

# CAPTIVE GENDERS

TRANS EMBODIMENT AND THE  
PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

EXPANDED SECOND EDITION

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FOREWORD BY CECE MCDONALD

## **From a Native *Trans* Daughter:**

### **Carceral Refusal, Settler Colonialism, Re-routing the Roots of an Indigenous Abolitionist Imaginary**

Kalaniopua Young

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I am a racially mixed Native *trans* daughter.<sup>1</sup> I was born to Marilyn Ilima Aken-Young and Clifton Kaukawilaohaupu Young in 1982. My parents are working class and are of Hawaiian, Chinese, German, and Irish heritage, however, when asked how they self-identify, each responds with a simple, "I am Hawaiian." This claiming of Hawaiian as a specific nationality, today, is not new, although such identity formation disturbs contemporary notions about ethnicity, what it means to be a U.S. citizen, and the political classification of the 50<sup>th</sup> "state." The struggle for Hawaiian self-determination or sovereignty in the face of an ongoing U.S. military occupation is continually evolving; in particular, the internal movements for independence in Hawai'i transform and are transformed by the way people talk about and embody emerging histories and politics as well as evolving ideas about

race, gender, and sexuality as well as affective notions of belonging and territoriality.<sup>2</sup> This essay seeks to articulate these tensions as an interface for healing and solidarity between critical resistances aimed at undermining the colonial logic embedded within the prison industrial complex (PIC).<sup>3</sup>

This essay is informed by both a political and personal commitment towards ending the PIC through an anti-racist framework and the contextual challenges of ongoing trans/gender queer phobia and settler colonial violence.<sup>4</sup> I explore what it means to embody and be embodied by a state of carceral refusal, by which I mean an evolving state of being and becoming in which we advocate for the abolition of the PIC and the interrelated logics of police brutality and militarism that continue to disappear poor people, trans/gender queer people, Native peoples, and people of color.

My lived experiences enable me to write this more-than-survivor critique of the PIC. In 1989, at the age of seven, I watched helplessly as white police officers arrested my mom, a woman of color, on an allegation of forgery. Despite my screams and desperate attempts to resist the arrest, my mom was violently torn from my arms and forced into a cop car while attempting to pay our rent. At the time of the arrest, my dad was serving overseas as an active member of the U.S. Army, and was unable to take us with him. Luckily, my brothers and I were taken in by our paternal grandparents, Jenny Leialoha Keamo-Young and Clifford Munwai Keka Young, into an overcrowded house on Puhano Street located behind the Tamuras Supermarket in the hot and humid coastal town of Waianae,<sup>5</sup> on the island of Oahu, where the majority of our *ohana* (extended family/kinship network) currently reside.

My cousin Jacob, a child of my dad's youngest sister, became my best friend and sibling. Being the same age and *mahu* (trans/gender queer), Jacob and I were inseparable. We could trust one another to hold even the most sacred aspects of our lives. Under the careful tutelage of a sophisticated yet down-to-earth cadre of grandparents, aunts, uncles, siblings, and cousins, whose gossip and occasional spanking served as a form of social control, Jacob and I came to understand the importance of *kuleana*<sup>6</sup> (collective responsibility) and *ohana*. In 1994, at the age of eleven, when I moved from Hawai'i to Washington state with my parents and brothers, Jacob and I made every effort to stay in touch.

Then, in 2000, wanting to escape Waianae's growing meth epidemic and a saturated tourist and service industry, Jacob moved to Washington for new opportunities. I was able to get him a job with me at a nursing home. Here, we worked as nursing assistants, providing for the emotional

and physical needs of elders in the home. We helped coworkers with unexpected blowouts and crisis situations and made sure that elders were well cared for. The job, however, proved particularly demanding and, at some point following the death of a beloved elder at work, Jacob quit—perhaps finding teenage adventures outside the stresses of caring for the dying and abandoned a more appropriate use of his time at the age of eighteen.

