer's different use of language, use of terminology, tenor, both establishes a particular writer-reader relationship and distinguishes them within categories of "The Academics," "The Journalists and Cultural Critics," "The Devotees."

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<sup>115</sup> Halifu Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop: Power Moves*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007; Imani Kai Johnson, "Dark Matter in B-boying Cyphers: Race and Global Connection in Hip Hop" (PhD diss., Department of American Studies and Ethnicity, University of Southern California, 2009), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304995567?accountid=14512>

<sup>116</sup> Oliver S. Wang, "Rapping and Repping Asian: Race, Authenticity, and the Asian American Mc," in *Alien Encounters: Popular Culture and Asian America*, ed. Mimi Thi Nguyen and Thuy Linh Nguyen Tu (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 35-68.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Michael Jeffries, *Thug Life: Race, Gender, and the Meaning of Hip-Hop* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 6.

<sup>119</sup> **Native American:** Ku 'ualoha Ho 'omanawanui, "From Ocean to O-Shen: Reggae, Rap, and Hip Hop in Hawai'i," in *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country*, ed. Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); **Pacific Islander:** April Henderson, "Between Our Islands We Dance: Hip Hop and Samoan Diaspora," in *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture*, ed. Dipannita Basu and Sidney J. Lemelle (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), 180-199; Tania Kopytko, "Breakdance as an Identity Marker in New Zealand," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18, (1986): 21-28; **Latina/o:** Juan Flores, *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Derek Pardue, *Ideologies of Marginality in Brazilian Hip Hop* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Raquel Z. Rivera, *New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); **Asian:** M.T. Kato, *From Kung Fu to Hip Hop: Globalization, Revolution, and Popular Culture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007); Lakandiwa de Leon, Dawn Mabalon, and Jonathan Ramos. *Beats, Rhymes and Resistance: Pilipinos and Hip Hop in Los Angeles* (2000), 19:40, posted by Lakandiwa de Leon, 2009, <http://vimeo.com/3722157>; **White:** Kitwana Bakari, *Why White Kids Love Hip Hop: Wankstas, Wiggers, Wannabes, and the New Reality of Race in America* (New York, NY: Basic Civitas Books, 2005); Jason Tanz, *Other People's Property: A Shadow History of Hip-Hop in White America* (New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2007); **Arab-American:** Muna Lamil Shami, "Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Possibility: Arab American Hip-Hop and Spoken Word as Cultural Action for Freedom." In *Hip-Hop(E): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, edited by Brad J. Porfilio and Michael J. Viola (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2012), 19-41.

<sup>120</sup> **Afro-Asian paradigm:** Vijay Prashad, "Kung Fusion: Organize the 'Hood under I-Ching Banners" in *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001), 126-149; Kato, *From Kung Fu to Hip Hop*; Marvin D. Sterling, *Babylon East: Performing Dancehall, Roots Reggae, and Rastafari in Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); **Desi paradigm:** Sunaina Maira, *Desis in the House: Indian American Youth Culture in New York City* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2002); Ajay Nair and Murali Balaji, eds., *Desi Rap: Hip hop and South Asian America*, MD: Lexington Books, 2008; Nitasha Tamar Sharma, *Hip Hop Desis: South Asian Americans, Blackness, and a Global Race Consciousness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 88-137; **Global paradigm:** Alim, Ibrahim, and Pennycook, eds., *Global Linguistic Flows*; Basu and Lemelle, eds., *The Vinyl Ain't Final*; Condry, *Hip-Hop Japan*; Tony Mitchell, ed., *Global Noise*; Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*; David Toop, *Rap Attack 2: African Rap to Global Hip hop*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. (London, Serpent's Tail, 1991).

<sup>121</sup> For a sample of one author's view of Asian American Hip-hop as appropriation of Black culture see Kenyon Farrow, "'We Real Cool?': On Hip-Hop, Asian-Americans, Black Folks, and Appropriation." In *Kenyon Farrow | Writer, Speaker, Activist*, posted on June 2, 2005. <http://>

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kenyonfarrow.com/2005/06/02/we-real-coolon-hip-hop-asian-americans-black-folks-and-appropriation/(accessed February 13, 2011).

<sup>122</sup> See Deborah Wong and Mai Elliot, "'I Want the Microphone': Mass Mediation and Agency in Asian-American Popular Music." *The Drama Review* 38, no. 3 (Autumn 1994): 152-67; Michael Viola, "Filipino American Hip-Hop and Class Consciousness: Renewing the Spirit of Carlos Bulosan." in *MR Zine* (2006), published electronically April 15, 2006, accessed May 10, 2013. <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2006/viola150406.html>; Michael Viola, "Hip-Hop and Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy: Blue Scholarship to Challenge 'The Miseducation of the Filipino,'" *Journal of Critical Education Policy Studies* 4, no. 2 (2006): 171-194, <http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=71><http://search.proquest.com/docview/1018065375?accountid=14512>; Ryan Anthony Leano, "The rhythm of a nation: The Filiipin@ American movement hiphop dance" (Master's thesis, San Francisco State University, 2005).

<sup>123</sup> The rapid and varied changes in migration from Asian nations due to immigration legislation, wars and socio-political upheavals in Korea, Vietnam, China, Manila, Los Angeles all shaped the field in significant ways. The developments in intellectual production and its organization, increasing numbers of scholars, and simultaneous repeals of civil rights gains in higher education like Affirmative Action in Washington, California, Michigan, Florida and Nebraska were also vital shifts in structural dynamics related to race studies that directly shape today's Asian American Studies by urging it to deal with heterogeneity, diversity, multiculturalism, and global capitalism. Lisa Lowe, Kandice Chu, Dorinne Kondo, and Vijay Prashad are all scholars that took the theoretical framework of collective identity underpinned by cultural heritage, subjective agent of immigrant adult, and intellectual lineages and situated Asian American studies otherwise.

<sup>124</sup> Asian American Studies as a discipline emerged out of the racial and civil rights movements, community activism, and political labors of the 1960s, the growth of Asian American Studies as a field and Hip-hop culture as a movement has occurred in tandem yet with basically no substantial convergence.

<sup>125</sup> Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1986/1989). Drawing upon Gramscian notions of hegemony, Omi and Winant enable an understanding of race as an Unstable, Decentered, Complex of social meanings that is necessarily both social structure and cultural representation, state-based and everyday. This is significant because it refutes the use of limited mono-theoretical stances around racial inequality. On the one hand treating racial inequality as social structure alone is unable to account for origins, patterning, and transformation of racial difference. On the other hand, considering racial inequality only as cultural (e.g. ethnicity) fails to account for its structural valence in the labor market or patterns of residential segregation. Conversely, failing to attend to race entirely, outlines the neoconservative racial project, which denies the significance of race in an attempt to tie down equality while perpetuating the same types of differential racist treatment.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>127</sup> Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*; Schloss, *Foundation*.

<sup>128</sup> Mari Matsuda, Charles Lawrence, Kimberle Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, and Patricia Williams are some examples. For a Pilipino-specific critical race approach to education see Michael Joseph Viola, "Toward a Filipino/a Critical (Filcrit) Pedagogy: A Study of United States Educational Exposure Programs to the Philippines" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1018065375?accountid=14512>.

<sup>129</sup> Angelo N. Ancheta, "Pilipino Americans, Foreigner Discrimination, and the Lines of Racial Sovereignty," in *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio Tiongson

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Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 91. Other legislation, which directly affected Pilipinos include Alien Land Laws, Tydings-McDuffie Act, anti-miscegenation laws, Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

<sup>130</sup> J. Okamura and A. Agbayani, "Pamantasan: Pilipino American Higher Education," in *Pilipino Americans: Transformation and Identity*, ed. Maria P. Root (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications 1997), 183-197.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> By refiguring Hip-hop dance practices as integral to racial experience and vice-versa, Pilipinos in "Home" reconfigured their own particularly Pilipino racial experiences as influential to their Hip-hop practices. By connecting institutionalized racial discrimination to the particularities between and within racial groups, practitioners engaged the politics of already existing practices. "Home"'s dancers consider the politics of their cultural practices, see their practices as political acts, construct racial identity in their dance practices, and clarify racial inter-subjectivity between themselves and their audiences. With a better grasp of Hip-hop's racial valences, practitioners drew from personal racial experiences in developing critical analyses of existing structural inequalities. Pilipino racial realities empower people in society to see race and serve specific interests of social justice. These issues of social justice reached newer heights during the 1990s with the rise of anti-affirmative action policies.

<sup>133</sup> For a discussion around Hip-hop theater in the contexts of African American culture see Nicole Hodges, "Sampling Blackness: Performing African Americanness in Hip-Hop Theater and Performance" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2009). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304996873?accountid=14512>.

<sup>134</sup> "US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Home Page," US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Eeoc.gov*, accessed December 15, 2011, <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/history/35th/thelaw/eo-10925.html>

<sup>135</sup> Charles R. Lawrence and Mari Matsuda, *We Won't Go Back: Making the Case for Affirmative Action* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1997); Citadelle Priagula, "Comment: Examining Race-Conscious Remediation Through the Pilipino/a American Experience," *UCLA Asian Pacific American Law Journal* 15, no.1 (2010): 135-159; Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Ricardo V. Gutierrez, eds., *Positively No Pilipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006). Scholars in education and legal fields have written extensively on how Asians and Asian Americans have been affected by Affirmative Action. The dependence on intention highlights the need to grapple with unintentional dynamics — the extra-, meta-, and intuitive means by which discrimination must be understood.

<sup>136</sup> Mari Matsuda, *Where is Your Body?: And Other Essays on Race, Gender, and the Law* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996).

<sup>137</sup> Richard Delgado, *The Rodrigo Chronicles: Conversations About America and Race* (New York, NY: NYU Press, 1995).

<sup>138</sup> Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., "Introduction" in *Positively No Pilipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio Tiongson Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), S. Lily Mendoza, *Between the Homeland and the Diaspora* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2006); Tracy Lachica Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle: Pilipina/o 1.5-Generation College Student Access, Retention, and Resistance" (PhD diss., Department of Education, UCLA, 2007), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304884310?accountid=14512>. Scholars such as these have theorized an exceptional liminality as characteristic of Filipino racialization.

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<sup>139</sup> Tracy Lachica Buenavista, Uma M. Jayakumar, and Kimberly Misa-Escalante, "Contextualizing Asian American Education Through Critical Race Theory: An Example of U.S. Pilipino College Student Experiences," in *New Directions for Institutional Research*, no. 142, (Summer 2009). Education activists, Buenavista, Jayakumar, and Misa-Escalante, present a discussion of Pilipino racialization that is instructive here:

The term liminal refers to the literal and figurative position of being between two states that are characterized by ambiguity. We use the term to describe liminality in the historical positioning of Pilipinos between status as foreigners and colonial subjects, being second generation college students but not having the benefits of parents who understand how to navigate the U.S. educational system, and status as racialized people of color who are often marginalized by other people of color and whites. Ignacio, de la Cruz, Emmanuel, and Toribio (2004) and Omi and Winant (1994) argue that the American colonization of the Philippines was very much a racist project. Others suggest that in efforts to validate imperialist expansion at the turn of the century, the United States portrayed Pilipinos as racially inferior through both the popular press and governmental policies regarding Pilipino immigration (Ignacio, de la Cruz, Emmanuel, and Toribio, 2004). Under formal colonial status, Pilipinos immigrated to the United States freely as American "nationals," a liminal position in which they were not considered aliens or citizens. With this government status, Pilipinos were not subject to immigration restrictions. Such a unique status was beneficial to American agricultural and service industries, which came to rely on Pilipinos as cheap labor during a time when xenophobia prevented the immigration of other racial minorities to the United States (75).

<sup>140</sup> Proposition 209 is formally known as The California Civil Rights Initiative and informally known as "Prop 209." In addition to education, the policy also aimed at public employment and contracting. Okamura and Agbayani, "Pamantasan: Pilipino American Higher Education," 191.

<sup>141</sup> Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle."

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.; Delgado, *The Rodrigo Chronicles*; Mendoza, *Between the Homeland and the Diaspora*. Richard Delgado's character, Rodrigo, evaluates the construction of "merit" as "basically white people's affirmative action," and astutely identifies how standardized tests produce a culture of testocracy rather than meritocracy. Mendoza is also clear in identifying the productive qualities, such as the emergence of multiple definitions of "Filipino," of the interstitial location between homeland and diaspora.

<sup>143</sup> Beth H. Parker, "Proposition 209 ~ A Decade Later: The Impacts of Prop 209 on Public Education, Employment and Contracting," *Equal Rights Advocates*, June 1998, <http://www.equalrights.org/publications/reports/affirm/full209.asp> (accessed 23 Sept 2011)

<sup>144</sup> Katherine C. Naff, "Diversity in Education," *Center for California Studies*, (1998):16, [http://www.csus.edu/calst/completed\\_faculty\\_research\\_reports.html](http://www.csus.edu/calst/completed_faculty_research_reports.html) (accessed 23 Sept 2011)

<sup>145</sup> The definition of over-representation in this case refers to differences between the percentage of Asian Americans within the institution versus within the state's larger population.

<sup>146</sup> Priagula, "Comment," 138.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.,139.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.,156-157.

<sup>149</sup> Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle," 73.

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<sup>150</sup> Priagula, "Comment," 156-157.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 157. Priagula cites Thomas J. Espenshade and Chang Y. Chung, "The Opportunity Cost of Admission Preferences at Elite Universities," 86 *Social Science Quarterly* 293, 298 (2005).

<sup>153</sup> Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle," 75; The 2000 Chinese undergraduate enrollment (20%) differs from that of Pilipinos (3%) despite similar state census populations.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 75-76; Okamura and Agbayani, "Pamantasan: Pilipino American Higher Education," 191; There has been an increase in Pilipino American courses and curriculum following much student activism in the early 2000s and particularly the efforts of the Committee on Pilipino American Studies (ComPASS). Buenavista argues that the increase in enrollment rates of Pilipinos to her research site must be seen in the context of its proportionality. The Pilipino community is small (687 in 2000) in proportion to the larger group (22,679 undergraduates in 2000) and incoming Pilipinos often leave racially segregated areas with high Pilipino visibility to attend the university. Given these contexts, the campus can be significant for students.

<sup>155</sup> The National Science Foundation, for instance, offers a diversity fellowship to individuals belonging to racial groups that it considers historically marginalized — African American, Latina/o, Native American, and Pacific Islander — but excludes Pilipinos and other marginalized groups because they are considered Asian American.

<sup>156</sup> Priagula, "Comment," 139.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>158</sup> Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000). While Prashad's work plays off W.E.B. Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folk* and its question of race, "How does it feel to be a problem?" I am interested in the highlighting this notion of "exceptional ability" as part of the mechanism that constitutes racial archetypes based upon legal policies.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Buenavista, "Movement from the Middle," 78. According to Buenavista's study, the first-year retention rates for all ethnic and racial groups were below the total average except Asian American students. This does not include data for Pilipinos. The retention rates of Asian American students is overall the highest and Filipina/o students experience rates comparable to Latina/o students than Asian American students.

<sup>161</sup> H. Bowen and D. Bok, *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

<sup>162</sup> Priagula, "Comment," 137. Priagula also looks at: "1) war reparations and the imperialist regime; 2) employment discrimination and the intent regime."

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>164</sup> Dierdre Bowen, Paper presented at Annual Critical Race Symposium, "Race in Colorblind Spaces," University of California, Los Angeles, Law School, March 2009.

<sup>165</sup> Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folk*, 7. According to Prashad, the Model minority "emerged in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement to show up rebellious blacks for their attempts to redress power relations. The state provided the sop of welfare instead of genuine redistribution of power and resources, and even that was only given as reluctant charity. And whatever good social change emerged from the social struggles of the 1960s came as a result not of benevolence but of the unyielding passion of the oppressed, who fought to keep this racist polity even an iota honest."

<sup>166</sup> Reme A. Grefalda, Lucy M. Burns, Anna M. Alves, and Theodore Gonzalves, *Towards a Cultural Community: Identity, Education and Stewardship in Filipino American Performing Arts* (A National Federation

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of Filipino American Association (NaFFAA) cultural project with support from The Ford Foundation. *First Fruits*, 2003).

<sup>167</sup> Joyce Kuo, Interview with author, Los Angeles, CA, August 10, 2012. In reality, many non-Filipinos participate in PCNs. Kuo, a self-identified Taiwanese American and active dancer in the local Berkeley dance scene, stated that she chose to be in PCN because of the family vibe and orientation of the community.

