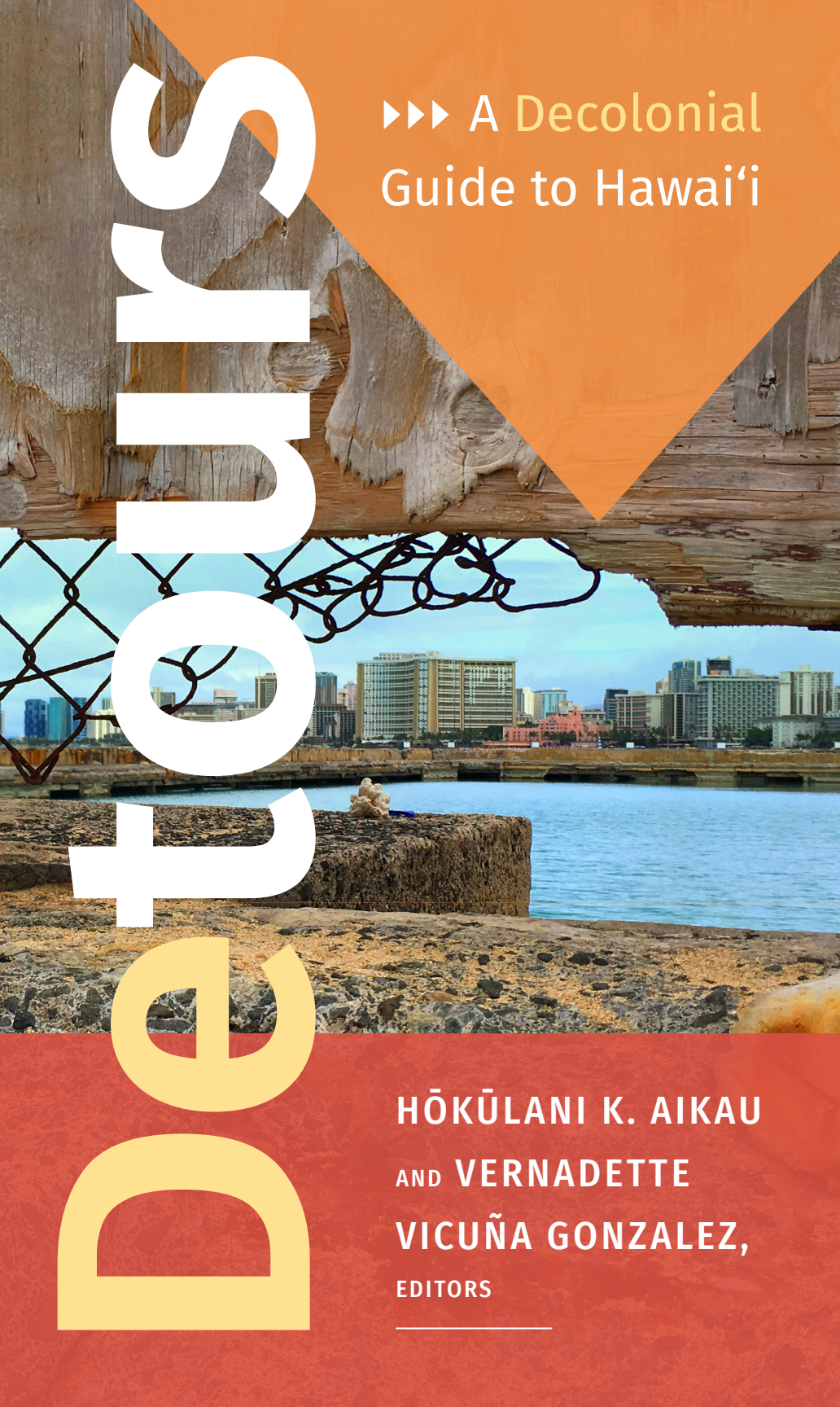




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▶▶▶ A Decolonial
Guide to Hawai‘i

HŌKŪLANI K. AIKAU
AND VERNADETTE
VICUÑA GONZALEZ,
EDITORS

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To our 'ohana, and ka lāhui Hawai'i



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Hökūlani K. Aikau and
Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez

