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DeTours: Mapping Decolonial Genealogies in Hawaii

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Date: Fall 2017

From: Journal of the Critical Ethnic Studies Association(Vol. 3, Issue 2)

Publisher: University of Minnesota Press

Document Type: Essay

Length: 7,896 words

The school bus pulls up at 'Iolani Palace in Honolulu on the island of O'ahu. A regal stone building with generous grounds, the palace was the seat of government of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Our tour guides, Terri Keko'olani and Kyle Kajihiro, lead a group around the structure, relaying relatively recent efforts to dismember Hawaiian sovereignty, understated by its current identity as a museum and tourist destination. (1) As we walk around the grounds, Keko'olani and Kajihiro detail the events that unfolded at 'Iolani Palace: here, the coronation of the Hawaiian monarch, David Kalakaua, took place after the palace's completion in February 1883, in a lavish ceremony that featured hula. Ten years later, sons of missionaries engineered a coup that wrested power from the Kingdom, a process that had previously gained strength with the 1887 Bayonet Constitution. (2) Fortifying these efforts, businessmen and other powerbrokers held Queen Lili'uokalani, Kalakaua's sister, prisoner in her own home. Just offshore from the palace, an overreaching U.S. military tacitly supported this so-called Committee of Safety. The lowering of the flag of the Hawaiian Kingdom at the Annexation Ceremony in August 1898 marked a shift in political rule further away from the hands of Kanaka Maoli. (3)

In the following hours, Keko'olani's and Kajihiro's "DeTour" demonstrates the continuation of these histories by showing the expansive grip of military presence on the island. After 'Iolani Palace, we proceed to the Pacific Command Headquarters, which oversees military operations across over half the Earth's surface, from India to California. From a hill overlooking Pearl Harbor, we observe how U.S. military presence partitions land, shaping entire ways of life through the disruption of livelihoods. (4) Our guides describe the leakage of nearby fuel-storage tanks located about one hundred feet above an aquifer that provides drinking water. (5) Later, we pass developments constructed for the more than fifty thousand troops stationed in Hawai'i, which drive up housing costs to among the highest in the nation. (6) Despite the impact of the military on everyday life, Kajihiro points out that it remains "hidden in plain sight." (7)

Our next stop is Pearl Harbor, where Hawai'i's two biggest economic engines--tourism and militarism--combine at the state's most popular tourist attraction and where the DeTour renarrates a site significant in global history. We join the 1.8 million tourists a year who visit the World War II military-tourist complex that includes the USS Arizona, the USS Bowfin, the USS Missouri, and the Pacific Aviation Museum. (8) As she often does, Keko'olani approaches a soldier stationed at the entrance and, pretending to seek directions, asks for the location of Pu'uloa--the Hawaiian name for the place. Keko'olani then repeats the word, slowly and clearly. He replies that he does not know where that is. This interaction illuminates a key aim of the DeTour: to convey the competing meanings and conceptions of place in Hawai'i. The visit further disrupts the sentimental narratives that rationalize U.S. military presence on the islands. We move through the exhibits and grounds, noting the patriotic accounts of sacrifice, innocence, and vigilance at work in the space. Keko'olani and Kajihiro point out the small outdoor area designated for Hawaiian history, where text on perforated metal panels relays the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the passive voice. Despite consultations with Hawaiian historical and cultural experts over the course of a 2011 renovation, these panels evade U.S. military participation in colonial theft. (9) Countering the disappearance of imperial intent and agency as well as Kanaka Maoli political contestation, Keko'olani and Kajihiro take a moment to relate the history of Pu'uloa, namely, the lo'i kalo (taro water terraces) and fishponds that constituted Kanaka Maoli lifeways. (10) Their intervention shows that December 7, 1941, is not the only defining moment of betrayal and violence that occurred at this site.

The DeTour ends with a visit to the Hanakehau Learning Farm adjacent to the Pearl Harbor base. A Hawaiian organization has cleared out land, established lo'i kalo, planted other crops, and created a gathering and learning place for the community. This group enacts a vision of futurity informed by the Kanaka Maoli concept of aloha 'aina (love of the land), an ideology that Noenoe Silva has described as the "cornerstone of resistance" in Hawai'i. (11) For Silva, aloha 'aina signifies both a nationalist claim and an assertion of sustained genealogical ties to the 'aina, meaning land or that which feeds. By ending their DeTour at a site of aloha 'aina in praxis, Keko'olani and Kajihiro craft an experience that insists on an unfinished history of Hawai'i, one that draws from a tradition of resistance bound to love and care of the environment as central to Kanaka self-determination.

We begin with this description of a DeTour--geared toward participants who run the gamut of Hawai'i youth, adult community members, and visiting scholars and activists--to demonstrate how Keko'olani and Kajihiro craft a tour as a decolonial venture. Given that tourism is the state's top industry, and arguably its most dominant representational frame for outsiders, portrayals of Hawai'i as a tropical paradise obscure military occupation predicated on Indigenous dispossession. Yet DeTours use tourism as a mode for experiencing a place, producing new spatiotemporal relationships and imaginaries that disrupt and exceed fantasies of Hawai'i as a secured paradise, an aloha state. (12) Rather than offering a commoditized and packaged narrative typical of heritage tourism, Keko'olani and Kajihiro have designed itineraries that move tour participants through pivotal places, animating them with histories otherwise marginalized, subjugated, or sanitized. Within the militouristic landscape of O'ahu, they draw upon the practice of Indigenous remapping, "a key strategy for decolonizing space and place in the neocolonial present, thereby revalorizing ... Indigenous ontologies" while challenging neocolonial authority. (13) DeTours mark the collisions that have defined the islands for well over a century, that have delineated Hawai'i as occupied territory--and envisioning otherwise.