<sup>168</sup> The inaugural PCN for University of California campuses occurred in three prominent eras and as follows: Berkeley (1976-1977), Irvine (1978-1979), Los Angeles (1978-1979), Davis (1986-1987), Santa Barbara (1990-1991), San Diego (1991-1992), Santa Cruz (1991-1992), and Merced (2007-2008).

<sup>169</sup> "Friendship Games," *Cppbarkada*, <http://cppbarkada.org/events/social/csufpasa-fg> (accessed July 30, 2012). Friendship Games is a large event hosted by California State University, Fullerton's Pilipino American Student Association (P.A.S.A.) Kaibigan (which is the Filipino word for "friend"). The event consists of picnic games and takes place in the fall and dozens of collegiate Pilipino groups travel to compete in games based around the themes: Spirit, Pride, Unity, and Friendship (S.P.U.F.). The event, which has been cancelled in the past due to violence and criticized for being a "meat market", is also seen as a rallying event for community building. At the games, each school is encouraged to present a "cheer" that usually involves a hip-hop dance performance related to the school's theme. As PCN's developed more autonomous "Modern" components, these groups—Kaba Modern, Pac Modern, Team Millenium—usually exhibited performances. Friendship games, according to P.A.S.A. (via California State Polytechnic University-Pomona student organization Barkada website) attracts over 7,000 people. Unlike Friendship Games, California State Polytechnic University-Pomona's "Sportsfest is an annual tournament which has been hosted by Cal Poly Pomona's Barkada since its inception in 1989. Thanks to the thousands of volunteers, coordinators, and participants over the years, Sportsfest has grown to become arguably one of the largest Pilipino American sports tournaments in the nation. What started out as a friendly rivalry between southern California schools, Sportsfest is now a highly competitive tournament which draws participating schools and communities spanning from San Diego, Arizona, Nevada, Washington, and Northern California. With six different sports, Sportsfest is here to uphold the tradition of excellence and championship caliber competition the way it has been for 22 years."

<sup>170</sup> Darren Lee Brown, "We Got the Power: Asian Americans and Hip-Hop Culture in the Bay Area" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2012), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/944324403?accountid=14512>.

<sup>171</sup> US Census Bureau, Census 2000, "Table DP-1. Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000: Geographic Area: Berkeley city, California," p.131, pdf. Last modified May 15, 2002. [http://www2.census.gov/census\\_2000/datasets/100\\_and\\_sample\\_profile/California/2kh06.pdf](http://www2.census.gov/census_2000/datasets/100_and_sample_profile/California/2kh06.pdf) (accessed 30, Jul 2012)

<sup>172</sup> US Census Bureau, Census 2000, "Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics 2000: 2000 Census of Population and Housing", Issued May 2001, pg.131, pdf. Last modified May 15, 2002. [http://www2.census.gov/census\\_2000/datasets/100\\_and\\_sample\\_profile/](http://www2.census.gov/census_2000/datasets/100_and_sample_profile/) (accessed 30 Jul 2012)

<sup>173</sup> US Census Bureau, Census 2000, "Table DP-1. Profile of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000: Geographic Area: California." Issued May 2001, U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000, pg.1, Last modified May 15, 2002. [http://www2.census.gov/census\\_2000/datasets/100\\_and\\_sample\\_profile/](http://www2.census.gov/census_2000/datasets/100_and_sample_profile/) (accessed 30 Jul 2012).

<sup>174</sup> US Census Bureau, Census 2010, "Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010; 2010 Demographic Profile Data" American Factfinder results: California. Last modified May

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15, 2002, <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk> (accessed July 30, 2012); US Census Bureau, Census 2010, "Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010; 2010 Demographic Profile Data" American Factfinder results: Berkeley city, California. Last modified May 15, 2002, <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk> (accessed July 30, 2012). In 2010, California's total population of 37,691,912 is made up of Asians-(13.6%), of which Filipino-1,195,580 (3.2%) still second to Chinese (3.4%). The most recent demographics for Berkeley- 1,640 (1.5%) still fourth amongst Asians (19.3%) behind Chinese (8.6%), Asian Indian (2.4%), Korean (2.1%), Japanese (1.6%).

<sup>175</sup> "Top Public Schools | Rankings | Top National Universities | US News" *U.S. News & World Report*, 2012, <http://colleges.usnews.rankingsandreviews.com/best-colleges/rankings/national-universities/top-public> (accessed July 30, 2012)

<sup>176</sup> Gonzalves introduces the term "PCN genre" to discuss PCN as a performance genre in Gonzalves, "When the Lights Go Down"; E. San Juan Jr. undertakes a brief, yet critical, exploration of the PCN phenomena in *From Exile to Diaspora: Versions of the Pilipino Experience in the United States* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998).

<sup>177</sup> Theodore S. Gonzalves, "The Day the Dancers Stayed: On Pilipino Cultural Nights," in *Filipino Americans: Transformation and Identity*, edited by Maria P.P. Root (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 1997), 173-4.

<sup>178</sup> Elizabeth Casasola (Cultural Chairperson), and Lorraine Rodrigo Marasigan (Cultural Chairperson), Christopher Bucoy Brown (Program Officer), Christine Balance (Program Officer), *Pakinggan Mo Ako*, the 20th Annual Pilipino Cultural Night (Zellerbach Auditorium, UC Berkeley: Pilipino American Alliance of University of California at Berkeley, April 21, 1996); Frank Lozier (Cultural Chairperson), Julie Munsayac (Program layout), Tracy Buenavista (Program layout), Warren Tuscano (Program layout), Elena Almazol (Program layout), Rani de Leon (Program layout), Kelly Dumlao (Program layout), *et al.*, *Tagasalaysay/ Storyteller: A Story of Culture*, the 22nd Annual Pilipino Cultural Night (Zellerbach Auditorium, UC Berkeley: Pilipino American Alliance of University of California at Berkeley, April 19, 1998); Julie Munsayac, (Program), and Sarah Rivadelo (Program), Jackie Barrios (Program), Joey Bernal (Program), Rani de Leon (Program), Sharlene Aquilar (Cultural Co-Chair), and Kelly Dumlao (Cultural Co-Chair). *Re: Collections*, the 23rd Annual Pilipino Cultural Night. (Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley: Pilipino American Alliance of UC Berkeley, April 25, 1999).

In 1996, Regional dances included Lumagen (Kalinga festival dance), Takiling (Kalinga successful headhunting dance), Binaylon (Higaonon mimetic dance featuring mother hen and chick dance) Banog (Higaonon tribal dance with hunters and a hawk). In 1998, the "Regional Suite" seemed to be renamed the "Mountain" suite. The Mountain dances included Banga (water pot balancing), Salidsid (Kalinga wedding ceremony), and Elilay (post-wedding dance). 1998 also introduced the "Tribal suite" whose dances included those from highlands and mountain-dwelling agrarian pagan tribes of Mindanao, like Bagobos, known for escaping Muslim and Christian influence, like Soten, Dumadel, and Sugod Uno (toil-like land preparation). In 1999, the Tribal suite included binaylan/banog and pandamggo (a dance about a woman's development and suitors). and the mountain suite included ragragsakan (Kalinga women peace pact) and lumagen.

<sup>179</sup> Alves, "In search of 'meaning'," 12. Alves documents the dance source material for Dance Committee members and teachers of University of California, Los Angeles' Samahang Pilipino: Jovita Sison Friese, *Philippine Folk Dances from Pangasinan*; Francisca Reyes Tolentino, *Philippine National Dances* (New York, NY: Silver Burdett Co., 1946); Francisca Reyes Aquino, *Fundamental Dance Steps and Music* (Manila, 1957); Francisca Reyes Aquino, *Philippine Folk Dances: Volumes 1-6*



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(Manila 1957-1966). Additionally, sources included videotapes from Bayanihan, Barangay Philippines Performing Arts, and Ramon Obusan's cultural dance group.

<sup>180</sup> "Bayanihan - The Philippine National folk Dance Company," *Bayanibannationaldanceco.ph*, Last modified 2003. [http://www.bayanibannationaldanceco.ph/milestones1959\\_1958.html](http://www.bayanibannationaldanceco.ph/milestones1959_1958.html) (accessed 10 April 2013).

<sup>181</sup> Tolentino, *Philippine National Dances*.

<sup>182</sup> Gonzalves, *The Day the Dancers Stayed*.

<sup>183</sup> Gaerlan, *In the Court of the Sultan*. Barbara Gaerlan, while critiquing orientalism in the 1992 UCLA PCN, *Makibaka*, identifies the Bayanihan as the main model for choreography for UCLA's PCN. For Gaerlan, the Bayanihan represented a "post-colonial nationalism in the appropriation of indigenous dance and music forms and representation in a folkloric dance troupe as the cultural expression of the Philippine nation state" (252). Gaerlan cites ethnomusicologist, Usupay H. Cadar's critique of "authenticity" against Bayanihan productions as an implicit critique against Bayanihan-based PCNs. Gaerlan cites Benedict Anderson's claim that the Philippine nationalist intellectuals' anthropological documentation of dances served as a method of proving "modernity" by proving the "past's subjective antiquity." Although Gaerlan focuses on the dances in a particular PCN, Berkeley's PCNs have also been known to follow Bayanihan format and the use of videotapes of previous years' shows in the absence of available choreographic resources.

<sup>184</sup> Alves, "In search of 'meaning'."

<sup>185</sup> Bautista, "Philippine Cultural Nights," 157.

<sup>186</sup> San Juan, Jr., *From Exile to Diaspora*, 12; Gonzalves, "When the Lights Go Down," 250. While addressed at traditional PCNs, and not *Home* specifically, E. San Juan contributes to these discussions as he criticizes PCNs for enabling "...Pilipino American students' forgetting that the Philippines is not a complete developed motherland free from ills but moves through time as a "nation still going through the agony of birth...a geopolitical space where state power is controlled by a comprador-oligarchic elite whose interests center on the preservation of an unjust and oppressive status quo...still a dependent, subordinated formation. It is virtually an appendage of the U.S. corporate power elite..." or in another sense, as Gonzalves cautions, the folkloric forms represent the Philippines as a "sturdy repository of "knowledge", a warehouse of unchanging, static, and therefore "authentic" representations of Philippine life which can be accessed and brought back."

<sup>187</sup> Gaerlan, *In the Court of the Sultan*. Gaerlan emphasizes that although the PCN's "Moro" suite intended to highlight a "Makibaka" themed "golden age" as the un-conquered, the construction replicated Bayanihan's own nationalist-driven Orientalism (which constructs the Muslim populations in the Philippines as Other) within the contexts of neo-colonialism, modernism, and Pilipino America.

<sup>188</sup> The I-Hotel is an International Hotel located in San Francisco that was demolished in 1981, but the story of the resistance against its demolition was popularized in Ethnic Studies curriculum and the Pilipino American community through the documentary *The Fall of the I-Hotel* (1983). Narrated by Manong Al Robles, Pilipino American community leader and activist, the film depicts the eviction of elderly Filipino "manongs," and other ethnic immigrants in the context of "urban renewal," or gentrification. At the time of *Home*, the plans and fundraising efforts for the International Hotel Manilatown Center was just beginning.

<sup>189</sup> Ricardo G. Abad, J. Pilapil Jacobo, Missy Maramara, and Mayel Panganiban, "Responses to 'Dancing Into Oblivion,'" *Kritika Kultura* 6, (2005) 091-101.

<sup>190</sup> Abad et. al., "Responses to 'Dancing Into Oblivion,'" 91.

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid. The unknown writer's observations read:

We went to see (Berkeley's PCN-Pilipino Cultural Night) yesterday. It always runs long (3 hours+) so I usually can't/don't see the whole production ... PCN topics at Berkeley usually have a flavor of activism, this year it's the rise of the "I" Hotel ... the international hotel which was demolished to make way for urban renewal in the 70s yata, evicting Filipino manong and Chinese elderly residents, which was met with days and days of protests and a hunger strike. But the play itself encapsulates the experience in the character of an elderly manong, with scenes in several skit forms, interwoven with dances, modern hip hop and folk dances. Past themes have been Gabriela Silang's life, immigration and hardships of their parents generation, drugs and gangs, ethnic identity. Students audition to participate, and ... there are a few parents who discourage or prohibit their son/daughter to participate as it takes a lot of time out of their studies if the student is not careful. I have to remind my students in mid-semester to remember that they are students first and foremost. I find my classes are smaller on Fridays the weeks leading up to the PCN (91-92).

<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>193</sup> Jacqueline Shea Murphy, *The People Never Stopped Dancing: Native American Modern Dance Histories* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

<sup>194</sup> Howard Winant, Panel presented at Annual Critical Race Symposium, "Race in Colorblind Spaces," University of California, Los Angeles, Law School, March 2009.

<sup>195</sup> Vicente L. Rafael, "Parricides, Bastards, and Counterrevolution: Reflections on the Philippine Centennial," in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, edited by Luis Francia and Angel Shaw (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2002), 370-371.

<sup>196</sup> Lisa Lowe, "Forward," in *Positively No Pilipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), vii-ix.

<sup>197</sup> In modern dance, this turn emerged with a response to contemporary practices of ballet and vaudeville, specifically their traits of gender and class devaluation for white, middle-class women.

<sup>198</sup> For more on Filipino youth culture in California see Bangele Deguzman Alsaybar, "Youth Groups and Youth Savers: Gangs, Crews, and the Rise of Filipino American Youth Culture in Los Angeles." (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2007). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304875735?accountid=14512>.

<sup>199</sup> This is not to mean that Modern/American suites are without drawbacks. Because of their rising popularity, Modern/American suites developed their own types of issues around elitism, larger applicant pools, higher auditioning demands relative to other suites. It varies by group and University but, the Modern suite narratives, costumes, and concepts often have little to do with the rest of the program and they often entertain invitations for external performances. In other universities, these changes have led to completely autonomous Modern-suite derived organizations like Kaba Modern and Pac Modern, two groups that achieved success on MTV's *America's Next Best Dance Crew* reality television competition. In PCN, the Modern suite, by its very name and high popularity against the other dances, obscures the ways it extends the dichotomization of "the Philippines" as traditional, past, and pre-modern and "the American" as modern, contemporary, and superior. This dichotomization enabled the perspective needed to re-think PCN structural

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organization. Pilipinos began to question the marginal consequences of adding on a section of "American" dances to "Philippine" dances and looked toward shifting the larger structural system. Pilipinos were already thinking in large institutional terms about their relationship as outsiders within a larger pre-/post-2009 educational institution and this leads me to believe that they began to apply these questions to their own cultural institution of PCNs.

<sup>200</sup> Casasola, Marasigan, Brown, and Balance, *Pakinggan Mo Ako*, the 20th Annual Pilipino Cultural Night, 7.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Lozier, Munsayac, Buenavista, Tuscano, Almazol, de Leon, Dumlao, *et al.*, *Tagasalaysay/Storyteller: A Story of Culture*, the 22nd Annual Pilipino Cultural Night, 22.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>204</sup> Munsayac, Rivadelo, Barrios, Bernal, de Leon, Aquilar, and Dumlao, *Re: Collections*, the 23rd Annual Pilipino Cultural Night, 18.

<sup>205</sup> Garrick Macatangay, Interview with author, Los Angeles, CA, August 10, 2012.

<sup>206</sup> Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in Early 20th Century Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1995).

<sup>207</sup> Rani de Leon (Cultural Chairperson), *Home*, the 24th Annual Pilipino Cultural Night, (Zellerbach Auditorium, UC Berkeley: Pilipino American Alliance of UC Berkeley, April 30, 2000), 9.

<sup>208</sup> Gonzalez, *The Day the Dancers Stayed*; Gaerlan, *In the Court of the Sultan*; San Juan, Jr., *From Exile to Diaspora*.

<sup>209</sup> Erwin Ong, Interview with author, Los Angeles, CA, July 31, 2012. According to Ong, the "Tinikling automaton in "Assembly Line," refers to the dance as "culture-in-a-box."

<sup>210</sup> Marta Savigliano, *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995). Savigliano uses this term to describe Tango as a means of adjusting to and confronting (neo)colonialism exotic wherein exoticized representations become symbols of national identity.

<sup>211</sup> Devon Carbado and Miguel Urzueta, Paper presented at Annual Critical Race Symposium, "Race in Colorblind Spaces." University of California, Los Angeles, Law School, March 2009. Social Psychologist Miguel Urzueta also refers to colorblindness as the tenet that "We're all the same inside, we should get over our differences."

<sup>212</sup> Sarita See, "An Open Wound?: Colonial Melancholia and Contemporary Pilipino/American Texts," in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, eds. A. Shaw and L. Francia (New York: New York UP, 2002), 376-400.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Urzueta, "Race in Colorblind Spaces."