Introduction

Many people first encounter Hawai'i through their imagination. A postcard imaginary of the Hawaiian Islands is steeped in a history of discovery, from the unfortunate Captain Cook, to the missionaries who followed, the military that rests and re-creates, and the hordes of tourists arriving with every flight. Travel writing, followed by photography and movies, have shaped the way Hawai'i is perceived. Guidebooks are one of the most popular genres depicting the islands. They offer up Hawai'i for easy consumption, tantalizingly reveal its secrets, and suggest the most efficient ways to make the most of one's holiday. Tour guides are part of the machinery of tourism that has come to define Hawai'i. Residents and visitors alike are inundated with the notion of Hawai'i's "aloha spirit," which supposedly makes Hawai'i paradise on earth. Hawai'i's economy revolves around tourism and the tropical image that beckons so many. This dominant sector of the economy has a heavy influence on the social and political values of many of Hawai'i's residents.

We titled this book *Detours* because it is meant to redirect you from the fantasy of Hawai'i as a tropical paradise toward an engagement with Hawai'i that is pono (just, fitting).¹ Hawai'i, like many places that have been deemed tourist destinations, is so much more than how the guidebooks depict it—a series of "must-do" and "must-see" attractions; a list of the most accommodating, affordable restaurants and hotels; beaches and forest trails waiting to be discovered; a reputation as a multicultural paradise adding color to a holiday experience; and a geography and climate marshalled for the pleasure of visitors. While this place is indeed beautiful, it is not an exotic postcard or a tropical playground with happy hosts. People here struggle with the problems brought about by colonialism, military occupation, tourism, food

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insecurity, high costs of living, and the effects of a changing climate. This book is a guide to Hawai'i that does not put tourist desires at the center. It will not help re-create the discovery narrative. It will not help people find paradise. It does not offer solace in a multicultural Eden where difference is dressed in aloha shirts and grass skirts. This book is meant to unsettle, to disquiet, and to disturb the "fact" of Hawai'i as a place for tourists. It is intended to guide readers toward practices that disrupt tourist paradise.

This guide considers the different ways that communities and other groups work together toward restoring *ea* (the breath and sovereignty of the *lāhui*, 'āina, and its people). The *lāhui Hawai'i* (Hawaiian nation) has tactically, strategically, and persistently resisted dismemberment and military occupation. What we offer here are unfamiliar and alternative narratives, tours, itineraries, mappings, and images of the Hawaiian Islands that present a decolonial understanding of Hawai'i that goes beyond global tourism's marketing. They show how people have disrupted and transformed life here in order to continue the tradition of refusal and resistance. The stories, poetry, and art gathered in this book include concrete examples of how we move from metaphors of decolonization to material practices and everyday acts of resurgence that bring about real change in people's lives, transforming our relationships with land as 'āina so it can better feed us once again.

While this is a guide, it should not be construed as a blanket invitation. Not everyone who reads this book will be invited or allowed to go to all of the places that are described. Some places and knowledge have been left out altogether because they are not meant for outsiders. We honor the wishes of the community that has asked that this book not be an invitation to visitors. We ask that you respect their wishes and follow their protocol for how to engage—or not. Sometimes the best way to support decolonization and Kanaka 'Ōiwi resurgence is to not come as a tourist to our home. The *our* in this sentence recognizes that Kanaka and non-Kanaka call this place home and that we all need to (re)learn how to live here in radically different ways if the 'āina and wai (land and water) are going to be able to support *po'e* (peoples, beings) into the future. Thus, an important underlying assumption of this book is that not all knowledge, information, or access to places is open and available to everyone. We understand that within a touristic framework, this is a radically audacious idea. But we ask that you proceed with caution and restraint.

We also recognize that this un-invitation might be disconcerting, and it should be. Hawai'i as ideal tourist destination is made possible by an infrastructure built for and around visitors' comfort, safety, and pleasure. That

infrastructure and the ideas, values, and decisions that support it were and are built on the historical and present-day dispossession of Kanaka 'Ōiwi—Native Hawaiians. Unless we actively work to dismantle this infrastructure and refuse the tourist imaginary, we will (wittingly or unwittingly) contribute to reproducing the occupation and colonization of these places, people, and practices. This bleak picture of the contemporary moment will also be our future—but that is yet to be determined. If you want to contribute to preparing for a different future, and if this knowledge makes you at all uneasy and you want to approach and engage Hawai'i differently—with a sense of pono and kuleana (responsibility, obligation, authority)—then come with us on this huaka'i, this transformative journey. Instead of looking at what Hawai'i can offer you (and it has much to offer beyond sun and sand), you might think instead of how you can learn from and contribute to ongoing efforts toward sustaining ea.