By 2001, Jacob began to neglect his *kuleana* (collective responsibility). When he failed to return home with my car, I set out to find him. He had borrowed my car the night before, promising to return it in the morning. When he did not show up, the lack of a ride led to the loss of my job and I grew more concerned for his safety and wellbeing. When I finally located him later that evening at his boyfriend's apartment—a place that I was familiar with—he was drunk, high, and annoyed by my lecture about trust and *kuleana*. Things quickly devolved. In the end, I chased him into the apartment, spanked his back and bottom, retrieved my car keys, and left. No one was hurt, nothing was broken, and Jacob was laughing the whole time. However, because of these events, police later arrived at my parents' house and arrested me.

Police officers trumped up the charges. The white leaseholder of the apartment, a mutual friend, was told by one of the police officers to file a restraining order against me. Unable to afford a private attorney, I took my public defender's advice and settled for the plea bargain. I did not fully understand the severity of the charges being brought against me. Moreover, my public defender did not act in my best interest. I was charged with burglary in the second degree, a felony. The official report was that I entered a dwelling without permission with the intent to steal or to commit an assault. Extenuating circumstances including the intimate and personal facts of the case were erased from the official police and legal record. In a word, I was *railroaded* through the criminal justice system without the strength or support to challenge the legal framing of my case.

I should state from the outset that the nuances of my conviction and subsequent incarceration do not deny responsibility for the events of that night or demonize any one person's actions. Rather, as someone who values responsibility, I trace the institutional structuring of my subject positions. I argue that my cultural upbringing and nationality as a Hawaiian, my race as an ethnically mixed brown person of color, my being of a working-class background and my gender/sexual identity as trans/gender queer—far from being outside the legal framing of justice—served precisely as categorical monikers for the forms of discipline and punishment I received.

In "Incarceration and the Imbalance of Power," Angela Davis points out that, "Class and racial bias, although often unintentional and unconscious, exist at every step of the [criminal justice] process."<sup>7</sup> Noting fundamental changes—significant increases in prosecutorial power, the minimization of public defense functions and a decrease in judicial discretion—Davis connects systemic failures to disproportionate rates of incarceration among the poor/working class, and communities of color. Additionally, she describes the current criminal system as "assembly-line justice" whereby one's freedom is placed in competition with prosecution ratings, underfunded public defense teams and restricted judicial powers. In other words, criminal convictions like mine are primarily based on a prosecutor's ability to secure convictions, a public defender's workload and pay rate, and a mandatory sentence requirement. In addition, because these charges unfairly impact historically disenfranchised communities in different ways, there is a pressing need to queer settler colonialism and gender racial violence within the contextual interstices of the PIC. According to Scott Lauria Morgensen, "Settler colonialism produced a colonial necropolitics that framed Native peoples as queer populations marked for death."<sup>8</sup>

After my arrest, I was taken to the Thurston County Jail in Olympia, Washington, where I was booked, fingerprinted, cavity searched, and forced to remove the breast enhancements from my bra, stripping naked in front of several white men. These police officers and correctional staff were incredibly rude, moving the in-take process from uncomfortable to unbearable. As a non-op trans woman new to the carceral system, I wanted sympathy. I imagined that after hearing me out, the officers, being of sound mind and judgment, would see the error of their ways and simply let me go. Instead, I was placed in community custody for twenty days. Community custody, according to one of the guards, was reserved for sex offenders, the mentally ill, and those with special needs.

In community custody, safety was precariously mitigated but never guaranteed. Facing daily, threats of physical and sexual abuse by both jail guards and cellblock recidivists, I befriended several inmates who protected me from physical violence in exchange for sexual favors. After a while, I began to notice something strange about the nature of incarceration; in particular, its imposition on the minds and bodies of the imprisoned, prompting a number of inmates to take personal responsibility for a system of failure beyond their control—a system built on hiding in plain sight the institutional, historical, and material limits of personal choice.

I remember my cellmate blaming himself for being poor and unable to find employment to support his family. Another inmate blamed himself for having severe depression. Taking on the failures of a system without critically examining the limits of personal choice often led a number of cellmates to conflate their sense of responsibility with issues beyond their control.

