IKUNA:
Articulating Stories and Knowledge of Indigenous Oceanic Roots and Routes

by

Nathan Gong

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

and the Designated Emphasis

in

Indigenous Language Revitalization

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair
Professor Michael Omi
Professor Beth Piatote
Professor Erin Kahunawai Wright

Fall 2022

IKUNA:
Articulating Stories and Knowledge of Indigenous Oceanic Roots and Routes

by

Nathan Gong

Abstract

IKUNA:
Articulating Stories and Knowledge of Indigenous Oceanic Roots and Routes

by

Nathan Gong

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

Designated Emphasis in Indigenous Language Revitalization

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Patricia Baquedano-López, Chair

This dissertation examines the work of diasporic Pacific Islanders to reconnect with lands/seas of Oceania and suggests storytelling, place-making and multimodal creativity as intrinsic to cultural reclamation education. The research is derived from a community engaged project of a Pacific Islander educational non-profit in developing a travel program for cultural exchanges between Northern California and Hawai'i. Research was conducted using ethnographic observations, interviews and participant generated art projects to generate a diasporic pedagogy and explore concepts of cultural identity, belonging and reclamation. This work enters at the nexus of "rooted" place-based educational practices and adaptivity of "routed" migrancy pedagogies in service of decolonial potentiality. It argues that cultural reclamation pedagogy in diaspora can be guided by both pedagogies in order to refashion connections across time and geographies to exceed colonial containment logics of modernity and Indigeneity. It also contends that a practice of ARTiculation guides these efforts through multisensory meaning-making and multi-modal generation.

For Luke and Kai, and the many futures they precede.

For my many ancestors, if unnamed are never unloved.

For Kahea, who gives me home wherever we go.

Table of Contents

Abstract....1
Dedication....i
Table of Contents....ii
Acknowledgments....iv

Chapter One....1
Introduction: Reclaiming Indigenous Knowledge in Diaspora....2
a. What Culture Are We Sustaining, Exactly? 3
b. Alter*native* Pedagogies....5
c. Theoretical Reviews: Indigenous Time, Space and Language....8
d. Chapter Overview of IKUNA....15

Chapter Two....17
Methodology: What's This Asian Doing Here? 18
a. Researcher Positionality....20
b. Methodological Context 23
c. Research Context....27
d. Participants....31
e. Methods and Knowledge Generation....34
f. Meaning Making Through Creativity....39
g. Affordances and Limitations....40

Chapter Three....41
Bloodlines as Time/Narratives as Routes....42
a. Introduction....42
b. Dwelling-in-Dischronotopicality and Bloodlines....42
c. Routed Pedagogies....49
d. Presencing Pasts....56
e. Outside of the Lines....59

Chapter Four....61
Place-Making and Roots....62
a. Introduction....62
b. Schooling for Replacement....63
c. Place as Storied and Embodied....68
d. Oceanic Interconnections and Dispersed Sovereignty....73
e. Beyond the Void....79

Chapter Five....80
Articulating Expansion....81
a. Introduction....81
b. *but the problem is am i poly enough?* 81
c. Multisensory Retrieval....86
d. Multimodality and New Storywork....95

e. Expanding Generations.....104

Chapter 6.....106
Conclusion: Charting a Way Home.....107

References.....111
Appendix A.....124

Acknowledgements

I first want to express my deep gratitude for the co-founders and participants of Wayfinder who so generously and warmly invited me into their work. For the co-founders, I know this work is like another child of yours, so thank you for trusting me to tell a version of its story -- it is a responsibility I take seriously and has brought me so much joy. To the participants of the project, thank you for your patience, vulnerability and hard work in carving the waka/vaʻa as we paddled.

I have truly benefited so much from the brilliance and compassion of my committee members: Dr. Patricia Baquedano-López, Dr. Michael Omi, Dr. Beth Piatote and Dr. Kahunawai Wright. I have learned that many graduate students have difficulty finding quality support while earning their doctorate and here I am so fortunate to have gained so much from you four! Dr. Baquedano-López, thank you so profoundly for all of the incredible guidance and support (both as a scholar and a new father) you've offered me with the utmost generosity from the first time we met in Tolman. Your thoughtful feedback and genuine interest in my wellbeing as a person has shaped me both professionally and personally. Dr. Omi, thank you for illustrating that warmth, intellect and curiosity can truly co-exist in the academy. Dr. Piatote, thank you for the insights and generosity that you carry in every space you're in -- I think all of the time about your use of "abundance", not just in our scholarly pursuits but in what we can offer to others and the world. Dr. Wright, thank you so much for your brilliance and humanity, you make what you hold and carry look so effortless and provide so many ways for your students and colleagues to join you.

Many thanks to other professors who have supported me, Dr. Rick Ayers, Dr. Laura Sterponi, Dr. Zeus Leonardo, Dr. Michael Dumas, Dr. Jabari Mahiri, Dr. Travis Bristol, thank you for your intellectual generosity. Rick, I know I joke you got me into this mess, but through your incredible thought partnership and nurturing guidance, you kept showing me so many ways forward that allowed me to retain my humanity. Dr. Sterponi, your class on literacy provided a nurturing springboard for this work -- I will always be grateful for providing the space to play and think creatively. Dr. Patrick Rivers and Dr. Rick Bonus, thank you for being continually supportive of my growth ever since I was a fresh faced kid from Oakland in your AES classes.

To the PLI family, Dr. Rebecca Cheung, Dr. Soraya Sablo-Sutton, Dr. Tom Green, Viet Nguyen, Todd Irving, and Karin Seid, thank you for giving me a home at the GSE, for providing me the many opportunities to make this work grounded and applicable to practitioners. Dr. Cheung, thank you for a masterclass in the humble power that comes from servant-leadership and generosity regarding institutional knowledge. Nives Wetzel De Cediel, you already know I have too much to say about all you taught me. Thank you for your gift of time, for seeing me and imagining who I can become.

I would like to thank the entire PBL reading group group, past and present: Bayley Marquez, Theresa Burruel Stone, Rosalinda Godinez, Vianney Gavilanes, Omar Davila, Maryam Moeini, Gabriela Borge-Janetti, Sara Chase, Derrika Hunt, and Critstina Mendez. Many thanks for your thoughtful feedback on my work and kind words. To my

GSE critical studies cluster mates: Danièle Fogel, Caleb Dawson, Joy Esboldt and Martha Ortega, thank you for camaraderie. Danièle, thank you for being my sister-in-arms and for reminding me that the choice is always ours. To my ISSI posse, Fabian Fernandez, Diana Casanova, Brie McLemore, Akilah Favors, Karen Villegas, Brenda Mathias, David Minkus and Deborah Lustig, thank you for seeing me and carrying me through the writing of this project. Your camaraderie has meant the world to me. Thank you to ISSI for generously funding this work. Also to David Sul, thank you for inspiring me to keep this work grounded and generative.

To my beloved community of mentors, teachers and compatriots who have loved me into existence, Maryann Wolfe, Marietta Joe, Elizabeth Haugen, Doug Stubblefield, Juana Alicia, Rudi Mwongozi, Kumu Kawika Alfiche, Jah Yee Woo, Fred Trotter, Young Whan Choi, Chris Knaus, Dee Davis, Al Cheng and Steve Owyang, you've taught me so much about education, justice, arts and humanity -- thank you being the basis of how I know education is fundamentally about love, creation and belonging.

For my family and friends, this work is a reflection of your love. To my parents and siblings, thank you for unquestioning belief in me and unconditional support. To Kahea, I have learned I should always listen to you. Thank you for providing me this time to take on this work, for seeing me when I couldn't see myself and loving me every moment no matter where I went. For Luke and Kai, thank you for coming into my life and grounding me in what's most important. You are my heart.

Chapter One

"But for us in Oceania, the sea defines us, what we are and have always been. As the great Caribbean poet Derek Walcott put it, the sea is history. Recognition of this could be the beginning of a very important chapter in our history. We could open it as we enter the third millennium.

All of us in Oceania, whether indigenous or otherwise, can truly assert the ocean is our common heritage."

- Epeli Hauʻofa, *We Are the Ocean*

1

Introduction: Reclaiming Indigenous Knowledge in Diaspora

This dissertation can be read like the ocean that surrounds its creation: both stable and fluid, separator and connector, simultaneously a single place that is many spaces. At its heart, this dissertation is about cultural reclamation whilst in transit and how we can learn to articulate our ways to an ever shape-shifting cultural home. Returning to the ocean as an ever-shifting seascape helps me to appreciate the tensions of form and formlessness as a pedagogy of decoloniality, abound with expanded possibilities of what can be preserved, what can be adapted and what is sustained.

It is also a dissertation project that seeks to connect Indigenous times, peoples and places. In one stead, it is connected to a legacy of multicultural education in American schools and its core tenet that a culturally relevant education will produce unity and belonging through diversity. In another stead, this dissertation connects to a generative history of Indigenous Oceanic epistemology and pedagogy that sees that commonality reflected most importantly through the relationships of lands and seas, even if we have traveled far from away. Together, this dissertation asks with deep humility questions about what it means to belong to a time and place, and how we make our ways home whilst in motion.

This research derives from my multiyear engagement with IKUNA, a Bay Area Pacific Islander[1] educational profit and their efforts to establish and pilot the Wayfinder program, an educational project meant to help foster cultural belonging, identity and purpose for Pacific Islander youth living in the diaspora. The scope and sum of my research has been a shared endeavor with Hart and Maka[2], the co-founders and directors of IKUNA and Wayfinder, as well as the student participants and their families who have embarked on cultural reclamation educational project. Our efforts to co-create this program join conversations of Indigenous Oceanic identity and sovereignty through cultural *roots* and *routes*, shorthand terms referring to steadfast Native ties to lands and seas that withstand colonial incursion and the forces that continue to transform, expand and elongate those connections. This is to say that this work is both deeply aligned with the particular agendas and goals of IKUNA and looks towards connections and efforts of decolonial education more broadly.

As Diaz and Kauanui (2001) eloquently named the tension of Oceanic roots and routes in their discussion of the transformation Pacific Studies, this dissertation joins their advocacy not of resolving this tension, but of understanding how these

---

[1] Throughout this work, I employ both Pacific Islander and Indigenous Oceanic as terminologies that refer to peoples who are genealogically connected to island homelands and nations within what is termed the Pacific Ocean. These terms are not necessarily interchangeable, and each carry their own unique political and cultural connotations, yet both share the burden of any categorization that often collapses specificity for reductive sake, or excludes places or peoples for other reasons. For the purposes of this dissertation they are used often as a shorthand, with full acknowledgment of their imprecision and ongoing adaptability. A further discussion of what "Pacific" or "Oceania" signify is taken up in more depth in Chapter 4.

[2] Pseudonyms have been used throughout this dissertation at the discretion of the research participants. The names used here, reflective of ethnic and gendered values, were most often generated and selected by participants themselves. In the case that participants felt ambivalent about this protocol, I generated a name through consulting community advisers who helped to generate a list of culturally appropriate and relatively generic names.

conceptualizations of an affirmed identity and place as well as migration are intertwined and interdependent. In this larger sense, this dissertation is involved with culturally reclamative education through what I term *routed* and *rooted* pedagogies, where meaning and place-making happens through storytelling, relationships, and generation. Necessarily, I take seriously Indigenous land claims and the ramifications of Indigenous nationhood and begin (and perhaps end with) Indigenous ontological and epistemological conceptions of ancestry, kinship, belonging and territorial sovereignty. In that this work is situated in and around Oceania, I also draw specifically from Oceanic scholars, activists and artists who continue to maintain and develop the culturally appropriate specificity of Indigenous Oceanic peoples and biomes. This is not only a critical responsibility on my part as a non-Indigenous scholar researching alongside Pacific Islanders but alludes to the significance of concepts of stability and permanence that are often undermined or disregarded by colonial endeavors. If a major (if not the major) driving force of settler colonialism has been to erase the Native in all forms to then claim and repurpose Indigenous territory, this dissertation focuses on Indigenous resilience and resurgence as the ongoing extension of epistemologies and practices that pre-date colonial invasion and continue to persevere in a variety of ways. I then align the intentions of this dissertation with those who continue to endeavor to carry on, teach knowledge and enact ancestral wisdom, often in the face of imperial incursions and suppression.

In this first chapter, I provide context around the educational discourse of cultural-based education that this dissertation project was conceived in, particularly in how the recent challenges to the some of the prime directives of multicultural educational practice has opened into powerful new conversations of how we might attend to the settler-teleology embedded within. I add to this conversation a background to the shifting seascape of diasporic Pacific Islanders in the Bay Area, and how Indigenous migrancy complicates notions of cultural revitalization. Following the central research questions of this dissertation is a review of decolonial theorizations of Indigenous time, space and articulation, all of which to help delineate the succeeding chapters whose findings are devoted to those themes.

What Culture Are We Sustaining, Exactly?

As this dissertation is concerned broadly in the ways that communities of color, but specifically Indigenous Oceanic peoples in diaspora, are responding to the current paradigm of multicultural education, I provide here a contextualization of multicultural education, its affordances as well as limitations.

Over the past forty years, multicultural education has emerged as a scholastic embodiment of efforts to forge a culturally pluralistic society. Numerous histories and genealogies exist of multicultural education (Banks, 1993; Gay, 2010; Sleeter, 1994; Aronson & Laughter, 2016), though common among them are its foundational approaches (asset based, additive, contact theory, tolerance, anti-oppression) and goals (desegregation, ethnic and language minorities educational outcomes, integration, cultural pluralism). Despite competing narratives as to the origin of multicultural education, traditional multicultural paradigm draws heavily from the rhetoric of the Civil Rights movement and the Ethnic Studies movement: (re)discovering hidden and marginalized histories, collective ethnic self-consciousness, racial desegregation,

politically guided efforts to dismantle White supremacist polity and advocacy for cultural pluralism (Sleeter, 1994).

The inception of multiculturalism practice and curriculum into American public schools can often be overlooked as an important achievement of the Civil Rights era and an early harbinger of the soon to come culture-wars that are associated with the American political landscape of the late 1980's until today. At its core was a noble intent to diversify knowledge generation itself through radically re-supposing what and who can be truth tellers and narrators of American experience. Included in this revisioning was that these heretofore untold narratives could create a new, more interconnected and interwoven society, with a broader scope and nuance that would exceed, though not exclude, Eurocentric schooling practices. These changes were meant ignite deeper restructuring of schooling practices that operated through Anglocentric hetero-patriarchal hierarchies towards an inclusive and tolerant educational system. Through reshaping curriculum and content, then assessment, teaching practice, faculty representation and ultimately policy and governance, multicultural schools could accommodate students of all stripes. In this sense, multiculturalist doctrine supposes a linear temporality of progress -- acknowledging how the dominant accounting of the past was narrowly defined and promising a future pluralism that would be inclusive, equitable and unlike the Eurocentric past from which it has emerged.

Since that inception, multicultural education has faced continuous challenges of theoretical and political co-option, as well as claims of toothless depoliticization and essentialist, individualistic cultural Othering (Suzuki, 1984; Banks, 1993; Paris & Alim, 2014). This has come in the form of deemphasizing the importance of racial, gender and class oppression, unduly emphasizing the agentive power of individuals over structures and advocating for inclusion over radical transformation (Olneck, 1990; Nieto, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Regardless of its original intentions, multicultural education has been shown to still privilege the experiences and epistemologies of White-coded peoples in such educational practices as standardized testing (Au, 2014), unidirectional language acquisition expectations (García, 2009) and appropriating non-White curricular content within established Eurocentric symbolic systems (Olneck 1993, Flores, 2016).

The definition, strategies and agendas of its theoretical claims remain contentious and continuously evolving. The work of scholars in the past decade in culturally responsive/relevant/sustaining pedagogy (McCarty & Lee, 2014; Paris & Alim, 2017) have done much to explicitly name the assimilative architecture of traditional multicultural education and centering non-dominant cultural practices as inherently worthy of perpetuation, regardless of equivalency to Europeanized curriculum or potential value in capitalist labor market. Paris and Alim's *culturally sustaining pedagogies* (2017) quickly become a standard bearer of multicultural education, with numerous school districts, including Oakland Unified School District, creating professional development workshops centered on its theoretical underpinnings. Their work advocates that by embracing the cultural practices of peripheralized peoples in curriculum and pedagogy, students can more fully participate in the liberative potentiality of democratic schooling, combating the "damage and erasure" that schooling inflicts on communities of color.

Yet, as Indigenous scholars have pointed out, culturally sustaining pedagogies, as taken up into normative multicultural discourse has had difficulty with overlapping and incompatible cultural practices, not in the superficial sense of various foodways or

linguistic stylings, but in what it means to have cultural practices claiming legitimacy and prominence when they represent competing visions of justice and morality. This point is made salient by Tuck and Yang (2012) who argue that generic definitions of social justice or decolonialism appear unified and cohesive, yet mask incommensurable interests within social justice coalitions. Social justice discourse, they note, has become metaphoric representation of resisting all sorts of "colonial" oppressions –- from hegemonic alienation to inequitable and unsustainable resource distribution –- but continues to disavow or eradicate Indigenous existence and land rights through sustaining settler claims to indigeneity and innocence. In other words, in calling for sustaining culture, Tuck and Yang ask, "whose [settler] culture might you be sustaining?"

Alter*native* Pedagogies

In extending the decolonial work of culturally sustaining pedagogies, this dissertation investigates the concept of culture from Indigenous frameworks, not in wholesale rejecting of CSP's value, but rather in seeking expansion of its capabilities. Settler-colonial studies examines education from the perspective of the ongoing theft of Indigenous as reliant upon the ongoing eradication of Native relationships to those lands (Wolfe, 2006). Reframing colonization from a historical event into an ongoing (and current) process, has led scholars to identify the ways in which settler-colonialism requires among many things the active suppression of Indigenous relationships to place in order to facilitate settler amnesia and fulfill ahistorical fantasy of *terra nullius* (Moreton-Robinson, 2015). These reorderings have largely operated through a Western prism of temporality and geo superiority as constructed through counter-narrative: Native knowledge and history is in the dying past (Veronelli, 2015) while civilization and superiority rests where Europeans inhabit, as evidenced through journeying into and attesting the savagery of the non-Christian, racial Other (Greenblatt, 1991).

This dissertation is concerned with schooling as a tool of settler-colonialism that operationalizes and sanctions epistemicide and *culturecide* (Tolia-Kelly, 2016). One significant way to reorder Native relationships to land and place, as well as maintain hegemonic control over settler and settler-migrants, is a complete erasure of Indigenous history and knowledge as tied to the land (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). This includes erasing any traces of Native occupancy and presence -- language, genealogies, stories, Native technologies, placenames -- through either active physical destruction of material as well as ideological suppression such as language bans and curricularizing Eurocentric epistemology and knowledge. For example, content in dominant settler schools takes on a predominantly Western ontological bend emphasizing individuality, Cartesian mind-body split and rationality, linearity of time, private ownership and clear hierarchical division of animal, man and land from inanimate objects. Schooling, then, has served as important tool of settler-colonialism, both in disciplining Natives into European order through engendering internal alienation and dependency on onshore settler-colonial elite or offshore imperial entities and asserting Eurocentric knowledge and history as universal and inevitable to both Native and settler-migrant alike.

When focusing specifically on Oceania, patterns of settler-colonialism ring familiar to histories of other Indigenous peoples and places. Beginning in the late 15th

century, European exploration and encroachment into the Pacific[3] was intertwined with European political and economic expansion towards Asia. That Oceania was inhabited by non-Europeans[4], presented opportunities for another form of Orientalism to arise, particular in framing Indigenous Oceanic peoples as a foil to form European moral and intellectual superiority. The arrival of explorers, scientists, and missionaries preceded commercial interests in the form of traders, whale and marine harvesters and the development of plantation economies, at times through explicit military occupation and conquest (i.e. Aotearoa, Fiji, Guam), or through a dependency model of economic bartering and coercion (Tonga) (Banivanua-Mar, 2016). A complete retelling of a manifold of situations for every island community is outside the scope of this dissertation, but as this project is concerned with Pan-Pacific diasporic peoples in the Bay Area, it is important to signal the multiple ways in which settler-colonial displacement has occurred throughout Oceania, thus affecting how projects of reclamation manifest against an uneven seascape.

As with many settler-colonial societies, the role of Western schooling in Oceania follows the same patterns of eradicating Indigenous knowledge and severing those relationships in preparation of creating settler futurity. Scholars (Fujikane & Okimura, 2008; Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013; Helu Thaman, 2003a; Smith, 2012) have documented attacks on Indigenous Oceanic episteme through a variety of ways including policies such as language bans in courts or school. Central to the project of colonization in Oceania has been the Western conceptualization of school, as first imagined and instituted through Christian missionary work and then further established as a centerpiece of colonial administration through compulsory public schooling. The commonsense understanding of school throughout Oceania employs a settler-colonial model of liberal education: schools were understood to be one of the gifts of colonial domination to uplift Natives from states of savagery into moral, productive subordinates of Empire (Kēpa & Manu'atu, 2008), akin to Richard Pratt's (educator and former military commander of the American Indian Wars) infamous declaration of "kill the Indian, save the man". Westernized learning modalities, such as alphanumeric literacy (in English, French, Spanish, German or other European dialect) are mainstays of official curriculum whereas Indigenous languages (if not also heritage languages of non-nationalized settler-arrivants) were banned as mediums of instruction. Schooling then largely was a colonial project to erase Native knowledge, identity and spirituality in order to produce loyal colonial subjects.

Indigenous Oceanic peoples have resisted colonialism from the very outset of European imperial incursion, perhaps beast understood in the ongoing efforts of Indigenous Oceanic peoples, scholars and settler-allies to confront colonial practices in a variety of ways including indigenizing identity and history (Banivanua-Mar, 2019; Kauanui, 2008; Silva, 2004), calling for independence, coalition and nationhood (Hauʻofa, 2008; Trask, 1999), revitalizing language and culture (Diaz 2011; Kaʻili & Māhina, 2017; Stillman, 2001; Wilson & Kamana, 2011), decolonizing research (La Valle et al., 2019; Oliveira & Wright, 2016; Smith, 2012), protecting sacred sites

[3] An exonym meant to refer to its "calm" nature, set in contrast to more "violent" seas.

[4] Though as in Maile Arvin's study of scientific racism in Oceania, there was a great deal of consternation among anthropologists in "correctly" identifying Pacific Islanders within European racial stratification particularly as Polynesians appeared to them as more "White" than their "Black" Melanisians relations.

(Fujikane, 2019) and engaging in ecological restoration (Ledward, 2013). Importantly, there has been ongoing resistance to these forces (documented or not) which provides not only the historical context for this particular dissertation, but grounds it in the interest of Indigenous survivance and ingenuity.

Important to counteracting legacies of coloniality has been the efforts of Indigenous scholars and language activities (both in Oceania and elsewhere) to revitalize and restore the prestige and usage of Indigenous languages that endured colonial suppression (Hornberger, 2011; McCarty & Littlebear, 2012). Key in the praxis of Indigenous language revitalization (ILR) is that restoration of orality as the catalyst to renew relationships including: critical self-consciousness of the inherent value of one's ethnic or tribal identity (McCarty & Lee, 2014), the retention and replication of unique and untranslatable Indigenous knowledges (Harrison & Papa, 2005) and the fostering of community relationships in working towards political and cultural sovereignty (Alfred, 2005). Oceanic culture keepers and language activists have been on the forefront of ILR, notably in Aotearoa (Hingangaroa Smith, 2003) and Hawai'i (Wilson & Kamana, 2011), whose efforts were developed through interconnected Indigenous collaborations through and beyond Oceania.

While interventions launched from a Western academic tradition have certainly aided communities most threatened by language dormancy, these efforts can at times echo traditions of linear positivism. In attempts to encourage speakers and disseminate pedogeological tools, many linguistics have introduced orthography and language standardization as a natural step in the process of revitalizing language (Seifart, 2006) or show preference for language singularity and a deterministic relationship between speech and culture (Fishman, 2001; Woodbury, 1998). Doing so has either encouraged or maintained divisions over linguistic and ethnic authenticity within communities (Jaffe, 1999; Wong, 1999). Additionally, ILR is still widely taught through anthropocentric frameworks with a focus on speech. All of these conventions help to obscure other forms of communication which Indigenous people have used, some of which may not have equivalencies to Western or positivistic notions of communicative acts.

While ILR was not conceived with the intention of exclusion, their work has largely been centered around language revitalization for those who are residing within traditional territories, influencing the pedagogy in terms of relationality with land and language base via extended community. As one impact of colonialism in Oceania has been the high levels of forced migrancy, many Indigenous Oceanic peoples in the diaspora (often to Western metropoles that border Oceania) have faced challenges of becoming racialized minorities within the racial caste systems of their new homelands while facing the complexity of maintaining relationships with traditional homelands (Spickard, et al., 2002; Tupai Francis & Lee, 2009). And while colonial incursion has certainly impacted Oceanic migrancy, it should not be confused at its catalyst, given the long and deep history of Indigenous Oceanic voyaging, interaction and exchange, throughout Oceania and beyond (Chang, 2016; Lilomaiava-Doktor, 2009; Te Punga Somerville, 2012).

It is here where this dissertation project draws from this history of Oceanic voyaging and migrancy, along with efforts of Indigenous language revitalization in investigating the possibilities of a cultural reclamation pedagogy in diaspora, one that can simultaneously account for permanencies signified through Indigenous connection

and transient with the adaptive fluidity of Oceanic movements and mobilities. In doing, this dissertation investigates the following questions:

1. Through reclaiming culture, what colonial structures persist in perpetuating cultural alienation and disconnection for diasporic Oceanic youth?

2. What is the relationship between stability of roots and flexibility of routes on cultural reclamation and how does it challenge normative presumptions of multicultural education?

3. How do mobile Indigenous Oceanic youth articulate roots and routes and what kinds of knowledge is generated?

Theoretical Reviews: Indigenous Time, Space and Language

In responding to these questions, the Wayfinder project and this dissertation draws upon Indigenous frameworks of time, space and narrative as a means to understand the challenges and affordances of cultural reclamation whilst in diaspora. While these concepts overlap and are interdependent, focusing on them in more narrower terms provides detailed insight and explanatory power of the intentionality and outcomes of the project. Arrival of these conceptualizations was cyclical -- questions at the outset of the Wayfinder program (its meaning, its efficacy) already included in a rudimentary sense consideration of how to do this work across vast distances and vast times ("How possible it is for us to take students to their traditional territories?"). Through the research and creative ingenuity of its participants, the questions continued to become more refined and deepened ("Where is Oceania? When is Oceania? How does culture move through it?") which provided both more complexity and nuance to the choices made in the program. This is to say that these theories did not unidirectionally lead research, but they felt like a home we continued to revisit throughout the process.

Indigenous Time and Routes. In weaving together Indigenous time-spaces, I highlight temporality to show how it intersects with dimensions of diaspora that many of the participants felt shaped their lives as Indigenous Oceanic people living outside of ancestral territories. Though Wayfinder participants were initially oriented towards understanding their identities through geographic dispositions -- discussing themselves in terms such as Pacific Islanders in America or 'Polys' who were born "off the islands" -- a closer look at the discussions and interaction in the program reveal the salience of time, time signatures and temporalities in producing what Esther Peeren (2006) describes as "dwelling-in-dischronotopicality". Unpacking this experience sheds light both on the significance of reclaiming or re-membering cultural practices and offers alternatives for cultural reclamation away from conventional diaspora discourse that begins with physical displacement (often at a moment of ruin) and concludes with future tensed, ahistorical 'return'. Doing so with the specificity of Wayfinder participants as Indigenous Oceanic peoples residing in the Bay Area also resists post-modern/colonial diasporic discourse that dissolves Indigenous identities, epistemologies and sovereignties by side stepping ongoing colonization -- or as Linda Tuhiwai Smith deftly observes, "there can be no 'post-modern' for us [Indigenous peoples] until we have settled some business of the modern" (Smith, 2012).

Diasporic studies have largely been organized around spatial dispersal, often subordinating temporal considerations (Chan, 2015; Teaiwa, 2017). While a cultural studies approach towards migration has included elements of time, the focus has been on the mixed, hybridic, intermittent experiences of displaced migrants or peoples (Bhabha, 1996; Hall, 1990). This is not to diminish these important contributions to diaspora studies, yet foregrounding space can sustain an essentialist notion that any given diaspora "is a monolith all awaiting return to a stable homeland" (Chan, 2015). Rather, drawing from scholars such as Basso (1996), thinking of space as inseparable from time (time-space) opens up important ways of analyzing migration: people leave or return not just to a place, but also time-spaces that can be remembered, experienced or longed-for in multiplicitous ways. Considering diasporic temporality provides a more nuanced understanding of migration, affording other ways for migrant peoples to find belonging outside of territorialization. Applying Bahktinian 'chronotopes' to the 'genre' of diasporas, Peeren (2006) argues that simultaneous understandings of time-spaces inform various meanings of being home and away for different communities (often within the same diaspora!). Doing so creates "dischontopicality", the liminal state of feeling not just out of place in diaspora, but out of sync with the homeland and subsequently distanced from the time-space they may currently inhabit. Thus, diaspora can become a constantly elongating and ruptured process; there may not be a single moment of departure nor return to a homeland but rather an ever expanding prism of timescapes. In this sense, reclaiming culture is difficult in diaspora, particularly if culture is thought of as a singular cohesive set of principals from a coherent, stable past. As Peeren puts it, "diaspora, then, is characterized by the way in which dispersed communities connect themselves to each other and to the homeland by forging relationships across space and time through a shared performative (habitual and mnemonic) construction of time-space: a shared chronotope" (p. 73). In her view *dischronotopicality* is not a hindrance to cohesion but rather affords different opportunities for diaspora to create and maintain belonging to home-spaces that exceed merely spatial return and occupation of singular homelands.

Yet, this focus on temporality without considering the colonial politics of Indigeneity risks reinforcing another essentialist trope: that Indigeneity erodes the moment the Native leaves their homeland, speaks a new language or adulterates their bloodline. In this telling, Natives who "step forward" into a modern, globalized world as a diasporized migrant are doomed to non-existence as Indigenous people. This logic also foments the notion that Indigenous people can only truly exist while pinned within a settler time-space of an unchanging pre-Western past as authentic, "uncontacted" natives in frozen cohesive homelands. As Vincent Diaz puts it: some Natives get to have culture, but no history, others get to have history, but no culture (Delisle & Diaz, 1997). And once those borders are punctured, either by migration or colonial invasion, and the Native travels outside of "their" time-space, they become tensed as a "past perfect" subject within the chronologies of empire, a now polluted window into primitive life before the arrival of settlers (Povinelli, 2011). This freezing of Indigeneity is critical in providing coherence for the settler state, or as Jodi Byrd (2011) describes it, Natives become an "imperial referent" to provide meaning for modernity and justification for settler-futurity as the natural order of things. Teresa Teaiwa's (2017) work is instructive in reminding us that Oceanic Indigenous people are still "trapped specifically by the project of modernity" further arguing that "the Native is a discursive figure constructed

in histories of travel, discovery and colonialism, appropriated in nationalism, abandoned by the postcolonial, and either erased or commodified by globalization". To this end, Indigenous migration is deeply entangled with time as much as space.

However, focusing attention on the specificity of Oceania and the work of Oceanic scholars affords opportunities to dispel settler-time and avoid the either/or binary of primitivity or dissolution. A commonsense understanding of Oceania as a region often frames it as an empty vastness between land masses, a presumption explored by Oceanic scholars (Hau'ofa, 2008; Jolly, 2007) as a way both belittling the cultural richness of Oceanic Indigenous peoples and implies a latent dependency on 'larger nations'. Through Western framing of *terra firma* as the natural site for the Nation, the Ocean becomes an uninhabitable, separator of places; merely a passage, unsuitable for dwelling. Doing so also alludes to a migratory telegogy that insinuates the Oceanic Native as inevitably drawn outwards and away from the Ocean towards 'civilized' terrain and time. Wayfinder students recounted in their families' migration stories a common theme of seeking educational opportunity, or as many said "to have a better future". Again, if taken out context, these notions reinforce that good education and better futures may really only exist off island, in another place and perhaps in another time. Yet, returning to Teaiwa's wisdom on how "the Native in Oceania…is not so landlocked", she offered an alternative vision for Oceanic Indigenous migration that afforded kinship that provides "mobility and fluidity and a dynamism which confounds and resists colonial, nationalist and even postcolonial representations." (p. 48). Her words recall Gilroy's (1993) concept of the "changing same" -- a process that subverts expectations for taxonomic purity and periodization -- with particular specificity towards an Oceanic epistemology that understands that continuity does not, in fact, require fixity.

A guiding premise behind the Wayfinder work is a disposition of *routedness*, a pedagogical stance for collapsing tense through connecting to ancestral knowledge not as a static body of content, but as a mobile wisdom base that fords continued transformations of thought, behavior and futurity. My use of the term routedness draws from Oceanic frameworks that offer alternative ways of learning through Indigenous time-spaces. Undergirding routedness are Indigenous concepts that recognize space as fluid socio-relational fields and time as interconnected and cyclical. Diaz's description (2011) of a Micronesian navigation technique of *etak* is useful here for the former -- while traveling in an fluid, ever shifting ocean, the navigator uses a form of triangulation with other entities that are also in transit (star lines, islands, nearby creatures) to determine their own trajectory as opposed to coordinates. Etak changes the system of navigating from one of moving from one fixed location to another, to a process where a constant shifting set of relationships provide the information to locate where one is. Also instructive are Oceanic linguistic concepts of vā/wā[5] that measures distance in social-spatial terms are helpful in recognizing space not as a boundary of disconnection but part-in-parcel of being interrelated. As the Samoan poet Albert Wendt (1999) put it,"vā is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates, but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things" (p. 402). Taken together, these Oceanic concepts of a fluid-and-stable time-space reconfigure the past and present

[5] Vā in Tongan and Samoan or wā in Hawaiian and Māori have cognates throughout Austrnesian languages.

as opportunities for retrieval and interconnection, suggesting that routes and relationships are essential to determine one's momentary bearing. This relationship is especially pertinent for diasporic Indigenous learning, firstly in avoiding geographical distance as an insurmountable barrier to reclaiming Indigenous identity and epistemologies, and secondly identifying moments of cultural simultaneity and discordance that arise from diasporic learning as important and valuable texts for Indigenous futurity.

In upsetting settler teleologies, a pedagogy of routedness denies hegemonic insistence of modernity that excludes the Non-Western Other and provides opportunities for Indigenous mobility and transformation as a continuation of cultural practice rather than the pollution of authentic Indigeneity. The implications for routedness impacts when and how lessons of cultural reclamation are framed, not about "returning to the past" nor simply "blending past with present" devoid of context, but rather incorporates both the stability of cultural practice and ongoing capacity of Indigenous peoples and migrants to rearticulate these knowledges. By doing so, Oceanic education scholars Kēpa and Manu'atu (2008) encourage us that to conceive of "culture as interweaving the past and present lived experience means that an Indigenous understanding of time is not linear, independent, and irreversible; rather, time is understood as part of the entire environment of living, including the past and the future" (p. 1808). In the following sections, I will discuss how discourses of blood quantum are intertwined with feelings of dwelling-in-dischonotpicality for Wayfinder students, and our interventions through routedness to resist these damaging and limiting forms of coloniality.