This book is important for at least two reasons. First, it affirms that the ala loa—the long path—of decolonization is one worth following, and that anyone with a commitment to do the work can walk this path. Second, the contributors and their work remind us that we are all following in the footsteps of people who came before us and that we are moving the cause forward in diverse ways according to our individual gifts, relationships, perspectives, and efforts. This is important because just as colonization, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy continue to evolve and shape-shift, appropriating our efforts, co-opting our people, and slowly killing us, we need decolonizing practices that are creative, adaptive, innovative, and ongoing if Indigenous peoples are going to get out in front of the colonizing machines and hold firm to “the chattering winds of hope.”²

Cultivating Ea

We intentionally use the words *decolonize* and *decolonial* to identify the main goal of this book: to restore the ea of Hawai'i. Kanaka 'Ōiwi scholar and activist Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua describes “ea as both a concept and a diverse set of practices. . . . Ea refers to political independence and is often translated as ‘sovereignty.’ It also carries the meaning of ‘life’ and ‘breath,’ among other things. . . . *Ea is based on the experiences of people on the land, relationships forged through the process of remembering and caring for wahi pana, storied places . . . Ea is an active state of being . . . Ea cannot be achieved or possessed; it requires constant action day after day, generation after generation.*”³ Ea is a political orientation and a set of intentional practices that must be done day after day, generation after generation. During



Cultivating ea, block print. *Photograph by Pekuna Hong.*

ka wā ‘Oiwī walo nō (the era that was indeed Native), ea was the way of life. Ea was for kanaka as water is for fish. It is the air we breathe.⁴ Today, ea must be cultivated by Kanaka and non-Kanaka alike if it is going to persist into the future.

To be sure, resistance and decolonization, the companions of ea, have been around since Europeans “discovered” lands and people on far-distant shores and exerted control over the natural and human resources they found: colonization sparked decolonization. European exploration marked the dawn of an age of imperialism and colonialism—the process of creating European settlements in colonial outposts in order to assert direct control over land, labor, markets, resources, and the flow of capital, commodities, and ideas. Settler colonialism is the particular form colonialism has taken in places such as the United States, Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Australia. Settler colonialism describes the process by which settlers came, stayed, and formed new governmental structures, laws, and ideas intended to affirm their ownership of land and labor. These global shifts also marked the emergence of resistance to empire and colonization. Decolonization describes material practices that have arisen in response to the myriad forms imperialism and colonization have taken over five centuries. It includes, but is not limited to, the processes and practices of resistance, refusal, and

dismantling of the political, economic, social, and spiritual structures constructed by colonizers.⁵

When we describe the aim of this book as to contribute to the decolonization of Hawai'i, we are also committed to the return of Hawaiian lands to the Hawaiian people and the removal of the kinds of institutions, such as the U.S. military and its governmental structures, that occupy and abuse this place. To achieve this, a process of decolonization must work at all levels at which imperialism and settler colonialism operate. This book works on the level of ideas and practices, reminding people, both Indigenous and not Indigenous, that there was a time in the not-so-distant past when Kanaka 'Ōiwi "were born into and lived in a universe which was entirely of our making."⁶ A vision of a future where Indigenous people are sovereign is a commitment to understanding the process by which colonization and occupation occurred. Deoccupation, which is devoted to demilitarization and the repatriation of Kanaka land, is a crucial part of the broader project of decolonization.