<sup>215</sup> Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*. Michael Omi and Howard Winant characterize the ethnicity paradigm in three developmental phases characterized as anti-biologist, liberal, and neo-conservative views on race. According to Omi and Winant, the first conceptualization of ethnicity began pre-1930s and understood "ethnicity" to be primordial and hereditary. Since then, ethnicity has referred to a group formation process based on several factors including a sense of group origins, nationality, language, political identification, religion, and customs. Emerging works in the 1980s by scholars employing ethnicity-specific theories and methods unearthed elements of Pilipino culture to construct difference and collective relations within and against the contexts of a growing multi-ethnic American demographic.

<sup>216</sup> For further discussion of dance and ideas of industrialization see Felicia McCarren, *Dancing Machines: Choreographies of the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

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<sup>217</sup> Eric G. Wilson, *The Melancholy Android: On the Psychology of Sacred Machines* (Albany, NY: State of University of New York Press, 2006).

<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 2. Both these arguments refer to the Judeo-Christian Fall of Man narrative, despite the tendency of robots to appear secular.

<sup>220</sup> *Home* featured a video segment that immediately preceded "Assembly Line." Along with comedic sketches the segment also sampled clips and quotes from popular culture commercials, television, and films, including the Matrix.

<sup>221</sup> Jorge Pabon, "Physical Graffiti: The History of Hip Hop Dance," in *Total Chaos: The Art and Aesthetics of Hip Hop*, ed. Jeff Chang (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2006), 18-26.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid. In largely different contexts, White modern dancers at the time were also turning to the quotidian as a move against formalism or high aesthetics.

<sup>223</sup> Hitmaster Fish, interview.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Wilson, *The Melancholy Android*. Despite the lack of racial critique, Wilson offers an interesting section on Heinrich von Kleist's "The Puppet Theater" (1810). According to Kleist's Mr. C., a well-known dancer, marionettes are more graceful dancers than humans because they lack "affectation" or self-consciousness that trips up humans by processes of thinking about one's actions.

<sup>226</sup> Jason Rodriquez, "Color-Blind Ideology and the Cultural Appropriation of Hip-Hop," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35, no. 6 (2006): 645-68. Rodriquez examines the music appreciation practices of western Massachusetts white youth who appropriate Hip-hop via colorblindness. My study builds upon Rodriquez's study by thinking about colorblindness and dance practices.

<sup>227</sup> See, "An Open Wound."

<sup>228</sup> Patricia J. Williams, *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 116.

<sup>229</sup> All these details further suggest the lack of (neutralization) of gendered and racialized choreography that only further highlight the class elements of the dancing. Instead of some putatively universal white male subject, the subjectivity of the dancers is based upon particular terms and conditions and more precisely its role in industrialization and cultural commodifier.

<sup>230</sup> The choreographer, Garrick Macatangay, is actually positioned downstage rather than upstage.

<sup>231</sup> Howard Winant speaks of a repertoire of racial agencies that help describe how we inhabit our racial identities: denial, state-oriented, and creative/radical practice/situated action. Whereas the robot, as pop cultural icon, is not usually seen to inhabit a racial identity, *Home* participants seem to operate through radical creative action in order to recognize their racial situatedness.

<sup>232</sup> Novack, *Sharing the Dance*.

<sup>233</sup> See Alice Jade A. Albuero, "Box Populi: A Socio-Cultural Study of the Filipino American *Balikbayan* Box" (Master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2001). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304733350?accountid=14512>.

<sup>234</sup> S. Lily Mendoza, "A Different Breed of Pilipino Balikbayans: The Ambiguities of (Re-) Turning," in *Positively No Pilipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 199-214.

<sup>235</sup> Barbara M. Posadas, *The Filipino Americans* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999).

<sup>236</sup> Anthony Ocampo, "Gifts that Go the Distance: The Social Organization of Philippine In-Kind Remittances" (paper presented at the Association of Asian American Studies Annual Meeting, Honolulu, HI, April 2009).

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Alexander G. Weheliye, "Feenin" Posthuman voices in contemporary black popular music," *Social Text* 20, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 21-47.

In accord with modern Hawaiian orthography, the 'okina is employed for Hawaiian terms. For clarity, Native Hawaiian and Kanaka Maoli refer to indigenous Hawaiians, people of indigenous Hawaiian descent, and mixed race individuals with part indigenous Hawaiian descent.

<sup>241</sup> TheABDCFansite, "Hype 5-0 Compilation," YouTube video, 10:13, posted April 19, 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-5stTGdN0kU&feature=related> (accessed 5 July 2012). The third episode of Season Five introduces audiences to the West Coast Regional competitors and was originally aired in the US in January 2010.

<sup>242</sup> Deirdre Sklar, "Five premises for a culturally sensitive approach to dance," *Moving History/Dancing Cultures: a dance history reader*, ed. Ann Dils and Ann Cooper Albright (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 30-32.

<sup>243</sup> *Pamantasan* is the Filipino word for "university." Pamantasan 2007 program brochure and F.L.I.P. flyer. F.L.I.P. is "committed to active involvement on our [UH Manoa] campus and throughout the state unifying ourselves to promote knowledge, awareness, and pride in our rich and diverse Filipino heritage through the education and empowerment of our communities." The annual event continued a tradition of twenty years, this year at Leeward Community College on Oahu, and joined together local Filipino student leaders (and a few Filipinos who are alumni from colleges outside of Hawai'i), Filipino faculty, and legislators from the Filipino caucus. The event agenda included community-building activities, networking sessions, food, and afternoon performances. The event also featured small group discussions, called Barrios, in which Barrio members participated in personality assessments, identified community issues, and strategized action plans. One of the performances included a breakdance demonstration by the Awesome B-boy Crew.

<sup>244</sup> Theodore S. Gonzalves and Roderick N. Labrador, *Filipinos in Hawai'i (Images of America)* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 117-126.

<sup>245</sup> Okamura and Agbayani, "Pamantasan," 183-197.

<sup>246</sup> Filcom is shorthand for the Filipino Community Center in Waipahu.

<sup>247</sup> Osumare, *Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*, 111, 116, 120. A Filipino-specific approach to Pacific Islander Hip-hop complements some of these studies that have overlooked the importance of Filipino identity in the lives of subjects, despite their iconic status in both Hip-hop and Filipino communities like DJ Q-bert.

<sup>248</sup> Osumare, *Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop*; Adria L. Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (Mar., 2004): 111-149.

<sup>249</sup> Local panethnic identity typically consists of Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, Okinawans, Puerto Ricans, Portuguese, Koreans, Chinese, Japanese, Samoan, and other Pacific Islander ethnic minorities.

<sup>250</sup> Candace Fujikane, "Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*, ed.

Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 3.

<sup>251</sup> Dean Itsuji Saranillo, "Colonial Amnesia: Rethinking Filipino "American" Settler Empowerment in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," in *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 124-41.

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<sup>252</sup> Keith L. Camacho, "Introduction," in "Transoceanic Flows: Pacific Islander Interventions across the American Empire," *Amerasia Journal* 37, no. 3 (2012): ix-xxxiv.

<sup>253</sup> Kopytko, "Breakdance as an Identity Marker in New Zealand.;" Henderson, "Dancing Between Islands: Hip Hop and Samoan Diaspora.;" Tony Mitchell, "Kia Kaha! (Be Strong!): Maori and Pacific Islander Hip-hop in Aotearoa—New Zealand," in *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-hop Outside the USA*, ed. Tony Mitchell (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 280-305. In New Zealand, a former British settler colony and current settler state in the Southwest region of Polynesia, the story of Hip-hop appears persuasively historicized in relationship to the land's indigenous Maori people and culture. Anthropologist Tania Kopytko has written on the emergence of breakin' based on her observations in 1984 with a crew from Palmerston North, New Zealand. Kopytko offers a brief timeline from the migration of the dance from American Samoa to Western Samoa to Auckland in 1983, to a breakdance developmental period in late 1983 to early 1984 (Summer), and finally to 1985 when breakin' all but disappeared and structural support fell from Palmerston North. Connecting the public fears of "streetkids" in 1982 with race relations, Kopytko writes about both the historical context and political consequences of her subjects. A majority of the breakdancers she observed belonged to a group of young, urban Maori that have been dispossessed from their indigenous culture (traditions, language, cultural history, extended kinship). In the 1950's, government policies promoted Maori assimilation to dominant Pakeha (white) culture and discouraged Maori culture (i.e. sanctioning Maori language in schools).

Kopytko writes that under-served by local educational institutions and denigrated by their class and ethnic identities, young, urban Maori responded to dispossession with increased political consciousness into the 1960's, and they borrowed extensively from Black culture like Rastafarianism in the 1970's (23). A negative image based on economic and racial hierarchies shaped the ways the public saw breakdance hairstyles and uniforms as threats and pathologized their practices in periodicals with terms like "breakdance knuckles," headspin-induced balding, and other injuries (26). Kopytko sees these as signs that breakdance, as an identity marker shaped by working class, Maori and Pacific Islander youth, signified a threat to the dominant group of Pakehas (27). The forced assimilation processes are linked to the negative self-images of the youth as seen in the words of one of her subjects, "I'm just a dumb Maori" (24). For the Maori youth with whom Kopytko conducted her study, Hip-hop provided a positive identity to raise self-esteem and capability in a context where they were historically and contemporarily subordinated by ethnic and social markers (25). It also gave the unemployed a sense of work or career.

These dancers paved the way for future Maori groups that would similarly draw from African American aesthetics and cultural politics to deal with the subordination of Maori ways of life, particularly clothing, music, and language. The highly visible and "Public Enemy-influenced" hardcore Maori rap group, Upper Hut Posse, combined African American and Maori oppositional politics and elements. Their music videos placed Maori warrior chiefs like Hone Heke alongside Malcolm X ("Et tu", 1988) and used quotes by Louise Farrakhan and the *haka*, a highly expressive, indigenous war dance ("Whakakotahi", 1993) to highlight anti-Maori colonial violence and call for Pakeha to leave Aotearoa.

<sup>254</sup> Kato, *From Kung Fu to Hip Hop*; Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-hop*; Rohan Kalyan, "Paradise Lost and Found: Hip Hop in Hawaii(sic)," in *Hip Hop in America: A Regional Guide, Volume 2: The Midwest, The South, and Beyond*, ed. Mickey Hess (Ann Arbor, MI: Greenwood Press, 2010), 605-624.

<sup>255</sup> Osumare, *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-hop*, 105-127.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., 113-114.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>261</sup> See Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007, 2. *Terra nullius* refers to the notion that land inhabited by indigenous peoples is not owned by indigenous people and thus subject to white British and American colonial claims. In strict terms of land ownership, this idea had uneven application throughout the Pacific. Indigenous people of Oregon and Washington negotiated land through treaties while California land was seen by the U.S. government as *terra nullius*.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., 106, 117.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., 141-145; Kalyan, "Paradise Lost and Found: Hip Hop in Hawaii(sic)."; Fay Yokomizo Akindes, "Sudden Rush: Na Mele Paleoleo (Hawaiian Rap) as Liberatory Discourse," *Discourse* 23, no. 1 (2001): 82-98.

<sup>264</sup> Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., "On the Politics of (Filipino/American) Youth Cultures: An Interview with Theo Gonzalves." in *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, ed. Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez and Ricardo V. Gutierrez (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2006), 114.

<sup>265</sup> Theodore Gonzalves, "Unashamed to Be So Beautiful": An Interview with Celine Salazar Parreñas." In *Countervisions: Asian American Film Criticism*, ed. Sandra Liu and Darrell Hamamoto (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2000), 270. See this text for more on the burden felt by Filipino artists to speak for a collective, as adamantly rejected by Parreñas.

<sup>266</sup> Johanna Almiron, interview with author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, April 20, 2007.

<sup>267</sup> Saranillo, "Colonial Amnesia," 124-141; Daniel B. Eisen, "Becoming Filipino in Hawai'i: Rejection, Reframing, and Acceptance of a Stigmatized Identity," (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, Manoa, 2011), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/907104896?accountid=14512>

<sup>268</sup> Jonathan Okamura, "Why There are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i," *Social Process in Hawaii* 35, 1995: 161-78. In this strongly persuasive article, Okamura writes on the politics between Local vs. Asian American identities, "Ethnic Rainbow," Japanese investment, tourism overdevelopment, Native Hawaiian sovereignty, and ethnic stratification. He documents, for instance, the presence of anti-Japanese sentiment in society despite the reality that Chinese and haole men have the highest occupational status and multinational corporations have economic power.

<sup>269</sup> Okamura, "Why There are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i," 165.

<sup>270</sup> Co-ethnicity refers to the shared identification between ethnographic researcher and ethnographic subject.

<sup>271</sup> For comments on "F" and "P" in F/Filipino see chapter 2, note 2.

<sup>272</sup> Okamura, "Why There are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i," 161.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>274</sup> Roderick N. Labrador, "'We Can Laugh At Ourselves': Hawai'i Ethnic Humor, Local Identity, and the Myth of Multiculturalism," *Pragmatics* 14, no. 2/3 (2004): 291-316.

<sup>275</sup> Rick Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion: Empire and Migration in Filipino America, 1898-1946* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

<sup>276</sup> Aquino, "The Filipino Century in Hawaii(sic)," 52-59.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 57. In this case, co-ethnic refers to Aquino's shared ethnic identification with others who self-identify as Filipino.

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<sup>278</sup> Abe Ignacio, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio, *The Forbidden Book: The Philippine-American War in Political Cartoons* (San Francisco: T’Boli Publishing and Distribution, 2004); Martin Duberman, *Left Out: The Politics of Exclusion/Essays/1964-1999* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1999); See the former reference for a discussion on Benevolent Assimilation as rhetoric justifying U.S. colonialism in the Philippines. Duberman raises an alarm against the “benevolence of history” with its assumptions that time alone will cure society’s ills, which he sees preventing radical change.

<sup>279</sup> Aquino, "The Filipino Century in Hawaii(sic)," 54.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>282</sup> Aquino, *Filipinos in Hawaii*. First Hawaiian Bank is the latest in a long genealogy of banks that began with Bishop & Co., which was started in 1858 by Charles Reed Bishop and William A. Aldrich under the laws of the independent Kingdom of Hawai‘i.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., 4-27. The rest of the leaders include Chief Justice Ronald T.Y. Moon, President of the Senate Robert Bunda, Speaker Calvin K.Y. Say, Author of the Resolution of the Centennial, Rep. Felipe P. Abinsay Jr., Mayors of Honolulu, Maui, Kauai, and Hawaii Mufi Hannemann, Alan M. Arakawa, Bryan J. Baptiste, and Harry Kim, Council Chair Donovan Dela Cruz (County of Honolulu), Council Chair Riki Hokama (County of Maui), Council Chair Bill Asing (County of Kauai), Council Chair Stacy Higa (County of Hawaii), Official Filipino Broadcast Media Sponsor ABS-CBN International, Committee Co-Chair Eddie Agas Sr.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.; Aquino, "The Filipino Century in Hawaii(sic)"; Belinda A. Aquino, "Chronology of Filipinos in Hawaii," in *Filipinos in Hawaii: 100 Years & Beyond*, ed. Belinda A. Aquino (Honolulu, HI: Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, 2005), 60-63; Homer C. Rabara, "Postscript: Beyond the 100 Years," in *Filipinos in Hawaii: 100 Years & Beyond*, ed. Belinda A. Aquino (Honolulu, HI: Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, 2005), 64; Romy M. Cachola, "The Sakada Tree" in *Filipinos in Hawaii: 100 Years & Beyond*, ed. Belinda A. Aquino (Honolulu, HI: Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, 2005), 91; Unknown author, "Lawaran: Portrait of a Cultural Legacy," in *Filipinos in Hawaii: 100 Years & Beyond*, ed. Belinda A. Aquino (Honolulu, HI: Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, 2005), 112. "Sakada Tree," is a young *narra* tree—national tree of the Philippines—planted on January 9, 1986 by state leaders at the State Capitol lawn.

<sup>285</sup> Aquino, *Filipinos in Hawaii*, 90; “Mabuhay with Aloha—The Hawaii Filipino Experience 1906-2006,” Commissioned by the Hawaii Filipino Centennial Commission. Produced by Emme Tomimbang. <http://www.emmeinc.com/companyinfo.html> (accessed 8 July 2012). In another version of this term, Emme Tomimbang produced a two-hour documentary, which has aired in Hawai‘i and throughout the state as well as in Manila and Cebu, Philippines.