The criminal justice system's failure to incorporate more than penal options for offensive behavior continues to structure a settler colonial penal code that carries with it two harmful effects. First, it reduces people's needs for healing and justice to a carceral logic premised on domination, isolation, and criminalization. Second, it denies culturally appropriate healing practices that incorporate the *ohana* and the lived wisdom of elders. Despite the tumultuous nature of our relationship at any given time in the past, Jacob and I have learned much from each other. Certainly, as cousins, we have had many disagreements, fights, and problems. Nonetheless, we have always managed to resolve our grievances outside the legal system, particularly with the help of those who actually love and care about us.

As a convicted felon and Native trans woman of color, I am aware that multiple stigmas and intersecting oppressions attempt to circumscribe my will to empowerment. As a Hawaiian nationalist, I encounter this in the form of erasure. Erasure conditions the illegal occupation of my country by the United States.<sup>9</sup> It restricts my ability to claim a Hawaiian national citizenship. This means that I am inoculated into a U.S. Nation-State citizenry by force and not by choice. Likewise, a felony charge places restrictions on employment. At the university level, I have received several rejection letters that read: "Unfortunately, because of your criminal conviction, you are not eligible to apply for x position." Troubling as it may be, university employers are all too willing to take money for tuition and related expenses from working-class students with criminal backgrounds, but will be the first to deny these same students gainful employment.

Once convicted, it is difficult to escape the moral suspicion of a settler state legal system, a legal system premised on the oppression and elimination of underserved communities, Native peoples and peoples of color, particularly Native trans/gender queer people of color. Regarding my conviction, I recall an employer once telling me, "We all do things we regret," just before denying me a job to work with struggling LGBTQ youth.

Anthropologist Patrick Wolfe uses the term "settler colonialism" to define a network of consolidated power and the formation of a community

by settlers without regard for the Native inhabitants. Accordingly, settlers are complicit in the forced removal of indigenous populations from the land they claim. By eliminating and alienating indigenous peoples and their cultural practices, a settler colonial society can then claim ownership over territory without engaging in actual struggles that center indigenous peoples and their needs. The legal system has long been the site for legitimizing this process of land and cultural dispossession and ongoing indigenous alterity. According to this logic, at any point one can be silenced and forcibly pushed into camps and reserves and be labeled threatening to a liberal sensibility that sees itself as progressive, civil, modern, and multicultural.

As counter-neoliberal activists combat police brutality and the concomitant forces of administrative and racial gender violence,<sup>10</sup> critical and intellectual scholarship must articulate what it means to exist within and resist against multiple, intersecting sites of oppression and a trans-horizontal push for solidarity among multiple lived fronts of oppression and exploitation. As Princess Harmony Rodriguez points out in *Whose Lives Matter?: Trans Women of Color and Police Violence*, “We must expand the conversation surrounding police brutality to include trans women who have been victimized or murdered by police.”<sup>11</sup> Rodriguez highlights the case of Nizah Morris, a black trans woman from Philadelphia who died after being hit in the head with a gun by police officers. She continues, “Black and/or Latinx transgender people often find ourselves the target of increased police hostility, because of white supremacist, transphobic policing being distinctly opposed to our continued existence.” In line with Rodriguez’s critique of white supremacy and transphobia, more collective work must also historicize and archive the lived experiences of indigenous trans women of color in the PIC, particularly within the context of settler colonialism, which involves the elimination of Native bodies, cultures, and territories to make room for a settler state. As Judith Butler reminds us, “dispossession is precisely what happens when populations lose their land, their citizenship, their means of livelihood, and become subject to military and legal violence.”<sup>12</sup> To add to Butler’s observation, dispossession is also intimately tied to settler colonial violence and the de-personalization of this violence through cultural and lived experience.

The historical and political ideologies of settler colonialism naturalize the abusive forces of the police through families, communities, private and public organizations. For example, celebrated newspaper clippings and photos of my great grandmother, herself a *Hapa Haole* (half Hawaiian/half White)—the first woman to serve in the Honolulu Police Depart-

ment—reinforced the notion in my mind that the police were family and were there to ensure community and individual safety.