We address the following questions: How do DeTours interrupt the spatial processes and imaginaries tied to military occupation and the colonial relationships that undergird them? How do Keko'olani and Kajihiro account for the persistence of Hawaiian genealogies in the face of ongoing dispossession? What is the expansive potential of these genealogies--meaning, how can DeTours inform local and global efforts aimed at decolonization and resistance to military occupation?

DeTours engage in remapping practices that critically suture place to history through the invocation of genealogies. We focus on two concepts of genealogy. One, most associated with Michel Foucault, refuses the linearity of history comprised of universal truths, and defines genealogy as a method for unearthing the "unstable assemblage of faults, fissures, and heterogeneous layers" of history. (14) In this sense, genealogy offers a critique of the present and an analytic to understand power through the study of regimes of knowledge and their shifts over time. (15) The second practice of genealogy is the Kanaka Maoli concept of mo'okuauhau, a method, practice, and way of knowing that maps the web of relations that shape kuleana, or collective responsibility, to places. At the heart of this concept is the familial relationship between 'aina and Kanaka. As Hokulani Aikau, Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua and Noenoe Silva suggest, mo'okuauhau articulate intimate knowledge of a place bound to a relationship of "mutual, reciprocal care" for land and the people on it. (16) Given the radical reframing of land as a capitalist resource also serving imperialist geopolitical aims, this invocation of genealogy is a political act, addressing the new condition of a people through the revelation of older systems. (17)

DeTours interrupt colonial projects to convey the overlapping processes that shape Hawai'i's landscape while highlighting Kanaka relationships to 'aina. As a Foucauldian method, DeTours deploy knowledge that grapples with and confronts the monstrous presence of the U.S. military, opening up space for multifaceted, subjugated, and Indigenous knowledge and practice. In the cracks and fissures pried apart, mo'okuauhau unsettle entrenched beliefs and open up visions of futurity that center Hawaiian historical, familial, and communal relationships to land. These assertions of Kanaka genealogies and relations to place expand to other places shaped by occupation. Mo'okuauhau thus draw from and inform a heterogeneous history of struggles resisting dispossession and violence. At stake in this examination of a modest countertour in what Jamaica Kincaid might call "a small place" is not only a model for how to confront the territorial and imaginative projects of occupation, but also how Indigenous resurgence and world-making might inform the ethics of such endeavors. (18) Hawai'i, though isolated and small, bears consequential weight in facilitating a militarized world: it is a fulcrum for military activity across the Pacific and Asia. At the same time, it is a crossroads in the Pacific, reflecting the kinds of exchanges, crosspollinations, and alliances that characterize resistance to empire. (19) As a spatiotemporal intervention, DeTours articulate layered genealogies, revealing how military occupation and contestation shape Hawai'i's landscape and ongoing history. This remapping also generates a model of Kanaka Maoli self-determination rooted in familial relations to land, drawing from vast networks of kinship and affinity.

In this essay, we situate the emergence of DeTours as a product of Hawai'i's militouristic history and the multiple resistance movements it engendered. We then analyze the work of DeTours as a kind of "performance cartography" that confronts military occupation through a genealogical critique centering Kanaka Maoli mo'okuauhau. Finally, we suggest the potential of such genealogical critiques for other people and places "secured" by U.S. military occupation. In doing so, we hope to lay out a map of alliance and coalition that illuminates strategies for survival, persistence, and resistance in spaces of empire.

HISTORIES OF RESISTANCE AND DECOLONIZATION

DeTours stand as one of many efforts in Hawai'i today that have emerged from ongoing resistance to the continuing, flexible project of U.S. empire. In the decades following annexation, the banning of the Hawaiian language, the decline of the Hawaiian-language press, and the loss of the Hawaiian land base erased much of this story. (20) As Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua contends, "Stories of Hawaiian resistance to American takeover were hidden, overwritten by American historical narratives fabricated to make people believe there was a legal merger between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States."

(21) In *Aloha Betrayed*, Noenoe Silva illuminates how Hawaiians resisted political disenfranchisement, dispossession, and sociocultural marginalization, reframing the history of the Kingdom of Hawai'i through the lens of strategic acts of resistance. In tracking the vigorous, extensive, and sustained efforts against imperial theft, Silva lays out a tradition of protest that centers Kanaka Maoli world-making. Notably, she uncovers the Hawaiian language texts and mo'olelo (stories, history) integral to this history.

This body of work tracks the emergence of Kanaka Maoli ways of knowing as a foundation of resistance. Brandy Nalani MacDougall describes mo'okuauhau--genealogies that comprise "sacred practice/texts and historical methodology/records"--as a central facet of Hawaiian life. While they were especially significant for Hawaiian intellectuals prior to the introduction of writing in the 1820s because of their oral nature, many later saw their documentation and preservation as imperative to the progress of Hawaiian people confronting dispossession later in the nineteenth century. (22) The concepts of mo'olelo and mo'oku'auhau both share the root "mo'o," meaning "succession, series, especially a genealogical line, lineage" and 'grandchild.' (23) While mo'olelo refers to stories that comprise history and mo'oku'auhau refers to genealogical stories that comprise a people, both terms mark the interconnectedness between people and places, encompassing a vast web of relations predicated on collective responsibility. Present-day campaigns, including challenges to the Thirty Meter Telescope on the sacred ground of Mauna Kea, the resurgence of Hawaiian-language immersion and charter schools, a robust anti-GMO movement, the fight for water rights, and continuing agitation against development all stand as legacies of this ongoing assertion of Hawaiian world-making that represent the identity of the people and their obligation to the 'aina. (24) Here mo'okuauhau represents a collective and historically contingent practice that remakes the spaces people inhabit, defying linear notions of progress that constitute colonial temporality.