Frantz Fanon, a writer and freedom fighter who sought the decolonization of Algeria from France, better explains the challenge to which we are responding. He charged Native intellectuals to write for the people, toward political ends—to write about the past and present "with the intention of opening up the future, of spurring them into action and fostering hope."⁷ We asked our contributors to write, craft, create, and imagine a present that plans and prepares for a future built from action and hope. We asked them to relate stories that foster decolonial approaches and imaginaries of Hawai'i. Fanon also says that, in addition to writing, we must take action: "But in order to *secure* hope, in order to give it substance, [we] must *take part in the action and commit [our] body and soul* to the national struggle. You can talk about anything you like, but when it comes to talking about that one thing in a life that involves opening up new horizons . . . then *muscle power* is required."⁸ The contributors to *Detours* are intellectuals putting "muscle power" toward opening up the future we desire. If we are going to (re)shape the future, we must actively prepare now. Many of the contributors share the work they do in relation to places and community. The kinds of practices, imaginations, and stories they are nurturing—all of which are putting decolonization into practice. These are not just words in a book, but a set of actions that must be done on a regular basis if decolonization is to be more than a metaphor and if we are to cultivate ea. No one project is like another, even though they all share similar themes, values, and commitments.

Modeling Kuleana

While we—the editors of this book—come from different places, we are both committed to the project of decolonizing Hawai‘i—restoring and strengthening the ea of the people and the land. Hōkūlani is a Kanaka ‘Ōiwi who was born in Hawai‘i but whose family emigrated when she was three years old. She did not return until she was twenty-five, as a tourist. Hōkūlani’s first trip back to her one hānau (her birth sands, the place of her birth) contrasted nostalgic family memories with images, smells, sounds, and representations of a Hawai‘i made available to tourists, outsiders, malihini (strangers). Vernadette is a Filipina born in the Philippines whose family settled on the U.S. continent when she was eleven. She came to Hawai‘i as a graduate student, then again in her thirties, as a professor. She first came to Hawai‘i to study tourism from a critical angle, having encountered that prevalent idea of the islands as paradise.

We met as colleagues at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, both experiencing a broader process of connecting and reconnecting with places and people. For Hōkūlani, this meant learning the practices she had only heard described by her kūpuna (grandparents). These lands had not fed her for nearly thirty years. She had to reestablish her relationship with people, places, and practices in order to remember how she is of Hawai‘i. For Vernadette, this meant learning the sometimes uncomfortable place, protocols, and responsibilities of someone who is a settler and an ally for decolonization in Hawai‘i. As a settler on occupied lands, Vernadette navigates every day what it means to live and raise a family here and the kuleana that comes from being nourished by this place. On one level, our huaka‘i are not all that different, yet our positions as Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and settler afford us fundamentally different relationships to this place. Despite these differences, we both work diligently every day to carry our respective kuleana in pono ways. We hope that the contributions in this volume will demonstrate that not everyone carries the same kuleana. We must, however, support each other, and we need to hold each other lovingly accountable for our respective kuleana.

A History of Bad Guests

Given our similar yet distinct relationships to Hawai‘i nei, it might seem strange for us to offer a guide to this place. We wrestled with this, but we felt that our unique stories give us insight into the struggles that many people might have who want to engage with Hawai‘i and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi initiatives of decolonization. A guide about Hawai‘i was the best way for us to show how we and others—Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and settlers in Hawai‘i, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi who have settled elsewhere—can live ethically and justly. This has not always been the case.

A gloss of Hawaiian history illuminates the tensions of an archipelago caught between Kanaka 'Ōiwi sovereignty and Western imperial maneuvers. The results were ugly for Native Hawaiians and others ensnared in the colonial land grab, belying the pretty postcard images of Hawai'i today. What we want to make clear in this history is that the myth of Native hospitality has supported this pattern of material dispossession.⁹ Against colonialism's distortion of ideas and theft of land, Native resistance was born from the first moment of Western contact.

One could argue that the best known early "visitors" to encounter the Hawaiian Islands were Captain James Cook and his crew. By the time he sailed into the blue waters of the archipelago, a vibrant, prosperous, and complex society had established itself, having inaugurated the so-called Age of Exploration more than a millenium before the Europeans discovered Moananuiākea (the Pacific Ocean). Cook was a British explorer who in 1779 repaid the gift of being able to resupply and repair his ships on Hawai'i Island with an attempt to kidnap its chief. His "discovery" initiated a series of ill-behaved guests. Despite the dismal decision making that resulted in his death, he was given full honors at burial, and his remains were returned to his crew. Cook and his sailors left the worst of keepsakes: contagious diseases such as cholera, measles, and gonorrhea laid waste to a population that had no immunities.

