

Indigenous Terrain

When I enter the ocean, my indigenous identity emerges. I become a historical being riding waves, running as a liquid mass, pulled up from the deep and thrown forward with a deafening roar. I disappear with fish and strands of seaweed as I course through veins of ocean currents. John Muir spoke of how he went out for a walk and stayed until sundown. “For going out,” he said, “I found, I’m really going in.” When I enter the sea, I enter a process of reimagination as the power of the ocean continually reshapes me alongside the coastal shores of my home.

Hitting that first whitewall of water, I become a Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) surfer. I ride waves; read the wind, swell directions, and tides; know the reefs and the seasonal sand migrations; and find myself most comfortable floating atop a board with my *na’au* (gut), mind, and heart facing the sea. In *ma ke kai* (in the sea), my physical involvement with, and thus my physical capabilities in, the world evolve. I become more agile in the water than on land: I can soar, glide, dive, and spin. I’m faster in the ocean, and can better navigate coral heads than roads. Sounds, smells, and tastes expand to include those not found on terra firma. I become aware of my pelagic origin as I soak in the same salty waters as Kanaka Maoli centuries before me.

It isn’t until I enter *ke kai* for *he’ē nalu* (surfing) that I am able to reconnect with my Kanaka heritage. On his deathbed in 1972, my mother’s father revealed his Kanaka blood to her with tears in his eyes. His family tried to cover up that his grandmother was a Hawaiian woman because at that



FIGURE 1.1. Karin Amimoto Ingersoll, “Becoming,” 2009.
Photograph by Russell J. Amimoto.

time in the Chinese community, it was shameful to be anything other than Chinese—particularly Kanaka. I have no legal documentation of my Hawaiian blood, leaving me with only the oral history and photographs passed on to me by my mother. Questions of legitimacy ring loudly in Hawaiian circles: How much Hawaiian are you? Where is your *‘ohana* (family) from? What is your Hawaiian name? Do you have documentation? I accept my mother’s oral history as authentic and legitimate, and am aware that identity is inherently political and dynamic. Many people in Hawai‘i encourage me to embrace my oral history, often sharing similar colonial stories of lost identity and documentation, but I am aware that my “Hawaiian” identity is illegitimate to many other individuals and institutions. I remain forever in-between. I am an extreme case of cultural and genealogical dilution, and yet I believe that my circumstance has offered me a specific place from which to

analyze the political and philosophical power of ke kai, a power that I feel each time I enter the sea.

As I build upon the burgeoning effort in academia toward the retrieval of local ways of knowing, researching, and producing knowledge, the West is not the axis of negation that moves my articulations and reactions, because in a multisited world, our intelligibility is an interconnected matrix. Instead, my aim is to pull indigenous peoples away from the binary oppositions between the “colonizer” and the “colonized,” to minimize the “otherness” from both sides, and to decenter the conversation toward independent and alternative ways of knowing and producing knowledge that allow for empowerment and self-determination within a modern and multisited world.¹

I write this book as a Kanaka Maoli surfer sitting within a colonial landscape, discovering how ke kai enables an autonomous reconnection, re-creation, and reimagination for all Kanaka Maoli through an ocean-based epistemology. This work articulates the potential power that he‘e nalu and other ocean-based knowledges, such as *ho‘okele* (navigation) and *lawai‘a* (fishing), offer to cultural awareness and affirmation within the reality of a colonial history and of neocolonial systems that continue to subject Hawaiian knowledges and identities. Ocean-based knowledges help to mobilize Hawaiian bodies through a specific time and space in ke kai that anchors Kānaka [plural of “Kanaka”] in existence as ever-shifting and negotiating beings within the Western institutions of statehood, capitalism, and ecologically challenging development. This work aims to bring the physical movements of he‘e nalu, ho‘okele, and lawai‘a, back into an ontological perspective that speaks to an ethical experience of movement through the world and life.

I first realized the sea’s profound potential when I was hired to act as a surf guide for the surf camp Sa‘Moana on the island of Upolu in Samoa. When I left for Samoa, O‘ahu’s waters were increasingly congested with tourists and new surfers lured into the fantasy of a surf lifestyle. Thus, the opportunity to expand my surf territory to a South Pacific destination where I could continue to challenge my fears, my knowledge of geography, geology, and astronomy, and to enhance my connection with the ocean’s moods, had strong siren-like effects on me, as it would any surfer. The first few days on Upolu fulfilled my every prefabricated fantasy. I would wake before dawn, roll out from under my mosquito net, emerge from my *fale* (Samoan thatched house), and peek out to check the palm fronds. No movement—a good sign for top surfing conditions. We would load the truck with surf

gear, prepacked lunches, and our surf guests, and head off to the ocean for a pristine session. I was up, moving, and gliding across water as the sun only began to cast its first beams of pink and orange over the coconut trees. This was the most alive I had ever felt.

But the dynamite used to bomb the brilliant green and blue Samoan reefs (sustenance for local Samoans and for innumerable marine species) to pave a channel for the camp's surf boats shook my callow mind-set. The brutal reef destruction caused profound economic, cultural, environmental, and spiritual disruption because Samoan culture and sustainability is inextricably linked to the ocean, its coral, and fish. The connection is sacred. There were other acts of colonization taking place within my surf dream too: the low wages of the Samoan staff, the culturally condescending relationships between the white Australian owners and the local staff, the camp operators' refusal to speak or learn Samoan, and ruptures in Samoan political and social systems caused by the camp's presence and conduct. For instance, the surf camp created a physical and cultural barrier between the camp on the beach and the surrounding village by erecting gates and manipulating vegetation to create a sense of "private property" and segregation. The land that the surf camp sits on is rented, not owned. The Samoan government has been prudent enough not to allow land sales to anyone not born in Samoa, yet foreign capitalists have continued to find cracks to shove their fingers into, tearing open as large a gap as possible for monetary outflow.

I began to see underlying political, social, and ethical issues hiding within my fantasy that had been glossed over by surfing films, magazines, advertisements, and the tourism industry. We, as surfers, had been told by the mass media that to travel to surf destinations such as Sa'Moana was to build upon one's "authentic" surf identity as a "soul" surfer who lives to explore and experience the world's oceans. The potential cost of this sojourning, however, is omitted from the narrative, as is an awareness of the role that surf camps, magazines, advertisements, clothing, and equipment companies play in the capitalization of these ocean locations. I began to see the impact our desire to ride waves had on those island locales where we desired to experience them. Despite our perceived identities as organic beings, surfers are neither innocent nor benign voyagers, and our experiences and our practices often escape our intentions and philosophies. Surfers are no longer merely a community of stereotypical antiestablishment thrill seekers, we are now also a group of international, neocolonial capitalists "discovering" new waves in Oceania (and elsewhere).

Reflecting on the effects of the surf tourism industry in Samoa, I wondered how surf tourism was affecting Kānaka Maoli in Hawai‘i. Surf tourism is much more developed in Hawai‘i than it is in Samoa due to the islands’ geographic proximity to the U.S. mainland and the political circumstance of Hawai‘i being a colonized nation. Furthermore, surfing survived the process of cultural colonization in Hawai‘i, which it did not do in Samoa, making the activity much more predominant in Hawai‘i today. Most significantly, however, it is the geographic makeup of the Hawaiian Islands, which naturally and consistently produces ideal waves, that has rewarded Hawai‘i with some of the best surfing in the world. Hawai‘i has become a modern surf utopia.

Under this international label of a surf paradise I wondered about the impact that surf tourism (which began in the 1920s) has had and continues to have on the islands and indigenous people of Hawai‘i. How is the surf industry part of a neocolonial project of domination in Hawai‘i? Kānaka Maoli have been struggling to decolonize after a two-hundred-year-long epistemological, ontological, political, economic, and geographic colonization by the United States; what role does this evolving industry play in the larger project of Western domination? More significantly, how does Hawaiian he‘e nalu, along with other oceanic activities, simultaneously serve as a means of empowerment for Kānaka Maoli within the proliferating surf tourism industry?

I have found that the burgeoning neocolonial surf industry also offers Kānaka empowerment through the indigenous enactment of he‘e nalu because the oceanic literacy of he‘e nalu, as well as of ho‘okele, lawai‘a, *lu‘u* (diving), *hoe wa‘a* (canoe paddling), and other activities, all involve a knowledge situated in a specific place and space, which is oceanic. These enactments involve a knowledge that reconnects Kānaka to our pasts and to our ancestors as understood through our oral histories. They involve a literacy that empowers Native Hawaiians because they offer self-sufficiency, honor Kanaka native histories, allow for flexibility and movement, and offer philosophical nourishment for visions of alternative and self-determined futures. I found that these literacies involve a Kanaka epistemology, an oceanic knowledge that privileges an alternative political and ethical relationship with the surrounding physical and spiritual world.

I have termed this epistemology “seascape epistemology.” It is an approach to knowing presumed on a knowledge of the sea, which tells one how to move through it, how to approach life and knowing through the movements of the world. It is an approach to knowing through a visual, spiritual,

intellectual, and embodied literacy of the *‘āina* (land) and *kai* (sea): birds, the colors of the clouds, the flows of the currents, fish and seaweed, the timing of ocean swells, depths, tides, and celestial bodies all circulating and flowing with rhythms and pulsations, which is used both theoretically and applicably by Kānaka Maoli today for mobility, flexibility, and dignity within a Western-dominant reality. Seascape epistemology embraces an oceanic literacy that can articulate the potential for travel and discovery, for a re-creation and de-creation. Seascape epistemology also allows us to produce our own bodies of scholarship in a colonial reality that has rendered Native Hawaiian knowledge “cultural” rather than intellectual or academic. It helps to create a paradigm for relocating Hawaiian identity back into *ke kai*.

As a philosophy of knowledge, seascape epistemology does not encompass a knowledge of “the ocean” and “the wind” as things. Seascape epistemology is not a knowledge of the sea. Instead, it is a knowledge about the ocean and the wind as an interconnected system that allows for successful navigation through them. It’s an approach to life and knowing through passageways. Seascape epistemology organizes events and thoughts according to how they move and interact, while emphasizing the importance of knowing one’s roots, one’s center, and where one is located inside this constant movement. As Kānaka travel, modernize, and adapt as multisited and complex individuals, seascape epistemology enables us to observe and interpret diverse knowledges from our own native perspectives. The power of seascape epistemology lies in its organic nature, its inability to be mapped absolutely, and its required interaction with the intangible sea.