While DeTours emerged out of Hawaiian self-determination efforts, they also stem from projects addressing the multiple forms of colonization that have defined the islands' history. For most of the Territorial Era in Hawai'i (1898-1959), while imperial interests cast Hawaiians as "unfit for self-government," they also framed Asians, many of whom were laborers imported for plantation work, as "ineligible for citizenship." (25) During this period, labor struggles comprised the most visible flashpoint of resistance on the islands, as plantation workers agitated for better pay and working conditions. (26) It is important to note that colonial conditions have also repressed the crosscurrents of Indigenous and migrant cooperation and shared history "that prefigure contemporary possibilities for coalition." (27) There are many moments where such coalitions might have happened, and many more where they failed to coalesce. For instance, during World War II, the U.S. military declared martial law, rationalizing an unprecedented takeover of six hundred thousand acres of land. (28) While dispossessing many Hawaiians, the sustained "anti-Japanese movement," exemplified by the targeting and incarceration of Japanese leaders during World War II, coerced many Japanese people to assimilate. (29) After the war and statehood in 1959, the growth of modern tourism marked a shift from a plantation to a corporate-dominated service economy, corresponding with intensified suburban sprawl that displaced land- and sea-based subsistence modes of living. (30) This period ushered in a new class of Asian middle managers who were brokers of the emerging regime of real estate development and political power. (31)

At the same time, effective resistance struggles during this period emerged from coalitions against displacement. As ways of life shifted from reliance on subsistence to consumerism in a post-World War II economy, movements in Hawai'i brought land, culture, and power to the center of political consciousness. In 1968, amid a housing boom, the City and County of Honolulu rezoned Kalama Valley from agricultural to urban use. Bishop Estate, the landlord, issued eviction notices to the tenants, many of whom were working class people and farmers. The plight of the tenants attracted the attention of Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panther Party supporters, and others inspired by global anticolonial and antiracist movements. Despite the fact that the evictions ultimately displaced tenants from Kalama, this struggle was the beginning of a shift in consciousness among Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians. (32) Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio notes that both a Marxist ideology and the "renewal of a traditional perception of the land" centering human connectedness to land and water undergirded the Kalama struggle and other similar anti-eviction struggles. The latter posed an alternative to the ways of life imposed by "profiteering landlords." (33) This led to the reemergence of aloha 'aina as a guiding principle of the modern Hawaiian movement. Historically embedded in this knowledge and practice are the coalitions that existed as well as those foreclosed by the economic and political shifts that have continuously stratified social life on the islands.

Identifying the U.S. military as a salient perpetrator of land theft and environmental destruction, the emergent Hawaiian movement incorporated demilitarization activism into its efforts. Kaho'olawe, an island that the U.S. military had converted into a bombing target for military exercises, became the fulcrum of efforts to reoccupy land and enact Indigenous governance. Keko'olani, who was a student-activist at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and involved in previous anti-eviction struggles, stresses this renewed commitment of Kanaka to land: "I had been actioning with guys who were studying Marx, Lenin, doing class analysis and all this kind of stuff, but when I went [to the island of Kaho'olawe] they really challenged me to look at myself as a Kanaka. And as a Kanaka in resistance." According to Keko'olani, the tactics of the Kaho'olawe activists were shaped by encounters with American Indian Movement leaders who had participated in the occupation of Alcatraz in California, which Native peoples on the continent were fighting to take back. Keko'olani recalls, "To make a long story short, occupation became an idea. How do we occupy and take over a place? And Kaho'olawe, which was being really heavily bombed during that period of time, became an issue. Then this small group of guys said, '... We're not gonna be abused anymore, right? We're gonna take over the island.'" Goodyear-Ka'opua notes this shift: "The efforts to stop the bombing of Kaho'olawe Island were organized explicitly around the assertion of distinctively aboriginal relations to land, which other 'locals' do not have. This was an important change from the earlier ways that Kalama Valley struggle had been waged." (34) The political implications of this shift from class-based struggles asserting "local" identity to struggles centering Hawaiian ties to land are significant and notable to Hawai'i's history, and scholars have articulated multiple viewpoints that are outside the scope of this essay. (35) What is important here is that Hawaiian genealogies are capacious: while Kanaka Maoli took leadership of the demilitarization movement, many non-Hawaiians also invested in these efforts to oppose military destruction of land and to assert Kanaka

Maoli self-determination. These multiple points of departure produced the assemblage of ideas, practices, and people who shape the Hawaiian movement, transforming the conditions of occupation to make "ea"--life, breath, land, and sovereignty--imaginable. (36)

Demilitarization work rooted in aloha 'aina spread to other parts of Hawai'i. At Makua, a beach and cluster of valleys on O'ahu's west side that is the site of the Makua Military Reservation, the U.S. military evicted its tenants during World War II during martial law and used it later for live-fire training. Hawaiian-led demilitarization efforts and antiwar movements initiated in the 1970s during the Vietnam War and nuclear testing in the Pacific spurred organizing to protect Makua. Later, in 1996, Kajihiro connected with the American Friends Service Committee Hawai'i Area Program in Wai'anae, the region that hosts Makua and where military bases occupy 34 percent of the land and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders comprise 62 percent of the population. As a community organizer, his work aimed to raise "awareness, to research and kind of figure out angles ... to build our movement against the Army there." Kajihiro implemented political education initiatives "to draw out those contradictions [of military occupation] and to also engage new people in the struggle, so to kind of build the forces that would be able to oppose." Overall, these demilitarization struggles accomplished a great deal: a 1980 consent decree entailed regular community accesses and the promised surface clearing of ten thousand acres of Kaho'olawe. Currently, an organization called Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana shares land stewardship responsibilities with the State of Hawai'i. (37) Further, a legal settlement stopped live-fire training at Makua and allowed for twice-monthly access to the valley for Hawaiians and the general public starting in 2001.