Indigenous Place and Roots. For the Wayfinder participants, connection to ancestral places was created through relationships more so than governed by physical proximity. A normative reading of place through a geospatial understanding of physical proximity (this many miles away, that many leagues over there) carries with it presumed connotations of authenticity as Native, as well providing rationale for subjectivities such as immigrant and citizen. The dominant definition of Indigeneity involves both a spatial and temporal assessment: peoples who occupied places before "discovery" by Europeans. According to Firth (1997), "the Native" was the most significant ideological invention of colonialism, a powerful new subjectivity that incorporated all non-Europeans. The Native fueled Western identities of superiority (Said, 1994), justifying the eradication of Indigenous peoples and occupation of their lands. Significant in the formation of the Native was its geospatial and historical parameters: peoples became Native at the moment of European encounter and documentation, a freezing of both time (in that prehistory ended and History began with European discovery) and pinning Indigenous peoples to their location, at the moment of contact.

Numerous Indigenous scholars and artists have attested to the complex negotiation of being either in or off ancestral territories (Orange, 2019; Teaiwa, 2001; Teves, 2018). All of the Wayfinder participants identified as Pacific Islander, generally preferring to use ethnic terms (Tongan, Samoan, Hawaiian) when introducing themselves. However, when discussing family migration histories, many participants described themselves as being born "off island" or "not on the islands." These

descriptions denote the continued significance of association with Oceania territorially[6], even if they and their parents were born and raised outside of ancestral places. Yet, the impetus of the program was fueled by the tension of being Pacific Islander "outside" or "away" from homelands while also residing in Anglocentric territory that is hostile to the non-European Other (a common theme among conversations of Wayfinder participants was that they did not feel a sense of "belonging," except in family or church settings). A colonialist reading of migrants who reside outside of national boundaries often marks Indigenous peoples as culturally diminished or extinguished, something scholars of migracy and translocality (Baquedano-López, 2017; Greiner & Sakdapolrak, 2013; Harris & Prout Quicke, 2019) have pushed back against. The conundrum here is that colonial (and now neoliberal market forces and settler-induced climate change) have been the catalyst for Indigenous displacement, creating an "oxymoronic" subjectivity of Indigenous migrant. Significantly, Indigenous research on diasporic connection to place, such as Ramirez's (2007) work on native hubs, suggests a more nodal and nomadic forms of identity and belonging, though challenges of safety, access and acceptance still accompany those located away from traditional homelands.

Rootedness, then, speaks to the centrality of connection to place, space and continuity intrinsic to Indigenous sovereignty and wellbeing. While there are significant distinctions between many Indigenous peoples' conceptualization of the relationship to place, Indigenous scholars have repeatedly highlighted the primary connection with land as inseparable from Indigenous identity (Alfred, 2005; Gegeo, 2001; Trask, 1999; Watts, 2013). My attempt to put these relationships into English or Western terms would fail to appropriately capture the indivisible nature of these relationships, which generally stands in direct opposition to Western Judeo-Christian informed hierarchical distinctions between man and beast, sentient and non-sentient and tamed Euro-Civilization from chaotic, Indigenous wilds. Oceanic scholars have done far better at describing similar concepts of indivisibility of human beings from nature[7], both in identifying some similarities shared with other Indigenous peoples, while also detailing the specific manifestations and genealogies that undergird Indigenous Oceanic ontologies (Goldberg-Hiller & Silva, 2011; Jolly, 2018). Significantly, the ocean connects peoples with genealogies of places -- lands and seas (emphasis on plural) - that go beyond cartographic normalities of geo-approximation but which also include the "past" place and overlapping "native seas" that encompassed networks of known and narrativized space (Salesa, 2014). As described by Kaʻili and Māhina (2017), the Tongan concept of vā also understands space not as a binary distinction of separateness, but acknowledges the relational ties that are bound by interconnected space. Thus it seems appropriate that place/space is approached through activated language like rootedness, describing a process of connection, nurturance, deepening and growth rather than a static calculation of global coordinates.

Scholars have also illustrated how settler-colonialism violence is meant to extinguish or refashion Indigenous relationships to land, sea or more broadly,

[6] Rarely did anyone refer to themselves as "American", though one participant laughed a bit at the awkwardness of "Pacifc Islander American" as she tried the term out.

[7] Many languages throughout Oceania lack specific markers demarcating sentience as a uniquely human trait, or rather, these languages possess categorizations that are inclusive of humans, animals and "nature" as interdependent entities.

Indigenous place through genocide and cultural eradication (Wolfe, 2006). Though Fanon (1952/2008) spoke to the coloniality evident for Afro-Caribbean peoples living within Euro-Imperial hegemony, his understandings of an interior alienation from self and history, meant to render the colonized as non-human, is useful here in depicting what a "rooted" consciousness seeks to counteract. This violence is also manifested through cultural assimilative practices and policies particularly in schooling, perhaps most infamously in the Indian boarding schools/prisons system, which finds correspondance in English-only and/or ESL practices targeting non-White, non-English speaking migrants. With this in mind, Indigenous Oceanic peoples who find themselves as migrants to the continental U.S. are targets of oppression, both as Indigenous peoples within the purview of American Empire in the Pacific and as non-White, racialized subjects within U.S. Anglo-cultural and political borders.

In response to this violence, rootedness is one path towards restoring these relationships to foster well-being, not just for Indigenous communities, but the manifold interconnected and interdependent entities that sustain that well-being. Key to this is communing with ancestral lands and seas, which takes place through a variety of means including prayer, ceremony, restoration, research, stewardship, care, healing and Indigenous sovereignty. These returns are not without their own conflicts[8], particularly in negotiating with neoliberal global market demands and colonial control, which is to say that these practices are not inherent to all Indigenous peoples as essentialist traits, but rather are found in traditional practices that anti-colonial Indigenous activists utilize to resist ongoing coloniality.

Even the academic interpretations of rootedness emerged from controversy. Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) theory of invented Native traditions, expounded by Keesing (1989), ignited an important turn in Native Pacific studies that rejected both romanticized colonialist essentialisms of unchanging relationships with 'homelands' as well as postmodern untethering of Native peoples from symbols and signs that are genealogical rooted to space and place. Instead, the significance of continuity and descendancy underscores the basis of Indigenous reclamation, with careful attention paid in resisting exonymic classifiers which purport purity or authenticity, as in the case of Native blood quantum laws (Kauanui, 2008). This dissertation draws from articulative relationships (Clifford, 2001; Diaz & Kauanui, 2001; Hall, 1990; Hauʻofa, 2008) of Wayfinder participants with ancestral places that afford both Indigenous epistemological stability and continuity simultaneous with adaptation and resignification, not as a process of cultural dilution or separtisms but rather as maintenance of long-established Oceanic culturally processes.

Indigenous Language and Linguicide. Indigenous scholars have attested to the ways in which Western education has gone hand in hand with colonialism, from curriculum standards to classroom practice. For instance, a staple within many American classrooms is the use of sustained silent reading time -- an activity where students are asked to stay quiet whilst reading, ostensibly to prevent distracting others (or perhaps themselves). This classroom activity is representative of American schooling ideology that privileges a particular sort of literacy practice and instruction: individualistic, alphanumeric and silent. Despite efforts by literacy scholars to

[8] See the Tarsands or TMT protests on Hawaiʻi Island as examples of internal conflicts among Indigenous peoples for land usage.

demonstrate how these conditions provide justification to sort students into successful/failed student categories, literacy conditioned through Anglocentric practice is still deeply ingrained in classroom practice and assessment (Heath, 1980; Higgins, 2016; Hornberger, 1995; Sterponi, 2007). Students whose heritage literacy practices lie outside these parameters are often labeled as substandard, a phenomenon I argue is the case for Pacific Islander students in the Oakland Unified School District (Gong, 2020).

Silent sustained reading time is also tied to a larger legacy of American schooling in eradicating non-Western literacies, a process of colonial eradication that accompanies colonial incursion, and as I argue in this chapter, continues to impact the literacy practices for Indigenous Oceanic youth as well. While linguicide contains many facets of eradication, including deliberate policies to prohibit the use of Indigenous language in schools, courts and official documentation, the process and goal remain the same: to destroy a language is to destroy a culture is to destroy a people. While political and military domination has been used to physically alienate people from places, linguicide is determinant in alienating people from their community and history. In thinking through the articulation between coloniality and language, Veronelli (2015) contends colonizers presumed only their languages (in their case, Castilian Spanish, Greek and Latin) possessed the validity to tell truth and produce knowledge, purportedly evidenced by the demarcation of 'grammar'. Thus, the colonial project is a relation between, "language and territory, language and power, language and writing, and language and god. The languages of the colonizers were languages… the languages of the colonized were something inferior" (Veronelli, 2015, p.117). The expansion of Western empire often necessitated emptying Native lands to create the illusion of virginal space for repopulation and expansion, something Iyengar (2014) argues occurred alongside linguicidal projects to eradicate Native languages in order to provide the cultural space for European language speakers to expand. This reckoning of language, empire and national space remains premised on assimilative and monolingual models of citizenry: one people, one place, one tongue, and one literacy.

The participants of Wayfinder are inheritors of these colonial legacies, both of a history of language assimilation in Oceanic homelands as well as in the schooling landscape of the United States. This process of Indigenous linguicide is mobile as well, traveling with Oceanic families from island contexts to the U.S., tying together strands of colonial education policy that extinguishes Indigenous knowledge while tethering migrants to the colonial projects through English language and literacy. The same ideologies of language instruction that shaped the American educational models of literacy instruction are mirrored in a number of Oceanic contexts: in Hawai'i the use of Hawaiian language in Hawai'i schools was banned in 1896 (repealed in 1986); the American Naval Governor of Guam banned Chamorro language in schools and playgrounds in 1922, including collecting and burning Chamorro dictionaries; Tonga's decision to adopt an English-only policy to prohibit the use of Tongan at the country's two top high schools, even outside the classroom (Otsuka, 2007). When recounting migration stories, Wayfinder participants alluded to their family's decision to seek "good education," which in turn often included learning and speaking English. As one parent told me at a program event, "I think it's good the students are learning to speak Tongan. But also, I don't know how useful it will be for them" (S, field notes).

Despite this parent's ambivalence about language, Indigenous Oceanic resistance to linguicide is just as old as the colonial policies meant to extinguish Indigenous

language (Chang, 2016; Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013). In almost all colonial contexts, Indigenous peoples have labored to maintain language practices, disguise them from colonial surveillance and in some instances, reawaken languages that have otherwise been suppressed into dormancy. I am careful here to avoid presenting this history and our work only on the axis of death/alive and failure/success -- the duress that Indigenous peoples have endured to maintain language practices conditioned by various pressures of survival through adaptation means that language revitalization comes in many forms. Rather, I seek to foreground Indigenous agency in expanding conceptions of Indigenous language revitalization and sovereignty. The Wayfinder program is an example of this resistance and draws from its legacy while it too wrestled with the same on-going challenges of whether adaptation is merely the cousin of assimilation. During an interview, one participant mentioned feeling a sense of frustration and loss due their fatherʻs decision not to speak Tongan in the household, she then reflected, "Like why do I need to learn Tongan? If everyone around me is not speaking Tongan…". At its core then, Indigenous language revitalization is also a project of restoring some of the trauma that has incurred with colonial linguicide, which can operate foremost through eliminating the conditions that Indigenous languages appear valuable in the face of global "modernity".

Yet, some efforts within Indigenous language revitalization fall within the very frameworks it attempts to resist -- success is still often measured in the quantifiable number of "fluent" speakers and internal conflicts surrounding accuracy and purity (NeSmith, 2021; Wong, 1999) that can ironically mirror the very language ideologies that monolingualism upholds. The field has privileged orality and speech, sidelining other forms of communication that may fall outside that modality. A main concern of many of the Wayfinder participants in learning, speaking or increasing their own fluency was the fear of ridicule from elders in not being able to speak in the particular vernacular particularities that they felt required of them. Thus, the trauma of linguicide can also be detected in generational transference -- with so much at stake because of colonial claims to Native authenticity and discontinuity, there can be an understandable level of conservatism and suspicion at the potentially polluting forces of language play and adaptation. What Wayfinder sought as a cultural reclamation space was not to position preservation against adaptation, but rather to harness the strengths of both elements in perpetuating the wellbeing of the youth and community.

Chapter Overview of IKUNA

Chapter 1 discussed the educational context of multicultural and settler-colonial schooling that the Wayfinder program was founded in. This was followed with a discussion of colonial regimes of culturecide and epistemic violence and the response of Indigenous Language Revitalization as it relates to diasporic Indigenous Oceanic peoples and cultural reclamation. Finally, a brief theoretical overview of Indigenous time, place and language is provided to provide a basis for routed and rooted pedagogy.

Chapter 2 discusses my methodological and research orientations. My positionality towards the research and the Wayfinder participants and community is related as means of making explicit my political and ethical commitments. Key Indigenous Research Methodologies are described, including un-sited ethnography and arts-based research frameworks. Next, it provides historical context to IKUNA, the Wayfinder program and an overview of those involved in the research process. I close by

describing my methods for documenting the program and generating knowledge from these outcomes.

Chapter 3 employs “dischonotopicality” as a means of understanding the phenomenological experience of maintaining connection to homeplaces/times whilst in diaspora. I demonstrate how blood-quantum logics result in feelings of cultural impurity that prevents participants from feeling connected to a cultural continuity. I contend that utilizing a routed pedagogy, built through collecting, analyzing and generating family stories across and through diaspora enabled the Wayfinder participants to feel a sense of connection across time. I conclude by showing how participants utilized these connections to suture “past” and “present” together to restore a sense of wholeness.

Chapter 4 examines how colonial geography, particularly of Oceania, has sought to contain Indigeneity. This is applied to the student participant’s schooling, where Oceanic culture was either omitted, excluded or met with epistemic violence all in efforts to reduce Indigenous place. I argue that a pedagogy of rootedness helps to counteract these contaminants through embodied restoration of relationships with Indigenous lands and seas. I close by describing how these restoration of relationships disperses Indigenous sovereignty across diaspora and expands a shared sense of stewardship.

Chapter 5 reviews the concepts of routed and rooted pedagogy and describes how a practice of ARTiculation undergirds both. I describe the limitations of Western arts-based pedagogy and how an Indigenously center arts-based practice necessarily exceeds those definitions. I then use student participant generated artwork to demonstrate ARTiculation as both a multi-sensory way of retrieving knowledge which provides expanded opportunities for multi-modal creation.

Chapter 6 concludes the dissertation with reflections of the study and this project's contributions to the field education broadly and cultural reclamation education more specifically.

Chapter Two

2

Methodology: What's This Asian Doing Here?

***

My first sit down planning session for Wayfinder with Hart and Maka was in Maka's backyard in a small cedar recording studio which now was serving as Radio Wayfinder headquarters. The vision was now becoming a reality -- there was interest in the community and on instagram. Students had been asking for the start date.

We talked about safety due to the Pandemic. It would be online for the foreseeable future -- we would commit to the travel portion as the situation developed. Before moving on, Maka wanted to clear something up:

"You know Nate, we've had some people asking about you and your role. They're saying 'why don't you have a Pacific Islander scholar doing the research? What's this Asian doing here?'" He stopped.

Hart leaned forward and added "we don't bring this up to make it seem like we don't trust you. We know you. But I don't think these folks know you. And we feel like you can bring in an important piece from an academic place, something me and Maka and I have been away from for a while".

Hart leaned back, removing his A's flat cap to massage his head. "They even asked for your phone number. They wanted to talk to you. But I said 'nah, we'll talk to him'".

In the moment, I felt a torn duality and pang of regret -- me, a child of Oakland, now donning the robes and trappings of an extractive institution. Research can easily become theft by another name, either by peddling the knowledge to pad a career or placing myself, unwanted and unneeded, in someone else's story.

It was more than a fair question, it was the most important question I had been asked, one I struggled to answer in private without lapsing into a canned checklist of qualifications. I too was asking "yeah, what is this Asian doing here?"

Though Hart had heard it prior, I started from the beginning with Maka: my ancestors, Oakland schools, Roots and China, my family, Polyclub. "This doesn't change that I'm not Pacific Islander, but I hope it explains some sort of adjacency". Important also were the intentions: I was committed to co-designing and co-facilitating the sessions. We could

publish together, leverage credentials and access to the university's resources however beneficial. My notes would be open to all participants. If it became clear I wasn't being helpful, I was happy to pivot or step away. I admitted that research always has a way of changing a story.

Hart and Maka listened carefully. "You know, we brought you in because you have a good skill set, what with your experience in education and Oakland and the Roots program. And yes, while it'd be ideal to have a PI scholar, we also recognize that you came around at the right moment. So, to me, you're good. Maka?"

Maka leaned forward again, holding eye contact. "Yeah I agree. But I want to ask one thing, in the sessions, please don't touch the culture stuff".

***

I begin this chapter with a recreation of an important moment in my relationship with the participants of the Wayfinder program. By recreation, I mean that I retrieved my notes from a conversation I had with Hart and Maka (the two founders and co-directors of the Wayfinder program) and retell it here, adding additional internal responses I had. Doing so provides me a way of both discussing the specificity of my research process as well as introducing this dissertation's research frameworks that stem from Indigenous Research Methods (IRM) and include multi-sited ethnographic and arts-based research methods. Reconstructing the phenomenological experience of research encounters is also a means for me to do some of my own storywork as a non-Indigenous scholar working alongside Oceanic Indigenous communities -- not to provide a justification for this research partnership -- but rather an opportunity to make explicit the political and ethical commitments and responsibilities necessitated therein.

Central to this research and to the composition of this dissertation are Indigenous research methods, to which Linda Tuhiwai Smith states "as not so much [concerned] with the actual technique of selecting a method but much more with the context in which research problems are conceptualized and designed, and with the implications of research for its participants and their communities" (2012, p. ix). Her words serve as an reminder of the critical importance of placing intentionality, relationality and reciprocity at the forefront of research, not in lieu of methodology, but in reorienting its purpose so as to ensure research is ethical and serves the wellbeing of Indigenous peoples. It also forms the basis of how I present this chapter -- my relationship to this work is best situated through my own narrative of how I came into this work -- and to do so creates the need to reflexively describe my positionality not as fixed permanently, but rooted in a commitment to Indigenous communities that extends prior to ever thinking of being a researcher and one that is continually shaped through continual reflection of my commitments and obligations.

Researcher Positionality

To be accountable to this work, which takes Indigenous sovereignty and (re)mapping seriously (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015), it is important I ask questions of what is this dissertation and for whom and what through describing, in some partial way, the relationships to people, places and ways that have brought me to this research.

Ancestors on my father and mother's side settled in California over several generations -- one side of Romanian, German, French, and English descent, and the other from Toisan, Southern China, first to Baja Mexico and then northward into what would become known as the Bay Area. The degree to which they participated actively, if not also passively, in the alienation of Indigenous peoples in the lands they settled, occupied and then at times departed from, is too wide in scope and depth to relate all at once here, but as Theresa Burruel Stone's work (2019) illustrates well, much of the mechanisms of settler-colonialism were consciously forgotten or went untaught, both as a matter of public education and familial discourse. This is to say that while my family, particularly my Toisan migrant family (though, arguably my Romanian family as well), experienced violence, racism and cultural alienation in their own ways, our entanglement in the ongoing colonization of Indigenous lands was dimmed in comparison to other narratives in my family about origin, identity and commitments to equity and anti-racism. Thus the twin power of assimilative Western education and discourse operated in my family in its own ways to create personal disconnection from ancestral emplacement as well as continue collective amnesia of settler histories and logics. As an educational researcher, this work follows in the footsteps of Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández's work (2013) on settler-futurity as operationalized through curriculum and schooling -- recognizing its impact first and perhaps most intimately in the way that schools incentivized and rewarded the unremembering of my family's settler-colonial history.

It is unsurprising then that some of my earliest memories are connected to school, whereas my own phenotypical ambiguity provided many opportunities for the process of race-making to be made transparent to me. Questions about my last name, phenotypic "clues" that did not add up convincingly within established American racial discourse and the odd privilege of hearing candid thoughts about Asians or Whites (as I could be seen to blend in to both at times) provided early, unsanctioned lessons in racial hierarchy. This awareness carried through my educational journey in Oakland public schools, where the intersections of race and power were most nakedly transparent, particularly in the sorting of, punishment and promotion of use as students were clearly associated with our racialization (if not many other dynamics of class and gender). Significantly, being raced as White and Asian (or merely light complected) certainly barred out in how the education system rewarded and advanced me through AP courses towards college, a route made much more challenging for many of my non-White friends. This experience provided me with the foundations of how I understood how race was situated within education, that despite being a content that could be discussed in class (within the prism of 1990's multiculturalist doctrine of inclusion), it subversively operated as a key mechanism of violence and exclusion in nearly all other

matters. This is to say that other forms of discriminatory violence, that of gender and class and settler-colonialism, remained similarly veiled in school discourse.

My connection with Pacific Island (PI) peoples and places began more robustly when I attended college. Bringing my interest to racial justice to the University of Washington, I became quickly involved in the Ethnic Cultural Center that housed many of the school's ethnic and cultural clubs. Though largely ignored by the broader campus community, the ECC provided me a space to participate in alternatives to dominant narratives of assimilation for success as well as multiculturalist color-washing that would remove the political implications of our culture work. Again, perhaps my phenotypical ambiguity and coupled with the "exoticism" that a mixed-Asian from Oakland carried with me[9], and through participating and volunteering, I was welcomed into many spaces, including the Polynesian Student Alliance (PSA) and Micronesian Islands Club (MIC). Rick Bonus' work (2020) on Pacific Islander student experience and activism at the University of Washington demonstrates that the very act of existing on campus threatened the Eurocentric, racial hierarchy at the school, a work that not only overlaps with my time there but also in my involvement with other ethnic student communities who experienced similar forms of alienation within White-stream discourse. And while the ECC provided many incredible instances of collaboration and camaraderie amongst communities, a significant political project during the time was the establishment of PSA in response to the Asian-settler hegemony that existed in the Hawai'i Club as well as PSA and MIC's efforts to secure their own student commission and ECC space as disaggregated from Asians. These efforts, some of which I was actively involved in, were resistant to the ways that multiculturalist solidarity often masked the erasure of Indigenous peoples, places and spaces, even if they were also bound to other struggles of anti-racism (Tuck and Yang, 2012).

Polyclub to IKUNA. This research is also connected to my positionality as a former high school teacher, an experience that provided me nearly a decade of time spent in classrooms with youth, their families, and educator colleagues. I returned to my former high school in Oakland with the intention of reforming the curriculum I had been taught to be centered around notions of justice and equity. And throughout this experience, I was continually challenged by the very settler-mechanisms that were laid deeply within the architecture of education: to succeed was to assimilate to Western ideologies of academic merit and success. While this perhaps was most explicitly found in the curriculum, particularly in the way that college-placement pathways such as AP and honors courses that were grounded in the fluency of Eurocentric content, I too saw this dynamic play out in the way that Pacific Islander students and knowledge were largely disregarded within the school's learning context.

At my highschool, Pacific Islander students had formed a Polynesian Islands Student Club (which became known as "Polyclub") mostly to create a sense of community within a school that otherwise ignored them. Its formation very much

[9] Oakland, for many folks in Seattle, was synonymous with Black cultural pride and community, a narrative largely broadcast through mainstream and underground hip-hop discourse. Later, I would further understand the connections linked through liberatory activism of the Bay Area with places like Seattle.

reminded me of the student clubs I had been a part of while at UW that were formed out of a similar need for belonging, while also keenly aware of the racial politics of visibility that was attended to simply by saying “we are here in this place and we exist". As I was one of the few faculty who had any connection to Pacific Islander student groups (as of 2022, there are no full-time classroom teachers of Pacific Islander descent within OUSD) I was approached by a student in my class who was also the Polyclub president to act as an advisor. While I handled behind the scenes administrative tasks, I also provided guidance for the leadership to develop the club’s purpose. In essence, the club took on the familiar shape of its collegiate counterparts: the main activity was preparing for an annual Polyday celebration, which centered around an hour-long performance of a variety of Pacific Islander dances, to which the students choreographed, practiced and ultimately would perform.

However, the larger picture pointed towards a heavier significance of their efforts in terms of establishing a space that resonated with them within an otherwise hostile school system. In centering the club around dance and language practices (Polyclub was one of the few places where students conversed in Tongan openly in the school), the political applications of the club were transparent in reclaiming these practices as significant and meaningful, even if the work of Polyclub was entirely sidelined as an uncredited extracurricular school activity that received relatively little support or funding from the school itself. Despite dominant school district discourse that painted Pacific Islander students as academically sub-par (Gong, 2020), it is also revealing of the way that these students rejected these narratives through simply, and boldly, creating an unofficial learning space that centered and valued these practices. More complicated however was the relationship to place: on one hand, Polyclub was an entity meant to create a place within the school itself, that otherwise was devoid of Pacific Islander curriculum, to which it accomplished in its own guerilla way. On the other hand, creating a place to practice Pacific Islander dances created another broader question of place and time -- the students were challenged by the concept of cultural authenticity: how do we get instructors who know the correct protocol for the dances? How can we source appropriate material for performance attire? How do we avoid recreating exotic displays for our audiences? Broader questions still, of telling stories from island homelands in a contested place created through the ongoing eradication of its Indigenous peoples, remained unattended. My involvement in Polyclub gifted me an experience of supporting what I can later describe as a YPAR project -- in creating a place in the school, questions of what learning can happen and to what ends were often discussed.

My work with Polyclub stayed with me as I traveled my own route into the academy, which provided me time to reflect on these experiences and also have the troubling dynamic of presuming I had not had any real experiences before being admitted, an erasure of its own kind. I had kept in touch with former Polyclub students and instructors, counted many of them as friends, mentors and mentees, and checked in occasionally to see where folks had gone and grown and, of course, to gossip. These connections led me to becoming involved with OUSD efforts of 2018 to form a new Pacific Islander advisory council, where I met Hart and Maka. The two brothers had recently launched their non-profit, IKUNA, with the stated purpose of supporting

Pacific Islander students enrolled in the district, but with a larger goal of doing longer lasting impact work of supporting Pacific Islander youth to feel connected to Oceanic culture as a means of identifying a deeper purpose in their lives. We had a number of mutual friends and contacts in common (many through Polyclub) and they also happened to be launching an ambitious educational program that could physically bring Pacific Islander students in Oakland to do this reconnecting in the islands. However, they had been having troubling finding a curriculum that could speak to the broader purpose of the program. Over email and texts, work events and soon enough shared meals, I learned more about their aspirations and volunteered to help co-design and facilitate this program (since named Wayfinder[10]) alongside conducting research that could benefit the students and community. Hart and Maka agreed, to whom I am continually grateful and to whom this dissertation is accountable to as well as the participants and families involved in the Wayfinder program.

It is important here I mention that I met my now spouse while at UW, whose kānaka ʻōiwi roots are connected to Kāʻu on Hawaiʻi Island. This is to say that this work is also intimately tied with my family, ever more so now with the birth of our children. I should also point out that the convention of single authorship of dissertations really does an injustice to all of the conversations, dialogue, ideas and thinking that inform this piece: my wife and our conversations about her experience growing up in Hawaiʻi, attending Kamehameha Schools and life on the continent has deeply impacted and continues to influence my and our commitments to Oceanic Indigenous peoples and places. This is especially true in our conversations about our children and their education: where can kānaka ʻōiwi kids, like our kids, who are bound to many places through genealogy and migration, learn and grow and thrive? What languages should we speak to them? And in what ways do they express what they need and want? At the risk of either placing my own family's dynamic as representative of all Pacific Islander (absolutely not) nor suggesting that these connections provide a verifiable legitimacy to conduct research unto themselves (they do not), I see this dissertation work as an extension of that which is most intimate and important to me -- that in working with and researching alongside the Wayfinder program it is impossible for me to separate from my work as researcher and a father.

Methodological Context

The research design of this dissertation follows in the wake of Indigenous scholars (both Oceanic and otherwise) who have chartered pathways towards research methods that attend to decoloniality as part-in-parcel of larger projects for Indigenous sovereignty and wellbeing. Guided by Oceanic sensibilities of animation through fluidity, interdependence and non-essentialism (Hauʻofa, 2008; Ingersoll, 2016) , this dissertation is broadly concerned with concepts of cultural continuity and transformation and their potentiality in disrupting settler-colonial frameworks that

[10] The choice came out of connecting the program to the legacy of Oceanic voyaging and navigation. Wayfinding, as an English term, refers to the socio-spatial embodied act of navigation. See Syamonds et al. (2017) for a longer discussion.

buttress U.S. public education. While there may be great potential in fluid conceptualizations of time and place to exceed static and limited colonial boundaries imposed on Indigenous peoples, knowledge and learning, this dissertation also keeps in sight (but does not intend to "resolve") tensions of form and formlessness that is produced through Indigenous migration in regards to cultural reclamation and maintenance. This dissertation is attentive to decoloniality and the ways settler-colonialism epistemology continues to travel intergenerationally through education and along with Oceanic migrant peoples through multiple places and contexts. In doing so, I outline below the Indigenous research methods we used that prioritized the generative capabilities of Indigenous storytelling and storywork in and across places as means of interrupting coloniality through generating Indigenous knowledge.

Oceanic Indigenous Research Methods. This dissertation is foremost grounded in Indigenous research methodologies to avoid the mechanisms of extraction often deeply embedded and operationalized through normative, Western social science research (Tuck & Yang, 2014). While heeding Margaret Kovach's advice that, "creating one standardized, externalized framework for Indigenous research is nearly impossible, and inevitably heartbreaking for Indigenous people" (Kovach, 2009, p.43), this dissertation draws from the diversity of Indigenous research methodologies acknowledging the ways they reflect the unique specificity of the peoples, nations and places where they have been developed (Naepi, 2020). However, widely shared among them are principles of respectful relationality that inverts the traditional model of research from a subject-to-object relationship of hierarchical power, to one of shared community endeavor through reciprocity (Chilisa, 2020; Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991; Smith, 2012)[11]. Furthermore, Indigenous Oceanic research methods assert the pacing and boundaries of interactions, access to knowledge, analysis, representation and dissemination as inseparable from the inquiry process (Helu Thaman, 2003b; Oliveira & Wright, 2016; Vaioleti, 2006). These approaches challenge the presumed settler-neutralness of Western research and make explicit the decolonial political ramifications of Indigenous research and action. With these implications in mind, this dissertation follows in their purpose towards supporting the political work of the Wayfinder participants and surrounding community in creating alternative educational "elsewhere" through relying upon the ingenuity and wisdom of the community.

As a non-Native researcher, aspects of Indigenous research are at times inappropriate for me to wield while in other ways all the more important for me to utilize. My role as academic and researcher already carries with it power, privilege and a history that is intertwined in the ways that the very architecture of ethnographic interviewing and encounters has presumed a power differentiation between researcher and researched (Smith, 2012) . Some of the most powerful ways Indigenous research methodologies disrupt these legacies is most often through the actualizing of Indigenous research by Indigenous scholars and the multitude of ways that possessing deep historical, social and genealogical ties with researching one's own community produces a particular depth and nuance to the research itself. These frameworks are critical in

[11] As this research is concerned with Pan-Oceanic peoples and identities, utilizing one methodology reflecting a specific peoples (say an ʻōiwi epistemological framework versus a Māori one) would be both ill suited and counterproductive

reminding me that while I do not share those ties to ancestral and cultural roots with my research participants, I endeavor to take up the aspects the framework that operationalize research as one of respect and relationality without conflating my identity nor its accompanying political ramifications with those I research alongside.

To do so, this research was designed through Indigenous storywork principles (Windchief & San Pedro, 2019) as informed through the Oceanic counterparts of storytelling. Helu Thaman writes, storytelling "predates Western science and Western research, as we know them today. Our ancestors told many stories, many of which we can hear today if we are willing to listen more attentively" (Thaman, 2003b, p. 166). Her words mark the significance of relationality in storytelling as a methodology -- generating knowledge is relational, multidimensional, exchanged, reciprocal and empathetic. As a non-Native researcher, "the Asian", who came to work with the Wayfinder program, I have done my best to conduct myself and this research in this manner, knowing the history of outsiders staking their careers through extracting Indigenous and Pacific knowledge rightly haunts these scholarly efforts. In telling my experience with Wayfinder, and telling a version of the experiences of the participants of Wayfinder, I have refused to participate in the protocols of Western social science that replicate the colonial paradigms of extraction, exotification and objectification. This has translated into refusing to adopt the persona of detached and dissociated researcher, refusing interview protocols that sought to extract or mine a yet undiscovered "truth" from my participants, co-creating research questions, asking for validity checks with participants, continually sharing my relationship to the work, and in general operating from a stance of humility and responsibility to share what is valuable to other researchers and practitioners while moving at the speed of trust and relationships.

In suspending damage and avoiding extractive research (Tuck, 2009a), this research is also based on participatory action research (PAR) methodologies. Much has been written about the explicitly transformative nature of PAR (Jordan, 2008; Kemmis et al., 2014), and in many ways its core principles of attending to the purpose of research as integral to the process itself is well aligned with IRM that call for research that foregrounds Indigenous sovereignty and wellbeing as an explicit output of those efforts (Tuck, 2009b). My involvement with a cultural reclamation youth educational program is not by happenstance; it reflects my commitments in supporting work that was already sanctioned and initiated by community members as well as a project where my skill sets as an educator and researcher could be most helpful. When beginning my research as for the Wayfinder project, my agreed upon role was to document the program's pilot year from the fall of 2020 through to the fall of 2021, including weekly sessions which took place in-person and on Zoom, the travel portions in the Bay Area and to Hawai'i and in-depth conversations with participants as they reflected on their contributions to the program, the challenges and nuances of cultural revitalization and meta commentary on the art they were making as part of the program.

Multi-sited Ethnography. This work also responds to work of Indigenous scholars whose attention to place and space foregrounds the Indigenous relationships to lands and seas as well as pays attention to the narratives sustained in settler-societies to eradicate those relationships (Byrd, 2011). Given that this work coincides with Indigenous Oceanic youth living in and through diaspora, "space" in this research represents not merely static geographic locations, but the entanglement of spaces as

participants moved through and in-between places meaningful to them. In this sense, place/space/land and seas are storied (Basso, 1996) as well as serve as interlocutor: the cultural reclamation movements of Wayfinder participants were dialogical not only in recovering stories, but also in generating new ones as they respond to the transitions that were designed into the program. This research then builds from multi-sited ethnographic methodologies (Marcus, 1995) to facilitate these discursive and embodied movements. Scholars who have critiqued multi-sited ethnography as too focused space as scalable, enclosed social unit have instead called for "un-sited" research (Cook, et al., 2012) or "the study of connections between places" (Falzon, 2016) as both more appropriate and rich for understanding translocality. This research herein thus "took place" through and in-between different sites: the Wayfinder sessions held in cyberspace, field trips to a hālau in Napa, moments of recalling family stories, on board a flight from Huichin to Hawai'i. Particular attention was paid to what it meant for participants to cross spaces -- for example, describing the difference of feeling Pacific Islander at school or at home, or between at the lo'i and at the commercial lu'au.

