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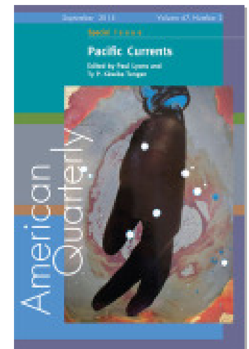

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Aloha State Apparatuses

Stephanie Nohelani Teves

> Just let it all hang loose,
> don't worry about the news
> and live aloha
>
> —"Live Aloha," Mānoa DNA

Mānoa DNA's recent hit on the Hawaiian music radio stations in Hawai'i is upbeat and catchy, conveying a simple message, *live aloha*. When I first heard the song, I thought they were singing "Just let it all hang loose, don't worry about the noose." Yes, that is what I heard. Dark, I know. It got me thinking about the power of aloha for Kānaka Maoli and why songs like this one are necessary, so that we don't think about the noose or the news. This song is one of hundreds that feature aloha as its tagline and musical hook. This kind of song can appeal to a wide listenership in Hawai'i, among all its varied ethnic, local/settler, and indigenous audiences, as well as have wide national marketability (for tourism—just imagine hearing this in a hotel lobby or on a plane).[1]

But what is aloha? And why is everyone so committed to it? Why do Kānaka Maoli seem to fiercely protect it above any number of other Hawaiian cultural concepts? The idea "Live aloha" has a longer history and serves an ideological function in Hawai'i.[2] This song taps into what I refer to as a "call of aloha" and unwittingly supports the maintenance of what I have termed "aloha state apparatuses." For Kānaka Maoli, in Hawai'i and across the globe, this "aloha" is inescapable. It is conferred on you as a form of colonial violence and in even the most innocent, well-meaning fashion. Aloha is a blessing, a responsibility, and a double bind. I cannot tell you how many times I have met an extended family member on the continent, a well-meaning colleague, or even one of my many earnest students, who has some kind of story to tell me about aloha. My role, in those instances, is to smile. No one wants to be told that their experience with aloha is based on a history of colonial dispossession, military occupation, and touristic fantasy. So, I just smile, like a good Hawaiian.

The present essay traces the historical shifts and theoretical tensions imbued within aloha's performance. Kānaka Maoli have been called by religion, the

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secular state, and the tourism industry to *live aloha*. This has been a historical transformation that has problematically contributed to the dispossession of Hawaiian lands, culture, and identity. Kānaka Maoli belief in aloha has enabled a Hawaiian cultural and political resurgence, and it is a force that Kānaka Maoli use to hold each other up and together. Aloha is also the way that Kānaka Maoli police and discipline the behavior of our broadly defined community. The function of aloha is seldom critically analyzed; it is only celebrated or mourned. Thus I track the proliferation of "aloha" as an ideological discourse in capitalist maneuvers (Christianization, the state, multiculturalism, tourism) and the consequences the articulation of aloha in this manner has had for Kanaka Maoli subjectivity. Drawing on structuralist, post-Marxist, postcolonial, and performance theory, I outline a framework in which to understand how aloha represents both a necessary and innovative approach to understanding and performing Hawaiianness that affirms Kanaka Maoli indigeneity. This approach circumvents ethnographic practices invested in accessing or excavating a Hawaiian cultural essence, usually named "aloha," as a way to understand and preserve Hawaiian indigeneity. Aloha, as a signifier of Hawaiʻi and Kānaka Maoli, not only flattens Kanaka Maoli differences but also insidiously operates as a stand-in for all Pacific Islanders and our varied cultures, undermining our differences and dynamic connections. This is compounded by Hollywood, as recently displayed in the film *Aloha* (2015), which met considerable criticism because of its casting choices as well as its usage of "aloha" as a kind of branding that evacuates aloha of its spiritual significance. As explained by the collective Hinemoana of Turtle Island, the film ultimately recycles cinemative tropes about Hawaiʻi that center white fantasies which lay claim to Hawaiʻi and Hawaiian culture, thus supporting settler colonialism and US military interests across the Indigenous Pacific.[3] Further, films like this one continue the long tradition of imposing Hawaiian iconography on all Pacific Islanders. The uncritical celebration of aloha affects all Pacific Islanders, for aloha's deployment in a number of discourses undergirds the ongoing military occupation of the Pacific, the cultural exploitation of our cultures, and attendant environmental degradation across our sea of islands.

The Hawaiian dictionary defines *aloha* as love, affection, compassion, mercy; to love, to venerate, to show kindness; and as a salutation, to greet, and to hail.[4] *No Nā Mamo* (2011) by Malcolm Nāea Chun discusses how the meaning of *aloha* as a Hawaiian word transformed. Calvinist missionaries, first arriving in Hawaiʻi in 1820, were directly involved in translating Hawaiian language into English. One of their primary goals was to translate the Bible

into the Hawaiian language. As Chun explains, aloha was a concept that was translated into a casual greeting while retaining its meaning of "love"; prior to this transformation, "Welina mai" and "Ano'ai" was the initial word of address among Kānaka Maoli. As George Kanahele discusses, missionary translation turned *aloha* into a word that focused on agape love, that is, love of God and unconditional love. Aloha is now a product of this evolution, comingling between the "ancient traditional" meaning of aloha, a Polynesian concept, and its Christian translation.[5]

Christian missionaries had been traversing the Pacific since the late seventeenth century. Similar translations of aloha can be found across the Pacific, meaning love, pity, and compassion. *Aloha* was similar to *aroha* in Maori, *alofa* in Samoan, *aroha* in Tahitian, and *alōfa* in Tongan, thus displaying the etymological links and kinship across Polynesia. However, as Kanahele and Mary Kawena Puku'i later explain, aloha was just one aspect of precolonial Hawaiian life, and it came from a philosophical matrix of Hawaiian ideas and values.[6] Puku'i, largely regarded as an authority on Hawaiian-language culture and life, was the author of numerous texts, worked as an ethnologist at the Bishop Museum from 1938 to 1961, and was an informant for white anthropologists who staked their careers on the translations and access to Hawaiian culture she provided.[7] She writes in *Nana I Ke Kumu* (1983) that 'ohana (family) may have been a more important way that Kānaka Maoli related to one another than aloha. Put best by Puku'i, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine Lee, "eating, drinking, singing and talking together, the ties of man to fellow man are strengthened in the mutual regard and love summed up as aloha."[8] Aloha thus meant kindness and sharing, especially in the family or 'ohana setting where people are welcomed and all is shared, with the understanding that people gather to provide mutual helpfulness for collective benefit. This understanding of aloha alongside 'ohana reiterates the importance of community and the responsibility that comes with membership. This definition differs clearly from the missionary translation that turned aloha into a word focused on a love of God. Here, aloha experiences a loss in its ethos of reciprocity, and, as this essay elaborates, missionaries and later the settler state carefully orchestrated this transformation of aloha.