<sup>286</sup> Aquino, *Filipinos in Hawaii*, For instance, the Congress of Visayan Organizations provides lists of officers for 2005-2007 and unit member organizations including: Aklan Cultural Society, Balaan Catalina Society, Bisaya Association of Hawaii, Cebu-Hawaii Friendship Society, Cebuano Association of Hawaii, Dabawenyos of Hawaii, Hilo Visayan Club, Julian Young Rondalla, Kahirup Ilonggo of Hawaii, Kauai Visayan Club, Kona Visayan Club, Lontayao Martial Arts Organization, Maui Visayan Club, Mindanaoans of Hawaii, Misamis Oriental Association, Molokai Visayan Club, Nortehanon Samar, Romblon Association, Samar-Leyte Association, Señor Santo Niño Hinabangay Club of Maui, Visayan of Hawaii (Hamakua), Visayan of Hawaii (Kohala), Hawaii Island Council, Kauai Island Council, Molokai Island Council, Oahu Visayan Council (each with Presidents' First and Last Names), as well as a list of past Presidents since 1985 (66).

<sup>287</sup> Aquino, *Filipinos in Hawaii*, 71.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.



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<sup>289</sup> Ibid., 72, 77.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>291</sup> Unknown author, "Every Filipino's Legacy," in *Filipinos in Hawaii: 100 Years & Beyond*, ed. Belinda A. Aquino (Honolulu, HI: Filipino Centennial Celebration Commission, 2005), 94-95.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Aquino, *Filipinos in Hawaii*, 68.

<sup>294</sup> Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy: Rethinking Women of Color Organizing," in *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006), 68.

<sup>295</sup> Saranillo, "Colonial Amnesia," 138-141.

<sup>296</sup> Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, "An Introduction to the Hoʻāina and Their Rights," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 3 (1996), <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/251> (accessed 29 June 2012).

<sup>297</sup> Mary Vorsino, "High hopes and dashed dreams in Kalihi public housing areas," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, posted on August 18, 2008, <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2008/Aug/18/ln/hawaii808180353.html> (accessed 29 June 2012)

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Mary Vorsino, "Diverse Kalihi: pull together, remake image," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, posted on April 6, 2007, <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2007/Apr/06/ln/FP704060376.html> (accessed 12 July 2012).

<sup>300</sup> The actual program consisted of a variety of physical activities and instructional classes including circuit training, water exercise, volleyball, salsa, and swing, however for practical reasons I focus my discussion on the Hip-hop dance component.

<sup>301</sup> Mary Vorsino, "Program gets people active in urban Honolulu," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, posted on September 23, 2005, <http://starbulletin.com/2005/09/23/news/story10.html> (accessed 10 December 2006).

<sup>302</sup> See Don Elligan, *Rap Therapy: A Practical Guide for Communicating with Youth and Young Adults Through Rap Music* (New York, NY: Kensington Publishing Corp., 2004); Nakeysha M. Tillie-Allen, "Exploring Hip-Hop Therapy with High-Risk Youth," *Praxis* 5 (2005) 30-36; Catherine R. Squires, Laura P. Kohn-Wood, Tabbye Chavous, and Prudence L. Carter, "Evaluating Agency and Responsibility in Gendered Violence: African American Youth Talk about Violence and Hip Hop," *Sex Roles* 44 (2006): 725-737; Caroline Kobin and Edgar Tyson, "Thematic analysis of hip-hop music: can hip-hop in therapy facilitate empathic connections when working with clients in urban settings?" *The Arts in Psychotherapy* 33 (2006): 343-356.

<sup>303</sup> Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*. According to Michael Omi and Howard Winant's theory, racial formation operates as a macro-level social process according to two principles: 1) "to interpret the meaning of race is to frame it social structurally" (56). and "to recognize the racial dimension in social structure is to interpret the meaning of race" (57).

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 57.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>307</sup> Osumare, "Props to the Local Boys: Hip-hop Culture in Hawai'i," in *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-hop* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 105.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> Fujikane, "Introduction," 23.

<sup>310</sup> Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 56.

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- <sup>311</sup> Robin D.G. Kelley, *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Cultural Wars in Urban America* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1997).
- <sup>312</sup> Emery Petchauer, *Hip-hop Culture in College Students' Lives: Elements, Embodiment, and Higher Edutainment* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012). Educator and deejay, Petchauer explains further, "A student who listens to rap music is not a hip-hop collegian. But a student who feels rap music—is invested in its genealogies, studies its micro-eras, deconstructs its themes with friends, and holds it as authoritative source of knowledge parallel to course material—is a hip-hop collegian" (7).
- <sup>313</sup> Tiongson, Jr., "On the Politics of (Filipino/American) Youth Cultures," 120.
- <sup>314</sup> Eisen, "Becoming Filipino in Hawai'i."
- <sup>315</sup> Funky4corners, "The Monarchy Promo Video," YouTube video, 2:19, posted December 14, 2006, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SjEXvYd\\_DIA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SjEXvYd_DIA) (accessed May 26, 2012).
- <sup>316</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>317</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>318</sup> Fujikane, "Introduction," 30.
- <sup>319</sup> B-girl Mo-Shen, interview with author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, January 26, 2007.
- <sup>320</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 107-108.
- <sup>321</sup> Johnson, "Dark Matter in B-boying Cyphers," 29.
- <sup>322</sup> Ibid., 63.
- <sup>323</sup> Ibid., 65.
- <sup>324</sup> Smily (aka Danny Dibble) quoted in Mohanalakshmi Rajakumar, *Hip Hop Dance* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood (ABC-CLIO), 2012), 21. Smily recounts bboying history in terms of judging trends. He states, "Around 2005, b-boys were made more aware of the importance of footwork and toprock, as well as character and flavor. This led to a trend in breaking where many students, (myself included), chose to focus on style. In competitions, those who lacked basic toprock and footwork skills, and only possessed amazing power moves, are no longer able to win. In recent years, since 2008, b-boys have trended to become more well rounded, and are expected to possess not only footwork but power moves as well. This trend was largely brought about by competitions." (20-21)
- <sup>325</sup> Funky4corners, "The Monarchy Promo Video"; Joseph M. Knox, "Breakdance Corrupted B-Side Story: Resurrecting Authentic Bboying through Live Music" (master's thesis, University of California, Irvine, 2010. ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/507898017?accountid=14512>. The detail of music at the Monarchy might also be an area in which "authenticity" is contested. Recorded music has been criticized by b-boys like Joseph M. Knox, who argues that live music with drumming is essential for rejuvenating what he perceives as a stagnant culture.
- <sup>326</sup> Mary Fogarty, "'What Ever Happened to Breakdancing?': Transnational B-Boy/B-Girl Networks, Underground Video Magazines and Imagined Affinities" (Master's thesis, Brock University, 2006). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304704092?accountid=14512>. Fogarty argues that the underground videos and circulation of dancer-produced alternative media in addition to touring had an important function in transnational Hip-hop culture during the 1990s. Imagined affinity is a term she uses to describe, "moments of identification with another cultural producer who shares an embodied practice (in this case b-boying/b-girling) through either mediated texts or travels through new places. The affinities can be formed through live, embodied communications whether in battles or dance performances or through the circulation of mediated images." (95)
- <sup>327</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>328</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 94.
- <sup>329</sup> Ibid., 101.
- <sup>330</sup> Ibid.; Johnson, "Dark Matter in B-Boying Cyphers," 5-6.

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<sup>331</sup> Villaruz and Obusan, *Sayaw*, 14.

<sup>332</sup> "Foreword" in *Ibid.* In another example the authors write, "Danger and defeat can engulf a tribe's life and they have to put up a fight. Again, these are not just valiantly met but creatively danced out. Dancing gives courage before (and after) a battle and relieves if not actually transforms grief. In the **kalasag**, the Matigsalug enact a combat with shields and spear. The dance is full of hops, skips, and vibratory hand movements with a spear." (27)

<sup>333</sup> Rajakumar, *Hip Hop Dance*, 1-4.

<sup>334</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 98.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 97-98.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>337</sup> Funky4corners, "The Monarchy Promo Video."

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> Brenda Dixon Gottschild, *The Black Dancing Body: A Geography From Coon to Cool* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>341</sup> The histories of breaking are few, but Rock Steady Crew is mentioned or described to varying degrees in several texts including: Banes, "Breaking Is Hard to Do: To The Beat, Y'all"; Sally Banes, "Breaking," in *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*, ed. Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 13-20; Michael Holman, "Breaking: The History," in *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*, ed. Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 31-39; Pabon, "Physical Graffiti: The History of Hip Hop Dance"; Schloss, *Foundation*.

<sup>342</sup> Style-Len was thirty-seven years old at the time I interviewed him in 2007.

<sup>343</sup> Osumare, "Props to the Local Boys: Hip-hop Culture in Hawai'i," 124. I came to learn later on that Skill-Roy was also quoted as source of Local Bboy history that demonstrated that direct contact with mainland Hip-hop pioneers combined with local innovation led to what Halifu Osumare calls "Hip-hop Honolulu-style". In her book, Skill-Roy is quoted, "East, an aerosol artist, sorta brought Rock Steady to the islands, and then invited [Crazy] Legs to come down here. He saw us dancing and he wanted us to be the Hawai'i chapter. This was back in late '93 and early '94. We then had a couple of performances here on O'ahu where we were honored to have Crazy Legs with us." (Skill-Roy quoted in Osumare, Halifu, 124).

<sup>344</sup> Skill-Roy (Roy Ramey), interview with author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, March 23, 2007. Such accounts may contribute to histories in Osumare's study. In the sense that hip-hop dance was kept alive by both the videotaped documentation and the embodied documentation of the moves.

<sup>345</sup> Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*, 114-115.

<sup>346</sup> Skill-Roy, interview.

<sup>347</sup> Nixon Dabalos, interview with author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, March 21, 2007.

<sup>348</sup> Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*, 114.

<sup>349</sup> Dabalos, interview.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>351</sup> Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994); Chang, *Can't Stop Won't Stop*; George Nelson, *Hip Hop America* (New York: Viking Penguin, Penguin Books, 1998).

<sup>352</sup> Charla Ogaz, "Learning from B-Girls," *Feminism in Popular Culture*, ed. Joanne Hollows and Rachel Moseley (New York: Berg Publishers, 2006), 169.

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<sup>353</sup> Tricia Rose, "Hip-hop is Not Responsible for Sexism," in *The hip hop wars: what we talk about when we talk about hip hop* (New York, Basic Books, 2008), 152. Tricia Rose talks about the Mammy, Jezebel, and Sapphire as racial gender stereotypes.

<sup>354</sup> Rivera, *New York Ricans From the Hip Hop Zone*, 130.

<sup>355</sup> Elaine Richardson, *Hiphop Literacies* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), 58.

<sup>356</sup> Alesha Dominek Washington, "Not the Average Girl from the Videos: B-Girls Defining Their Space in Hip-Hop Culture," in *Home Girls Make Some Noise!: Hip-hop Feminism Anthology*, ed. Gwendolyn D. Pough, Elaine Richardson, Aisha Durham, and Rachel Raimist (Corona, CA: Parker Publishing, LLC, 2007), 84.

<sup>357</sup> Nancy Guevara, "Women writin' rappin' breakin'," in *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Hip hop Culture*, ed. William Eric Perkins (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996), 49-62. Guevara conceives of women's role in breaking as one in which they must continually counter two main issues; countering male hegemony within the hip-hop scene (family, society, state, media) and media's portrayal (inferior, subordinate, superficial).

<sup>358</sup> Guevara, "Women writin' rappin' breakin'."

<sup>359</sup> Pabon, "Physical Graffiti."

<sup>360</sup> Rose, *The Hip-Hop Wars*.

<sup>361</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 14. Also, Schloss employs their quotes around his own opinions in a way that readers are never actually provided any description or analysis of b-girls battling, performing or teaching, beyond what they chose to tell Schloss, a white, thirty-something male academic.

<sup>362</sup> Osumare, "Props to the Local Boyz: Hip-Hop Culture in Hawai'i," 105-48.

<sup>363</sup> Kaila Adia Story, "Performing Venus ~ From Hottentot to Video Vixen: The Historical Legacy of Black Female Body Commodification," in *Home Girls Make Some Noise!: Hip-hop Feminism Anthology*, ed. Gwendolyn D. Pough, Elaine Richardson, Aisha Durham, and Rachel Raimist (Corona, CA: Parker Publishing, LLC, 2007), 245.

<sup>364</sup> Guevara, "Women writin' rappin' breakin'"; Ogaz, "Learning from B-Girls"; Washington, "Not the Average Girl from the Videos"; MiRi Park, "Dancing Like a Girl: An Oral History of NYC B-Girls in the 1990s," (Master's thesis, Columbia University, 2008); Susan Lindsay Lissel, "The Body Habitus: Teenage Girls' Experiences of Hip Hop Dance," (Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 2005), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305382247?accountid=14512>; Sunaina Maira, "B-boys and Bass girls: Sex Style and Mobility in Indian American Youth Culture," in *Desi Rap: Hip hop and South Asian America*, ed. Ajay Nair and Murali Balaji. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 41-70.

<sup>365</sup> Elaine Richardson, "It's On the Women: An Interview with Toni Blackman," in *Home Girls Make Some Noise!: Hip-hop Feminism Anthology*, edited by Gwendolyn D. Pough and Elaine Richardson, Aisha Durham, Rachel Raimist (Corona, CA: Parker Publishing, LLC, 2007), 62.

<sup>366</sup> Richardson, "It's On the Women," 62-79.

<sup>367</sup> See T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, "I See the Same Ho?": Video Vixens, Beauty Culture, and Diasporic Sex Tourism," in *Pimps Up, Ho's Down: Hip Hop's Hold on Young Black Women* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007), 23-52; Ewuare X. Osayande, *Misogyny & The Emcee: Sex, Race & Hip Hop* (Philadelphia, PA: Talking Drum Communications, 2008).

<sup>368</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 113-122.

<sup>369</sup> See Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display From Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour."

<sup>370</sup> Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Hawaiian Hula Competitions: Event, Repertoire, Performance, Tradition," *Journal of American Folklore* 109, no. 434 (1996): 357-80.

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<sup>371</sup> See Adrienne Kaeppler, *Hula Pahu: Hawaiian Drum Dances* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1993); Momi Kamahale, "Hula as Resistance," *Forward Motion* 2, no. 3 (July 1992); Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Globalizing Hula," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 31 (1999): 57-66; Angeline Shaka, "Hula 'Olapa and the 'Hula Girl': Contemporary Hula Choreographies of the Concert Stage." (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/923293560?accountid=14512>. Resistance to the cultural stereotype of the hula girl has also taken place in the concert dance world on and off-island.

<sup>372</sup> Shaka, "Hula 'Olapa and the 'Hula Girl'."

<sup>373</sup> Washington, "Not the Average Girl from the Videos," 84. Washington writes on how important a "safe space" is necessary for b-girls during their early period of time with the culture.

<sup>374</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*.

<sup>375</sup> Ogaz, "Learning from B-girls."

<sup>376</sup> Washington, "Not the Average Girl from the Videos," 86.

<sup>377</sup> For privacy and protection of individuals, I employ pseudonyms throughout this section.

<sup>378</sup> Corazon Mahal, interview with author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, May 2, 2007.

<sup>379</sup> Cherry Torres, interview with author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, May 2, 2007.

<sup>380</sup> Funky4corners, "The Monarchy Finals - Another Girls' Battle," YouTube video, 4:25, posted March 12, 2007, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tYa3NXdT'sUU&feature=BFa&list=UUce-BOTAb5u6L1U9wSOEpTg> (accessed 21 March 2007). AGB's six members are B-girl Remedee (2006 b-girl champ), b-girl Floorluv, b-girl Juju, Stylet, LG (Kauai underground artist), and Ahn-It (2007 Mrs. Smith winner).

<sup>381</sup> Rivera, *New York Ricans From the Hip Hop Zone*, 240. Rivera writes, "A lone woman in an otherwise all-male group performing a dance style where women are a minority for many seemed to warrant a sexualized explanation." Snickering outsiders called her "the group's ho."

<sup>382</sup> Guevara, "Women writin' rappin' breakin'."

<sup>383</sup> Washington, "Not the Average Girl from the Videos," 86-87. In California, B-girl Asia-One began an all b-girl group, "No Easy Props," to create a space for women to support each other, and challenge each other to surpass the low bars set for women. This highlights the problems between gender blindness and low expectations for women.

<sup>384</sup> Joseph G. Schloss, "We Have to Be Exaggerated': Aesthetics," in *Foundation: B-Boys, B-Girls, and Hip-Hop Culture in New York* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 68-93.

<sup>385</sup> Guevara, "Women writin' rappin' breakin'."