While this dissertation considers cultural reclamation education as a means of decolonial work, it does do so in an explicitly material fashion of decolonizing land and territory unto itself. As this research took place both in unceded Ohlone lands (specifically in the territory of Huichin) as well as the illegally annexed pae 'āina o Hawai'i, this dissertation is anti-colonial in disrupting coloniality (Noble, 2015; Quijano, 2000) through asking racialized, diasporic communities to engage deeply with their settlement and engagement in settler-occupied territories. In tandem with ongoing efforts both in the Bay Area and Hawai'i for language and cultural revitalization, the protection of sacred sites and the return of land/'aina/seas to Indigenous stewardship and governance, this dissertation responds to Linda Tuhiwai Smith's Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects (2012, p.142 - 162) emphasizing connecting, networking and sharing as multi-territorial decolonial practices.

Arts-Based Research. In approaching an appropriate method of facilitating the generation of knowledge (rather the extraction, collection, or capturing of data), this dissertation also utilized an arts-based research (ABR) design (Leavy, 2017; Liamputtong & Rumbold, 2008). ABR are practices meant to develop a phenomenological understanding of experiences through extended sets of modalities and sense-making that exceed the Cartesian mind-body split and its overreliance on positivist data collection and representation through the written word as the paramount ways of producing knowledge in the Western academy. Instead ABR can be considered "aesthetic work" (Nielsen, 2004) wherein it uses "the arts in order to disrupt the ordinary, which in turn stimulates change, transformation, and even transcendence" (Leavy, 2015), bridging theory and practice in a holistic ways both in its method and intention. As this research was catalyzed with the intention of creating an educational "otherwise" for Pacific Islander students in the diaspora -- one that rearticulated cultural pasts as a means of creating new narratives -- ABR's "potential to interrupt our habits of seeing and to challenge and alter what and how we know, thus undoing dominant and oppressive ways of knowing and instigating acts of resistance" (Capous-Desyllas & Morgaine, 2017, p. xvi) provided a means to bring those aspirations from the programmatic work into the research process itself. In this sense, arts-creation was infused in all phases of the research process from design, to data collection, analysis and

representation. The table below provides examples of arts-practices were implemented in the research:

Design	Graphic note-taking was used during planning sessions Artwork in water-based medium (watercolor/gouache) were created to deepen understandings of temporality and fluidity in depicting desired research outcomes
Research Activities	Participants engaged in visual collaging, creative movement activities, fiction writing in responding to prompts about culture, identity and futurity. Participants used multi-modal art journaling when documenting experiences throughout the program.
Analysis	Art-projects were revisited, replayed and/or reviewed during participant interviews and conversations to generate further insight and nuance into their meaning and intention. Coding of transcribed interviews and conversations were utilized in found word poems in generating themes.
Representation	Participants created art-projects that were presented at a community gathering to demonstrate what they learned and gained in their experience in Wayfinder.

Research Context

IKUNA and Wayfinder. As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, this dissertation is based on my work to support IKUNA, a Pacific Islander educational non-profit, in efforts to pilot a "cultural based educational program" (Wayfinder) for Pacific Islander youth in the Bay Area. The seeds of IKUNA and the Wayfinder program stretch to the educational experiences of the non-profit's co-founders, brothers Hart and Maka, both of whom were born and raised in Oakland and attended Oakland public schools. Hart related how his parents moved to Oakland "three years before the Oakland A's launched their team", and were "one of the first Tongan families" in the area (Hart, interview). As their parents were drawn to the Bay Area for work and connection to the Mormon Temple, Hart and Maka (two of four brothers) were raised in the working-class African-American/Latinx/Asian migrant neighborhoods of East Oakland during the late 1970's through the 1980's. Their upbringing exposed them to the emerging hip-hop scene, a discourse that imbued Black and Latinx political activism and cultural pride and awareness within the aesthetic performances of music, fashion and the arts. School, however, neglected these forces of culture, art and politics, resulting in Hart's appraisal that "I just felt like I never belonged. I would go through motions to get good grades out of parental pressure…but it was just to get it done and then on to the next" (Hart, field notes). Maka confirmed how school was irrelevant for him except a perfunctory

exercise, whereas his father's efforts, both through his role as a church leader and community organizer, to "place down roots" and stay connected to traditional customs and culture while living in Oakland were much more significant.

Their experience in schooling reflect similar other non-dominant migrant students who encounter cultural alienation in American public education more broadly (Gibson, 1988; Olsen & Edwards, 1997; Jaffe-Walter, 2016; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2021; Valenzuela, 1999) and for Oceanic students within settler-state school systems more specifically (Durham et al., 2022; Kēpa & Manuʻatu, 2008). Both brothers have spoken to how the school system continued to wilfully ignore and undervalue Pacific Islander students enrolled in the schools, informed first and foremost by witnessing their children and their peers' experiences mirroring their own in terms of feeling connected to their formal education. Instances of outright racial discrimination and harrassment were also mentioned, alongside the more subtle ways that the schools felt and seemed irrelevant to what was important to their growth. Later, Hart's graduate program in education revealed to him the institutional legacies of racism and colonialism that fueled the assimilatory exclusion that they had experienced in school, remarking, " I was angry that whole first year reading literature about American Indians and how they were put in boarding schools and how they were taught not to speak the language and taken away from their families" (Hart, field notes). As parents, both brothers felt committed to creating a different experience for Pacific Islander students in Oakland, even if the political inertia within the school system (if not city governance) seemed inattentive to what is deemed a relatively small community.

It is out of these experiences that IKUNA as an entity was launched nearly a decade ago. The very name, IKUNA (stylized in all capital letters for their non-profit) draws inspiration from its Tongan definition of "victory" or "to overcome" and is representative of the attitude the brothers had towards their experience of being diasporic PI -- "battling" against both White supremacy in terms of acceptance as well as the forces that drew them away from their cultural roots. Its first iteration was primarily an apparel line with designs that represented Oceanic heritage and identity. After several years of seeing enthusiasm amongst the community for a sense of belonging yet not feeling this was translating into long term change, Hart and Maka decided to reorient the organization into non-profit educational advocacy. In doing so, they found receptive audience from the school district and mayor's office, though this interest was initially built on the normative work of diversity, equity and inclusion normative programmatic work, namely in the form of case-by-case English literacy interventions, honor roll celebrations and other ancillary programming meant to improve the academic outcomes of Pacific Islander students enrolled in the OUSD. Tellingly, IKUNA was situated within the umbrella of the APISA (Asian Pacific Islander Student Achievement) program, representative of the ways that Pacific Islanders have been invisibilized and aggregated within Asian-American data sets, often to detriment of advocacy for Pacific Islanders and the myriad of ways their challenges and social-histories are distinctly unlike that faced by Asian-Americans (Omi & Espiritu, 2000). IKUNA's partnership with the district also coincided with a report conducted by APISA that was meant to begin to disaggregate PI educational data to highlight academic outcomes that had been otherwise obfuscated by Asian data (OUSD, 2017). And while the report achieved this transparency, it was still composed (understandably) within the prism of educational data that measures student outcomes primarily on Smarter

Balanced[12] test scores, such as English Language competency and math assessments. Notably, PI students ranked at near the bottom of these scores, a result not unexpected given the history of deficit structured school testing that has historically disadvantaged non-dominant school populations (Darling-Hammond & Ancess, 1995; Glaser & Silver, 1994; Supovitz, 2009). It was during this time that Hart and Maka recognized both the ramifications of district reports that classified PI as underachieving as well as seeing the ways in which cultural connection and identities of PI students were entirely absent from discussions of student success.

Their observations align well with recent efforts to imbue *culturally sustaining* pedagogies (Paris & Alim, 2014) within educational classroom practice, a movement that can trace its roots from 1960's and 70's anti-racist activism calling for representation and access for people of color (Banks, 1979) through multiculturalist educational practices of the 1980s, 90s and 2000s that gave rise to increasingly racially diverse school curriculum and recognition practices (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Lee, 1995). However, Hart and Maka's wariness of the school district speaks to the ways cultural based education can become watered-down (Nieto, 1994) or, for Indigenous students, contained within safety zones (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006). Instead, Hart and Maka were interested in launching an alternative educational program that foregrounded cultural connection as critical to develop and maintain a sense of belonging and purpose, thus born was Wayfinder.

Program logistics. It was at this time, in late 2018, that I met and got to know Hart and Maka. Our early conversations demonstrated our shared interests in cultural education that would exceed the conventions of classroom teaching, particularly the aspect of connecting students with Oceanic places. In the beginning of our collaboration, I offered to volunteer to help establish the program and provide technical assistance in developing curriculum and facilitating sessions if needed. In its infancy, the Wayfinder program was going to be hosted over an intensive week or weekend where cultural workshops would occur, but as we began discussing the possible depth of interaction we preferred including an oral history project, creative artistic projects, a community service component as well as better preparation for our interactions with educators and students in Hawai'i, it became clear we needed more time and space with the students.

After informally polling potential students and parents, it was decided a weekly sixty to ninety minute session with students after school would best accommodate their school and family schedules. Sessions would begin in the fall of 2020 and run through the 2020 - 2021 school year. With the onset of the pandemic, we made a decision to host these sessions online. The pandemic also pushed back our start date to the beginning of October of 2020 as the turmoil of closed or hybrid schooling interrupted the daily schedules of all involved. In the end, we ran weekly sessions on Zoom between mid-October of 2020 to May of 2021, and adjusting for holidays and breaks, had a total of 25 sessions, all of which I co-designed and co-facilitated. The sessions were broken into three unequal "units", each formed around students completing an art project that reflected the themes of the unit: the first being a unit about ancestors, family origins and migration, the second being about their identity and life journey, and the third a projection of what they envision for their future "cultural" self and their community. Sessions then provided activities and discussion prompts that elicited introspection,

[12] California's statewide standardized test

reflection, fact finding, oral interviewing and creativity. Drawing from my background as a social studies teacher, I structured discussion activities from pedagogies of critical inquiry, aligned with anti-banking pedagogies of theorists such as Freire (1996). Arts-centered learning techniques were also incorporated that asked students to be creative with the knowledge they were gathering and to represent it in non-traditional ways. These choices reflected both our ethical and theoretical stances on pedagogy that would better draw upon the cultural assets of students but also doubled as important sites and moments of research: as sessions were driven by discussion and artistic representation, we understood these responses would more richly illustrate how students were interacting with the curriculum.

Several local field trips were also scheduled later in the year once vaccines were more available and safety guidelines were better understood. These field trips were often to different participants' homes, hosted by family members, who would offer to demonstrate a cultural art or technique. Most often they were culinary in nature and doubled as fundraising efforts for the program, including preparing and wrapping lu[13], preparing Samoan desserts and roasting whole pigs. These field trips happened on weekends and were typically all day affairs. Wayfinder participants were expected to actively participate in these activities both as a way of reciprocity in supporting the program but also for the pedagogical value of hands-on, embodied learning. These field trips also provided time for students to bond in person (something participants relished given the havoc of social distancing) as well as lean upon the expertise of the family members who hosted and guided the activities.

A trip to Hawai‘i was also built into the program as an important chance for students to have an embodied experience with an Oceanic cultural space. Given the Pan-Oceanic identities of our participants, selecting a place for participants to visit was challenging from the standpoint of cultural appropriateness. Given our personal and professional connections with educators as well as cultural practitioners in Hawai‘i, the decision was made to engage O‘ahu for a week long trip, a decision that given the relative logistical ease of reduced travel time and more available accommodations would have otherwise have made a trip to Tonga or Guam more expensive and difficult (particularly for our pilot program). From its inception, we envisioned this visit to radically depart from the exotified tourist trips that typically feed Hawai‘i’s tourist-industrial complex, feeding inequitable systems and neo-colonial ideologies of Polynesia (Teves, 2018; Trask, 1999). Rather we were guided by calls for decolonizing tours to Hawai‘i (Aikau & Gonzalez, 2019;) and, as Labrador & Wright put it for a similar program based out of UCLA, by “following the praxis-oriented work of CRT and TribalCrit, we also wanted of students to “work,” to enact the Hawaiian proverb, ma ka hana ka ‘ike: In doing, there is knowledge. One learns through work” (Labrador & Wright, 2011, p. 141). This translated into us reaching out to our contacts at UH Mānoa and Brigham Young University to connect with Hawaiian and Oceanic scholars, students, activists and organizations where we could bring our participants not merely to extractive gain from the experience and knowledge, but also to give back in reciprocity. Our itinerary included informal meals with Hawaiian cultural practitioners and scholars, a tour of Bishop Museum, service learning at Kāko‘o ‘Ōiwi and Paepae o

[13] A Tongan dish involving proteins and starch that is wrapped in taro leaves and steamed. There are similar recipes throughout Oceania.

Heʻeia for loʻi and fishpond restoration, learning traditional wayfaring with the Polynesian Voyaging Society and crossnet fishing (our catch, and leftovers from our subsequent meal, were distributed to family and community members). Participants were tasked with creating a multi-sensory art-journal throughout their time in Hawaiʻi (discussed in further detail in Chapter 5) to spur multimodal meaning making. Arrangements for our visits were made ahead of time so as to introduce the purpose of our visit, our expectation of providing service or reciprocity and seek permission to document activities for research purposes. In general, our hosts, teachers and guides were incredibly warm, gracious and welcoming, particularly after learning the purpose of our trip. Many attested that they rarely had a chance to interact with PI students who lived outside of Hawaiʻi and very much enjoyed embracing the spirit of Wayfinder for Oceanic cultural reclamation.

The concluding activity of our Wayfinder program was a community debrief held in August after returning from Hawaiʻi. Participants were asked to reflect upon their time in the program, particularly in unpacking the trajectory of their art projects in tandem with their experience in Hawaiʻi. In doing so, participants were tasked with creating a summative art-project, either an extension or embellishment of their projects, or if necessary, an entirely new tack. They were encouraged to contemplate what "old" and "new" cultural traditions mean to them and seek ways to describe that connection. These projects, which were multimodal, were then shared at a community celebration held in Oakland, as a way of connecting what they learned with their family as well as recognizing and honoring their commitment to the program. Some participants chose to describe their projects which were two dimensional or static (i.e. graphic novels, sculpture, weaving) while others were performance (i.e. spoken word, dance). Family and friends were invited and dinner was provided. Cultural attire was encouraged for all participants and invitees.

Participants

On the macro level, this dissertation is concerned with Indigenous Oceanic peoples living in diaspora. As the Wayfinder project is based in Oakland, founded by Hart and Maka who were born and raised in Oakland, the research participants included them, myself, the students in the program and associated family members (often parents involved or present during certain activities), almost all of whom reside in Oakland. A more full and complete history of Pacific Islander migration to and from the Western United States exceed the scope of this dissertation but oral history, linguistic, archaeological and ethnobotanical evidence indicate contact and exchange between Polynesian peoples and native peoples of Turtle Island (Chumash and Gabrielino) and those of Ecuador (Jones & Klar, 2009)[14]. These pre-colonial interactions suggest a more extensively interconnected transindigenous Oceania than what Western anthropology typically reckons.

Since colonial occupation of what would become California and the West Coast of the United States, the earliest Oceanic migrants were kanaka ʻōiwi, employed in the British fur trade, who began arriving in the Pacific Northwest in 1811 (Kester, 2013).

[14] Forthcoming research on megaliths on the Farallon Islands (which lie just outside the San Francisco Bay) suggest possible Polynesian origin/exchange with Ohlone and Coast Miwok peoples. See Jane & Makes-Marks, forthcoming.

Native Hawaiian migration continued throughout the 19th century, so much so that during the California Gold Rush some estimates put kanaka ʻōiwi as 10 percent of the total population of Yerba Buena, which would later become San Francisco (Barkan, 2013). The first large wave of non-Hawaiian Oceanic migrants (including Tahitian, Samoan and Māori migrants) began arriving in 1889 with the first Polyneian Mormon settlement in Utah. The expansion of American Empire into the Pacific with the occupations of Hawaiʻi (1896), Guam (1898), the Philippines[15] (1898), American Samoan (1900), Northern Mariana Islands (1944) and governance of the Trust Territories of the Pacific (which included Chuuk, Mariana Islands, Marshall Islands, Palau, Pohnpei and Yap from 1944 to 1994 resulted in a variety of legal and political arrangements, increasing migration from Oceania towards mainly West Coast metropoles. Migration was relatively limited until after the war, impacted most greatly with changes in citizenship policies (for those living in areas under U.S. control) and accelerated greatly after the 1964 Immigration Act reversed decades of racially exclusionary immigration policy.

Within the last few decades, Pacific Islander migration to the United States, particularly California, has been growing in part of a larger out-migration due to a history of imperialism and neo-liberal market forces (Banivanua-Mar, 2019; Kulick & Stroud, 1990; Mühlhäusler, 1996). Pacific Islander communities in Northern California are inheritors of these legacies. One of the many results of this history has been mass displacement of Pacific Islanders towards the metropolitan centers on the Pacific Rim (Keck & Schieder, 2015), often seeking better economic opportunities in the labor market. This migration, alongside the draw of the Mormon church and the promise of Western style education, motivated many Pacific Islanders, particularly Tongan and Samoan, to migrate to the San Francisco Bay Area since the mid 1960's. These migrations often include a full or partial generational stay in Hawaiʻi -- a number of the participants had parents or grandparents who attended Brigham Young University (BYU) on Oʻahu before moving to the Bay Area or Utah. Many of the PI families in Oakland are concentrated in East Oakland, in historically working class neighborhoods with majority Black and Latinx populations. Alameda county, which includes the city of Oakland, has a relatively higher population of Tongans, as compared to San Mateo county across the Bay. This dissertation attends to the legacies of this migrancy, with careful attention to not overemphasize the "migration event" as the end all be all cultural continuity for the descendents and participants in this current era of Oceanic movement. As I will continue to demonstrate, Wayfinder was meant to both heed ancestral connections to Oceania, the reconfiguration power of movement and exchange, and the generative futurity of a translocal education.

Data from the 2015 census bureau estimates Pacific Islanders make up 0.8% of the total California population (353,666) with one in five Pacific Islanders residing in the Bay Area. According to a task force study in 2020, in California "Native Hawaiians (24.9%) represented the largest PI ethnic subgroup, followed by Samoans (19.1%) and Guamanians/Chamorros (14%). Native Hawaiians were also the largest PI ethnic subgroup in the Bay Area (22.8%), followed by Samoans (19.4%), and Tongans (18.0%)"

[15] While there is ongoing contestation of whether or not peoples of the Philippines are Pacific Islander, I include them here in the spirit of Oceanic interconnectivity and inclusivity. For the purposes of the Wayfinder program, Hart and Maka encouraged Filipinx students to apply.

(Tseng, et al., 2020). 2017 data from the Oakland Public School District (OUSD) reflects a similar demographic: PI students make up roughly 1% (402) of total OUSD enrollment. However, the same report also indicated that PI students had some of the lowest standardized test scores and college readiness indicators[16] while also having some of the highest non-completion rates and chronic absenteeism (OUSD, 2017). This data made transparent the ways in which PI students and school achievement outcomes had been cloaked through its aggregation with Asian American data that obscures the ways in which race, socio-economic class and migrancy impact outcomes for so-called AAPI students (Pang et al., 2011). Importantly though, this data was also generated in an ongoing atmosphere of deficit analysis which measures non-dominant students against systemic benchmarks often devoid of the ongoing systems of discrimination and exclusion which contributes in inequitable outcomes.

At the time of this research, Ethnic Studies courses were in their infancy at the high school level at the schools the students attended. Some participants remarked having ethnic studies in 9th grade, but mentioned how much of the content was focused on Black and Latinx experiences and that they never touched upon any Pacific Islander themes. As mentioned previously, the OUSD did not employ any teachers who were of Pacific Islander descent -- there had been an occasional PI staff member that was recalled, but often in clerical, security or other support roles. Participants were often familiar with or participated in Polyclubs (if they existed at their middle or highschool) but access to these spaces was often in competition with other commitments such as sports (football, rugby and volleyball were often cited) and church participation. As discussed in further detail in Chapter 4, participants in Wayfinder described their schools as generally culturally alienating resulting from conditions that are similar in Luis Urrieta's (2010) description of whitestreamed education.

Nevertheless, the Wayfinder program was initiated within an educational discourse that had barely begun to disaggregate data only to lapse into narratives that, if read superficially, would indicate that PI students are either ill-equipped or ill-suited for academic achievement. However, in designing the Wayfinder program, Hart and Maka were interested in engaging students who were eager and willing to restore and reclaim cultural connections, not as a precursor for standard academic achievement (though we all theorized that a critically loving sense of self and cultural identity would certainly be an asset for students) but rather as a space that was important and enriching regardless of ones interest or facility in classroom academics. We were more interested in a Pacific Islander education than merely Pacific Islander schooling.

In recruiting for the program, Hart and Maka relied on their networks in the schools (both public and charter) and through family and church networks, which given the tight knit nature of the community, appeared as the most obvious and natural. Social media blasts, flyers and interest forms were distributed to community leaders and educators as well as along personal social networks. A few community forums were hosted online to introduce the program, garner interest and incorporate feedback into the design. While the geographic focus was on Oakland, we were quite willing to accept students outside of those boundaries so long as they could attend a few in-person sessions before the trip. Initial interest was high, but due to family and school

[16] One third of all PI students completed A-G requirements, which are the baseline graduation requirements making them eligible to attend California State Universities or the UC system.

commitments, we eventually developed a core group of 9 to12 student participants who regularly attended sessions. This cohort was ⅔ female[17] presenting and given Oakland's large Tongan community, skewed ethnically in that way. Eight student participants identified as Tongan or part-Tongan, two identified as part-Samoan, two identified as part-Native Hawaiian and one student identified as part-Filipino and Chamorro. Additionally, five students identified as part-White and one student identified as part Mexican. All told, one student out of the entire cohort identified as "only" Tongan while every other student described themselves as "mixed", multi-ethnic or multi-racial. All participants were born in either Oakland or California and all spoke English, though many would attest to code-switching between a "school" English vernacular and "Oakland slang" influenced by African-American Vernacular English they were familiar with through school and neighborhood connections. Fluency in PI heritage languages ranged from non-fluent to semi-fluent, though no student participant entering the program described themselves as comfortable holding a long or sophisticated conversation in a heritage language.

Methods and Knowledge Generation

This ethnographic project utilized two approaches towards documenting program activities and generating knowledge and data: 1) participant-observation in the Wayfinder sessions, visit to Hawai'i and community celebration, including planning and debrief meetings documented with field notes and jottings and audio-visual when possible and appropriate (166 hours); and 2) semi-guided interviews with Wayfinder participants and educators through a talanoa/kanaka ʻōiwi methodological framework that was documented through field notes and audio-visual recordings (32 hours). The participant-observation took place between October of 2020 through August of 2021 in Oakland, on Zoom sessions and on O'ahu. Interviews were conducted throughout the program in three main waves, beginning in December of 2020 and concluding in August of 2021. Below I describe these methods and the arts-based analysis techniques I utilized throughout the research project.

Participant-Observation. I was a participant-observer for the entirety of the 2020 - 2021 Wayfinder program, including planning meetings, sessions (both online and local field trips in Oakland), debrief meetings for those sessions, the entirety of the Hawai'i visit and community celebration. As this project is designed through PAR principals, my role as participant in terms of a co-designer and facilitator in the program was certainly emphasized, though at many times I also took on the role of observer, particular in student small groups and during activities in Hawai'i (though I participated in them as everyone was expected to).

Program design. I was a participant-observer for all of the Wayfinder program planning and program debrief meetings, which included designing curriculum, creating

[17] An imbalance of gender was raised once we finished recruiting between facilitators (us) and a largely female participant group. While there have been future efforts since this initial project to bring female leadership and facilitation, this remained unaddressed and unbalanced for the beginning cycle aside from the participation of mothers and aunties.

tools and activities for the Wayfinder sessions, reflecting on the program, discussing ongoing challenges and successes and coordinating liaisons with educators and organizations. Many of these many meetings were held with either Hart and Maka and often with both of them, if person when possible but also over Zoom or occasionally by phone call. These meetings were impromptu, but often happened weekly during the program. In these meetings I often recorded written notes or made graphic representations of our discussions both as a point of record keeping for the program and as a part of my own journaling for later analysis. As some of these meetings were held over Zoom right after a session with students, we often kept the recording feature on as a means to capture our thoughts. In total, I participated and observed roughly 20 hours worth of planning time, though that time signature becomes difficult when some of the planning was held asynchronously over email exchanges or the like. My role as an active participant was to leverage my experience in teaching and classroom facilitation and provided ideas as well as responded in exchanges to Hart and Maka's interests and direction of the program. Being an active participant also provided me a space to ask questions related to this dissertation research and in many ways our conversations helped to refine and reshape those questions. The notion that these sessions were to be included in this dissertation research was openly understood and while we generally stuck to planning the program, naturally stories about ourselves, upbringing and families as well as other aspirations and interests would naturally come up. As some of those stories and narratives were closely related to this dissertation's themes of cultural reclamation, I would check later with Hart and Maka to make sure I heard them correctly and whether they would be comfortable with including relevant details in this work.

Wayfinder sessions - Oakland/digital. I also was a participant-observer in all of the Wayfinder program sessions, which were generally held weekly on Zoom and occasionally in person during the 2020 - 2021 school year. Though Zoom was not our ideal choice for gathering students, the pandemic necessitated that we prioritize health and we decided to launch our program using digital means and adjust accordingly. The Zoom sessions (25 sessions or roughly 38 hours total) were held afterschool on Wednesdays, requiring students to have their own laptops or cell phones to dial in. If technology proved to be an obstacle, Hart and Maka would leverage their connection with the school district to supply the necessary equipment, though one student did eventually discontinue as they were unable to have consistent internet access during the program. All sessions were recorded both visually and audibly to allow not only for future transcription and analysis of spoken exchanges, but also to capture non-verbal discursive exchanges, such as facial expression, body language and wait time. Alongside co-planning these sessions, I co-facilitated nearly all of them. Hart, Maka and myself would split the sessions into different activities and we often assigned someone to take lead in facilitating that section but with the expectation that the others participate and contribute as necessary. More often than not, I facilitated many of the arts activities, given my background in arts-centered humanities education, but also was called upon to take on many of the other sections. While it was cumbersome, I kept a running set of notes and jottings while participating in these sessions (often a duplicate copy of our agreed upon lesson plan or agenda), though this was hardest while I was actively speaking or facilitating. Hart, Maka and I also often split up to facilitate small group

sessions on Zoom in the breakout room function, which necessarily altered my ability to take field notes as I was restricted to interacting with only those students in my group. Given Zoom's recording function, I was occasionally able to review the other small group interactions, but recording it depended on whose Zoom account we were using to record with. On the occasion I did not have access to directly observing those small groups, I relied upon Hart and Maka's recollections of those events in our debrief meetings.

Wayfinder field trips - Oakland. I also participated in local Wayfinder field trips, a total of four each lasting anywhere between four to six hours (20 hours total), over the course of the program. These field trips were arranged by Hart and Maka as an opportunity for students to gather and build community (Zoom, as we have all learned, is not the best place to facilitate informal conversation) as well as be engaged in hands-on cultural activities. They often worked with parents or guardians of the students in the program who acted as hosts and guest instructors and invited the participants to their home for the day to engage in activities. Given the program needed to fundraise for the Hawai'i visit (the cost of the entire trip was free for the students, paid from grants and donations), these events doubled as spaces to make food that was then sold, thus many of the activities were culinary in nature. However, being in the homes and backyards of the participants' families provided ample opportunity for informal discussions about origins, connections and culture to emerge organically, often during preparing and plating the food items. In these sessions, everyone was expected to participate or be helpful in some way. As a participant-observer I also helped to prepare and plate food and made the choice to engage with students and families in informal conversations as a natural way to build relationships. As I was often the only non-Pacific Islander in attendance (though phenotypically and given my interests, many presumed I had Native Hawaiian ancestry as well[18]), I was more than happy to discuss the program and research component if the conversation happened to swing that way (which it often did when folks learned that I was not Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander). I kept a small note pad with me to make jottings, but often relied on post-event journaling or memo writing (often in my car right outside the event) so as not to conspicuously take notes while speaking with people, which I felt would have been perceived as rude or intrusive. However, Maka and Hart often introduced me as both a co-planner of the program as well as a researcher working on my doctorate at the outset of these events. I also often had social connections with many folks in attendance at these sessions through my prior work as a teacher and with Polyclubs and APISA.

Summer Trip - Hawai'i. I accompanied the Wayfinder participants on our trip to O'ahu, which took place in the summer of 2021. The trip was a key part of our program and was intended to ground our participants in an Oceanic space through connecting with cultural educators and the 'aina. As mentioned previously, the trip was organized around decolonial principles, so each day we were involved in either 'aina or ocean stewardship efforts as well as other Oceanic cultural activities and learning opportunities. The visit took place over a week, and though days varied in terms of

[18] Hart admitted later that he thought that I was Native Hawaiian for nearly a year after we first met. "I thought you were just light skinned" he mentioned, chuckling.

length, activities began often at 8 AM each day and lasted until 6 or 8 PM each night. Most days schedules began with breakfast, a main activity in the morning, lunch, a second main activity in the afternoon, dinner, and often a third meeting with cultural educator or group debrief in the evening before bed (a total of nearly 84 hours of active programming, including transportation and meals). The first three days we stayed in the dorms at UH Mānoa to more easily facilitate our visits to the campus, Bishop museum, learning traditional navigational techniques with crew from the Polyneisan Voyaging Society and restoration work in loʻi and traditional fishponds. The next four days were spent in and around Kaʻaʻawa and included visits to BYU, night fishing, visits with cultural educators and practitioners and local hikes. These activities were planned ahead of time yet subject to change in response to contextual needs (i.e. the folks at the loʻi needed help prepping the ground as opposed to harvesting taro) of our hosts and guides. My role was to provide both chaperone support for the student (running logistics such as organizing meals, transportation, etc.) while also participating in all activities and documenting the interactions among Wayfinder participants, our hosts and the environment through field notes, jottings and audio-visual means when appropriate. This meant that while I was actively engaged in either supporting the program or participating in activities (such as hauling mangrove logs or interacting with a museum docent) I took care to jot down notes when I had the opportunity in between activities (such as in the cargo van that we rented) or at the end of the days activities. I was also responsible for facilitating group check ins and debriefs, many of which were audio recorded for later analysis. I also took photographs and video recordings as certain activities when appropriate, partly for research purposes and partly for the program to use as collateral for their social media postings. All participants, including facilitators and students, were also expected to document their visit with an art-journal (described in greater detail in Chapter 5). Accompanying the group from sunrise to bedtime afforded me ample opportunity to engage in informal conversations with students, the co-directors and other educators and practitioners we met with. Recollections of these interactions would make it into my field notes and jottings when time and space permitted.

Community debrief. Lastly, I participated in the end of the program community celebration and debrief, helping to co-plan the event and prepare remarks about my reflections on the program. The event was hosted during one evening at a community event space in downtown Oakland in August of 2021 after the completion of the program. Friends and family were invited to celebrate the achievements of the student participants, who also took the center stage one by one and shared their art projects (sometimes static images or pieces, sometimes performance based) as part of their reflection of the program. The event was video recorded. As I was still in Hawaiʻi at the time, I attended the event virtually through Zoom. While I had a laptop set up to see and record the main stage, my field notes were limited to that view. The additional video recordings and debrief with Hart, Maka and selected students provided additional details and context to the event.

Interviews: Hearing and Listening for Story. The "interviews" I used for this research draw inspiration from Oceanic research methodologies, particularly talanoa (Vaioleti, 2006) and kanaka ʻōiwi methodologies (Oliveira & Wright, 2016).

These approaches have been generated by Indigenous Oceanic scholars who have sought culturally appropriate means of conducting research that aligns with decolonial principles that reject traditional Western extractive research techniques. While similarities can be found between talanoa and kanaka ʻōiwi research methods and other culturally sustaining, anti-oppressive research methods such as pláticas (Fierros & Bernal, 2016), these frameworks were chosen as they were created by Oceanic scholars with particularly resonance and relevance to scholarship by and for Oceanic peoples.

While Talanoa and kanaka ʻōiwi methodologies are not the same, they are guided by similar emphasis of rejecting the artificial hierarchical power created through traditional ethnographic interviewing process that premises the researcher as objective and detached, and the research subject as passive informer that needs to be prodded or guided to "reveal" truths. Instead, a talanoa method "removes the distance between researcher and participant, and provides research participants with a human face they can relate to" (Vaioleti, 2006, p.26), a call that insinuates that relationality, one built out of respect, reciprocity, vulnerability and trust, guides the conversations during research. Conversation is a better term to apply to talanoa than interview, as the prior indicates an openness and equality of interaction: the researcher is not there to extract information from a (un)willing informant, but rather ideas are exchanged and co-constructed through a shared experience. Similarly, Goodyear-Kaʻōpua writes of an experience where her interview with a research participant required her to "put aside her research agenda" and attend to the emotional distress of her interview partner "without judgment or analysis" (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2016, p. 16). She relates this experience to reminding her that her kuleana[19] was to the research participants as community members rather than merely research informants. In both frameworks, knowledge is generated through relationships that are founded and sustained through mutuality, trust and reciprocity, whereas the sharing of stories, ideas, and histories help to co-create that knowledge.

These principles guided my interview protocols and decorum (See Appendix A). I began inviting participants to speak more in-depth about their experience in the program only having gotten to know them for several months (and in the case of Hart and Maka, several years). I shared my expectation that we could discuss more formally the program and their thoughts on it several times over the course of the year (my agenda anticipated three waves of interviews, each with questions and intentions that corresponded with developments in the program), but that I did not expect nor require these interviews for their continued participation in the program. When we did have a chance to speak one on one, I framed the interviews as more like a semi-guided conversation that, while I had questions I had prepared prior, I was happy to deviate wherever necessary and follow the flow of the conversation. My other caveat was that while I wished to prioritize the thoughts of the research participants, I would also also follow up and explore ideas further and provide my own commentary and ideas. This preface was created from the stance that participants and I were co-creators of the reflection and analysis of the program -- neither I nor they held a singular truth, but through discussion, reflection and sharing, we would generate a shared understanding

[19] One's responsibility, duty or obligation

of what the program was and what it meant. Thus my responses were not merely acknowledgment of hearing my partner, but included my reactions, questions, validations and counterstories and encouraged similar responses. These interactions also included topics and anecdotes that went outside the parameters of simply investigating the program, and went more deeply into our personal histories, memories and beliefs that inform our understanding of cultural reclamation.

I interviewed the core group of nice student participants three times each over the course of the Wayfinder program (27 hours) and Hart and Maka three times apiece (6 hours). These interviews coincided with the conclusion of each "art unit" that was associated thematically with an art project around self, family and community. Some questions remained the same throughout (such as "what are you learning now in Wayfinder?") while others were more topical to the activities of that unit. The spacing and repetitiveness of some questions also provided an opportunity to understand any growth or changes over time. These interviews were often conducted over Zoom, though occasionally happened in person (typically as the pandemic social distancing restrictions gradually were lifted). Interviews were documented with field notes and jottings as well as with audio or video recording when possible. Participants were made aware of the interview intentions as well as their option to end the interview at any time for any reason without jeopardizing their participation in the program or future participation in research. I also clarified whether they wished to be recorded, with the option of pausing or ending being recorded. I also informed participants that they could follow up with me later to edit, retract or make private anything they shared with me, and such notes would be excluded from or adjusted in any research publications. Particular sensitivity was provided given that I also was a facilitator in the program, and that critiques of the program would not endanger their participation in it, nor that what they would share with me would be shared with others in the program.