Aloha State Apparatuses

In Hawai'i, aloha calls everyone. It does not discriminate—that's kind of the point. Aloha calls everyone in Hawai'i to behave in a manner that is kind, lov-

ing, open, and nonconfrontational. This call of aloha, however, calls Kānaka Maoli in a particular way. As the indigenous people of Hawai'i, and as the so-called repositories of the famed "aloha spirit," Kānaka Maoli are held to a higher standard when it comes to aloha. This section shows how aloha became the Hawaiian calling and serves an ideological function for the state of Hawai'i.

Louis Althusser explains in "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" that ideology functions through institutions like the church, the education system, and the family unit. He described how subjects were hailed by the state into their subjectivity. This is carried out in institutions to hide systems of domination to normalize (oppressive) modes of power in everyday life and operate in both public and private spheres.[9] In Althusser's configuration, subjects are "hailed" into their identities by the state via modes of address, in his now-iconic calling "hey you" when a police officer or the state calls you. Remember, one definition of aloha was "to hail." In Hawai'i when aloha is spoken, it conjures Hawaiian indigeneity and what people believe aloha to mean, and it, in turn, holds its users to an expectation of behavior that is welcoming and loving. The voice hails subjects in a state or secular voice and is harnessed by ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) that in turn interpellate subjects into believing in aloha.[10]

Interpellation is built on an older concept of being "called" by God. As Judith Butler explains in *The Psychic Life of Power* (1997), ideology is established through a religious metaphor of being "called" (i.e., hailed or interpellated). Furthermore, being "called" happens in a voice that is impossible to refuse—the voice of God.[11] This voice of God called Kānaka Maoli and required their submission to aloha to ensure their salvation. Max Weber, in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), outlined how religion has helped develop and grow the spirit of capitalism through establishing one's "calling." He described the "calling" as a divine ordinance and the only way of living acceptably to God, wherein man was to ensure salvation "solely through the fulfillment of the obligation imposed upon the individual by his position in the world."[12] As a product of the Reformation, "the calling" was also defined as a skill or task that a person would perform to his or her fullest capacity, such as working hard to earn a place in heaven. This calling was to make believers work hard and to develop their skills so that they could secure a spot for themselves in heaven.

For Kānaka Maoli, this "calling" is personified in our abilities to perform aloha as our "skill" because it has been taught to us that it is a natural extension of who we are as a people. In Rey Chow's reading of Weber, she finds

that the drive toward material gains via capitalist enterprises is an outcome of internal disciplining forces that accompany a secularizing West.[13] In other words, with the rise of the secular West, one's calling by God was replaced with interpellating practices of the state. Amid the imposition of capitalism and the advent of settler colonialism, the performance of aloha has become naturalized as "Hawaiian."

In the late nineteenth century, private land ownership and the plantation system replaced Kānaka Maoli relationships with the ʻāina.[14] Western forms of land organization and governance became normalized, and after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, the territory and statehood period ushered in the notion that Kānaka Maoli are "skilled" at only certain things—performing culture and physical labor. Kānaka Maoli bodies became valued because they could perform physical labor (particularly the men) and emotional labor in the form of hula performances for tourists. These performances might be summed up in any number of ways, but to the tourist, to the non-Hawaiian audience—they called it "aloha." Kānaka Maoli, then, were called to perform this aloha. It produced a paycheck and a value that Kānaka Maoli could hold on to when so much of our culture was being discarded. Of course, Kānaka Maoli retained our own senses of faith, spirituality, or religion, but "the call" is a vital theoretical framework through which to analyze how the development of modern capitalism in Hawaiʻi transposed emotional investments in the state and its tools in a faithlike fashion on Kānaka Maoli. Kānaka Maoli held on to our culturally based understandings of what it meant to live rightly with our gods, but because of growing pressures (i.e., colonization), the Western encroachment of this command to "perform" one's skill cannot be overlooked. To come into "modernity" Kānaka Maoli had to then "perform" aloha.

Aloha as Ritual

Being interpellated and called to perform aloha is the context in which Kānaka Maoli believe that performing aloha will save us, will set us free. This occurs through a ritualistic performance of aloha. Althusser contended that the subjects' acts are practices that are governed by rituals defined through material ISAs that create subjects.[15] Put another way, interpellation happens through bodily movements and through the performance of skills that have a material basis. Citing the seventeenth-century French mathematician, physicist, and Catholic philosopher Blaise Pascal, Althusser asserted that physical gestures,

attitudes, and beliefs are material practices that form through habit. He draws from Pascal's description of religious belief captured in the injunction, "kneel down, move your lips in prayer, and you will believe," to show how interpellation is a corporeal practice.[16] Pascal's example of kneeling to pray in order to produce belief emphasizes the automated nature of performing a ritual and what Butler later claims is the basis for "performativity." Performativity, then, constitutes and sustains the subject at the same time that it "becomes the occasion for further making."[17] In other words, subjects perform and produce their belief through repetition.[18] It is through this process that Kānaka Maoli continue to believe in aloha.

As capitalism became normalized in Hawai'i and was practiced as the predominant form of "production"—when living sustainably off the land was no longer possible because many Kānaka Maoli lost their lands to plantation owners—to cope and adapt to this subjection, many Kānaka Maoli found opportunity and agency through the performance of culture. Participation in such activities, however, lent credence to the notion that the only value Kānaka Maoli had was their ability to perform aloha and that such performances were "natural," indicative of who we used to and should be. Aloha, then, became, through ritualized performance, an expression of Hawaiian cultural difference. Over time, performing aloha was ritualized and is a now a type of ritual that sustains a relationship to Hawaiian culture.

The state of Hawai'i has been integral in this process by appropriating and co-opting aloha to quiet dissent and police Kānaka Maoli behavior. By perpetuating the myth of the "Aloha State," the local government prioritizes a false sense of belonging among Hawai'i's multicultural population at the expense of Kānaka Maoli sovereignty claims. The latter is evidenced in Hawai'i's reputation of cultural diversity and, by extension, our so-called kindness toward one another. This reputation, which I would argue is, in most cases, *real*, is most heinously personified in statecraft, like the naming of "The Aloha State" and in "The Aloha Spirit Law," which is then used in the Foucauldian sense to discipline the self and others.[19] Hawai'i residents are constantly reminded of the aloha spirit—to practice it in public, to express it at work and in private, to "live aloha." In short, ISAs proliferate through individual subjects' internalization of a given ideology that we then use to discipline one another. The constant performance of aloha as a natural form of "Hawaiianness" has caused us to internalize the idea that performing aloha makes us who we are. But, in fact, it has been through a performative process of doing that this has become the measure of our ability to be Hawaiian. It has become the physical embodiment of the effects of the aloha state apparatus.