However, over time, particularly after observing and experiencing the destructive power of incarceration and police violence firsthand—most notably, the imprisonment of my mother and then later my own incarceration—I abandoned my liberal empathy for a police state. This is not to say that I have a deliberate disdain for all police officers. However, a major concern for me rests in the interests spawned by private enterprise, militarism, and settler police enforcement and brutality. We draw attention to settler colonialism and the historical linkages between surveillance, criminalization, incarceration, and Native dispossession to illustrate the underpinnings of ongoing U.S. Imperialism in Hawai’i.

Since the 1840s, white Christian missionaries from the U.S. have used surveillance to discipline gender, sexual, and family-making practices among indigenous peoples. Unfortunately such penal operations continue unabated today.<sup>13</sup> According to RaeDeen Keahiolalo-Karasuda, the public hanging of Chief Kamanawa II in 1848 introduced a “spectacle of morality” and the dismembering of Hawaiian political leadership. In this spectacle, eight hundred Hawaiians were held at gunpoint and forced to observe the hanging of a well-respected Hawaiian chief. Dubiously charged by missionaries for the murder of his wife, the chief was hung as an “object lesson for evil-doers.” According to the author, the spectacle provided an important historical analytic from which to observe carcerality and the “selective definition and prosecution of Hawaiians as criminal.”<sup>14</sup> The spectacle of the chief’s death represented a dramatic shift in the order of things. Most notably, in the Hawaiian context, it further exalted White hetero-patriarchy and Christian domination for restoring public order in the islands and, by extension, alienated Hawaiians from central positions of political power, further codifying Hawaiian bodies as queer, criminal, sinful, and failed.

In recent findings, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), in an executive summary entitled *The Disparate Treatment of Native Hawaiians in the Criminal Justice System*, observes that, while Hawaiians only make up 24 percent of the general population of Hawai’i, they comprise 39 percent of the incarcerated population.<sup>15</sup> A laudable achievement for a State-based institution like OHA, the summary documents stories of those who are inoculated into the abysmal state of Hawaiian incarceration. Though the study does an important job of raising awareness about Hawaiians and their experiences in the U.S. criminal justice system, its

occlusion of *mahu* (trans/gender queer) and *aikane* (gay queer) emphasizes the need for an indigenous analysis of gendered captivity narratives in order to challenge the entrenched ideologies of white hetero-patriarchy and settler sexual colonialism both within and without Native communities and communities of color.

Stories by and about *mahu* incarceration challenge romantic ideas about Hawaiian national solidarity. Because trans/gender queer individuals are criminalized, incarcerated, and imprisoned at a higher rate than our cisgender (non-trans) relatives, our stories provide a meaningful critique of prisons, camps, and reservations as temporal and spatial sites that reinforce a white heteronormative and cissexist hierarchy. It is within these spaces that the bodies of Native trans/gender queer peoples and people of color are brutalized and codified as disposable. Stories by, for, and about *mahu* also subvert the dominant narrative about *ka lahui* (the Hawaiian nation) as a puritanical project, pressing scholars to indigenize and decolonize our theorizations of gender captivity and indigenous self-determination; that is, the ways in which race, sexuality, and gender structure and subvert the colonial mapping of our relations to community, land, and ideas about the body, justice, and wellbeing.

Angela Davis reminds us that prisons "relieve us of the responsibility of thinking about the real issues afflicting those communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers."<sup>16</sup> Centering Davis's observation within our analyses for prison abolition is key to emboldening social responsibility rather than hiding settler colonial processes, institutional racism, trans-queer phobia and poverty. By deflecting the responsibility of institutional failures onto poor, trans/gender queer and communities of color, possessive whiteness goes unchecked and the hegemonic forms of ignorance proliferate. Subsequently, the stories of Black, Latino, and Native young people who now have a greater chance of going to prison and war than getting a decent education remain under-theorized.<sup>17</sup> In addition to existing within the dangerous nexus of race, class, and gender, indigenous peoples and peoples of color are disproportionately inoculated into service for a white-dominated U.S. imperial project.