Meaning Making Through Creativity

Throughout my research, I made jottings and field notes which were compiled into memos, often at the end of a number of research activities (say, after a session, a conversation and a field trip). These memos were written as a journaling process for me to better understand what it is I was experiencing and making meaning of Wayfinder. These memos also included doodling, drawing and other graphic representations that aided me in identifying salient themes that I saw emerging from my notes. I shared these preliminary thoughts with Hart and Maka often (and students participants as well, if they asked or seemed interested) which created another feedback loop which was incorporated into future memoing. I also participated in the art-journaling practice during our trip and a similar process of meta-reflection and memoing were added to those notes as well. Many of the vignettes in this dissertation have emerged directly from those memos.

With student participants, I also incorporated the arts-portion into our conversations, often bringing along or asking student participants to provide a working draft of their art projects as a point of discussion. When these were introduced, the

conversation came to unpacking what their intentions may have been in developing the project as well as layers of meaning they see in it and what they may want audiences to understand. While this appear to be questions that purport that there is a singular truth to their creativity endeavors, the conversations approached it from a perspective of multiplicity and co-constructed knowledge: rarely had they been asked to unpack their conscious and subconscious decisions in their projects and in doing so aided in our conservations to make meaning in that moment, knowing full well that it could shift depended on context and audience. In this sense, these conversations captured our understanding of their work in tandem with how they were making meaning of the entirety of cultural reclamation.

At the conclusion of the program, I transcribed the recorded sessions, audio-notes and recorded conversations using a digital transcription service which I then double checked for accuracy. I combined these transcriptions alongside the video recordings (when possible) to add additional discursive details that were captured in orality alone (i.e. body language, tone of voice, wait times). I then coded these transcriptions with additional notations using a qualitative data analysis program to more easily identify salient themes, nodes and codes. This analysis process further influenced future memos where I would add my commentary, notations and graphics to the data I was seeing to provide form and shape to how I was understanding it. Like the memos I generated during the program, I continued to check in with Hart and Maka (our collaborations have continued into a second year of Wayfinder) about these memos to get their impression and thoughts on them.

Affordances and Limitations

The strengths of this dissertation methodology lies in the "thick" descriptions that derive from long term ethnographic and phenomenological research. Given the increasing interest amongst educators to confront legacies of colonialism in school practice, culturally-based education is fast becoming a staple of practitioners seeking ways to address Eurocentric schooling. In this rush towards implementation, less attention has been focused on student and instructor experience in developing and enacting this curriculum. This study provides deep insight into that process and offers a creative space for experimentation with the concepts that may exceed current conceptualizations of the term.

However, given the distinctly constructivist nature of this study limits its repeatability -- the experiences of the participants are shaped by many factors outside of the study as well as the particular exchanges within this group of participants. Recreating this particular study is, by design, not possible. Thus while the themes generated here are unique to this group, it is wise not to apply these findings to all Pacific Islanders, migrants and Indigenous peoples, as such extrapolation would merely contribute to reckless essentialisms. In this same vein, my positionality and minimal proficiency in Tongan and Hawaiian language (if not also Samoan), means that my ability as a researcher to make deeper connections between the work and the knowledge

and wisdom contained within those speech and language communities remains limited in this study.

Chapter Three

3

Bloodlines as Time/Narratives as Routes

Introduction

The Wayfinder program demonstrates that cultural reclamation education necessitates rearticulating concepts of time, something I term as *routedness*, which enables alternatives to colonial time keeping and territorial containment. A *routed* pedagogy resists how time has been weaponized against Indigenous and migrant peoples; namely how dichotomies of savagery and modernity, blood purity and dilution have been woven into the dominant discourse of cultural transmission to justify controlling and regulating Indigenous identity and sovereignty. Within the scope of education, these logics inform policies that advocate for teaching youth neoliberal "21st century skills" (Mehta et al., 2020) that either ignores Indigenous knowledges or sidelines them as non-scholastic "cultural activities". In analyzing mainstream representations of Pacific Islanders, interrogating concepts of racial purity and learning and retelling family genealogies and migration histories, participants in the Wayfinder program reclaimed alternate temporalities to counter settler teleologies predicated on singularity, extinction and distance. In this case, the Wayfinder program engaged in discovering, reconnecting and elaborating on family histories and migration stories, or in short the routes of who they were, are and can be.

In this chapter, I begin with a discussion of temporality and diaspora, noting that while geo-proximity is often the dominant way of framing diaspora, attention towards temporality, disjunctured timelines and 'diluted' blood quantums are important in understanding how concepts of purity and singularity operate through cultural transmission to regulate Indigenous identity and sovereignty. I then introduce routedness as pedagogy utilized in the Wayfinder program to analyze dominant narratives of Pacific Islanders and collect family stories as the primary text with which to rearticulatePacific Islander identity. I conclude this chapter with reflections on what routedness can offer cultural reclamation efforts -- namely that mobility and adaptation are significant when delving into cultural heritage practices, which creates pathways for multiplicity, simultaneity and reconnection with Indigenous ingenuity.

Dwelling-in-Dischronotopicality and Bloodlines

***

"Okay bye, take care" the pixelated faces on the screen evaporated one by one as the Wayfinder students exited the Zoom chat. Only Hart, Maka and myself were left. The dim glow of my monitor belied the warmth of the discussion we had with the Wayfinder students. This week's focus was their comfort and danger "zones".

Sarah had spoken up first. "My danger zones all had to do with culture", she recounted in the large group. "I guess that shows I'm not familiar

with my culture very much. I'm not comfortable speaking on it or sharing with other people about it." Siaosi sympathized, "Yeah, mine has to do with speaking my heritage language. I feel like if I was called out on it, I would just freeze on it because I'm not really good at it at all."

It had been nearly two months of weekly meetings on Zoom due to the pandemic. I had worried if the platform would interfere with the vulnerability needed to open up about family, roots, disconnect, shame. But still the Wayfinder students were sharing stories of their lives they claimed they rarely talked about with anyone.

As the last student waved and disappeared, Hart started our debrief, "I think the group is just cool. They're comfortable, they're coming together but it was interesting that when anything that had to do with culture, they were uncomfortable."

Hart paused. His daughter was in the program and so reflecting on what had happened always took on the additional weight of his role as a father. "When you try to figure out how to teach both at the same time, it's challenging because there are some aspects of life in general that we need to speak on. But at the same time, if we move in the culture direction, we could spend two hours every week talking about culture and about specific pieces of culture."

I asked him to explain what he meant by both.

Hart continued, "It's like Western academics and Western topics that will help them to be successful in the way society works, right? How do we transform that cultural knowledge into a way that they can walk into any space and be comfortable and make the bridge connection between how those values in the culture are also a strength in today's world?"

Hart went on "When I hear my daughter says she wants to learn more about the culture, you know, a certain level of guilt comes up for me. And I think part of that stems from just a whole other conversation about the immigration to the US. Our parents are like, 'we have to leave this kind of life behind' not necessarily in those words, but in order for us to… to progress, we need to begin adapting this Western lifestyle, right? And so as a first generation Tongan Americans we were pushed into American ways. And then now I see younger people saying 'Man, I wish I knew the language. I wish I knew the culture'. And now we're expected to teach the next generation about culture, when we may be missing some pieces about what true culture is, you know what I'm saying?"

***

As often as Wayfinder participants referred to geographic boundaries as markers of identity, they equally referenced concepts of perseverance, ancestry, generation, and

futurity through terms like old, new, now, ancient and modern. As described on IKUNA's website, the Wayfinder program is:

> Inspired by the Polynesian Voyaging Society, IKUNA weaves traditional Wayfinding techniques, themes and images throughout the curriculum… to help our Pacific Islander students develop a sense of our cultural identity, our Pacific Islander heritage, connect to the history of our ancestors in a way that will ground us in our own stories and draw us nearer to our indigenous roots.

In statements such as these, Wayfinder's connections between time and journeying is made in both a literal and metaphorical sense: temporal concepts such as ancestry and heritage are assembled alongside concepts of travel such as navigating and storytelling to signal proximity through terms such "grounding" and "draw us nearer". By invoking concepts like "the history of our ancestors" and subsequent pronouns such "our" and "us", Wayfinder's work was intended to counter colonial school policies that diminish or invisibilized Oceanic histories and narratives.

Yet, the temporal tensions of living in diaspora are revealed in a debrief of one of the Wayfinder sessions, where Hart made transparent the incommensurabilities of teaching "traditional culture" alongside learning "how the way things work." His remarks reveal the complexity of doing cultural revitalization work while mobile, which I will demonstrate in this section as concerning both proximity and chronotope. Hart's thoughtful reflection on ancestral cultural practices and ways to be "successful in the way society works" underscores the pressure of neoliberal utility that often challenges cultural reclamation efforts. Importantly, Hart identified a key colonial temporal condition of authenticity in trying to recall "true" culture to pass along -- if his parents made decisions to interrupt some cultural traditions, who is he to be able to revive them for his children who express a desire to be connected? His frustrations are clear: there seems as if there is little escape from a colonial chronology that insists upon zero-sum assimilation.

In this section, I provide an accounting of the Wayfinder experience that produces dwelling-in-dischronotopicality beginning with the participants' initial understandings of temporality and how it informed narratological and embodied sense of dischronotopicality. I start by discussing how participants entering the program identified as being without *place*, constructed by a seeming impossibility of reclaiming culture outside of an appropriate Indigenous time-space. I then tie this feeling of nowhere to that of dwelling *between bloodlines* and underscore that concepts of blood quantum are built from the same architecture of colonial chronology that contains Oceanic genealogies (and progeny) away from modernity/futurity. These observations are presented as means to understand why a *routed* approach towards the Wayfinder pedagogy was used and what sort of decoloniality alternatives they present.

Throughout the first section of the program, Wayfinder participants focused on their experience as Pacific Islanders who were born and/or raised outside of ancestral territories. Nearly every participant was raised in the continental United States, and several had parents who also were born outside of islands. Curriculum focused on that migratory experience through self-reflective activities on topics such as one's life journey, belonging and feelings of connection or disconnection with concepts like

culture, language and place. As Wayfinder participants made sense of these family narratives, many recognized a common theme that their families had decided to migrate away from Oceania in order to seek a better future, educational opportunities for their children being particularly salient. However, these expectations produced their own sort of time bubble: they were the living proof of an ancestor's decision to forge a new (better) future by leaving an Indigenous time-space yet also tasked with remembering worlds intentionally 'left in the past'. Hart illustrates this with his experience being raised in the Bay Area:

> I think the biggest challenge for anyone who has been born and raised in the States is that they should automatically have the cultural knowledge of someone who was born and raised in the islands and I think that's a big battle between those who are born outside of the islands. So we find ourselves in this situation where our parents moved here for a better life for our families. And then we are judged, because we don't understand the culture as if we were born on the island. Like, it's a weird place to be in. (Hart, interview)

While this "weird place" is construed partly in spatiality, I contend that elements of dischronotopicality contribute to this feeling of rupture, or being somehow both within and outside some sort of intact and cohesive strand of cultural knowledge transmission. Invoking the language of conflict, Hart speaks to a conflict that is both intergenerational, conditioned by feelings of responsibility to a family's future and past, as well as a tension produced by the American empire that demands the cultural assimilation of migrants. Hart went on to reflect on their experience now as adult:

> But if you were to ask me when I was 15, I'll be like, 'I'm not sitting in the function. I'm outside the function', you know what I mean? I'm not sitting in that to soak up traditional knowledge when it's being delivered real time at that age. But now that I'm an adult, I can look back and say 'Now I see why those things were important'. And it's just hard to tell from our group how important that is to them right now, not that they don't view it as important, but maybe they just haven't made that connection yet. (Hart, interview)

Hart's description of sitting "outside of the function" is an apt metaphor for a feeling of both close proximity to a slipstream of cultural practices, but not necessarily feeling fully involved or invested. His remembrance of resisting "traditional knowledge" as a youth speaks, only to appreciate its importance later speaks to this dilemma of being caught in between temporal-spatialities and responsibilities. On one hand there was access to knowledge (marked here as 'traditional') but as a youth in the Bay Area of the 1970's and 80s, there was no seemingly "connection" to it. Thus it was from this "weird place" that Wayfinder was formed to respond to this splintering of past and identity through diaspora recognizing a migrant self that is bound to multiple homelands would necessarily need to take up the importance and value of ancestral practices in a "modern" Western world that places more value and emphasis on "forward" development.

This "weird place" of dischornotpicality also generated feelings of disconnect and isolation expressed in terms of feeling culturally *in-between* -- not fully 'American', not fully 'Poly[20]', (a phenomena similar to other experiences of racialized non-White migrant communities to the United States). As Peti shared in conversation:

> If you meet Tongans my age who grew up like on the islands, it's very different. And I was talking to my dad yesterday when we were doing an interview for Wayfinder about how it's kind of hard for me to connect with other Polys here because I feel like I grew up in a different environment than them. I feel like it's more intimidating for me to connect with Polynesians only because of different barriers that I feel, such as not speaking the language, and maybe doing more things that revert back to older cultural traditions and practices. (Peti, interview)

Peti's recollection of feeling distance from peers at her school speaks to the perceived power of environmental impact on behavior. Significantly, while participants like Peti often noted how they felt "different" from what was perceived as a truly more authentic (island-born/raised) Pacific Islander, there was more consternation over what type of behaviors was appropriate, or even possible, for themselves. Notable here is Peti's use of 'revert' and 'older', time signatures that arrange the past as antithetical to progress. As Sarah recalled "sometimes it feels like I've been separated from the Pacific Islander culture -- it was not my culture. Like I always felt that it was Pacific Islander culture. And I'm like, my own person that's far from that" (Sarah interview). These initial activities and conversations reveal that participants often entered the Wayfinder space with preconceived notions that a (singular) Pacific Islander culture existed somewhere, far away (in place and time), intact and accessible to those born and raised in those places. In turn, they understood themselves outside this collective Oceanic identity or as Sarah put it into the singular, "my own person."

In powerful ways, the participants of Wayfinder were not immune to a larger legacy of tensing Oceanic Indigenous peoples as 'in the past' and casually employed these time markings to what they were learning and doing. One poignant example is Samuel's description of his previous ideas about Pacific Islanders before entering the program, "the way I used to look at it was like 'they're from the island, they didn't really know what to do.' Like, they are so primitive, like my ancestors were, they say they're not as smart. You know, like, probably couldn't read or write or things like that" (Samuel, interview). Samuel's example carries not just time signatures of primitivity but is also laden with the colonial concepts of literacy (presumably alphanumeric) or rather the lack of it as evidence of savagery, a deeply colonial notion meant to attack and demean Native intelligences.

For nearly all of the youth of the program, this feeling of being in-between was also expressed in an embodied concept of blood quantum, evoked as a measurement of how distant, unlike and inauthentic they were as "real" Pacific Islanders. Almost every participant discussed at some point in the program being "mixed" by which they

[20] Poly, a shortening of "Polynesian" was a contraction used by participants that could interchangeably describe specifically 'polynesian' peoples such as Tongans, Samoans and Hawaiians or more generally all Pacific Islanders, such as Fijians.

referred to in both ethnic heritage and racial categories. The use of quantitative terminology was often casually employed ("quarter Jewish", "half White") as well as particular focus on phenotype ("I don't look Tongan"). Sarah recalled in a conversation how when "my white friends would ask me [what my race is], I would say 'I'm half Poly'. And then if my Tongan or other Poly people ask me I would say 'I'm half white and half Tongan'. I wouldn't really mention that I'm half white half Tongan to my white friends because obviously I feel like they just assume that I'm some White." (Sarah, interview). Her anecdote is representative of many of the Wayfinder students' recollections of describing their racial identity in terms of percentages as referent to their "unusual" phenotype. Though not often explicit, their descriptions as well accompanying discourse carried with it concepts division, dilution and partiality, which fueled feelings of inauthenticity and insecurities around whether they could in reality "step into their culture", as one student put it.

Though not often generally understood as a temporal phenomena, blood quantum discourse is intimately tied to genocidal logics that predict or justify "gradual" Indigenous extinction through a process of dilution. A complete history of blood quantum regulations in a wide variety of racial strata systems throughout Oceania lies outside the scope of this dissertation, but a guiding premise for colonial powers has been the need to account and distinguish "the Native" to regulate and control Indigeneity from a chronological perspective. Beginning with codification of *limpieza de sangre*, or blood-cleanliness, in 15th century Spain to differentiate Christian from Muslim or Jew, these concepts eventually traveled with Spain to its colonial territories, including Mexico, the Phillipines and Guam, where it served as the basis of hierachial racial caste systems (Torres, 2003). Categorizations for Natives around "pure blood" and "half-caste/breed" were integrated into these racial hierarchies (Omi & Winant, 2015), yet do not necessarily share in rules of 'hyperdescent' (as in case for Black peoples) which signals that the logics of Native blood is geared towards concepts of generational dilution. To accelerate this dilution, instances of boarding schools, forcible adoption and sterilization (if not outright warfare) are all evidence of generational violence, meant to disrupt Indigenous continuities, thereby creating more 'vacant lands' ripe for settlement and occupation. This phenomena is perhaps most made transparent in regards to Hawaiian Home Lands[21], whereas eligibility for the return of (stolen) Hawaiian lands is determined by the State's calculation of blood quantum yet punishes "mixing" and foresees Hawaiian extinction (rather than return of land) as a plausible end goal of the program (Halualani, 2002; Kauanui, 2008). In terms of temporality, these policies and discourses arise as important markers to signal and create the end of Native time-space and mark the beginning of Modern/Settler times.

Thus, while Wayfinder students entered the program with doubts around "enough"-ness, or needing to reassure audiences their racial credentials by asserting blood quantum, this is done within a matrix of Indigenous extinction and survival. Notably, for Wayfinder participants, questions around their racial categorization happened most often in school settings. As Sarah, who attends a school that is predominantly White, related:

[21] There are also many instances where Indigenous peoples have embraced blood quantum regulations as part of membership requirements, which has led to controversies over inclusion/exclusion/expulsion.

> I'm mixed. I'm half white and half Tongan and so I have friends from both sides at school. And sometimes when I'll walk into a room and people who aren't Pacific Islander notice that my skin isn't fully white, they'll be like, 'Oh, so what are you?' And I'll say, 'a Pacific Islander. I'm Tongan'. And they'll be like, 'Oh, so can you speak the language?' And I always say that I can't. And I feel like it's different when I'm talking to those people or Pacific Islanders that are also my age who asked me if I could speak the language. And if they see that I can't, they kind of just laugh in my face. And it kind of makes me feel excluded from the whole group. And I feel like I don't fit in anywhere. (Sarah, interview)

Sarah's description demonstrates how questions of authenticity, often in the form of linguistic ability or fluency, accompany questions of her racial categorization. Married, here, are concepts of ethnic kinship and linguistic fluency. Sarah's concluding statement of "not fitting in anywhere" is a metaphorical nod to settler-colonial blood quantum teleologies that speak to blood dilution as further evidence of Native extinction, a literal not being anywhere. It is also significant to note that these concepts were not merely from a White dominant perspective, but blood quantum discourse was also evident within Pacific Islander migrant communities as well. As Alisi, who attended a racially mixed school with a significant Pacific Islander student population, recounted:

> At my school, we have a big thing about being half and stuff. People kind of looked down upon those who are half, which was funny, because the people that were looking down on other people were also half but to me, I don't think that should play a part. I don't think, to me, it's like, even if you're 25% are you even less than that? If you feel like this is your culture and like this is you have it in your blood, or at least you're trying to learn. So like, I don't even know how to explain it because it just irritates me. (Alisi, interview)

Alisi's recollections run parallel to Sarah's in that the discourse at both of their schools (non-Pacific Islander and Pacific Islander) share a presumption of coupling blood quantum with cultural competency. Mocking and the use of shame and exclusion reinforce these calculations, even if they are illogical as Alisi points out in the absurdity of mixed Pacific Islander students shaming their fellow mixed peers. Yet underneath these instances of school yard teasing and bullying are sets of blood quantum rules and regulations that Wayfinder students inherited from settler-colonial histories and 'traveled' with their families to places where their application has been used to disrupt Indigenous continuity.

By looking beneath the surface or, as in the case of blood quantum logics, beyond the phenotype, the salience of dischronotopicality can be detected in the experience of Wayfinder students. This undercurrent is significant in their experiences as migrant Indigenous peoples -- at once they are laden with xenophobic discourse of exotic and alien in terms of spatiality while also saddled with colonial time-spatalities of out of sync

with modernity. At the risk of overextending the analytical value of intersectionality[22] (Crewnshaw, 1991), the purpose of identifying how these forms of coloniality and alienation are intertwined is important in understanding what a routed Wayfinder curriculum was meant to address. Of note here also was how these concepts were carried in an embodied form: the Wayfinder students' focus on phenotype was evidence of their experience with America's racial caste system, founded through eliminating Natives and instituting pigmentcratic binaries to further sort citizens from discardable sub-humans. Molina's theorizations of 'racial scripts' (2014) explain how extinction-oriented ideologies purposed against Native peoples throughout the Americas were recycled and transferred to Indigenous Oceanic peoples to similar ends. Therefore, simply doubling down on pedagogy that sought to further 'include' the immigrant in the American experience without critiquing said racial system and ignoring Indigenous Oceanic routes and epistemologies would also miss an opportunity to forge alternatives to those very forms of colonialism. In the next section, I will further discuss Wayfinder's routed pedagogy which was meant to provide a space to reform dominant narratives and draw upon genealogy and familial narratives to reconnect students with long practiced Oceanic traditions of simultaneous stability and fluidity.

Routed Pedagogies

> *Maka had been quiet, absorbing his younger brother's words. He rarely spoke first in debriefs, choosing his words with care. He let Hart finish, then began:*
>
> *"So remember in the 80s, when everyone was wearing those African map necklaces? African Americans? Remember that?" Both Hart and I recalled those medallions and images.*
>
> *"That's what I mean, there was that time where everybody was talking about the Motherland, their roots. And it's going back again, to all cultures now, not just African-Americans. All cultures are heading back now and American society in general is starting to embrace that. I think the students are starting to think about 'I need to know more about my culture, I want to learn more about my culture'.*
>
> *Maka paused. I quickly glanced to see if we were still recording this debrief, sensing it got to the heart of what we all wanted Wayfinder to be. I thought of the many times I'd had similar conversations with myself.*
>
> *"Not that we're going to turn everyone to go back and learn everything, but it's like opening that dialogue and that conversation, that doorway for them to step through and start researching and start asking questions*

[22] Crenshaw's foundational theoretical work over racial and gender discrimination in American law is helpful in understanding how multiple forms of discrimination compound one another. Without diminishing the specifics of gender and Black discrimination, much could also be said in this dissertation about other gender, socio-economics, and sexuality.

and start drawing things from that culture because you know the longer we stay in America, the culture is going to continue to evolve -- like the Latinx culture. Because we know they're not going back to the Islands. Yeah. And I think that's what we're doing. We're making a connection."

***

Maka's response during the debrief presented alternatives to culturicide that is ironically made possible by migrancy itself. His signaling and appropriation of 90's Black cultural politics of embracing and celebrating African heritage speaks to the impact of living in a polyculturalist (Prashad, 2001) diaspora and the possibility for solidarity, exchange and interconnection. Importantly though, Maka hints at another form of liminality where he invoked language of portals, connection and evolution. Herein this debrief lies a key to conceptualizing connection as a fluid, yet tethering force that transforms dwelling-in-dischronotpicality from stasis to one of liminality. Drawing inspiration from the navigating techniques of etak[23], the routed pedagogy of Wayfinder leaned into the sense of finding direction through multiple, ever moving, ever cyclical sets of coordinates, rather than depend on one static sense of what precisely a Pacific Islander should or can be. If dominant narratives of Pacific Islanders are tied to a colonial understanding of primitive peoples scattered throughout isolated islands and stuck in a nobly savage past, Wayfinder meant to change the orientation of looking towards Western media for cues of Pacific Islanders culture and rather turned it inwards and towards the muticiplitious connections students had with Oceania.

In this sense, the Wayfinder program drew upon the many resources students have -- their lived experiences in the U.S. compared with static fictions of exoticized Pacific Islanders and the nuanced stories of their families' journeys to and through Oceania and beyond -- as powerful markers coordinates that demonstrate the continued importance of Indigenous mobility and adaptation. In this section I describe Wayfinder's routed pedagogy -- one that values routes as signs towards multiplicitous ways of connection rather than increasingly separateness. Through critically unpacking dominant narratives of Pacific Islander identity, as well as recollecting and retelling family stories and histories, the Wayfinder program sought to transform narrative into metaphorical coordinate points. In doing so, the Wayfinder program provided a space to find connection and belonging by embracing the routes they and their families have taken, formed through a simultaneity of origin and destination.

Important to our routed pedagogy was getting students to identify and analyze dominant Pacific Islander narratives and stereotypes. In several activities, participants unpacked representations of Hawai'i[24] including travel shows (*Hawaii Life*) and fictional narratives (*Hawaii Five-O, 50 First Dates)* that depict Hawai'i as modern, safe places for tourist leisure with kānaka 'ōiwi subsequently acting as either comic relief or unthreatening and grateful hosts. In contrast, areas and peoples outside the periphery of American mainstream consciousness, such as Papua New Guinea or other places inhabited by 'darker-skinned' peoples were noted as being constructed in mass media as

[23] See Chapter 1 for further discussion.

[24] Arguably, Hawai'i is much more present in the mainstream American imaginary and is often the prototypical "Polynesian" or Pacific Island that is recognizable to mainstream American audiences

"primitive" and dangerous, often highlighting practices of cannibalism and witchcraft and other Western signifiers of pre-modernity in terms of attire and architecture. When discussing the film Disney *Moana*, the students appreciated its significance in terms of representation (Lopini remarked "the only two [Pacific Islander films] I know is *Moana* and *Lilo and Stitch"*) but also noted its limitations in providing a comprehensive understanding of Oceanic identity. In reference to the film's impact, one student recalled that as "the only person of color" on their sports team, their teammates "asked me if I was part of the Moana tribe. It was so embarrassing." Additional reaction to documentaries on traditional Wayfinding techniques lead to discussions of how Western time keeping often renders ancestral Oceanic knowledges (as well as contemporary Oceanic knowledges) obsolete, as when one Wayfinder student remarked on the skill and intelligence of "Polynesian people" to navigate the Ocean with traditional Wayfinding techniques is often "forgotten". As Siaosi responded,

> People have this perception that Polynesians are strong and buff. We don't really have that perception of being smart. Well, the way they navigated was very smart…they came up with ways and made visualizations that help them get through places and came back and it actually worked. So it's like mind blowin to see like we have these perceptions of people and like strong and like very good dancers. But there's a whole nother side of us that people don't know about. (Siaosi, field notes)

Critical education scholars such as Friere (1996) have advocated for deconstructive education that directly confronts oppressive hegemonic ideologies, something we did here using readily accessible (if not also the most commercial) television shows and films such as *Moana*. Students such as Alisi and Siaosi used these narratives to critically compare their lived experiences against them, resulting in debunking blanket myths about Pacific Islanders.

Conversations about narratives and stereotypes in the program triggered further memories and instances of storytelling about (but not by) Pacific Islanders. Alisi, when speaking about their experience being one of the few Polynesians in their school's AP courses, recounted times when peers or faculty commented that "you're smart for a Polynesian" (Alisi, interview). Even the attempts by the school newspaper to celebrate their achievements on the lacrosse team still reinforced this message in an uncomfortable way:

> I've had an article written because I played lacrosse and so my club wrote about how I'm smashing Pacific Islander stereotypes. They're like, 'not only stars on the field, but also stars in the classroom'. And so like, the more I looked back at it, the more I'm like, 'oh, man, I wish this wasn't written' because this doesn't make me feel comfortable. I wish it wasn't written that way. Because that's just like a generalization about us. But I feel like, you don't have to be smart or have good grades based on your race or ethnicity. I wish that article wasn't around sometimes.(Alisi, interview)

Key to Alisi's analysis illustrates how dominant narratives are prismed through a colonial framework that already diminishes Pacific Islanders from the outset, the insinuation here being that an athletically gifted Polynesian is taken for granted while academic achievement is noteworthy ("but also…"). Upon reflection, Alisi identified how this act of storytelling, though about her, was not by or for her. Yet, through discussions of narratives, and particularly how misrepresentation has played out in their lived experience, students such as Alisi voiced opposition to being used to subtly reinforce the rule by "being an exception".

By creating a venue with which to speak back against the dominant media representations, Wayfinder students utilized a routed approach towards understanding how their seemingly derivation from the islands demonstrated the ongoing adaptability of Oceanic diaspora rather than an act of final, irreversible distancing. Though many in the program described being immersed in family and church activities, nearly every participant described being one of a few if not sometimes the only Pacific Islander in their classes or entire grades. Some also lived in predominantly White communities, while others lived in hyper-diverse neighborhoods, yet all noted how they felt as a demographic minority. This is all to illustrate that by referencing themselves as Americans, people-of-color or "just teenagers", they also mentioned being just as involved in activities such as lacrosse, football, ballet or DJing as they would traditional Pacific Islander art or cultural forms. For example, after one session regarding expectations, Peti reflected on their peers at school, explaining "I feel like they just practice more Tongan traditions, then maybe me and my family do but that then I feel like it doesn't make me any less Tongan than them. But I feel like that's how they see me as less Tongan than them, if that makes sense" (Peti, interview). Importantly, the diversity of the Wayfinder group itself, with students who identified from a variety of backgrounds and positionalities (ethnically, racially, socio-economic class, gender) provided insight into what Mahiri (2017) has described as the "hyperdiversity" that exists in what is often assumed a stable category such as Pacific Islander. In turn, students expressed feeling much less alone or "strange" through recognizing a shared Pacific Islander identity despite the multitude of ways that identity is formulated and expressed.

To make the fallacy of a single, static Pacific Islander identity more apparent, students were asked the hypothetical "how Pacific Islander are you?" and tasked with ranking themselves numerically. While there was an online jam board (Figure A) space for participants to assess themselves a number along a 10 point scale and publicly journal their experience, the linearity was meant to mimic and make transparent the external force that demands quantification of identity. Intentionally, the numbers were arbitrary (and afterwards were unpacked as such) yet the value of the exercise was to create a space to critically process the experience both in writing and dialoguing revealed some of these underlying mechanics of racialization (phenotype, purity, quantification, Othering, exclusion).

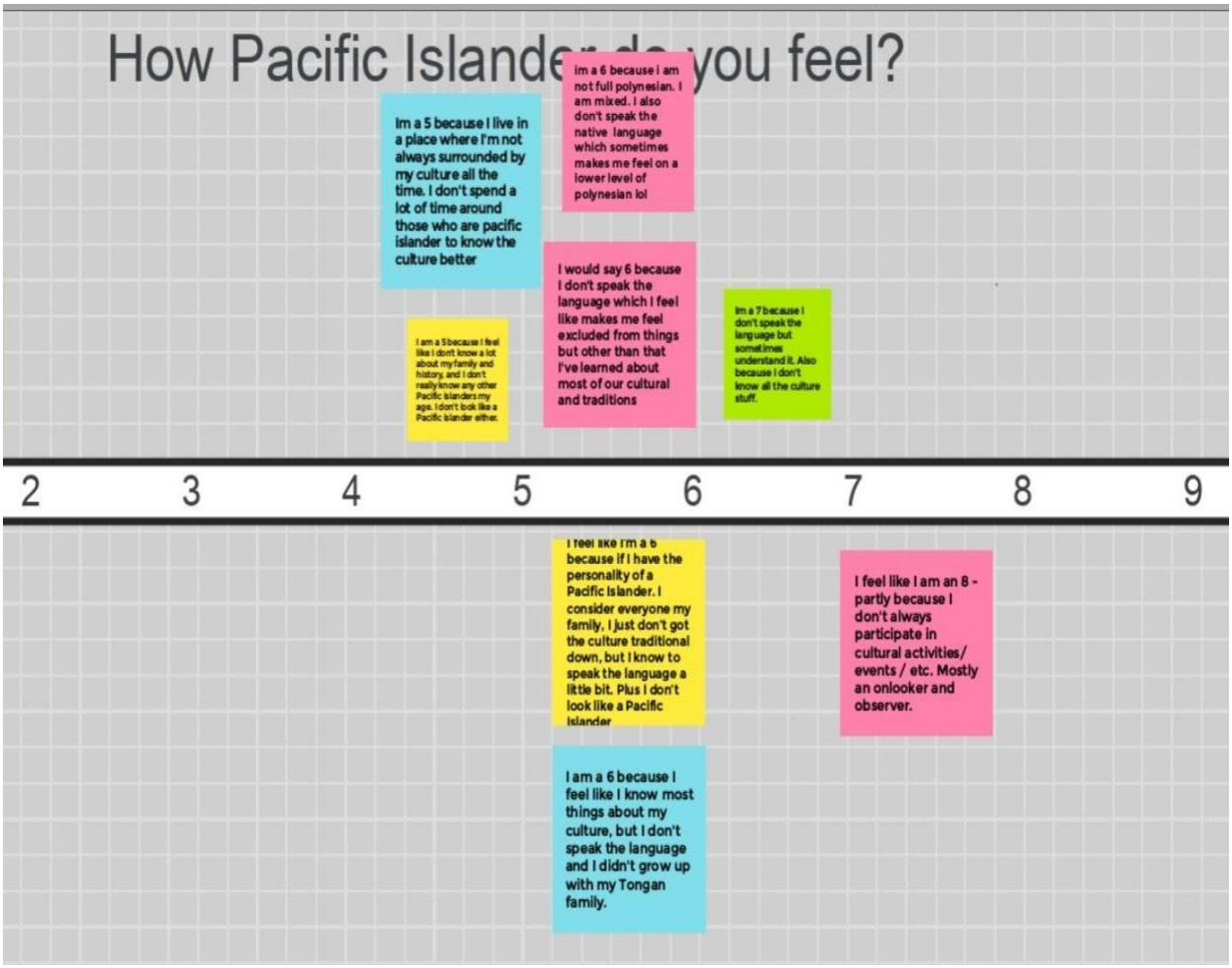

Figure A - Online jam board.

Responses (purposefully made anonymous) included the following:

> im a 6 because i am not full polynesian. I am mixed. I also don't speak the native language which sometimes makes me feel on a lower level of polynesian lol.
>
> I am a 5 because I feel like I don't know a lot about my family and history, and I don't really know any other Pacific islanders my age. I don't look like a Pacific islander either.
>
> Im a 7 because I don't speak the language but sometimes understand it. Also because I don't know all the culture stuff.

Students were then invited to unpack what they read, identifying common themes and contributing their interpretation. What surfaced for the students was how similar the responses were (many involved aspects of language loss, phenotype, and notions of a singular "culture") despite the numbers spread on a

spectrum. This graphic representation reduced the isolation many students had expressed at the outset of the program and provided them a vulnerable, yet safe space, to express feelings of deficit or embarrassment without feeling judged. Again, lessons like these leaned into aspects of multiplicity that were engendering into the routed curriculum: the many manifestations of Pacific Islander identity these students expressed was more the norm than the deviation.

