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# “Bloodline Is All I Need”: Defiant Indigeneity and Hawaiian Hip-Hop

*Stephanie Nohelani Teves*

*I'm Filipino. I'm Hawaiian.  
Who are you to judge what I am?  
This is what I am. Defiant.  
—“Who I Am,” Krystilez*

On August 19, 2005, well-known 1990s black-nationalist rap group Public Enemy performed before a small crowd at Kapi'olani Community College on the island of O'ahu.<sup>1</sup> Diamond Head Crater loomed in the distance, looking like a picture postcard, dwarfing the stage, and framing the half-empty field in which the concert was held. It was Admission Day, a day to commemorate Hawai'i's statehood, but no mention was made of statehood by any of the local opening acts.<sup>2</sup> The event was billed as “The First Annual Hawai'i Hip-Hop Festival,” with Public Enemy headlining, supported by local opening acts J-Bird, Spookahuna, Parc Cyde, Emirc, and Krystilez. As I watched these young Pacific Islander men jump and gesticulate across the stage, rapping about chasing *punanis* (a slang term for vagina), I yawned and sighed. The performance felt indicative of hip-hop's mainstreaming impulses, in which political consciousness and misogyny, alongside the contradictions and possibilities of hip-hop, were laid bare on stage.<sup>3</sup> Rather than dismissing these men as inauthentic sexist hip-hop wannabes who are damaging and undesirable

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representatives of Pacific masculinity or hip-hop writ large, this article investigates the conditions under which these performances of modern Kanaka Maoli or Native Hawaiian identity is performed through Hawaiian hip-hop.<sup>4</sup>

Hip-hop came to Hawai'i as quickly as it spread across the continental United States.<sup>5</sup> Since the early 1980s, black-identified American popular culture has proliferated all over the world, and now, due to the rise of globalized mass media, hip-hop's popularity has become indicative of a transnational music industry with a growing market for global hip-hop.<sup>6</sup> Hip-hop has been adopted and produced by disenfranchised youth around the world through what Halifu Osumare has referred to as "connective marginality," a social and historical context that informs youth participation in hip-hop outside the United States.<sup>7</sup> Youth in places like Palestine, Japan, Ireland, Cuba, and even Hawai'i share experiences of cultural displacement, a connection with black-identified culture, and the desire for self-representation.

Fantasies about Hawai'i, one of the most geographically isolated places on earth, are built from an archive of imagery dating back to the late eighteenth century. Representations proliferate in drawings and paintings, photographs, films, literary works, and, perhaps most prominently, in the widely disseminated images of Kanaka Maoli women dancing hula.<sup>8</sup> Since the early twentieth century, this has been the most common representation of Kānaka Maoli, who, as "soft primitives," were often called upon to be "ambassadors of aloha" and to promote Hawai'i's charms.<sup>9</sup> Such performances continue to produce an imagined sense of intimacy between Americans and Hawai'i, with Hawai'i's femininity supposedly welcoming the incorporative thrusts of American heteropatriarchy.<sup>10</sup> Stock imagery of Kānaka Maoli, embodied in the hula maiden, the carefree surfer boy, and numerous incarnations of the lazy Native, remains iconic in the American imaginary.<sup>11</sup> The global circulation of these representations forever marks Hawai'i as the land of grass shacks, palm trees, hula girls, and beautiful beaches, thereby structuring perceptions of Hawai'i and Kānaka Maoli.<sup>12</sup>

During the late twentieth century, however, Kānaka Maoli have struggled to push back against these representations, offering a rewriting of Hawaiian history, quite literally.<sup>13</sup> Infused by Hawaiian nationalism and a growing library of works that investigate the naturalization of American colonialism in Hawai'i, innovative Kanaka Maoli representations in the realms of visual arts, music, dance, and film attempt to increase visibility in a manner that references and attempts to remake the stereotypes of yore.<sup>14</sup> Narratives of resistance, resilience, and revitalization have become common, but as evidenced by Krystilez and the other performers at the Hawai'i Hip-Hop Festival, the internalization of heteropatriarchy is business as usual, and it reenacts Kanaka Maoli subjection in gendered and problematic ways. To push back against commodified

and feminized versions of Hawaiian culture, the discursive performances of Kanaka Maoli men walk a fine line in their attempt to reaffirm Kanaka Maoli identity, which occurs through patriarchal discourse.<sup>15</sup> Scholarship in Pacific studies has been attentive to these gendered dynamics, analyzing representations that render Kanaka Maoli or Polynesian men as nothing more than hypermasculinized professional athletes or, in the case of military service, as modern-day “warriors.”<sup>16</sup> This article maps out the ways in which these performances of Kānaka Maoli identity can be liberatory and deeply contradictory and addresses a Hawaiian hip-hop performer’s navigation of these conditions and the media he employs to do so.

Krystilez is a Kanaka Maoli hip-hop artist from a Hawaiian homestead in a rural part of O‘ahu who performs in urban Honolulu. Krystilez (“legally” known as Kris Ancheta) is one of Hawai‘i’s most well-known and respected MCs. In 2006, his first release, *The Greatest HI*, won the Hawai‘i Music Award for Best Hip Hop Album, and in the same year, it was nominated for a Nā Hōkū Hanohano Award for Best Hip Hop/R&B Album. Krystilez is a disc jockey on a popular local radio station (owned by media conglomerate Clear Channel) and is also recognized on the underground hip-hop freestyle circuit. His second album, *The “O”* (2006), features thirteen professionally recorded original tracks with lyrical content that reflects Krystilez’s desire to be respected as an MC on a US national level. His songs range in content from aspiring “club banger” hits to stories about Hawai‘i that differ greatly from the one in the global imagination. Throughout *The “O”*, Krystilez emphasizes his humble beginnings growing up on a Hawaiian homestead.<sup>17</sup> He is part of a Hawaiian musical tradition of *mele kū‘ē* (resistance songs), much like the “Black CNN,” which is what Public Enemy front man Chuck D dubbed hip-hop.<sup>18</sup> Hawaiian hip-hop is a type of *mele kū‘ē* that communicates social realism in a local media environment that lacks public space to assert numerous perspectives.<sup>19</sup> Krystilez does not get mainstream attention on local radio or television, and in general, the “live” music scene in Honolulu privileges Hawaiian music, which limits opportunities for other types of performers. Krystilez therefore has to promote himself online and in the streets, utilizing YouTube, MySpace, Facebook, and Twitter to post videos of himself speaking directly to the viewers, whoever or wherever they may be. The comments sections or posting walls of these online interfaces contain posts by users who represent where they come from, praise Krystilez, call him out, critique him, and often promote their own agendas (for example, albums, clothing lines, or events).<sup>20</sup> Ironically, the very technology that produces the corporatized conditions that prevent Krystilez’s mainstream circulation also bears a radical promise, as corporations must contend with the unruly and emergent participatory culture represented by Krystilez and his fans.<sup>21</sup>

Through a close reading of Krystilez's album *The "O"*, I examine contemporary Kanaka Maoli cultural production in order to articulate the intersection of indigeneity and performance in modern Hawai'i. In his performance of "defiant indigeneity," Krystilez insists on an identity that is simultaneously amorphous, disarticulated, and conceptualized through state logics; yet it perpetually defies its own construction. I begin by conceptualizing defiant indigeneity; I then contextualize the emergence of Hawaiian hip-hop and Krystilez's particular narrative while interrogating the appropriation of "blackness" within Hawaiian hip-hop. Finally, I analyze *The "O"* from a Native feminist perspective and assess the broader political stakes of contemporary Kanaka Maoli cultural production.

## DEFIANT INDIGENEITY

Kanaka Maoli cultural resistance and activism have elicited an official acknowledgment of the role that the US military played in the 1893 illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The 1993 "Hawai'i Apology Resolution" brought mainstream attention to the Kanaka Maoli sovereignty movement, and by 1996, lawsuits attacked Native Hawaiian organizations and entitlements like the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), the Department of Hawaiian Homelands (DHHL), and the Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate (KSBE).<sup>22</sup> These lawsuits, particularly *Rice v. Cayetano* (1996), which challenged OHA's Hawaiian-only voting policy, invoked the Fifteenth Amendment and civil rights acts in order to justify claims of racial discrimination against non-Kānaka Maoli.<sup>23</sup> The lawsuits, relying on US racial classifications rather than indigenous genealogical distinctions, questioned who is "entitled" to what in Hawai'i, thereby delegitimizing indigenous claims, racializing Native peoples, and normalizing white subjectivity.<sup>24</sup> To combat these lawsuits, the first version of the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act, affectionately known as "the Akaka Bill," was introduced in the US Congress in 2000. Supporters of the bill, like OHA and KSBE, argue that it would protect Hawaiian entitlements by recognizing Kānaka Maoli as an indigenous people rather than as an ethnic minority, which would in turn protect OHA, federal programs for Native Hawaiian health, education, gathering rights, and the DHHL. Opponents of the Akaka Bill argue that federal recognition is reactionary and undercuts Kanaka Maoli rights to self-determination under international legal protocols for decolonization. Perhaps most importantly, the Akaka Bill does not give back one inch of land.<sup>25</sup> These conflicts and debates have completely altered the discourse about Kānaka Maoli and the future of Hawai'i, indicating the power and vulnerability that influences and circulates through Kanaka

Maoli cultural productions. It is not surprising that Krystilez's narrative emerges precisely when these debates are intensifying in the public discourse.