Today, extended DeTours visit the Wai'anae Coast, including the sites of former houseless encampments at Makua Beach as well as the Wai'anae Boat Harbor, where approximately 250 people live today in an interdependent and self-governing community. Encouraging participants to consider the relationship between the military presence and displacement, DeTours trace the consequences of occupation and the multiple ways that Hawaiians and other dispossessed people map their ongoing presence on Hawaiian land.

GENEALOGY AS KANAKA MAOLI MODE OF RESISTANCE

In this section we return to the DeTour itself, understanding it as a practice that deploys genealogy--in the Foucauldian and Kanaka senses. This genealogical approach unsettles the myths of Hawai'i as paradise and Native consent through spatial and imaginative disruptions that recenter Indigenous ways of knowing. With the understanding that humans and institutions produce space to achieve particular political ends, we characterize mo'oku'auhau as a form of knowledge and practice that remakes space and time. (38)

The DeTours operate through what Kajihiro describes as "performance cartography." Borrowed from the work of Katrina-Ann R. Kapa'anaokalakeloa Nakoa Oliveira, Kanaka performance cartography communicates knowledge of a place through oral or embodied means, such as hula or mele (chants). Oliveira describes Kanaka knowledge as "largely performative" and embodied, carried out "by engaging in practices firsthand." (39) Similarly, Keko'olani and Kajihiro draw from Hawaiian place-based storytelling rooted in the active, sensory experience of being in particular places. Kajihiro explains, "By saying these stories in places, it brings power to them in some way, it brings them to life." However, the performance cartography that DeTours undertake is not identical to the practices described by Oliveira, which are deeply place-specific and based on family lineage and Hawaiian cosmogony. Rather, DeTours represent a form of huaka'i, "physical and spiritual travels to celebrated places," that connect past and future generations through the telling and retelling of mo'olelo. (40) Further, instead of conveying a "God's eye" view implicit in colonial cartography intended to dominate and administer, DeTours' maps provide an "on the ground" perspective that embraces the fragmentation of Hawai'i's topography produced by two incomplete and antagonistic projects: military occupation and Kanaka Maoli self-determination. (41)

At 'Iolani Palace, the first stop on a DeTour, tour participants encounter evidence of the Hawaiian Kingdom. While Hawai'i's tourist economy safely relegates Indigenous governance to the past, the visit to this site on a DeTour not only recalls the violence of overthrow but also sheds light on Kanaka Maoli sovereignty as an enduring tradition of resistance. Keko'olani's and Kajihiro's genealogies interrupt the placidity of museum as edifice. On the palace grounds, Keko'olani shares a photograph of her great-grandfather, recounting the organized resistance of Kanaka Maoli through the Ku'e petitions of 1897, which protested the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States. (42) She then shows a photocopy of his signature, emblazoned across a line of the petition. Kajihiro follows with an account about his maternal great-grandfather, who served in the Japanese Navy in the 1890s, during the period of the overthrow. Conflicted over a sense of loyalty to the Hawaiian crown and their commanding officers' fear of the United States, many sailors would surreptitiously take down the American flag and hang the Hawaiian flag in its place as a small act of subversion. Both narratives relate the acts of resistance and refusal to empire upon which the people of Hawai'i have built a tradition of protest. In recounting these acts of resistance, they connect familial refusals of empire across ethnic groups. With this beginning, the DeTour unsettles a narrative of American presence on the islands as benevolent, or of annexation as consensual. The palace, at once a symbol of the Hawaiian monarchy and, later on, the prison that housed the deposed Queen Lili'uokalani, was also the site of the queen's protest. There she recounted her mo'oku'auhau through the translation of the mele ko'ihonua (cosmogonic genealogies) into English to "reaffirm her birthright to the throne." (43) Today, 'Iolani Palace stands as a symbol of Hawaiian sovereignty, a place where Hawaiians and their supporters continue to gather to protest the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and demand independence from the United States. (44) In mapping their genealogies to the palace, Keko'olani and Kajihiro bring meaning into the space that moves beyond the tourist site as relic, foregrounding the complex assemblage that gives life to Hawaiian sovereignty and resistance.

At the Pearl Harbor sites where the tour culminates, Keko'olani's and Kajihiro's mapping interrupts the nationalist, patriotic narrative at the USS Arizona Memorial. As Kajihiro notes, Pearl Harbor "is at the heart" of the rationalization of Hawaiian land as subject to U.S. rule. A map of the Pacific on the floor of the Visitors' Center entrance area shows the Hawaiian Islands' location at the center of the Pacific. The DeTour guides instruct their participants to walk across the map, from North America to Asia, to convey how Hawai'i remains a "stepping stone" for the U.S. military in the region. During one visit, a group of ten people gathered around the map while Kajihiro stressed the geopolitical importance of Hawai'i within a broader context of global imperial contests. As he emphasized that they were, in fact, standing on Hawaiian land, a nearby ranger retorted, "Oh, no it's not. This is the United States." He then informed the DeTour group that they were blocking the path of visitors, and ordered them to move along. In this moment, the DeTour reorients an actual map to push back against U.S. territorial claims, casting the United States instead as an "imperial archipelago." (45) This moment illuminates genealogy as a practice that fragments the unified representation of the U.S. nation-state.