Once we had supported students in unpacking dominant narratives about Pacific Islanders, we then proceeded to create opportunities for students to begin reconstructing the routes their families had taken. One unit was devoted to an oral history project where students were asked to gather "family stories" by interviewing and having intergenerational conversations with family members. Techniques of interviewing were introduced alongside ethical considerations and cultural protocols that would be useful and necessary when asking family about origins, genealogy, childhood experiences, migration histories, and other narratives that "expresses something meaningful to you about your family". The activity was intentionally created with few limitations as to what sort of stories they may gather as to avoid locking Wayfinder students into feeling the need to reproduce any sort of "typical" narrative[25]. Stories that were gathered were used as a source text meant for further elaboration and articulation: students shared them with peers, investigated their meanings, and developed a multimodal retelling of it in terms of their Pacific Islander identity. The oral history project was designed not to simply entrench a dichotomy of Pacific Islander identity through traditional versus nontraditional behavior, but rather generate a multitude of routes to deepen an understanding of identity, avoiding committing to singular truth. For example, upon reflecting on her project, Sofia mentioned that while "I thought I knew about my family and about my parents stories," asking follow up questions, "opened new pathways that I didn't know were there" (Sofia, field notes). For other students, the project helped them to identify their connection with their family, as illustrated by Lea who said "before the program I didn't really know anything about my family. So each part, like the big project that we did, made me feel connected with both my mom and dad, and just culture in general" (Lea, field notes). When asked specifically about this change, Lea recounted when they asked their mother about her grandparents' relationship and history in moving from Tonga to Hawai'i to the Bay Area, discovering how their grandfather supported the family from afar while attending school. This revelation made her appreciate their own resilience ("I'm a pretty strong person" they remarked in one session). This feeling of deeper connection was not only limited to new information either. When discussing their experience with the project, Alisi described that an iterative approach to story listening helped them to even better appreciate its nuances:

> I think just listening to her telling me stories about how she came here has always been something I treasure. And you know, it's the same story. But each time you appreciate it more. And so like I always see my grandma in a

[25] More on the critically artistic process we employed will be discussed in Chapter 5.

> greater light kind of thing every time she talks to me and tells me her story. (Alisi, field notes)

These responses demonstrate how an approach towards the routes they and their families have taken (at times conforming to, and at times outside of expectations of Pacific Islander behavior) broadens rather than contracts an understanding of what it means to be Pacific Islander. And even beyond feelings of connection experienced by Wayfinder participants, the specificity of family narratives in contrast to media representations of Pacific Islanders animated themselves and their families away from assimilative teleology.

In this process, students increasingly recognized the multiplicitous ways they could "be" Pacific Islander. In these discussions of family stories and experiences navigating preconceived notions of appropriate Pacific Islander behavior, many of the students began to express how more "connected" they felt to one another and affirm that the many ways they have continued to adapt to the ever-shifting fluidity of connection to their Oceanic ancestry. In discussing the impact of finding their family's recipes, handed down from their grandmother, Sofia shared, "In the past, I don't -- I guess -- I don't look very Samoan, so I get a lot of people ask me if I'm Asian or they get confused when they hear my name. But now I'm a little bit more confident to be like, 'yeah, I'm Samoan' …I really like that part of myself and want to learn more instead of feeling a bit disconnected" (Sofia, interview). Engaging in the discussions and art projects helped Sofia to see beyond the reactions to her phenotype and focus on the substantive connection they have with their Samoan heritage. This connection to an identity as a Pacific Islander was key for forging multiplicity: rather than failing to fit within the narrow confines of American racial caste hierarchy or narratives of an exoticism and primitivity, students such as Sarah found that understanding that sharing their experiences of distance or exclusion created ways to embrace all of it. In reflecting on a fellow student in the program who had similar experiences, Sarah noted:

> So I feel like I really connected to him. And one story that we both shared was like not feeling Poly enough, or feeling like, you have to pick a side. And I feel like both of us finally can feel comfortable being both and not having to choose a side and just feeling comfortable with whoever you are, and not feeling like you have to be Tongan enough to be around a group or being White enough. (Sarah, interview)

Both students' responses are illustrative of the way the program understood routes not only as representation of interconnection (i.e. the routes that connect us) but also in a way that permits multiple routes, either from a shared origin or towards a similar destination. Feelings of confidence and pride were expressed by many students, though importantly many also developed a stronger sense of simultaneity.

In this section I highlighted the ways that the Wayfinder program understood routes as a form of interconnection that is formed through distance not just a result of it. Wayfinder took efforts to acknowledge both shared origins as well as the multiplicitous and simultaneity of Pacific Islander identity not as a deleterious or diluting effect, but one that is deeply aligned with what their ancestors had continued to engage for generations. Through unpacking dominant media narratives that tense Pacific Islanders

in the past, comparing them with their experiences and interrogating ideologies of singularity, the Wayfinder program meant to re-engage with traditional navigational practices turned metaphorical. In doing so, the routed pedagogy of Wayfinder leaned into distance as a generator of connection, not its dismantling.

Presencing Pasts

***

Peti answered my zoom call using her cell phone, seated in the backseat of a car, her image stuttering occasionally as they drove. She was returning from a softball tournament in Colorado, and we chatted as the sun glared in from the window, occasionally washing out her face.

"Yeah there like over a thousand teams there" she reported. "And it was hot there. It was like super hot. The weather kind of reminded me of Hawai'i. It was humid and it was raining."

I asked her about the program. What things stood out or were significant to you?

Peti laughed, "I feel this question comes out a lot when I talk to you" and mentioned the sessions on positive affirmations and building self confidence. About feeling more appreciative of her family and their sacrifices.

She continued, peering out through the window, and recalled "I think probably one of the most memorable moments was when the professor passed around the kafa that we tie ta 'ovala around and talked about the new ones that people are making with the rope and with the coconut husks. And he used it to represent how we have new knowledge and old knowledge from the past and how we should intertwine that together…"

Peti's gaze returned to the camera, "it just made me think about how I can help myself and finding my own identity. Because kind of like as a teenager right now, it's kind of hard because like, this is a time where you're trying to find who you are, like the things you like, the things you don't like, and like what you want to become in the future."

We went on to discuss her final art project for the program and she outlined an idea to make her own kafa, weaving together sinnet and softball shoelaces. She explained "I think I want my peers to see how they can connect, or how they should connect with their ancestors. And kind of like, they don't have to be one or the other. They can make it into a combined thing, which can be like their own unique identity."

***

Peti's reflection about tying together past, present and future was another way that the routed pedagogy of Wayfinder connected places and people as well as tenses. She described this revelation after an activity with a Pacific Islander studies professor who, in describing experience migrating from Tonga to Utah, used two pieces of kafa[26], one of traditional coconut fiber and the other using nylon, to demonstrate their sense of tying worlds and time together. In a similar way, the Wayfinder program generated connections not just between time but through it -- the ancestral self was not a realm entirely untouchable, backwards or obsolete but communing within it would more deeply pave a way for futurity. In doing so the routed pedagogy was not a "return trip" to a romantic Oceania before colonial incursion, but rather a way of tracing routes to find the intersections of diasporic timelines. Continuing from the previous section on multiplicitous identities forged because of diaspora, I will provide examples that hone in on temporal interconnectivity and argue that doing so provides an alternate routes away from the savage/civilized binary of colonial chronology.

Alongside the ways in which the Wayfinder pedagogy collapsed distance to make it a space of relational simultaneity, so too did it implicate supposed temporal distance. At the outset of the program, Maka spoke to their aspirations for the students to "take current knowledge of your ancestral history, and then add to it to form this new ancestral history," and while there may be tension over the idea "preserving" and "changing" the culture, he understood is as a " great balance for both, as we gain new knowledge, but still holding on to the ancestral knowledge. That's true to, you know, our original identities of Pacific Islander" (Maka, interview). In Maka's statement there is a synthesis of temporalities -- ancestral and original are not immutable places that thwart innovation and adaptation, rather they anchor it as much as adaptation allows to generate what he terms a "new ancestral history". If glossed through Western temporalities, this may read as unresolvable -- how can you hold to an ancestral history if it is made anew? Yet if read alongside the Kanaka ʻŌiwi proverb, "ka wā[27] ma mua, ka wā ma hope " (in English "the time in front, the time in back"), an interconnection of relations among time emerges. Or as stated in the influential text *Native Land And Foreign Desires* by Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, "the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas" (1995, p.22). The similarities of Maka's hopes for the program align well with Oceanic concepts that see the past as a reservoir of futurity, something we intended to operationalize in our pedagogies.

Most strongly this manner of collapsing past and present came through the family history project. In researching their families history prior to migrating to the Bay Area, Peti encountered a long told story of their grandfather and his brother's efforts to build a well in Tonga. In the story (as related by their father), the island their grandfather and siblings living on did not have access to fresh water and would routinely need to fetch water from a nearby island, hauling it back with buckets via a canoe. At some point, the grandfather decided to dig a well on the island, for which they were doubted and mocked by the community as naive or foolhardy, and yet they did in fact strike fresh water. The well still draws water today. When asked what the story

[26] Sinnet made from various materials, including coconut fiber or sometimes an ancestor's hair.

[27] Note here again that wā is considered a cognate of vā.

meant to them, Peti felt that it taught her about "resilience and never giving up regardless of what others have to say". Furthermore, they expressed:

> And I feel like sometimes, not even me, but all of us, we take resources and the things around us for granted. And I feel like what I learned about my ancestors is…the hard work they did just to create livelihood. And I feel like I never paid respect or never really acknowledged what they did for their future generations. (Peti, interview)

Peti's recollection is reminiscent of Vincent Diaz's pronouncement that "indigeneity=time/space/self/narrative" (2011, p.27), using stories carried down and transformed through time to create meaning for herself, in this case a twin lesson of confidence and gratitude. Significantly, this recollection was not merely a one way retrieval but alludes to the impacts on future generations: the well continues to provide water for village not unlike a family story continues to serve as a source for future understandings of self and values.

Similarly, students like Sarah also experienced a connection between the act of story gathering and implications for the future. In their project, they decided to interview their father and grandmother to better understand migration from Tonga to Utah. Choosing to record stories on film was intentional as Sarah remarked "it connects with me more", adding "and I feel like I'd remember it more and I can go back and look on it multiple times, like in my future and show, you know, future posterity and things like that" (Sarah, interview). As there much documentation on the significance and value of oral traditions within many Oceanic communities, Sarah's decision to use video technology is not necessarily about undermining traditional forms of storytelling, but rather an artistic preference they took that afforded an opportunity to share stories with future generations in a different (perhaps more direct) way. Note too, as with Alisi, the interest in repetitive listening is evident here -- Sarah's attitude is both one of preservation as well as a continued resourcing with the stories she may collect for both her "future" self and "posterity". Throughout the program, the language of futurity (i.e. my future, my children, the next generation) was mostly generated when unpacking the meaning and value of the stories they gathered from family members. This suggests that approaching stories as living conduits that bind family helps to reduce the feelings that an Indigenous self is locked behind an inaccessible timewall.

Not only did the routedness of the Wayfinder pedagogy provide connective pathways between time (in so much that the past informs the present) but also afforded opportunities for the Wayfinder students to explore what Maka may refer to as a "new ancestral history". In a previous section, I related how Samuel had entered the program with dominant notions that cast Pacific Islanders as primitive and illiterate, yet through learning about traditional navigation techniques, Samuel described the program as, "like a new way of seeing things. I like this because the new ways doesn't mean that old ways stops working" (Samuel, interview). Modernity had up until then indicated an impassable barrier, one where the ways of ancestors necessarily may become obsolete, but in describing "new ways" of navigating (with radar and satellite mapping) they acknowledged how traditional methods of star navigation endured. Hart, too, would later comment on this simultaneity, reflecting that the message he hoped to get across to the students was, "Hey, take your current ancestral knowledge, weave in what you're

learning and create this new identity of culture. And who's to say that that's wrong? And so my mind is always like, okay, I love this about our culture. But what if we did it this way?" (Hart, field notes). Hart would further discuss how passing down traditions sometimes felt like being "hazed by ghosts", in that the mounting pressure of needing to live up to the (perceived) expectations of previous generations could feel like a crushing weight. Rather, Hart preferred thinking of adaptability as integral to Pacific Islander identity, rather than a latent or recent development. In this schema, family stories were instructive, but not instructions, on what was possible.

In this section, I have highlighted the ways that Wayfinder's routed pedagogy explicitly intercedes with temporality -- particularly confronting colonial time/spaces. As activities such as unpacking dominant narratives helped to touch upon mainstream constructions of Pacific Islanders, the family history projects themselves and the follow up discussions they sparked illustrate perhaps most concretely how family narratives once retrieved and rearticulated provided important moments of reconciling past and present. In this sense, the Wayfinder program drew upon the distance students may have felt towards their ancestors, families, one another and themselves to demonstrate how the shared connections of genealogy and experiences as Pacific Islanders in the diaspora reveals that engagement with ancestral knowledge and family histories in the program demonstrates not merely nostalgia for a singular pre-colonial past, but rather powerful coordinates that demonstrate the continued importance of Indigenous mobility and adaptation.

Outside of the Lines

This chapter has been an examination of Wayfinder's routed pedagogical stances -- a manner to blur the lines of temporality not in service of a post-modern Indigeneity, but rather returning to Oceanic concepts of time/space that resist those boundaries in the first place. Critically, the legacies of colonial dominion over many Oceanic Indigenous peoples has certainly traveled from the past and followed them to our Wayfinder space. In our work, a notion of impure "mixedness" appeared as the most present continuation of a Western coloniality that thrives on taxonomic division. In understanding how colonial temporality has been weaponized against Indigenous peoples and how that has been manifested in Western schooling, this chapter also alludes to a larger discussion of when cultural revitalization education can take place. Though Oceanic Indigenous migrants may be popular (mis)understood as seemingly out of both their "proper" place and time, interrogating the supposed differentiation of this transit (again, in both space and time) affords news ways of understanding when learning can take place.

By addressing dominant representations of Pacific Islander identities and how those mechanisms are apparent in the day to day lived experiences of Wayfinder students, a routed pedagogy meant to open up new spaces and pathways to ask questions of the seemingly singularity of these messages. Critical here too was the dialogue that produced interconnection between students and their experiences, and not only in what they had in common with one another but also the dissimilarity. This too was evident in the act of gathering and rearticulating family stories: while they are instructive narratives that travel with family genealogically, they were not treated as pure narratological specimens free from colonial contamination, but powerful texts that

opened up multiplicitous ways to be connected in both similar and dissimilarity across and through time/spaces.

Chapter Four

4
Place-Making and Roots

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with roots, a term that signifies historical and cultural continuity upon which revitalization efforts rely. As a botanical metaphor, roots also imply a deep connection with biome, if not specifically earth or soil, but through colonial reckonings of ethno-nation state and border, become entangled with notions of territory and citizenship. As this dissertation employs terminology from Indigenous frameworks and takes seriously Indigenous claims to place and sovereignty, I am wary of colonial structures and expressions that distort these concepts to further contain Indigenous expansion. In unpacking the term roots and investigating its operationalized role in place-based education on participants in the Wayfinder program, I suggest that a *rooted* approach towards learning produces growth and abundance of Indigenous place and sovereignty.

As this chapter is concerned with Indigenous place and reclaiming the cultural connections to places, the Wayfinder participants' experience in the program reveal the importance of maintaining Indigenous space as well as the generative abundance and expansion of one's interconnection with and stewardship of multiple places. Their identities as Pacific Islanders born and primarily raised in California, complicate how cultural reclamation happens for Indigenous peoples in diaspora whose territorial and ancestral connections are with multiple places. If efforts towards Indigenizing pedagogies include engagement with or perhaps a real return to ancestral places, the experiences of the Wayfinder participants demonstrate that the significance of embodied learning cannot be understated, particularly in contrast to American schooling that extinguishes one's connection to ancestral places. A rooted reclamation pedagogy has the capacity to go beyond mere arbitrary exercises of "learning" about cultural practices by engaging in the tangible. Thus, if schools homogenize and contract "cultural" space, rootedness expands Indigenous place through practices that collapse the supposed distances that separate diasporic Indigenous peoples from ancestral places and reforges connections and responsibilities to multiple places simultaneously.

At the outset of the Wayfinder project, I do not believe any of the participants anticipated the degree to which land and sea would play a role in our efforts. As Pacific Islanders who were raised in the Bay Area of the 1980s, the directors Hart and Maka were socialized within the multicultural zeitgeist of the era: broad coalitions of people of color in the post-Civil rights era poised to overcome institutional racism by seizing control of positions of power, or at the very least bargain for a bit more representation in prevailing institutions. Diversity would be the salve for institutional racism and as it would follow, culture was understood as an essentialist catalog of traits, practices and values that could easily (if not clumsily) be attributed to distinguishable ethnic communities. These ideas inform contemporary multicultural school practices written with the grammar of Anglocentric schooling (such as Eurocentric modalities and achievement metrics) that aim to increase "recognition" and "inclusion" of non-White curriculum. All together these practices emphasize that pride in one's cultural identity and its potential for personal transformation -- a presumption that the cultural identities of our participants were detached, if not wholly unrelated, to the lands we

occupy -- were very much present in the initial conversations about the purpose of the Wayfinder program.

In operationalizing rootedness, Wayfinder's work confronts a variety of colonialisms, recognizing that a program meant to find collective agency though being "Pacific Islander" can easily fall into flattened presumptions of Indigenous identity and ignore the myriad of colonial manifestations. Instead, the realities that a group of mostly self-identified (though ethnically and racially mixed) Tongans, born and raised as settler-arrivants in the Bay Area (on unceded Ohlone lands) and "returning" to an occupied Hawai'i (of which many of their family had migratory connections and regular commutes with) was inevitably going to criss cross many interconnected colonial situations. Yet, rather than seek neatly ordered ethnic arrangements of ethnicity and place, Wayfinder fully embraced these complexities as part and parcel experience of their Pacific Islander-ness as conditioned by being in diaspora.

This chapter opens with experiences of the Wayfinder participants in schools that omit Pacific Islander identities which create a nowhere-place of cultural learning. From there, I direct attention towards participant quotes, stories and artful ethnographic portraits that demonstrate through embodied experience, Wayfinder students engaged in purposeful rooted interactions with Indigenous places, calling into question the geophysical presumptions of proximity and space. Where this chapter adds to a conversation of roots and place and continuity and adaptation is how Indigenous diasporic youth actualize these practices and argue that place, and one's relationship to place, is central in cultural reclamation education as the land and ocean are key interlocutors in the dialogic process of cultural meaning making. I conclude with examples that suggest this reclamation led to new forms of stewardship that permeate across physical and generational boundaries and that rather than precipitating cultural dilution and disconnection, Indigenous diaspora and rootedness can lead to dispersed stewardship that thrives through nodal networks.

Schooling for Replacement

***

Maka's stucco and plaster backyard had been set up with two folding tables as stations for making lu for our fundraiser. A well worn pop-up canopy shaded the students, who were meeting in person for the first time since the start of the pandemic. From beneath cloth masks they cracked jokes while portioning out taro leaves, coconut milk and corned beef hash in an assembly line. A Spawnbreezie baseline wafted in the background as friends, families and well wishers popped in through a side gate to pick up their orders, stopping to chat with Hart and Maka.

Sofia's mom leaned against the gate, soaking in the scene. "This…this reminds me of home" she reminicised. "Like in Samoa, you know, making food and people dropping by. And the music. You can have all of this in this backyard in Oakland" she said, closing her hands together like cradling a gift. "Like these little spaces".

Victor was handling the steamers, cranking out batch after batch of lu. On the weekends, his parents roasted upwards to twenty suckling pigs at a time and were known for supplying roast pork for almost every community event in town: weddings, funerals, birthday parties. Victor helped most weekends and though still in high school knew his way around industrial cooking equipment. He also played football, and I had asked him how it was going at school.

"I've been asking our coach if we can do a haka[28], which is something I've learned, also the sipi tau[29]. But he said that the district won't allow us because…I guess it's threatening. That's what he said, rated R."

"Rated R?" I asked.

"Yeah. That's what he said, and I was just like, come on man. Doing the haka - it gets you hyped, I don't know you can feel like the spirit, I guess. He just said 'no, you can't do that'. Because it wasn't just me trying to do it. There's people before me who went to that school and they also asked if they can do the haka, and he said, no. But he also wanted to do it. He just said, you know, we can't do it - the district won't allow it."

"So what happened?"

Victor grinned, "Yeah, we still did it anyway. Yesterday." He leaned back in his folding chair, feet firmly planted on the ground.

"How did that feel?"

"Like…smash the door down. And just walk outside - smash the locked door down."

He paused for a moment, still a smile on his face. "Probably gonna get in trouble but it's fine."

***

The impetus for the Wayfinder project was born from experiences of cultural disconnect and disillusionment with Eurocentric schooling practices experienced by Wayfinder participants. While significantly older, Wayfinder's directors Maka and Hart were graduates of the same public school system as the majority of the Wayfinder students, the same one I graduated from and taught in as well. While they graduated several decades before most participants in the program, they observed the same

[28] A ceremonial dance form of Māori origin. Though erroneously regarded only as a "war dance", haka is used in a wide variety of ceremonial places and settings for a variety of purposes.

[29] A pre-game "challenge" dance used by the Tonga national rugby union team.

cultural disconnect playing out in the younger generation of Pacific Islander students. Nearly every student in the Wayfinder program attested that school was the place they felt "the least Pacific Islander", alluding to the ways in which heritage cultural knowledge was being replaced by Eurocentric forms. Recollections of these exclusions came in several forms, including omission from curriculum, disinclusion from multicultural processes such as racialized honor rolls and resistance, if not outright hostility, towards inclusion of Pacific Islander cultural forms.

In 2017, the local school district that nearly all of the Wayfinder participants attended produced a report identifying Pacific Islander students as having the lowest literacy rates and highest rates of absenteeism per capita of any ethnic/racial group in the district (OUSD, 2017). This data was compiled through analyzing standardized test scores across the district and triggered a flurry of interventions, including early childhood reading programs and college access workshops, meant to divert what was seen as a problem residing with the efforts of students and families. Yet, an assimilative logic undergirds these efforts: literacy is facility in English; learning takes place in classrooms. In simple terms, a commonsense understanding of a typical Pacific Islander student from the district perspective was subliterate and delinquent, yet little interrogation happened in terms of why reading levels were low and perhaps more significantly, why students were not attending classes. These presumed deficiencies underwrite the normative function of schools: they signal that Pacific Islander students are unfit for college or the labor market while their low performance on tests and/or absence from classrooms threaten district funding and reputation.

In one Wayfinder session, Lea spoke of the absence of any Pacific Islander curricular material in their school, recalling that social studies class "focused on like, American history, or like, other races and like, not really give us, I guess, enough attention" (Lea, field notes). Subtly, Lea's analysis speaks to a division of Pacific Islander or Polynesian history as outside of "American history", an Anglocentric logic that guides similar binaries around Black or Asian history as outside the pale of Americanness. The fact that Lea is also Native Hawaiian and that their family's history is therefore intimately tied to American empire stands in stark and ironic contrast to schooling that purports to teach American history yet avoids interaction with colonial domination over Indigenous peoples. In a separate conversation, Sofia noticed in nearly identical language:

> In school, we really don't learn about Asian or Pacific Islander history because it isn't really focused on that. And I don't think we ever really learned about Hawaiian history. (Sofia, field notes)

In their reckoning, Sofia points out that the mechanism that excludes curriculum centered on Pacific Islanders is similar with underrepresentation of other non-European racial and ethnic groups. It is telling that Lea and Sofia's comments centered on the official school curriculum as a major factor in creating a feeling of cultural disconnect or dissolution. This implies that content, or what is taught, is significant in shaping students' relationship to school and opens up further questions about how and by whom such content would be taught and what potential impacts those would have on making school a culturally affirming space.

Though California recently passed an ethnic studies requirement in public high school, the changes are slow to materialize into classroom practices. Lea's comments, discussing the comparative invisibilization of Pacific Islanders in their social studies courses, point towards the limitations of multiculturalist inclusivity projects which rely upon gatekeepers (in this case, a largely White faculty and educational administration workforce) to grant more culturally responsive offerings to an increasingly diversifying student population. Thus while Lea expresses an interest in more "attention" to Pacific Islander history, their assessment correctly presumes a Eurocentric core to American schooling that is decidedly slow or reluctant to incorporate knowledge and history that sit outside that base template.

This sentiment of invisibility and willful omission of Pacific Islander knowledge from schools was also echoed in Peti's experience at the same school. When comparing a Wayfinder activity that asked students to collect narratives and stories from their family, they reflected:

> You know how you guys gave us that project to go find stories about our ancestors, I feel like that's not really a school project..too.. I feel like, that's not a school project, they would give us like, I feel like our school projects for history are just like, go learn about, like, George Washington or something. (Peti, interview)

Peti's comparison reveals the absence of Pacific Islander history in curriculum through noting how typical assignments reinforce connections into American "founding fathers" such as Washington. By adding "or something" Peti also alludes to the emptiness of these sorts of projects. While history assignments like these carry the intention of creating American national identity through knowledge of "common" and "shared" cultural knowledges and peoples, the results had fallen flat with most of the students in Wayfinder. The assignments also represent larger forces of colonial hegemony that reinforce National identity based on reiterating the singular presence of Eurocentric histories and knowledge in place of Native or Indigenous histories.

Attempts at multicultural inclusion are also reportedly handled clumsily as well. While Eurocentric curriculum remains the norm and is given added weight through standardized testing regimes and a largely White middle class teaching workforce, school practices that are meant to "uplift" and "recognize" students of color and their achievements do not account for Pacific Islander identities. Previous research on multicultural days (Baquedano-Lopez & Gong, 2022) and afterschool Pacific Islander cultural clubs (Gong, 2020) illustrates how diversity and inclusion practices in schools diminish and peripheralize Pacific Islander students. One familiar form has been racialized honor roll celebrations: while developed with the good intentions to recognize "minority" students, they are still calculated through American racial prisms that collapse Pacific Islanders under an Asian-American umbrella thereby invisibilizing them. Siaosi recounted in one conversation an instance where they attempted to question the practice:

> So like, all my friends will have this Asian honor or award and then like, African American Honor Award, but the Poly's never had one from middle school to high school. And I did have to ask my

> principal about it. And he said 'if not everyone's going to be praised for their effort, then no one should have it at all', which was like not even the point! (Siaosi, field notes)

Siaosi's questioning of this multicultural diversity practice seemingly ended in an ultimatum ("then no one should at all") which reveals the fragility of attempts in connecting Pacific Islander students like Siaosi to school as an inclusive space. Siaosi's story is not meant, like in the words of their principal, to call for an end of these practices, but their memory of the event showcases the limitations of recognition politics in lieu of pedagogical practices that can ground students to ancestral places.

Returning to Victor's story of performing a haka at the beginning of his football game, their narrative reveals some of the fear, xenophobia and racism that undergirds these omissions. Though Pacific Islanders have long been categorized under an umbrella Asian Pacific Islander (API) moniker in most official racial tracking systems, such as the census and school demographics, their racialization is distinct (though still sharing some characteristics) from conceptualizations of East Asian-ness. Alisi shared in one Wayfinder session how their teachers continually presumed they were an English language learner and migrant despite being born in the Bay Area and raised as a monolingual English speaker. Victor too, even though mixed with "Caucasian" and therefore lighter in complexion than a "typical Polynesian," had been perceived as threatening. My previous research with Polyclub members in highschools documented numerous instances where classmates and teachers regarded Polynesians as "mean looking," "angry" or "violent," based on perception alone. This phenomenon is shared with other peoples with dark complexions and perhaps points to a recycling of a racial script (Molina, 2014) that conjures up imagery of intimidating and violent Natives. In addition, many Pacific Islander classmates and faculty have a poor grasp and understanding of Pacific Islander peoples (a near ubiquitous experience for Wayfinder participants was being raced as either "Hispanic" or "Asian", or as one student recalled, "I get a lot of people asking me if I'm Asian, or they get confused when they hear my name.")

With this in mind, Victor's coach's resistance to incorporating a haka into the pre-game rituals of the football team (one that has had and continued to have many Pacific Islander players) signals the xenophobia and rejection of Pacific Islander cultural forms. Notably, by claiming it was "Rated R", the coach was inferring a degree of obscenity in performing the movements, despite the insistence that the district was enforcing a policy that apparently excluded displays of violence or aggression while still fully supportive of a youth sport that literally involves tackling and collisions. This decision further signals the erasure of Pacific Islander warrior ritual (even if the ritualization is through a diasporized reappropriation of a distinctly Māori form) and its possibility of re-awakening historical memory of the ongoing occupation of Indigenous lands, or as Victor put it "you can feel the spirit, I guess". Victor's recollection of the coaches' reluctance, as well as his subversion of those barriers illustrates both the erasure of Pacific Islander identities at the school level and youth agency in spite of these obstacles.

All these instances point towards Anglocentric schooling practices that are either ill equipped to incorporate or decidedly hostile towards Pacific Islander epistemologies and histories. Through omission, school had become the place where Wayfinder

students found themselves most isolated not only from a Pacific Islander identity, but from practices that could connect them to ancestral places. Much more can be said about colonial-settler school practices that, while supporting the identities of migrant youth and youth of color, alienate migrant diasporic youth from local Indigenous histories of the peoples and lands they occupy (Stone, 2019), something that scholars such as Eve Tuck (Tuck et al., 2014) have discussed in relation to environmental education that centers settler utility and possession. While the multicultural response to this exclusion would certainly be to simply "include" Pacific Islanders into the practices, the Wayfinder students' experience calls for a further engagement with place beyond making American schools into a facsimile of connecting with ancestral places.

Place as Storied and Embodied

***

"So everyone say loʻi[30]*"*

A chorus of Wayfinder students erupted "Loʻi!"

"So we have loʻi kalo[31]*, which is…" a quick pause "was our staple as Hawaiians and throughout the Pacific so it's just bringing that back and trying to feed our community. We have two hundred and forty acres below…" Kahiau, our instructor and guide for the morning, diverted her attention towards the mountains.*

"Actually, first, so that's Puʻumāʻeliʻeli, that's Koʻohelo the ridgeline, this is Kaiwikeʻe and it goes to the peak here called ʻIolekaʻa, the valley next to it is Haʻikū that point up there with the power thing on the top, that's Keahiakahoe. More down we have Lanihuli which is the flat top and one more over is Kōnāhuanui, so for Heʻeia we mahalo these places, we mahalo these mountains. Because this is our living space as well, not just work, and we have an intimate relationship with these spaces, because without these mountains, these clouds would just pass us by so we really give thanks to these mountains here to help stop or slow down the clouds to catch rain."

The Wayfinder students lined up alongside the bank of the loʻi, the smell of warm mud and grass permeated upwards. Other nearby patches were nearing harvest, seas of fluttering dark leaves. Samuel had mentioned he had eaten plenty of taro in his life, but had never seen it growing. Soon they would plunge thigh deep into its depths.

Kahiau continued, "This district's name is Koʻolaupoko, and so our kupuna would talk about this place as the breadbasket. I'm from Koʻolauloa. So I always believe ***my*** *valley is the breadbasket of my space. But we should believe that right? Anywhere we go, your space should be*

[30] Irrigated terrace, especially for taro.

[31] Hawaiian term for taro, with cognates such as talo in Tongan language.

the breadbasket for your people. So you know, we can't farm land without people, we can't farm land without our community. No matter what you look like, what you do, how you live, we all need food and water. And that's really what brings kanaka together, right? Is that we gotta rely on each other to keep our spaces healthy."

***

In contrast to the culturally devoid schooling encountered by Wayfinder students in the Bay Area, our time in Hawai'i demonstrated a radical alternative that foregrounded place, relationship and embodiment as foundational to culturally reclamation education. Through first introducing the mountains by their names, offering gratitude and respecting them as sentient entities that gifted the land and lo 'i the ability to create life, Kahiau's framing illustrates a common Indigenized place-based pedagogy we encountered throughout our trip be it at the lo 'i, fish pond or voyaging canoe. Unlike Western academics that focus on the intellectual comprehension of a content area, Kahiau's introduction of the lo'i emphasized the interdependent relationships of landforms and ocean forms with place and human sustenance, maintained first and foremost through respectful and caring relations. Significantly, the activities in this portion of the Wayfinder program were embodied, exceeding boundaries of academic pedagogies that often rely on classroom or textual facsimile. In this section, I will continue to illustrate this rooted place-based pedagogy through this collection of multi-sited "classrooms" on O'ahu and their impacts on Wayfinder participants in reforging interdependent connections of Pacific Islanders with place both in Oceania and the diaspora.

While all of the Wayfinder participants were born and raised away from ancestral territories, many of them had traveled multiple times to visit friends and relatives in the islands. Hawai'i had been a common place of travel, as many of the Wayfinders either had family living on various islands, or had had parents or grandparents live there as part of a migration trajectory that connected them to the Bay Area. These visitations were both brief and often conditioned by an extractive tourist-industrial complex that ungirds and fuels the Hawaiian economy. In reflecting on his previous trips to Hawai'i, Samuel recalled engaging in "touristy" things like parasailing and jet skiing, or as Peti put it, "There are times where I just kind of went and, like, did nothing". The power of the tourist industry's ability to ignore, obscure or most perversely, transform Hawai'i into a place of colonial voyeurism and consumption has been thoughtfully written about by a number of Hawaiian scholars (Gonzalez, 2009; Halualani, 2002; Trask, 1991). Peti's description of their previous trips as amounting to "nothing" encapsulates this power to diminish the potential transformational experience of deep engagement in culture and place, similar to the culturally voided schooling found in American schools.

In contrast, Wayfinder's agenda in Hawai'i deliberately broke away from the typical itinerary of "cultural tourism" and sought out educators who were engaged *in*

ʻāina[32] *st*ewardship, loko iʻa[33] restoration and traditional ocean navigation. In comparing his Wayfinder experience with other times in Hawaiʻi, Siaosi remarked:

> I've been to Hawaii many times, but to learn these things, and go through it -- and it's right there in the places where I've been but never actually done it the same way is like -- was cool for me. That was a big mind-blowing experience. (Siaosi, field notes)

The difference that Siaosi points out is that the engagement with the places and educators we engaged with was in tandem with Indigenous histories and stories. This speaks to place as conditioned by story and relationship: a tourist read of Hawaiʻi as escapist fantasy renders places like the loʻi of Heʻeia as invisible, to the effect that a number of Wayfinder students remarked they had literally driven by some of these areas before without any sense or knowledge of their significance. I shared in this revelation as well, having driven by this stretch of highway numerous times before, never appreciating the deep cultural significance of the area and its continued importance in perpetuating Hawaiian peopledom. The pedagogical lesson from these interactions puts importance on the Indigenous stewardship of Native sites and those who can appropriately orient students through protocol of place (Kahiau naming and paying respect to the mauna), recalling moʻolelo[34] (the breadbasket of Koʻolaupoko*)*, describing its ecosystems (the water from the mauna feeds the valley) and reinforcing the cultural values these interdependencies generate (*"And that's really what brings kanaka together, right? Is that we gotta rely on each other to keep our spaces healthy"*). Central to this was Kahiau (and other educators) inviting Wayfinder students to participate in revitalizing the ahupuaʻa[35] eco-social system, first by teaching us its historical role in Hawaiian society and its continued value in decolonizing both ʻāina (repurposing the land for accessible sustenance) and mentalities (by demonstrating how cooperative social systems go hand in and hand with decolonization). This was all in prelude before students actually "did" any hands-on learning, for example preparing the loʻi for planting by stomping weeds to release their nitrates into the mud and removing invasive mangrove debris to improve the traditional watershed of the neighboring loko iʻa. While these activities echo service learning and project based-learning pedagogies, the significant difference was emphasizing the appropriate relationship to the place and one's contribution and interaction with it through Indigenous principles and protocols.