The Aloha State

On March 13, 1959, the Reverend Abraham Akaka delivered an inspiring sermon that motivated naming Hawai'i "The Aloha State." The governor, members of the territorial senate, Hawaiian civic clubs, and Royal Hawaiian Band all convened for an interdenominational sermon at Kawaiahao Church during which Akaka addressed fears about what the future would hold for Hawai'i as a US state.[20] Akaka also named what has now come to personify Hawai'i's hypercommodified artifice, "the spirit of aloha":

> We need to see that Hawaii has potential moral and spiritual contributions to make our nation and to our world. The fears Hawaii may have are to be met by men and women who are living witnesses of what we really are in Hawaii, of the spirit of aloha, men and women who can help unlock the doors to the future by the guidance and grace of God. This kind of self-affirmation is the need of the hour. And we can affirm our being, as the Aloha State, by full participation in our nation and in our world. For any collective anxiety, the answer is collective courage. And the ground of that courage is God.[21]

Inspired by the sermon, a law was soon passed that named Hawai'i "The Aloha State." By this time, aloha had already been solidified as Hawai'i cultural essence via tourism. As Akaka's sermon stated and the subsequent events show, the state of Hawai'i was always invested in the Christian undertones of aloha and its influence on state politics. Further, the intertwining of aloha with the state created the ruse that the state represented the interests of aloha and coded aloha as the epitome of what is "Hawaiian" to an increasingly globalized media and as a universal cultural gift that Hawaiians are obliged to share.

The naming of the state in this manner solidified institutional support of aloha, and the statist imperative to perform aloha implored citizens or subjects to perform aloha as a requirement of civic participation and to function within a capitalist system. The Christian demands of aloha might allow a delay in its consequences—so to speak—but not being friendly to tourists might result in losing your job, not being authentically "Hawaiian," and not being seen as a member of a community. Later, as tensions mounted in the 1970s around issues of Hawaiian sovereignty, the local government felt the need to pass what is known as "The Aloha Spirit Law."

The Aloha Spirit Law

In 1986 Hawai'i passed "The Aloha Spirit Law," a law that encourages people to emote good feelings to each other, especially in government dealings.[22]

The passing of the Aloha Spirit Law occurred in the wake of the Hawaiian Renaissance and several years of unrest within the local government. In the late 1970s, Hawaiian groups agitated for an acknowledgment of the injustices done to Kānaka Maoli, precipitated the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, called for an end to the military bombing on Kahoʻolawe, and galvanized the emergence of a modern Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Such tensions influenced the need to codify Hawaiʻi's most prized essence in law. The Aloha Spirit Law states:

> These are traits of character that express the charm, warmth and sincerity of Hawaiʻi's people. It was the working philosophy of native Hawaiians and was presented as a gift to the people of Hawaiʻi. "Aloha" is more than a word of greeting or farewell or a salutation. "Aloha" means mutual regard and affection and extends warmth in caring with no obligation in return. "Aloha" is the essence of relationships in which each person is important to every other person for collective existence. "Aloha" means to hear what is not said, to see what cannot be seen and to know the unknowable.[23]

Early discussion of the bill included legislators questioning what it means to define aloha and if such an act is necessary. Similarly, the testimony discusses that it is not the place of the state to define the Hawaiian term. Richard Pomaikaiokalani Kinney of the Hawaiian Political Action Council of Hawaiʻi testified against the bill, saying that the measure "interferes with religious freedom" of Native Hawaiians and would "become the one and only legal interpretation of Aloha Spirit."[24] Additionally, there were fears that the passing of "aloha" as a law would cause criminals to go unprosecuted because people are supposed to treat one another with kindness. Kinaʻu Kamaliʻi, who initially supported the bill, later objected to it on philosophical grounds, stating that, "It seems to me that if we have to statutorily define and remind ourselves and others to act with aloha, then we are implicitly acknowledging that we are losing that spirit."[25] Kamaliʻi makes a critical point, that the need for the law points to anxieties about losing aloha and questions what the aloha spirit is to begin with. The fact that this law is relatively unknown among the residents of Hawaiʻi speaks to the insidious nature of the law as well as to the power of aloha to pervade the public sphere unnoticed. It signals the extent to which aloha functions like a state ideology.

A Brief History of Kanaka Maoli Hailing

The Christianization of Hawaiʻi translated aloha into the Hawaiian concept of unconditional love and selflessness. Instruction in Western ways to com-

municate as well as in the Hawaiian language was fostered by Hawaiian royalty, but by the late nineteenth century, shortly after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom by American businessmen, Hawaiian-language schools steadily declined. In 1896 the Republic of Hawaiʻi named English the official language of Hawaiʻi, closed all Hawaiian language schools, and outlawed Hawaiian as a medium of instruction. Children were punished for speaking Hawaiian in school. The decline of the Hawaiian language continued as English was emphasized as a language of economic opportunity, which solidified the so-called superiority of Western knowledge and the delegitimation of Hawaiian ways of knowing and being. Aloha remained a prominent element of Hawaiian indigeneity, as other concepts and practices went underground or were stopped altogether. In modern times, the church has been replaced by the public education system and the domestic nuclear family unit, both of which are crucial arms of state power that reproduce capitalism.

Julie Kaomea's study of modern Hawaiʻi public schools also examines the role of ISAs—in particular, public education—in reifying Hawaiian stereotypes and affirming state power. Kaomea found that educators promoted negative depictions of Kānaka Maoli in textbooks and curricula, wherein Kanaka Maoli chiefs are depicted as merciless rulers and Hawaiian life is unjust and scary (as a product of Hawaiʻi's public school system, I can attest to this).[26] The texts work to obscure the realities of American colonialism by discrediting Kanaka Maoli rulers of the past and present, which in turn continues to justify the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and undermines modern Hawaiian sovereignty struggles.[27] Kaomea also adds that these standardized textbooks look like tourist "appreciation kits" that manufacture Hawaiian culture as naturally giving and entertaining.[28] Textbooks subsequently serve the state's economic interests by producing cheap labor and docile Kānaka Maoli as willing and able "ambassadors of aloha." In a state where tourism is the preeminent industry, school curriculums reflect the desires of the state to duplicate power relations—producing behavioral expectations that both Kānaka Maoli and settlers internalize to support aloha as an ideology—to promote and reinforce the image of Hawaiʻi as a paradise in every sense.