In articulating how Hawaiian knowledge intersects dominant narratives and systems, I look into *ke kai* because Kānaka Maoli have a uniquely *Hawaiian* relationship to the ocean that is moored in a historical relationship—in which the ocean serves as an instrument of migration; as transportation; and as a source of food, medicine, and shelter—as well as spiritual right and responsibility, or *kuleana*, to the sea expressed in the concept of *mālama ‘āina* (caring for the land). The ocean is where we cleanse, dance, play, train, and die. It is the point from which we have always leapt off, physically and philosophically, into our pasts and our futures. It is also the pathway that brought our colonizers to us: captain James Cook, missionaries, foreign merchants, whale fisheries, and the subsequent naval ships from Britain, France, and the United States, all vying for power and influence in Oceania. It is the pathway that brings destruction through tsunamis, hur-



FIGURE 1.2. “The Intangible Seascape,” 2009. Photograph by Russell J. Amimoto.

ricanes, and drowning. Yet it is that same pathway that connects us in a familiar constellation of islands to our Oceanic neighbors, the world, and the cosmos beyond the horizon.

A Hawaiian relationship to *ka moana* (the open ocean) is also genealogical, and Kānaka Maoli attuned to this historical ontology believe that our essence, as a people, is born from the sea. Not only our “identity” as political and social beings but our very being-in-the-world and being-in-time comes out of the ocean. It is *He Kumulipo*, a predominant genealogy *oli* (chant) composed by a Kanaka priest around the eighteenth century, that determines this ontological connection to the sky, ocean, cosmos, plants, animals, and land.² The *oli* narrates that darkness, or Pō, spontaneously gave birth to a son, Kumulipo, and a daughter, Pō‘ele, and that these two in turn gave birth to the coral polyp in the sea, and many other creatures followed, first in the sea and then on land. Kanaka scholar Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, explains, “In the *Kumulipo*, Hawaiian time begins with darkest night, the

ancient female ancestor, who gives birth to male and female nights. Brother and sister mate in an incestuous union to produce the divinity of the universe, which is all life. They give birth to the coral polyp in the fundamental slime of the earth; each creature in its turn gives birth to other sea creatures and seaweeds, proceeding up the evolutionary chain through the fish, birds, and creeping things . . ." (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, x)

Hawaiian origin, then, is within the ocean. Kame'eleihiwa continues, "Hawaiian mythology recognizes a prehuman period before mankind was born when spirits alone peopled first the sea and then the land, which was born of the gods and thrust up out of the sea" (5).

The genealogy continues with the creation of the Hawaiian people, connecting Hawaiian origin to the space and place of the sea.

Kame'eleihiwa asserts, "Hawaiian identity is, in fact, derived from the *Kumulipo*, the great cosmogonic genealogy. Its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian conception of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage" (2). This fact affects every aspect of knowledge and sense of being for Kānaka Maoli. Kanaka ancestors believed that human beings were a part of not only the sea but the universe; the ocean was the essence of their own identity.

Geologically, all Pacific Islands were born up out of the sea, linking the land to the ocean physically, genealogically, and metaphorically. This notion of "Mother Sea" is not isolated to Oceania. Western science has strong evidence to support the notion that human beings evolved from microorganisms in the sea. Environmentalist Rachel Carson writes, "I tell here the story of how the young planet Earth acquired an ocean. . . . The story is founded on the testimony of the earth's most ancient rocks, . . . on other evidence written on the face of the earth's satellite, the moon; and on hints contained in the history of the sun, and the whole universe of star-filled space" (Carson 1989, 3).

Carson continues to explain how the moon is arguably a child of the Earth, which was then a great mass of molten liquid experiencing tremendous tides dictated by the pull of the sun. The moon is said to be a "great tidal wave" torn off the Earth and hurled into space. The scar or depression left by this great wave holds the Pacific Ocean. Carson states,

As soon as the earth's crust cooled enough, the rains began to fall. . . .
And over the eons of time, the sea has grown even more bitter with the
salt of the continents. . . . It seems probable that, within the warm salt-

iness of the primeval sea, certain organic substances were fashioned from carbon dioxide, sulphur, nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium, and calcium. Perhaps these were transition steps from which the complex molecules of protoplasm arose—molecules that somehow acquired the ability to reproduce themselves and begin the endless stream of life. (7)

Alongside and predating the facts and findings of Western science concerning human evolution and the ocean, Oceanic histories, religious objects, and rituals have always narrated the genealogical (evolutionary) relationship between the sea and human beings. From these historical claims emerge a Kanaka Maoli ontology and epistemology that is intertwined with the sea, that is bound by diversity yet remains a functioning whole. Kānaka Maoli exist and “know” through an interaction with the sea; it is a genealogical engagement with Hawaiian ancestral parents, Papahānaumoku (Earth Mother) and Wākea (Sky Father), who are an embodiment of the ‘āina. Kame‘eleihiwa explains that the two were half siblings by the ‘Ōpūkahonua lineage and mated to give birth to the islands as well as Ho‘ohōkūkalanī, their first human offspring (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992, 25). Kanaka knowledge is a totality of everything as an intertwined lineage, and knowing speaks to a personal knowledge embedded in a specific history, culture, and time that is reactivated, in part, for contemporary Kānaka Maoli like me through oceanic enactments such as he‘e nalu, ho‘okele, and lawai‘a.

Sitting on my surfboard, bones moving with currents, I think about how a reimagination of my indigenous identity, one re-created in a modern world, for a modern and multisited Kanaka, is anchored in historical culture. I think of how Hawaiian royalty, *ali‘i* (chiefs), distinguished themselves and their superior ability to ride waves with personal ocean songs and chants. These oli acted as proclamations of grandeur and expertise, combining historical perceptions of place with an individual’s personal response, experience, and connection to that place. Kanaka scholar and cultural expert Mary Kawena Pukui narrates a section of a surf chant written about Naihe, an ali‘i from the district of Ka‘ū, on the island of Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian text was not available):

The great waves, the great waves rise in Kona,
Bring forth the loin cloth that it may be on display,
The ebbing tide swells to set the loin cloth flying,
The loin cloth, Hoaka, that is worn on the beach,

It is the loin cloth to wear at sea, a chief's loin cloth,
Stand up and gird on the loin cloth
The day is a rough one, befitting Naihe's surfboard,
He leaps in, he swims, he strides out to the waves,
The waves that rush hither from Kahiki.
White capped waves, billowy waves,
Waves that break into a heap, waves that break and spread.
The surf rises above them all,
The rough surf of the island,
The great surf that pounds and thrashes
The foamy surf of Hikiau,
It is the sea on which to surf at noon,
The sea that washes the pebbles and corals ashore.
(Pukui 1949, 256)

A wave for he'e nalu becomes a cultural resource. The "great waves" roll in to Kona on the island of Hawai'i from Kahiki, (the East, and, by extension, all foreign lands; also, but not exclusively, Tahiti), born from a great cultural and genealogical origin. These waves also bring forth the loincloth of the ali'i; supporting and propelling the ali'i, the marrow of Kanaka society, yet the surf "rises above them all." The waves "peak and spread," washing pebbles and corals ashore, and delivering a divine and powerful knowledge and way of being to the people of Hawai'i. Naihe's oli reinforces the image and idea of the physical structure of the wave as a way of knowing the past, and thus a way of understanding of the present within that context. Naihe's oli illuminates how the act of entering ke kai today, to surf, voyage, fish, dive, or swim, brings about a space and time that anchors Kānaka Maoli in a historical existence as ever-shifting and negotiating beings. Seascape epistemology privileges this Kanaka ontological connection to ke kai.

My work develops this oceanic potential by articulating the local ways in which contemporary Kānaka Maoli construct and conceive knowledge through ke kai. I explore how Kanaka empirical experiences encountered in the world, experiences such as he'e nalu, connect to a politicalization of Hawaiian knowledge and place that involves interconnection, flexibility, and movement. There is a potentiality for Kānaka Maoli to turn ocean-based knowledges and practices into a politics and ethics (oceanic literacy is not political or ethical on its own) because ka moana is mixed into Native Hawaiian genealogy, place, and history, and thus helps lay the foundation for

articulating Kanaka theories and other ways of knowing that arise from a connection to ‘āina. As a political and ethical act, he‘e nalu re-creates patterns already set in motion by our ancestors.

The colonial history of the Hawaiian Islands and its people has been thoroughly documented by scholars analyzing, for instance, the great land divide of 1848 called the Great Māhele, the 1897 petition against American annexation, the 1898 annexation, and gaining American statehood in 1959. These scholars and artists have brilliantly unveiled the many and deep consequences stemming from these, and other, pivotal events. Many layers of this living history have, and continue to be, peeled back, illuminating how American colonization directly affects Hawaiian health, wealth, dignity, culture, language, spirituality, and land today. Loss of land is a particularly critical element of Hawaiian colonization (and decolonization) because Kanaka language, economy, politics, and culture are all connected to ‘āina, both land and sea.

Recognizing that land-based literacy is as critical for Kānaka Maoli today as it was historically, I look to the sea in this analysis because, in addition to the sea’s symbolic power as a life-sustaining body that connects the world’s continents, I believe that it has become an increasingly contested (and environmentally distressed) space in Hawai‘i. The profound effects of the colonization of land in the Hawaiian Islands necessitates a critical analysis of the current attempts to colonize the sea, which can be seen through the privatization of oceanfront areas, the lack of public access to certain coastal regions, developmental and agricultural runoff (pesticides and fertilizers), mass commercial fishing, the establishment of state zones in the sea, and, most significantly for this work, the emergence of a burgeoning surf tourism industry that has grown out of the larger Western colonial project in Hawai‘i by presenting ke kai as a place of consumption and conquest for the surf tourist.

Neocolonial Surf Tourism in Hawai‘i

“Surf tourism,” according to Dr. Martin Fluker of Victoria University, may be defined as the act of traveling to either a domestic location for a period of time not exceeding six months or an international location for a period of time not exceeding twelve months and staying at least one night, with the primary motivation for selecting the destination being to actively participate in the sport of surfing (where the surfer relies on the power of the wave

for forward momentum) (Fluker 2002). Following this definition, a self-defined surfer from Iowa who stays in Hawai'i for longer than six months is suddenly no longer a tourist. Does this person transform into a "local"? Kanaka spaces within the surf tourism fantasy get muddled when blended into this single, dominant, and stringent definition of the industry, which restricts the expansive potential of these spaces to be both Kanaka *and* tourist. For example, Kānaka Maoli in Hawai'i travel across and into tourist spaces by participating in local surf contests, advertisements, and hotel employment. Fluker's definition swallows up Kanaka spaces in statistical maps.