Through defiant indigeneity, Krystilez performs a configuration of indigeneity that constantly deconstructs, resists, and recodifies itself against and through state logics. Krystilez is about representing where he comes from, but he does so in a way that explicitly appropriates state logics of racialization: by crafting a narrative based on blood that (paradoxically) operates against the Kanaka Maoli epistemological belief that we are genealogically descended from specific places. In the song "Bloodline," Krystilez performs a tribute to Hawaiian homesteads, remaking homestead space through listener identification with "Bloodline" in order to traverse the colonial taxonomies that demarcate homestead space. By shouting out multiple homestead names and referring to them as "bloodlines," Krystilez invites Kānaka Maoli to "rep your bloodline." Even if listeners are not from the homestead, the deep connections remain. Krystilez's greatest defiance is that his narrative is based on legislation that was intended to manage a declining Kanaka Maoli population.

The 1920 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) affirmed the special relationship between the United States and Kānaka Maoli by sanctioning two hundred thousand acres of Hawaiian homestead land—lands that belonged to the Hawaiian Kingdom before it was illegally overthrown in 1893. Passed by the US Congress in 1921, when Hawai'i was a territory, the HHCA conferred the responsibility of administering the homestead lands to the state of Hawai'i when it was admitted to the Union in 1959. In 1978, the responsibility for homestead lands was transferred to the newly created OHA, a semiautonomous state agency that manages Hawaiian entitlements.<sup>26</sup> The administration of these lands has come under considerable scrutiny because of the 50 percent blood-quantum requirement that prevents many Kānaka Maoli from qualifying for lands.<sup>27</sup> As explained by J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, the blood-quantum requirement for Hawaiian homesteads was created because the US government thought that high rates of intermarriage would eventually cause the number of Kānaka Maoli who could qualify for lands to dwindle (and it did). Within this logic was the hope that the "pure" or "real" Kānaka Maoli would eventually disappear. The language used at this time was that of "rehabilitation." Kānaka Maoli were encouraged to return to the land, participate in agriculture, and re-embody their natural state rather than navigate the worlds of technology and industry.<sup>28</sup> Framed in such a manner, Kānaka Maoli are viewed as welfare recipients, not as genealogical descendants of the lands in question.

The blood-quantum regulations built into the HHCA are particularly damaging for Kānaka Maoli because, in contrast to US policies and understandings about race and blood, it is genealogy that connects us to each other,

to place, and to land.<sup>29</sup> Just as Christian morality became law during nineteenth-century Hawai'i, the early twentieth century saw the adoption of the so-called truth in the science and technologies of the body, which influenced the blood-quantum laws that were used to racialize Kānaka Maoli. These laws, enacted on the bodies of Kānaka Maoli, encouraged Christian modes of heteronormativity that would supposedly prepare Kānaka Maoli for wage labor and capitalist agriculture. They disciplined Kanaka Maoli bodies by relegating them to particular lands, places, and spaces.<sup>30</sup> Kanaka Maoli identity thus became measurable through blood quantum rather than through Kanaka Maoli cultural affiliations and genealogy, which exacerbates land dispossession and the devaluation of Kanaka Maoli epistemologies. During the late twentieth century, using blood to claim an identity was somewhat indicative of a reductive racialized logic whereby the residues of biological racism that marked certain bodies as less desirable than others is personified, conjuring histories of the "one-drop rule" transposed on African Americans and the blood-quantum restrictions still exercised by many Native American tribes. The narrative Krystilez presents in "Bloodline" walks a tightrope by basing itself on an identity claim that is in turn based on land claims, which are based on scientific discourses embedded in settler colonial processes aimed at displacing indigenous peoples.

The racialization of Kānaka Maoli is complicated and called into question by Krystilez, as evidenced in his lyrics, "What's the color of my skin? What's the color of your blood?" from the song "Won." Throughout "Bloodline" Krystilez challenges the politics of recognition that reduces racial politics to visual markers and the biological discourses used to justify it while subverting and reifying the discourse about blood and authenticity for his own advancement. In his assertion of defiant indigeneity, Krystilez performs on multiple registers in order to disrupt the mainstream imaginings of Kanaka Maoli identity, thus revealing the fabrication of Kanaka Maoli identity. He adeptly negotiates racialization discourses and indigenous epistemologies, and moves through multiple circuits of cultural production in Hawai'i, winning Hawai'i mainstream music awards (the Nā Hōkū Awards) while holding court on the underground freestyle rapping circuit. Krystilez is difficult to place and therefore not easy to package or reproduce, even if he desires that kind of success.

Krystilez's defiant indigeneity ultimately comes through in his narrative of life on the homestead because he does not perform a clean-cut version of a culturally grounded Kanaka Maoli identity. Krystilez's performances exhibit his investments in heteropatriarchy, the glamorization of violence, and appropriations of blackness, all of which make him complicit with circuits of power. Often these circuits of power result in disturbing depictions of Kānaka Maoli as criminal, homophobic, sexist, and, in many ways, unfit for self-government.



Still, “Bloodline” performs a tribute to Hawaiian homesteads, marred as they are by misadministration and ongoing debates about the blood-quantum rule. Through a complex combination of nostalgia for a romanticized precolonial Hawaiian past and an affirmation of Kanaka Maoli enduring presence on these lands, Krystilez manages to weave together—lyrically and visually—the ways in which homesteads remain sources of Kanaka Maoli ownership and pride.

### *Don't Believe the Hype*

During the mid-1990s, Sudden Rush, hailed as the first Hawaiian hip-hop group, received relative local success and notoriety.<sup>31</sup> Rapping in Hawaiian and English, Sudden Rush was known for its fervent calls for Hawaiian independence and astute critiques of American colonialism. The Hawaiian hip-hop of the late 1990s and early 2000s, in contrast to Sudden Rush, began to shift toward more satiated portrayals of sexuality and violence, much like the mainstream American hip-hop of the time.<sup>32</sup> This is indicative of the increasing corporate control of media production during the late 1990s. The 1996 Telecommunications Act, which deregulated radio and television ownership, severely impacted the radio industry.<sup>33</sup> Hundreds of radio stations were bought up overnight, profits trumped community desires, on-air staff was cut, and operations were automated. Hawai'i radio stations were also gutted, resulting in Clear Channel Communications and Cox Radio owning nearly two-thirds of the radio stations in Hawai'i. During this time, radio “pay-for-play” arrangements, wherein record companies pay radio stations to get certain artists in circulation, became increasingly common.<sup>34</sup> The impact of these corporate consolidations was undoubtedly felt in the marketplace, in which mainstream consumers were presented with specific types of representations to choose from—a practice that encourages portrayals that are more likely to produce profits. By the mid-1990s, hip-hop had gone mainstream, and the big moneymakers were the infectious sounds of West Coast gangsta rap, which was characterized by the “danceable grooves and hummable hooks” favored by radio programmers because they distracted listeners from the “deeply ingrained misogyny and sexual violence that throbbed throughout the music.”<sup>35</sup> The changes in representation signal the effects of media mergers in a marketplace in which the proliferation of different types of hip-hop begins to wane, only to be replaced by representations of hip-hop that allow privileged identities to degrade women and perpetuate stereotypes about black people.<sup>36</sup>

Despite not being played on the radio or performed regularly in live-music venues in Hawai'i, Hawaiian hip-hop continues to grow through online interfaces like YouTube, MySpace, Facebook, and Twitter, where users can create their own spaces. Because hip-hop is predicated on representing some kind of



real or authentic street (hood) experience, and those conditions are not thought to exist in Hawai'i, Hawaiian hip-hop is easily dismissed as an inauthentic expression of hip-hop (and Hawaiianness). Behind this criticism is a commitment to the stereotypical imagery associated with Hawai'i, a vested interest in tourism and US occupation, and a psychic evasion of the material realities that frequently limit Kanaka Maoli lives.<sup>37</sup> In the post-civil rights era of hip-hop commercialism, race may no longer be a hip-hop prerequisite, but a relationship to the "ghetto," or some kind of lived struggle, is. As noted by Christopher Holmes Smith, "Blackness has become contingent, while the ghetto has become necessary."<sup>38</sup> Hawai'i seems like a far cry from the "ghetto," and such sentiments are even expressed by Kānaka Maoli, particularly older generations who take issue with what they perceive as young Kānaka Maoli trying to "act Black."<sup>39</sup> The latter is indicative of the massive archive of visual imagery that marks Kanaka Maoli subjectivity as inherently harmonious and pleasant. The ongoing performance of Kānaka Maoli in tourist shows—albeit in the form of what Dean MacCannell calls "staged authenticity" (in which the audiences believe that what they are seeing is an extension of natural behaviors)—is continually mobilized politically in order to naturalize social hierarchies.<sup>40</sup> Kānaka Maoli must then embody such affects in order to maintain paradisiacal imaginaries, be recognized as Kanaka Maoli, and naturalize their own subjectivity.<sup>41</sup>

In reality, centering a Kanaka Maoli "struggle" is not difficult. During the 1950s, sugar and pineapple plantations were transformed into tourist-driven economies while plantation holdings became hotels, resorts, golf courses, shopping malls, and suburbs. Unchecked real-estate development has resulted in Hawai'i's astronomical cost of living—the third highest in the United States.<sup>42</sup> Krystilez and his contemporaries express in song the harsh economic realities, commonly referred to as "the price of paradise," that accompany life in Hawai'i. Kānaka Maoli, like many Native populations across the United States, experience the brunt of this economic tyranny, with median incomes far below state and national averages, high unemployment, a lack of educational attainment, drug abuse, and an increasing risk of homelessness or unstable living conditions. All of these compromise a general quality of life.<sup>43</sup> Hawaiian hip-hop provides a forum in which to talk about these realities. This can certainly be productive, yet what is to be made of Hawaiian hip-hop performers like Krystilez, who take their cues from the misogynistic and gratuitous violence in gangsta rap? Sadly, corporate hip-hop favors such misogynistic and violent portrayals, encouraging performers who aspire to "success" to reproduce such representations. This in turn necessitates the constant performance, appropriation, and consumption of a stereotypical blackness present in hip-hop.<sup>44</sup> As such, Kanaka Maoli self-representation in the form of Hawaiian hip-hop generates cultural resistance that rests its "performance" on gendered and

racialized tropes of “Hawaiianness” and “blackness.” Participation in these circuits of power as the disciplined and the discipliner shows the urgency of investigating the use of hip-hop to narrate what it means to be Kanaka Maoli today.