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, there are four key ways to conceptualize imperial domination: (1) imperialism as economic expansion, (2) imperialism as subjugation of others, (3) imperialism as an idea or spirit with many forms of realization, and (4) imperialism as a discursive field of knowledge.<sup>18</sup> Aiding imperialism within the U.S. context is the

Military Industrial Complex or MIC, which, like the PIC, refers to the complex policy relationships between governments, the armed forces, and the industrial sector in maintaining dominion and control over natural resources belonging to brown and black nations. What are important to critique here are narratives of imperial patriotism and nationalism that proclaim to make the world safer or better. Similarly, the PIC refers to the contractual relationships between the various businesses and organizations that promote correctional facilities and their related services. Similar in nature, both the MIC and the PIC require dispossession and exploitation of historically and economically disenfranchised populations to sustain capitalist goals. A dialogical tool for critiquing both the MIC and the PIC is to illustrate how these institutions actually make life less secure and more hostile despite purporting to do otherwise. One of the hidden realities of the PIC, in particular, is the fact that it is more concerned with creating jobs and filling up cells for profit than actually making communities safer. Hence, the war on drugs is a political and militaristic move to excite the economy, to create more jobs for junior partners while remaining remarkably unsuccessful in addressing underlying problems of historical trauma, institutional violence and poverty.

The war on drugs conditions the cultural and material underpinnings of settler colonial violence against indigenous and racialized trans/gender queer communities. Keahiolalo-Karasuda recounts the triangular connections between opium scandals, U.S. militarism in Hawai'i, and the overthrow of Hawai'i's last monarch, Queen Liliuokalani.<sup>19</sup> In the 1890s, the children of the missionaries in Hawaii participated in the opium economy much to the disapproval of Queen Liliuokalani, who, in response, considered legislation to license opium, understanding that decriminalizing the drug would allow the government to decrease its punitive practices. However, this move only threatened the interests of the American businessmen, who, by this time, opposed all forms of Hawaiian taxation and publicly caricatured the Queen as immoral, indolent, and unintelligent. They continued their assault by threatening to kill all of the Queen's supporters if she did not abdicate her throne. With no other choice, the queen yielded her authority hoping that the injustices against her and the people of Hawai'i would soon be resolved. As the first woman of color to head a modern nation-state, Queen Liliuokalani was a direct threat to ideas of white supremacy and heteropatriarchy. Spending nearly eighteen months in captivity, the queen maintained her rightful claim to the kingdom and its lands. In 1898, on the steps of the 'Iolani Palace, American

annexationists, however, had other plans. Pouring salt on an already festering wound of occupation, they lowered the Hawaiian flag, cut it into pieces and replaced it with the American flag. Shortly following this event, the Hawaiian language was banned in public schools. By 1920, under the Hawaiian Homelands Act, American paternal politics rose to define a blood quantum policy—further reducing Hawaiians from an indigenous people with national autonomy to an ethnic minority bound by a U.S. nation state framework of multiculturalism.<sup>20</sup>

By implicating the modern nation state, aka civil society, as enforcer of continued sexual violence against women of color, “Our strategies to combat violence within communities (sexual/domestic violence) must be informed by approaches that also combat violence directed against communities, including state violence—police brutality, prisons, militarism, racism, colonialism, and economic exploitation.”<sup>21</sup> As a former rape crisis counselor, Andrea Smith observed the ways in which sexual abuse suffered by women of color was both gendered and racialized: “When a Native woman suffers abuse, this abuse is an attack on her identity as a woman and an attack on her identity as Native because she links the abuse to her cultural group. The issues of colonial, race and gender oppression cannot be separated.”<sup>22</sup> In the same vein, she notes how patriarchal gender violence inscribed hierarchy and domination on the bodies of the colonized. She writes, “Ironically, while enslaving women’s bodies, colonizers argued that they were actually somehow freeing Native women from the ‘oppression’ they supposedly faced in Native nations.”<sup>23</sup> We can expand Smith’s analysis of paternalism as co-constitutive of U.S. nation-state relations with native peoples by observing how hetero-patriarchy and the particular subjugation of Native and trans/gender queer people of color support a possessive investment in white supremacy and empire building.