<sup>386</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*. Downrock is when dancers drop from toprocks to execute types of floorwork during the percussive sections of funk tracks (32). Freezes are punctuating poses dancers use between sets, while power and air moves, defined by traits of strength and acrobatic skill, include vocabulary like windmills and flares (86). In general conversation with dancers at the Monarchy, I found that there are specific expectations around how b-girls perform and with what vocabulary. Some feel that b-girls tend to perform toprocks, floorwork, and freezes. When a b-girl has the ability to do power and airmoves they are often seen as most advanced technically and often have gymnastic training.

<sup>387</sup> B-boy apparel at the Monarchy is not spectacular. For the most part, b-boys wore black or white t-shirts and blue jeans. A small subset dressed down with less formal clothes like boardshorts or more formal long-sleeve cotton button ups, kangols, and fedoras. They could also be seen wearing multiple accessories for safety and smoother breaking—gloves, elbow guards, beanies, baseball caps, and knee pads.

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<sup>388</sup> Roxanne Roberts and Amy Argetsinger, "The First Couple: Giving a Big Bump to Authenticity," *The Washington Post*, posted June 5, 2008, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/04/AR2008060404521.html> (accessed 5 July 2012.). Eyebrow-raising has often been identified informally as a typical Filipino behavioral act although theories on its origin, intent, or meanings are never formally articulated. Daps, an African American custom, are thought to be safe ways to express male affection on special occasions and a version of the handshake but they have also made their way into more formal settings.

<sup>389</sup> These battles are specific to the Funky4corners productions however in other cities similar battles occur with different names. For instance, in California there are "Bonnie and Clyde" battles.

<sup>390</sup> B-girl Jem, interview with author, Honolulu, Hawai'i, May 2, 2007.

<sup>391</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 66.

<sup>392</sup> Washington, "Not the Average Girl from the Videos," 84.

<sup>393</sup> Johnson, "Dark Matter in B-Boying Cyphers," 8-9. Johnson describes an incident when a white German b-girl used racial linguistic markers as burns (verbal assaults) and that instigated racist taunting at a target Mexican b-boy.

<sup>394</sup> For additional studies of ciphers and competition dancing see Erin Althea von Hofe, "Circling the Underground: Transnational Movements in Urban Dances and Literatures" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2009), ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304852085?accountid=14512>. Haidee Smith Lefebvre, "B-Boy (Dance) Cipher: An Innovative Knowledge Community's Shared Activity" (Master's thesis, McGill University, 2011). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1040881763?accountid=14512>.

<sup>395</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 101.

<sup>396</sup> Funky4corners, "The Monarchy Finals - Another Girls' Battle."

<sup>397</sup> Ibid.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 66.

<sup>400</sup> Washington, "Not the Average Girl from the Videos," 87-88.

<sup>401</sup> Funky4corners, "The Monarchy Finals - Another Girls' Battle."

<sup>402</sup> Rivera, *New York Ricans From the Hip Hop Zone*, 239-240. The cultural challenges attached to female bodies that are too "cocky" for their own good resonate with the gendered experiences of other b-girls. Raquel Rivera has documented Puerto Rican b-girls in New York like Rock Steady's Honey Rockwell, who suggest that some girls can inhibit their own participation in breakin' with their own vanity and fear of "messing up their hair." For others, there are gender-specific obstacles like pay discrimination, assumed sexual promiscuity, and inappropriate disrespect in the battle. New York City-based b-girl Rokafella (A. García-Dionisio) was outright paid less when her fellow crew members divided the end-of-the-day earnings of their street performance.

<sup>403</sup> Schloss, *Foundation*, 12. Such mysticism can be seen in the term "foundation." As Schloss defines, "Foundation is a term used by b-boys and b-girls to refer to an almost mystical set of notions about b-boying that is passed from teacher to student. In addition to the actual physical movements, it includes the history of the movements and the form in general, strategies for how to improvise, philosophy about dance in general, musical associations, and a variety of other subjects" (12).

<sup>404</sup> Rose, *The Hip Hop Wars*, 114. African American scholar Tricia Rose speaks of two types of anti-sexist schools of thought that characterize the culture. First, the camp that denounces vulgar disrespect and misogyny of women in hip-hop as a symptom of deviant black masculinity and America's decline as a civilization. Second, those that see sexist imagery that hip-hop perpetuates as liabilities to black community-building and threats to black people, music, and culture.

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<sup>405</sup> Tupac Shakur "2Pac feat DJ Quick and Outlawz," "Late Night" (feat. DJ Quik, Outlawz), *Better Days* (2002). <http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/2pac/latenight.html> (accessed 23 Feb 2013)

<sup>406</sup> Nicki Minaj's mixtape *Sucka Free* (2008); lyrics from "Nicki Minaj feat Lil Wayne," <http://www.metrolyrics.com/high-as-a-kite-lyrics-nicki-minaj.html> (accessed 23 Feb 2013); [http://nickiminaj.wikia.com/wiki/Sucka\\_Free](http://nickiminaj.wikia.com/wiki/Sucka_Free) (accessed 23 Feb 2013).

<sup>407</sup> There are several examples of Filipino Hip-hop rap including Filipino/a emcees like Francis M., FlipTop Filipina rappers Lil Sisa and Jammy, Fil-Am emcees like Native Guns and Filipina American femcees like Rocky Rivera and the Rhapsodistas.

<sup>408</sup> Minaj also references the best-selling song "Billie Jean" (1982), by global pop icon, Michael Jackson. This song appeared on his *Thriller* album, whose eponymous track was coincidentally rendered by inmates in a central Philippines prison. See J. Lorenzo Perillo, "If I was not in prison, I would not be famous': Discipline, Choreography, and Mimicry in the Philippines." *Theatre Journal* 63, no. 4 (December 2011): 607-621.

<sup>409</sup> Vijay Prashad, "Kung Fusion: Organize the 'Hood under I-Ching Banners," in *Everybody Was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 126-149; M.T. Kato, *From Kung Fu to Hip Hop: Globalization, Revolution, and Popular Culture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2007); Ellie M. Hisama, "'We're All Asian Really': Hip Hop's Afro-Asian Crossings," in *Critical Minded: New Approaches to Hip Hop Studies*, ed. Ellie M. Hisama and Evan Rapport (Brooklyn, NY: Institute for Studies of American Music, 2005), 1-21; Eric Pellerin, "Challenge of the B-Boy Master: The Impact of Kung Fu Movies on Breakdancing," *Koreanroc*. Posted on January 23, 2011, <http://koreanroc.com/?p=1386>. (accessed 3 Dec 2011).

<sup>410</sup> Filipinas is a term that can refer to both females of the Philippines and the Philippines itself.

<sup>411</sup> Foster, Susan Leigh. "Choreographies of Gender." *Signs* 24, no. 1 (Autumn 1998): 1-33. Foster offers a discussion of choreographies of gender that includes an example of 1990's African American R&B/Hip-hop artists TLC.

<sup>412</sup> My discussion is limited in focus upon dance, however, existing studies suggest that Filipina gendered choreography may have found a vehicle in theatrical forms introduced during Spanish colonialism. See Doreen G. Fernandez, "Zarzuela to Sarswela: Indigenization and Transformation." *Philippine Studies* 41.3 (1993): 320-343; Cristina Laconico-Buenaventura, *The Theater in Manila: 1846-1946* (Manila: De La Salle University Press, Inc., 1998).

<sup>413</sup> Reynaldo G. Alejandro, *Sayaw Silangan: The Dance in the Philippines* (New York: Dance Perspectives Foundation, 1972), 38.

<sup>414</sup> Alejandro, *Sayaw Silangan*, 12-37.

<sup>415</sup> Reynaldo Gamboa Alejandro and Amanda Abad Santos-Gana, *Sayaw: Philippine Dances* (Pasig City: National Bookstore, Inc, and Anvil Publishing, Inc., 2002), 109.

<sup>416</sup> Alejandro, *Sayaw Silangan*, 30-36.

<sup>417</sup> Alejandro and Santos-Gana, *Sayaw*, 11.

<sup>418</sup> Lucrecia T. Urtula and Prosperidad Arandez, *Sayaw: An Essay on the Spanish Influence on Philippine Dance* (Manila: Sentrong Pangkultura ng Pilipinas Special Publications Office, 1992), 5-6.

<sup>419</sup> Urtula and Arandez, *Sayaw*, 4.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sayaw*, 9-36; Cristina Laconico-Buenaventura, "The Theaters of Manila: 1846-1896," *Philippine Studies* 27/1 (1979), 21. Laconico-Buenaventura writes that Maestro Appiani, an Italian from Madrid, was featured at the Teatro de Sibacon and formed a dance school where he taught Manila elites the "current crazes" of European social dance —*gavotte* from Southeastern France, Scottish *schottische*, and the Romanian *redowa*.

<sup>421</sup> Urtula and Arandez, *Sayaw*, 12.

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<sup>422</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid. Let us consider how Urtula and Arandez write about the cariñosa: "A courtship dance known throughout the Philippines is the **cariñosa**. Cariñosa, meaning affectionate, lovable or amiable, typifies the Filipina maiden's modesty and humility, and is another dance using the waltz step. Using a fan and a handkerchief, the dancers go about their courtship in a coquettish way through hide-and-seek movements, never missing a step with the music. There are many versions of this dance but the hide-and-seek movements with the fan and handkerchief are common to all."(15)(emphasis in original)

<sup>425</sup> Alejandro and Santos-Gana, *Sayaw*, 135-137; Carolina deLeon San Juan, "From Vaudeville to Bodabil: Vaudeville in the Philippines," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2010), ProQuest, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/822408754?accountid=14512>; American military personnel were entertained by minstrel troupes, tap, blues, jazz and other imported African American forms of popular culture.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid., *Sayaw*.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid., *Sayaw*, 11; Basilio Esteban S. Villaruz, *Sayaw: An Essay on the American Colonial and Contemporary Traditions in Philippine Dance* (Manila: Sentrong Pangkultura ng Pilipinas Special Publications Office, Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1994), 4.

<sup>428</sup> Villaruz, *Sayaw*, 4-9. Villaruz writes about European dancers like Francisco Nabalo's "flea dance" and American Ada Delroy's pyrotechnical, Loie Fuller-esque performance in 1900.

<sup>429</sup> Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982); Renato Constantino, "The Miseducation of the Filipino." in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, edited by Luis H. Francia and Angel Velasco Shaw (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2002), 177-92; Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

<sup>430</sup> George Edward Goss, "The Development of Organized Physical Education in the Philippine Islands" (PhD diss. New York University, 1932), 28, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/301801339?accountid=14512>. I would like to express my thanks to Constancio Arnaldo for bringing this document to my attention.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid., 63-69.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid., 16-17. In 1914-1916, Goss himself conducted an anthropometric research conducted that observed full-blooded versus racially mixed Filipinos.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid., 42-43.

<sup>434</sup> Quoted in Ibid., 65.

<sup>435</sup> Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses by Louis Althusser 1969-70" *Marxists.org* <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/althusser/1970/ideology.htm> (accessed 23 April 2013). Althusser introduces the term, Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), to describe the plurality of mostly private institutions that function through ideology and complement the State repressive apparatuses operations through violence. The ISA—systems of churches, political parties, families, public and private schools, media, trade unions, and cultural agencies—stands apart but connected to the (Repressive) State Apparatus—police, courts, prison, and army. As such, it seems useful to borrow from Louis Althusser's re-reading of Marxist theory and insight into ideology and interpellation as the modus operandi of ISA. In this light, Filipino bodies are hailed into modern corporeality through American colonial metrics of physical education.



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<sup>436</sup> Goss, "The Development of Organized Physical Education in the Philippine Islands," 23-32.

Goss notes that Americans teachers, many of them former collegiate athletes, actually started athletics as afterschool activities in public schools. Goss writes, "It was difficult work, however, as the Filipinos were not a competitive sports loving people and they had never taken part in recreational activities which were so strenuous and fatiguing." (32)

<sup>437</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>438</sup> Celia T. Martinez and Salud C. Datoc, *Lola Kikay: Life and Works of Francisca Reyes Aquino* (Manila: Francisca Reyes Aquino Memorial Foundation, 2007), 13.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>440</sup> Ibid., 14-15. It should be noted that this history of Tolentino's first dance research endeavor has not been without controversy. In his recent scholarly consideration of Filipino cultural performance, Theodore Gonzalves refers to the same series of events as "apocryphal." See Theodore Gonzalves, *The Day the Dancers Stayed: Performing in the Pilipino/American Diaspora* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009), 47.

<sup>441</sup> Martinez and Datoc, *Lola Kikay*, 15-16; It is worth noting the aspects of this dance research that remain unknown, including the names of Aquino's informants, their thoughts and ideas, motivation and function of the dance, and dance education.

<sup>442</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>444</sup> Alejandro, *Sayaw Silangan*. Alejandro writes, "Although using the steps of European dances and the rhythm and harmony of European music, the Filipinos, nevertheless, expressed their inherent traits, thus achieving a unique form of the dance. The demure Filipina, shy and secretive about her feelings for a man but capable of lasting love and devotion once she is won over, is depicted in such courtship dances as *Carinos* and *Hele-Hele Bago Quiere*, named after two characteristics of the Filipino woman—coy and demure; and in *Bulakena*, a dance which portrays in pantomimic movements the loving care a wife bestows on her husband as he comes home from work—fixing and hanging his hat, wiping the sweat from his face." (42)

<sup>445</sup> Francisca Reyes Tolentino, *Philippine National Dances* (Quezon City, Philippines: Silver Burdett Company, 2006 (1946))

<sup>446</sup> Villaruz, *Sayaw*, 10-12.

<sup>447</sup> Reynaldo G. Alejandro, *Philippine Dance: Mainstream and Crosscurrents* (Quezon City: Vera-Reyes, Inc., 1978), 53.

<sup>448</sup> Alejandro, *Philippine Dance*, 57; Alejandro, *Sayaw Silangan*, 51.

<sup>449</sup> Basilio Esteban S. Villaruz, "Twice a Stepchild in Cinderella's Satin Slippers: Dance in the Philippines During the American Period," in *Treading Through: 45 Years of Philippine Dance*. (Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2006), 76-77.

<sup>450</sup> Ibid., 77-78.

<sup>451</sup> Ibid., 80-81. This is significant because de Oteyza went on to form the neoclassicist de Oteyza Manila Ballet and Hariraya Ballet companies and Orosa-Goquingco popularized theatrical versions of native dance.

<sup>452</sup> Orosa-Goquingco went on to develop more fusions of native and European forms with *Filipinescas: Philippine Life, Legend, and Lore in Dance* (1961) and *Noli Dance Suite*. See Villaruz, *Sayaw*, 13.

<sup>453</sup> Basilio Esteban S. Villaruz, "Philippine Dance in the American Period," National Commission for Culture and the Arts website: Subcommission on the Arts, <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles-on-c-n-a/article.php?igm=1&i=117> (accessed 17 Mar 2013); Ida Beltran Lucila,

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"Choreographers in Philippine Dance- National Commission for Culture and the Arts," *NCCA website*, <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles-on-c-n-a/article.php?igm=1&i=126> (18 Mar 2013); Villaruz, "Twice a Stepchild in Cinderella's Satin Slippers: Dance in the Philippines During the American Period," 76-77; Alejandro and Santos-Gana, *Sayaw*, 161; According to Alejandro, *Philippine Dance*, (53) the year of Denishawn's performance is 1926.

The 1930s saw more foreign modern dance influences that would trickle down to have effects even in the contemporary Hip-hop dance community. In 1925 or 1926, the Denishawn company, including Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Weidman performed in Manila. Trudle Dubsy moved to Manila in 1937 and opened her Manila Ballet Moderne to create classical works like *Petite Suite-Au Bord de la Seine* and *Peer Gynt*. Dubsy influenced many Filipino choreographers including Corazon Generoso Iñigo, who would later influence Jerome Dimalanta, founder of the UP Streetdance Company.

<sup>454</sup> J. Lorenzo Perillo, "Empire State of Mind?: Hip-hop Dance in the Philippines," in *Hip-Hop(e): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, ed. Michael Viola and Brad J. Porfilio (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc, 2012), 42-64.

<sup>455</sup> For Santiago, this image and the female subordination it reflects might tie directly to the Christian narrative of creation. See Lilia Quindoza Santiago, *Sexuality and the Filipina* (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2007), 5; Alfredo Roces and Grace Roces, *Culture Shock! Philippines: A Guide to Customs and Etiquette* (Portland, OR: Graphic Arts Center Publishing Company, 2003).