## KĀNAKA MAOLI REPRESENTING: KRYSTILEZ

Where the palm trees is where you want to be  
but paradise is not what it seems  
This is the O!  
Where you get hustled  
tourists get mobbed  
and if you start a fight  
bitch you’ll get mobbed.<sup>45</sup>

Advertisements for the release of *The “O”* were plastered all over O’ahu streets and light posts throughout December 2006 (see fig. 1).<sup>46</sup> To generate hype, Krystilez posted videos of himself on YouTube counting down the days until the album’s release. He expresses his vision of *The “O”* in a series of videos posted on Tiki Entertainment’s YouTube page, in which he acknowledges his use of subliminal messages and welcomes multiple interpretations of his music.<sup>47</sup> He asserts that *The “O”* signifies who he is and what’s in his heart. He explains that *The “O”* can represent a bag of drugs, the circle of life, a freestyle cipher, the island of O’ahu, or whatever viewers want.<sup>48</sup> At first the album appears to imitate perceptions of hip-hop music as nothing more than violent and misogynistic commentary, but the richness of Krystilez’s rhymes should not be underestimated. Although Krystilez in many ways subscribes to the rampant sexism, endorsement of illegal activity, and glorification of violence (particularly on the tracks “Shake,” “How Bad Do You Want It,” and “The Way It Is”) for which mainstream hip-hop is known, he also presents a narrative of life in Hawai‘i that is conveniently ignored and dismissed. Tracks like “The ‘O,” “Diamonds,” and “Bloodline” present glaring counternarratives to the mythic representation of Hawai‘i as paradise.

The album’s title track—“The ‘O’”—is homage to O’ahu and to an



**FIGURE 1.** Krystilez next to a poster of himself. Photo by George F. Lee, originally published in Gary C. W. Chun, “Nānākuli’s in the House,” Honolulu Star-Bulletin, January 26, 2007. Photo courtesy of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin.

island lifestyle that differs considerably from the one in the global imagination. “The ‘O’” begins with an A half note played on a synthesizer. Then the beat drops as the sound of a woman chanting fades in. The sound conjures up imagery of a *kumu hula* (hula master) commanding the *hālau* (troupe) to take the stage. Instead Krystilez forcefully interjects, “Where the palm trees is where you want to be but paradise is not what it seems.” Accompanying his aggressive rapping style is the sound of the woman, which alludes to Hawaiian chanting, or the performance of an *oli* in the *hoāeae* style. The *oli*, an unmeasured indigenous Hawaiian chanting style, repeats throughout the song as a foil to Krystilez’s often-brutal rhymes. The chorus, “This is the O!” is shouted continuously over the synthesizer and the woman’s voice. Her voice rises in prominence as Krystilez leads into each chorus with a vamp in which he charges, “Where the . . .” He fills in something different each time—from pounding beers to having sex with “bitches,” making hits, and hustling. The song continues by detailing what happens on “the West” (referring to the west side of the island of O’ahu, the perceived “bad” part of the island known for its Kanaka Maoli population). He addresses this explicitly, “Where you’re told not to go when you come off the plane. At the beaches proceed with caution.” In keeping with the Hawaiian music and hip-hop traditions of representing where you come from, Krystilez firmly locates himself in his hometown, Nānākuli Homestead. He widens the reach of Kanaka Maoli indigeneity through the invocation of the *oli* and the song’s lyrical content.<sup>49</sup>

Lyricaly, *The “O”* is filled with sensationalistic imagery that narrates the positions of power—party promoter, bouncer, rapper, drug dealer, DJ, pimp—that Krystilez and his friends occupy. The combined video for the songs “The ‘O’” and “Won,” originally posted on YouTube, offers visuals that differ from the song’s lyrical content.<sup>50</sup> The video begins with “Won”: Krystilez is shown in the middle of palm trees; the next shot is in front of the Ko’olau mountain range, green and lush behind a raised SUV with an advertisement for *The “O”* and Krystilez painted on it in blue and green. When the camera spins around, Krystilez and his crew are in the SUV, sometimes standing next to it, hanging out of the side, or hanging off the back. IZ Real is notably shirtless, kneeling on top of the truck’s roof, singing and punching the air, jerking and snapping his head toward the sky. The truck is driving slowly as “Won” starts. The song has a decidedly more critical tone than the others, expressing the problems in the “melting pot,” in which cultures are supposed to blend but instead continuously conflict. Krystilez remarks that being raised in Hawai’i means he was “raised in the middle of racism.” He ends the song by calling for peace in the islands because “you only have one home.” In the video, however, “Won” is abbreviated, highlighting its chorus, in which Krystilez plays on the phrase “number one” by repeating the phrase continuously until he shouts “This is the

O!” At this point, a Hawaiian flag fills the screen, and the video transitions to “The ‘O.” The camera pans back to a shot of the SUV in front of the Ko’olau again. A man in green and brown baggy fatigues holds a Hawaiian flag in the air. Then the camera returns to Krystilez as he spits the first few lines of “The ‘O.” Finally, the screen goes blank—“to be continued.”

Other songs on the album reference drug use and trafficking. In “Diamonds” and “The Way It Is,” Krystilez takes a pensive approach by referencing illicit economies that exist in Hawai’i, calling it the “meth capital” (“Won”), and affirming that “hardcore crime pays” (“The ‘O”). A more playful tone is in his voice when he says, “Hawai’i has the best sex, these prostitutes are taxing you” (“Won”). This imagery enhances Krystilez’s overall representation as a gang-banger. He refers to himself and others as “bangers” several times throughout the album. Alongside these songs are lighter songs like “Shake” and “How Bad Do You Want It,” which are polished bass-thumping, soul-infused songs, seemingly intended to be club hits. They feature formulaic mainstream hip-hop lyrical content about Krystilez’s sexual prowess and getting drunk or high. The videos for “Shake” and “Tha Word” feature Krystilez in club settings.<sup>51</sup> “Shake,” especially, mimics mainstream hip-hop videos in which the primary MC is shown rhyiming in the back of the club, surrounded by women who serve as adornments to his actual physical space as well as to the rest of the club. Everyone in the scene appears to be his friend, as he shouts him or her out at various moments. The undertone in all these songs, though often saturated with hypersexist sentiment, is Krystilez’s insistence on cultural pride and supporting locals in Hawai’i. He uses Hawaiian hip-hop to carve out a space not meant for tourists, a space for Kanaka Maoli (or “local”) performers.<sup>52</sup>

## ĀINA, LAND, PLACE, AND SPACE

In one of Krystilez’s well-known tracks, “Bloodline,” he links land, place, identity, and blood. “Bloodline” is the standout final track on the album, encapsulating the entire album’s intent. The video for “Bloodline,” posted on YouTube, begins with Krystilez in front of a black background singing, “I can’t deny it I’m fucking Hawaiian none of y’all can beef with me.” As the lens pans back, Krystilez steps away from the camera. A crowd walks up behind him, and he continues, “Muthafucka got the streets with me, so you best believe in me.”<sup>53</sup> The video is set in the evening, and the predominantly male crowd members behind him are holding shirts that say “Made in Nānākuli.” Others wear “3RD” shirts, in reference to Nānākuli Third Road Homestead housing, and make a “W” with their hands to represent the west side of O’ahu as well as the number three, for their homestead road. As the video continues,

Krystilez (and the others in the video) look directly at the viewer, sporadically punching the air and pointing at the camera. The crowd sings along with him, and IZ Real, who is particularly aggressive in his rapping style, frequently steps forward, using his hands to articulate his lyricism. He is always moving, shaking his head back and forth, and bulging his eyes, performing a sort of mental instability. The video ends with Krystilez and IZ Real in a boxing ring, as a thin, brown woman in black, tiny shorts, tube top, and platform stilettos—and whose face is never shown—circles the ring holding a sign in the air that says “bangers 4 bangers.” As the camera fades out, Krystilez and IZ Real jump around the ring shouting, “Nānākuli Bloodline,” “Wai‘ānae Bloodline,” and “Waimānalo Bloodline” in reference to some of the more well-known homesteads. Throughout the video, the crowd makes visible the community that Krystilez is representing. They sing,

Seein through a thug’s eyes  
We ride all night till sunlight  
All because I love my muthafuckin bloodline.  
I rather die on my feet  
than ever live on my knees  
till I face defeat bloodline is all I need.<sup>54</sup>

The community presence shown in the video exemplifies the importance of “bloodline,” or homestead lands, for the wider community, despite the colonial processes that have named them. “Bloodline” allows Kānaka Maoli to generate meaningful *mō‘olelo* (stories) and *mele* (songs) about homesteads in a generative process that expresses the shifting meanings of lands that are consistently remade by historical conditions and by the people who inhabit these lands.