This sequencing (though not always in a linear fashion) of interaction with place was typical in nearly all of the educational spaces that Wayfinder students engaged in, including those outside of ecological restorative activities, prompting Wayfinder

---

[32] A term translatable as "land" but also means "that which feeds".

[33] Fish pond.

[34] Stories or tales.

[35] A traditional eco-social land division system that organized "pie sliced" areas from mountain peak to the Ocean which provided all of the necessary sustenance for the communities that inhabited them as well as organized the roles and relationships necessary in stewarding these resources. Though often equated with Western feudal land systems, a deeper dive into the spiritual and ethno-biomatic relationships of ahupuaʻa exceeds the space necessary to offer a more accurate description.

students to consider ancestral relationships through their learning. Prior to our time at the loʻi, Austin Kino, a navigator trained in traditional Wayfinding techniques, invited us on a hike to situate us before joining them on a voyaging canoe later that afternoon. This hike up Makapuʻu was intentional in retracing the same path Austin's mentor and master navigator Nainoa Thompson and Nainoa's mentor Pius "Papa Mau" Piailug took during the former's apprenticeship[36] a generation before. The walk was intertwined with moʻolelo of the surrounding areas, stories and techniques of navigating around Oʻahu and beyond and indicating areas where such knowledge would have been imparted from Papa Mau to Nainoa decades before. Sarah shared later that this day stuck out to them, recalling

> I think when we were talking to Austin, and how we were just asking him all these questions and how he was giving us all this information, it kind of made me think like, this could be like the same experiences as that of my ancestors. (Sarah, field notes)

Sarah's grandparents had lived on Oʻahu (migrating from Tonga) prior to settling in Oakland and then Utah, but their remark about ancestral connection was more common than not for Wayfinder participants despite not having genealogical ties to Hawaiʻi. The Hawaiian educators instilled interconnectivity in their teaching: learning the specificity of place was a critical precursor before entering into a healthy relationship with ʻāina, but was not done in drawing impermeable cultural boundaries, but relating the interconnectedness of Pacific Islander peoples as a shared kinfolk grounded in commonalities. In fact this rootedness of the specificity of place was important in establishing what was unique so that comparisons and similarities across places and generational boundaries could emerge. When Sarah related her experience of the hike, she, like other Wayfinder students, did not misconstrue the lesson as an appropriation of Native Hawaiian ʻaina, protocol or identity, but rather utilized it as a catalyst of reclaiming and reconfiguring their relationships with ancestors, homelands, and kindred peoples. The difference in this approach rather than mainstreamed multicultural offerings in schools is near total inversion: while multiculturalist recognition of Pacific Islanders is mediated through Anglocentric lens that elevates equivocated cultural concepts (i.e. Pacific Islander heroes/Pacific Islander holidays) a placed-based rooted pedagogy begins with interaction with lands and seas and the storied relationships of its indigenous stewards as a way to signify difference as a means to inform commonalities.

Adding to these pedagogies is embodiment that also brought Wayfinder students to a sense of rootedness not as a final destination towards a stable, singular truth, but as a kinesthetic form of learning that renewed relationships and generated possibilities. In discussions with Wayfinder students after our time in Hawaiʻi, many extolled the value of having opportunities to do "hands-on" learning, often contrasting it with schooling practices that encouraged individualistic achievement and competition (Sarah, interview). Rather, learning happened through contributive endeavors, such as a meal

[36] Nainoa Thompson and Papa Mau's relationship is now nearly a legendary moment in the Hawaiian Renaissance, catalyzing the historic trans-Pacific voyages of the Hōkūleʻa. A more complete story is also more complicated and involves a great deal more people than there is space to retell here.

following our time in the loʻi where Maka recalled how "the kids learning from the land, making food, then cooking it ties all of the processes together. You cannot cook food without tending to the land in a traditionally specific way" (Maka, field notes). Indeed, being involved in the process of tending a loʻi provided further insight to the interdependent processes required to make it. The lau lau[37] could no longer be abstracted away from understanding the life cycle of taro from root to table, if not the impact of the mountain peaks and rain clouds that feed the loʻi, just as the significance of being on a voyaging canoe was no longer abstracted away from its genealogical history (from Micronesian navigator to Hawaiian cultural activist to the newest generation of Wayfinders) nor its place. The participants generally agreed that a hands-on approach guided this learning, removing it from merely an intellectual understanding of interdependency into tangible and actionable form.

In this way, embodiedness is significant in rootedness as it is difficult to recreate these processes outside of their actually practiced contexts. Learning about these concepts prior to our visit was important in priming Wayfinder students for what we might encounter, but like many participants remarked after the fact, it was more meaningful and impactful to be involved in a present physical sense that could not be transmitted in other mediums. Wayfinder participants noted multiple times that being within an Oceanic biome, particularly in more rural, less urbanized parts of Oʻahu, that was similar to one inhabited by ancestors, was an irreplicable and sensory rich experience that shifted their learning stance. As Hart noted in a debrief conversation about learning protocol to enter sacred spaces, "Sometimes you just can't do that in the city. You know, you could read about it, you could talk about, you can watch film on it, but it won't be the same" (Hart, field notes). Aligned with this notion, student journals from the trip recorded these noticings, such as the particular deep blue of the ocean, the rich green of the foliage and the warmth of the air, informing Peti's reflection that:

> I think the trip has impacted my relationships with my ancestors. Because, like, even though I would talk out loud and and say, like, 'Oh, I appreciate what my ancestors did, and I have mad respect for them.' But I feel like actually going to Hawaiʻi and then just thinking about the lo'i even. Like, I feel like experiencing that and actually putting my feet into like that mud was really -- like allowed me to really see the things that they had to do. To make things good for my generation or my parents. (Peti, field notes)

This association between "actually being there" and concepts of gratitude or providing a real sense of clarity about their connection to ancestors was a common occurrence in reflective conversations with participants. Peti's experience in the loʻi illustrates rootedness in that actually having their body involved in one part of the process of cultivating taro was clearly more than just acquiring a technical skill, but was imbued with understanding more deeply the reasons and values behind these acts. Importantly, the embodied learning activated a felt connection of traditional taro cultivation and its corresponding impact on themselves and their family. Thus, taro production was no

[37] A food item often of pork, taro and fish wrapped in ti leaf. The majority Tongan participants remarked how similar it was to lu.

longer an 'ancient' technology, far away both in proximity and time signature from an industrialized, and depersonalized food production system common for those living in the Bay Area. These findings point towards the use of marrying traditional ecological knowledge and place-based learning as a valuable component in culturally based education, a connection not lost on practitioners and its scholarly champions (Kimmerer, 2013) but otherwise missing from normative schooling.

Oceanic Interconnections and Dispersed Sovereignty

***

Maka and I make our way back towards shore, walking on the smooth gray rock wall that coils around the restored fishpond. It had been a long day so far: we had loaded up our van from UH Mānoa to get to Kāko'o 'Ōiwi before 9AM, planting neke on stream banks, hours of stomping the thick mud of the lo'i for planting, preparing and eating lau lau before heading over to the fishpond across the highway to clear mangrove. It had been a good day, a ceaseless day.

The fishpond at He'eia is ancient, one of many incredibly productive aquaculture fishponds that had been built and maintained by Native Hawaiians for generations. It had been dilapidated for a number of years, but now returned to kanaka[38] hands, the pond was undergoing intensive reconstruction including clearing invasive mangroves, using the wood to build structures for shade and mākāhā[39] to trap the fish. Aunty Hi'ilei had explained how Tongans, known for their skill in traditional stonework, had been instrumental in rebuilding the walls.

"You know, in Tonga, my uncle took us to a fish pond, " Maka recollected. "Over there it's kinda of like here, they put out like this metal fence out into the water. And at the end of it, they have a little circle pool where the fish swim into. Our uncle was just telling us just take the fish that you like, we're gonna eat. And the rest, you just leave it there and somebody else can come in and grab some fish. It reminded me of that, you know, thinking about the future and people that will come after us, like they'll be able to survive off of this fish pond."

Maka scanned the horizon, surveyed the fishpond we had just circumnavigated, the Ko'olau range dropping like a verdant curtain just beyond the shoreline. His gaze returned to the students. "This is really all about sustainability, huh Nate?" he asked, already knowing the answer. "Like when I think of these kids, ya know, like what is their future going

[38] Kanaka is shorthand for kanaka maoli, an endonym for Native Hawaiians.

[39] Sluice gate.

to be like if they don't have the land healthy? If there aren't any more fish?"

***

In reframing Oceania away from nationalist land-centric notions, Wayfinder's rootedness drew inspiration from the sea as a means of connection, confluence and exchange rather than a peoplesless void, rearranging where and what nation is and can be. In this section, I will describe the impacts of a rooted pedagogy on an interconnected and dispersed Indigenous sovereignty. I describe how interconnection of learning through Indigenous hubs leads to the expansion of Indigenous space that resists solidifying narrow definitions of sovereignty or stewardship as singular relations of lineage, island, or nation. An expansive and abundant sovereignty, informed by rooted pedagogies, allows for diasporic peoples to be concerned and involved in affairs at "home" as well as concerned and involved in affairs in 'new homes'.

Epeli Hauʻofa's foundational work on Oceanic identity and sovereignty, highlighting abundance of reciprocal interconnection as opposed to land-locked geographies of isolated islands, offers an important place-based alternative to the culturally voiding spaces of American schooling and colonial vacuums of on/off island binaries (2008). He and other Oceanic scholars have inverted the traditional schema that sees Oceania as a nameable region (American "Asia-Pacific" or Australian "Pacific Region") otherwise understood as a sparsely populated lake between Asia and the West (Jolly, 2007). This inversion disrupts binary categorizations like "on/off" island, "indigenous" or "diasporic" or "rooted" or "routed" by returning to Indigenous Oceanic epistemologies that allow for simultaneity and interconnection. As Teves (2018) writes, "The problem with representing 'the Native' or Pacific peoples as 'simply' rooted, as Jolly challenges, is that when you continue to 'ground' people in the land, as a kind of static place and time, you represent Europeans or Asians as mobile explorers. This perpetuates a temporal language that portrays Islanders as stuck in the past, stagnant in tradition, making foreigners (mostly men) agents of change and transformation". These theoriziations are critical to structuring a rooted pedagogy that rephrases the botanical metaphor of 'roots' away from only downward growth (akin to only feeling connected more deeply to 'your soil') and also emphasizes lateral rhizomatic connections and 'upward and horizontal' growth that encourages and anticipates offshoots for diasporic Indigenous migrants.

Important to Wayfinder was having students be in Oceania, an embodied pedagogical decision that recognizes the centrality of place in Indigenous resurgence while affording opportunities to forge connections outside of colonial containment. This remains a tricky disposition to maintain: a common question Hart and Maka encountered at the outset of the program was "why Hawaiʻi?"[40] which was asked in reference to the fact that a large majority of students did not identify as Native Hawaiian. The co-directors readily understood the implication of the question: doesn't rooted imply being on land that your genealogical ancestors occupy? Rather, in acknowledging the diversity of the diasporic Pacific Islander community they served

[40] Inquiries of whether it was appropriate to bring seemingly "non-Hawaiian" youth to Hawaiʻi were generally from non-Pacific Islander folks.

(which would make trips to places like Guam, Fiji, Samoa, Tahiti, Aotearoa and Tonga cost-prohibitive for a pilot program), they leaned towards the multi-places and seas that Wayfinder students are connected through, rather than unidirectionionally to. Conversations and family history projects from the program illustrate that many of the Wayfinder students' families were tied to multiple ancestral territories -- some to sovereign nations (like the Kingdom of Tonga) and some to places with various forms of colonial control (American Samoa and Hawai'i, for instance). In fact, a great many of the students' families had parents or grandparents who had transited through Hawai'i before settling in the Bay Area and had kin that continued to live there.

Yet, Hawai'i was not merely a practical choice for a youth program, but rather significant in connecting students with active Native Hawaiian land-ocean educators who also were aligned with bolstering Indigenous collaboration and Pan-Pacific connections. To this end, there were many explicit discussions in planning our trip to Hawai'i about the *kind* of Hawai'i our students would encounter: would it replicate a tourist fantasy of Otherized and exotic Polynesia? Would it be along the normative lines of American college-access youth tours that emphasized Anglocentric institutions? Or could it provide students opportunities to nurture their understanding of Pacific Islander Indigeneity.

In response to inquiries of what it means to "return" to Indigenous place, Wayfinder drew from Hau'ofa who theorized Oceania as an inclusive place that incorporated not only all shores it touched[41] but also "all those who love her" (2008). With that sentiment, rootedness in Wayfinder's context is a means of connecting and being in places otherwise romanticized, dreaded or dreamed of in diaspora rather than locating specific plots to be individually claimed. Instead, Wayfinder participants encountered an overwhelming insistence of the interconnectedness of all Oceanic peoples. Comments and statements describing how Pacific peoples have an abundance of cultural practices and materiality that bound them "as deriving from a similar source" or "as a Pacific people" were found in nearly every aspect of the trip. At the Pacific Hall at the Bishop museum, our docent extolled with much care and nuance the important distinctions and similarities evident in the adaptations of Pacific peoples across the ocean. While the Wayfinder students were shy at first to engage and see themselves as part of a larger identity that spanned across island, national, ethnic and racial lines, students immediately gravitated towards tools, clothing and canoe shapes that demonstrated unique adaptations but spoke a larger story of interconnected relationships. Sarah, reflecting on what Uncle Cy, a respected kumu hula, related to us one evening, found comfort and solace: "He said that underneath the ocean, we're all connected. So you don't need to be close to where your ancestors were from just to find connection" (Sarah, field notes). This reminder of need and proximity is a generous affordance that presumed geospatial calculations as a misguided measurement of cultural connection to place. The metaphor of 'underneath' the Ocean also alludes to the solidity of kinship and cultural ties that would otherwise be obscured be or covered over by the ocean's surface, a wasteland reading that Hau'ofa famously countered in

[41] Hau'ofa mused about a near excessive use of the term in that the Oceans of the world are in reality completely interconnected. Rather he was excited by the prospects of an inclusive ethno-spatiality that connected people in commitment more so than distinct geographies or perhaps even bloodlines.

describing the sea of islands as a zone of interconnectivity rather than of isolation (2008).

Thus, the effect of designing our trip to center Pacific Islander epistemologies led to participants being able to see the differences and commonalities among Pacific Island peoples with more nuance and clarity. In this way, the rootedness of the trip came not just in interacting with the land and sea in a physical way, but also being immersed in the conceptualizations of Oceania as inhabited by Indigenous peoples[42]. By doing so, this shared identity of Pacific Islander and Indigenity became more familiar and transportable. In reflection on the trip and the question "why Hawai'i?", Siaosi stated:

> So I wouldn't want to say during the trip I was having a mindset we're Tongans and this is what we do and that's what Samoans do. But what Polynesians would do as a whole. That was my mindset going on with the whole trip, because we are similar, but we are also very different. (Siaosi, field notes)

Siaosi's thoughts came as a result of our itinerary in Hawai'i, which accentuated connecting with land and sea as well as put us in conversation with Pacific Islander educators and cultural practitioners who highlighted both the diversity and commonality. Many Wayfinder participants rarely had any experiences being surrounded by educators who reflected their ethno-racial background, and by carefully curating our curriculum to be informed by Hawaiian scholars, activists and artists that advocate for alternative-decolonial tours in Hawai'i (Aikau & Gonzalez, 2019), we sought to make these comparisons tangible and immersive. As Siaosi continued in their reflection:

> If I were to say Tongans did this and she would say Samoans said that, like, you would have more trouble connecting with other people if you just strongly stuck to your own native place. But like, at the same time, if you put us in a group of Polynesians, then it's easier to connect with each other. (Siaosi, field notes)

Siaosi's thoughts reflect other participants' responses that emphasized a collective sense of Pacific Islander identity, a crucial first step towards enlarging a sphere of obligation and connection with other Indigenous peoples. While in the beginning of the program, most participants spoke of their identities in terms of singularity, generally in regards to a specific nationality, increasingly students began to refer to themselves in multiplicity. Lea, who had introduced themself as Tongan, was eager to learn more about their Hawaiian family that they knew about only faintly. One night, gathered on the lawn outside our accommodations, an elder who had extensive knowledge of local mo'oleo asked for students to introduce themselves to him with as many family names as they knew. Lea responded saying their mother's maiden name is Roberts, to which the kumu replied immediately, "Is her family from Hilo? That's an important family there -- I have a family who are Roberts!", to which Lea confirmed that their mother was from Hawai'i

[42] Returning to student self-identification, most chose to use ethnic or racial terminology rather than "Native" or "Indigenous" when talking about their cultural selves.

Island. Lea followed up with me later saying it was that moment, and an intimate face to face conversation with the kumu, that opened up a new confidence in identifying also as Hawaiian and permission to claim that identity. Even though Lea and their family now reside in the Bay Area, this instance of recollection of a continued presence of their family are moments of being rooted in a non-tangible yet still profound way to a larger Oceania. Moments like these are difficult to recreate outside of being surrounded by educators and cultural practitioners who are more likely to hold this knowledge through oral histories.

Posed in the inverse, the question "why Hawai'i" precludes that Indigenous place-making only occurs in certain "Native places", a notion that runs the risk of utilizing Western political and boundary ideologies to contain "Native land" away from colonized land based wholly on state-sanctioned ideas of political sovereignty. If done in this manner, by virtue of colonial, military and political conquest, Indigenous land in Oceania is exceedingly small. Instead, Wayfinder's experimentation was in the value and utility of Indigenous mobility -- one that does not deny genealogical connection to specific places but uses that as a place to continue to grow roots. In a conversation after returning from the trip, Lea spoke about a social media post about a climate catastrophe that had caught her attention:

> I remember there was a post going around that Samoa was flooding and stuff like that was happening on that side. And it made me feel - you know - like, dang, we're doing that. Like, that shouldn't be happening, but like, we're the problem why Samoa is flooding. And why a lot of the islands out there don't have enough resources. That's our fault. (Lea, interview)

Lea's recognition of her interdependent connection to the health and safety of the people of Samoa (bear in mind, Lea does not identify as Samoan) illustrates one way in which her experience in Hawai'i transformed into an ever widening sphere of responsibility to Oceania and Oceanic peoples. It is in these offshoots that a multiplicity of roots interconnect and nourish one another. The rooted pedagogy of Wayfinder then serves as a conduit for these types of connections be they in tangible or communicative ways. For some students, the trip to Hawai'i was a literal homecoming; for others, an opportunity to reconnect and exchange kin and still yet for others, it was retracing one leg or spoke of a familial journey. In this way, Wayfinder was an intentional operationalization of the concepts of native hubs as illustrated by Renya Ramirez (2007) in her insightful work on continued points and moments of connection for diasporic Indigenous peoples with ancestral lands and communities. In this case, Wayfinder provided an opportunity for the participants to both connect with PI "hubs" in the Bay Area, but also to retrace migration lines, as in the case of Lea who was eager to spend time at the Polynesian Cultural Center where her grandfather danced to put himself through college and eventually sponsor his family to migrate to the Bay Area.

This multi-generative root enabled new ways of thinking about, and acting towards, stewardship of multiple places. These refashioned connections sit outside traditional achievement metrics used in American schooling, often more concerned with "hard skills" such as English literacy or standardized Math scores as representative of education. As an alternative, the Wayfinder program recognized the importance of communal connection and invested responsibilities outside of individual success,

illustrated by the main takeaways from participants. Sofia, for example, described their experience in the travel portion of the program as such:

> We visited so many people that were either restoring fish ponds, or they were planting native plants or they had learned Wayfinding to kind of continue to pass on the tradition and I was thinking about how everyone we met was kind of working towards seeing what they could do to help their communities and I guess pass on traditions, thinking of ways like -- I don't know -- how can we do that same thing? For our communities here [in the Bay Area]? (Sofia, interview)

Sofia's remarks are representative of a general sense of expanded opportunities for connection across contexts, which began with the comparative analysis of place. Like many other Wayfinder students, Sofia sensed quickly and clearly the connection between these activities and a general sense of care taking and stewardship, grounded and rooted in local action resting upon Indigenous knowledge and care-taking techniques. A decidedly decolonial "tour" of Hawai'i caused them to see the potential to participate in those activities in their home context.

Sofia's remark and similar interest in other Wayfinder participants to become more involved in efforts to rematriate and decolonize land in the Bay Area speaks to a dispersed sovereignty -- one that becomes concerned with a network of sovereignty rather than unilateral commitment to a single place. Tongan scholar and poet Fuifuilupe Niumeitolu has advocated for the necessity and importance of diasporic Indigenous peoples of Oceania in the Bay Area (and elsewhere) to become aware of and actively engaged in Indigenous land rematriation and stewardship of where they live (Niumeitolu, 2020), a point of consideration for the majority of the Wayfinder students have been raised on unceded territory belonging to Ohlone peoples. While initial brainstorming sessions of the program included engaging students in the work of Sogorea Te Land Trust to rematriate unceded Ohlone lands, there was a feeling among the leadership that the students would be more receptive and understanding of that work if they were "rooted" in "their culture" first. Sofia and other students developed an increasing concern for and responsibility of climate catastrophe bear out that this identity of steward developed out of their experiences in Hawai'i[43]. Regardless of the path, the reclamation of a symbiotic and care taking stance with the environment was one result of the learning in Hawai'i.

The opening scene of this section, Maka's realization that one of the core principles of this cultural reclamation work was ecological sustainability is also significant in how the Wayfinder program continued to influence and create epiphanies for its adult leaders. Again, this is not to characterize the directors as hesitant or reluctant to the role of environmental stewardship in the work, but at the outset the connection linking 'āina with cultural education. In a post-trip debrief, Hart reflected on the Hawai'i portion and its implications for future iterations of the program, remarking:

[43] Though it remains a very real probability that a similar conclusion may have been reached had they engaged in similar practices with local Ohlone land stewards.

> I think it's something that's valuable for our kids to understand is that, 'Hey, you know, our experience in Hawaii...that's the same thing that's happening here in the Bay, there are an original people to this land as well. And here's who they are...' But I feel like it's important for them to understand that we are living on someone else's land as well....but how cool would it be to get out on the water somewhere on the bay and have someone share that same Wayfinding knowledge? And now we're mixing, you know, the Oakland culture, the Bay culture that people are so familiar with, and blending it with our own cultural knowledge of I mean, I think that would be just the great meeting of both worlds, you know? (Hart, interview)

Hart's generative thinking demonstrates the interconnection they came away with between the work of the Wayfinder program and other Indigenous educators, particularly Indigenous peoples of whose territory we occupy. Again, Hart signals this "meeting of both worlds", a comment that signs towards place as the conduit of this interconnection. Reflecting on Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012) call for Indigenous research methods to take up inter-Indigenous connections, the Wayfinder work demonstrates one pathway towards a dispersed stewardship that operates through shared experiences and endeavors that are culturally grounded.

Beyond the Void

In this chapter, I sought to demonstrate rooted pedagogy as an alternative for cultural void schooling, encouraging Indigenously stewarded place-based learning and the potential for expansive, dispersed sovereignty. As a multi-sited ethnography and research project, this work highlights the placed-ness of Wayfinder work against the backdrop of omitted Pacific Islander pedagogies and content in Anglocentric schooling. The U.S. educational landscape is still deeply girded by Eurocentric and Western approaches towards learning -- to the extent that the Wayfinder program offers a great deal of learning opportunities and outcomes that superseded mainstream tools to even measure that learning (Sul, 2021). Centering placed-based and traditional ecological knowledge pedagogy along with a cultural education suggests not merely an intervention into schooling, but perhaps an entire deviation away from recognition politics and other mechanisms that merely feign cultural diversity without interrogating the deeper connections to lands and seas that shaped and perpetuate said cultures.

Rethinking where learning takes place -- learning that is culturally grounded and expansive, specific to biome but global in its ramifications -- will necessarily exceed many colonial schooling techniques that contain accredited learning within classrooms and district facilities. Thus, rather than figuring Pacific Islander absenteeism in Bay Area schools as a sign of delinquency, rootedness calls for leaning into the abundance of learning opportunities of diasporic Indigenous youth of Oceania, wherever they may currently call home.

Chapter Five

5
Articulating Expansion

Introduction

Through the previous two chapters, I have illustrated when and where cultural reclamation education of Wayfinder takes place, and the ways a routed and rooted pedagogy pushes boundaries of Indigenous temporality and spatiality. This chapter emphasizes how the Wayfinder program structured its routed and rooted pedagogy through an arts-centered practice, detailing how it was conceptualized and used in the Wayfinder program to enlarge and perpetuate Indigenous time/space. As the previous chapters are concerned with disrupting settler-colonial time/space processes, this chapter extends that to the concept of fluency, particularly in how Oceanic Indigenous youth rearticulate culture through multiple modalities. As important decolonial work has taken place through Indigenous language revitalization, this chapter adds to those efforts by demonstrating the utility and value of extending those reclamations to further encompass non-verbal literacies and modalities. By doing so, this work contributes to theorizations of Indigenous arts and its affordances for language revitalization through what I term *ARTiculation*, a culturally grounded arts-centered practice meant to expand multisensory cultural retrieval and generate Indigenous multimodal fluencies. This practice expands the ways in which students both learned, or retrieved, cultural "text" in multisensory ways as well as provided a playful, artful space to reconfigure their learning into new multimodal storyforms. ARTiculation produced creative and ingenuitive ways to perpetuate cultural connection and identity in a way that neither abandons the specificity of tradition nor is contained with the logics of cultural purity.

I begin by introducing the culturally-grounded arts-education practice we used in the Wayfinder program and its relationship to the discourse of arts-based education. I provide context to its theoretical basis and showing how it adds to the process of cultural reclamation. To further illustrate ARTiculation, I use creations from the Wayfinder participants to illustrate the ways that their process produced a deeper depth of cultural retrieval and provided new ways to shape traditional modes and aesthetics into creative Indigenous story work. I then unpack how these artforms impacted what the students learned and inspired further decolonial action.

but the problem is am i poly enough?

***

I had learned of a group poem activity on identity from a friend and mentor, and this was my first time running it myself. The students had spent longer than I estimated to write their portions. A good sign.

I wrap up the silent writing portion, "Everybody ready? Okay, we'll all read the first portion together and then you'll take turns reading your contribution. Ready?"

(Students in unison)
They ask me "what are you?"
And I think very seriously
Then I begin to imagine writing down my truth
The whole truth
And have my answer read

Sarah: I feel the least PI when words become a barrier, I can no longer understand

Alisi: I feel the most PI when my grandma tells me stories of how life is on the islands.

Sofia: When I look at my face in the mirror. I see an unfamiliar face -- one that I don't recognize. I'm told I look like my parents, but they see my face in the mirror, I can only see me.

Lea: When you look at my face, I want you to see that I'm more than just stereotypes and rumors you spread about me.

(Students, in unison)
But they didn't ask me for "the whole truth"
They ask me "what are you"
But not "Who are you?" or "When are you?"
And I continue to think
And think very seriously
I imagine I am writing down my truth
And my answer will read like this.

Peti: I have strength inside this body.

Maka: I have unconditional love in this body.

Hart: I am that future that my ancestors envisioned.

Papa: I am a person of color who should be proud to be poly...I AM, but the problem is am i poly enough?

(Students in unison)
I know my truths
Yet still they ask me "what are you?"
And there is no room for me to write my whole truth.
So I simply tell them what they are only able to hear.

***

In response to the ways in which schools steer students towards monolingualism and monoliteracy, Wayfinder was a space for students to forge connections with culture through an expanded repertoire of literacies. This choice was made to affirm the multitude of ways we find ourselves with heritage languages, honoring both the generational consistency that may have been established while also nurturing the continued agency of Indigenous youth to create and innovate. The spoken word poem above, though in English, is exemplary of one the activities we used in Wayfinder to build vulnerability and trust through a creative, collective process -- there are several references to language inadequacy in the poem, and in particular the lines the students selected to read out to the group. By uttering them together, the art process was meant not simply to report out personal wounds or shortcomings but to become co-authors of experiences that draw a shared reservoir of cultural assets. In this section I expand on what I term ARTiculation, a culturally grounded arts-centered practice meant to reclaim culture and generate Indigenous multimodal fluencies. First, I provide an overview of its theoretical inspirations to provide context as to why arts education was selected as a pedagogical tool. I then discuss the shortcomings of traditional arts-education to demonstrate the utility of ARTiculation as a culturally-grounded practice of decoloniality. I close with foregrounding what ARTiculation adds to our understanding and practice of decolonial arts-education.

In the previous chapters, I discussed how routed and rooted pedagogies were used in Wayfinder to connect students with both diasporic and Indigenous space-times. At the outset of the program, the Wayfinder directors and I discussed the challenges involved with doing a "cultural" program with students for whom that term had taken on connotations of distance, externality and fixedness. My conversations with students around their feelings and attitudes towards "cultural knowledge" revealed that many felt themselves distant from "their culture" - they described feeling unaccomplished ("I don't dance well"), ignorant ("I don't speak"), unauthorized ("I see someone who is 'uncultured'") or impure ("I don't look Poly"). As discussed above, while these responses are informed by an ongoing history of colonial ideologies, the impact was an initial reluctance to discuss "cultural knowledge" for fear of saying something incorrectly. Within this context, we decided that an arts-centered pedagogy might help students to break away from the similar paradigms of correct/incorrect that many have been socialized into through traditional American classroom practices. Rather, we looked towards using not just art, but arts-education pedagogies interwoven with routed and rooted activities. While specific examples will be detailed in the next section, these ARTiculative activities included keystone storytelling projects embedded throughout the curriculum including "telling" a story about your cultural self, your family's "story" and your "community's story and future".

My use of ARTiculation draws upon Stuart Hall contributions to cultural studies and theorizations of articulation in terms of race (1986), ethnicity (1992) and diaspora (1990). Articulation, inside the context of cultural studies, has been understood to be many things: a post-structural analytical tool; a political tool to challenge and subvert hegemony; a research methodology to avoid essentialisms. For Wayfinder's purposes, I draw from Clarke's (2015) suggestion of Hall's articulation as a pedagogy, one that assumes that "identities are multiple and rarely fixed; common senses are heterogeneous and fragmentary" and that the pedagogical value of articulation "is to build connections that lead towards a set of new configurations and possibilities" (p.7).

Articulation provides a theoretical basis for our engagement with arts-education: rather than seeking mastery over content areas, or worse, treating culture as something external and obtainable through lecture alone, arts-education conceives learning as inherently a generative, creative act. To carry the classroom practice analogy further, Wayfinder "texts" were familiar/unfamiliar reverberating cultural signs and symbols that our students could draw upon, that through retrieval and reconfiguration can take on old, new and alternative meanings. Yet, unlike the connotations that surround their Western counterpart of "text", we understood that cultural material to exceed those definitions of static, written documents as the primary item of retrieval. Given the predominance of orality and performative ways of transmitting history throughout Oceania, we understood the limitations in only asking participants to find books or photographs relating to their family or communities knowledge, but also to include oral histories, dances, a memory, a smell and other "ephemeral" knowledge that could be similarly retrieved so long as we opened our eyes/ears/noses/mouths to account for the abundance of wisdom that could be accessed.

In mirroring processes from previous chapters, retrieval aligns with pedagogies of rootedness while reconfiguration compliments rootedness. ARTiculation is pedagogical space where the two combine in more explicit ways, using multisensory epistemological stance to deepen the sort of connections students were making to place and cultural assets and multimodal forms of creativity to expand the possibilities of expression. This approach played to their strengths as diasporic Oceanic youth, acknowledging both their continual connections to Oceania and cultural forms that traveled with and through them while allowing for the space to be imaginative, playful and generative.

Yet, as referenced in chapter 3, a cultural studies approach towards articulation, leaning heavily upon the cultural politics of the diasporic migrant subjectivity, has rightfully been critiqued for its erasure of the Native, and in extension Native culture and language (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001). With that in mind, our theories of ARTiculation pedagogy also draw from Epeli Hauʻofa and other Oceanic artists and scholars who understand that historical consistency is not necessarily at odds with Indigenous adaptation. Hauʻofa also saw good reason to pursue Oceanic arts alongside decolonial political and academic work. In advocating for the liberating power of art-making for Oceanic peoples (Hauʻofa, 2008), he mused that while education marginalizes art as nonessential, the "living pasts and the sense of historical and cultural continuity are essential components of our societies" (p.81). When asked the intention of the culturally-grounded arts center he was directing, he wrote:

> We shall visit our people who have gone to the lands of diaspora and tell them that we have built something: a new home for all of us. And taking a cue from the ocean's everflowing and encircling nature, we will travel far and wide to connect with oceanic and maritime peoples elsewhere, and swap stories of voyages we have taken and those yet to be embarked on…We may even together make new sounds, new rhythms, new choreographies, and new songs and verses about how wonderful and terrible the sea is, and how we cannot live without it. We will talk about the good things the oceans have bestowed on us, the damaging things we

> have done to them, and how we must together try to heal their wounds and protect them forever. (p.92 - 93)

In a similar vein, CHamoru poet and scholar Craig Santos Perez sees poetry as "a space in which indeterminacy, ambiguity, uncertainty, and fragmentation can be productively engaged. In a sense, poetry is a space to bring together the unincorporated threads in dynamic collision" (Perez & Washuburn, 2015, p.3). Their words and the words and actions of other Oceanic scholars and artists attest to the critical need to set "the past" in the present and future when taking on the (paradigm shattering) task of imagining and enacting decolonial futures.

However, simply introducing arts-centered pedagogy does not address the Eurocentrism that has accompanied the concept of art and if left unattended can weaken the curriculum's ability to do decoloniality work. Notoriously, defining art is a fickle, almost fruitless task. Acknowledging its definition is just as multilayered as *culture*, yet for the purposes of this dissertation, I choose to highlight the Eurocentric commonsense concepts of art as contrasted against the creative and cultural production of non-Western peoples. Traditional arts-education not only typically utilize Eurocentric art disciplines (i.e. oil pigment painting, orchestral music, ballet), they often teach technique through Eurocentric tools and instruments (Dewhurst et al., 2013). At a broader level, arts-education also presumes certain relationships between art, artist and community that accentuate individualistic production of art and that define an artist as a specialized profession.