Though it is difficult to envision a world without prisons, let alone racism and sexism, the deconstruction process of these systems begins with critical resistance. Frantz Fanon wrote, “In the colonial context, as we have already pointed out, the natives fight among themselves. They tend to use each other as a screen, and each hides from his neighbor the national enemy.”<sup>24</sup> In other words, as oppressed people fight over day-to-day struggles, placing blame on one another, attention is detracted from the larger conceptual foundations that reproduce continuing symbolic, cognitive, and social oppressions. It is imperative in our struggles for liberation that we challenge possessive investments in whiteness,<sup>25</sup> heteropatriarchy, capitalism, and settler colonialism.

Under colonial rule, racialized and gendered bodies are assigned specific roles to maintain the modern state of capitalism and are alienated from indigenous ways of relating to each other and to the world. Consequently, the alienation of racialized and gendered bodies conditions governmental and private agents to surveil populations as if we are the internal threats to national security. Implicitly, we are marked by the prison system as jaded stockpiles of vengeance-seekers looking to exact revenge for past wrongs, people who are in need of control, discipline, and paternalism. In order to combat these reductive and over-deterministic images, it is important that we continue to share our stories, tell our truths, and make visible the interconnected articulations between our struggles while making room for acknowledging the incommensurability of our individuated circumstances, differences, histories, lived experiences, and cultural traditions.

In 2015, as a doctoral candidate in anthropology at the University of Washington Seattle, my incarceration in 2001 seems worlds away. Nonetheless, I still embody the spirit of that young Native trans woman, the girl who refused to deny her womanhood in the face of carceral violence, the young girl who scratched police officers for taking her mother away and then used those same fingernails to maintain her eyebrows while in the dimly lit cellblock bathroom of the Thurston County Jail. At the corner of NE 45<sup>th</sup> Street and 16<sup>th</sup> Avenue NE, near my academic department in Denny Hall, she appears in street art: “No More Prisons” and “Don’t Let Your Dreams Die Here,” reminding me that the work of abolition must intimate a deeper decolonial framework of solidarity and critical resistance that moves through and against institutional barriers and impositions. She reminds me that an articulation of shared liberation for all oppressed peoples—a desiring subjectivity in continual remaking—must also take to heart an indigenous abolitionist imaginary, one rooted and routed to evolving ideas about self-determination, anti-racism, trans/gender queer empowerment, de-militarism, and prison abolition.

## NOTES

- 1 The title of this article pays homage to Hawaiian feminist scholar-activist Haunani-Kay Trask, and the coveted title of her polemical work *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), a critical examination of feminist, Native, and ethnic tensions within and without the contextual frameworks of Hawaiian sovereignty and related movements for self-determination and autonomy.

- 2 For a more detailed read on the evolving notions of Hawaiian sovereignty, read *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land and Sovereignty*, eds. Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunaawaika'ala Wright (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014).
- 3 PIC, or the Prison Industrial Complex, refers to the contractual relationships between the various businesses and organizations that promote correctional facilities and their related services. For more about the PIC and the problems of a police state—particularly for trans/gender queer people and folks of color—see Dean Spade's *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics and the Limits of Law* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2011). Also, for further readings on the prison as an interface for conflicting ideologies, visions, and power dynamics, see Ruth Wilson Gilmore's *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).
- 4 I'd like to thank Janet Mock and Maile Arvin who speak to the issue of anti-black racism in Hawai'i and raise the need for indigenous engagements with critical race, ethnic, and trans/gender queer studies. For further reading see Maile Arvin's piece "Possessions of Whiteness: Settler Colonialism and Anti-Blackness in the Pacific," which was published in the online journal *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* on June 2, 2014 (<https://decolonization.wordpress.com>). Also, read Janet Mock's *New York Times* Bestseller, *Redefining Realness: My Path to Womanhood, Identity, Love & So Much More* (New York: Atria Books, 2014) for more on the lived experiences of anti-black racism and transgender subject formation in Hawai'i. While I agree that anti-black racism conditions everyday life in Hawai'i, it is imperative that mixed Hawaiian scholars continue to reclaim our indigenous epistemologies from the grips of possessive whiteness, erasure, and marginalization as a radical act of decolonial refusal and collective solidarity with all oppressed and exploited groups.
- 5 Waianae, Hawai'i is known for having the largest Hawaiian Kanaka Maoli, or indigenous Hawaiian population, anywhere in the world. It is also known for a population burdened with disproportionate rates of unemployment, disease, poverty, and low life expectancy due to a number of ecological, public health, and political factors. For more on Waianae, read *Potent Mana: Lessons in Power and Healing* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012) by Wende Elizabeth Marshall, and Kali Fermantez's "Re-Placing Hawaiians in dis Place We Call Home," *Hūlili* 8 (2012): 97–131.
- 6 The term *Kuleana*, or collective responsibility, describes the labor practices invested into one's extended relational network. These obligations often involve generating cultural and material resources and reinvesting these resources into the wellbeing of relationships of self, family, community, nation, and more-than-human.