Hawaiian homesteads have deep-rooted meaning as well as other types of significance that existed before homestead land was demarcated. These meanings will continue to exist even if homesteads no longer do. Hawaiian lands are “storied places” that have always played a crucial role in narrating Hawaiian tradition—traditions that are still active today.<sup>55</sup> Kānaka Maoli weave *mō‘olelo* in order to narrate the history of these lands in a dialogue that enacts a transformative recognition of place. As Cristina Bacchilega explains, Kānaka Maoli produce *nā wahi pana*, or storied places, that draw on cultural memory and activate history in the present moment and location.<sup>56</sup> “Bloodline” does this by producing new forms of cultural memory through Krystilez’s narration of what his homestead means to him, his listeners, and his viewers. Within hip-hop, representing place is about recognizing the support that community brings and acknowledging the grim conditions of “the ghetto.” Rather than telling a story about economic decline, racial segregation, and criminal activity, hip-hop can explore the ways in which spaces and places are

made meaningful.<sup>57</sup> Hawaiians' homesteads are often called "ghetto" because they are recognized as profoundly Kanaka Maoli spaces and, by extension, are perceived as economically depressed and ridden with crime. The story Krystilez tells throughout *The "O"* draws on hip-hop's desire to represent place as well as on Kanaka Maoli practices of *nā wahi pana*, which offer a narrative of the homestead that, although grim, asserts pride in Kanaka Maoli resilience. In "Bloodline," this is represented visually as well as in the lyric, "till I face defeat, bloodline is all I need."

The visual and sonic recreation of homestead space in "Bloodline" allows Kānaka Maoli to identify with homesteads through song. Hawaiian music has always served the purpose of honoring place, a need that is amplified in the present as the Kanaka Maoli diaspora continues to grow. To feel a connection to a place, even though you may have never been there (or even if you are there), is increasingly negotiated through cultural production and the global digital-media formats through which hip-hop circulates. As this diaspora grows, thinking about indigeneity as "belonging to a place" rather than "belonging in a place" might better contextualize the lives of Kānaka Maoli.<sup>58</sup> In this vein, as Vicente Diaz and Kēhaulani Kauanui have noted, indigeneity is both routed and rooted, moving, evolving, and gesturing toward its past and its future.<sup>59</sup> In a capitalist economy that has pushed many Kānaka Maoli off-island out of economic necessity, this is necessary.<sup>60</sup> Kanaka Maoli indigeneity, therefore, must allow movement. As Kauanui has pointed out, one of the biggest problems with the Kanaka Maoli diaspora is that Kānaka Maoli living off-island are invisible to each other and to Kānaka Maoli living in Hawai'i.<sup>61</sup> The call and response at the end of "Bloodline" combats this. When IZ Real shouts "Rep your bloodline! Nānākuli Bloodline!" a cacophony of voices replies, "Nānākuli get!" The song slowly fades out as a long list of places on O'ahu—all communities with large Kanaka Maoli populations—are shouted and repeated.<sup>62</sup> "Bloodline" pays tribute to homesteads and the other places mentioned while expressing the complexities of Kanaka Maoli connections to place, because many Kānaka Maoli living in the islands (and elsewhere) do not meet the blood-quantum requirements.<sup>63</sup> By shouting out these places, "Bloodline" makes visible an affirmation of pride in the homestead that viewers can experience in spite of the tension that exists between Kānaka Maoli who can make claims to homestead land and those who cannot. Hawaiian homesteads continue to serve as sites of cultural ownership and pride, even if these sentiments are experienced alongside highly charged political debates about how Kānaka Maoli enduring existence is quantified.



## *Keeping It Maoli*

Hawaiian hip-hop is structured by the corporatization of hip-hop production, and although this article has been mostly celebratory, I find it imperative to be critical of how hip-hop gets adopted and expressed and to recognize some of its negative aspects. Loving hip-hop does not happen in a vacuum. It is not just about resistance and claiming power through music. The hierarchical inequities that plague mainstream societies are undeniably present in hip-hop; and sexism, heteronormativity, and colonialism are replicated, endorsed, and normalized within these discourses, sometimes to an alarming degree. As Stuart Hall writes, “The danger arises because we tend to think of cultural forms as whole and coherent: either wholly corrupt or wholly authentic. Whereas, they are deeply contradictory; they play on contradictions, especially when they function in the domain of the ‘popular.’”<sup>64</sup> I say this not to discredit the work of Krystilez completely but to argue that we must be vigilant and document the complexities of Hawaiian hip-hop, rather than just proclaim its existence. Scholars have been quick to note the relationship between Hawaiian hip-hop and nationalism. The work of Faye Akindes and Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui presents fruitful analysis of the articulation of contemporary Hawaiian identity and nationalism in Hawaiian hip-hop and of the link between Hawaiian hip-hop and a tradition of Hawaiian poetic composition. But neither they nor Halifu Osumare or Adria Imada examine the gendered dynamics of Hawaiian hip-hop or move beyond the music of Sudden Rush. I build upon their work by interrogating the implications of Hawaiian hip-hop and the racialized and gendered appropriations of “blackness.”<sup>65</sup>

E. Patrick Johnson explains that the tensions between attempts to pin down “blackness” and actual “black culture”—a constant avowing and disavowing—are what constitute “black culture.”<sup>66</sup> This theorization of “blackness” holds that certain types of blackness are tentatively authenticated through hip-hop at specific political moments. “Authenticity,” then, is always contingent on context. In a post-civil rights American political landscape that reverberates across the globe through the consumption of corporatized versions of hip-hop, there is an appetite for racially stereotypical entertainment that venerates violence and sexually explicit cultural products.<sup>67</sup> Although we might be compelled to applaud hip-hop’s pop-culture juggernaut status, Craig Watkins reminds us that this ascension is accompanied by an entire industry that is built on its ability to sell black death.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, these representations often work in the service of white supremacy, wherein global commodity culture circulates ideas about blackness that allow it to be possessed, owned, controlled, and shaped by the consumer.<sup>69</sup> It is within these contested cultural terrains that Hawaiian hip-hop emerges, notably in a place where blackness is fetishized



alongside antiblack racism. Identification with black culture and its struggles is clear in much of Hawaiian hip-hop, but is that enough?

As a result of Hawai'i's relationship with the United States, many Kānaka Maoli (myself included) grew up listening to hip-hop and find it to be the type of music most relevant to the way they choose to express themselves. The desire of Kānaka Maoli to be "recognized," even if it is through a form of expression typically associated with urban black and Latino youth, is a reaction to heavily mediated (mis)representations. This identification is a way to rebel against mainstream *haole* (white) and Asian political control in Hawai'i. I flag this to honor a history of identification, respect, and alliance between Kānaka Maoli and African Americans and to acknowledge that the colonial processes by which Kānaka Maoli have been fetishized, Othered, and made into commodities do not absolve them of criticism when they participate in the subjugation of other groups in the same way. To be clear, I am not implying that Kānaka Maoli are somehow "less Hawaiian" when they identify with hip-hop; rather I am calling attention to the politics of identifying and performing a type of commodified blackness. Understanding Hawaiian hip-hop as a locus of power is about acknowledging and challenging it as elusive, divergent, sometimes oppressive, and always productive for contemporary life in Hawai'i.

Through Hawaiian hip-hop, Kānaka Maoli (youth) are making and claiming their own spaces; they are not waiting for the government to recognize them or to define wholly who they are. Indigenous authenticity (that is, realness) is repeatedly vocalized in "Bloodline" and is complemented by Krystilez's unapologetic "thug" persona. Notably influenced by the popularity of gangsta rap during the 1990s and the material realities of life on the homestead, Krystilez's performance as a "thug" pervades his lyrics and visual representations. This performance operates as an oppositional strategy that aims to challenge social conventions by ostensibly embracing them: Krystilez becomes the very "thug" that society tells him (or other Kānaka) that he should be. Scholars of hip-hop have suggested that the violent lyrics found in gangsta rap, like the portrayal of the "thug," should be taken metaphorically for battles on the mic.<sup>70</sup> For this reason, black intellectuals have been careful in their defense of the "thug," "bad man," or "social outlaw," citing their relationship to black vernacular traditions.<sup>71</sup> At the same time, these representations often invigorate racism and fear.<sup>72</sup> The commodification of hip-hop circulates on a global scale, often without an awareness of how black cultural traditions fit into it, which in turn transforms how black cultural traditions are drawn upon, performed, and internalized.