The DeTour guides use this fragmentation to reorganize space and time in order to "decenter the Pearl Harbor hegemonic narrative and ... center it on a Hawaiian geography," according to Kajihiro. The incorporation of this genealogical labor is at the heart of the DeTours' intervention. When Kajihiro and Keko'olani take participants on the tours, they insist on the utterance of Hawaiian place-names. Keko'olani explains, "It's not First Avenue, Second Avenue, Third Avenue, you know. There are names for the isles of Pu'u'loa.... Colonization and imperialism take away all of the history through the names.... I have to learn them, and discover them, myself." Because of this, Keko'olani started to ask about "what was it like before it was taken over by the military," which led her to realize that many historians had failed to address this question:

I realized I gotta become my own expert in a lot of this stuff, right? ... We've got to find chants. You gotta find stories about how the place, you know, even maps. So I went to the archives and the mapping division and pulled out maps of ... early navigators coming into Ke Awalau o Pu'u'loa.... So then that's how I got into the whole thing about this place Ke Awalau o Pu'u'loa.... We have to decolonize the place, and not call it Pearl Harbor, but to go back to its original name, which is Ke Awalau o Pu'u'loa.... And then the place, the landscape becomes totally different, you know.

Denaturalizing spatiotemporal configurations established by military occupation, DeTours deploy what Dallas Hunt and Shaun A. Stevenson call "guerrilla mapping," which uses "Indigenous articulations of land and territory" to "achieve a sense of political, legal and even sentimental entitlement to the land." (46)

This genealogical act is "patiently documentary," relying on "a vast accumulation of source material" in the vein of Foucault, while mo'oku'auhau confront the modern conditions of dispossession. (47) Faced with the erasure of Native Hawaiian history, Keko'olani and Kajihiro invoke what Oliveira describes as an ancestral connection to place, yet this is predicated on incomplete knowledge. (48) For Keko'olani and other Hawaiians, genealogy "is not just an academic thing" but a "personal family thing about having been colonized," enabling one to uncover the historical transformations that have shaped the present. Keko'olani defines genealogy as "who I am, where I'm from, all the different places that my family has come from.... It is not just to know the names of people, but also the history behind our people, where they came from and how they had to move and why." Keko'olani invokes the tangled network of people, places, and moments of dispossession that comprise her mo'oku'auhau, defined by multiplicity. While often abstruse, this archive engenders practical knowledge that produces possibilities for self-actualization and resistance.

Near the end of the DeTour, standing on the manicured grounds of the USS Arizona Memorial and overlooking the harbor where the sunken ship beckons visiting tourists, Keko'olani and Kajihiro ask DeTours participants to visualize an expanse of lo'i kalo and fishponds against the backdrop of U.S. Navy warships. Later, they witness an instantiation of decolonial practice at work, rooted in aloha 'aina and mo'oku'auhau. At Hanekehau Farm, just across the harbor, a grassroots group has claimed space for Hawaiian practices, restoring land and water polluted by military activity and dumping. DeTour participants walk around the farm while Andre Perez, the Hanekehau guide, recounts the story of constructing the lo'i kalo. As the group sits down to eat and talk story, the leaders at Hanekehau Farm relate a vision of self-determination built on Hawaiian relationships to land. The contrast to the military base across the water could not be clearer: here, the aim is the restoration of land and the survival of lahui, or the Native nation/people, not its destruction and elimination. Contrasted against the technologies of war that dominate Pearl Harbor, this Pu'u'loa anchors a diametrically opposed vision of security. These relationships rooted in genealogy are "strategic, socially embedded, and political" in the face of ongoing U.S. military incursion. (49)

Hanekehau Farm and Keko'olani's work to recover the history of Pu'u'loa represent affective and tangible efforts toward Indigenous repossession, an endeavor in which Hawai'i youth also engage. While leading Hawai'i high school students on one particular DeTour, Kajihiro noticed youths observing the historical placards at the USS Arizona with despondent expressions. When Kajihiro asked them what was wrong, they responded, "You're right, this is not our place," voicing the seeming immovability of military occupation. Kajihiro asked, "Well, what can we do about it?" In response, the students, who attended a Hawaiian charter school and understood cultural protocol, used their knowledge to conduct Hawaiian chants at the site. This performance enacted an embodied critique of the dispossession imposed upon them, transforming space through song and ceremony to make self-determination imaginable. It both evoked and generated histories of the present. Similarly, Keko'olani's life work centers "connectivity, and all of this 'ike, all this knowledge, and the way of practicing the knowledge [that] can be

quite joyful." In the same vein, at Hanekehau Farms, DeTours introduce participants to a vibrant, contemporary practice of Native resurgence that not only confronts the destruction of militarization and capitalist development but also offers a joyful alternative deeply connected to the land.

Yet despite this spatiotemporal reconfiguration, dispossession remains ever present amid the militarized landscape. Keko'olani frequently uses the word "spooky" to describe the subtle yet rampant devastation from colonization. In her work on "transgenerational haunting," Grace Cho traces how the trauma of war produces its own genealogy through the "scattering of memory that is material and affective even if not fully articulated.... It stretches across time and place, linking disparate sites of militarized violence." (50) In this way, DeTours and related efforts traverse the localized hauntings of a global history of war and displacement. They convey the interlocking, nonlinear nature of time, recognize spaces shaped by loss, and also enact the resurgent songs, projects, and texts that imagine possible collective futures.

MAPPING LOCAL AND GLOBAL ALLIANCES

To conclude, we look to DeTours to analyze the expansive and interconnected networks of solidarity and resistance active in Hawai'i, the Pacific, and the world. Once again, we draw from the Hawaiian concept of mo'oku'auhau as a genealogical relation to land that anchors DeTours and other linked efforts. We move from the particular partnership Keko'olani and Kajihiro have forged to consider the oceanic cartography of solidarity that inspire their DeTours.