<sup>456</sup> Urtula and Arandez, *Sayaw*.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>458</sup> Emily Noelle Ignacio, "Ain't I a Filipino (Woman)?: An Analysis of Authorship/ Authority through the Construction of Filipino/Filipina on the Net," in *Pinay Power: Peminist Critical Theory: Theorizing the Filipina/ American Experience*, ed. Melinda L. de Jesús (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 245.

<sup>459</sup> The past thirty years of Filipino dance history and the Filipina also include the emergence of independent women dancers in modern dance like Myra Beltran, Agnes Locsin, and Kristin Jackson. See Rina Angela P. Corpus, *Defiant Daughters Dancing: Three Independent Women Dance* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 2007).

<sup>460</sup> "Penthouse 7 - That 70s Show Video 2," YouTube video, 2:35, posted by "mbhonti," March 3, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dxvs2wQ7fek> (accessed March 6, 2011). According to mbhonti (Youtube profile of Sandy Hontiveros), the dancers in this piece included Gigi Geronimo, Pipo Liboro, Sandy Hontiveros, Mike Monserrat, Marlyn Feliciano.

<sup>461</sup> Lacson's quote is ironic in light of the supposed high relatability factor of the dances. For practicality, I have refrained from including an extensive description of the dance's dimensions in the body of this study. I offer it here instead: A back wall that has three tones of brown, gradated upward from light to dark horizontal panels, dominates the set. There are multiple mini-levels on the stage where audiences are seated and where they are watching the dancers. There is a chandelier above the center floor, which is made out of whitish-gray linoleum. The five dancers (three women and two men) are all dressed in brown and muted colors except for one woman on stage right; she wears blue slacks and a blue blouse. There are some interesting phrases in this first section including one in which they place their right hand on right shoulder and left hand on left shoulder then cross their arms over their chest and hips and bounce their hips. This reminds me of a voguing phrase. After the chorus, the men move forward and form the first line while the women move backward. Their choreography relies on a lot of repetition.

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<sup>462</sup> "Penthouse 7 - That 70s Show Video 2."

<sup>463</sup> Philippine Allstars, "Beyond Hip Hop - Penthouse 7: The Grand Reunion," *Multiply*, posted April 27, 2008, <http://allstars2005.multiply.com/reviews/item/5> (accessed 26 February 2011).

<sup>464</sup> Sandy Hontiveros, interview with author, digital recording, Manila, Philippines, May 14, 2011.

The show aired at either 9:30pm or 10:00pm until 11:00pm on a school night. This detail, Hontiveros theorizes, helped the dances taught proliferate in schools. Following a fire that destroyed the master copies of the television program, Hontiveros recovered the videos from betamax and VHS copies personally owned by the dancers.

<sup>465</sup> Hontiveros, interview. Hontiveros was a dancer for Penthouse in her early twenties. She has continued to play an active and influential role in Philippine dance as the Executive Director for Ballet Philippines for five years and today as the executive director of Arts in the City, the Ballet Philippines' Bonifacio Global City presence for arts education and professional training. "Arts in the City," *ballet.ph*, <http://ballet.ph/school/arts-in-the-city> (accessed 24 Mar 2013)

<sup>466</sup> Villaruz, *Sayan*, 9.

<sup>467</sup> Jorge Pabon, "Physical Graffiti: The History of Hip Hop Dance," in *Total Chaos: The Art and Aesthetics of Hip Hop*, ed. Jeff Chang (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 18-26.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid.

<sup>469</sup> Ibid.

<sup>470</sup> Ibid.

<sup>471</sup> James "Skeeter Rabbit" Higgins, Tony GoGo, and Peekaboo Frenke, "The History of Locking » Editorial: The terms or Dances Locking, Roboting & "PopLocking" valid," *Locker Legends*, <http://lockerlegends.net/pioneers-editorial-page/editorial-is-the-term-poplocking-valid/> (accessed 27 Mar 2013)

<sup>472</sup> Pabon, "Physical Graffiti." Many contemporary Hip-hop dancers, know Locking as a funk dance style, along with popping, that has inherent affiliations with Hip-hop culture, but is often categorized as "old school" Hip-hop dance or streetdance in contrast to forms like krumping or shuffling.

<sup>473</sup> See James (aka Og SkeeterRabbit) Higgins, "The History of Locking > Home," *Lockerlegends.net*, May 5, 2010, <http://lockerlegends.net/index.php> (access 4 April 2013); In an online editorial aimed at clarifying Locking misconceptions, Locking Master, OG Skeeter Rabbit states "The BOLD generation of the 1970's was now free to express itself. SOUL TRAIN became the portal and revealed to the world its' creativity. Funk music spearheaded the charge and Afro American youth boldly displayed their pride, with large Afro hair styles and colorful creative clothing. During this time, an art form was born. This art form created a subculture which has influenced and transitioned the eras of Funk, Disco and Hip Hop through three decades. Yes! The art form first known as "Campbellocking" and now simply as LOCKING."

<sup>474</sup> See Alexander R. Magno, "Tyranny Descends," Chap. 11 in *A Nation Reborn*, Kasaysayan: The Story of the Filipino People (Hong Kong: Asia Publishing Company Limited, 1998), 150-151. The writ of habeas corpus ("you have the body") ensures protection of arrested people against unjust (i.e. arbitrary, indefinite) detainment by requiring authorities to file charges and present the body before the court. Briefly following the controversial "Plaza Miranda Massacre" that killed nine of the Liberal Party's senatorial ticket (opposition to Marcos establishment), Marcos issued Presidential Proclamation 889 (August 23, 1971) by which the writ of habeas corpus was suspended with constitutional justifications, under a provision in the 1935 Constitution, of ensuring public safety.

<sup>475</sup> Ibid. Magno writes about the contradiction by which middle class entertained the decreased crime rates for martial "streets." "Discipline," Magno writes,

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" ... was the order of the day. Soldiers, armed with pairs of scissors, patrolled the streets, trimming the fashionably long hair of "hippie" males. Jaywalkers were made to do push-ups on the sidewalks. Litterbugs had to sweep the streets. Many known criminals and thugs were killed 'while trying to escape' or were found floating on the Pasig River. But there was only one official execution by firing squad throughout the length of martial rule: that of Chinese drug trader Lim Seng." (158)

<sup>476</sup> Josephine Barrios, "Protest Theater Hits the Streets," in *A Nation Reborn*, ed. by Alexander R. Magno (Hong Kong: Asia Publishing Company Limited, 1998), 84-85.

<sup>477</sup> Kale Bantigue Fajardo, *Filipino Crosscurrents: Oceanographies of Seafaring, Masculinities, and Globalization* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

<sup>478</sup> Neferti Xina M. Tadiar, *Fantasy-Production: Sexual Economies and Other Philippine Consequences for the New World Order* (Quezon City, Manila, Philippines: Ateneo De Manila University Press, 2004).

<sup>479</sup> Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut, *Institutions and Icons of Patronage: Arts and Culture in the Philippines During the Marcos Years, 1965-1986* (Manila, Philippines: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2012), 44.

<sup>480</sup> One might make the argument that Marcos cared about the arts and artists by his Presidential orders, decrees, and proclamations. For instance, Presidential Decree No. 49 aimed to protect the intellectual property of Filipino artists and writers. For more examples see Pearlie Rose S. Baluyut, *Institutions and Icons of Patronage: Arts and Culture in the Philippines During the Marcos Years, 1965-1986* (Manila, Philippines: University of Santo Tomas Publishing House, 2012), 26-27.

<sup>481</sup> Hontiveros, interview. Reyes founded her company in 1969.

<sup>482</sup> "About," *Ballet Philippines*, <http://www.ballet.ph/about> (accessed 27 Mar 2013); Sam L. Marcelo, "Start small but start well: Alice Reyes and Ballet Philippines | BusinessWorld Online Edition," *BusinessWorld Online Edition*, Nov 22, 2012, <http://www.bworldonline.com/weekender/content.php?id=61838> (accessed 27 Mar 2013). Hontiveros' training under Alice Reyes connects her to modern dance history as Reyes took a summer workshop by Hanya Holm at the Center of Dance in Colorado Springs, and along with Alwin Nikolais and Murray Louis, she took classes by Holm, Martha Graham, and Merce Cunningham in New York before founding her company in Manila. At the same time, Reyes' father, Ricardo Reyes, trained under Austrian modern dancers, Trudle Dubsky, who had moved to Manila in 1937 and trained many pioneers of Filipino folk dance like Corazon Generoso-Iñigo and Remedio de Oteyza.

<sup>483</sup> Hontiveros, interview.

<sup>484</sup> Ibid.

<sup>485</sup> "Beyond Hip Hop - Penthouse 7: The Grand Reunion."

<sup>486</sup> Eric Charry, "A Capsule History of African Rap," in *Hip-hop Africa: New African Music in a Globalizing World*, ed. Eric Charry (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012), 1-25. This partly resonates with the elite and middle-class pathways that Hip-hop cultural practices took to Bamako, Mali, from the U.S. and France, and through Dakar, Senegal and Abidjan, Ivory Coast. According to Amadou Philippe Konate, member of Bamako City Breakers, the economically comfortable with access to travel and VHS recordings and players were responsible for Hip-hop's beginnings in 1983 (14).

<sup>487</sup> Hontiveros, interview.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>491</sup> Ibid.; Pinky Nelson, interview with author, digital recording, Manila, Philippines, May 14, 2011.

<sup>492</sup> Niels Mulder, "The Legitimacy of the Public Sphere and Culture of the New Urban Middle Class in the Philippines," in *Social Change in Southeast Asia*, ed. Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt, Jacques Hersh, and Niels Fold (New York, NY: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1998), 98-113.

<sup>493</sup> Hontiveros, interview.

<sup>494</sup> Ibid.

<sup>495</sup> Since the curfew time period (12:00am to 4:00am) took place after the scheduled airing of *Penthouse 7* (9:30pm or 10:00pm to 11:00pm) this theory seems less likely.

<sup>496</sup> Hontiveros, interview.

<sup>497</sup> "Beyond Hip Hop - Penthouse 7: The Grand Reunion."

<sup>498</sup> Ibid.

<sup>499</sup> Ibid.

<sup>500</sup> Ibid.

<sup>501</sup> Hontiveros, interview.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid.

<sup>505</sup> The music on *Penthouse 7* seemed to always be recorded rather than live and featured contemporary tracks from two different musical landscapes. They used original Pilipino music (OPM) for their Latin ballroom-infused swing performances but relied on funk music for their Locking. Hontiveros states that there was a dearth in funk-based OPM in contrast to the Latin-infused OPM. On the one hand, the Latin group performed to "El Pajaro Cho Gui"(1976) by Tito Puente on album *Puente Now: The Tito Puente Exciting Band*, "La Mas Fea"(1976) by Bobby Rodriguez & La Compañía (Salsa). They also danced tap to an instrumental version of "I won't dance" (1957) by Frank Sinatra. The Modern group danced to songs like "Dance"(1977) by Paul Jabara, who also wrote Donna Summer's "Last Dance," "Night Dancing"(1979) by Taka Boom, "Shoulda Gone Dancin'"(1979) by High Inergy, a female R&B group with members from Soul Train, "Dancin'" by jazz artist Ramsey Lewis, "Can't Let Go"(1979) by Earth, Wind, and Fire, and "Haven't You Heard"(1980) by Patrice Rushen, soul and R&B songstress.

<sup>506</sup> Raffydpgi, comment on "Penthouse 7 - That 70s DANCE Show," YouTube video, February 24, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsALSpLauXs&list=PL26475792FC4F1FDB> (accessed 20 Mar 2013)

<sup>507</sup> Quasijess, comment on "Penthouse 7 - That 70s DANCE Show," YouTube video, February 24, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsALSpLauXs&list=PL26475792FC4F1FDB> (accessed 20 Mar 2013).

<sup>508</sup> Angmamimitik, comment on "Penthouse 7 - That 70s DANCE Show," YouTube video, February 24, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsALSpLauXs&list=PL26475792FC4F1FDB> (accessed 20 Mar 2013).

<sup>509</sup> Mbhonti, comment on "Penthouse 7 - That 70s DANCE Show," YouTube video, February 24, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsALSpLauXs&list=PL26475792FC4F1FDB> (accessed 20 Mar 2013). mbhonti writes "Hey, that high society stuff was just for show, this was run on a shoestring budget but made the station heaps of money. It was a lot of fun putting it together, the group was like one big family. We're all glad to have made a difference in some way. Thanks for your appreciation, it made our blood, sweat and tears poured into our weekly performance worth it."

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<sup>510</sup> Mbhonti, comment on "Penthouse 7 - That 70s DANCE Show," YouTube video, February 24, 2008, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vsALSpLauXs&list=PL26475792FC4F1FDB> (accessed 20 Mar 2013).

<sup>511</sup> Hontiveros, interview.

<sup>512</sup> Ibid.; *Lockerlegends.net*, May 5, 2010, <http://lockerlegends.net/index.php> (access 4 April 2013). It is important to note that U.S.-based Locking, while male-dominated, was not all-male and actually included significant female Lockers including Damita Jo Freeman, Tony Basil (The Lockers), and Anna "Lollipop" Sanchez.

<sup>513</sup> Also the decision to expand their time slot was based more on the production's desire to include more commercials than dancing.

<sup>514</sup> Nelson, interview.

<sup>515</sup> Ibid.

<sup>516</sup> Hontiveros, interview.

<sup>517</sup> Nelson, interview.

<sup>518</sup> Ace Lebumfacil, interview with author, Manila, Philippines, September 09, 2009.

<sup>519</sup> Ibid.

<sup>520</sup> Ace Lebumfacil, interview with author, Manila, Philippines, April 27, 2011.

<sup>521</sup> Ibid.

<sup>522</sup> Reynaldo C. Iletto, "The Philippine-American War: Friendship and Forgetting," in *Vestiges of War: The Philippine-American War and the Aftermath of an Imperial Dream, 1899-1999*, ed. Luis H. Francia and Angel Velasco Shaw (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2002), 3-21.

<sup>523</sup> "Not Just Any B-Girl: A-B-Girl | More Than A Stance." Posted by Calvin Son, April 13, 2008. <http://morethanastance.com/features/sf/2008/04/not-just-any-b-girl-a-b-girl/> (Accessed 10 May 2013). The Hip-hop-U.S. military connection continues from the Filipino diaspora as well. The US military used b-boys and b-girls, including the successful Filipina American A-B-Girl, to entertain the troops. According to Son, "On her 2002 tour, A-B-Girl found herself traveling across Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Kuwait performing with Kurtis Blow for the US Army, Navy, and Air Force. Because 9/11 had occurred only nine months earlier, high security measures required that she and the other performers be escorted everywhere."

<sup>524</sup> "Return of US forces in Subic a step backward - militants | ABS-CBN News," *Abs-cbnnews.com*, April 28, 2011, <http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/nation/04/28/11/return-us-forces-subic-step-backward-%E2%80%93-militants> (accessed 17 Apr 2013). In 1991, the Philippine Senate rejected the ratification of the treaty for extending the American bases lease in the Philippines, which led to a 1992 return to Philippine control. However, in 1999, the Visiting Forces Agreement was passed and according to Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (Bayan), a multisectoral formation, "allows the unhampered entry of an unlimited number of US troops for an unspecified length of stay, with undefined objectives. This has paved the way for the permanent stationing of US troops in Mindanao." This policy has also been blamed for injustice against Filipinas in the impunity of male soldiers in rape cases, raising concerns about Philippine sovereignty. Despite these concerns, ABS-Cbn reports, recent negotiations have begun to discuss the possibility of reopening the military base.

<sup>525</sup> See Tonett Orejas, "Subic military base buildup vital to DND, US | Inquirer Global Nation," *Globalnation.inquirer.net* October 12, 2012, <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/52580/subic-military-base-buildup-vital-to-dnd-us> (accessed 17 Apr 2013); Manuel Mogato, "Philippines may allow U.S. greater military access: minister | Reuters," *Reuters.com*, April 5, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/05/us-philippines-usa-military-idUSBRE93407620130405> (accessed 17 Apr 2013).

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In June 2012, Philippine military officials agreed to re-open the bases for U.S. military activity in light of increased territorial standoffs between the Chinese, Japan, and others in the West Philippine Sea (aka South Chinese Sea). These actions are seen as necessary for the "modernization" of the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

<sup>526</sup> Vernadette V. Gonzalez, "Military Bases, 'Royalty Trips,' and Imperial Modernities: Gendered and Racialized Labor in the Postcolonial Philippines," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 28, no. 3 (2007): 28-59.

<sup>527</sup> Lebumfacil, interview, April 27, 2011.