Ralph Buckley, director of the International Centre for Ecotourism Research, School of Environmental and Applied Sciences, Griffith University, in Queensland, Australia, adds to Fluker's definition: "In terms of economic statistics, surfing becomes tourism as soon as surfers travel at least 40km and stay overnight with surfing as the primary purpose for travel" (Buckley 2002, 407). These two definitions of surf tourism are Western-oriented and fail to consider how Kānaka Maoli travel on the seascape. In Buckley's definition, a geographic scale of distance is honored as the determining factor for a local versus a tourist identity. Following this, a Kanaka Maoli who lives in Hilo and drives to Kona to surf and stay overnight at the house of a relative or *hānai* (adoptive/calabash) family would be designated a tourist.

A Kanaka-centered definition of surf tourism might be the act of a person, event, or advertisement traveling to any destination outside that person's, event's, or advertisement's defined homeland with the main purpose of surfing for any period of time. Under this definition, Kānaka Maoli still find Kanaka spaces within the tourist industry, because in Hawai'i, Kānaka Maoli can be indigenous within a tourist space while not being tourists. The Hawaiian body and its relationship to the 'āina becomes a critical relationship of power for the Kanaka surfer within the neocolonial reality that surf tourism has created.

The evolution of surf tourism is directly tied to the larger project of political and economic colonization in Hawai'i. After the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i to the United States, American businessmen needed to present the islands to their fellow citizens as a valuable and desirable place, one of "soft primitivism." The activity of *he'e nalu* became a new commodity, a romanticized, chic, and adventurous selling point for Hawai'i. Today, this narrative has exploded into the international surf tourism arena, designating Hawai'i as *the* pleasure zone for this burgeoning, multibillion-dollar market. Mass media has established a global identity for surfers around which an eco-

conomic and political agenda of governance has flourished. A new tactic of power has been systemically imposed on individual surfers, meticulously measuring the differences between their lives and that of an ideal surfer by imposing homogenous standards and expectations. The industry has rendered as enviable a surfer's designated motivations, spirituality, passions, and physical skills (Alcoff 2005). New modes of expertise have emerged and expanded as knowledges developed in the surfing industry through mass production: professional surfer, surf sponsor, surf journalist, photographer, surf coach, surf tour guides. A formulated surf industry has been established that embraces an ideology of consumption in which the surf tourist body is situated outside the places it visits, distancing the tourist from responsibility to, or respect for, the history and politics of these places. Native Hawaiian culture is not acknowledged as autonomous but is swallowed by a narrative of escapism and discovery: ocean places have been renamed in Hawai'i, and oceanic oral history has been overshadowed.

This book analyzes how surf tourism represents the problem that arises when state interests of power converge with capital interests of power, resulting in the violent marginalization and erasure of a people. I explore how the surf tourism industry perpetuates the dominance of a totalizing ideology that places indigenous identities, knowledges, imaginations, and memories in the periphery. Geographic and economic colonization is perpetuated, as is the specific Western epistemology regarding Hawai'i's role in a capitalist endeavor. The sea itself becomes the focal point of colonization by the industry that ideologically established ke kai as a place of conquest and domination.

Predominant surf tourism ethics and narratives that weave together histories of colonialism, militarism, and tourism, however, are not absolute. Kānaka Maoli not only move within the industry in beneficial ways but also help to shape the industry. For instance, Duke Paoa Kahinu Mokoe Hulikohola Kahanamoku, the most famous of the Waikiki Beachboys, played a critical role in the development of surf tourism during the 1920s and '30s. His significant role in selling the pastime and islands as a commodity to the tourism industry established him not only as the "father of modern surfing" but also as the "ambassador of aloha." Duke officially introduced he'e nalu to Americans on the mainland United States while in Southern California for swimming exhibitions and meets in 1912 and again in 1916. His impact on the development of Australian surfing after his visit to the country in 1915 was also profound (Finney and Houston 1996). Yet as a beachboy, Duke

did not just cater to tourist desires; he remained connected to ke kai during the turbulent time when global capitalism flooded the islands. His Kanaka values and knowledge of and respect for the ocean never faltered, even as he played the international role of an iconic beachboy.

The Waikiki Beachboys were lifeguards, instructors, bodyguards, entertainers, and tour guides providing surf instruction and canoe rides for tourists fulfilling the surf-tourism narrative. Through the 1920s and '30s, the beachboys grew in popularity and their business ventures expanded. Kanaka scholar Isaiah Helekūnihi Walker asserts that the beachboys were not playing into the “tourist expectations of sexual conquest” but acting instead as anticolonial voices working to preserve “their surfing, culture, space and Hawaiian identities” (Walker 2008, 105). This is a critical point. Walker stresses the notion that Kanaka men (and women) developed their indigenous identities in the surf, and often “thwarted colonial encroachment” by transgressing colonial expectations and categories of what it meant to be “Hawaiian” (89). Walker argues that the beachboys, while catering to tourist business, were simultaneously defying colonial hegemony by retaining control over their aquatic domain. The *po‘ina nalu* (the surf zone), not the beach or deep sea, but the wave zone itself, acted as place of autonomy, resistance, and survival for Kānaka. The *po‘ina nalu*, as Walker argues, was (and is) a Hawaiian *pu‘uhonua* (place of refuge) from colonial imposition and dominance. Walker explains, “In such a *pu‘uhonua*, identities could be constructed in opposition to colonialism. This is not to say that colonialism had no influence on the shaping of such identities. Rather, Native Hawaiian identities fostered in the surf zone were developed in contrast to the colonial conquest on the shore. And, as a large part of this terrestrial conquest involved emasculating Native men . . . , the *po‘ina nalu* was a location where Hawaiian men redefined themselves as active agents, embodying resistant masculinities” (92).

The Waikiki Beachboys, for instance, officially organized themselves in 1911 into the Hui Nalu surf club to preserve he‘e nalu from an exploitative *haole* (foreign, introduced) constituency that in 1908 had formed a whites-only surf club, the Outrigger Canoe Club, that boasted supremacy over Kānaka in Waikiki waves. Kanaka surfers were not, however, submissive or “ideal natives,” but were instead dominant and respected watermen who successfully established autonomous identities in opposition to colonial institutions and categories (105).

Kānaka Maoli have resisted commodification, and continue to do so,

both inside and outside of the tourism industry, extracting historically and culturally based empowerment from he‘e nalu, as well as other ocean-based knowledges. Kānaka Maoli have inserted their own agency into what I deem a “neocolonial industry”; they are not only effected by the industry, they also affect it, making surf tourism a complex interaction rather than an imposition (Teaiwa 2001). Kānaka have always made new indigenous spaces within dominant structures, creating a politics that reaffirms Hawaiian identity while demanding participation and recognition in the system.

Surf tourism is a complex interaction between actors, ideologies, and events. Within this proliferating neocolonial industry, the indigenous activity of he‘e nalu provides itself as a means of empowerment specifically for Kānaka Maoli. I use the surf tourism industry to contextualize the significance of this ocean-based knowledge, as well as those of ho‘okele and lawai‘a, as political and empowering by creating new spaces within dominant systems while demanding participation and recognition in the system. For Kānaka Maoli, the ocean becomes a place to re-create, regenerate, reaffirm, and return to autonomous and complex identities that are both historic and modern, both rooted and traveling. This is the potential of seascape epistemology: to help relocate modern Kanaka identities and bodies back into ke kai.

Why the Seascape?

A study of an indigenous epistemology reveals a homology between the treatment of epistemology and an analysis of the ocean as something fragile and changing, to an analysis of the ocean. There has been a predisposition of cultural and indigenous studies to connect indigeneity with territory, a “territory” that has been predominantly, although not entirely, land-based. My contribution speaks to the fluvial addition to the territorial through the Hawaiian seascape as a means of obtaining a geopolitical mapping of the political. Seascape epistemology dives into the ocean, splashing alternatives onto the Western-dominant and linear mind-set that has led the world toward realities of mass industrialization and cultural and individual assimilation. Understanding knowledge as an always moving interaction through theoretical frames challenges dominant theoretical narratives that strive to determine absolute “truths.” This is the aim of seascape epistemology.

The seascape evokes powerful imagery as a place of adaptation, representing change, process, the inward and outward flows of ideas, reflections,

and events. Water is the only chemical compound found as a solid, a liquid, and a gas, and it is both an acid and a base (Farber 1994). Water is multistructural as a formless phenomenon, yet it never loses its identity. In the same way, Hawaiian ways of being-in-the-sea transcend the physical world to include the metaphysical, spiritual, and sensational, creating codes of grammar through seascape epistemology, which normalize an indigenous sense of knowing and being that travels. Seascape epistemology enables a reading and a knowledge of the self that resists the petrification of its own dynamic character. Identity is always plural and in continual re-creation within seascape epistemology. It helps to mobilize Hawaiian bodies through a specific time and space in *ke kai* that anchors Kānaka in existence as ever-shifting and negotiating beings within a Western reality of statehood, capitalism, and ecologically challenging development that has altered Hawaiian epistemology.

Seascape epistemology builds off of Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa's re-imagination of the ocean as a highway that links rather than separates Pacific Islanders in a "sea of islands." Hau'ofa offers a conception of culture, identity, and space that moves beyond what Banaban and I-Kiribati scholar Teresia K. Teaiwa describes as "discrete boundaries and disconnectedness" (Teaiwa 2005, 23). Hau'ofa's sea of islands defies the barriers established by development "experts," aid agencies, colonial governments, scientists, and select scholars, urging Pacific Islanders to instead decolonize our minds and recast our senses of identity by rediscovering the vision of our ancestors for whom the Pacific was a boundless sea of possibilities and opportunities (D'Arcy 2006, 7). Teaiwa asserts, "By emphasizing traditions of migration and voyaging, a matter-of-fact—if not fearless—approach to confronting difference, and the maintenance of kinship across vast distances, Hau'ofa's Oceanic peoples are exemplary of a Native way of being that is fluid, multiple and complex" (Teaiwa 2005, 23). Hau'ofa's concept allows not only Pacific identity to be fluid, multiple, and complex, but also Pacific epistemology.