Keko'olani and Kajihiro's partnership illuminates an effective and reciprocal model of a Native and non-Native joint effort toward decolonial ends. Brought together by their activism in multiconstituent political activism and a demilitarization struggle intimately linked with the Hawaiian movement, the two DeTour guides grapple with what it means to be working in solidarity as Native and non-Native people. At the very beginning of the DeTour, at 'Iolani Palace, Keko'olani and Kajihiro invoke their personal family histories. Keko'olani, a Hawaiian activist, stresses her responsibility to her forebears who recorded their vote against annexation through the Ku'e petition. Recentring Kanaka Maoli leadership and relations to place, she stresses the salience of mo'oku'auhau as a tool to "know where you came from" as well as for charting one's obligations. Kajihiro, a fourth-generation person of Japanese ancestry in Hawai'i, invokes the subversive loyalty of his great-grandfather, a Japanese sailor who shared stories about their tacit support for Hawaiian sovereignty. Kajihiro's family history illuminates what it means to live with pono (righteousness/justice) as Japanese in Hawai'i, where many today have ascended on the political and economic stratum.

While mo'oku'auhau represent ancestral relations and connection to land, these genealogies are not, as J. Kehaulani Kauanui argues, about racial, genetic, or arbitrary blood measurements, but about "status and relationships" through 'ohana and connection to the 'aina. (51) At the same time, Kajihiro theorizes that "genealogy was always mixed," that "there was always crossing over, and people were being incorporated in.... It was messier than I think people like to believe or portray it to be. And maybe that's where its possibilities are, you know?" Kajihiro frames genealogy through the multiracial kinships that shape life on the Islands. Moreover, DeTours as an activist partnership represents an instantiation of the kind of kuleana that "people and places had to one another because of their filial ties" that extend beyond blood relations. (52) Enacting various forms of relationality, these genealogies breathe life into multiple and overlapping projects for decolonization, demilitarization, and Kanaka Maoli self-determination.

DeTours operate within this model of mutuality to confront systematic violence on local and global scales. Kajihiro states that much of the power of DeTours lies in its linkage with other demilitarization efforts, both in Hawai'i and beyond. Such efforts connect with political action, including cultural resurgence projects such as Hanekehau Farms, "Peace and Justice Clubs" on Hawai'i high school campuses, and local and global coalitions with other demilitarization groups. Genealogy, as an ethics of collective responsibility, shapes Keko'olani's and Kajihiro's long-term work addressing war and militarism. Kajihiro's involvement in the early 1990s in a People of Color Coalition against the War in the Persian Gulf and a people of color solidarity contingent in Nicaragua opened his eyes to the ravages of war and brought him to demilitarization organizing. Keko'olani and Kajihiro have also participated in solidarity tours in Vieques (Puerto Rico) and Okinawa. Recounting his and Keko'olani's experience at Vieques in the height of the anti-bombing movement, Kajihiro reflects that their travel "felt like we were going in a way that ... had a purpose. We had something to give, and we had responsibilities that we brought home, as well as gifts that we got from the knowledge and the experiences." He continues: "The idea of bringing and receiving exchanging of gifts of some sort ... that mutual exchange is really crucial." This reciprocity broadens the worldview and scope of struggle for all parties. Kajihiro explains that on these visits "our presence lent legitimacy, sharing our stories helped to kind of change what the local people knew about other conditions in the world. And then we took back their stories and ... the political demands that they were fighting for, and we tried to operationalize that here, do outreach, get resolutions passed." Perhaps one of the most significant contributions of activist tours and other forms of global solidarity is that they enlarge political identities "to resist oppression and exploitation at a higher scale--over a wider geographical field." (53)

This expansive mapping draws from the intersecting histories and interconnected spaces of U.S. empire and militarism, placing Hawai'i squarely in a map of demilitarization movements. Kajihiro relates how DeTours address the ways Hawai'i did not fit a preconceived notion of an occupied territory: Hawai'i is often "left out when people think of foreign military bases as a problem. We aren't foreign enough." Keko'olani concurs, relating what people see when they take a solidarity tour in Palestine compared to Hawai'i: In Palestine "you see devastation. You know, you will see it right in front of your face. And yet for me all of the Kaka'ako Towers [new high-rise developments near downtown Honolulu] are [a] devastation. It's a different kind of devastation. It's something that is acceptable to ... the people. It's something that is even seen as a good thing, and modern.... It's like,

'What are you complaining about? Hello! You have a wonderful, you know ... paradise!' DeTours recalibrate the tourist gaze to uncover the devastation of life shaped by the military domination of land and resources and rampant capitalist development.

To confront these projects, Keko'olani and Kajihiro advocate for an oceanic, global vision of solidarity in their insistence on Hawaiian mo'oku'auhau. The recounting of genealogy theorizes the constellation of relationships that constitutes the universe and people's place within it. For instance, Keko'olani's genealogy includes her family lineage as well as her "connection to all of Moana Nui [large sea, referring to the Pacific Ocean]." She describes the sea-based ties between Hawaiians and other Pacific peoples, casting a net of interconnection while making a call for stewardship and responsibility:

We're saying this is the Pacific Ocean, it's Moana Nui. Culturally as a people here we are in Hawai'i, our relations are with those of Tahiti all the way to Chile area, this is all of our family. Samoa, all the way down to ... Aotearoa. Maori, we are related as a people. This is our crossroads, this is where we do canoes and stargazing, star navigations is how we got to know each other, this is our continent. It's called the continent of Moana Nui. We're not land oriented, people. We're ocean people. We're not scared of water. You know, it's not someplace where you can dump all your shit. This is our homeland.