The tourism industry in Hawaiʻi continues to be Hawaiʻi's largest industry (along with the US military). With tourism as Hawaiʻi's primary economic base and aloha as its so-called gift to the world, the performing bodies of Kānaka Maoli (Hawaiian)—or whoever can pass as "Hawaiian"—became necessary. In her most cited work, "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture" (1993), Haunani-Kay Trask argues that

the state of Hawai'i pimps Hawaiian culture through tourism.[29] Of course, the state has always been in the business of promoting tourism. In 1903, just a few years after Hawai'i was declared a US territory, the new government set up the Hawaii Promotion Committee—which became the Hawaii Tourism Authority in 1915—to begin marketing Hawai'i as a tourist destination. In Trask's scathing critique of tourism and American colonialism, she writes, "Our country has been and is being plasticized, cheapened, and exploited. They're selling it in plastic leis, coconut ashtrays, and cans of 'genuine, original Aloha.' They've raped us, sold us."[30] Narrating the prostitution of the Hawaiian culture, Trask's insights lay bare the ways in which aloha has become so distorted, as representative of what Rona Halualani describes as "a hegemonic political relationship of power," which produced the idea that aloha personifies a "cultural essence of Hawaiianness."[31] It is this political relationship of power that then transformed aloha into an ideology for the development of tourism. The production and dissemination of such performances of "aloha" and imagery that promoted tourism thus became deeply intertwined with what gets defined as "Hawaiian" by Kānaka Maoli and settlers alike. Hawai'i's so-called primary resource and export—the aloha spirit—is thus sustained through ideas about aloha, which enables the tourism industry to capitalize on ideas about Hawai'i, which Hawai'i residents internalize, in a way that naturalizes the exploitative nature of tourism and makes tourism appear to be the only way that Hawai'i can sustain its economy. This all happens *through* aloha. In these instances, aloha performs and is performed, constituting its own discursive formation, disciplining those who deviate from the meaning of aloha as "un-Hawaiian" because aloha has "taken on the semblance of a Hawaiian origin or interiority that seems native."[32]

Resisting the Discourse of Aloha

These brief examples exhibit just some of the ways that aloha functions with ISAs in Hawai'i to reproduce and discipline subjects, creating what Lori Pierce calls a "discourse of aloha."[33] The discourse of aloha structures what is possible, and what is possible is sustained by the state's use of aloha as an ideological force. As Edward Said explains, discourses work to produce what they describe.[34] Texts about aloha thus create the very reality that they are narrating. Similarly, Michel Foucault theorized that truth is always linked to power relations.[35] So, while aloha is thought to embody benevolence, generosity, and love—surely all positive things—I am hesitant to say that this is aloha's "truth." The debate

or question that is most critical is not what aloha "truly" means but how and why the performance of aloha has become a marker of Hawaiian value within and outside Hawaiian communities. It is crucial to map the historical and political terrain on which this value was assigned and the manner in which Kānaka Maoli have internalized this as our value. Aloha's "truth" is consequently subjected to constant economic and political demands.[36] Aloha and Hawaiianness are then collapsed in the interest of quieting political dissent and facilitating capitalist development.

The "discourse of aloha" in Hawai'i was created as a strategy to ignore institutional racism, to turn a blind eye to the injustices suffered by Kānaka Maoli and the subjugation of Asian laborers on plantations. Achieved through civic celebrations that featured ethnically diverse people living together in harmony, the "discourse of aloha" made it appear that America's mythical melting pot had succeeded in Hawai'i, despite ongoing racial tensions. Most importantly, the celebration of ethnic diversity did not threaten haole hegemony.[37] As Heather Diamond explains in *American Aloha* (2008), the approval and sponsorship of certain types of performance resulted in the promotion of a depoliticized, aestheticized, and hybridized culture that catered to tourists.[38] This is a clear precursor to modern-day liberal multiculturalism where the cultures of "the other" are celebrated in a manner that detaches cultural difference from political ideologies that might challenge the interests of those in power.[39]

Aloha may work in ways that uphold haole hegemony, but the ideological hold of haole hegemony is never a done deal, and most certainly not in Hawai'i. Kānaka Maoli have always resisted colonization, for throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Kānaka Maoli expressed agency against colonial forces, as exemplified notably by the Kū'ē Petitions (1897–98), the Wilcox Rebellion (1889), opposition to statehood (1950s), the Hawaiian renaissance in the 1970s, and the rise of Hawaiian sovereignty movements in the 1990s that continues today. Hawaiian groups have always found inventive ways to use aloha. In the 1970s Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry (A.L.O.H.A.) was a Hawaiian activist group that deployed aloha as an acronym to call for reparations for Kānaka Maoli. Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, one of the more prominent activist groups in the 1970s, was known for its motto of "Aloha 'āina." One of its founders, the activist and musician George Helm, gave his life to protest the ongoing US military bombing of the island of Kaho'olawe. He encouraged the people of Hawai'i and Kānaka Maoli especially to take up the cause of aloha 'āina, reminding everyone that the culture cannot exist without the land.[40] This call for aloha 'āina in the 1970s was not just a call

to care for the land; it also held historical symbolism because it was also the name of the liberal Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ke Aloha Aina,* in the late twentieth century. The newspaper was run by the Hawaiian lawyer, legislator, and patriot Joseph Nāwahī, and was known for its "biting criticism of the haole elite."[41] Aloha ʻāina continues to be an organizing principle for Kānaka Maoli who seek to live sustainably with the land. More recently, "Kapu aloha" has reemerged as a practice that honors the energy and life found in aloha. Kapu aloha is a guiding principle of the protectors of Mauna Kea, which allows them to remain strong in their aloha ʻāina on the mauna. All these political enactments and movements of aloha not only challenge American hegemony but unsettle the articulation of aloha solely with the state apparatus, tourism, and multiculturalism.