Despite hip-hop's mass commercialization, many audiences are still attached to a real, authentic hip-hop that existed before or exists somewhere outside of capitalist production. People often insist upon the realness of particular performers (people hold on to "Native" this way, too). Performers play into

this. They are aware that some things sell and others do not. As shown in figure 1, Krystilez is “wanted.” Alluding to the “wanted” outlaw posters made famous by the Western film genre, Krystilez positions himself as inherently criminal. This criminality references the Western outlaw who is bound up in assertions of American masculinity and the conquering of the Western frontier. The poster advertising *The ‘O* partially shown in figure 1 featured Krystilez as “Wanted” for “Blowing up Hawai‘i.” The phrase “Blowing Up Hawai‘i” is derived from the expression to “blow up,” a common hip-hop phrase that usually suggests someone is rising to stardom. The wording also denotes a criminal act of breaking something open through an explosion. This play on words is taken further in YouTube videos of Krystilez on the streets of Waikiki proclaiming to “blow up Hawai‘i one way or another” and laughing while saying it.<sup>73</sup> In these videos, Krystilez addresses an abstract audience of YouTube users—some are fans, and others are part of a wider imagined audience.<sup>74</sup> Even if the viewer recognizes that Krystilez is just a performer, the specter of Kānaka Maoli criminality, fears about terrorism, and imagery of Kanaka Maoli activists occupying space (‘Iolani Palace, for example) undoubtedly come into play.<sup>75</sup> By invoking this trope, Krystilez pushes against dominant representations of Kānaka Maoli as welcoming, docile, and lazy, but also lends support to the perception that Kanaka Maoli men are unable to survive in the modern world because they are trapped in a cycle of violence, drug abuse, and criminal behavior.<sup>76</sup>

*The ‘O*, in general, and “Bloodline,” specifically, express the necessity of complicating representations and straddling claims of authenticity while narrating the ways that authenticity is tentative. This space is tricky to talk about. As hip-hop critics have noted, hip-hop thrives because it offers something “real” or “authentic” in a materialistic world. Hip-hop’s magic is its ability to connect with the powerless and give them a voice in a world that sees little, if any, value in them. Krystilez must insist on his authenticity when he raps “Is he real? Yes, he is. Fucka!” (“The ‘O’”) because of the artifice that characterizes the marketing of Hawai‘i as paradise. Krystilez’s narrative of the “savage” or criminal Native man in this sense must always be read in contrast to the “happy Native” because of the commodified conditions that structure any performance of Kanaka Maoli identity. Krystilez might be narrating the realities surrounding him; alternately, he is the “savage” who is actually aware of the image he presents and purposely sells what he thinks will appeal to an audience. As Michael Eric Dyson explains, realism works because artifice and fiction create narrativity.<sup>77</sup> Reconciling these conflicts or finding the “truth” of Krystilez’s narrative is beside the point. What these representational moves do show us is that a system exists that normalizes these representations and limits other more nuanced expressions. As a performer, Krystilez contests

despair and dispossession in order to generate cultural resistance, but he is also complicit because, although identifying with black-American popular culture may operate as a strategy of representation that resists white supremacy, it also reinstates the logics of white supremacy at the hands of a Native performer or consumer.<sup>78</sup> More specifically, the logic of slavery that literally commodified black bodies continues its work through cultural performance in which black hearts and souls manifest in culture are bought and sold. Kānaka Maoli understand this all too well, for it has been through the celebration of the Hawaiian culture across the globe that the material dispossession of our lands has been concealed. In the same way, Johnson theorizes, one's experience of living blackness and the fantasy of black life as theatrical enterprise are at odds. This applies to Kānaka Maoli, who must constantly balance social expectations and cultural identity. Although we have always actively resisted flat constructions of ourselves, more complicated representations do not circulate as much as mainstream ones. This plays out in the realm of cultural production and everyday practice in which debates about authenticity permeate public discourse as Kānaka Maoli struggle to hold on to the one thing that we are recognized for: our culture.

Certainly, the entire album is about putting Hawai'i on the hip-hop map, getting it recognized, making it visible, and letting its voice be heard. It is also about reclaiming places and spaces—particularly digital space, given the laws and policies that prevent reclamation of lands. Although aggressively claiming space is crucial for cultural resistance, it is also fraught. The video for “Bloodline” features misogynistic and aggressive imagery throughout. Looking at this video (and his videos for “Tha Word” and “Shake”) within the larger genre of Hawaiian hip-hop, it is striking that most of the older “Hawaiian hip-hop” groups or performers barely mention women at all, whereas the newer crop of Hawaiian hip-hop performers (for example, I.A., Big Teeze, and Parc Cyde) explicitly talk about women, alternately honoring them and—in the hip-hop tradition—reducing them to the perks of “success.” In their defense, rappers have explained that important facets of urban street culture are illicit economies in which “there are bitches and hos.” They're just keeping it real. However, as Tricia Rose notes, “keeping it real” is used as a justification for voyeuristic fantasies that position women as objects and glamorize violence.<sup>79</sup> Hawaiian hip-hop has taken on similarly gendered politics as an avenue through which indigenous self-determination is performed in tandem with the production of capitalist heteropatriarchy that objectifies women and positions men of color as violent criminals. The considerable amount of attention paid to the cultural production of Kanaka Maoli men in musical forms (like reggae and hip-hop in academic and nonacademic spaces) indicates a desire to understand and make space for male Kanaka Maoli narratives that

have heretofore been hidden behind the hypervisibility of the hula girl and its mirror image, the angry activist Kanaka Maoli woman.<sup>80</sup>

## THE DOUBLE COLONIZATION OF A HAWAIIAN HIP-HOP FEMINIST

Kanaka Maoli women have labored hard to ensure the survival of the Kānaka Maoli, but this labor has often been criticized, especially when the women are publicly critical of the men.<sup>81</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask's landmark article, "Fighting the Battle of Double Colonization: The View of a Hawaiian Feminist," is instructive when critically analyzing Hawaiian hip-hop.<sup>82</sup> In this article, she explains the conflicts she faced as a woman in the Hawaiian nationalist movement and the racism she experienced among white women in feminist circles. The genus of her argument is similar to that of arguments advanced by feminists of color who call out the racism expressed in some feminist groups and the heteropatriarchy implicit in many nationalist movements, civil rights movements, and community struggles. Turning a blind eye to the absence or misogynistic portrayal of women in Hawaiian hip-hop is a current manifestation of these conflicts. Being a Kanaka Maoli feminist and a fan of Krystilez, I find myself in this bind.

Media attention to Kanaka Maoli women as forces to be reckoned with has in some ways fractured public assertions of Kanaka Maoli masculinity. As Ty Kawika Tengan explains in *Native Men Remade*, the criticism issued by Trask, although based in reality, has the power to become pernicious in an environment in which Kanaka men are often erased from the picture.<sup>83</sup> I would contend that it has also produced a backlash against women which gets expressed in cultural productions—Hawaiian hip-hop being a key example.<sup>84</sup> This backlash is noticeable in unambiguous and covert ways. Early Hawaiian hip-hop appears to circumvent women by not addressing them at all, similar to the ways that, as Kauanui explains, "gender issues" within Kanaka Maoli political organizing tend to be seen as unnecessary and superfluous.<sup>85</sup> This is curious, considering that in the realm of Hawaiian music and performance, the voices of women are overwhelming. Within Hawaiian hip-hop, however, the voices of women are absent, and, interestingly, whereas early Hawaiian hip-hop neglected to mention women at all, recent Hawaiian hip-hop openly expresses sexism.

Feminist scholars of hip-hop grapple with the larger societal issues that contribute to the sexism in hip-hop music, which women of color (particularly black women) have been put in the awkward position of having to defend.<sup>86</sup> Critical race theorist Kimberle Crenshaw is most hailed for her contributions

to these discussions. Her article addressing the persecution of the rap group 2 Live Crew during the 1990s cuts to the heart of this issue: she notes that splitting up identities like race and gender is counterproductive and can enact its own type of violence. She specifically addresses representations of the “outlaw” or “badman” (or “thug”), stating that although these representations may draw on shared black vernacular and literary traditions, defending them through hip-hop songs often requires eliding the violent misogyny found in lyrics, something that women of color are injured by the most.<sup>87</sup> Alas, being in love with hip-hop can also feel like being in an abusive relationship.<sup>88</sup> It is thus crucial to critique the violent sexism expressed in lyrics and visual representations as indicative of a larger heteropatriarchal hypermasculinist culture. Neglecting to critique Krystilez for his sexism requires a compartmentalizing of identity, one in which the positive aspects of Krystilez’s performance would be favored over an interrogative look at the implicit sexism in some of his songs.

Native feminists, like women-of-color feminists, constantly have their authenticity and loyalty challenged.<sup>89</sup> As an intellectual project, Native feminism offers a way to assess the internalization of Western ideas about gender roles. It insists on critiquing heteropatriarchy when working toward decolonization and favors models of nationhood that are not based on exclusion or secondary marginalization. Native feminism aspires instead to build nations that are not heteronormative or patriarchal and that do not use the nuclear family as their building block.<sup>90</sup> Kauanui has encouraged the Kanaka Maoli to question male domination and sexism aggressively when doing the political work that ensures their collective survival.<sup>91</sup> This perspective applies directly to a critique of Hawaiian hip-hop wherein the aspirations for sovereignty or nationhood do not overshadow the rampant sexism and its relationship to heteropatriarchy in the music. Such a critique draws attention to the fact that certain artists still benefit from male privilege in a system that normalizes and rewards sexism.