This Oceanic concept helps develop a Kanaka relationship to a specific ontology and epistemology related to *ke kai* that resists colonial narratives, and that in turn helps to further develop my concept of seascape epistemology. I draw this connection based on the shared history of migration and cultural exchange in the region, a connection to which Hau'ofa speaks. This relationship is also expressed by Kānaka Maoli who refer to Pacific Islanders as "brothers" and "sisters" and reference ways of life in other Oce-

anic nations as applicable or similar to those in Hawai'i. I do recognize, however, that each Oceanic nation has a unique history, culture, language, and geography that should not be universalized. My argument is that the region shares many values and ambitions related to the common sea that surrounds and has profoundly shaped our cultures. It is this relationship that I lean upon as I exchange Pacific and Kanaka theories and ethics.

Aware of a critique on the problem of essentialization through such a regional vision, Hau'ofa recognizes that "our diverse loyalties are much too strong to be erased by a regional identity and our diversity is necessary for the struggle against the homogenizing forces of the global juggernaut. It is even more necessary for those of us who must focus on strengthening their ancestral cultures against seemingly overwhelming forces, to regain their lost sovereignty" (Hau'ofa 2005, 33–34). Not all of Oceania embraces the seascape in the same way, with the same practices, or with the same intensity. Margaret Jolly points out that Hau'ofa tends to essentialize a connection to and relationship with the ocean by all Pacific Islanders. She states, "For him the sea is as much inside the bodies of Islanders as it is their connecting fluid of passage, in world-traveling canoes or jumbo jets, the still center of an ocean of experience they navigate" (Jolly 2001, 419). Jolly challenges this perspective by stating that many Oceanic peoples today are not connected to the ocean geographically, economically, or psychologically. She also challenges the notion that Oceanic peoples are simply rooted as grounded in the land and becoming static in place and time, in boundaries of tradition, while foreigners travel, discover, and develop. It's a dialectical tension between movement and settlement, between routes and roots.

James Clifford, professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz, also warns of re-creating binary oppositions between indigenous notions of home and away, of the complex dynamic of "local landedness and expansive social spaces," in an attempt to articulate the full range of ways to be "modern." He stresses the importance in recognizing, "patterns of visiting and return, of desire and nostalgia, of lived connections across distances and differences" (Clifford 2001, 470).

Jolly criticizes Hau'ofa's celebration of the notion of a contemporary "world traveler," whom she argues is "more cramped—they typically follow older colonial circuits and their journeys are plotted by the cosmology of global capitalism" (Jolly 2001, 422). Furthermore, she argues that economics, geography, nation-state borders, and diaspora have hindered many islanders' ability to travel at all. She points out that Papua New Guinea, the

Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu don't feel a sense of ancestral connection to the ocean.

Essentializing an ocean-based relationship in Oceania, and more specifically in Hawai'i, is irresponsible and unproductive given the diverse cultures, economies, diasporic histories, and geographic locations of many Kānaka Maoli. I also recognize that not all Kānaka embrace ke kai in the same way, with the same practices, or with the same intensity. While this book situates Hawaiian bodies within a locatable spatial practice, it does not assume that an oceanic relationship is one accessible or familiar to all contemporary Kānaka 'Ōiwi, (Indigenous Peoples) nor that it is not. It does argue, however, that oceanic literacy is an ancestral knowledge historically relevant in Kānaka Maoli futures. All Kanaka ancestors sailed to the Hawaiian Islands, and thus in the goal of psychological decolonization the concept of knowledge in relation to the ocean and the surf is at least metaphorically applicable for all Kanaka Maoli. Hawaiian culture always meanders back to the sea. Ke kai is referenced in relation to Kanaka art, architecture, love, political power, spiritual awareness, and ancestry. Seascape epistemology builds upon this relationship, offering contemporary Kānaka Maoli alternative ways of navigating through the world, regardless of our current "places" in it. The concept of the seascape is valuable beyond the literal place of the sea. It is also a Kanaka discourse that tells us how to move through life as Kānaka have always moved, physically, culturally, and intellectually (Teaiwa 2005). The concept of a seascape honors this "travel," growth, and change through an approach to knowing that embraces that which is historically oceanic.

The place of ke kai is both constant and fluid, always changing and moving, like identity, and like our bodies. There is an essentialist relationship in seascape epistemology because it incorporates embodied as well as locatable spatial practices. However, seascape epistemology slides beyond this relationship due to the fluidity inherent in the knowledge and practices. The way I define and use āina is fluid, as is the way I define and use the body. This concept of movement and change, even of places and bodies, is at the core of seascape epistemology. I am expanding the notion of seascape into a methodology about the movement of theories, realities, and identities, offering Kanaka Maoli a means of finding specific routes through the seascape, and toward empowerment.

Hau'ofa notes, "Despite the sheer magnitude of the oceans, we are among a minute proportion of Earth's total human population which can truly be

referred to as ‘oceanic peoples.’ All our cultures have been shaped in fundamental ways by the adaptive interactions between our people and the sea that surrounds our island communities” (Hau’ofa 2005, 37). The oceanic metaphor is one of mental movement and travel within a constantly fluctuating world, the seascape as well as the physical place of the Pacific Ocean. The symbol of water offers flexibility as well as mobility as new routes are sailed within an “ocean” of possibility.

He‘e nalu, as well as ho‘okele and lawai‘a, become not merely practices but critical ways of knowing and doing. The practice of he‘e nalu creates a counter politics to the colonial narrative that has determined Hawai‘i to be a fixed geographic land with the sea as a mere boundary, and Hawaiian identity to be already established and stagnant. Kanaka scholar Rona Tamiko Halualani articulates this sociohistorical production of the Hawaiian identity as a soft primitivism through a mapping of the islands and the sea:

Temporal space and geographic representation in maps “naturally place” foreigners in Hawai‘i, as Hawaiian identity is rehailed. A heavily impacting subject position of Hawaiianness as “naturally placed” is created through signifying and representational processes within maps that Denis Wood deems as the “culturalization of the natural” and the “naturalization of the cultural.” Hawaiians, thus, are to be understood through the “natural” elements of what is already out there, which are themselves sociopolitical constructions; through the kind, calming oceans, the pleasant tradewinds and breezes, and the abundance, the lushness, of food and land (they are indeed inherently calm, pleasant, and rich in generosity of what they have). By iconically inscribing the “natural” and the “geographic” via maps and charts, Western imperialism imagined and brought into being national modern space. The cultural and political production of geography serves then to naturalize the colonial occupation and newly established nativism of Hawai‘i and its people by the British and later U.S. forces. (Halualani 2002, 7)

I ponder the seascape in this work because of its potential and power not only within Hawaiian epistemology and ontology but also against colonial structures. Hau’ofa eloquently articulated how Pacific Islanders need to awaken themselves to “the ocean in us,” to the ever-present ocean in our souls as a powerful potential in the face of such colonial narratives. He suggests, “An identity that is grounded on something so vast as the sea is, should

exercise our minds and rekindle in us the spirit that sent our ancestors to explore the oceanic unknown and make it their home, our home” (Hau’ofa 2005, 33). Hau’ofa is expressing the critical role that ka moana plays, and has always played, in Pacific Islander life, constantly moving and shaping our bodies, minds, and societies. Thus, the links between identity and place, both which are critical to the “indigenous,” are not static. For Kānaka Maoli, this politics, these moments and interactions, revolve around a specific interaction with the ‘āina rather than with a geocentric model that engages in a proprietary contract with land and ocean.

Seascape epistemology builds upon these concepts and provides a decolonizing methodology for Kanaka by revealing hidden linkages between water and land that speak to indigenous ways of knowing and being, to historical means of political, social, and cultural survival. Seascape epistemology engages a discourse about place that recognizes the ocean’s transient and dynamic composition; waves are constantly formed and broken, sucked up from the very body that gave it life. No part of this liquid body is ever stable. Yet something does endure within this space and time: relationships that draw together the sea’s collective components through an engagement such as he’e nalu. Seascape epistemology is movement’s sound, its taste and color, and it is the fluctuation of a process that joins the world together. The epistemology imagines a world where, as Paul Carter, academic and author, articulates, “the laws governing relationships count, and where the value of passages is recognized” (Carter 2009, 6).

The ocean becomes a metaphor for global unity, pulling together and sustaining humankind. Hau’ofa wrote that he was profoundly struck by a piece he read by Sylvia Earle in the October 28, 1996, issue of *Time* that magnified the power and significance of the ocean for the world: “The sea shapes the character of this planet, governs weather and climate, stabilizes moisture that falls back on the land, replenishing Earth’s fresh water to rivers, lakes, streams—and us. Every breath we take is possible because of the life-filled life-giving sea; oxygen is generated there, carbon dioxide absorbed. . . . Rain forests and other terrestrial systems are important too, of course, but without the living ocean there would be no life on land. Most of Earth’s living space, the biosphere, is ocean—about 97%. And not so coincidentally, 97% of Earth’s water is ocean.” (Hau’ofa 2008, 52). To speak of a seascape epistemology then, is to address global as well as local issues in relation to not only identity, politics, and economics but also morality and humanity. In the face of modernization, the ocean becomes an increasingly

critical place to address in terms of regional political colonization as well as global ecological denigration.

The March 11, 2011, tsunami that hit Japan and the April 20, 2010, oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico provide compelling examples of the powerful and sometimes violent relationships between people and the ocean, each profoundly impacting the other. Japan lost 22,000 people within minutes as a forty-five-foot tsunami stormed across its shores. The tsunami was generated by a 9.0 earthquake (one of the largest ever recorded) off Japan's eastern coast, which also created the worst nuclear energy disaster since Chernobyl. According to the *New York Times*, explosions and radioactive gas leaks took place in three reactors at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, which suffered partial meltdowns, releasing radioactive material directly into the atmosphere, fresh water sources, and the ocean. Within minutes, the ocean altered Japan's political, economic, and social structures, sucking tons of twisted steel and debris into its westward ocean currents. Conversely, Japanese-made nuclear pollution leaked uninvited into the ocean. As of May 2012, tuna in Japanese waters have been reported to be carrying high levels of radioactivity. The *New York Times* reported on February 20, 2014, that about one hundred tons of highly radioactive water had leaked from one of the tanks at the devastated Fukushima power plant. This provides an illustration of the many mishaps that continue to plague containment and cleanup efforts, as well as the hundreds of tons of contaminated groundwater that still flow into the ocean every day.