These public displays of resistance work to exacerbate political and cultural tensions between Kānaka Maoli and settlers. Hawaiʻi's multiethnic population, a legacy of multiple generations with roots in plantation labor immigration primarily from Asia, overlaps with Kanaka Maoli culture in precarious ways. The term *local* is used in Hawaiʻi to differentiate between Hawaiʻi—born residents—and newcomers, while the latter are commonly imagined to be white or "haole," although not always. "Local" is politically linked to the legacy of land dispossession and ownership in the islands, where its history was and continues to be most blatantly played out in plantation and tourist economies.[42] Recent scholarship has begun to theorize local Asians as "settlers," who in their aspirations for equality and citizenship, colluded with the state of Hawaiʻi and are also to blame for the disempowerment and displacement of the Kanaka Maoli people.[43] Hawaiian sovereignty, then, operates as an "ethnic pressure point" that Jonathan Okamura explains continues to be perceived as a threat to other ethnic groups.[44] In turn, the ethnic identities of certain groups, namely, Asian settlers, are destabilized because Hawaiian sovereignty questions the very underpinnings of the settler-state and works to illuminate discrepancies in power, privilege, and status in contemporary ethnic relations.[45]

As Native studies scholars have explained, indigenous peoples have a relationship to the nation-state that differs from that of settler groups. Rather than seek equal treatment via civil rights, indigenous peoples must grapple with issues of territory, sovereignty, nationhood, treaties, land claims, and even radically different epistemologies and ontologies or cosmologies. When Kānaka Maoli pursue formal sovereignty claims, they issue a warning to "The Aloha State"—a refusal of the legitimacy of the American political infrastructure in Hawaiʻi—that the multicultural narrative articulated with aloha does not

have the consent of the Hawaiian people. In government, economy, law, and education, Hawaiian indigeneity pervades the public sphere in Hawaiʻi. The ongoing agitations of Hawaiian sovereignty activists thus burn holes in the idyllic multicultural quilt that has been woven around Hawaiʻi's past. This is why the state is so deeply invested in retaining its hold over "aloha."

Given this threat, Kanaka Maoli sovereignty activists are framed as racist separatists who betray aloha in their aspirations for Hawaiian sovereignty or independence.[46] The most salient iteration of aloha's power is when it is used against the very people (Kānaka Maoli) from whom aloha originates.[47] Examples of this can be seen in the recent Department of Interior (DOI) hearings held in Hawaiʻi in the summer of 2014. The DOI meetings were held to solicit "feedback" from the Kānaka Maoli community about the United States' role in "helping" to "organize" a Hawaiian governing entity. During these meetings, Kānaka Maoli actively called one another out for not having "aloha" for the DOI panelists and one another. Perhaps noncoincidentally, the DOI meetings were announced shortly after Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) CEO Kamanaʻopono Crabbe wrote a letter to the US secretary of state, John Kerry, inquiring about the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom under international law.[48] In a very public conflict between Crabbe and the other OHA trustees, Crabbe was accused of a "breach of aloha." OHA trustee Collette Machado invoked our beloved Hawaiian value, aloha, to accuse Crabbe of wrongdoing and, worse, displaying "un-Hawaiian" behavior. These internal conflicts were a repeat of previous struggles over the articulation of aloha with an accommodating and docile form of Hawaiianness that is not supposed to question the aloha state apparatus.

The fervent backlash against activists is a result of friction between Kānaka Maoli and settlers in Hawaiʻi, exacerbated by the growing power of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. These backlashes represented Kānaka Maoli as having forfeited their authentic "Hawaiianness" on account of their lack of aloha, as evidenced by their political agitation and criticism. Thus these backlashes framed Kanaka Maoli activists as betrayers of aloha and their betrayals as much more dangerous than when committed by members of other ethnic groups. When Kānaka Maoli betray or resist aloha, they defy their subject positions as the embodiment of aloha, which is crucial to Hawaiʻi's image.[49] Even worse, when Kānaka Maoli betray aloha, they become no longer "Hawaiian," and to no longer be "Hawaiian" is to no longer have a place in Hawaiʻi. This helps explain why social protest in Hawaiʻi is often devalued, because it is considered a violation of the aloha spirit.[50] Violating the aloha spirit is blasphemy in

Hawai'i: betraying aloha is akin to losing your "local" status; in a sense, it is grounds for excommunication especially for Kānaka Maoli, whose identities hinge on embodying aloha.

Still, I am compelled to defend aloha despite its internal conflicts and contradictions that reform and reproduce its power. Aloha is promoted as what is "Hawaiian" and the thing that binds us, and it does. Aloha shields violence and encourages inclusion, supposedly producing good feelings for all of humanity. As the previous section explained at length, aloha is promoted as the essence of Kānaka Maoli and, by extension, the islands. This is the story Hawai'i tells itself and the world; I would be lying if I said I didn't believe in aloha, too.

Aloha Calling

> Aloha is the intelligence with which we meet life.
>
> —Kumu Hula, Olana 'Ai, quoted in Manulani Aluli Meyer, *Ho'oulu: Our Time of Becoming*

Kānaka Maoli, Hawai'i residents, and anyone else who might have a stake in aloha must acknowledge that aloha has been commercialized and continues to be a justification for the ostensible dispossession of Hawaiian lands and culture. Yet I still believe in aloha and feel that it is real. I am not sure why. Maybe it is real because we believe in it, even when we know that aloha can be a violent hailing force. Maybe we believe in it because our kupuna, or elders, did, and by believing in aloha we are somehow honoring them. The epigraph by kumu hula (hula master/teacher) Olana 'Ai forces me to *feel* the Kanaka Maoli investment in aloha. Taken from an interview in *Ho'oulu: Our Time of Becoming* (2004), a book about Hawaiian epistemology and education, 'Ai's words articulate Hawaiian philosophy and ways of knowing with inherent value on its own terms. The words are so simple and beautiful that they put me in diasporic tears, ironically after I write page after page about aloha's exploitative impacts. Each time I think I can turn away from aloha, something continues to call me back. It is this response that personifies aloha's power for Kānaka Maoli. Aloha is thus embodied by Kānaka Maoli in these moments of affect that depend on the very performance of aloha.

To answer this question of why I come back to aloha, I reconsider how "the call" is impossible to turn away from. When the subject turns toward the voice of authority in an act of interpellation, it is a moment of self-recognition because we want to become its subject, because it provides us with an identity and security, even if that security is temporary. As James Clifford elaborates, "Inter-

pellation is a reminder that what we wish to be, what makes us feel authentic and completed, are social performances significantly structured by power. We adopt available roles, rising to occasions that are not of our choosing."[51] Thus we hold onto aloha because we are told it is what makes us worthy, it shows the value of our culture on two terms, from a Hawaiian perspective, but also through the state, and under Western capitalism and the Western world that we have all been interpellated into. In effect, and paradoxically, these attachments produce the possibilities and limits of who we are.[52] In what follows, I discuss in further detail how aloha became synonymous with Hawaiian indigeneity through performance.