Thus, although I want to praise the cultural resistance found and promoted by some Hawaiian hip-hop artists, I cannot turn away from the imagery of women being lyrically and visually possessed, merely ornamental in videos, and praised for their tender pussies. As Krystilez poignantly asserts, “I’m one of the best when it comes to peaches jumping on my penis. Just ask Jaz Trias damn near broke my dick, pussy so tender” (“Come On Get It”). This song references Jasmine Trias, a Filipino American recording artist and aspiring actress from Hawai‘i, who was the third-place finalist on *American Idol* in 2004. At the time, she was only seventeen. She quickly rose to local stardom and has found considerable success in the Philippines. Krystilez’s reference to her in “Come On Get It” is troubling, and that is an understatement on my part. This is just a snapshot of some of the more sexually disturbing lyrics. Turning a blind eye

to these expressions, perhaps because they do not explicitly express something “Hawaiian” or are not representative of Hawaiian hip-hop as whole, ignores the fact that they are nonetheless generated in Kanaka Maoli communities. They articulate sentiments that circulate within Kanaka Maoli lives, are internalized through an enduring investment in heteropatriarchy, and are infused by corporate hip-hop. To put it another way, talking about a woman in this manner is not necessarily the fault of hip-hop. Surely, as many interpretations of *mele* might suggest, Kānaka Maoli have always talked about women and sexuality in complex and sometimes very sexual terms. The digital-media networks through which Hawaiian hip-hop now moves, however, give these lyrical and visual representations of sexuality a much wider circulation.

These representations are not straightforward. When Krystilez implies in “Bloodline” that he will beat someone like a “fag” if they step to him on his homestead, he exhibits his own entrenchment in heteropatriarchy: he threatens to brutalize a man physically who steps on his land to the point that he is an emasculated man—even less than a woman. Krystilez is not alone in this performance. Shown with him in “Bloodline” is a crew of “bangers,” personified in his lyricism and in the video’s visual imagery. This could be read as an assertion of sovereignty, in which a Native man is warning possible intruders (settlers) that he will defend his land—or the homestead—to the death. He raps, “I know what I’m dying for” (“Bloodline”). Krystilez articulates sovereignty or cultural pride through violent misogynistic homophobic discourse, demonstrating how failing to critique heteropatriarchy undermines interrogations of the violence that we enact upon one another—even when that violence might be done in the name of “sovereignty” or protecting one’s homestead. In another song, he raps, “Where we raise bangers. Where the *māhūs* will fuck your ass up and suck your cock too” (“The ‘O’”). *Māhū* is a Hawaiian term used to describe everything from gay men to drag queens to transwomen, and although Krystilez’s reference to the *māhū* seems homophobic at first, something else is going on.<sup>92</sup> It appears that Krystilez’s lyricism perpetuates violence on anyone who does not heed the masculinity that he promotes—one that is fundamentally linked to male-gendered bodies with little space allowed for a diverse gender expression of masculinity. Then he flips it. In this lyric, Krystilez is allowing *māhūs* a space of agency in their performance of a feminized masculinity, something unexpected in hip-hop. Krystilez actually recognizes *māhū* in Hawaiian culture and modern Hawaiian society as forces to be reckoned with. In the phrasing, the *māhū* is part of “The ‘O’” and is crucial to its setting. The *māhū* will “fuck your ass up” too, along with “the bangers.” The *māhū* in this song also have a serious stake in protecting Hawaiian lands and indigeneity. Krystilez certainly treads on charged terrain when he exhibits the ways in which heteropatriarchy is built into these expressions, but he also presents a



different type of masculinity through an engagement of nonheteronormative gender roles that can be linked to Kanaka indigeneity. Krystilez therefore deserves praise for his music because of the resistance it expresses and incites. It bears repeating, however, that he characterizes women as being disposable and makes homophobic remarks, almost to the point of exhaustion. Because Krystilez performs much of mainstream hip-hop's heteropatriarchal capitalist agenda, it is imperative to call him out. This music is not only influenced by Hawaiian sovereignty but also reproduces the sovereignty in imaginative, albeit problematic, ways. Neglecting to analyze these processes critically thus sustains a heteronormative and patriarchal vision of Hawaiian sovereignty.

Defiant indigeneity necessitates looking at how Kānaka Maoli were made into disciplined subjects—looking to the spaces in which marginal voices get incorporated, co-opted, and recolonized into a unitary discourse. It also requires us to consider how those spaces are remade through Kanaka Maoli assertions. Talking about Kanaka Maoli resistance and resilience through cultural innovation is without a doubt vital, but it is imperative to advance criticism of Kānaka Maoli as well, rather than constructing a binary logic of colonizer (evil) versus colonized (good). Jasbir Puar writes, “It is easy, albeit painful, to point to the conservative elements of any political formation; it is less easy and perhaps more painful, to point to ourselves as accomplices of certain normalizing violences.”<sup>93</sup> As Kānaka Maoli, we know that we have always engaged in cultural performance in order to retain our living culture in remarkably innovative ways, but it's time to discuss resistance and agency alongside deeply embedded forms of heteropatriarchy, violence, and, dare I say, even racist sentiments found in some forms of contemporary Hawaiian performance. We must confront a Hawaiian cultural production that is as messy and violent as colonization, and we must force ourselves to assess the costs of the violence enacted through the brand of hip-hop that Krystilez performs—a brand predicated on stereotypical notions of blackness that are openly advocated and appropriated throughout *The “O”*. Taking up this charge is crucial, for as long as Kanaka Maoli cultural production focuses all its attention on excavating a “lost” past—even if only to invigorate and grow contemporary struggles for political autonomy—as a means to make ourselves “whole,” we miss the opportunity to attend to those spaces in which expressions of Kanaka Maoli identity are complicated, less explicit, and built on the subjugation of other groups.

In a climate in which Native Hawaiian federal recognition is presented as the only option left for Kānaka Maoli, and thousands of Kānaka Maoli are increasingly living on beaches because of the astronomically high cost of living in Hawai'i, charting the future of Kānaka Maoli appears at times to be a grim endeavor. The Hawaiian sovereignty movement, once thought to be



the brainchild of “crazy Hawaiians,” has now become mainstream discourse in Hawai‘i. Government support of Native Hawaiian federal recognition is widespread, with support from President Barack Obama, the Hawai‘i congressional delegation, Hawai‘i Governor Neil Abercrombie, the OHA, and numerous Hawaiian civic clubs. The attacks on Native Hawaiian entitlement programs are a testament to the threat that Kanaka Maoli self-determination poses, particularly to the *haole* and Asian elite in Hawai‘i. The political realities that face Kānaka Maoli today get interrogated and invigorated through the performance of various types of cultural resistance that ironically lay bare the legacies of racialized and gendered subjection while reconstituting them. In many ways, the defiant indigeneity personified by Krystilez narrates reality, asserting that Kanaka Maoli identity and cultural productions have no choice but to appropriate the discourse of authenticity in hopes of simultaneously undermining it.

As Hawaiian sovereignty is negotiated in classrooms, on beaches, and in boardrooms, we recognize all the work that has made it a possibility rather than a fantasy of Kanaka Maoli activists. We must also realize how much remains to be done. A key step in this process is being critical of ourselves. Kanaka Maoli identity is vast and, at times, disjunct. It bears repeating that the insistence on coherent Kanaka Maoli identities presumes that we are fully known, collapsed in all our complexity, and closed off to connections and transformations that might be liberatory. In order to generate insights into the multilayered realities visible in Kanaka Maoli cultural production, we must critically examine the performances of Kanaka Maoli identity and the motivations behind such celebrations and elisions. In an unapologetic embodiment of Kanaka Maoli indigeneity, Krystilez makes visible and possible our ongoing defiance as we reclaim performance space in our homeland. As Krystilez spits,

This is reality  
This is not a movie  
Protect my family it's my common duty  
You like war  
Say no more  
Bring your drama to me  
Third Road Homestead fucka Nānākuli EA!<sup>14</sup>

## NOTES

1. “Who I Am” will be on Krystilez’s forthcoming album. Krystilez e-mailed me this song and others in December 2009. The song is available on Krystilez’s MySpace page, <http://www.myspace.com/krystilez> (accessed June 29, 2011).

2. Hawai'i became a state on August 21, 1959. For details on the debates regarding Hawai'i's status as a state, see Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Seeing Conquest: Colliding Histories and the Cultural Politics of Hawai'i Statehood" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2009).

3. Commonly used in Caribbean *patois* and popularized by rap music. *Punani* is used frequently in Hawai'i because *pua nani* translates to "beautiful flower." It is often used to refer female genitalia.

4. The state of Hawai'i distinguishes between the terms *Hawaiian* and *Native Hawaiian*, each of which has a contested legality based on blood quantum. In this work, I will use the term *Kanaka Maoli* to refer to the Native peoples of the Hawaiian archipelago. It is a reference to any descendant of the indigenous people inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands before 1778. *Kanaka Maoli* has recently been taken up by the Kanaka Maoli; it translates into "true people" or "real people" in relation to Hawaiian indigeneity. *Kānaka Maoli* with the macron over the "ā" is the plural of *Kanaka Maoli*. Please also note, I will use the term *Hawaiian* to refer to categories such as "Hawaiian music" or "Hawaiian culture" and will refer to legislation under their official names, such as "Native Hawaiian Governmental Reorganization Act" and "Native Hawaiian Entitlement," because of their common usage. Also, the definition of Hawaiian hip-hop varies. In this article, *Hawaiian hip-hop* refers to a hip-hop performer or group that identifies as Kanaka Maoli and produces hip-hop music that addresses issues that pertain to Hawai'i and Kānaka Maoli.