Not long before the Fukushima disaster, the 2010 British Petroleum spill inadvertently dumped up to 184 million gallons of oil into the Gulf of Mexico when a drilling rig working on a well exploded a mile below the surface. While this spill highlights the ocean's vulnerability to human destruction—countless birds, fish, deep and shallow coral reefs, seaweeds, marshlands and grasses, and the water molecules themselves were coated with crude—it also shows its power: the oil-coated ocean directly affected the political, economic, and social climate in the Gulf, just as it did in Japan. The interlocked relationship between human beings and the seascape is inescapable. As we continue to deface the sea—dumping waste, polluting runoff, creating greenhouse gases that cause a rise in ocean temperatures that kill coral reef systems and melt polar icecaps and cause acidification—the ocean in turn buries countless swimmers, surfers, voyagers, fishers, divers, and many more under its salty dominion, a domain proven to be both tranquil and tumultuous, nurturing and deadly.

Kānaka Maoli deem the ocean to be the domain of Kanaloa, *ke akua* (the god) of *ke kai*. Kanaloa brings life as well as destruction, and is revered as both good and bad in Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (oral history). Epitomizing the sea's dynamic character, Kanaloa comes from a foreign land, having migrated from Kahiki with the god Kāne, washing up on the island of Kaho'olawe (another name for Kanaloa) like an approaching ocean wave and becoming part of the island's genealogy. Kanaloa brought gifts with him; both he and Kāne brought animals such as the pig to Kānaka Maoli, established fish ponds around the islands, and were often known in the back of mountains as water finders: "'Oi-ana (Let it be seen)!' says Kanaloa; so Kāne thrusts in his staff made of heavy, close-grained kauila wood (*Alphitonia excelsa*) and water gushes forth. They open the fishpond of Kanaloa at Lualu'ilua and possess the water of Kou at Kaupo. . . . They cause sweet waters to flow at Waihee, Kahakuloa, and at Waikane on Lanai, Punakou on Molokai, Kawaihoa on Oahu" (Beckwith 1970, 64).

Kanaka cultural specialist Keoni James Kuoha explains that Kanaloa is also associated with "depths," with deep water, and with "the unseen but present" (Kuoha 2012). Kanaloa's domain holds much philosophical potential that becomes particularly significant within a colonial reality. The power of *ke kai* vibrates beyond its picturesque paradise image. Its potential oscillates between what capitalistic and state centric images reveal, in what many oceanic literate Kānaka can't necessarily see but can feel: the "unseen but present."

Engaging an epistemology that allows us access to, a relationship with, and skills for constructing a space of political determination within *ke kai*, is critical for Kānaka 'Ōiwi. The concept of seascape epistemology becomes more than a cultural representation of the ocean through oceanic literacies; it becomes a way of knowing and being through interaction for Kānaka Maoli. The seascape is not merely represented through a specific Hawaiian lens in this work; *ke kai* comes to involve an epistemology. A seascape epistemology evolves as an interactive and embodied ontology; a kinesthetic engagement and reading of both the physical and metaphysical simultaneously, enabling an alternative epistemology for Kānaka.

For example, when surfing, I have the inherent ability to reflect on knowledge production as a hegemonic language because my oceanic literacy sits outside of dominant literacies, contrasting established structures by displacing them with my body's gestures and defiance of gravity as it glides vertical, diagonal, fast, and smooth. My literacy is not a matter of being "flu-

ent” in the language of standing up on a board and riding a wave. My literacy is valuable as a way of moving through the ocean (and life) by anchoring myself within its fluctuations. This approach to knowing engages ke kai as a historical mechanism for re-imagining identity. Ke kai offers both corporeal decolonization, through physiological gestures, as well as psychological decolonization by helping me to rethink what a contemporary Hawaiian epistemology might entail, and to reassess how knowledge is produced and taught. There are political rhythms of reactivation and deactivation as Hawaiian ontology is coded through the performance of he‘e nalu, or is conversely overcoded by (neo)colonial structures and thought-worlds that have in part reshaped the islands through development.

The indigenous surfer can become an aesthetic subject whose movements in the time and space of the ocean articulates an ontology and epistemology that opposes the commodification entrenched within the American-settler intelligibility. My work contrasts the disparity between a Hawaiian ontological experience of place with the experience of Hawai‘i as a place of commodity by assembling a Kanaka Maoli ocean narrative on the microlevel (my autoethnographic moment as a Kanaka Maoli surfer), as well as on the macro-level (an ethnographic mode of representation of ocean knowledge in Hawai‘i gathered through oral histories, texts, poetry, and artwork). What becomes visible is how identity, through kinesthetic involvement with the ocean, can be deconstructed and reconstructed through movements, imaginations, and a merging with place that honor place-based wisdoms and memories in an era of ecological destruction and detachment, as well as (neo)colonial imposition. The sensorimotor pathways that the body creates for itself engage an oceanic literacy, an embodied “reading” and “writing” of a specific oceanic space, which for Kānaka Maoli are affective, philosophical, and spiritual movements of recovery.

Although the insight here may be open to anyone who has ocean-based knowledge, such as, for instance, a lifelong surfer of Scottish American descent residing in Santa Cruz, California, seascape epistemology is a specific concern of indigenous politics because of what it offers native peoples with colonial legacies. Indigenous politics stimulates an autonomous reimagining of diverse ways of existing and defining one’s identity when this right has been forcibly interrupted by geographic, cultural, economic, and religious imposition. This new politics and ethics does not exclude non-Kanaka; its purpose is to include Kanaka in a system that has dispossessed us from our native ‘āina, systematically alienating us from our ethos and marginalizing

us in terms of health, education, political power, and socioeconomic status. It is the specific historical location and identity of Kānaka Maoli, as we sit within a stagnant landscape of dominant (neo)colonial structures, that provides seascape epistemology as a tool and critical concept for movement around and through imposed systems, toward self-determined constructions of ourselves.

It is also critical to note that in my analysis of specific neocolonial ideologies within the surf tourism industry, those ideologies transported in the luggage of contemporary surf tourists that reinforce specific knowledges, stories, and theories about entitlement and apolitical movement, it should be understood that as a surfer and traveler, I also move inside this system. I have journeyed to Samoa; I frequent surf events and surf establishments; and I consume surf products and images. My discussion doesn't aim to comprehensively and unconditionally condemn the industry, surf tourists, or surf tourism. Not all surfers or corporations travel in the same way. Motion and exchange are natural and potentially positive phenomena.

The element of neocolonialism becomes active in surf tourism when attempts are made to efface a people's history and autonomy for profit, making a people's land and sea an available feast of enjoyment and consumption—not only as something to be desired but as attainable on surfer's terms and conditions. This neocolonial context illuminates what is at stake (āina and self-determination), and why seascape epistemology, and the ocean-based knowledges within it, are relevant and necessary. The surf tourism industry has established Hawaiian identity and place as something static, to be conquered, controlled, and exploited. Seascape epistemology disrupts that narrative and economy at the levels of both sensation and thought through an embodied reimagining and re-creating.

Theoretical Framework

Working from an intersection of knowledge systems, a paradigm endorsed by Subramani, professor of literature at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, requires seascape epistemology to engage in meaningful conversations across differences and disciplines so that it can assess divergent claims about knowledge. Ultimately, there must be a mixing of roots and new routes to keep pace with the variable forces of change in the modern world, and to inspire cultural innovation within the fields of indigenous politics and indigenous studies. Kānaka Maoli are accustomed to traveling, and it should

be understood that issues of identity, culture, and tradition can take place within the contexts of nationalism, globalization, and diaspora (Diaz and Kauanui 2001). My focus is less on sources of neocolonialism in Hawai'i, and more on how Kānaka Maoli can be "modern," both indigenous and global, while reaffirming autonomous definitions of ourselves.

Shaping a seascape epistemology involves compiling the language by which it is articulated. This compilation forms a sort of archive documenting some of the many ways that the ocean is known and understood by Kānaka Maoli. I term this collection of oceanic literacy an "archive" because it is anchored in history and genealogy yet is a living archive that expands as Kanaka knowledge evolves. This archive always remains relevant through adaptation. My methodology in the creation of this archive requires analysis of historical mo'olelo and *mele* (chants), but also current interviews and ethnographic observation. While the development of seascape epistemology is methodologically dependent upon the genealogy of mo'olelo, it is also dependent upon ocean experience and sensibility. It is not possible, then, for me to articulate this indigenous epistemology by simply reading Hawaiian texts or by reading the genealogies behind the words describing ke kai. Necessary too to truly embrace the literacy within seascape epistemology are the articulations of embodied sensations and contemporary experiences. The goal is to create an epistemology through which specific oceanic literacies can travel into a contemporary world as relevant ways of knowing for Kānaka Maoli.