Aloha as Skill

By the early twentieth century, after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, aloha became one of the few cultural practices that Kānaka Maoli had left, and as they were encouraged to perform it for money (by dancing hula and expressing aloha), giving aloha came to be a skill that Kānaka Maoli were imagined to be good at (and they were). It also provided one of the few sources of financial benefits. Through these processes and their consequences, aloha became the Kanaka Maoli calling. The remainder of this section examines how performing aloha transformed from our "calling" to our "skill" that is attached to Hawaiian identity.

Submission to capitalist enterprise and answering a "call" eventually became attached to performing a task, as part of a mission or a "calling" that was specifically made for Kānaka Maoli. The call of aloha through Christianity and then capitalism was realized in the Kanaka Maoli capacity to "perform" aloha, that is, share Hawaiian culture. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, Kānaka Maoli were encouraged to perform hula for money for high-ranking visitors. As the cornerstone of Hawaiian religious culture, hula was shunned by Calvinist missionaries, who pressured Hawaiian royalty to discourage (and later criminalize) hula's public performance. Noenoe Silva has clarified that the legal restrictions put on hula in the mid-nineteenth century allowed the Hawaiian Kingdom (and later the state of Hawaiʻi) to control Kanaka Maoli sexuality and spiritual practices and to regulate hula for public and commercial purposes. In 1859 the public performance hula became restricted to hula hālau, who were granted licenses and in spaces where hula shows were generating a paid audience (like in Honolulu and Lāhaina) with harsh consequences for those in violation. Hula subsequently went underground until the 1880s, when

King David Kalākaua revived it.[53] In addition, as Kānaka Maoli had become Christian and hula secularized (e.g., the need for hula licenses and the criteria of recreational rather than spiritual performances), the stage was set for transforming hula into a potent symbol of Hawaiian aloha for tourism.[54] The latter is evidence of colonialism and capitalism working together to transform and co-opt Hawaiian culture, which was achieved through the disciplining and exhibition of Kanaka Maoli bodies in a process that has become naturalized.

This is precisely how aloha got attached to the definition of Hawaiianness and Hawaiian culture becomes a skill that became necessary under capitalism for Kānaka Maoli to perform. That is not to say that Kānaka Maoli were duped completely as they "performed" aloha. As Adria Imada discusses, many Kānaka Maoli secured a measure of agency through the hula tours in the 1930s and 1940s, but it also solidified the relationship between Hawai'i and the United States, creating a fantasy of reciprocal attachment, making US military and tourist expansion appear "benign."[55] Still, when tourism became Hawai'i's primary industry after statehood, controlling how "aloha" was invoked became quite difficult as it became a widely disseminated sign of Hawaiianness. In this context, Kānaka Maoli became valued because of what their culture could offer the United States, especially in the wake of the Cold War, as a representation of America's multicultural character.

Through the constant performance of aloha as a natural extension of Kanaka Maoli identity, aloha became ritualized and internalized by Kānaka Maoli. When Kānaka Maoli perform aloha as our "skill," then, we are properly performing as Kānaka Maoli. We forget about the news (or the noose). So, while many Kānaka Maoli obviously are called to perform various skills, working in all types of professions, aloha has come to represent an unwavering internal character trait of Kanaka Maoli identity, regardless whether we earn money for it directly. This theorization of Kanaka Maoli interpellation through aloha can certainly be paralyzing, but as Clifford has also explained, "Interpellation is not simply coercive: it is energizing and fulfilling."[56] In the final section, I return to the scene of interpellation, armed with theories of articulation and performativity to recuperate the subject's agency in hopes of providing a surprisingly hopeful perspective of why Kānaka Maoli subjects still answer the call of aloha.

Aloha's Just Another Word for Nothing Left to Lose

In the *Sublime Object of Ideology* (1989), Slavoj Žižek formulates that interpellation cannot be explained; it is an irrational act that the subject engages in. Through interpellation, we take a leap of faith as a result of a traumatic kernel that itself cannot be interpellated by the law.[57] This "traumatic" kernel is the leftover or remainder that cannot be interpellated, what cultural nationalism cannot resolve.[58] Ideology is supposed to provide a refuge from this kernel—a cover—but ideology is always insufficient because the kernel cannot be fully covered or integrated; otherwise, ideology would be unnecessary.[59] This unknowable thing is always with us, and this is why cultural nationalism cannot save us all. As Žižek explains, to not answer "the call" is to resist an open field of association that requires us to engage the traumatic kernel, the unknown. For Kānaka Maoli this means giving up on aloha, the supposed essence we have been taught our entire lives makes us "who we are." So, when the subject answers the call, the subject affirms itself by resisting a "radically open field of significatory possibilities" and the *terror of complete freedom*.[60] Whereas other theories construct a resistant subject that is able to withstand the temptation of the call, Žižek flips it and focuses on the resistance to the unknown. The resistance is then, against ontological terror.

I find Žižek and Chow's interpretations fruitful for my analysis of why Kānaka Maoli answer the call of aloha. Chow builds on Žižek's theory to explain that the leap of faith is unconscious and senseless, and interpellation succeeds precisely because of it.[61] For Kānaka Maoli, this means submitting to the state's ideology, an aloha state apparatus that positions Kānaka Maoli as the natural repositories of aloha, destined to welcome visitors and perform our aloha for them. So why, then, would a Kanaka Maoli participate in this economy of subjection? The Kanaka Maoli subject answers aloha's call when we take this leap of faith (through the process of being interpellated) to affirm our subjectivity as a Kānaka Maoli. Not answering the call would leave us lost in an ocean of associations, which can leave the Kanaka Maoli subject "lost at sea," lost in our own place. Kānaka Maoli, in short, internalize aloha to retain our identities and to resist the unknown.

Now, let me be clear, our belief or faith in aloha is not easily dismissed, nor is it a simple evasion of the unknown or the traumatic kernel that interpellation shields us from. The leap of faith is not senseless or irrational to Kānaka Maoli. Kānaka Maoli unconsciously (and as a form of automation) answer the call of aloha (by performing aloha and believing in it) because it is necessary for us

to participate rationally in the modern world. In other words, it is an act that we are accustomed to, that rises out of a survival instinct, to secure our social life through the Law, to guarantee our existence.[62] Otherwise, what happens when Kānaka Maoli give up aloha? What happens when we don't answer its call? In our leap of faith (to believe in aloha, and in turn to be Kanaka Maoli), we retain what it is that we imagine makes us Kanaka Maoli, and this gives our identities legitimacy and security, as well as a sense of "potentiality and empowerment."[63]