5. As Osumare notes, a hip-hop scene started to coalesce in Honolulu during the early 1980s, evidenced in mainstream acknowledgment on a local television show called *Breakin Hawai'i* in 1984. For more see Halifu Osumare, "Props to the Local Boyz: Hip Hop Culture in Hawai'i," in *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop: Power Moves* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 105–48.

6. See Robin D. G. Kelley, the foreword to *The Vinyl Ain't Final: Hip Hop and the Globalization of Black Popular Culture*, ed. Dispannita Basu and Sidney Lemelle (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), xi–xvii; Tony Mitchell, "Kia Kaha! (Be Strong): Maori and Pacific Islander Hip-Hop in Aotearoa/New Zealand," in *Global Noise: Rap and Hip-Hop Outside the USA*, ed. Tony Mitchell (Middlesex, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 280–304; and Neal Ullestad, "Native American Rap and Reggae: Dancing to the Beat of a Different Drummer," in *Ethnomusicology: A Contemporary Reader*, ed. Jennifer Post (New York: Routledge, 2006), 331–50.

7. Osumare, "Props to the Local Boyz," 69.

8. See Patty O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Houston Wood, *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999); and Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

9. Adria Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004): 111–49.

10. *Ibid.*

11. See Wood, *Displacing Natives*, 103–22. Examples of film include *Bird of Paradise* (1932), *Waikiki Wedding* (1938), *Song of the Islands* (1944), *Blue Hawai'i* (1961), and more recent titles such as *50 First Dates* (2004), *Forgetting Sarah Marshall* (2008), and the remake of the television series *Hawai'i Five-O* (2010).

12. Barack Obama has recently been pulled into the Hawai'i association discourse. However, that is a whole separate paper.

13. See Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires/Pehea La E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); and Jonathan Osorio, *Dismembering Labui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

14. Since the early 2000s, Mana Maoli has been a collective of educators, artists, musicians, cultural practitioners, community organizers, and families committed to sustainability, community-based education, and the sharing of resources. A group of musicians has been a critical part of the organization, hosting several benefit concerts. For more, see [www.manamaoli.org](http://www.manamaoli.org) (accessed June 29, 2011). The Mana Maoli collective is just one example of the numerous Kanaka Maoli artists and performers who contest the stereotypical imagery of themselves.

15. Ty Kawika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 66.

16. Work in Pacific studies has been especially attentive to the way that Pacific masculinity is figured. In sports, see the work of Vicente M. Diaz, "Fight Boys Til the Last': Football and the Remasculinization of Identity in Guam," in *Pacific Diasporas: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific*, ed. Paul Spickard, Joanne Rondilla, and Deborah Hippolyte Wright (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 169–94; and Brendan Hokowhitu, "Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport," *The Contemporary Pacific* 16, no. 2 (2004): 259–84. In terms of military service, see also Tengan, *Native Men Remade*; Ty Kawika Tengan, "Re-Membering Panalā'au: Masculinities, Nation, and Empire in Hawai'i and the Pacific," *Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1 (2008): 27–53; Jennifer Nez Denetdale, "Securing Navajo National Boundaries: War, Patriotism, Tradition, and the Diné Marriage Act of 2005," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 131–48. Denetdale also notes how the word *warrior* is used to motivate Navajo participation in US wars. Denetdale raises questions about how Navajo participation in US wars becomes aligned with a Navajo warrior tradition, making the link between family values and recent legislation, such as the Diné Marriage Act of 2005.

17. The 1920 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (hereinafter referred to as HHCA) affirms the special relationship between the United States and Native Hawaiians. Two hundred thousand acres of land are set aside for Native Hawaiian homesteads. Annual lease rent is \$1 per year with a ninety-nine-year lease, and a lease term can be extended for an additional one hundred years. As of 1998, only 40,703 acres were under lease to 6,547 homesteaders, with 29,702 applicants still waiting. Applicants must be of at least 50 percent blood quantum in order to qualify or be the descendant of someone on the waiting list.

18. Chuck D of Public Enemy has dubbed hip-hop the "Black CNN." See Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); and Murray Forman, *The Hood Comes First: Race, Space and Place in Rap and Hip-Hop* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 2002).

19. Patricia L. Gibbs, "Alternative Things Considered: A Comparative Political Economic Analysis of Honolulu Mainstream and Alternative Print News Communication and Organization" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 1999).

20. In the summer of 2007, I posted a review of Krystilez on my "summer fieldwork" blog (a requirement of my Center for World Performance Studies residency at the University of Michigan), which he found and reposted on his MySpace page soon after. The comments posted in response to my blog (posted on his site) charged me with being overly critical and questioned who was I to make such comments. The details aside, this is evidence of how the Internet serves as vital space for Krystilez and his fans.

21. Jean Burgess and Joshua Green, *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009), 76.

22. President William J. Clinton signed into law the "Hawai'i Apology Resolution," US PL 103-50 on November 23, 1993. The Apology Resolution was signed into law on the hundredth anniversary of the overthrow, expressing a commitment to provide support for the reconciliation process

between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people. Many see this bill as the first step to Native Hawaiian federal recognition.

23. *Rice v. Cayetano* (1996); Big Island rancher Freddy Rice sued the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (hereinafter referred to as OHA) (and the state of Hawai'i that administers OHA) for racial discrimination because he couldn't vote in Hawaiian-only OHA trustee elections. Rice was financed in part by the Campaign for a Color-Blind America, a neoconservative think tank. *Arakaki v. State of Hawai'i* (2000) sued the state of Hawai'i because, at the time, a requirement of OHA trustee eligibility was Hawaiian ancestry. Other lawsuits target Kamehameha School's Hawaiian-ancestry admissions preferences.

24. See Judy Rohrer, "'Got Race?': The Production of Haole and the Distortion of Indigeneity in the Rice Decision," *The Contemporary Pacific* 18, no. 1 (2006): 1.

25. J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Native Hawaiian Decolonization and the Politics of Gender," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2008): 280. The most recent version of the Akaka Bill (S.3945) was presented to the US Congress on November 15, 2010.

26. The OHA was created in 1978 to develop, coordinate, and watch over programs and activities relating to Kānaka Maoli.

27. The HHCA, created by the US Congress during the territory period, was later transferred to the state of Hawai'i in 1959 as a precondition of statehood. Since 1959, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands has administered the program, verifying applicants' eligibility based on 50 percent blood quantum. You may also qualify for lands if you are descended from someone who is no longer living but was on the list and the name comes up. In addition to this requirement, because obtaining the necessary documents and making a formal claim is mired in various levels of bureaucracy, many Kānaka Maoli have difficulty qualifying for these lands and are deterred from the application process, with thousands still on the waiting list. Similarly, the awarding of a homestead plot could be located where a Kanaka Maoli might not want to live, e.g., far away from a workplace or, in some cases, on a different island.

28. Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*.

29. *Ibid.*

30. Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

31. Sudden Rush formed in 1994 and was composed of three Kanaka Maoli men from the town of Kailua-Kona on the island of Hawai'i. They released three studio albums, *Nation on the Rise* (1994), *Kū'ē!* (1998), and *Ea* (2002), before their breakup in 2003. They are working on a remix album.

32. S. Craig Watkins, *Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Pop Culture, and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement* (New York: Beacon Press, 2005), 50–51.

33. The 1996 Telecommunications Act initiated the rise of Clear Channel Communications, a corporation that owns more 1,200 radio stations nationwide. This consolidation has devastated independent radio stations and performers who gained recognition through their community connections and accountability. The corporatization of radio has resulted in a flattening of regional differences and the repetition of chosen songs, thereby limiting the options for listeners and local performers and, in many cases, involving automated programming. Corporate ownership of media sources, such as AOL/TimeWarner, Disney, Viacom, and Sony, all influence what types of hip-hop are desired, produced, and circulated on the world stage. For more details, see Ben H. Bagdikian, *The Media Monopoly* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997). Similarly, in 1991 the wide-scale implementation of Sound Scan point-of-sale technology transformed the music industry by allowing precise reporting of album sales to record companies. This shift was then reflected in *Billboard* charts, which revealed rap and country

music as viable mainstream markets in contrast to the “niche” markets the industry initially thought they occupied.

34. Watkins, *Hip Hop Matters*, 135–38.

35. *Ibid.*, 50.

36. Tricia Rose, *The Hip Hop Wars* (New York: Perseus, 2008).

37. This includes Kānaka Maoli and many locals in Hawai‘i as well.

38. Christopher Holmes Smith, “Method in the Madness: Exploring the Boundaries of Identity in Hip-Hop Performativity,” *Social Identities* 3 (1997): 345–74.

39. An earlier version of this article was presented as a conference paper at the 2008 Pacific Worlds Conference in Salt Lake City, UT, where it received considerable criticism by the audience, particularly from older Kānaka Maoli attendees. One woman was in tears, expressing concern for the younger generation who, in identifying with hip-hop, forget who they really are.

40. Dean MacCannell, “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *American Journal of Sociology* 79, no. 3 (1973): 589–603.

41. Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, xiii.

42. According to the Economic Development and Tourism Hawai‘i Department of Business, *State of Hawai‘i Data Book* (Honolulu: State of Hawai‘i, 2009). Hawai‘i has the third-highest cost of living in the United States, following San Francisco and New York (table 14.11). Hawai‘i also averages a \$712,500 single-family home price (table 14.12) and ranks globally as the forty-first most expensive place to live. Not surprisingly, Hawai‘i has the second-highest credit debt in the nation; for more see [http://www.staradvertiser.com/business/20101130\\_Credit\\_card\\_debt\\_on\\_rise\\_in\\_isles.html](http://www.staradvertiser.com/business/20101130_Credit_card_debt_on_rise_in_isles.html) (accessed January 27, 2011).