<sup>528</sup> Andy Bennett, "Hip Hop Am Main: The Localization of Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture," *Media Culture Society* 21, no. 1 (1999): 77-91. Further proof of the need to recognize, critically, the role of global American military hegemony and Hip-hop's globalization lies in Germany. In his study of Hip-hop, Bennet connects the presence of U.S. Army personnel to the initiation of Hip-hop in Germany.

<sup>529</sup> Ibid.

<sup>530</sup> Ibid.; Jungee Marcello, interview with author, Manila, Philippines, September 10, 2009; Kenny Santana, "MTV Goes Asia," August 12, 2003, *Yale Global*, <http://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/162/27623.html> (accessed 28 April 2011).

<sup>531</sup> Lebumfacil, interview, April 27, 2011. Lebumfacil states:

The 'in' things back then were the worm, the dives, dolphin dives, the tic tacs, some top rocks, but not the power moves. The power moves came out when it came out of the East Coast. When it came out of the West coast...You know what happens? When it came out of the East Coast normally it doesn't go out. It stays there. But you take it to the West Coast,...it explodes. So that's how the other moves came out. Coming from the East Coast, everybody, the b-boys who have the knowledge of it got hold of it. But when it was still in the East Coast, we never got to know about it. Most of the b-boy moves, 90 percent, before we got hold of it, it has to travel to the West Coast first...East and West it's always East and West style.

<sup>532</sup> Ibid.

<sup>533</sup> Ibid.

<sup>534</sup> Ibid. Lebumfacil stated, "Yeah, Manila boy, it doesn't matter where you're from as long as you're from here, you're like manila boy, you're a city boy. 'Cause we have girls back then in Laguna and when we'd have visitors from Manila, they would be like, 'Ooh we got a city boy from manila. Where does he study?' He's from La Salle."

<sup>535</sup> Lebumfacil clarifies that LG called itself a gang since the word crew was not used yet.

<sup>536</sup> Jerome B. Dimalanta, "The Adaptation and Development of Street Dance in the Philippine Setting," (Master's thesis, College of Human Kinetics, University of Philippines Diliman Quezon City, 2006).

<sup>537</sup> Lebumfacil, interview, April 27, 2011. Lebumfacil says:

And there were club dances that was introduced in the clubs in the states and they were brought here. Some came from the clubs of New York. East and West, It's always East and West style. So, like for instance, there's one club style that was introduced; it was called the vault. The vault, as in bank vault. It's different when it's done in the East Coast and it's different when it's done at the West Coast. ... I think it came from the East Coast. So it's like opening a vault. A big vault. So you go like

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this (Lebumfacil holds his hands in front of his body as if turning a large wheel two times clockwise) hit, hit, (and two times counter clockwise) hit, and hit. When it was done in the East Coast, I think they did it, like, in a more, smaller way. When it went to the West Coast, it got bigger. So there's a different style now going on. .

<sup>538</sup> There was no print program for the event provided to audiences. This suggests that the production was aimed mainly at television audiences.

<sup>539</sup> Bagyo is the Filipino word for tropical storm.

<sup>540</sup> Fare was 11 pesos or \$0.27 U.S.

<sup>541</sup> Payong is the Filipino word for umbrella. During this extended fieldwork trip, I managed to go through no less than four umbrellas.

<sup>542</sup> The different sections of the competition included the Registration Period (June – August 2011), Groove Sessions (August 27, 28, 2011), Auditions (September 10, 11, 17, 18, 2011), Dance Offs (September 24, 2011), Ultimate Battle (October 1, 2011), HipHop Jam (October 8, 2011), and Airing Dates (September 10 to October 22, 2011).

<sup>543</sup> Susan Leigh Foster, *Reading Dancing: Bodies and Subjects in Contemporary American Dance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 59-65. Susan Foster proposes how framing conventions help to establish the viewer's interpretation and experience in attending a dance event.

<sup>544</sup> This type of competition is less confrontational ways than cyphers and battles.

<sup>545</sup> "Feminine Wash - Feminine Hygiene - Lactacyd: What's Best for Us," *Lactacyd*. Last updated July 18, 2012, <http://www.lactacyd.ph/> (accessed 4 Mar 2013).

<sup>546</sup> Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2000).

<sup>547</sup> Regarding the first concept, the cynic inside me questioned how and whether the confidence motif was incorporated in the dances. It seemed like a slippery task to distinguish between misplaced confidence that is only about an inflated ego, and confidence of positive use value.

<sup>548</sup> During 2011, I identified at least ten high school-affiliated crews, fifteen college-affiliated crews, and thirty-one semi-affiliated/professional crews.

<sup>549</sup> Basilio Esteban S. Villaruz, "The Quest for Filipino Choreography," in *Treading Through: 45 Years of Philippine Dance* (Diliman, Quezon City: The University of the Philippines Press, 2006), 235.

<sup>550</sup> Jerome Dimalanta, interview with author, Manila, Philippines, March 8, 2011.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid; Marcello, interview; Dimalanta met Marcelo through his personal training work. His employer obliged her trainers to take the classes of the others like ballet, jazz, and "hi-lo aerobics" and from then Dimalanta's career in streetdance began.

<sup>552</sup> B-girl Eyevee (Ivy Lobrin), interview with author, Manila, Philippines, September 12, 2009; Rosie Anne Aquino Pajela, interview with author, Manila, Philippines, September 4, 2009; Mary Chris Viloso aka Mycs, interview with author, Manila, Philippines, September 7, 2009.

<sup>553</sup> Dimalanta, interview. Dimalanta continued to tour with the Filipiniana Dance Company while simultaneously directing the UP Streetdance Club, leaving his officers in charge while he was abroad, until 2001.

<sup>554</sup> Owen Bautista, "Newsflash from the Hip Hop Front," *The Manila Bulletin*, August 14, 2005. The Crew and the Philippine Allstars are among the most well-known Manila-based Hip-hop crews. They have competed against each other in the World Hip-hop Internationals and collaborated with each other performing in fundraising concerts for traveling expenses.

<sup>555</sup> Dimalanta, "The Adaptation and Development of Street Dance in the Philippine Setting."



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<sup>556</sup> Maria Theresa Angelica S. Arda, "Motivation of Winners in Skechers Streetdance Battle," (senior thesis, Bachelor of Sports Science, College of Human Kinetics, Quezon City: University of the Philippines, Diliman, 2010).

<sup>557</sup> Jerome B. Dimalanta, interview with author through video-conference, digital recording, September 21, 2011. "Tambay," according to Dimalanta,

" ... has a really negative connotation. It's not just being idle, but it's being idle and sometimes to the point that it can become destructive. K? because you not only, if you're a tambay, you not only sacrifice your own time but you actually affect the lives of the people around you because they.. how would you say that? it's like you're mulching off them if you're a tambay. So you're unproductive, you don't contribute to the general good of the family and the community and so on and so forth. That's my take on it."

<sup>558</sup> Dimalanta, interview, September 21, 2011.

<sup>559</sup> Official Lactacyd Confidance facebook page, "Lactacyd Confidance Mash Up Mechanics," *Facebook.com*, July 9, 2011, <http://www.facebook.com/officiallactacydconfidance> (accessed 4 Mar 2013). Mash up is worth 15%.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid.

<sup>565</sup> Donna P. Hope, "Passa Passa: Interrogating Cultural Hybridities in Jamaican Dancehall," *Small Axe* 21 10, no. 3 (October 2006): 125-39; Jennifer Thorington Springer, "'Roll It Gal' Alison Hinds, Female Empowerment, and Calypso," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 8, no. 1 (2007): 93-129; Philip Maysles, "Dubbing the Nation," *Small Axe* 11 6, no. 1 (2002): 91-111. See these texts for more on Dancehall.

<sup>566</sup> Guy Trebay, "The Clowning, Wilding-Out Battle Dancers of South Central L.A. - New York Times," *The New York Times*, June 19, 2005, [http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/19/magazine/19CLOWN.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/19/magazine/19CLOWN.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0) (accessed 30 Apr 2013)

<sup>567</sup> Christina Zanfagna, "The Multiringed Cosmos of Krumping: Hip-Hop Dance at the Intersections of Battle, Media, and Spirit," in *Ballroom, Boogie, Shimmy Sham, Shake: A Social and Popular Dance Reader*, ed. Julie Malnig (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 337-53.

<sup>568</sup> Ibid., 340-41.

<sup>569</sup> Ariel Ann Nereson, "Krump or Die: Representations of Krumping in Contemporary Film and the Processes of Assimilation, Racism, Narration, and Commodification," (Master's thesis, State University of New York at Buffalo, 2009), 20.

<sup>570</sup> Momo Chang, "Demons in the Dance | Hyphen magazine - Asian American arts, culture, and politics," *Hyphen Magazine*, Issue 9 (Summer 2006), <http://www.hyphenmagazine.com/magazine/issue-9-play/demons-dance> (accessed 18 Oct 2012).

<sup>571</sup> Zanfagna, "The Multiringed Cosmos of Krumping," 344.

<sup>572</sup> This neglect is understood as shaped by the context of the marginalization of queer bodies by the dominant society and histories. See Leslee Grey, "True Fuckin' Playas: Queering Hip-Hop through Drag Performance," in *Hip-Hop(E): The Cultural Practice and Critical Pedagogy of International Hip-Hop*, edited by Brad J. Porfilio and Michael J. Viola (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2012), 79-94.

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<sup>573</sup> Ana "Lollipop" Sanchez, *Punking + Posing = Whacking, Vol. 1*. dvd. 52min5sec. GremlinLollipop Productions.

<sup>574</sup> Anna "Lollipop" Sanchez, interview with author, Los Angeles, CA, February 10, 2013. According to Lollipop Sanchez, an expert and professional whacker who was featured in the pioneering *Breakin'* (1983) and *Breakin' II: Electric Boogaloo* (1984), Los Angeles' whacking developed independent of New York's voguing.

<sup>575</sup> Marshalls Stearns and Jean Stearns, *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance* (New York, NY: Da Capo Press, 1994). In his introduction, Stearns clarifies the two different connotations that jazz dance as a phrase projects to US audiences. "The phrase *jazz dance* has a special meaning for professionals who dance to jazz music (they use it to describe non-tap body movement; and another meaning for studios from coast to coast teaching "Modern Jazz Dance" (a blend of Euro-American styles that owes little to jazz and less to jazz rhythms)." (xvi) The jazz dance in "Confi-Dance" appears like the latter.

<sup>576</sup> Official Lactacyd Confidance facebook page, "Lactacyd Confidance Mash Up Mechanics."

<sup>577</sup> Her boyfriend Bo is a member of the Philippine Allstars and influenced the ways she organically became a part of their sessions. Kat and many other dancers affiliated with the Philippine Allstars often refer to events that vary across rehearsal, downtime, jams, hanging out, and cyphering as "sessions" or "sessioning."

<sup>578</sup> Katherine K. Sison, interview with author, digital recording, Manila, Philippines, October 2, 2011.

<sup>579</sup> Foster, *Reading Dancing*, 32.

<sup>580</sup> Sison, interview.

<sup>581</sup> Ibid.

<sup>582</sup> Ibid.; Sison says, "Yeah, kasi (because) before, I'm in my group in Mindanao, we have a separate groups we have the G base, for the female group, and the MX version for the male group. And we tried to combine it so we could try to join a competition. And then during the trainings first, the guys are discriminating us like, 'Why can't you do this? Why can't you do that.' It's kinda hurting us because we're trying our best but it's really difficult to come up with the level of the guys."

<sup>583</sup> Ibid.; Sison told me about one competition back in Mindanao in which her all female crew attempted to collaborate with an all male crew, but the training session broke down in "awkward" ways.

<sup>584</sup> Alejandro, *Sayaw Silangan*, 85.

<sup>585</sup> Sison, interview.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid.; Mindanao is also known for its Muslim population and the U.S. attention to the terrorist group, Abu Sayyaf, but this subject is beyond the scope of my research.

<sup>587</sup> Ibid.

<sup>588</sup> Ibid.

<sup>589</sup> Ibid.

<sup>590</sup> Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo University, 1979; Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997; 6th printing, 2003).

<sup>591</sup> For a study on holy Hip-hop in the African American context see P. Kimberleigh Jordan, "'My Flesh Shall Live in Hope': Power and the Black Body," (PhD diss., New York University, 2009). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/250661078?accountid=14512>.

<sup>592</sup> Sison, interview.

<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> Michael Jackson "Bad" (1987)

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<sup>595</sup> Buck is a krump term that often describes a state of intense activity and rapid, seemingly uncontrolled movement.

<sup>596</sup> Sison, interview.

<sup>597</sup> Ibid.

<sup>598</sup> The choreography of finalists was likely a "second draft," adapted after auditions, in which they received initial comments from judges.

<sup>599</sup> Leal Marie Diaz, interview with author, digital recording, Manila, Philippines, May 26, 2011. As Diaz states "It wasn't really thinking that It was something I was thinking "now I'm gonna do this and I'm gonna call this group" or whatever."

<sup>600</sup> Ibid.

<sup>601</sup> Ibid.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid. At Mars, Diaz would meet Filipino Americans that she attributes to influencing her taste of music.

<sup>604</sup> Fernandes, *Close to the Edge*. According to Sujatha Fernandez, following Jeff Chang, global Hip-hop culture is constructed in terms of the abstract and the concrete, communal transcendence or specific social critique.

<sup>605</sup> It was not until her trip to the U.S. in 2005 that Lema experienced the U.S. Hip-hop dance scene.

<sup>606</sup> Diaz, interview. Diaz has danced with numerous dance companies including Lime Dance, Whiplash, Dance Masters, and Hot Legs. She is also a co-founder and current manager of the Philippine Allstars.

<sup>607</sup> A one-hour reality dance competition program which originally aired in the Philippines on TV5 from 1996-2001.

<sup>608</sup> Diaz, interview.

<sup>609</sup> To kendeng one also places their arms straight out in front of their torso.

<sup>610</sup> See Nikko Dizon, "Villar bet frowns on NP's scantily-clad 'Kembot Girls' - INQUIRER.net, Philippine News for Filipinos," *Inquirer.net*, February 24, 2010, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/breakingnews/nation/view/20100224-255176/Villar-bet-frowns-on-NPs-scantily-clad-Kembot-Girls> (accessed 13 Mar 2013). Shembot (2010) is a song that was popularized by the female girl group, Sexbomb girls on *Eat Bulaga*, also built around shaking one's hips left and right in various phrases with fists up by one's chest. Kembot(2007) dance popularized on *ASAP* that is more co-ed, but still focuses on jumping, switching, and swaying one's hips.

<sup>611</sup> Shallum L. Lee, "The Study on the Development of Critical Awareness on the Phenomenon of Pinoy Pop Culture: KSP: A Reflection on Pinoy Pop Culture Through the Eyes of Mass Media," (Senior thesis, Department of Visual Communication, University of the Philippines, Diliman, 2004).

<sup>612</sup> Ibid., 96. The Sex Bomb Girls is a dance group that became popular as "Dance Fusion" on the noon-time variety television program *Eat Bulaga*.

<sup>613</sup> Hontiveros, interview. "Noontime shows" refer to television programs like *Eat Bulaga* that commonly feature novelty dancers and air daily Monday through Saturday. In contrast, "variety shows" like *Penthouse 7* air once a week on Sundays.

<sup>614</sup> Ibid.

<sup>615</sup> "Sexbombs sing and dance in GMA Network's voters education project - GMA News Online," *GMA News Online*, posted December 8, 2009, <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/video/51813/sexbombs-sing-and-dance-in-gma-network-s-voters-education-project> (accessed 16 Mar 2013); Dona Pazzibugan, "Bishop notes 'ominous' signs for May 10 polls - INQUIRER.net, Philippine News for Filipinos," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, posted January 12, 2010, <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net>

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/inquirerheadlines/nation/view/20100112-246827/Bishop-notes-ominous-signs-for-May-10-polls (accessed 16 Mar 2013).

<sup>616</sup> Diaz, interview.

<sup>617</sup> Rina Angela P. Corpus, *Defiant Daughters Dancing: Three Independent Women Dance* (Diliman: University of the Philippines Press, 2007), 23.

<sup>618</sup> Diaz, interview. Diaz said this phrase when talking about promo girls gyrating.

<sup>619</sup> Diaz's stance is also different from the anti-commercial attitude that ethnomusicologist Joseph Schloss identifies as dominating Hip-hop scholarship and promulgating a false commercial /underground dichotomy of Hip-hop. Joseph G. Schloss, *Foundation: B-Boys, B-Girls, and Hip-Hop Culture in New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>620</sup> Diaz, interview.

<sup>621</sup> Ibid.

<sup>622</sup> Ibid.