I have come to realize that the "visual" is extremely important to my work in developing this archive of ocean literacy; the seascape involves a specific way of approaching knowledge that embraces visual interactions with and conceptions of the 'āina. In expressing Kanaka notions of ke kai within an epistemology, I need to be able to "see" the ocean. Ke kai is fluid, and a Kanaka concept of ke kai must therefore be explored through fluid mediums in addition to texts. Archival and contemporary photographs as well as historical and current oral histories provide a visual image of how Kānaka Maoli move(d) on and interact(ed) with the seascape. The contemporary Kanaka poetry included in this book colors the ocean with a modern interpretation and understanding of relationship to ke kai. The images provided by Kanaka artists also help to enunciate the concept of kai from a Hawaiian perspective. I am also very influenced by the art of Native Hawaiian surfers, fishers, navigators, paddlers, divers, hula dancers, musicians, and artisans. Their work also guides the understanding of oceanic literacy as an

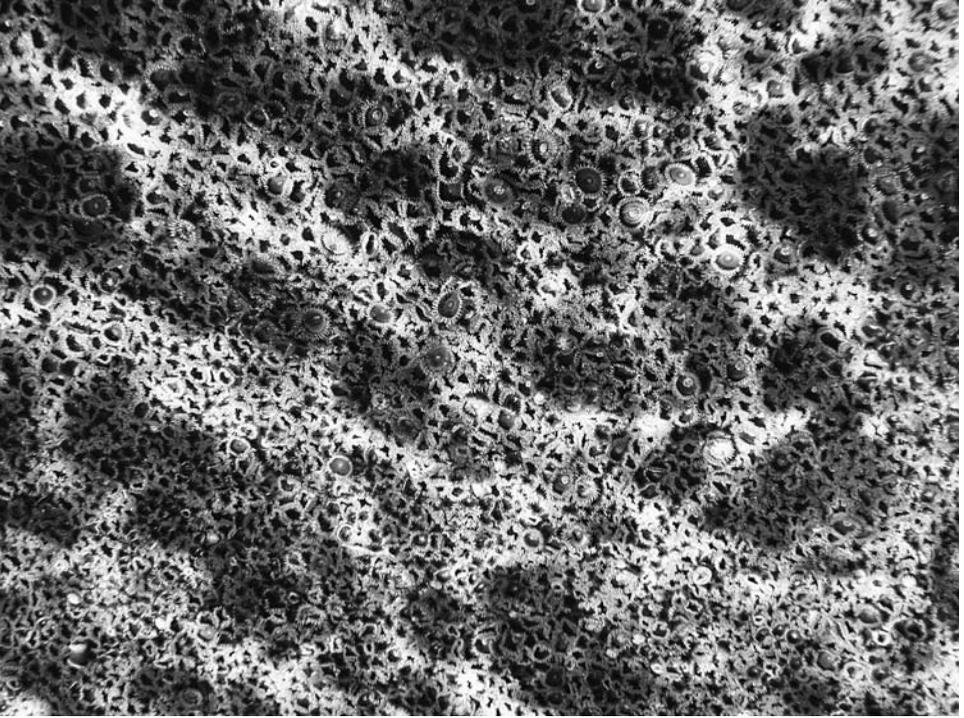


FIGURE 1.3. “The Textured Seascape,” 2009. Photograph by Russell J. Amimoto.

organic creation, fluidly carrying different Kanaka layers of oceanic knowledges and relationships along a single current of Kanaka waves. Revealed are the sensations of how it feels, smells, and sounds to ride upon the ocean, to (re)discover islands, to hear the fish and *he’e* (octopus) in the hunt, and to see our genealogical and historical connections to the seascape literally through a Kanaka “lens.”

People are not the only entities we engage as indigenous academics conducting research in our contemporary communities; we must also engage ancestors, gods, oceans, rivers, valleys, winds, rains, and stars, which are a part of our communities. A shift in research definition and focus will better support indigenous ways of knowing and being, and thus indigenous self-determination.

Solutions and means of empowerment for Kānaka must be born from an internal origin and strive to function within an indigenous extraction of decolonizing ideologies drawn from Kānaka, enabling me to produce

indigenous-based knowledge, to operate from within, and to ground my research strategies in indigenous epistemologies. Grounding a theory or research strategy in indigenous epistemologies is a strong form of decolonization in itself, as is the decision to function within the dominant system, learning how to manipulate it for benefit.

To effectively grasp the notion of seascape from multiple Kanaka perspectives and sources, the tactic for writing this project will be to approach it as a collage, gluing the diverse and individual seascapes and sources together into one overlapping and blended image of Hawaiian land and sea. The pieces will not lock together like a puzzle but instead overlap and remain independent, incomplete, and infinite. The text will take the form of a paper of poetic literacies, experiential colors, and sets of theories that have shifted outside Western critical paradigms into a reinvented Kanaka concept.

Thus, the key theorists I turn to in this work include Epeli Hau'ofa, with his image of a “sea of islands”; Teresia Teaiwa, as she (re)defines the term “native” in relation to movement and fluidity; Vincente Diaz and Kēhaulani Kauanui, both of whom emphasize the importance of place and being situated “in-between” (Diaz has also done much work on seafaring in Oceania, which I draw on); Rob Wilson, who helps me articulate *ke kai* as a cultural space; Subramani, as he calls for a regional epistemology based around the ocean; Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, with her perception of Kanaka cosmology, time, and place; Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, with their historical reading and documentation of Kanaka knowledge in *mele* (chants/songs) and *mo‘olelo*, and Noenoe K. Silva, with her interpretations of Kanaka *mo‘olelo*.

I also look to scholars outside indigenous realms to help shape and articulate seascape epistemology. While Kanaka and Western epistemologies are distinguished by fundamental philosophical, cultural, ethical, and geographic origins, they engage through time, space, and place. Indigeneity is both a local and a global interaction. This appears to be a tension but is ultimately a continuous negotiation between roots and routes.³ My investigation bridges the divide between a European critical philosophy trajectory and an ocean-based indigenous imaginary and set of identity practices. I reinflect the Western philosophical tradition in order to frame the Hawaiian issue of an ocean-based epistemology, translating seascape epistemology into a critical theory idiom. I hold on to both an indigenous imaginary and Western philosophy’s trajectory of ontological and episte-

mological frames. I am touring through theoretical spaces that were once colonial while hopefully creating a new theory about a specific Hawaiian place-based knowledge, a knowledge that is not new in itself but can be used in a contemporary reality of neocolonial institutions such as the surf tourism industry. I engage the space between Western and Kanaka epistemologies because there is a historical and cultural relationship, even if that relationship is violent.

To develop the theoretical elements within seascape epistemology, I turn to Martin Heidegger's work on being-in-the-world, or being-there, *Dasein*, to articulate how my concept is a temporal epistemology embedded in a metaphysical ontology. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari help me to enunciate conceptions of times "in-between" dominant narratives of time, or indigenous times. The theories of Jacques Rancière and Michael J. Shapiro offer political philosophies through which I can articulate how Hawaiians develop independent voices that disturb the status quo within the spaces and times of the sea. Because he'e nalu is an enactment that engages ke kai, it becomes political for Kanaka Maoli, and it becomes useful in exploring the genealogy of he'e nalu. Manuel DeLanda's assemblage theory helped to formulate my own term "ocean-body assemblage," which is discussed in chapter three.

I also turn to environmental authors such as John Muir, Henry David Thoreau, Walt Whitman, and Rachel Carson for lyrical notions of how humans interact with the ocean. I also rely heavily on the work of political theorist Paul Carter, who offers a brilliant perspective on place making as static as opposed to fluid. I also draw upon the metaphorical work of James Clifford and his theories on travel and diaspora.

I use Western thought and philosophy to develop a Kanaka epistemology in part because contemporary Hawaiian identities are intertwined with a colonial legacy. This does not mean that the colonial must define us, nor does it infer that we are forced to acknowledge or center our work around colonialism as a locus of power. It does mean, however, that Western thought has touched us, and when refocused, it becomes available for and potentially useful in an indigenous framework. This may not be a popular approach to the articulation of a Hawaiian epistemology, nor is it necessary, but given my very colonized background, this is the place from which I write. Knowledge and theory travel, allowing the dominant or colonial philosophy to be hijacked by the identities it marginalizes and re-created into something beneficial and empowering. The Western philosophers I include

in this work are employed because they help me articulate how a Kanaka identity, as related to the sea, becomes political and ethical in a modern reality.

Knowledge travels; the knowledge within seascape epistemology, although based on concrete skills and aspects of the seascape, as well as an ontological awareness of connectivity, is not fixed or finite. This is its nature: flexibility and change *alongside* nature. Because seascape epistemology is not purely theoretical in nature, this knowledge will take shape only after I articulate not only the philosophy behind an oceanic literacy but the specific applications of it within Kanaka communities and culture. There is a strong political economy within seascape epistemology that involves changing forces of survival and means of livelihood.

Language

The term “epistemology” is fraught with impurities. A word of Greek origin, *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines “epistemology” as “[f. Gr. ἐπιστημο-, combo. form of ἐπιστήμη knowledge + -λογία discoursing (see -LOGY).] The theory or science of the method or grounds of knowledge” (*The Oxford English Dictionary* 1989, 338). Epistemology is the philosophy of the nature, origin, and scope of knowledge; it is about an approach to knowledge. There are diverse forms of “knowing,” one being the possession of knowledge, intelligence, or understanding about, for example, what the ocean is—that is, the body of salt water that covers over 70 percent of the earth’s surface. Another form is the “meta” form of knowing, or a way of knowing through an embodied sense of knowledge, as in knowing one’s position in the ocean by interpreting surrounding signs. One does not think of “things” abstractly but through an engagement with these things.

I will use the word “epistemology” as an approach to knowledge in the latter, meta form of knowing that encompasses sensations, carrying us beyond deductive and inductive ways of knowing. A meta form of knowing is specific to Oceanic indigenous epistemology, which is interconnected, embracing the surrounding sea from the shore out past the horizon. In this way, oceanic indigenous epistemology is also connected to territory as knowledge and includes the understanding of and interaction with place. Using the term “epistemology” helps incorporate both the Western and Kanaka aspects of ocean-based knowledge: its nature, truths, and justifications, as well as its means of production and skepticisms. The term allows me to

articulate how the literacy within the epistemology is not “knowledge” but a way of knowing that can be translated into other contexts.

The form that the politics of representation takes, the categories used, such as that of ocean epistemology, offers an opportunity to be metaconscious of form and intent. Kanaka “knowledge” is not all alike, and there are many diverse ways to interpret the modes of knowledge production. Manulani Aluli Meyer states, “Hawai‘i is a vast ocean of diversity given the nuance of environment, foods, gods, gender, age, class, point in history, or political climate” (Meyer 2003, 85). Thus, this work’s interpretation of ocean-based knowledge is one interpretation, based on the information I have gathered, and offers one possible means of empowerment for Kānaka Maoli that will help to clarify a specific cultural form of knowledge relevant to epistemology and will not exclude or refute other Kanaka Maoli knowledges.

Articulating a Kanaka epistemology should ideally be done in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language), but as I have not yet reconnected with this part of my Kanaka identity, I draw upon a broader definition of language. Two issues related to language must be addressed regarding my work: the expansion of language to include oceanic literacy, and the articulation of this oceanic literacy and seascape epistemology in English. Hawaiian “language” involves not only a spoken or written word but also the genealogy of history that is specifically Hawaiian. I rely on the language of the ocean to articulate the contemporary Kanaka concepts of seascape epistemology, defining “literacy” as reading memories, ideas, and knowledges written in the land and sea. This is not to say that recovering ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is insignificant or unnecessary in the modern world, nor that the translation of oceanic literacy into English does not fall into the usual traps of any translation. On the contrary, an oceanic literacy aids this critical act of recovery, offering another means of accessing a Kanaka epistemology that continually grows and develops alongside a multisited Kanaka identity.