Whalers and missionaries were the next set of arrivals to the islands in the 1820s. Whalers were drawn to the islands' salubrious climate, which beckoned them after months spent on cramped ships. Honolulu and Lahaina became ports of call for ships to resupply fresh provisions. These were also sites where sailors disembarked for local entertainments, misconstruing Indigenous practices of sexual exchange as prostitution or evidence of Native moral decay (charges they were somehow exempt from). Disease spread further, and the Native Hawaiian population continued to decline. Protestant missionaries also set sail for the islands, and upon their arrival transformed its social structure. The first generation of missionaries imposed their religious strictures on Kanaka 'Ōiwi, frowning on the "lascivious" movements of hula and encouraging practices of Western dress and domesticity. Their children and grandchildren went beyond harvesting souls for God to harvesting Hawaiian land for profit.

A generation after missionaries arrived, the Māhele, or Division of Land, that began in 1848 formalized a system of private property ownership that had not existed in the islands before then. Such a shift was induced by sweet dreams of sugar, which brought with them a new labor system using Asian contract laborers to work the plantations. The impact of Hawai'i's early

visitors was grim, particularly for Native Hawaiians, who were increasingly marginalized from political power. Descendants of missionaries, entrenched in advisory positions to the Mō'i (kings and queens) and consolidating their sugar wealth, essentially lobbied for most-favored guest status with the emerging superpower in the region, the United States. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 guaranteed Hawai'i's economic reliance on sugar and the ascendance of the Big Five (Castle and Cooke, C. Brewer, American Factors, Theo H. Davies, Alexander and Baldwin) as the economic players in the islands. Ten years later, the renewal of the treaty granted a new but insistent visitor—the U.S. military—exclusive rights to what would become Pearl Harbor.

These guests to the kingdom—for that is what they were: settlers who had been granted residency by virtue of royal tolerance—were unsatisfied with the concessions that made more and more Native Hawaiians uneasy. On June 30, 1887, a group of white American settlers—planters and businessmen who had made their fortunes in Hawai'i—put a gun to King Kalākaua, threatening him with death unless he signed a new constitution that removed powers from the monarch. When his sister, Lili'uokalani, became Mō'i and moved to create a new constitution in response to the pleas of her subjects, the white oligarchy, supported by U.S. Marines from the *USS Boston*, overthrew her and imprisoned her in her own home. Her crimes: refusal to recognize the Bayonet Constitution as the law and her intention to institute a new constitution that would reestablish Native Hawaiian sovereign rule of the kingdom and re-enfranchise those, including Asian settlers, who had been disenfranchised by race and class exclusions by the Bayonet Constitution. In other words, as leader of the lāhui, she moved to reestablish authority over her own home, and for this she and her people were punished.

Colonialism is the ultimate breach of guest protocol. It violates a welcome, one that was never actually extended, in order to fulfill a desire to take and possess land that is not one's own. Colonialism was not met with consent or passivity: in response to the Bayonet Constitution, Hawaiian nationalists planned armed uprisings; Robert Wilcox tried twice. Men and women across the islands submitted petitions urging the queen to rewrite the constitution and reestablish 'Ōiwi sovereignty. The imprisoned queen composed mele (chants) for her people, smuggling them out of her home to be published in Hawaiian-language newspapers.

In the face of the white oligarchy that was now in political power, and its machinations to annex the islands to the United States, Hui Aloha 'Āina, also known as the Hawaiian Patriotic League, along with other political organizations amassed more than 38,000 signatures protesting such a move. Queen

Lili'uokalani and her loyal subjects went to Washington, DC, to express their resistance (always following proper protocol as guests). And their political maneuvers worked. In 1897, the U.S. Congress voted against the annexation of Hawai'i.

When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898 and the reality of Hawai'i's strategic position in the Pacific became essential, the U.S. Congress passed a Joint Resolution that annexed Hawai'i to the United States. This illegal maneuver bypassed international treaty law and unilaterally attached the islands to the continent by fiat, not democratic process. Today, this story of treason, overthrow, illegal occupation, and annexation is remembered by the United States as "the end of a lengthy internal struggle between native Hawaiians and white American business men for control of the Hawaiian government."¹⁰ As David Uahikeaikalei'ohu Maile writes in his contribution to this guide, "A'ole Is Our Refusal"; the struggle between Native Hawaiians and the United States is not over. Indeed, Kanaka 'Ōiwi evoke a history of refusal when they gathered at public hearings organized by the U.S. Department of the Interior across the pae 'āina to say, "'a'ole, we do not now nor did we in the past consent to U.S. occupation."

