Book and Media Reviews

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they pass by. Branden calls, worried about her. He says he has found the missing van in an impound lot. Wo and Kea fall asleep, holding hands, on the grass of a city park. Wo sits up and wipes tears off Kea's face as she stares at him in pain. He hugs her. As the sun sets, Kea clutches a handful of dirt and pours it out as she gently dances hula. Branden watches her from the van in the parking lot, crying. Kea hugs her grandmother and sits on her lap. Finally, she is back on stage with a troupe of young women, dancing for tourists at their dinner tables. Na Leo Pilimehana's 1996 cover of Andy Cummings's "Waikīkī" plays: "Waikīkī / my whole life is empty without you / I miss that magic about you / Magic beside the sea / Magic of Waikīkī." In the lead position, Kea smiles broadly and bows.

Waikiki is a beautiful, decidedly bittersweet film. I see it as a kind of elegy—not to the dead exactly, but rather to a world that, as Kea tells herself at one point, works so hard to stay meaningful. The story of Kea and Wo, ill and homeless as they are in Honolulu, one of the great Pacific cities, is meant to be a story told through the eyes of urban Hawaiians who live with the structural violence of institutions that do not recognize them, much less offer them any kind of support. It is a story of the subjectivity of people without audible voices or official identities, such as driver's licenses. As such, watching their struggles, while compelling, is visually difficult and disturbing, which I take to be a measure of *Waikiki*'s quality.

Kahunahana's achievement must be added to the list of breathtaking movies made by first-time Indigenous directors, such as Barry Barclay's *Ngati* (1987), Nils Gaup's *Pathfinder* (1987), Chris Eyre's *Smoke Signals* (1998), and Zacharias Kanuk's *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (2001).

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Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai'i Statehood, by Dean Itsuji Saranillio. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018. ISBN cloth, 978-1-4780-0062-4; ISBN paper, 978-1-4780-0083-9; ISBN e-book, 978-1-4780-0229-1; xxvi + 282 pages, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, US$104.95; paper, US$27.95; e-book, US$27.95.

On 2 July 2021, county officials declared a water shortage in upcountry Maui and prohibited residents from using water for nonessential activities like washing cars or watering lawns, with fines of up to US$500 for violating regulations. Meanwhile, about eight thousand visitors were flying to Maui daily, often staying in hotels with high water demands for pools and golf courses (see "'Water fiasco' on Maui Leaves Residents Feeling Mistreated, Unfairly Targeted," by Chelsea Davis, *Hawaii News Now,* 11 July 2021). This diversion of life-sustaining resources away from residents to tourists, from people for profit, is exemplary of the extractive tourism industry in Hawai'i. As Native Hawaiians like myself

and longtime residents witnessed yet another surge in overtourism, made especially overwhelming by the COVID-19 pandemic, many wondered: How did we get here? What can we do? Dean Itsuji Saranillio's *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai'i Statehood,* although focused primarily on statehood rather than tourism, balances an honest confrontation with the past with radical hope for alternative futures to address many of these questions for our time.

In this work, Saranillio examines the history of Hawai'i's statehood, beginning with the overthrow and illegal annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 and 1898. As Saranillio details in the introduction, these acts were both orchestrated by the US-backed Provisional Government, made up of the descendants of white American missionaries whose economic and political power in the Islands was based on their monopoly of the sugar and pineapple industries. In turn, their own descendants, particularly those of the "Big Five" (five agencies who dominated the agricultural industry and general economy in Hawai'i), facilitated multiple pushes for statehood during the Great Depression and in the post–World War II and Cold War eras. This resulted in the admission of Hawai'i as a state in 1959.

The Big Five's insistence on further incorporation into the United States has been attributed primarily to private capital interests, first through the expansion of the agricultural industries, and later through the establishment of the tourism industry. Resistance to Hawai'i statehood had multiple proponents with differing motives. For many Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiians) and Hawai'i residents, resistance was rooted in the desire to regain sovereignty as an independent nation. On the part of the US federal government, resistance was cemented in racism and anticommunism as Hawai'i had a majority nonwhite population (largely due to the influx of Asian laborers for the agricultural industry in the nineteenth century) with a powerful labor organization.

Saranillio, who critically self-identifies as a Filipino and Japanese settler raised in Kahului, Maui, contests the prevailing narratives that depict statehood as a civil rights victory or as an event Kanaka ʻŌiwi passively accepted. In addition to government documents, newspaper articles, and conventional archival texts, the author uses a diversity of other sources, including images, ephemera, and accounts depicting exhibits at world's fairs, propaganda films, political cartoons, and the story of a million-dollar hoax, to reveal an alternative history of Hawai'i statehood, settler colonialism, capitalism, and liberal multiculturalism.