- 7 Davis's article can be found in *Invisible Punishment: The Collateral Consequences of Mass Imprisonment*, eds. Marc Mauer and Meda Chesney-Lind (New York: New Press, 2002), 62.
- 8 Scott Lauria Morgensen's "Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism Within Queer Modernities" was published in *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 16, no. 1–2 (2010): 105–131. The article explores both the limits of homonationalism as a specific project of queer modernity and seeks to queer the discursive limits of settler colonial theory.
- 9 The Apology Bill (1993), signed by former U.S. president, Bill Clinton, which acknowledges the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom by the United States, for example, erases responsibility for settlement claims on behalf of Hawaiian national subjects, including claims to 1.8 million acres of land and self-governance on a non-blood quantum basis.
- 10 For more information on the concept of racial gender violence, read Matt Richardson and Enoch Page, "On the Fear of Small Numbers: A 21<sup>st</sup> Century Prolegomenon of the U.S. Black Transgender Experience" in *Black Sexualities: Probing Powers, Passions, Practices, and Policies*, eds. Juan Battle and Sandra L. Barnes (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010).
- 11 Princess Rodriguez published this article through the blogsite *Black Girl Dangerous*, December 9, 2014, <http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2014/12/whose-lives-matter-trans-women-color-police-violence/>.
- 12 Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou, *Dispossession: The Performative in the Political* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
- 13 Marriage was not a customary practice in pre-colonial Hawai'i. As Hawaiian scholars like Leilani Basham and Kehaulani Kauanui point out, in the days of *ka poe kabiko* (ancient Hawaiians, those who lived in Hawai'i before European arrival), there was no need for marriage. As some in the Hawaiian community joke, divorce translated to simply moving one's sleeping mat to the other side of the *hale* (Hawaiian house) or next to someone else. Also, read more about the colonial imposition of blood quantum in Hawaiian politics as a form of social and political control in J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).
- 14 RaeDeen Keahiolalo-Karasuda, "A Genealogy of Punishment in Hawai'i: The Public Hanging of Chief Kamanawa II," *Hūlili* 6 (2010): 147–167.
- 15 Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), *The Disparate Treatment of Native Hawaiians in the Criminal Justice System*, 2010, accessed February 2, 2015, <http://www.oha.org/research>.
- 16 Angela Y. Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003), 16.
- 17 Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?*



- 18 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 21.
- 19 RaeDeen Keahiolalo-Karasuda, "Carceral Landscape in Hawai'i: The Politics of Empire, the Commodification of Bodies, and a Way Home," in *Abolition Now!: Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle Against the Prison Industrial Complex*, ed. The CR10 Publications Collective (Oakland: AK Press, 2008).
- 20 Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*.
- 21 Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005), 25.
- 22 Ibid., 26.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1952), 13.
- 25 Read George Lipsitz's *Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998) for further analysis on the ways that whiteness structures modernity and concurrent ideas of ownership and belonging.