It is the Western perspective that divided knowledge into diverse disciplines, segregating oceanic literacy from other forms of “knowledge.” The very definition of literacy has changed through the time and space of history, and through the history of Western colonization, oceanic literacy has been subjugated to Western standards and definitions. Feminist scholar Ramona Fernandez asserts that “literacy discourses are recursive; they circulate in a closed semiotic system that is infected with Enlightenment ideology,” and that what we need to strive toward is a completely new understanding of literacy as a complex and constantly evolving skill, embedded in interwoven

sets of knowledges, deployed in in-numerable settings, and using existing and yet-to-be-invented technologies” (Fernandez 2001, 7, 9).

Fernandez speaks of writer Jorge Luis Borges as an example of someone who helps expand the definition of literacy; Borges frames reading and writing within the context of memory, imagination, dream, desire, and possession. These are not functional skills alone, Fernandez explains, but they “exist to give humans access to the universe of knowledge, a universe representing the universe of experience” (3). Thus, not only is there a powerful relationship between the written word and movement toward other states of being, but that “reading” can take on other forms: the environment, people, and events can be read.

Fernandez tells us that a postmodern society requires a flexibility of mind that doesn’t rely on decoding and calculating skills, but that can travel across a constantly shifting landscape of knowledge in a tumultuous sea. Our “work” is always changing, so how do we know the “correct” way to become literate within our work? In fact, the changes in our work are changes in our literacy. Fernandez says, “What is needed is a completely new understanding of literacy as a complex and constantly evolving skill, embedded in interwoven sets of knowledges, deployed in innumerable settings, and using existing and yet-to-be-invented technologies” (9). This is critical because, as Fernandez explains, “Literacy is consequential. Lives depend on it. Civilizations rise and fall with it and with them their semiotic systems. In the modern world, national policy, personal and collective investment, business prospects are tied to it” (11). Oceanic literacy allows us to open our pasts to our future. “Imagining and literacy are inextricable because it is only through the imagination that we can create other possible selves, . . . Imagining literate selves allows us, whoever we may be, to envision community, nation, and ultimately world. Indeed, imagining literacy is central to the many necessary acts of making ourselves and the world” (11). It allows us to define what literacy actually is, what it’s for, and what it offers and enables.

The fact remains, however, that while expanding the definition of literacy helps to include oceanic literacy within dominant forms of literacy, it does not resolve the fact that this work, written and researched in English, has inherent translation challenges. My hope is for a transparent push toward the articulation of a Kanaka epistemology in English.

The politics in using the English terms “postcolonial,” “native,” and “indigenous” is also an extensively complex issue. I predominantly use the term “indigenous” because of the connotation it has of connection to place—not

drawn from a postmodern vocabulary but as Kānaka Maoli might understand and use it. A person or practice is “indigenous” not solely because of a connection to geographic place or cultural space but also because of how these places and spaces are interpreted. I realize that all three terms are potentially problematic, each carrying a colonial frame of reference, but, as noted, it is not necessarily without purpose to place this project within the historical context of colonialism. It is an affirmation and acknowledgment of the past, with the suffering and oppression, which teaches lessons for a condition of future possibility without requiring that the colonial defines the indigenous nor that the indigenous is forced to center the conversation in opposition to the colonial. It is a mixing and a sitting on the edge, as Kēhaulani Kauanui and Vincente Diaz would state. Kauanui and Diaz contend that Pacific Islanders continue a history of production and destruction through both a participation in and resistance to colonialism, patriarchy, militarism, Christianity, nationhood, development, tourism, literacy, athletics, and other forceful modes of modernity and scholarship (Diaz and Kauanui 2001, 316). They advocate a place “in-between” and on the edge of scholarship and the dominant narrative, in which native studies can exist without relinquishing the groundedness of indigenous identity, politics, theory, method, and aesthetics. Ultimately, there must be a mixing of roots and modernity to keep pace with the variable forces of change in the world.

In reference to those indigenous to Hawai‘i, I predominantly use the term “Kānaka Maoli.” Kānaka scholar Noenoe K. Silva, explains, “This is an old term seen frequently in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian language newspapers. ‘Kānaka’ means ‘person,’ and ‘maoli’ means ‘real; true; original; indigenous.’ ‘Kānaka’ by itself also means ‘Hawaiian,’ especially when used in contrast with ‘haole’ when meant as ‘foreigner’ (Kānaka denotes the singular or the category, while kānaka is the plural)” (Silva 2004, 12). I also occasionally use the term Kānaka ‘Ōiwi (Bone/indigenous person) in reference to Native Hawaiians.

“Pacific Islander” is also a term used frequently in this work to represent all indigenous people from the regions named Polynesia, Micronesia, and Melanesia. I use the terms “Moana,” “Oceania,” and “Pacific” when referring to these regions, but I tend to favor the former two. Epli Hau‘ofa asserts that “Pacific” denotes “small areas of land sitting atop submerged reefs or seamounts,” while the former, Oceania, “denotes a sea of islands with their inhabitants” (Hau‘ofa 1993, 153). Hau‘ofa has, however, questioned his own use of the term “Oceania,” a term that does not exist, except as a geological

fiction. “Oceania” is also a foreign term. Teresia Teaiwa quotes Hau’ofa, “But we (prefer to) use the term ‘Oceania’ instead of the ‘Pacific’ because we are not a tame and peaceful people” (Teaiwa 2005, 23). Teaiwa goes on to say that Tongan scholar ‘Okusitino Mahina offers the term “Moana,” because it means “sea” in a number of Polynesian languages, and I encourage this term because of the close relationship that Moana has to the Hawaiian language: “moana” means ocean in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (*kai* is translated as “sea” or “area near the sea,” and *moana* infers more of the “open ocean” and can also mean “wide” or “spread out”) (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 114 and 249).

“Seascape epistemology” indicates language about *ke kai* and *moana*, yet it is critical to note that it incorporates knowledge of both the land and the ocean. Kānaka Maoli perceive the ocean as an extension of the land, a perception reflected in the fact that activities that take place on the land always affect the sea, just as oceanic activities have effects on the health of the land. The Hawaiian word for “land” is *‘āina*, which translates as “that which feeds,” and can also be considered as “origin,” “mother,” “inspiration,” and “environment” (Meyer 2001, 128). Kānaka Maoli had widely populated the islands of Hawai‘i by 700 AD, dividing their home into *ahupua‘a* (pie-shaped sectioned land divisions) that usually extended from the mountains out to the sea and comprised a large valley, or several small ones (Charlot 2005). Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa writes, “The word *ahupua‘a* means ‘pig altar’ and was named for the stone altars with pig head carvings that marked the boundaries of each *ahupua‘a*. Ideally an *ahupua‘a* would include within its borders all the materials required for sustenance—timber, thatching, and rope from the mountains, various crops from the uplands, *kalo* [taro] from the lowlands, and fish from the sea. All members of the society shared access to these life-giving necessities” (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992, 27).

When I refer to Hawaiian “land” or *‘āina*, I will be referring to both land and ocean, because although land and sea are distinguished areas, Kānaka Maoli epistemologically perceive them as connected. For instance, *wa‘a* means “canoe” in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, and *waa* is also the name for the form of liquid lava that travels like a canoe down the skirt of the volcano, expanding the land that is born up out of the seabed. Exhibited within ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is a realm of interconnected possibility that can create new, indigenous terrain, and that helps to mobilize Hawaiian bodies as ever-shifting and negotiating beings.

For Kānaka Maoli, the link between identity and place, both of which are critical to the indigenous, are not static. The politics, the moments and

interactions, revolve around a specific interaction with the ‘āina rather than a geocentric model that engages in a proprietary contract with land and ocean. It is both a philosophical and physiological, metaphorical and material relationship specific to Hawaiian ontology and epistemology. While a Kanaka epistemology is dependent upon a relationship to ‘āina, this relationship is neither absolute nor predefined.

“Oceanic literacy” speaks to the specific ocean-based knowledges of ka ‘āina (the land), that are employed within seascape epistemology. The specific literacies of he‘e nalu, ho‘okele, and lawai‘a explored in this book are all living knowledges grown (and growing) from a living archive of Hawaiian mo‘olelo, mele (song/chant), oli, performance, and artwork. *Ho‘okele* is the literacy of navigating through the ocean using only the seascape for guidance: the stars, moon, sun, waves, and wind. It is how all Pacific Islanders traveled, traded, migrated, and fished the ocean for centuries. *Lawai‘a* is the general term for fishing in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, including traditional techniques such as *lau nui* fishing (with a large net set by canoes) or fishing for octopus with a cowry shell lure. *Lawai‘a* remains a critical literacy for Kānaka Maoli, and for all Pacific Islanders, for cultural and economic subsistence that continues to be engaged through indigenous epistemologies and ontologies.

The ambition of this living archive of sea-based knowledges is to express their theoretical and epistemological significance for contemporary Kanaka Maoli, and to suggest how an archive of oceanic literacy should be approached; how the knowledges of he‘e nalu, ho‘okele, and lawai‘a should be accessed, studied, and experienced. I term this collection of oceanic literacy a “living” archive because, while it is anchored in history and genealogy, it continues to expand and grow as Kanaka knowledge evolves. The archive included here is only a taste; it does not include the greater majority of sources or stories in Hawaiian culture related to ke kai. What this sample strives to stimulate is a discussion about the significance of collecting a living archive of oceanic literacy that contributes to Subramani’s call to excavate a body of Oceanic knowledge for “Oceania’s Library” with the aim of articulating a regional epistemology. I suggest that this living archive must be read like the ocean, as an organic and ever-changing body of perceptions, nuances, and kinesthetic movements.

A critical portion of the language included in the living archive is mo‘olelo. The mo‘olelo included here are oral histories from the memories of those who wrote them down in the Hawaiian newspapers at the turn of the nineteenth century (Nāmakaokeahi 2004).⁴ Silva writes, “Mo‘olelo were some-

times said to have been translated from the oral tradition, however, it is important to understand that written forms of mo'olelo were authored. That is, each of the authors of the many mo'olelo wrote their own versions, using both mnemonic devices from the oral tradition and literary devices that developed over time. Thus, mo'olelo appeared in very specific historical contexts as creations of authors who were often also political actors" (Silva 2004, 160). For this reason, I have chosen to predominantly use Kanaka sources for mo'olelo (as well as mele and oli) to minimize political agendas of colonization, intentional or not.