This cursory history of overstaying, ill-behaved, and overreaching "visitors" illuminates the pattern of violations committed against the people, nation, and lands of Hawai'i. U.S. national historians would have us believe that this story was inevitable, a product and outcome of structural forces beyond anyone's control. But let us be clear: Kanaka 'Ōiwi and other subjects loyal to the Mō'i have steadfastly refused the "gift" of recognition. We would much rather 'ai pohaku (eat stones, the fruit of the land) than be part of the United States of America. We refuse the marketing and prostitution of Hawaiian culture, land, and labor for tourist consumption. We rage against the U.S. military occupation of kingdom lands at the lowest rental rates in the country: \$1.00 per year. Behind the image of the smiling, gentle, seductively beckoning icon of the hula girl—meant to invite, reassure, welcome—is a Hawai'i that has always been clear about its expressions of aloha 'āina (love for our lands) and 'a'ole (refusal). It has learned from its history that visitors do not always come with the best intentions, nor do they understand practices of true reciprocity as crucial to the extension of aloha. And many never leave.

A Map of the Way Forward

This book is arranged around several themes that are distinctly place-based. Unlike a travel guidebook, *Detours* does not offer comprehensive coverage of all the sites and sights in Hawai'i. What we have here is a selection of visual

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and written work that come together to shift conceptions and perceptions of Hawai'i, highlight different ways of moving through its spaces, and, when appropriate, invite people to work toward a decolonial future alongside others committed to the same goals.

We want to highlight two words that capture the tensions of this book: *aloha*, a term whose meaning incorporates notions of compassion, regard, fondness, and many other sentiments for mutual affection and reciprocity; and *'a'ole*, which means "no, never, no!" We draw your attention to these key terms because they remind us that we must take heed and proceed with caution. *Aloha* is the Kanaka term most identified with the tourism industry, which, as noted above, uses the term to represent, market, and promote Hawai'i and Native Hawaiians as naturally hospitable and welcoming. It has also been widely appropriated to advertise ski and snowboard rentals in Park City, Utah, and poke bowls in Chicago (only two of thousands of examples). Such representations have contributed to how colonial powers—the United States foremost among them—have translated this to mean an unconditional open door. The word *'a'ole* is a demand that has not been as equally heard, although it too has been uttered since the earliest instances of overreaching and overstaying in this place. Juxtaposing these two terms is meant to provoke, to frame this "guide" as an unsettling assertion of sovereignty and a demand to think critically about your relationship with Hawai'i.

Part I, "Wahi Pana/Storied Places," lingers on a number of places whose histories have been forgotten, buried, or misrepresented. Tourism and its sibling, urban and suburban construction, have had a lot to do with how the deep histories of these sites have faded from contemporary view or from human memory. The places described here include popular tourist attractions and lesser-known neighborhoods, as well as sites that do not make their way into tourist guidebooks because they are not deemed worthy destinations. Part II, "Hana Lima/Decolonial Representations and Projects," explores practices that restore or establish people's connections to places or the practices that are connected to places. These include community-based and place-based efforts focused on reviving cultural practices as well as ongoing struggles against and alongside tourism as a dominant economic engine of Hawai'i. Part III, "Huaka'i/Tours for Transformation," features actual tours that address geographic, environmental, social, and political issues on the islands; transformative practices of journeying that have been revived in the islands; or imaginative itineraries that unsettle tourists' and residents' expectations. They may be regular offerings, community-based

tours intended to raise consciousness about a place, or unique mappings of commonly traversed areas that offer layered histories. Part IV, “Hawai‘i beyond the ‘Big Eight’/New Mappings,” offers cartographies of Hawai‘i that disrupt the notion that Hawai‘i is geographically bounded by the eight main islands. Most guidebooks determine geographic location to be the limit of their authority, but this one considers how Kānaka ‘Ōiwi have traveled, explored, and settled far beyond these shores, and how Hawai‘i contends with the transformations brought by other Pacific migrations. Some of these dislocations have been by choice, others through force.