43. See OHA, *Native Hawaiian Data Book* (Honolulu: OHA, 2006).

44. See E. Patrick Johnson, *Appropriating Blackness: Performance and the Politics of Authenticity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). He notes that blackness is a material way of knowing, arguing that a fantasy of blackness in which people identified as black exist in a liminal space between both places. That is to say, there is no definitive thing that can be called “blackness.”

45. “The ‘O,’” Krystilez, *The “O”* (Honolulu: Tiki Entertainment, 2006).

46. Produced by Tiki Entertainment, a full-service promotional one-stop shop that produces music, prints banners, builds Web sites, and does car detailing.

47. See <http://www.youtube.com/user/tikient> (accessed February 24, 2011).

48. Krystilez expresses his feelings about the *The “O”* in a video; see <http://www.youtube.com/user/tikient#p/u/11/huirRxquPKg> (accessed June 29, 2011). See also, Gary C. W. Chun, “Nanakuli’s in the House,” *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, January 26, 2007.

49. Place songs are frequent in Hawaiian music. Contemporary place songs include Olomanā’s “Ku‘u Home o Kahalu‘u,” Ehukai’s “Moloka‘i Slide,” and Bruddah Waltah’s “Kailua-Kona.”

50. Unfortunately, the video for “The ‘O” and “Won” has been taken down from YouTube (originally accessed November 13, 2009).

51. Krystilez video for “Shake,” [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lc-VK-7g7eE&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lc-VK-7g7eE&feature=player_embedded) (accessed February 17, 2011). Also posted is a video for “Tha Word,” [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IS0dFmUyapY&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IS0dFmUyapY&feature=player_embedded) (accessed February 17, 2011).

52. Hawai‘i’s multiethnic population, a legacy of multiple generations with roots in plantation-labor immigration primarily from Asia, has given rise to a so-called local culture, which overlaps with Kanaka Maoli culture in precarious ways. The usage of *local* in Hawai‘i is frequently used in everyday language in order to differentiate between those who are from Hawai‘i and have grown up there and newcomers to the islands; the latter are commonly imagined to be white or *haole*, although not always. Within this usage, Kānaka Maoli are almost always locals, and *haoles* who have grown up in the islands are technically local, but *haole* identification as such is highly contextual. Most recently,

the discourse of “local” identity in Hawai‘i has been theorized by academics who contend that Asian settlers have colluded with *haoles* and are also to blame for the disempowerment and displacement of Kānaka Maoli. Refer to C. Fujikane and J. Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008).

53. The video for “Bloodline,” <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LXJKsvGiS5Y> (accessed February 24, 2011). These lyrics are sung in the same rhythm as Tupac’s song, “Ambitionz Az a Ridah” (1996).

54. “Bloodline,” Krystilez.

55. Cristina Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

56. *Ibid.*

57. Forman, *The Hood Comes First*.

58. Graham Harvey and Charles D. Thompson, eds., *Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations* (Surry, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2005).

59. Vicente M. Diaz and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, “Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, no. 2 (2001): 315–42. Diaz and Kauanui build on James Clifford’s *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997).

60. OHA, *Native Hawaiian Data Book*, 17.

61. J. Kehaulani Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 19, no. 1 (2007): 139.

62. The comments section for the “Bloodline” video reveals the different interpretations that the video yields. Some comments aim to represent their own “bloodline,” or where someone is from, whereas other comments mock Krystilez and others in the video as gangsta wannabes or shameful examples of Hawaiianness.

63. According to the OHA, *Native Hawaiian Data Book*. Population forecasts show that the Kānaka Maoli population living outside of Hawai‘i continues to increase due to the cost of living and limited economic opportunities. Sixty percent of the Kānaka Maoli population lives in Hawai‘i, followed by large populations in California, Washington, Nevada, and Texas.

64. Stuart Hall, “Notes on Deconstructing the Popular,” in *People’s History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge, 1981), 223.

65. See Faye Y. Akines, “Sudden Rush: Na Mele Paleoleo (Hawaiian Rap) as Liberatory Discourse,” *Discourse* 23, no. 1 (2001): 82–98; Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui, “He Lei Ho‘oheno No Na Kau a Kau: Language, Performance and Form in Hawaiian Poetry,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 17, no. 1 (2005): 29–81; Adria Imada, “Head Rush: Hip Hop and a Hawaiian Nation ‘on the Rise,”” in Basu and Lemelle, *The Vinyl Ain’t Final*, 85–99; Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui, “From Ocean to O‘shen: Reggae, Rap, and Hip Hop in Hawai‘i,” in *Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country*, ed. Tiya Milis and Sharon Patricia Holland (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 273–308; Osumare, “Props to the Local Boyz.” Osumare’s work differs from other scholars who have written about Hawaiian hip-hop, for it is largely ethnographic, focusing on the dynamics of a hip-hop scene in Honolulu (heavy dance analysis) and the adoption of hip-hop in rural Pahaia on the Big Island, Hawai‘i. The aforementioned articles do a great job outlining the importance of Hawaiian hip-hop, but none interrogate the appropriation of blackness in a substantial way.

66. Johnson, *Appropriating Blackness*.

67. Rose, *The Hip Hop Wars*.

68. Watkins, *Hip Hop Matters*.

69. Sut Jhally, “bell hooks: Cultural Criticism and Transformation” (Media Education Foundation, 1997), DVD.



70. Robin D. G. Kelley, "Kickin' Reality, Kickin' Ballistics: Gangsta Rap and Postindustrial Los Angeles," in *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*, ed. Eric Perkins (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 117–58. See also Alan Light, "About a Salary or Reality? Rap's Recurrent Conflict," in *That's the Joint! The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*, ed. Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (New York: Routledge, 2004), 157–67.

71. Rose, *Black Noise*.

72. Kimberle Crenshaw, "Beyond Racism and Misogyny: Black Feminism and 2 Live Crew," in *Feminist Social Thought: A Reader*, ed. Diana T. Meyers (New York: Routledge, 1997), 245–63.

73. See "Tiki takin it to the streets," <http://www.youtube.com/user/tikient#p/a/u/0/DeHlkA34VB4> (accessed February 24, 2011).

74. Burgess and Green, *YouTube: Online Video and Participatory Culture*.

75. See Mark Niesse, "Native Hawaiians Occupy Iolani Palace Grounds," *The Maui News*, May 1, 2008; B. J. Reyes, "Akaka Bill Opponents Occupy Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 8, 2006.

76. Tengan, *Native Men Remade*, 9.

77. Michael Eric Dyson, *Know What I Mean? Reflections on Hip-Hop* (New York: Basic Civitas Books, 2007), 12.

78. See Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy," in *Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology*, ed. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (Boston, MA: South End Press, 2006), 66–73.

79. Rose, *The Hip Hop Wars*.

80. Again, see Akinde, "Sudden Rush"; Ho'omanawanui, "He Lei Ho'ohenō No Na Kau a Kau" and "From Ocean to O'shen"; Imada, "Head Rush."

81. Kanaka Maoli women have always publicly deployed power. Historically, Kanaka Maoli women were noted for their powerful roles in Hawaiian Kingdom affairs, as organizers in the Hui Aloha 'Aina and other Hawaiian civic organizations that assembled the antiannexation petitions during the late nineteenth century. Throughout the twentieth century, as some Kanaka Maoli women found agency performing on "hula circuits," others voiced opposition to statehood during the territory period, and as the Hawaiian Renaissance germinated during the 1970s, Kanaka Maoli women were active organizers in the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s they were prominent leaders within the Hawaiian sovereignty movement.

82. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Fighting the Battle of Double Colonization: The View of a Hawaiian Feminist," *Annual Journal of Ethnic Studies* 2 (1984): 196–213.

83. Tengan, *Native Men Remade*, 8–10.

84. *Ibid.*, 10–13. In this, Tengan infers that Kanaka masculinity was fractured by very assertive women like Trask and others who were at the forefront of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement throughout the 1980s and 1990s in Hawai'i.

85. Kauanui, "Native Hawaiian Decolonization and the Politics of Gender," 281. Kauanui explains that attention to gender issues is seen as unnecessary because of the historical prominence of Kanaka women in Hawaiian Kingdom politics and in contemporary struggles for self-determination.

86. See Gwendolyn D. Pough, *Check It While I Wreck It: Black Womanhood, Hip-Hop Culture, and the Public Sphere* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004).

87. Crenshaw, "Beyond Racism and Misogyny," 261–62.

88. Directed by Byron Hurt, "Beyond Beats and Rhymes" (USA, God Bless the Child Productions, 2006).

89. Joyce Green, ed., *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism* (London: Zed Books, 2007).

90. Andrea Smith and J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Native Feminisms Engage American Studies," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (2008): 271.

91. *Ibid.*; Kauanui, "Native Hawaiian Decolonization and the Politics of Gender."



92. *Māhū* was a hermaphrodite in precolonial Hawaiian society. Contemporary usage generally refers to gay men, transgender male-to-female, and drag queens. Very rarely does it refer to lesbians.

93. Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalisms in Queer Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 24.

94. "Bloodline," Krystilez.