<sup>623</sup> Ibid.

<sup>624</sup> Ibid.

<sup>625</sup> This is not to imply that all of Stellar's rehearsals proceeded this way. In 2011, I directly participated in a Stellar's rehearsal in which informal activities shifted according to need. We were doing ballet stretches, then huddled around a computer screen watching an inspiring music video. One moment the close-knit group was teaching choreography for an upcoming performance and the next moment we were hanging off of the deejay booth doing leg raises and laughing at ourselves.

<sup>626</sup> Diaz, interview.

<sup>627</sup> Ibid.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid. Diaz clarifies this concept between steps and semiotics when she states, "When people watch you, it's like ok, that's what you're saying 'cause sometimes if it's all about steps, you're just delivering steps. You're not really talking, you're not really telling me what it's supposed to be. So I guess every movement has meaning. To understanding music, the part of music and the movement that you're saying has to talk. You have to say it loud. You have it stand. You have to make me feel what you're supposed to...."

<sup>629</sup> Ibid. Mahinhin is a term that Diaz used to refer to stereotypical Filipina femininity. Diaz explains,

Maria Clara is very mahinhin, very lady like and they can't even ... like old fashioned, its very old fashioned. But I guess with the Stellar basically more, I wouldn't say aggressive but it's more strong. It's a stronger personality, like, we support Chelo's music video, Pinays Rise. That's the kind. Like some people would say, "Oh, it's not Filipina, Filipinas are not like that." You know? Some would say, "Oh it's not a Filipina way to do it." But that's the thing, we need to step it up. We need to say something. We need to be able to be heard. Like have our visions or have our opinions be heard. And if it's Maria Clara, it's gonna be like "Ok." [shrugs her shoulders] You know, "Whatever you say." You know, it's, we're always submissive so that's how Maria Clara is. Very submissive, very mahinhin, lady-like.

<sup>630</sup> Philippine Allstars, "Beyond Hip Hop - Penthouse 7: The Grand Reunion." Among the dancers they impressed were the Philippine Allstars, who published a blog post about the 2008 Penthouse grand reunion.

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<sup>631</sup> Mekado Murphy, "Inside the 3-D Conversion of 'Titanic'," *NYTimes.com*, *New York Times*, Published March 30, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2012/03/29/movies/titanic-3d-conversion.html> (accessed 4 Dec 2012).

<sup>632</sup> See Mina Roces, "Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines," in *The Politics of Dress in Asia and the Americas*, ed. Mina Roces and Louise Edwards (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2007), 19-41.

<sup>633</sup> An undercut is an asymmetrical haircut where one side of the head is shaved and the other side is left long.

<sup>634</sup> Anna "Lollipop" Sanchez, interview with author. As noted earlier, Wacking and Punking are known as feminine dance forms that emerged in the early 1970s amidst the Los Angeles clubs and practiced by gay, Black and Latino communities. Krump is understood to have begun in the early 1990s in South Los Angeles by Tommy the Clown. The krumper in "Pinays Rise" is an unknown member of Krumpinoy. The hip-hop dancer and b-girl are Madelle Paltu-ob and B-girl Beatch, respectively.

<sup>635</sup> For more on the significance of music videos and Hip-hop see Kristen Pullen, "If Ya Liked It, Then You Shoulda Made a Video Beyoncé Knowles, Youtube and the Public Sphere of Images," *Performance Research* 16, no. 2 (2011): 145-53; Nadia Lesy, "The Evolution of Hip Hop Dance and the Music Video in the Era of MTV," (Master's thesis, Long Island University, 2008). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/304459019?accountid=14512>; Steven Shaviro, "Supa Dupa Fly: Black Women as Cyborgs in Hip Hop Videos," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 22, no. 2 (2005): 169-79.

<sup>636</sup> Soledad S. Reyes, "From Darna to ZsaZsa Zaturannah: Desire and Fantasy," in *From Darna to ZsaZsa Zaturannah: Desire and Fantasy: Essays on Literature and Popular Culture* (Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, 2009), 2-34.

<sup>637</sup> Ibid.

<sup>638</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>639</sup> Ibid., 16-17. Reyes' reading is productive here:

... Darna probably became a symbol of empowerment, an objective real-life women suffragettes were fighting for as early as the 1930s in Philippine society. With her death-defying feats, her awesome ability to soar into the sky searching for her enemies, her tremendous strength always deployed for the good of the helpless victims, her compassion and love for her family, Darna spelled freedom and power in the dark days of the 1950s. She was just so different from a long line of weeping and persecuted heroines in numerous novels who, in the face of injustice and violence, found recourse only in tears. With Darna, the landscape became brighter, and the possibility of effecting changes in the body politic became a reality.

<sup>640</sup> Mestiza are mixed race native and white Pinays. Chinitas are mixed race native and Chinese Pinays. Morenas are mixed race native and Spanish Pinays. In one comment, to the YouTube version of "Pinays Rise" one user alerted Aestrid that she neglected to include "Negrita", a term used to describe the archipelago's first inhabitants. Aestrid felt that her refrain had to do with the possible misinterpretation between Filipino "Negrita" and the pejorative N-word in U.S. society.

<sup>641</sup> Raymond Bonner, *Waltzing with a Dictator: The Marcoses and the Making of American Policy* (New York, NY: Times Books, 1987).

<sup>642</sup> Chelo Aestrid, "Pinays Rise," *Love, Life, and D'Light*, 2011, compact disc, 3:35.

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<sup>643</sup> In our conversation, Aestrid revealed to me that she once witnessed a dancing traffic cop in Makati who inspired her to include this figure in her song. The lyric, "We ruling nations," refers to the Philippine's then President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

<sup>644</sup> Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

<sup>645</sup> Martin V. Manalansan, IV. "Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies," *International Migration Review* 40, no. 1 (2006): 224-49. Manalansan writes on the ways particular literature on globalization and migration tends to reproduce narratives of normative sexuality.

<sup>646</sup> PAEF provides invaluable direction and assistance to the Philippine and U.S. Fulbright scholarship program, by which my project was supported. PAEF is also known as the Fulbright Commission for the Philippines.

<sup>647</sup> Ambassador Thomas who commented upon my project and acknowledged that he was no stranger to Hip-hop. I was slightly startled when he gave me and my project a shout out in his opening remarks, openly implicating my work within the arms of U.S. diplomacy.

<sup>648</sup> For more discussion around Hip-hop and the Obama administration see Travis L. Gosa, "Not Another Remix: How Obama Became the First Hip-Hop President" *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 22, no. 4 (2010): 389-415; Christopher K. Jackson, "'Let's Move!': Examining First Lady Michelle Obama's Childhood Obesity Campaign in the News Media" (PhD diss., Howard University, 2012). ProQuest. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1025741885?accountid=14512>.

<sup>649</sup> Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, "Opening Remarks on the President's FY 2009 War Supplemental Request," Testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Washington, D.C., April 30, 2009. <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/04/122463.htm>. (accessed 4 Dec 2012)

<sup>650</sup> Nafees Asya Syed, "The 3 D's of Foreign Affairs," *Harvard Political Review*, September 17, 2010, <http://hpronline.org/arusa/the-3ds-of-foreign-affairs/> (accessed 4 Dec 2012)

<sup>651</sup> Secretary of State Clinton, "Opening Remarks on the President's FY 2009 War Supplemental Request."

<sup>652</sup> Captain Nathan Finney, "A Culture of Inclusion: Defense, Diplomacy, and Development as a Modern American Foreign Policy," *Small Wars Journal*, <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/a-culture-of-inclusion> (accessed 4 Dec 2012)

<sup>653</sup> The events were not limited to The Block but also took place in other parts of the SM North EDSA complex. There was a weekend-long job fair in The Annex.

<sup>654</sup> The clinic took place from 10:30am until 4:30pm and the age groups were 6-9, 10-12, and 13-16.

<sup>655</sup> U.S. White House and President Barack Obama Administration, "National Security Strategy," Whitehouse.gov, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf) (accessed 04 Dec 2012)

<sup>656</sup> Rebecca Cowell, "Representin' the Dirty North: The Indigenisation of Rap Music and Hip-Hop Culture in Beijing," 2010, [http://www.rockinchina.com/wiki/images/Representin\\_%28online\\_version%29.pdf](http://www.rockinchina.com/wiki/images/Representin_%28online_version%29.pdf); Steele, Angela Diane. "Zai Beijing: A Cultural Study of Hip Hop." Stanford University, 2006. <http://www.rockinchina.com/w/Category:Research> (accessed May 8, 2013).

<sup>657</sup> See Ray Zone, *Stereoscopic cinema & the origins of 3-D film, 1838-1952* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2007); Lenny Lipton, *Foundations of the Stereoscopic Cinema: A Study in Depth* (New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold Publishing, 1982), 61. The technological breakthrough of 3-D, according to Ray Zone's comprehensive historical treatment, finds its roots in 1838 with Sir Charles Wheatstone's stereoscopic film, which later found new life in the first color 3-D feature film, Arch Oboler's *Bwana Devil* (1952), a tale of white male heroism in Africa. According to 3-D expert Lenny

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Lipton, "The mind transforms two essentially planar retinal images into a single view of the world with stereoscopic or three-dimensional depth. In whatever way this happens, slight horizontal shifts of left and right image elements on the retinas are turned into the useful and pleasurable sensation, stereopsis."

<sup>658</sup> Lipton, *Foundations of the Stereoscopic Cinema*, 54-59. Psychological cues include aerial/horizontal perspective, retinal image size, interposition, light and shade, textual gradient, motion parallax. Physiological cues include accommodation, convergence, and disparity.

<sup>659</sup> Ray Zone, *3-D Revolution: The History of Modern Stereoscopic Cinema* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2012), 387-390. More recently, in the second half of the Aughts, 3-D film received another resurgence as movies like James Cameron's *Avatar*, a native/white colonizer battle, earned record-breaking box office success. Zone, *Avatar* received praise by prominent film critics like Roger Ebert and Kenneth Turan and became a cultural phenomenon. Zone writes of papal denunciation, media programs that mock the film, people depressed about the inability to visit Pandora, and activists in Gaza dressing as the film's native Na'vi characters to parallel the Palestinian claims to land and livelihood.

<sup>660</sup> Dan Engber, "The Great 3-D Debate: The Best Was Still To Come - Slate Magazine," *Slate.com*, August 27, 2010, [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/dialogues/features/2010/the\\_great\\_3d\\_debate/the\\_bestwas\\_still\\_to\\_come.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/dialogues/features/2010/the_great_3d_debate/the_bestwas_still_to_come.html) (accessed 4 Dec 2012)

<sup>661</sup> Dana Stevens, "The Great 3-D Debate," *Slate.com*, August 26, 2010, [http://www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/dialogues/features/2010/the\\_great\\_3d\\_debate/if\\_3ds\\_just\\_a\\_fad\\_will\\_we\\_mis\\_s\\_it\\_when\\_its\\_gone.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/dialogues/features/2010/the_great_3d_debate/if_3ds_just_a_fad_will_we_mis_s_it_when_its_gone.html) (accessed 4 Dec 2012)

<sup>662</sup> Dan Engber, "The Great 3-D Debate: The Best Was Still To Come - Slate Magazine."

<sup>663</sup> Sam Biddle, "Lucasfilm Kills 3D Star Wars Re-Releases After Realizing It's Horrible and Everyone Hates It," *Gizmodo.com*, January 28, 2013, <http://gizmodo.com/5979671/lucasfilm-kills-3d-star-wars-sequels-after-realizing-its-horrible-and-everyone-hates-it> (accessed 3 May 2013)

<sup>664</sup> Dan Engber, "The Great 3-D Debate: The Best Was Still To Come - Slate Magazine."; Dan Engber, "3-D movies like *Monsters vs. Aliens* hurt your eyes. They always have, and they always will. - Slate Magazine," *Slate.com*, April 2, 2009, [http://www.slate.com/articles/health\\_and\\_science/science/2009/04/the\\_problem\\_with\\_3d.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/health_and_science/science/2009/04/the_problem_with_3d.html) (accessed 4 Dec 2012);

Samantha Rollins, "Why is *The Hobbit* making some moviegoers sick?" *The Week*, December 12, 2012, <http://theweek.com/article/index/237247/why-isnbspthe-hobbit-making-some-moviegoers-sick> (accessed 4 Dec 2012).

Despite its economic successes, however, cinematic 3-D has also received criticism. In April 2009, Engber argued that the fundamental technology behind the 3-D revival hasn't changed one bit since the early 1950s and the reason that it failed to successfully take over 2-D cinema was that 3-D hurts our eyes. "We're still using polarized light to send offset images to each eye, and that means we're still subjecting filmgoers to a stimulus that has been shown in the laboratory to cause headache, nausea, and eyestrain." In general, 3-D has been shot down by film critics like as gimmicky, cheesy, excessive, and flatly applied.

<sup>665</sup> There were however military aspects to the cultural performances in the form of the Navy Band.

<sup>666</sup> Armand Galang, Jeannette I. Andrade, and Tonette Orejas, "Police caught napping while vandals attack US Embassy," *Global Nation Inquirer*, April 17, 2012, <http://globalnation.inquirer.net/33481/police-caught-napping-while-vandals-attack-us-embassy> (accessed 4 Dec 2012)

<sup>667</sup> Joseph G. Schloss, *Foundation: B-Boys, B-Girls, and Hip-Hop Culture in New York* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009).

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<sup>668</sup> For more on the problems of a "Hip-hop Nation" see Inez H. Templeton, "Where in the world is the hip hop nation?" *Popular Music* 22, no. 2 (2003): 241–245; R. Scott Heath, "True Heads: Historicizing the Hip\_Hop 'Nation' in Context" *Callaloo* 29, no. 3 (Summer 2006): 846–866. Heath troubles the notion of a "Hip-hop Nation" as portrayed in the 2000 *Hip-Hop Nation: Roots, Rhymes, and Rage* exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum of Art (BMA) and a cover of February 8, 1999, *Time* magazine. For examples of nation-based studies see Lisbet Torp, "Hip Hop Dances - Their Adoption and Function among Boys in Denmark from 1983–84." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 18 (1986): 29–36; Cathy J. Schlund-Vials, "A Transnational Hip Hop Nation: Prach, Cambodia, and Memorialising the Killing Fields," *Life Writing* 5, no. 1 (2008): 11–27; Lis Engel, "Body Poetics of Hip Hop Dance Styles in Copenhagen." *Dance Chronicle* 24, no. 3 (2001): 351–72.

<sup>669</sup> M.G. Piety, "Wait Until White People Need Affirmative Action! The Rhetoric of Entitlement," *Counterpunch.org*, March 27, 2013, <http://www.counterpunch.org/2013/03/27/the-rhetoric-of-entitlement/> (accessed 28 Mar 2013)

<sup>670</sup> Perlita M. Frago, Sharon M. Quinsaat, and Verna Dinah Viajar, eds., *Philippine Civil Society and the Globalization Discourse* (Quezon City: Third World Studies Center, 2004).

<sup>671</sup> For Filipinos DJs see: Lakandiwa M. de Leon, "Filipinotown and the Dj Scene: Expression and Identity Affirmation of Filipino American Youth in Los Angeles," in *Asian American Youth: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity*, ed. Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004); Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., "Filipino Youth Cultural Politics and Dj Culture," (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2006), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/305349195?accountid=14512>; Wang, "Spinning Identities"; For Filipino emcees see: Stephen Alan Bischoff, "Filipino Americans and Polyculturalism in Seattle, Wa through Hip-Hop and Spoken Word," (Master's thesis, Washington State University, 2008), <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1032540568?accountid=14512>; Mark Angelo Delacruz Bautista, "Through the Mic: Stories of Filipino American Emcee Crews in the Margins," (Master's thesis, San Francisco State University, 2005); Rachel Devitt, "Lost in Translation: Filipino Diaspora(s), Postcolonial Hip Hop, and the Problems of Keeping It Real for the "Contentless" Black Eyed Peas," *Asian Music* 39, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2008): 108–134; Viola, "Hip-Hop and Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy: Blue Scholarship to Challenge "The Miseducation of the Filipino.""

<sup>672</sup> Charry, "A Capsule History of African Rap." For instance, there is a parallel between the physically imported videotapes and media by travelers and diasporics in Manila and Bamako (Mali), relayed by Dakar and Abidjan, but originating from New York and Paris. The post/colonial relationship between the Philippines-U.S. and Mali-France resonate in the ways the colonizer's need for cheap labor informs both "waves" of Filipino and African diasporic communities.

<sup>673</sup> Engber, "The Great 3-D Debate: The Best Was Still To Come - Slate Magazine."