The development of seascape epistemology is methodologically dependent upon the genealogy of mo'olelo, but it also requires ocean experience and sensibility. It is not possible for me to articulate this indigenous epistemology by simply reading Hawaiian texts or by reading the genealogies that rest behind the words describing ke kai. I need to be able to "see" the ocean. I must articulate the quiver of senses and experiential requirements necessary to read oceanic literacy and provide the cultural context with which to approach this body of ocean knowledge so that seascape epistemology can be effectuated. Necessary are the articulations of how it feels, smells, and sounds to ride upon the ocean, to (re)discover islands, to hear the fish and he'e in the hunt, and to see our genealogical and historical connections to the seascape, through an actual Kanaka lens. I am therefore necessarily attentive to the voices of Native Hawaiian surfers, fishers, navigators, paddlers, divers, hula dancers, musicians, and artisans as I attempt to translate what the 'āina is telling Kānaka Maoli.

Articulating these experiential and embodied knowledges about the sea can't be translated directly into "knowledge" because knowledge is shaped by a discourse of language. "Studying" this knowledge requires multiple mediums of expression, explanation, and depth. A modern indigenous epistemology anchored in a contemporary indigenous interpretation of the seascape requires layers. The interviews and art included in this work help to engage our senses, mimicking as best as possible a reproduction of the knowledge within seascape epistemology. Seeking a contemporary Kanaka epistemology about the seascape requires the uncovering of a feeling, a visually learned skill, and a relationship to place that is more than physical; it is also emotional.

The shape that the politics of representation takes, and the categories used, such as that of ocean epistemology, offer an opportunity to be meta-conscious of form and intent. Kanaka knowledge is not all alike, and there

are many diverse ways to interpret the modes of knowledge production. Thus, this work's interpretation of ocean-based knowledge is one interpretation, based on the information I have gathered, offering one possible means of empowerment for Kānaka Maoli without excluding or refuting other Kanaka knowledges.

The literacies evoked in this work—Kanaka, indigenous, and Oceanic—are interrelated as well as differentiated from one another and from seascape epistemology. Seascape epistemology is a Hawaiian way of knowing and being, but seascape epistemology also draws from other indigenous experiences and theories—from Hau'ofa in Tonga, for instance, or Teaiwa in Fiji. In this way, the specific oceanic knowledges within seascape epistemology reflect the larger conceptual importance throughout all of Oceania regarding the notion of travel on waves. Kiribati poet Teweiariki Teaero writes in his poem “Ocean Heart Beat,”

These insistent waves
Tireless travellers
From another age
Come foaming
To the shore
Smiling endlessly
Covering many miles
Over this shimmering
Blue blood of Oceania
Beating a beaten path
To the wary shore
Keeping perfect time
To the rhythm
Of the beat
Of the heart
Of the deep
Deep ocean
Forever
(Teaero 2004, 85)

Within Oceania there are diverse and distinct notions of seascape with distinct oceanic literacies. Each notion of “scape,” however, containing elements both similar and unique, unfolds into a larger concept of an “oceanic” connection between the mountains, beaches, rain clouds, bays, reefs, waves,

birds, moon, and stars of Oceania. A Kanaka oceanic knowledge of surfing is different from a Kiribati oceanic knowledge of surfing, as the physical geographic differences between the two island nations produce different types of waves and thus different ways of riding them. Kiribati fishers might surf their fishing canoes on outer reefs, while Kanaka surfers ride their boards close to the sandy shores. The specific knowledges and techniques used vary, but both share the enactment of surfing, physically and metaphorically. The oceanic knowledge is significant for both, and both are indigenous knowledges.

These distinctions are important to make as I develop seascape epistemology, because the concept is in part built from theory and thought from the fields of indigenous and Pacific Island studies. While I recognize the similarities, differences, and importance of both the physical and metaphorical oceanic literacies of Kiribati (or of any indigenous people) and Hawai'i, application of seascape epistemology, for the purposes of this work, focuses only on Kanaka Maoli.

Chapter Outlines

The first chapter of this book distinguishes between the movements and languages of Kanaka Maoli surfers and those of the surf tourism industry. A Kanaka surfer becomes more than merely a body riding a wave; he or she can also become political through the sensibility of an act that rearticulates a Kanaka way of knowing that includes indigenous history, values, beliefs, and determinations that have been marginalized. Practicing he'e nalu within the neocolonial reality of the surf tourism industry redistributes what is allowed to be seen and heard by asserting autonomous voices in order to (re) connect. The surf tourism industry in Hawai'i becomes a colonial system that effaces indigenous history and place names, and imposes a specific narrative about Hawaiian identity, violating the critical relationships Kānaka Maoli have to ke kai today.

The second chapter develops the specific oceanic literacy within seascape epistemology, articulating the ways in which a surfer, navigator, or fisher sees, smells, hears, tastes, and feels ke kai. Immersing the body in the ocean enables an affective reading of the ocean's rhythms, which speak to political and ethical ways of seeing or hearing because they expand the ways in which one exists. The political and ethical potential within oceanic literacy also emerges through historical and contemporary discourses, place

names, stories, and performances in and about Moana, which are included in this chapter. Oceanic literacy presents an alternative way of reading and writing inside places.

Chapter three further develops the concept of seascape epistemology as an embodied and emotional ontology for Kānaka Maoli, which involves an engagement with *ke kai* in such a way that indigenous identity becomes mobile as the body merges with the fluid ocean. This ocean-body assemblage joins the rhythms of the seascape with the self, enabling a way of moving that is flexible and complex, both affective and intellectual. Seascape epistemology helps to repartition and redistribute dominant systems of knowing and engaging the world for Kānaka Maoli through an indigenous construction of both time and space found between dominant temporal and spatial constructions. Focus shifts onto what cannot be seen through orthodox lenses. Brought back into the foreground, through an ocean-body assemblage, are the white noises of the wind billowing through the clouds and shimmering across the sea's skin, sounds and sights normally drowned out by the call of capitalist and political agendas. Seascape epistemology is about knowing through movements of the body situated within places—movements that have the potential to shape and to (re)create the places we inhabit.

The fourth chapter sails into the specific oceanic literacy of ho'okele to better articulate how distinct ways of knowing the world construct specific identities as related to our surroundings. How we read the seascape influences how we move through it, constructing distinct ideologies that affect our realities and relationships with the surrounding world. I discuss how historical European ways of traveling on the seascape carried an ideology that distinguished land from sea so that entering the ocean was to enter a mysterious place “out there.” The sea, and all that was encountered in it, needed to be controlled in order to “get across.” Established was a duality between “us” and “them,” between the “civilized” and “wild” worlds. In contrast, Kānaka Maoli have always perceived *ke kai* as a place of genealogical significance, and thus travel across it never took them far from their own being. Moana was not to be controlled but connected to. The knowledge within ho'okele illuminates a Kanaka epistemology about movement that draws the world together, fostering an ocean-body assemblage that honors our human relationships and responsibilities to each other and to the places we voyage through.

Chapter five gives concluding thoughts about how the oceanic literacy within seascape epistemology can be applied in *ka hālau o ke kai*, an ocean-

based education and community center, where place-based and practice-based education is emphasized by putting youth into the time and space of ke kai, allowing them to touch, see, smell, and taste the seascape.

This work aims to invigorate our imaginations to (re)integrate the ocean back into our epistemological and ontological views—a vital source of survival, movement, history, and genealogy for Kānaka Maoli that has become an internationally commercialized symbol of recreation, “lost” paradise, and consumption by the tourism industry, mass media, the U.S. military, and American politicians. I approach this project with humility, acknowledging the very profound historical and cultural depths within a Kanaka conception of ke kai. The goal of this book is to not necessarily, or not only, critique dominant ideology and politics but also, in the process (after a strong critique is established or provided as a foundation, because this process is never “finished”), to open up new “spaces” and “places” for Kānaka Maoli to expand, and to resist (after contesting) imposed systems, identities, and self-definitions. This book strives to articulate how the ocean helps us to re-create, reaffirm, and return to conceptions of knowing that are plural and progressive by interacting with a space and place that holds so much significance for so many of us, on so many levels.

It is my aim in this work to revitalize not only my own Kanaka heritage, to which I have clung through my connection with ke kai, the sea, but also to rearticulate the indigenous-based oceanic knowledge critical to Kānaka Maoli as an epistemology that allows for a break from the established, idealized, and marginalized identities in today’s modern world. I also articulate why this regional literacy is valid for Kānaka Maoli today as an important tool in the struggle for self-determination—how oceanic literacy can offer a new, alternative way of approaching the relationship between knowledge and power. I explain what makes oceanic literacy empowering for Kānaka, and how both the applied and conceptual or aesthetic aspects of this literacy are modified or transformed in contemporary Hawai‘i.

Ocean-based knowledge is not a new knowledge for Kānaka Maoli; it has been a focal point of Hawaiian culture and life since Kanaka ancestors sailed to Hawai‘i two thousand years ago. Kānaka Maoli have always passed on and practiced oceanic literacy. Fishers know the tides and the seasonal patterns of the marine life and how to sustainably interact with it. Surfers harness the power of the waves; they know the reefs and respect the life, recreation, and health they give. Sailors and navigators know how to use the ocean for transportation and as a directory. And canoe builders craft

vessels that do not challenge but yield to the power of the ocean so as to function harmoniously within it. What I propose in this work is a new application of this traditional, indigenous knowledge within academia, as well as in the community today. Seascape epistemology is a knowledge and a literacy, which validates the Kanaka voice in academia and speaks of alternative ways of reimagining politics and ethics. This indigenous oceanic-based knowledge provides an indigenous perspective from which to view the potential for travel and discovery, for movement above and between power structures. It provides an indigenous perspective of thinking, being, and knowing through the seascape, which challenges the dominant perspective of a static “landscape.”

Methodologies for applying seascape epistemology within the surf tourism industry lie in the larger goals of education of, and participation and leadership by, Kānaka Maoli in contemporary society. A discussion of the application of seascape epistemology is engaged in the final chapter of this book, but the primary goal of this project is to establish an alternative epistemology to place the shores and depths of the ocean in a new context for Kānaka Maoli from which point we can continue to explore means of self-empowerment.