Engaging in a "larger Oceanic framing," Keko'olani casts Oceania as a place "constituted by enacting connectivities." (54) In addition to enlarging maps of resistance, Oceanic framing centers the Pacific as an Indigenous space, emphasizes the agency of Pacific Islanders in employing environmental knowledge to confront war and destructive economic development, and acknowledges the multiple forms of violence that have shaped the region. (55) Centering the ocean as a source of connection, as Epeli Hau'ofa does, Keko'olani makes a call for coalitional struggle against those destroying the 'aina and water. (56) In this sense, aloha 'aina is a call for sovereignty not only for Hawai'i, but for Earth itself. Rather than invoking a singular origin of a people and their struggle, DeTours map the crosscurrents of resistance that produce Hawai'i's history and continue to shape the islands. The Pacific itself interconnects Keko'olani's and Kajihiro's distinct histories, as the site of collisions that generate the untidy cross-pollinations of descent and dissent. (57) Their pasts diverge and intersect, feeding the entangled web of genealogies. In DeTours, each of them draw from their own genealogies, bound to global developments shaped by resistance to empire and war. Unsettling the imaginary of Hawai'i as paradise, DeTours interrupt military occupation and the poverty resulting from the theft of land and water and instead center Kanaka relations to place, toward an expansive vision of Hawaiian self-determination.

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LAUREL MEI-SINGH thinks about carceral geographies, policing, and de/militarisms in the Pacific and beyond. Community-organizing efforts she has participated in include work with CAAAV Organizing Asian Communities in New York City, the Wai'anae Environmental Justice Working Group, and Hawai'i Peace and Justice. She has taught at Princeton University, the University of Hawai'i, and the City University of New York. She is writing a book about military fences and grassroots struggles for land and livelihood in Wai'anae, a rural and heavily militarized region of Hawai'i.

NOTES

The authors wish to mahalo Terri Keko'olani and Kyle Kajihiro for their inspiring work and for taking the time to share their stories. We would also like to thank the three anonymous reviewers and the Critical Ethnic Studies coeditors for their generous feedback, and Hokulani Aikau and Nijah Cunningham for their keen insights regarding this essay.

(1.) Regarding terminology, we refer to the Indigenous people of Hawai'i as Kanaka Maoli, Hawaiian, Kanaka, and Native interchangeably. Kanaka Maoli represents a decolonizing practice and "indicates ... genealogical relationship to the lands and water of our islands" See Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, "Introduction," in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, ed. Goodyear-Ka'opua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 2. Regarding "Hawaiian," Lili'uokalani, the Queen of Hawai'i, wrote in 1898, "When I speak ... of the Hawaiian people, I refer to the children of the soil--the native inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants" See Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1898), 325. "Hawaiian" thus describes a "national populace," not a descriptor like "Californian." Note that Kanaka or Kanaka Maoli (with a macron) denotes plural. For more on terminology, see Kanalu Young, "An Interdisciplinary Study of the Term 'Hawaiian,'" *Hawaiian Journal of Law & Politics* 1 (2004): 23-45.

(2.) Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *DismemberingLahui* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

- (3.) The description of this tour throughout the essay derives from an amalgamation of notes taken from two tours taken separately by the authors on July 14, 2012, and April 18, 2015. In addition to participant observation, the authors separately conducted interviews with Keko'olani (on July 24, 2014, and May 17, 2016) and Kajihiro (on July 9, 2014, and May 13, 2016).
- (4.) On the politics of fences, see Laurel Mei-Singh, "Carceral Conservationism: Contested Landscapes and Technologies of Dispossession at Ka'ena Point, Hawai'i," *American Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (2016): 695-722.
- (5.) "Bill Would Force the Navy to Upgrade Red Hill Fuel Tanks Sooner," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, February 8, 2017, <http://www.civilbeat.org/2017/02/bill-would-force-the-navy-to-upgrade-red-hill-fuel-tanks-sooner/>.
- (6.) "Military Active-Duty Personnel, Civilians by State," *Governing.com*, <http://www.governing.com/gov-data/military-civilian-active-duty-employee-workforce-numbers-by-state.html>.
- (7.) Kajihiro uses this phrase from Phyllis Turnbull and Kathy Ferguson, *O, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- (8.) Pearl Harbor Historic Sites, "USS Arizona Memorial." On the politics of militarism in this tourist space (and vice versa), see Geoffrey White, *Memorializing Pearl Harbor: Unfinished Histories and the Work of Remembrance* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016); and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, "Remembering Pearl Harbor, Reinforcing Vigilance," in *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 115-46.
- (9.) Frantz Fanon describes violence as the central feature of the colonial condition. Violence is shaped by a continuum from military/police violence to more subtle forms of domination, including environmental, economic, legal, psychological, and spiritual violence. Likewise, decolonization entails several aims: the struggle for political power, liberation, "bread and land," the redistribution of wealth, and the making of a new human. See *Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2005).
- (10.) Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, "Memorializing Pu'uloa and Remembering Pearl Harbor," in *Militarized Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 3-14.
- (11.) Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 11.
- (12.) See Stephanie Nohelani Teves, "Aloha State Apparatuses," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 705-26. See also Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise*.
- (13.) Reuben Rose-Redwood, "'Reclaim, Rename, ReOccupy': Decolonizing Place and Reclaiming of PKOLS," *ACME: An International e-Journal for Critical Geographies* 15, no. 1 (2016): 187.
- (14.) Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Language, Counter Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 76-100.
- (15.) Mark Bevir, "What Is Genealogy?," *Journal of the Philosophy of History* 2 (2008): 263-75.
- (16.) Hokulani Aikau, Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, and Noenoe Silva, "The Practice of Kuleana: Reflections on Critical Indigenous Studies through Trans-Indigenous Exchange," in *Critical Indigenous Studies: Engagements in First World Locations*, ed. Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 161.
- (17.) Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of a Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).
- (18.) Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000). Jeffrey Corntassel and Taiaiake Alfred, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* 40, no. 4 (2005): 597-614.
- (19.) We define "empire" as the collection of nations or people ruled by a foreign government, typically for the purpose of economic and military domination. While imperial projects advance and consolidate the territorial control of land and resources, it is imperative to recognize the imaginaries, feelings, and subjectivities that naturalize and obscure this systematized violence.