This definition comes into sharper view when contrasted against the expressive modalities of non-Western people, whose "art" is often diminished as merely craft/handicraft/folkart or in some cases simply ignored altogether (Kealiinohomoku, 1970). This distinction echoes a similar colonial hierarchy of language: colonial art, like colonial language, possesses expressive power and history, necessitating that "artistic" productions of the colonized be rendered inferior, not-quite-art, or simply absent. An impact of this binary is that arts education, already sidelined as a non-intellectual activity in education, is often only introduced within Eurocentric framework and terminology (dance, poetry, painting) and measured against Western standards (Hindle et al., 2015). The techniques, histories, conventions and social practices of Indigenous arts often do not fit within these parameters and if they do, only do so through assimilating Western technique or equivalency. As Ferris-Leary points out, researchers who utilize Eurocentric categories (like "Tongan dance") to name Oceanic art forms has "led to limited outcomes" and "are Western terms that carry their own Western conceptual framework, and do not represent the deeper levels of Tongan conceptual knowledge" (Ferris-Leary, 2013, p. 120) as the terminologies erase Indigenous connotations and contextualization of art forms through inadequate or inappropriate equivalences into English.

With this in mind, the Wayfinder program was inspired by Indigenous artists and scholars who have pushed back against this monoculturalism within

arts-education, envisioning ways that arts-learning spaces can be grounded in Indigenous practice, technique and philosophy. Scholarship throughout Oceania and adjacent Indigenous territories demonstrates promising ways that arts education can center Indigenous practices and philosophies to produce holistic, multimodal learning spaces (Dewhurst et al., 2013; Faik-Simet, 2021; Mills & Doyle, 2019; Ritenburg et al., 2014; Whitinui, 2010). These examples illustrate what Māori academic and musician Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal asserts, "Whereas quests for social justice and cultural revitalisation arise primarily as reactions to external forces, 'creative potential' is motivated by an internal quality, reacquainting ourselves with our own mana and, among other things, being motivated and inspired by what we have rather than what we have lost" (Royal, 2009, p.8). ARTiculation is a term meant to capture the spirit of these efforts: using the medium of arts-education to work with heritage practices, techniques and philosophies to forge old/new creations, expressions and art-forms.

What ARTiculation adds to the nexus of cultural reclamation, Indigenous language revitalization and arts-education is an expansive consideration of what is "text", "vocabulary" and "material" for students to work with. As with traditional arts-education, the emphasis of creating-to-learn suggests a learning process that is one of exploration and discovery. In our case, ARTiculation asked students to gather cultural "material" -- stories, technique, modalities, narratives, sayings, aesthetics that they recognized as part of their cultural inheritance -- and to learn more about the techniques and philosophies embedded within.

Multisensory Retrieval

Given the dynamics of colonial binaries associated with Indigenous creative expression and knowledge set against Western standards, we asked our participants to widen their understanding of both what is or could be art as well as how they may engage with what is common understood as cultural practice. At the outset of Wayfinder, many participants identified Pacific Islander art and culture within commonsense boundaries of multiculturalist education: food, holidays, and clothing were often mentioned in initial conversation, often marked as a cohesive, unchanging practices passed down intergenerationally, fully intact. Occasionally participants also mentioned concepts of stories or "experiences" that happened to one's family. This initial reaction provided a challenge in our attempts to reclaim a broader set of cultural practices that may supersede mainstream conceptualizations. In this section, I highlight a multimodal art journal practice based on the concept of nā piko ekolu (three pikos) that aided in the retrieval of cultural "material" and examples that demonstrate its impact on participant generated artwork. By encouraging multimodal retrieval of cultural "text" accompanied by a culturally grounded epistemology, students deepened their engagement with cultural reclamation.

Initially participants in the program considered art making a technical feat that was possessed by skilled artisans, specializing in (often Western) art forms and often

required possession of “natural talent”. When asked how this applied to their understanding of Pacific Islander or cultural arts, participants often mentioned having a great amount of experience with artforms including Oceanic dance (tauʻolunga, hula, haka to name a few), culinary arts, fiber arts and lei making. Yet, despite these experiences and knowledge, participants rarely acknowledged these as “art” and rather as merely something they did that was ”cultural”. Sofia initially described herself as non-artistic (“I like suck at drawing and stuff”), despite having an interest and aptitude in visual representation as well as culinary arts. Comments such as these reinforced narratives that students were not able to author or create knowledge, or at least a creative route towards such an act was not possible for them. This perceived distance participants felt from being artists and reluctance to call what they did know as art echoes the ways in which colonial paradigms of fluency impacts feelings of permission and comfort to engage in cultural reclamation. Participants described both feeling inadequate in seeking knowledge from their families, sometimes due to real or perceived language barriers, ideologies of impurity (and therefore a lack of permission to learn and know more) and discomfort in feeling like they could hold the knowledge accurately (one participant noted they found trouble interviewing their family because “I don’t want to mess up the story”).

The dichotomies of artists/non-artist and fluent/non-fluent operated in similar ways, leading to a similar reluctance to engage in cultural storytelling more deeply. While most participants were at least partly familiar with an Oceanic language (perhaps having heard it growing up, but not feeling comfortable speaking it beyond words and phrases), the feeling of inadequate art, language and cultural practice led to a stifling of both the search for deeper connection with cultural heritage practices and permission to be cultural keepers and storytellers.

To facilitate this, participants were asked to create artwork that recounted family, community stories and histories as well as gather notes from their lived experiences. These notes and activities were both iterative and summative but were routinely referenced as a means for students to find connections with their cultural identities and continue to forge new understandings of those identities. When asking participants to have a conversation with a family member about the past, reflect upon and gather information about their lived experiences and project future ambitions and hopes, we encouraged them to activate all of their senses to better capture information that may elude a narrower definition of culture. For another example, we utilized a journal for our trip to Hawaiʻi (Figure A) that was organized as a bingo card of sorts: participants were asked to utilize various modalities each day when gathering their experience of being in Hawaiʻi, perhaps using a video recording to capture the motion and sound of the ocean, while also focusing on the smell and taste of the mud being rinsed from the kalo they helped to harvest. This embodied approach was meant to aid students in expanding what they could utilize to find meaning in their lived experiences, echoing what Indigenous educational scholars know to be true in the multisensory of Indigenous peoples to analyze their environment through multiple registers. We kept the instructions open, hoping students could feel a stronger sense of ownership of their learning while also interested in what sorts of information might be collected if set

outside the normative Cartesian model of learning that foregrounds cognition (if not also visuality) above all other forms of learning.

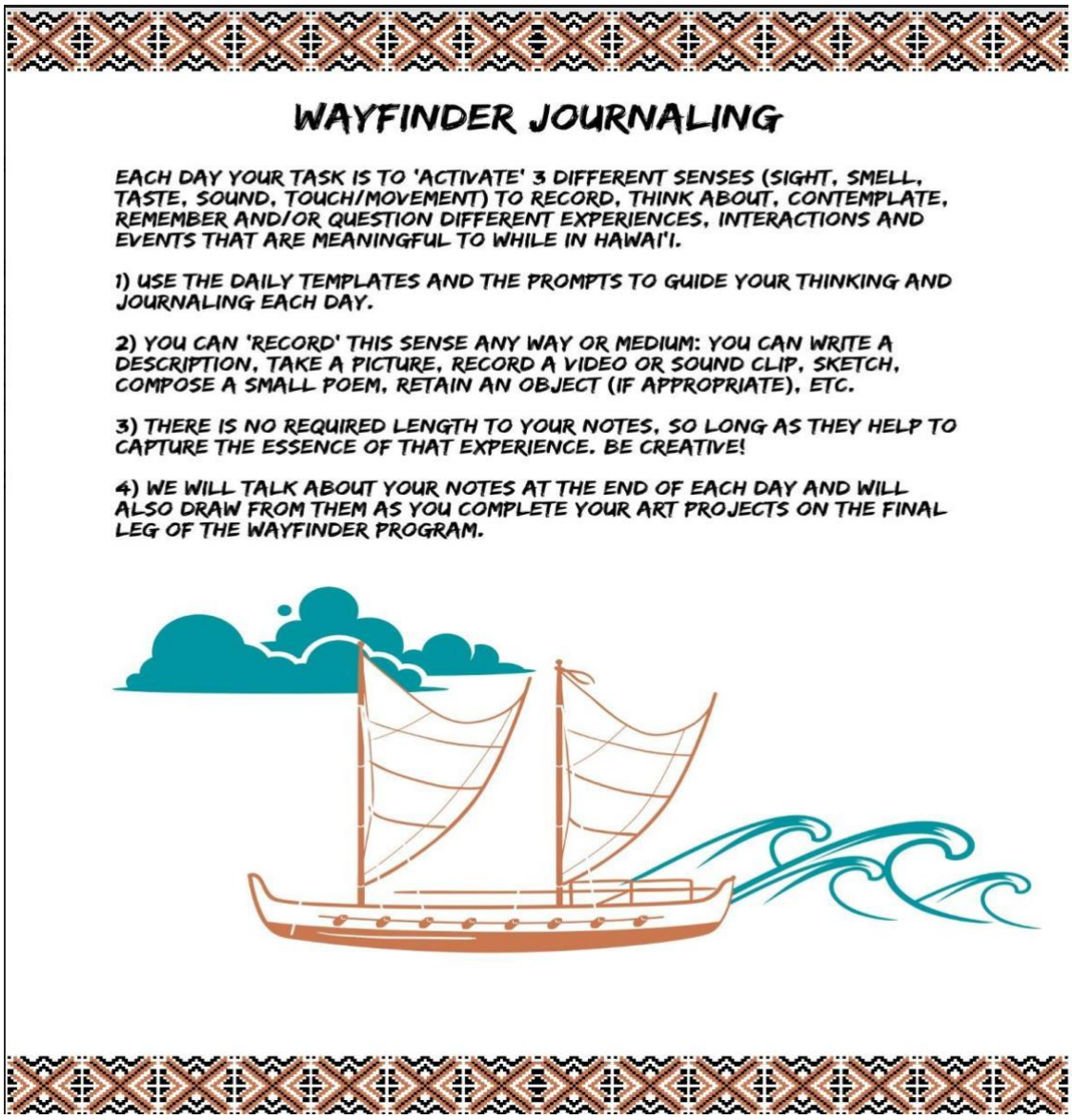

Figure A - Multimodal journal prompt

In addition to this multimodal journaling system, the co-directors and I drew upon the Kānaka ʻŌiwi epistemological schema of nā piko ʻekolu[44] in devising an art journal process that would enable our participants to access a multimodal way of interacting with their pasts, presents and futures. Piko carries numerous definitions and

[44] We attempted to find cognates of this epistemological framework from other Oceanic communities, including surveying elders and family members, but we could not find a definitive answer. To this end, we decided to embrace nā piko ʻekolu in our work given our specific programmatic connection to Hawaiʻi and appropriateness in using this framework there. I am excited at the prospect of continued research in finding similarities and differences in this concept throughout Oceania.

connotations but is often rendered in English as “navel”. Extrapolated further, a piko is also a conduit and implies connection through relationship, genealogy, responsibility amongst many other connections. Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell (Liu, et al., 2008) describes three significant piko on the human body: piko poʻo, located on one’s head (specifically at the head whirl) which connects us with our ancestors, gods, spirits and the past; piko waena, our navel as formed by our umbilical cord, which connects us to our immediate family, parents, blood-kin, ʻaina and one’s present responsibilities; and piko maʻi, our genitals, which connects to our children, descendants, upcoming generations and the future. Maintaining these piko and seeking a deeper understanding of one’s physical, metaphorical and spiritual place has been an important health and wellbeing practice for kānaka maoli. We asked students to utilize these channels (Figure B) when reflecting upon what they were retrieving and gathering, adding another dimensional component of temporality to the sensory gathering process.

Figure B - Introducing the concept of nā piko ʻekolu through art journaling.

Asking participants to prepare for artmaking through these processes yielded a deep sense of retrieval. Whereas in the initial sessions of the program students often brought in relatively surface or vague descriptions of family stories, asking students to

recall using a variety of sensory led students to seek more specificity and nuance. For example, Natia decided for her first project to make an illustration of the village in Samoa that her father and father's family was from. While she never visited it and had only heard of its name, the act of needing to visualize it opened up new opportunities to engage in oral history work. First, Natia asked her grandmother for any help in describing the village and suddenly an unbeknownst black and white photo taken decades ago surfaced. As her grandmother described the origin of the photo, Natia learned that her grandfather was a matai[45], a realization that partly informed her father's complicated journey to migrate to the Bay Area. This realization that her family's migration story was tied to the Samoan chief system inspired her to learn more about her family and the specificity of that political-cultural system through visualizing it. As Natia described her process: "I was going to draw it out at first, try to make it out of like things I could find. It was, like villagers and like, a village. And then how this little stake or post thing that the chief could stand on and stuff" (Natia, interview). This led Natia to ask her father about the village, where she learned "like how the people would act towards the chief so I could like have a like image" which then ultimately led to an explanation of an ʻulafala[46] hanging on her father's bedroom wall that had been passed down.

In our discussions of Natai's participation in the program, we found that activities such as these were the most significant and engaging: Natalia had been rather withdrawn during many of the sessions and often explained that because she had been raised predominantly by her mother and the "Mexican side of her family" she had found it difficult to engage with her Samoan family. Efforts to interview her Samoan family had fallen flat -- Natai is not fluent in Samoan and felt a degree of alienation that made her uncomfortable to ask for potentially sensitive information. Thus, Natia's retrieval employed temporality in terms of needing to take into account her ancestral connections aligned with her present day considerations of trust and relationality (she described how their was difficult emotions around her father unwilling to take on the mantle of the ʻulafala, and discussing its role in his decision to migrate was a sensitive topic in the family). However, through visualizing the village and asking how this family heritage in a way that was more descriptive provided Natia an alternative way to retrieve these family stories without focusing first and only on an emotionally difficult route.

Similarly, Peti found that using a multisensory approach towards investigating her family's history helped to clear up misconceptions and reveal important family narratives. As referenced in chapter 3, Peti asked her father for a story about the family from their village in Tonga, leading to a narrative of how her grandfather and siblings had decided to build a well on the island. Peti decided to create a diorama of the well (Figure C) because it "reminded me of elementary school projects" she had been familiar with.

[45] A member of Samoa's chief system

[46] Samoan necklace worn by chiefs and important guests

Figure C - Peti's well in the style of American elementary school diorama.

When I asked her about her process, Peti said that the well was a symbolic representation of her family's efforts to persevere and provide something for the entire community. After hearing the story and deciding to create a well, she set about gathering materials -- sand from her backyard, leaves and sticks from her tree and rocks purchased form an art supply store, all nods to binding family narratives from Oceania with Bay Area material. According to Peti, she proudly showed the finished project to her mother:

> So that's what I was thinking about. And then my mom was like, that's not what wells in Tonga look like. And I was like…my soul was a little crushed [laughter]. But I was like, it can just represent the well. (Peti, interview)

When I asked where the image of this sort of well came from, Peti and I laughed how we both realized the very basic imprint of a well was conditioned by images of mainly European wells that were constructed with a small rock wall and fit with posts to facilitate hanging a bucket. Peti then learned that wells in Tonga are typically made flush with the earth and did not contain the elements she had included such as the leaf canopy, which she explained she had conjured to "make it look more island-y". In this instance, Peti's decision to sculpt the well opened up new avenues to confront

uninterrogated imprinting from the Western media and cultural scape both she and I were raised in, while still holding onto the symbolic value of the story as related to her. She claimed her artistic representation of the well despite her mother's rejection of its authenticity. In moments like these, art projects that utilized a multisensory approach provided opportunities to discuss and describe colonial conditioning that may have been less possible if Peti had merely been asked to listen to and retell a family narrative.

Like Natia and Peti, Lea also experienced a deepening of her connection to her family through art-making. Lea described her family as "not really traditional", despite being involved in "cultural activities". Though she grew up in a "Tongan household", she also was somewhat aware of her Native Hawaiian ancestry, but because of a death on that side of a family and little fluency in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (with only a bit more competency in spoken Tongan), her connection to her Hawaiian family was distant most of her childhood. Regardless, when reflecting on cultural connections, she remarked, "Dance is a gift. To me it's more than an art form. It's a way of being" and that described dancing tauʻolunga her entire childhood. Similarly, she said, "I love music, like all types of music, and especially cultural music, like, I might not understand it. But I know the story it's telling" (Lea, interview). For her initial art project, she screened a clip of her dancing for her grandmother's church event (Figure D), recalling how her favorite memories were dancing with her older sisters. As I have discussed in a previous study on Pacific Islander after school dance programs (Gong, 2020), her fluency in tauʻolunga illustrates intergenerational and collective literacy. In the clip she showed to the program, she can be seen dancing solo right before friends, family and other church members begin to participate, either joining a predetermined choreography, improvising their own forms or in the case of younger children, mirroring and mimicking their movements. Lea recalled having her entire family involved in composing and choreographing the dances: grandma contributed words and movements, mom translated words from Tongan to English to aid in connecting the movements with meaning, and sisters either coached or joined her. Having participated in this dance literacy since a child, her connection to its form, its aesthetics and storytelling conventions speaks to her continued connection to her Tongan heritage.

Figure D - Lea dancing a tauʻolunga

As mentioned in a previous chapter, Lea was learned more about her Hawaiian family through our time on Oʻahu -- both how her Tongan family danced at the Polynesian Cultural Center in the 1960's as a part of their migration story to the Bay Area and of her Hawaiian family's connection to the Hilo area of Hawaiʻi Island. This revelation sparked a new interest in her about hula. She mentioned how a particular hula had been handed down on the other side of her family, taught and performed, but with increasing "distance" from its source. When she joined the program, she had been preparing to perform this hula for her sister's wedding, yet the Wayfinder trip caused her to want to better understand the hula's origin, meaning and history. For her final art project, Lea used the similar literacy strategies she knew from dancing tauʻolunga and applied them to the hula: she asked more questions about the mele, the movements, its meanings and its history. She remarked that while she could detect the commonalities between tauʻolunga and this particular hula ʻauwana, she now has a critical eye towards their specific differences. At the end of the year community debrief, Lea performed this hula (Figure E), opening first with a narrative about its meaning, both in its literal terms and in terms of its relationship to her and her family.

Figure E - Lea dancing hula

Multimodality and New Storywork

***

"Wait, so you speak some Mandarin?" I ask Siaosi over the zoom call.

"Yeah," Siaosi tells me, chuckling. "I struggled with it at first, but after my sophomore year I got the hang of it".

"Wow, so do you speak more Mandarin than Tongan?"

"A lot more!" Siaosi says with his usual beaming smile, "We actually had to write and memorize the characters. So like our final consisted of 100 characters. And we have to memorize them and know how to write them in each sentence. Do you want to check out my workbooks?

I ask him what he thinks he is learning about culture through the art projects. He pauses for a moment, his eyes searching upwards.

"With the art forms, there's a lot of different art forms and connections in those art forms… people can connect with a dance, and food and poetry and pictures. Like Sarah's video and dance, they also have a connection, because they both tell a story. And like they don't necessarily have to have words."

"That's interesting, given that your art project had very much a lot to do with words".

Siaosi is a poet. He tells me he is a shy person (something I would not have guessed) but writing and performing poetry helps him to tell stories. "You don't want to get a family story wrong, you don't want to get it mixed up," he explains, "but poetry helps me to express a side of me while I tell a story."

He continues, "I don't know a lot of, like, Tongan poetry artists, I guess. When people think of Polynesians, they usually think of dance but there are other art forms that I would like the world to let us be known."

***

Siaosi, like a number of the Wayfinder participants, is multilingual -- both in the normative understanding of speaking different 'languages' -- but also in his ease of slipping into and through various modalities and genres when conversing and expressing ideas. The conversation above is an illustration of that sort of multimodality: Siaosi is a performance poet, incorporating various registers of English and Tongan in his poems. As with the genre of slam poetry, he experiments with various ways of delivering them. He is also a dancer, though typically did not identify as such, and as with his poetry, is also fluent in various dance genres. Through multiple registers, Siaosi remarked more than once that he was interested in exploring "new" arts, by which he meant "new" Pacific Islander or Tongan art, something that could express the abundance of his multilingualism in an appropriately abundant way. This section unpacks this ethos of multimodal Oceanic art, attending to concepts of cultural and modal impurity as a catalyst that drives new expressive forms. Herein I contend that the ARTiculative practice of Wayfinder contributed to providing a space and platform for students to be playful with the languages and modalities they had fluency in, all towards creating artworks that routinely crossed boundaries. In doing so, the participants of Wayfinder, powered by cultural retrieval, were able to more sharply and more clearly perpetuate Indigenous Oceanic language and thought.

Sarah's art trajectory demonstrates the principle of multimodality in flux Dancing is Sarah's first love, and she mentioned several times how she had been trained in ballet and hip hop. And while dancing her first tau'olunga for her brother and cousins' weddings was "a really big moment for me", she wanted to use the Wayfinder program to step further outside of that identity as a dancer. Prefacing her decision to go outside her comfort zone of dance, be it in contemporary or cultural forms, Sarah recalled the difficulties she has encountered whilst learning language, "I dropped out of Spanish in middle school because my teacher would always call on me. And I just

couldn't handle the pressure. But I still would like to learn other languages. I think it's fun. Just, I hate going to language classes. I hate talking in front of other people" (Sarah, interview). She believes she was also more comfortable, thus more effective, at expressing herself wordlessly. Her first art project developed out of the clips she filmed while traveling with her family. After screening a mini-documentary that included audio from an interview with her dad combined with moving and still images she shot in both Oakland and Utah, she compared her film project and aspirations with dance as such:

> I'm also a dancer. So I feel like they kind of go hand in hand because it's like, a way you can either tell a story without words or just like, like dancing was always a way for me to like, express my emotions without having to talk about it, I guess. And so I think that can also be why I love filming so much, because it creates a feeling for me at least -- it's just kind of like -- I don't know, it's just kind of a way I like to tell stories. (Sarah, interview)

In transitioning from dancing to filmmaking, Sarah illustrates how this shift is informed by both a common intention (avoiding speaking) as well as a common approach (to tell a story outside of spoken word). Her choice then to experiment with film making is less of a radical departure from one genre to another, but rather highlights her strategy of multimodality in cross-pollinating her creative process. Her first art project also demonstrates an important departure from the expectations of cultural fluency: while she reiterated her anxiety over speaking (mentioning it in terms of Spanish, Tongan and English throughout the program), she nonetheless was fascinated by language and drawn to what different stories could be told in different ways.

In seeking extra-oral ways of communicating a story of her and her family, Sarah's experimentation with multimodality informed her final art piece. Inspired by her experience learning traditional Wayfinding techniques in Hawai‘i (which Sarah described as "really cool and really overwhelming"), Sarah wanted to replicate that emotional experience in chartering her family's migration from Tonga to Oakland to Utah. She settled on a fiber art project (Figure G): using tapa cloth that had been gifted to her parents on their wedding day, she fashioned the bark cloth into the shape of a sail to both serve as a canvas and suggest notions of travel/migration/movement.

Figure G - Sarah's sail/map using tapa from her parent's wedding

Sarah drew upon our discussions of Pacific Islander aesthetics from our Wayfinder sessions in arranging symbolic representations of her family's migration route on the tapa. "Originally I put the different symbols in a line, from left to right, to show how my family came from Tonga to Oakland to Utah", she explained,

> But then when we were talking about different ways of measuring time and the way the navigators put themselves in the middle of the Ocean and used the entire dome of the sky to travel, I decided to arrange them in a circle so there is no beginning and no end. (field notes, Sarah)

Sarah's contribution demonstrates the articulative nature of the Wayfinder arts-projects as a site for new stories to emerge through the thoughtful recombination of cultural symbols. Her choices illustrate a sophisticated level of cross and multimodality -- the materials signal important familial and cultural connections, and she scrambles the Western left-to-right grammatical convention of temporality (with the earliest being on the "left" and the latest being "right"). Instead, Sarah drew from Oceanic techniques of circular and cyclical representation to depict an ever-going, reciprocal and continual

migration that "moves" from Tonga to Utah, but simultaneously suggests continued connection. Her other choice in symbolizing important milestones in her family's story leans more heavily into the aesthetics and iconography of a Western modality: a staff musical note; the outline of California; the logo for Utah State. In one sense, their presence could imply impurity or broken-ness on the part of Sarah to compose an authentic piece of Pacific Islander art, yet such an interpretation misses the subversive richness of calquing these symbols within an Oceanic schema of (re)telling a family journey.

In a similar vein, Peti's project was generated through combining traditional material and form into a form that both continued and extended Oceanic identity. Peti devotes a great deal of time to softball: much of her afterschool and weekend schedule is dominated by practice and games, and a number of her family trips are centered around tournaments. In an earlier iteration of her project, Peti played with the idea of combining a tauʻolunga with the movements on the softball field, a way in which to combine the confidence she has while playing softball with the "growing confidence" she has "stepping into her culture" both literally and figuratively. However, the notion of combining the two sets of movements into one choreography (she also mused "should I wear taʻovala[47] and do batting practice, or should I wear a softball uniform and do a tauʻolunga?") seemed too difficult to orchestrate; she also expressed fearing she did not possess the proper authority to bend the genre of tauʻolunga that far.

Yet, the kernel of doing something to combine these twin interests led her to conceive of using kafa as part of her softball uniform and equipment. Inspired by Dr. Kaʻili's example of synthetic kafa as exemplary of using traditional design with contemporary materials, Peti was drawn to the similarities she saw in her shoelaces and bat handle wrapping and Oceanic bindings. Upon research, she noticed the distinct similarities between Tongan pōvai or ʻakua tau[48] and her softball bat, first in form (both are tapered pieces of wood), but more importantly she found a connection between herself and the role of the bat/ʻakua tau in her life as a tool she uses to do "battle" (in her context, competitively on the softball field). To make substantive this connection, Peti used tapa and other Tongan material to decorate/transform a softball bat into a hybrid ʻakua tau (Figure H).

[47] Tongan formal wear made from a finely woven mat

[48] War clubs, though their symbolic, political and spiritual roles in Tonga society extend beyond military purposes. See Mills, 2009.

Figure H - Peti's ʻakua tau being shared at the community debrief.

At the end of the year celebration, Peti shared:

> I made this out of one of my old bats. The top I wrapped in ngatu[49] and the bottom is wrapped in kafa… and softball is such a huge part of my life, and so I decided to combine something that means strength and liberation in Tongan culture. (Peti, field notes)

Peti's project echoes similar constructive themes as Sarah's -- both utilize a hybrid approach of material and form to create objects that tell new stories in culturally grounded ways. Alike too are the ways in which their articulation is not merely a blend

[49] Tongan tapa cloth

of “old” and “new”, their arrangement and contextualization bring entirely new meaning that transcends settler-time and boundary. Peti’s reconfiguring of a softball bat as her ‘akua tau elicits a subversive element of gender roles, both in Tonga and the Bay Area. Mills (2009) suggests that while ‘akua tau can be understood as martial, social, political and spiritual objects (if not commercial as well), they had been strongly associated with masculinity, aggressiveness and chiefhood in many contexts. Peti’s articulation of a bat as her ‘akua tau plays with and makes manifest her identity as an athlete and competitor within the contested arena of sports and gender, not as a rejection of her Tongan femininity but as an addition to it. Thus the rearticulative power of Indigenous arts provides space to communicate a complicated story that rejects simple classifications of adherence to Tongan feminine faka‘apa‘apa and of assimilation into second wave feminism of the Western world. Instead, Peti’s piece is one that unites these elements, not through dilution, but through synthesis.

Sofia’s final art project also carries similar methods of recombination, but in significantly different ways. Sofia’s first art projects were based on generational linkage within her family including a family cookbook and a family memoir written by her great-grandmother upon her journey to and from Samoa to the Bay Area. These books play an enormous role in connecting her with her Samoan family, for instance, the recipes were made on special occasions with her mother and accompanied with storytelling, memory recollection and, according to Sofia, her strongest feelings of being Samoan. Her initial pieces capture this warmth and proximity (Figure I) in the form of gouache paintings depicting the escaping steam from a freshly made bowl of koko rice, a dessert that was prepared on special occasions.

Figure I - Sofia's painting depicting her mother's famous koko rice.

These experiences, cooking with her mother or combing over the details of the extraordinary life of her great-grandmother from nearly a century ago, provided Sofia with a rich sense of connection to her family bequeathed by both oral storytelling as well as in written form.

Sofia's final art project was a counter-response to these grounding connections. Through discussion at the sessions, Sofia related the alienation she felt as a mixed Jewish-Samoan attending a school with hardly any other Pacific Islander youth. She spoke of feeling misunderstood due to her atypical phenotype ("People think I'm Asian") and inwardly lacking in knowledge of Samoan language, history and customs. These twin feelings came to the forefront most often at school, and after recalling specific incidents, she decided to anchor her final project, entitled "School Days,"" in that space. Sofia utilized computer generated clip art to create a graphic mini-novel that recounted and explored themes of alienation (Figure J).

Figure J - "School Days", Sofia's graphic mini-novel.

Her artistic choices draw upon the grammar and lexicon of graphic novel conventions to great effect. In one scene, Sofia depicts herself and her interior monologue as she was asked if she wanted to join an "Asian Pacific Islander" club at her

school. The invitation sets off a series of questions about identity and belonging, marked by her interest in joining coupled with the fear of rejection. One panel's text reads:

> But other thoughts creep in. What if they don't like me? What if they see that I don't know my own culture and laugh at me? I know that these are silly thoughts but at the time, I was worried that they wouldn't think I was Samoan enough. (Sofia, field notes)

Sofia's writing is both reflective and analytical about her experience, something she had more space and time in Wayfinder to explore in discussion. Yet, in the mini-novel, she also accompanies her narrative with cartoon/clip art depictions of these feelings in striking ways -- she renders herself in a monotone, purple color scheme set in contrast to the vibrancy of paired or grouped figures, representing the sort of community she is eager to be included in but filled with anxiety at the prospect of doing so. This effect is magnified by her spatial arrangement of text to image, which similarly conveys imbalance and tension.

Sofia explained that her choice of making a graphic mini-novel came from "wanting to tell a story" and her interest in visual storytelling genres such as comic books and manga. Furthermore, her choice of composing a book is a recall to the forms of storytelling she was familiar with from her family -- a cookbook, a memoir -- remade here into a style that she felt drawn to. When I asked her if she had ever read any comic books that featured a Pacific Islander protagonist, we both contemplated it for a moment and realized we could not think of any off the top of our heads. In that sense, Sofia was claiming new space as a Samoan youth artist in the form of the graphic novel, while simultaneously continuing a convention of books and the written word that had been so significant in her family's legacy of storytelling.

Expanding Generations

The twin power of retrieval and articulation helps to produce an expanded vocabulary from which Wayfinder students are reclaiming culture. In situating this work within the context of ongoing linguicide and resistance to it, our work demonstrates another path towards resisting that colonialism. On one hand, this process attends to the specificity of heritage practices – participants did not conjure new facts or memories out of thin air – and on the other, Wayfinder created a playful space to recombine that "text" into new forms. In this sense, I do not position Wayfinder's efforts as an alternative to Indigenous Language Revitalization work, but rather as a companion piece activity oriented towards expanding what can be remembered and what can be reconfigured.

It also produced new commitments from students in terms of generational impacts: the process of learning dances, writing poetry, interviewing families and such translate into several students committing themselves to become increasingly fluent in heritage languages. "Next year, I'd like to start a Tongan language club at my school",

mentioned one participant in a final interview about the program. When I asked them what inspired them to this action, they responded that while they had always felt embarrassed about speaking Tongan to their family for fear of judgment, the Wayfinder program gave them new tools and confidence to pursue the language. Importantly, they felt they had learned that language was no longer an isolated act, and that they wanted to bond with other peers who had similar feelings so that they could encourage one another. Sofia, too, mentioned she wanted to learn more Samoan so she could speak with her relatives in more depth. Learning more about her family's history through English text or through cooking had instilled a further desire to connect with her family in other ways to understand what other stories may be told through those languages. Both of these commitments I see as connected to our work to position cultural reclamation as both a communal and multisensory act -- by expanding retrieval we necessarily expanded the possibilities of Indigenous action.

This too can be seen in the student responses to the meaning of their artworks and their takeaways from the program. In measuring initial interviews against ones the latter days of the program cycle, participants increasingly described more ease with their identities as Pacific Islanders who grew up outside of Oceania. This theme is reflected in their choice of artwork modalities: few, if any, chose wholly “traditional” forms, not necessarily out of disinterest, but mainly because they felt they had an opportunity to speak to a side of themselves that was otherwise difficult within purely traditional protocol. When I inquired about their feelings about these choices, Lea’s responded that she felt now even better equipped to be a role model for her younger cousins and family members -- not in abandoning traditional ways but adding to them other ways to express who they are.

Chapter Six

6

Conclusion: Charting a Way Home

IKUNA: Articulating Stories and Knowledge of Indigenous Oceanic Roots and Routes provides a glimpse of an alternative to settler pedagogy that operates to further assimilate and alienate diasporic Indigenous Oceanic peoples from their cultural roots. It asks those engaged in educational practice and research to question common sense multiculturalist practices of schooling limit was it possible for cultural based education. In particular, this dissertation focuses on the experiences and knowledge generating capabilities of Indigenous Oceanic students, families and educators to create and explore alternatives to the lean offerings of cultural education. In doing so, this work takes to heart the many ways in which settler-colonial pedagogies continue adapt to decolonial reforms, a point made clear in recent works focusing on attempts to recreate education from an Indigenous framework (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2015; Smith et al., 2019). This project does not approach such work naively, but rather draws from Paulo Freire's insight that "hope is an ontological need" (Freire et al., 2016 : 8), a notion reflected further by McCarty and Lee (2014), implore that while "the fight for plurilingual and pluricultural education has not yet been won, [it] does not mean it should be abandoned" (p. 119).

This dissertation attests to the ways that multiculturalist doctrine is still firmly emplaced in the schooling experiences of Pacific Islander youth -- promising benign inclusion into settler society at the cost of cultural and translocal connection to ancestral ways, places and people. Despite the rich and robust ways that diasporic Indigenous peoples maintain connections to homelands and practices (Ramirez, 2007), these nodes of interconnectivity are rarely centered in educational design or practice. Rather, this project reveals the ways in which multiculturalist schooling is still fixed to Western notions of time, place and literacy which narrowly define when, where and how learning takes place. This matrix of Eurocentric pedagogy is buried deep within the architecture of schooling, yet remains ever present in classroom practice and measurement, resulting in either ignoring or refusing decolonial alternatives (Tuck, 2013) or marginalizing critical decolonial cultural education into "safety zones" (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2014). This dissertation similarly argues that in either case, the outcomes remain the same of either extinguishing or containing Indigeneity in service of centering Eurocentric notions of knowledge and learning. What *IKUNA* adds is an in-depth look on how these systems impact diasporic Indigenous peoples and arrives at a similar conclusion that the entirety of settler pedagogy means to replace or assimilate Indigenous peoples, whether "domestic" or "foreign". In response, this dissertation exceeds the normative settler timeline predicated on Euro-discovery and eventual elimination of the Native, looking towards Indigenous educational practices that have existed prior to colonial incursion as a means to generate Indigenous futurity.

This dissertation also examines the ways in which temporality, spatiality and modality may be purposed towards decolonial education. Through understanding how limited notions of time, space and epistemology are commonplace in schooling, the Wayfinder project reimagined educational practice that leaned into Indigenous Oceanic foundations and frameworks of learning along these focal points. In documenting the

pedagogy that was generated through this focus, *IKUNA* provides portraits of curricularization of these elements. Through leaning into the seeming paradox of the project of sustaining culture as a coherent understanding of shared community practices alongside the generative force of culture-in-flux, this dissertation generates critiques of the ways that Eurocentric multiculturalism reinforces this paradox as incommensurable and provides alternative pedagogies that embrace this tension.