The agency and resistance of marginalized communities, namely Kanaka ʻŌiwi and the nonwhite working class, are fundamental to Saranillio's history of Hawai'i statehood. From the 1937 and 1946 congressional hearings for statehood to Cold War era propaganda campaigns for statehood, Kanaka ʻŌiwi and the working class resisted every Big Five push for statehood. Saranillio responsibly highlights the agency

and humanity of prominent figures—such as Alice Kamokila Campbell, a Kanaka ʻŌiwi elite who staunchly opposed statehood—while also reckoning with the ways these figures may have also caused harm. For instance, although Kamokila contributed much to the anti-statehood movement, she employed anti-Japanese sentiment in the process, thus inexcusably aligning herself with white supremacy (118–119). Taking great care to employ a nuanced approach and represent individuals and communities fully and ethically, the author centers on those most marginalized in this history.

Perhaps Saranillio's most significant contribution is his rigorous theoretical analysis of settler colonialism and capitalism. As the book's title, *Unsustainable Empire,* indicates, the author contends that US imperialism in Hawaiʻi was "not [a] result of a strong nation swallowing a weak and feeble island nation, but rather a result of a weakening U.S. nation whose mode of production—capitalism—was increasingly unsustainable without enacting a more aggressive policy of imperialism" (9). By recognizing forms of white supremacy like settler colonialism and capitalism as operating from places of weakness rather than strength, Saranillio argues, we can more accurately understand the US occupation of Hawaiʻi for what it is: "failing forward" into various and more expansive imperial formations (9–10). Challenging the developmental discourse asserting that Hawaiʻi statehood was inevitable (28–29), the author shows how each major movement for increased US influence in Hawaiʻi in the twentieth century was propelled not by the US empire's stability but by numerous rounds of economic depression (202).

Building on his articulation of settler colonialism and capitalism as "failing forward" (9–10). Saranillio critiques liberal multiculturalism as a tool of white supremacy. To maintain and expand the unsustainable empire, the oppressor necessarily employs theatricality to create "structures of feeling" to justify often violent erasure in settler colonialism (11). Such sentimentality may construct, in the words of Edward Said, "future wishes" wherein the land is emptied for development by a "more deserving" power (11), and it may, in the case of liberal multiculturalism, veil conquest in the language of decolonization. In the Cold War era in particular, imperial propaganda depicted Hawaiʻi as racially harmonious, and Hawaiʻi statehood as racially equitable, to redeem the United States from global charges of racism (138). While Saranillio acknowledges liberal multiculturalism's anti-racist roots, he is adamant that when employed by and for white supremacists, liberal multiculturalism obscures Indigenous claims to land and nation and conforms to heteropatriarchal and capitalist logics that contradict Kanaka ʻŌiwi ways of knowing and relating. Significantly, in chapter 5, the author contests the dominant discourse of Hawaiʻi's liberal multiculturalism as a beacon of American democracy that persists to this day.

The most hopeful aspects of Saranillio's work are the alternative futures made possible by a fuller understanding of Hawaiʻi's complex history.

Such messaging is both necessarily encouraging and eminently useful for intellectuals employing decolonial methodologies—particularly those in settler-colonial contexts—and all those who seek a decolonized Hawai'i. To recognize the weakness of white supremacy and its formations means to acknowledge the strength of all it attempted to oppress, including Indigenous ways of knowing, living, and relating to the land and each other. It means to see Kanaka 'Ōiwi māhū (a third gender with culturally defined spiritual and social roles in Hawai'i) Sammy Amalu's million-dollar prank involving a false investment deal not as a failed business but as a window into an alternative future in which 'āina (land) is not property but rather that which feeds (166–167). It means supporting Kanaka 'Ōiwi farmers on Maui as they work to redirect waterways away from resorts to their farms, where they once flowed, in order to decrease Hawai'i's overreliance on imported food (190–193). Ultimately, as Saranillio demonstrates, recognizing alternative histories that reject the strength of white supremacy and capitalism makes room for our imagination to grow beyond the bounds of the unsustainable empire, allowing Indigenous knowledge and the land itself to guide our futures.

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Balancing the Tides: Marine Practices in American Sāmoa, by JoAnna Poblete. The Sustainable History Monograph Pilot. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020.
ISBN cloth, 9780824879686;
ISBN paper, 9780824883515;
xv + 197 pages, maps, photographs, graphs, notes, selected bibliography, index. Cloth, US$68.00; paper, US$28.00.

In *Balancing the Tides: Marine Practices in American Sāmoa,* historian JoAnna Poblete continues her work on US colonial experiences by tracing the effects of American colonization on the evolution of Indigenous marine relations. US administrative oversight of American Sāmoa rests with the Department of the Interior, making federal marine policies a fitting entry point to examine the history of colonial relations. Combining primary interview data with peer reviewed studies, agency reports, and local news media, Poblete builds a rich historical account of successful and problematic marine resource use to inform the public, scholars, and policymakers alike.

The book examines four marine-related policies: fishing regulations, minimum wage standards, marine sanctuary development, and federal grant support. While policy and practice are the foundations for each chapter, Poblete explains the ecological, cultural, political, and economic impacts of US government decisions. She proposes bioregionalism as a conceptual lens to acknowledge the history and complexity of human and environmental relations that are par-