Our contributors use ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) generously and at times without translation. In general, we asked authors to include their preferred English translations of Hawaiian terms upon their first use in an essay. For longer quotes we have included adjacent translations of the text. We also provide a glossary of terms commonly used throughout the volume, and we have honored the wishes of those contributors who asked that their work not be translated into English. We do so because we recognize that translation is political. As Noenoe Silva explains, “translation is unsatisfactory . . . because it is impossible to convey all of the cultural coding that English strips away and equally impossible to avoid the Western cultural coding that English adds.”¹¹ By limiting the multiplicity of meaning and attaching unintended meaning to terms, translation also does violence to ‘ike Hawai‘i.

Given the significance of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i for restoring ea, we ask readers to approach translations for what they are: provisional interpretations of texts. The translations in this volume should not be treated as literal, one-to-one representations of the original; definitions vary from piece to piece and within a single essay. The glossary honors the multiplicity of meaning so valued in ‘ike Hawai‘i. We include the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i source text in order to provide readers of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i an opportunity to engage with the material in its original form. In sum, even when a translation is provided, it should not be construed as the final word on the interpretation of the primary source. Rather, we encourage you to learn ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i if you do not know it; if you do, we ask that you interact with the primary text in your own analytical and relational way.

A Conditional Invitation to Enter

According to Hawaiian protocol, a guest would present a mele kāhea, or a chant petitioning for entry or welcome, to ask permission to enter or pass through a place. One waits for the response, the mele komo, which grants entry and establishes the expectations of pono behavior, gifts, and other

forms of reciprocity. Mele kâhea and mele komo continue to be protocol in the practice of hula and in other rituals involving learning.

A common mele kâhea, Kūnihi ka Mauna, describes the journey of Hi'ikaikapoliopole, the younger sister of Pele, who traveled to Kaua'i to fetch Lohi'au, Pele's lover. As Hi'ika travels across Kaua'i, she encounters many obstacles, including a missing bridge over the Wailua River. A particular version of this story describes Hi'ika arriving at the home of a seer and his relative. She asked permission to enter, but her chant was ignored by the seer's wife, who was beating her kapa cloth. Hi'ika must receive permission from the seer himself, who is down by the ocean. She would not be allowed to cross the river until the person with the kuleana (authority) to grant permission did so. So, she waited until his return then performed the mele kâhea again. The seer responded in the affirmative, and she was allowed to pass.

What we want to highlight from this story of Hi'ika's journey is that everyone—even a deity—must follow the understood protocols of each place and request permission to enter before passing through. This mele kâhea describes Hi'ika's journey across the islands and her various encounters with people and places. They transform her, just as she transforms them. Her huaka'i is an active and involved one. It demands an openness to what the encounters have to teach her, a deference to the depth and authority of local knowledge, and a willingness to be changed by the journey itself. It is with this understanding that encounters effect change that we have oriented this book toward people who want to be changed by experience and contribute toward ea and a decolonized future.

We offer these detours as a reminder that Kanaka 'Ōiwi are voyaging people. We travel across our islands and around the earth. We invite you to join us on this huaka'i.

Notes

- 1 We thank Aunty Terri Keko'olani and Kyle Kajihira for permission to use the name of their established demilitarization DeTours for our book title.
- 2 Brandy Nālani McDougall, "The Second Gift," in *The Value of Hawai'i 2: Ancestral Roots, Oceanic Visions*, ed. Aiko Yamashiro and Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 250–53.
- 3 Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright, eds., *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 3–4. Emphasis added.
- 4 Brian Kamaoli Kuwada, "'Na Moolelo o Kou Aina Makuahine': Our Kūpuna on Sovereignty and the Overthrow," *KE KAUPU HEHI ALE* (blog), January 17, 2017,

<https://hehiale.wordpress.com/2017/01/17/na-moolelo-o-kou-aina-makuahine-our-kupuna-on-sovereignty-and-the-overthrow/>.

- 5 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 2nd ed. (London: Zed, 2012), 20–22.
- 6 Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 24.
- 7 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 167.
- 8 Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 167; emphasis added.
- 9 Paige West, *Dispossession and the Environment: Rhetoric and Inequality in Papua New Guinea*, repr. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).
- 10 “The 1897 Petition Against the Annexation of Hawaii,” National Archives, accessed September 7, 2017, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/hawaii-petition>.
- 11 Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 12.

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