In Chapter 3, a sense of dischronotopicality was mapped alongside settler-imposed blood quantum logics, revealing the ways that settler-schooling replicates racialized notions of diluted and disappearing Indigeneity in the face of modernity. In response, this project found that surfacing and critically interrogating family narratives and media representations provided an alternative to Eurocentric schooling that emphasized learning as an ahistorical "future facing" event. In doing so, we found that a *routed* pedagogy provided a space for participants to refashion their identities around multiplicity and hybridity lending to sustaining Indigenous identity and futurity.

In investigating notions of spatiality, Chapter 4 opens by interrogating the ways that schooling was a culturally devoid zone, where attempts by students to recognize or interject cultural learning was met with hostility or aversion. It argues that this resistance to cultural education is connected to the ways multiculturalist schooling paradigm prizes benign inclusivity over recognizing incommensurability (Tuck and Yang, 2012). This chapter then details the Wayfinder efforts to connect students with Oceania in an embodied way to create opportunities for place-based and land-based education. In centering learning outside of the classroom space, this chapter argues that a *rooted* pedagogy serves a critical twin purpose to *routed* pedagogies in combining stable and fluid connections to cultural practice and learning. The results of these land-based learning practices can lead to an expansion of Indigenous space across diaspora through a dispersed sovereignty, enlarging a shared and interconnected sense of stewardship.

Chapter 5 looks closely at the ways in which Wayfinder's routed and rooted pedagogies manifested epistemologically. The chapter explores the ways in which literacy and Indigenous language practices have been undermined through Western schooling and accompanied and enabled the larger colonial projects of schooling for Indigenous erasure. It also describes the ways that narrow definitions of literacy and language can be reinscribed into efforts for Indigenous Language Revitalization, resulting in continuing colonial categorizations of fluency in efforts to reclaim Indigenous language practices. Taking an Indigenous arts-centered stance, the chapter further documents Wayfinder's pedagogical tools that utilized multisensory and multimodal means of learning and representation. ARTifacts from the participants illustrated the ways that these tools enabled a deeper and wider means of collecting cultural "text" and provided opportunities for an expanded vocabulary and grammar with which to rearticulating this material into multiplicitous understandings of cultural knowledge. By deepening and expanding the meaning-making process, this chapter argues that cultural reclamation education utilizes learning modalities that go beyond normative cognition-only pedagogies. Together these chapters provide portraiture of Wayfinder's attempts to find alternative to embedded settler-pedagogies and the decolonial results of doing so.

IKUNA's contributions to the field of education include investigating the ways that multicultural education reproduces settler-logics learning, generating alternatives to these practices and engaging in Indigenous arts-centered action research. Methodologically, this project emphasizes the necessity of grounding Indigenous research in community-engaged action taking as a means to generate Indigenous futurity. Rather than focusing on youth alone, this project takes an intergenerational approach that foregrounds the contributive power of all participants regardless of age or status. The project also contributes to the field of ethnography through demonstrating the affordances of an unsited "field" that highlights the connectivity of Indigenous peoples and places by refusing the limitations of insisting on a geolocational-centered narrative. In documenting the efforts of Wayfinder, *IKUNA* is better able to capture connections across and through Indigenous time-space. Lastly, incorporating arts-centered research not only into research protocols, but into the design and reproduction of this knowledge adds to the field of Arts-based Research in demonstrating how imaging critical futurity can be facilitated through creative risk taking in generating research.

This work's significance lies in how it offers an alternative to normative classroom practices and urges us to be cautious in relegating cultural based education within the umbrella of multiculturalism doctrine. Though the structures of a Western neo-liberal state and school system have co-opted multiculturalism's original calls for radical inclusion of the racialized Other (amongst other liberatory movements), this project implies that the current status quo is reflective of what we can currently imagine education to be. Working against colonial temporalities to reveal all that had come before colonial techniques of erasure is critical to any effort to dream and enact a different future beyond colonial teleology. By acknowledging this current state, the Wayfinder work suggests that solutions exist within the communities that educational policy is often designed for, but rarely in collaboration with or ownership by. This does mean that the project was not without its faults, setbacks, tensions and so forth, but that allowing Pacific Islander educators and students to steward their educational design yields important lessons for both Indigenous Oceanic peoples, but also for many adjacent communities -- be they Indigenous, diasporic, racialized in other ways.

In tandem with providing opportunities for communities to develop and experiment with their own pedagogical practices, this work also provides some examples and glimpses as to what happens when the tensions of cultural reclamation are made explicit within culturally-based curriculum. It suggests that culturally-based curriculum benefits from thinking about both *what* is taught alongside *how* and *why* it is taught, acknowledging the complexity of these acts and its political repercussions, but inviting participants to generate alternatives from that reality.

In the broadest sense, this work also makes commentary on the ontology of diasporic Indigenous learning in suggesting that the notion of cultural and ancestral roots are rhizomatically intertwined with the migration routes in a cyclical and symbiotic way. For as much thought and energy is devoted towards cultural preservation, particular that of Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies that are either under threat from colonial regime or dormant due to it, this project suggests that the key towards cultural reclamation and sustainability can be located in how culture moves and adapts in tandem with how in persists. It is not an either or, but rather the interconnections of the two is what produces multiplicity and abundance. Thus, rather

than attempt to adapt to Eurocentric models of multiculturalism, leaning into Indigenous movement, ingenuity and creativity provides steps backwards, forwards and away from the confines of colonial schooling.

References

Aikau, H. K., & Gonzalez, V. V. (Eds.). (2019). *Detours: A decolonial guide to Hawai'i.* Duke University Press.

Alfred, G. R. (2005). *Wasa'se: Indigenous pathways of action and freedom*. Broadview Press.

Aronson, B., & Laughter, J. (2016). The Theory and Practice of Culturally Relevant Education: A Synthesis of Research Across Content Areas. *Review of Educational Research*, *86*(1), 163–206.

Au, W. (2014). *Rethinking multicultural education: Teaching for racial and cultural justice*.

Banivanua-Mar, T. (2016). *Decolonisation and the Pacific: Indigenous Globalisation and the Ends of Empire*. Cambridge University Press.

Banks, J. A. (1979). Shaping the Future of Multicultural Education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *48*(3), 237.

Banks, J. A. (1993). Multicultural Education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice. *Review of Research in Education*, *19*, 3.

Baquedano-López, P., & Gong, N. (2022). Indigenous Mobilities in Diaspora. Literacies of Spatial Tense. In A. Norlund Shaswar & J. Rosén (Eds.), *Literacies in the Age of Mobility* (pp. 25–49). Springer International Publishing.

Baquedano-López, P., & Janetti, G. B. (2017). The Maya Diaspora Yucatan-San Francisco: New Latino Educational Practices and Possibilities. In S. Salas & P. Portes (Eds.), *US Latinization: Education and the new Latino South* (pp. 161–183).

Barkan, E. R. (Ed.). (2013). *Immigrants in American history: Arrival, adaptation, and integration*. ABC-CLIO.

Basso, K. H. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: Landscape and language among the Western Apache*. University of New Mexico Press.

Bhabha, H. K. (1996). Culture's In-Between. In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 53–60). Sage.

Bonus, R. (2020). *The ocean in the school: Pacific Islander students transforming their University*. Duke University Press.

Byrd, J. A. (2011). *The transit of empire: Indigenous critiques of colonialism*. University of Minnesota Press.

Capous-Desyllas, M., & Morgaine, K. (Eds.). (2017). *Creating Social Change Through Creativity Anti-Oppressive Arts-Based Research Methodologies*. Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Chan, S. (2015). The case for diaspora: A temporal approach to the Chinese experience. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *74*(1), 107–128.

Chang, D. A. (2016). *The world and all the things upon it: Native Hawaiian geographies of exploration*. University of Minnesota Press.

Chilisa, B. (2020). *Indigenous research methodologies* (Second edition). SAGE.

Clarke, J. (2015). Stuart Hall and the theory and practice of articulation. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *36*(2), 275–286.

Clifford, J. (2001). Indigenous Articulations. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *13*(2), 468–490.

Cook, J., Laidlaw, J., & Mair, J. (2012). What if there is no elephant? Towards a conception of an un-sited field. *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research*, 47–72.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, *43*(6), 1241–1299.

Darling-Hammond, L., Ancess, J., & Falk, B. (1995). *Authentic assessment in action: Studies of schools and students at work*. Teachers College Press.

Delisle, C., & Diaz, V. (Directors). (1997). *Sacred Vessels: Navigating Tradition and Identity in Micronesia*.

Dewhurst, M., O'Neill Moanikeʻala Ah-Lan Keawe, L., MacDowell, M., Okada-Carlson, C., & Wong, A. K. (2013). Ka ulana ʻana i ka piko (In Weaving You Begin at the Center): Perspectives from a Culturally Specific Approach to Art Education. *Harvard Educational Review*, *83*(1), 136–144.

Diaz, V. (2011). Voyaging for Anti-Colonial Recovery: Austronesian Seafaring, Archipelagic Rethinking, and the Re-mapping of Indigeneity. *Pacific Asia Inquiry*, *2*(1), 21–32.

Diaz, V. M., & Kauanui, J. K. (2001). Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *13*(2), 315–342.

Durham, J., Tafa, S., Etuale, J., Nosa, V., Fa'avale, A., Malama, E., Yaranamua, M., Taito, T., Ziesman, C., & Fa'avale, N. (2022). Belonging in multiple places: Pasifika young peoples' experiences of living in Logan. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 1–17.

Faik-Simet, N. K. (2021). *Exploring Buai as a Pedagogical Knowledge System for Teaching and Learning Creativity Amongst the Tolai of Papua New Guinea* [Dissertation]. University of Auckland.

Falzon, M.-A. (2016). *Multi-Sited Ethnography: Theory, Praxis and Locality in Contemporary Research* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Fanon, F. (2008). *Black skin, white masks* (1st ed., New ed). Grove Press ; Distributed by Publishers Group West.

Ferris-Leary, Helen Erana. *An Analytical Perspective on Moana Research And the Case of Tongan Faiva*. University of Auckland, 2013.

Fierros, C. O., & Bernal, D. D. (2016). Vamos a platicar: The contours of pláticas as Chicana/Latina feminist methodology. *Chicana/Latina Studies*, 98–121.

Firth, S. (1997). Colonial Administration and the Invention of the Native. In D. Denoon & M. Meleisea (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (pp. 253–288). Cambridge University Press; Cambridge Core.

Fishman, J. (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved? : Reversing language shift, revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Multilingual Matters.

Flores, N. (2016). A Tale of Two Visions: Hegemonic Whiteness and Bilingual Education. *Educational Policy*, *30*(1), 13–38.

Freire, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (New rev. ed). Penguin Books.

Freire, P., Freire, A. M. A., & Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Bloomsbury.

Fujikane, C. (2019). Mapping Abundance on Mauna a Wākea as a Practice of Ea. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, *11*(1), 23–54.

Fujikane, C., & Okamura, J. Y. (Eds.). (2008). *Asian settler colonialism: From local governance to the habits of everyday life in Hawai'i*. University of Hawai'i Press.

García, O., & Baetens Beardsmore, H. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Wiley-Blackwell Pub.

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed). Teachers College.

Gegeo, D. W. (2001). Cultural Rupture and Indigeneity: The Challenge of (Re)visioning "Place" in the Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *13*(2), 491–507.

Gibson, M. A. (1988). *Accommodation without assimilation: Sikh immigrants in an American high school*. Cornell University Press.

Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Harvard University Press.

Glaser, R., & Silver, E. (1994). Assessment, Testing, and Instruction: Retrospect and Prospect. *Review of Research in Education*, *20*, 393.

Goldberg-Hiller, J., & Silva, N. K. (2011). Sharks and Pigs: Animating Hawaiian Sovereignty against the Anthropological Machine. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *110*(2), 429–446.

Gong, N. (2020). Polyclub: Oceanic Literacies of Interconnectivity and Fluidity. *Professing Education*, *19*(1), 55–66.

Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, N. (2013). *The seeds we planted: Portraits of a native Hawaiian charter school*. University of Minnesota Press.

Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, N. (2015). Reproducing the Ropes of Resistance: Hawaiian Studies Methodologies. In K.-A. R. K. Oliveira & E. K. Wright (Eds.), *Kanaka ’Oiwi Methodologies* (pp. 1–29). University of Hawai’i Press.

Greenblatt, S. (1991). *Marvelous possessions: The wonder of the New World*. University of Chicago Press.

Greiner, C., & Sakdapolrak, P. (2013). Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives: Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives. *Geography Compass*, *7*(5), 373–384.

Hall, S. (1986). On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *10*(2), 45–60.

Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, culture, difference*. Lawrence & Wishart.

Hall, S. (1991). Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities. In A. D. King (Ed.), *Culture, Globalisation and the World System*. Macmillan.

Halualani, R. T. (2002). *In the name of Hawaiians: Native identities and cultural politics*. University of Minnesota Press.

Harris, D., & Prout Quicke, S. (2019). “It doesn’t make me any less Aboriginal”: The complex politics of translocal place-making for Indigenous tertiary student migrants. *Population, Space and Place*, *25*(3), e2191.

Harrison, B., & Papa, R. (2005). The Development of an Indigenous Knowledge Program in a New Zealand Maori-Language Immersion School. *Anthropology Education Quarterly*, *36*(1), 57–72.

Hau'ofa, E. (2008). *We are the ocean: Selected works*. University of Hawaii Press.

Heath, S. B. (1980). The Functions and Uses of Literacy. *Journal of Communication*, *30*(1), 123–133.

Helu Thaman, K. (2003a). Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *15*(1), 1–17.

Helu Thaman, K. (2003b). Re-presenting and re-searching Oceania: A suggestion for synthesis. *Pacific Health Dialog*, *10*(2), 163–170.

Higgins, M. (2016). Decolonizing School Science: Pedagogically Enacting Agential Literacy and Ecologies of Relationships. In C. A. Taylor & C. Hughes (Eds.), *Posthuman Research Practices in Education* (pp. 186–205). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Hindle, R., Hynds, A. S., Phillips, H., & Rameka, L. (2015). Being, Flow and Knowledge in Māori Arts Education: Assessing Indigenous Creativity. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, *44*(1), 85–93.

Hingangaroa Smith, G. (2003). *Indigenous Struggle for the Transformation of Education and Schooling*.

Hobsbawm, E. J., & Ranger, T. O. (Eds.). (1983). *The Invention of tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

Hornberger, N. (1995). Ethnography in linguistic perspective: Understanding school processes. *Language and Education*, *9*(4), 233–248.

Hornberger, N. H. (2011). *Can schools save indigenous languages?: Policy and practice on four continents*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Ingersoll, K. E. (2016). *Waves of knowing: A seascape epistemology*. Duke University Press.

Iyengar, M. M. (2014). Not mere abstractions Language policies and language ideologies in U.S. settler colonialism. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *3*(2), 33–59.

Jaffe, A. M. (1999). *Ideologies in action: Language politics on Corsica*. Mouton de Gruyter.

Jaffe-Walter, R. (2016). *Coercive concern: Nationalism, liberalism, and the schooling of Muslim youth*. Stanford University Press.

Jolly, M. (2018). Contested Paradise: Dispossession and Repossession in Hawai'i. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *30*(2), 355–377.

Jolly, Margaret. (2007). Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and Foreign Representations of a Sea of Islands. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *19*(2), 508–545.

Jones, T. L., & Klar, K. A. (2009). On Linguistics and Cascading Inventions: A Comment on Arnold's Dismissal of a Polynesian Contact Event in Southern California. *American Antiquity*, *74*(1), 173–182.

Jordan, S. (2008). Participatory Action Research (PAR). In L. Given, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (pp. 602–604). SAGE Publications, Inc.

Kaʻili, T. O., & Māhina, ʻOkusitino. (2017). *Marking indigeneity: The Tongan art of sociospatial relations*. The University of Arizona Press.

Kame'eleihiwa, L. (1995). *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? Ko Hawai'i' Āina a Me, Nā Koi Pu'umake a Ka, Po'e Haole; How Shall We Live in Harmony?[A History of Land Tenure Change in Hawai'i from Traditional Times Until the 1848 Māhale, Including an Analysis of Hawaiian Ali'i Nui and American Calvinists]*. Bishop Mus.

Kauanui, J. K. (2008). *Hawaiian blood: Colonialism and the politics of sovereignty and indigeneity*. Duke Univ. Press.

Kealiinohomoku, J. (1970). An anthropologist looks at ballet as a form of ethnic dance. *Impulse*, *20*, 24–33.

Keck, V., & Schieder, D. (2015). Contradictions and Complexities—Current Perspectives on Pacific Islander Mobilities. *Anthropological Forum*, *25*(2), 115–130.

Keesing, R. (1989). Creating the past: Custom and identity in the contemporary Pacific. *The Contemporary Pacific*.

Kemmis, S., McTaggart, R., & Nixon, R. (2014). *Arts*. Springer.

Kēpa, M., & Manu'atu, L. (2008). Pedagogical Decolonization: Impacts of the European/Pākehā Society on the Education of Tongan People in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *51*(12), 1801–1816.

Kester, M. (2013). Chapter: Pacific Islander and Pacific Islander Americans, 1940-present, written by Matthew Kester. In Barkan, *Immigrants in American history: Arrival, adaptation, and integration*. ABC-CLIO.

Kimmerer, R. W. (2013). *Braiding sweetgrass: Indigenous wisdom, scientific knowledge and the teachings of plants* (First paperback edition). Milkweed Editions.

Kirkness, V. J., & Barnhardt, R. (1991). First Nations and higher education: The four R's—Respect, relevance, reciprocity, responsibility. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 1–15.

Kovach, M. (2010). *Indigenous methodologies: Characteristics, conversations and contexts* (Reprinted in paperback 2010). University of Toronto Press.

Kulick, D., & Stroud, C. (1990). Christianity, Cargo and Ideas of Self: Patterns of Literacy in a Papua New Guinean Village. *Man*, *25*(2), 286.

La Valle, F. F., Camvel, D. A. K., Thomas, F. I. M., Aikau, H. K., & Lemus, J. D. (2019). *Interdisciplinary Research through a Shared Lexicon: Merging 'Ike Kupuna and Western Science to Examine Characteristics of Water*. *11*(1), 19.

Labrador, R. N., & Wright, E. K. (2011). Engaging Indigeneity in Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies. *Amerasia Journal*, *37*(3), 134–147.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *32*(3), 465–491.

Leavy, P. (2015). *Method meets art: Arts-based research practice* (Second edition). The Guilford Press.

Leavy, P. (2017). *Research design: Quantitative, qualitative, mixed methods, arts-based, and community-based participatory research approaches*. Guilford Press.

Ledward, B. C. (2013). 'Äina-Based Learning is New Old Wisdom at Work. *Hülili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, *9*.

Lee, C. D. (1995). A Culturally Based Cognitive Apprenticeship: Teaching African American High School Students Skills in Literary Interpretation. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *30*(4), 608.

Liamputtong, P., & Rumbold, J. (2008). *Knowing differently: Arts-based and collaborative research methods*. Nova Science Publishers.

Lilomaiava-Doktor, S. (2009). Beyond "Migration": Samoan Population Movement *(Malaga)* and the Geography of Social Space *(Vā)*. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *21*(1), 1–32.

Liu, D., Blaisdell, R. K., & Aitaoto, N. (2008). Health Disparities in Hawaii, part 1. *Hawaii Journal of Public Health*, *1*(1), 5–13.

Lomawaima, K. T., & McCarty, T. L. (2006). *"To remain an Indian": Lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education*. Teachers College Press.

Lomawaima, K. T., & McCarty, T. L. (2014). Concluding commentary: Revisiting and clarifying the safety zone. *Journal of American Indian Education*, *53*(3), 63–67.

Mahiri, J. (2017). *Deconstructing race: Multicultural education beyond the color-bind*. Teachers College Press.

Marcus, G. (1995). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *24*.

McCarty, T. L., & Littlebear, R. E. (2012). *Language planning and policy in Native America: History, theory, praxis*. Multilingual Matters.

McCarty, T., & Lee, T. (2014). Critical Culturally Sustaining/Revitalizing Pedagogy and Indigenous Education Sovereignty. *Harvard Educational Review*, *84*(1), 101–124.

Mehta, R., Creely, E., & Henriksen, D. (2020). A Profitable Education: Countering Neoliberalism in 21st Century Skills Discourses. In J. Keengwe & G. Onchwari (Eds.), *Advances in Educational Marketing, Administration, and Leadership* (pp. 359–381). IGI Global.

Mills, A. (2009). 'Akau Tau: Contextualising Tongan War-Clubs. *He Journal of the Polynesian Society*, *118*(1), 7–45.

Mills, K. A., & Doyle, K. (2019). Visual arts: A multimodal language for Indigenous education. *Language and Education*, *33*(6), 521–543.

Molina, N. (2014). *How race is made in America: Immigration, citizenship, and the historical power of racial scripts*. University of California Press.

Moreton-Robinson, A. (2015). *The white possessive: Property, power, and indigenous sovereignty*. University of Minnesota Press.

Mühlhäusler, P. (1996). *Linguistic ecology: Language change and linguistic imperialism in the Pacific region*. Routledge.

Naepi, S. (2020). Pacific Research Methodologies. In S. Naepi, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*. Oxford University Press.

NeSmith, R. K. (2021). Tutu's Hawaiian and the Emergence of a Neo Hawaiian Language. *Haw. JL & Pol.*, *3*, 192.

Nielsen, L. (2004). Aesthetics and knowing: Ephemeral principles for a groundless theory. *Provoked by Art: Theorizing Arts-Informed Research*, 44–49.

Nieto, S. (1994). Affirmation, solidarity, and critique: Moving beyond tolerance in multicultural education. *Multicultural Education*, *1*(4), 9–12, 35–38.

Niumeitolu, F. (Director). (2020, May). Seeding Hope Speaker Series [Radio Broadcast]. In *From Moana Nui to California; Indigenous Stories of Land*. KPFA.

Noble, B. (2015). Tripped up by Coloniality: Anthropologists as Instruments or Agents in Indigenous–Settler Political Relations? *Anthropologica*, 427–443.

Oliveira, K.-A. R. K. N., & Wright, E. K. (Eds.). (2016). *Kanaka ʻōiwi methodologies: Moʻolelo and metaphor*. University of Hawaiʻi Press.

Olneck, M. R. (1990). The Recurring Dream: Symbolism and Ideology in Intercultural and Multicultural Education. *American Journal of Education*, *98*(2), 147–174.

Olsen, L., & Edwards, R. (1997). *Made in America: Immigrant students in our public schools*. New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton & Co.

Omi, M., & Espiritu, Y. L. (2000). Who are you calling Asian?": Shifting identity claims, racial classifications, and the census. *The State of Asian Pacific America: Transforming Race Relations*, *5*, 43–100.

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2015). *Racial formation in the United States* (Third edition). Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Orange, T. (2019). *There there* (First Vintage Books edition). Vintage Books, a division of Penguin Random House LLC.

Otsuka, Y. (2007). Endangered Language. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *19*(2), 446–473.

OUSD Data: Oakland's Asian Pacific Islander Students (Office of Equity). (2017). Oakland Unified School District.

Pang, V. O., Han, P. P., & Pang, J. M. (2011). Asian American and Pacific Islander Students: Equity and the Achievement Gap. *Educational Researcher*, *40*(8), 378–389.

Paris, D., & Alim, H. S. (Eds.). (2017). *Culturally sustaining pedagogies: Teaching and learning for justice in a changing world*. Teachers College Press.

Paris, D., & Winn, M. T. (2014). *Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities*. SAGE Publications, Inc.

Peeren, E. (2006). Through the lens of the chronotope: Suggestions for a spatio-temporal perspective on diaspora. In M.-A. Baronian, S. Besser, & Y. Jansen (Eds.), *Diaspora and memory: Figures of displacement in contemporary literature, arts and politics* (pp. 67–77). Brill.

Perez, C. S., & Washburn, K. (2015). “no page is ever truly blank”: An Interview with Craig Santos Perez. *Postcolonial Text*, *10*(1).

Povinelli, E. A. (2011). *Economies of abandonment: Social belonging and endurance in late liberalism*. Duke University Press.

Prashad, V. (2001). *Everybody was Kung Fu fighting Afro-Asian connections and the myth of cultural purity*. Beacon Press.

Quijano, A. (2000). *Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina*. clacso Buenos Aires.

Ramirez, R. K. (2007). *Native hubs: Culture, community, and belonging in Silicon Valley and beyond*. Duke University Press.

Ritenburg, H., Leon, A. E. Y., Linds, W., Nadeau, D. M., Goulet, L. M., Kovach, M., & Marshall, M. (Meri). (2014). Embodying Decolonization: Methodologies and Indigenization. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, *10*(1), 67–80.

Royal, T. A. C. (2009). *Te kaimanga: Towards a new vision for matauranga*. Directorship Public Seminar, University of Auckland.

Said, E. W. (1994). *Culture and imperialism* (1st Vintage Books ed). Vintage Books.

Salesa, D. (2014). The Pacific in Indigenous Time. In D. Armitage & A. Bashford (Eds.), *Pacific Histories* (pp. 31–52). Macmillan Education UK.

Seifart, F. (2006). Orthography development. In J. Gippert, N. Himmelmann, & U. Mosel (Eds.), *Essentials of language documentation* (pp. 275–299). Mouton de Gruyter.

Silva, N. K. (2004). *Aloha betrayed: Native Hawaiian resistance to American colonialism*. Duke University Press.

Sleeter, C. (1994). Multicultural Education and the American Dream: Race, Class and Gender. *Race, Sex & Class*, *2*(1), 31–53.

Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed.

Smith, L. T., Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (Eds.). (2019). *Indigenous and decolonizing studies in education: Mapping the long view*. Routledge.

Spickard, P. R., Rondilla, J. L., & Hippolite Wright, D. (Eds.). (2002). *Pacific diaspora: Island peoples in the United States and across the Pacific*. University of Hawai’i Press.

Sterponi, L. (2007). Clandestine interactional reading: Intertextuality and double-voicing under the desk. *Linguistics and Education*, *18*(1), 1–23.

Stillman, A. (2001). Re-Membering the History of the Hawaiian Hula. In J. Mageo (Ed.), *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific* (pp. 187–204). University of Hawai'i Pres.

Stone, T. (2019). *Emplacing White Possessive Logics: Socializing Latinx Youth into Relations with Land, Community, and Success* [Dissertation]. University of California, Berkeley.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2021). *Learning a New Land*. Harvard University Press.

Sul, D. (2021). Indigenous assessment developers on elements of the disjuncture-response dialectic: A critical comparative case study. *Doctoral Dissertations*, *571*.

Supovitz, J. (2009). Can high stakes testing leverage educational improvement? Prospects from the last decade of testing and accountability reform. *Journal of Educational Change*, *10*(2–3), 211–227.

Suzuki, B. H. (1984). Curriculum Transformation for Multicultural Education. *Education and Urban Society*, *16*(3), 294–322.

Te Punga Somerville, A. (2012). *Once were Pacific: Māori connections to Oceania*. University of Minnesota Press.

Teaiwa, T. (2001). L(o)osing the Edge. *The Contemporary Pacific*, *13*(2), 343–357.

Teaiwa, T. K. (2017). Native thoughts: A Pacific Studies take on cultural studies and diaspora. In *Indigenous diasporas and dislocations* (pp. 15–36). Routledge.

Teves, S. N. (2018). *Defiant indigeneity: The politics of Hawaiian performance*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Tolia-Kelly, D. P. (2016). Anthropocenic culturecide: An epitaph. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *17*(6), 786–792.

Torres, M. S. H. (2003). "Limpieza de sangre"?` Racismo en la edad moderna? *Revista Electrónica de Historia Moderna*, *4*(9).

Trask, H.-K. (1999). *From a native daughter: Colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Rev. ed). University of Hawai'i Press.

Tseng, W., Ve'e, T., Ah Soon, N., Schultz, J., Keilani Oslance, N., Vaovasa, E., & Wang, R. (2020). *Pacific Islander Demographic Report*. Regional Pacific Islander Task Force.

Tuck, E. (2009a). Re-Visioning Action: Participatory Action Research and Indigenous Theories of Change. *Urban Review: Issues and Ideas in Public Education*, *41*(1), 47–65.

Tuck, E. (2009b). Suspending Damage: A Letter to Communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(3), 409–428.

Tuck, E., & Gaztambide-Fernández, R. (2013). Curriculum, Replacement, and Settler Futurity. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing*, *29*(1).

Tuck, E., & McKenzie, M. (2015). *Place in research: Theory, methodology, and methods*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Tuck, E., McKenzie, M., & McCoy, K. (2014). Land education: Indigenous, post-colonial, and decolonizing perspectives on place and environmental education research. *Environmental Education Research*, *20*(1), 1–23.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *1*(1), 1–40.

Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2014). R-words: Refusing research. *Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities*, *223*, 248.

Tupai Francis, S., & Lee, H. (2009). *Migration and Transnationalism: Pacific Perspectives*. ANU Press.

Urrieta, L. (2010). *Working from Within Chicana and Chicano Activist Educators in Whitestream Schools* (1. paperback print). Univ. of Arizona Press.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. State University of New York Press.

Veronelli, G. A. (2015). *The Coloniality Of Language: Race, Expressivity, Power, And The Darker Side Of Modernity*. *13*, 27.

Watts, V. (2013). Indigenous place-thought & agency amongst humans and non-humans (First Woman and Sky Woman go on a European world tour!). *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, *2*(1), 22–34.

Wendt, A. (1999). Afterword: Tatauing the post-colonial body. In *Inside out: Literature, cultural politics, and identity in the new Pacific* (pp. 399–412).

Whitinui, P. (2010). Indigenous-based inclusive pedagogy: The art of Kapa Haka to improve educational outcomes for Māori students in mainstream secondary schools in Aotearoa, New Zealand. *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning*, *6*(1), 3–22.

Wilson, W. H., & Kamana, K. (2011). Chapter 3. Insights from Indigenous Language Immersion in Hawai‘i. In D. J. Tedick, D. Christian, & T. W. Fortune (Eds.), *Immersion Education* (pp. 36–57). Multilingual Matters.

Windchief, S., & San Pedro, T. (Eds.). (2019). *Applying Indigenous Research Methods: Storying with Peoples and Communities*. Routledge.

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, *8*(4), 387–409.

Wong, L. (1999). Authenticity and the Revitalization of Hawaiian. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *30*(1), 94–115.

Woodbury, A. (1998). Documenting rhetorical, aesthetic, and expressive loss in language shift. *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*.

Appendix A

Interview Guides

Consent/Assent Reminders

1. Researcher's motives and intentions and inquiry's purpose

The purpose of this study is to better understand what Wayfinder participants are learning and the significance of what they learn. This study is particularly focused on the role of culture in education and expanding definitions of literacy. I plan to use this data to inform the practices of teachers and programs working to address social inequities.

2. Questions for me

I appreciate your time and willingness to share your experiences, thoughts, feelings, and opinions on this topic. I would like to offer you the opportunity to also ask me questions about my work or experiences in the field of education. So, if you would like, you can ask me questions before we get started or at the end of the interview.

3. Protection of respondents through use of pseudonyms

I will not use your real name, or the real name of the school or city you attend/work/live.

4. Audio recording/note taking comfort

As I shared with you before, I would like to audio record and take notes of our interview in order to have an accurate record of our conversation. Are you comfortable with these methods of recording

Interview Questions

For all Participants, as applicable:

1. What is your highest level of education? What (types of) schools/institutions did you attend? (What is your occupation?)
2. How do you identify? Socioeconomically? Gender? Has this changed at all through different stages of your life?
3. What language(s) do you speak? How did you learn them?
4. How do you identify culturally? Has this changed at all over time?
5. What migration generation do you identify with? For what reasons did your family (im)migrate?

A. Students in Wayfinder Program: Interview One (Feb 2021)

1. Why did you join Wayfinder? What are your thoughts about it so far?
2. What have you been learning? Can you describe the sort of activities you are involved in? Which one holds particular significance to you?
3. Could you describe things you have learned in Wayfinder that would be surprising or generally unknown to people outside of Wayfinder?
4. What does "culture" mean to you? To the people you care about and who care about you? Can you describe what aspects of "culture" you have encountered

while learning at Wayfinder?
5. Using Oral History Project
    - Can you tell me what you made?
    - What form of expression did you use? Why did you choose it?
    - What did you learn through this process so far?

B. Students in Wayfinder Program: Interview Two (Early Summer 2021)

1. What have you been learning? Can you describe the sort of activities you are involved in? Which one holds particular significance to you?
2. What do you think of your fellow Wayfinder participants? How do you all treat one another? Why do you think that you treat one another that way? How is this similar or different from how you treat other people your age who aren't in the program?
3. Could you describe the differences between learning at Wayfinder and learning in a typical classroom? What do you think is causing those differences?
4. What have you learned about culture? What role do you see it playing in what you want to learn, or how you might go about learning?

C. Students in Wayfinder Program: Interview Three (Late Summer 2021)

1. What have you been learning? Can you describe the sort of activities you are involved in? Which one holds particular significance to you?
2. What have you learned about while in Hawai'i? What is different about learning here than learning in other places?
3. What sort of exchanges have you had with the instructors and students here?
4. What is your responsibility to your fellow Wayfinder members? Has being a part of Wayfinder changed the way you relate to certain people? Certain communities?
5. What does "culture" mean to you? To the people you care about and who care about you? Can you describe what aspects of "culture" you have encountered while learning at Wayfinder?
6. What activity stands out the most during your time with Wayfinder?

D. Instructors of Wayfinder Interview One (Fall 2021)

1. How did you become involved in Wayfinder? What are the goals of Wayfinder?
2. Why do you think students, particularly Pacific Islander students, are attracted to Wayfinder?
3. What do you consider important for youth to learn in this program? Describe how you help them to learn those things.
4. How would you define "culture"? In what ways does this show up in your work in Wayfinder? How do you think student interpret this concept?
5. Could you describe what you are teaching students? How did you make decisions about what and how to teach?
6. What are some differences between Wayfinder and traditional school classes? What do you think causes them to be different?

E. Instructors of Wayfinder Interview Two (Spring 2021)

1. How would you define "culture"? In what ways does this show up in your work in Wayfinder? How do you think students interpret this concept?

2. Could you describe what you are teaching students? How did you make decisions about what and how to teach?
3. What are some differences between Wayfinder and traditional school classes? What do you think causes them to be different?
4. What types of relationships do you try and foster amongst the Wayfinder students? How are their relationships with one another similar to and/or different from those of other students at the school?

F. Instructors of Wayfinder Interview Three (Summer 2021)

1. How would you define "culture"? In what ways does this show up in your work in Wayfinder? How do you think students interpret this concept?
2. Could you describe what you are teaching students? How did you make decisions about what and how to teach?
3. What has stood out to you in your experience working with students in Hawai‘i?
4. What are some differences between Wayfinder and traditional school classes? What do you think causes them to be different?
5. What are some limitations of Wayfinder?
6. What are some differences between Wayfinder and traditional school classes? What do you think causes them to be different?
7. What sort of impact do you think it has on a Pacific Islander student who doesn't have an opportunity to participate in Wayfinder?