- (20.) J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).
- (21.) Goodyear-Ka'opua, "Introduction," 5.
- (22.) Brandy Nalani MacDougall, "'Mo'oku'auhau versus Colonial Entitlement in English Translations of the Kumulipo," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 749-79.
- (23.) Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert cited in Candace Fujikane, "Mapping Wonder in the Maui Mo'olelo on the M'o'aina: Growing Aloha'Aina Through Indigenous and Settler Affinity Activism," *Marvels & Tales* 30, no. 1 (2016): 53.
- (24.) Iokepa Casumbal-Salazar, "Multicultural Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Struggle in Hawai'i: The Politics of Astronomy on Mauna A Wakea" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2014). Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).
- (25.) Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Colliding Histories: Hawai'i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians 'Ineligible to Citizenship' and Hawaiians 'Unfit for Self-Government,'" *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13, no. 3 (2010): 283-309.
- (26.) For more on multiracial labor resistance in Hawai'i, see Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawai'i's Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).
- (27.) Paul Lyons and Ty P. Kawika Tengan, "Introduction: Pacific Currents," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 554.
- (28.) "The U.S. Occupation of Hawai'i," *DMZ Hawai'i/Aloha Aina*, March 5, 2009, http://www.dmzhawaii.org/?page_id=1655.
- (29.) Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).
- (30.) Noel Kent, *Hawaii: Islands under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993).
- (31.) Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), critique the celebration of Asian ascendance in Hawai'i that advanced Hawaiian dispossession and characterize Asian positionality as shaped by Asian settler colonialism.
- (32.) Neal Milner, "Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in Kalama Valley: Reimagining a Hawaiian Nation through a Property Dispute," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 40 (2006): 149-76.
- (33.) Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, "Hawaiian Souls: The Movement to Stop the U.S. Military Bombing of Kaho'olawe," in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, ed. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 141-42.
- (34.) Goodyear-Ka'opua, "Introduction," 11.
- (35.) "Local" reflects Hawai'i vernacular to refer to longtime residents in Hawai'i who are typically working class, often non-Hawaiian. See both Eric Yamamoto, "Rethinking Alliances: Agency, Responsibility, and Interracial Justice," *UCLA Asian Pacific Law Journal* 3, no. 1 (1995): 33-74; and Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000): 1-24.
- (36.) Goodyear-Ka'opua, "Introduction."
- (37.) Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, <http://www.protectkahoolaweohana.org>.
- (38.) On the social and political production of space, see Neil Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographical Scale," *Social Text* 33 (1992): 55-81.

(39.) Katrina-Ann R. Kapa'anaokalaokeala Nakoa Oliveira, *Ancestral Places: Understanding Kanaka Geographies* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014), 112.

(40.) Fujikane, "Mapping Wonder," 47.

(41.) "Mapping Ghosts: Visible Collective Talks to Trevor Paglen," in *An Atlas of Radical Cartography*, ed. Lize Mogel and Alexis Bhagat (Los Angeles: Journal of Aesthetics and Protest Press, 2008), 39-49.

(42.) Silva's groundbreaking work on Hawaiian history and language in *Aloha Betrayed* brought the Ku'e petitions to the attention of scholars and activists.

(43.) Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 3.

(44.) Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, "Kuleana Lahui: Collective Responsibility for Hawaiian Nationhood in Activists' Praxis," *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action* 5 (2011): 130-63, recounts two of many contemporary protests by Hawaiians at 'Iolani Palace.

(45.) See Craig Santos Perez, "Transterritorial Currents and the Imperial Terripelago," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 619-24.

(46.) Dallas Hunt and Shaun A. Stevenson, "Decolonizing Geographies of Power: Indigenous Digital Counter-Mapping Practices on Turtle Island," *Settler Colonial Studies* 7, no. 3 (2017): 2, 4, doi: 10.1080/2201473X.2016.1186311.

(47.) Foucault, "'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,'" 76-77.

(48.) Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*.

(49.) Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 3. Lilikala Kame'eileiwiwa, *Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea La E Pono Ai?: How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

(50.) Grace M. Cho, *Haunting the Korean Diaspora: Shame, Secrecy, and the Forgotten War* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

(51.) Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 40-41.

(52.) Aikau, Goodyear-Ka'opua, and Silva, "The Practice of Kuleana," 161.

(53.) Smith, "Contours of a Spatialized Politics," 60.

(54.) Osorio, in Lyons and Tengan, "Introduction: Pacific Currents," 551.

(55.) Lyons and Tengan, "Introduction: Pacific Currents," 551.

(56.) Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, ed. Eric Waddesll, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau'ofa (The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 1993), 2-16.

(57.) Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 80-83.

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Source Citation

Mei-Singh, Laurel, and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez. "DeTours: Mapping Decolonial Genealogies in Hawaii." *Journal of the Critical Ethnic Studies Association*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2017, p. 173+. *Gale OneFile: Contemporary Women's Issues*,

Gale Document Number: GALE|A520673925