It is imperative then, to mark how Kānaka Maoli articulate and perform aloha with other Hawaiian philosophies as a strategy to disarticulate aloha from its most commodified forms. Native Pacific cultural studies scholars have contributed greatly to articulation theory in this regard. Teresia Teaiwa's meditations in particular lead us to question the categorization of the Native and how it is articulated with different things.[64] Articulation is a process of creating connections that allows an engagement with concrete realities, seeing its seeming unity as pieces that are able to be split and recombined, that is, rearticulated with other things.[65] In other words, a theory of "articulation" is a way to understand how ideological elements come together within a discourse; it enables us to think about how an ideology sometimes empowers people while locking them as subjects into a spot within a given oppressive discourse, but these meanings and articulations are never static. Alongside articulation a theory of performance and performativity allows an assessment of how Hawaiian indigeneity is made and remade through performances of aloha. Understanding that identities are constituted through performance makes possible a critique of how Hawaiian indigeneity is defined vis-à-vis performances of aloha. We must view Hawaiian indigeneity as part of a system of culture that is actively produced, contested, and articulated in specific contexts, at times to support the aloha state apparatus or to encourage practices of aloha ʻāina. In short, theories of articulation and performativity can work together productively to help us understand our indigeneity as always flexible and innovative over time.[66]

I am advocating not a total recuperation of aloha but a strategic performance that allows a simultaneous movement between recalling the cultural significance of aloha, questioning where aloha's performance and varied articulations have gotten us and, finally, reimagining where we want the performance of aloha to take us. As this essay has explained, the naming of "The Aloha State" and the creation of "The Aloha Spirit Law" are two examples of aloha that require disarticulation. We must recall the definition of aloha put forth by Pukuʻi, that aloha is embodied in spaces where people gather to provide mutual helpfulness

for collective benefit. Further, aloha functions alongside other Hawaiian values such as ʻohana and kōkua (help) that challenge articulations of aloha purely in the name of capitalism. While articulating this utopic revision of where we want it to take us, it should not be forgotten that as much as people articulate aloha with aloha ʻāina, there is always a danger of aloha being articulated in the direction of tourist interests and in the attainment of an authentic "aloha," a form that many Kānaka Maoli believe also still exists. But a belief in aloha will survive only through its constant performance. All performances have the possibility of failure, so survival through performance is indeed precarious.

In the end, performing aloha keeps us alive; Kānaka Maoli answer aloha's call as an act of survival. Under capitalism, it is a form of automation, whereby performing aloha is no longer a choice we make; it is the way that we remain connected to Hawaiian indigeneity. Not answering aloha's call becomes a kind of social death with material (lack of capital) and psychological (lack of identity) effects. If we deny aloha too much, we run the risk of full erasure or native absence. We run the risk of no longer being Kanaka Maoli; we run the risk of being rejected by our own people. As such, aloha is the crux of Kanaka Maoli potential, empowerment, and survival, even if it has also become the way to disempower us.

And it is this latter point that gets at the tensions existing at the heart of Hawaiianness: we fight with ourselves. We want to believe in aloha because, deep down, we believe it connects us to our ancestors, to who we are. So we choose to retain aloha because it affirms us, even in its contradictions.[67] As Butler explains, "Only by occupying—being occupied by—that injurious term can I resist and oppose it, recasting the power that constitutes me as the power I oppose."[68] Thus we are attached to this kind of subjection because it is our resource and it conditions the environment in which the resignifying of interpellation becomes possible. These contradictions manifest in cultural representations, specifically in the performance of the ethnic self.[69] I therefore must surrender to this necessary contradiction—to get paid, to be recognized and identified as Kanaka Maoli—to live.

Indeed, while many Kānaka Maoli openly critique how tourism and multiculturalism has bastardized aloha, you'd be hard-pressed to find a Kanaka Maoli willing to publicly critique aloha outside its touristic function. Instead, we wax poetic—"Aloha is the intelligence with which we meet life." And it is true, aloha is very real for Kānaka Maoli today. To think that we approach life with a perspective that, by virtue of our being Kanaka Maoli, is intelligent, aware, cognizant, and ready to face experiences as Kānaka Maoli profoundly

shapes the way we move in the world. Perhaps aloha is not the cultural concept we would choose to describe ourselves, given the way it's been used, but aloha is, for better or worse, tied to "Hawaiianness" and "who we are." The presence of aloha reminds Kānaka Maoli that we still exist, that we existed, that we "meet life" with intelligence and will continue to, whether or not "The Aloha State" continues to exist or "The Aloha Spirit Law" is enforced. Kānaka Maoli performed aloha to survive and will always find ways to perform aloha to challenge its dominant ideologies.

Notes

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1. In this essay, I use the term *settler* to refer to anyone who is not Kanaka Maoli in order to center the processes of settler colonialism that have systematically disempowered Kānaka Maoli and dispossessed us of our culture, land, and right to self-determination.
2. The "Live Aloha" campaign was started in the 1990s by community members seeking to promote positivity in what seemed to be a very negative political climate in Hawai'i at the time. The campaign coincided with the printing and dissemination of a bumper sticker that read "Live Aloha" with a Lehua blossom on it. This seems to be the first public campaign of the phrase that has now become commonplace. See www.seto.org/livealoha.html (accessed July 19, 2014).
3. For an extended critique of the film *Aloha*, see the collaborative work of Hinemoana of Turtle Island, a collective of Pacific Islander feminists residing in California and Oregon: "On Cameron Crowe's Aloha and Indigenous Pacific Films We Actually Recommend," June 16, 2015, morethantwominutes.wordpress.com/2015/06/16/on-cameron-crowes-aloha-and-indigenous-pacific-films-we-actually-recommend/.
4. *Ulukau On-line Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), wehewehe.org/.
5. George Kanahele, *Kū Kanaka: Stand Tall* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 480.
6. George Kanahele, "The Dynamics of Aloha," in *Pacific Diasporas*, ed. Paul Spickard, Joanne Rondilla, and Deborah Hippolyte Wright (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 205.
7. Mary Kawena Puku'i was a contributor on multiple publications. See Henry P. Judd, Mary Kawena Puku'i, and John F. G. Stokes, *Introduction to the Hawaiian Language* (Honolulu: Tongg, 1943); Mary Kawena Puku'i and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian-English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1965); Elizabeth Green Handy, E. S. Craighill, and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'ū, Hawai'i* (Rutland, VT: C. E. Tuttle, 1972); Mary Kawena Puku'i, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine A. Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu = Look to the Source*, A Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center Publication, 2 vols. (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1972); Mary Kawena Puku'i and Alfons L. Korn, *The Echo of Our Song: Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1973); Mary Kawena Puku'i, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, rev. and enl. ed. (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1974); Mary Kawena Puku'i, *'Olelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983).
8. Mary Kawena Puku'i, E. W. Haertig, and Catherine Lee, *Nana I Ke Kumu (Look to the Source)*, vol. 1 (Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1983), 3.
9. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 138.
10. Ibid., 110.

11. Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).
12. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1958), 80.
13. Rey Chow, *The Protestant Ethnic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 43.
14. "The Great Mahele" was enacted in 1848 and is generally regarded as the start of capitalism in Hawai'i. The mahele—defined as division—changed communal land tenure to private ownership, which eventually dispossessed many common people of access to their lands.
15. Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 158.
16. Ibid.
17. Butler, *Psychic Life of Power*, 99.
18. Ibid., 119.
19. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).
20. Ed Joesting, "Hawaii's Golden Rule Means Aloha," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, February 20, 1979.
21. Rev. Abraham Akaka, "Hawaii Statehood Address—Aloha ke akua," March 13, 1959, www.akakafoundation.org/sermons.html.
22. Robbie Dingeman, "'Spirit of Aloha' Transplanted into State Law," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, May 20, 1986; "Senate Wants Aloha Spirit in Courtroom," *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 2, 1986; Donna Reyes, "Legislators Endorse 'Aloha Spirit' as 'Essence of the Law' in Islands," April 18, 1986; "'Aloha Spirit' about to Become Official," *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 15, 1986.
23. Hawai'i Revised Statutes § 5–7.5.
24. "Aloha Spirit as State Policy Gets Hearing," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, February 16, 1986.
25. Stirling Morita, "'Aloha Spirit' Bill Meets Some Heartfelt Opposition," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, March 4, 1986.
26. Julie Kaomea, "Indigenous Studies in the Elementary Curriculum: A Cautionary Hawaiian Example," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 36.1 (2005): 31.
27. Ibid., 34; "A Curriculum of Aloha? Colonialism and Tourism in Hawai'i's Elementary Textbooks," *Curriculum Inquiry* 30.3 (2000): 319–44.
28. "Curriculum of Aloha?," 335.
29. Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 1.
30. Ibid.
31. Rona Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), 28.
32. Ibid., xiv.
33. Lori Pierce, "'The Whites Have Created Modern Honolulu': Ethnicity, Racial Stratification, and the Discourse of Aloha," in *Racial Thinking in the United States*, ed. Paul Spickard and G. Reginald Daniel (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press), 128.
34. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978), 94.
35. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.
36. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 131.
37. Pierce, "'Whites Have Created Modern Honolulu.'"
38. Heather A. Diamond, *American Aloha: Cultural Tourism and the Negotiation of Tradition* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 25.
39. Wendy Brown, *Regulating Aversion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 21.
40. For more details about George Helm, see the Hawaiian Patriots Project at www.kamakakoi.com/hawaiianpatriots/george.html (accessed December 2, 2014).
41. 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'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 137–60.
42. Jonathan Okamura, "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 35 (1995): 161–78.
43. For more on settler colonialism in Hawai'i, see Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Seeing Conquest: Colliding Histories and the Cultural Politics of Hawai'i Statehood" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009);

Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

44. Franklin Odo and Susan Yim, "Ethnicity: Are Race Relations in Hawai'i Getting Better or Worse?," in *The Price of Paradise*, ed. Randall W. Roth (Honolulu: Mutual, 1995): 225, quoted in Jonathan Okamura, "The Illusion of Paradise: Privileging Multiculturalism in Hawai'i," in *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey, and the United States*, ed. Dru Gladney (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 1998), 273.
45. Okamura, "Illusion of Paradise," 278.
46. Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians*, 24; Okamura, "Illusion of Paradise."
47. For detailed analysis of the backlash against sovereignty, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Colonialism in Equality: Hawaiian Sovereignty and the Question of U.S. Civil Rights," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 17.4 (2008): 635–50.
48. Crabbe's letter can be seen here: Star Advertiser staff, "OHA Trustees Rescind Letter to Feds on Hawaiian Kingdom's Status," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, May 9, 2014, www.staradvertiser.com/news/breaking/20140509_oha_seeks_clarity_on_hawaiian_kingdom_status.html?2i. Response from OHA Board of Trustees Chair, College Machado can be accessed on the *Hawai'i Free Press* site: www.hawaiifreepress.com/ArticlesMain/tabid/56/ID/12611/OHA-Chaos-Machado-Crabbe-Dueling-Statements-full-text.aspx, May 11, 2014.
49. An example of a Kānaka Maoli defying her subject position is personified in Trask's account of a controversy at the University of Hawai'i; see the chapter "The Politics of Academic Freedom as the Politics of White Racism." See also Trask, "Racism against Native Hawaiians at the University of Hawai'i: A Personal and Political View," *Amerasia Journal* 18.3 (1992): 33–50.
50. Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians*, 128; Pierce, "'Whites Have Created Modern Honolulu.'"
51. James Clifford, *Returns* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 302.
52. Butler, *Psychic Life of Power*, 104.
53. George Kanahele, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1979); Diamond, *American Aloha*. For more on hula, see Amy K. Stillman, *Sacred Hula: The Historical Hula'ala'apapa* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1998).
54. Christopher B. Balme, "Dressing the Hula: Iconography, Performance, and Cultural Identity Formation in Late Nineteenth Century Hawaii," *Paideuma* 45 (1999): 243; Diamond, *American Aloha*.
55. Adria Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire," *American Quarterly* 56.1 (2004): 112–14. See also Imada, "The Army Learns to Luau: Imperial Hospitality and Military Photography in Hawai'i," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20.2 (2008): 329–61.
56. Clifford, *Returns*, 302.
57. Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989), 42.
58. Tomo Hattori, quoted in Chow, *Protestant Ethnic*, 110; Tomo Hattori, "Model Minority Discourse and Asian American Jouis-Sence," *differences* 11.2 (1999): 228–47.
59. Mladen Dolar, "Beyond Interpellation," *Qui Parle* 6.2 (1993): 92.
60. Chow, *Protestant Ethnic*, 110; Žižek, *Sublime Object of Ideology*.
61. Butler, *Psychic Life of Power*, 112–13.
62. Ibid.
63. Chow, *Protestant Ethnic*, 110.
64. Teresia Teaiwa, "Militarism, Tourism, and the Native: Articulations in Oceania" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2001).
65. Jennifer Daryl Slack, "The Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, ed. David Morely and Kuan-Hsing Chen (New York: Routledge, 1996), 114.
66. Vicente M. Diaz and J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge," *The Contemporary Pacific* 13.2 (2001): 315–42.
67. Chow, *Protestant Ethnic*, 111.
68. Butler, *Psychic Life of Power*, 104.
69. Chow, *Protestant Ethnic*, 111.