



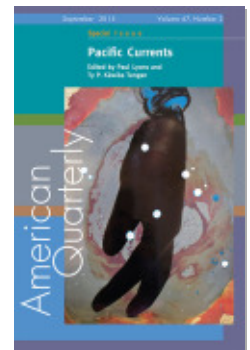
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Which of These Things Is Not Like the Other: Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders Are Not Asian Americans, and All Pacific Islanders Are Not Hawaiian

Lisa Kahaleole Hall

The theme “Pacific Currents” for this special issue of *American Quarterly* is multiply resonant for the essay that follows. Currents are different than the boundaries of land; among other things, they highlight oceanic movements between and among islands. The transnational turn within American studies has been in place for quite some time; recognition of a transoceanic turn toward the Pacific is rippling out from scholars trained in spaces where North America is not the literal or metaphorical center of analysis. *American Quarterly’s* new institutional home in Hawai‘i is also a new epistemological space, and in this essay I consider some consequences of Hawai‘i serving as a literal and figurative crossroads for the US continent to the Pacific.

Research about Pacific islands and Pacific peoples has a lengthy history of colonial containment within anthropology and area studies along with a robust history of anticolonial pushback from Pacific Islander scholars and allies.¹ Most recently the formation and development of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) has drawn significant numbers of Native Hawaiian and Maori scholars who see value in the framework of comparative indigeneity in both local and global contexts. These sites of knowledge production form a genealogy of academic research on the Pacific. It is important to note the unevenness of access, participation, and inclusion of multiple Pacific Islander groups within these histories—while speaking of PIs as a whole, often only a few PI groups are present, and important structural, cultural, and historical differences within the pan-national, pan-ethnic category can be obscured. A salient example of an often-unacknowledged yet fundamental difference between different Pacific Islander groups within the US context is examined in J. Kēhaulani Kauanui’s 2004 essay “Asian American Studies and the ‘Pacific Question’” that argues for Asian American studies to productively engage with rather than try to incorporate the Pacific. She notes

the complex multiple political statuses of Pacific Islanders living within the United States: Hawaiians, American Samoans, and Chamorros from Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas are indigenous to those lands now semi-incorporated as part of the United States; citizens of the former US Trust Territories of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Belau become migrants to the United States; and finally there are immigrants from countries with “no historical or political relationships to the US,” like Tonga and Fiji.² Thus the category Pacific Islander as a whole does not fit neatly within American studies (since not all are connected to the United States) or Indigenous studies (since not all identify as indigenous peoples) frameworks.

Within this US context, Pacific Islander becomes a significant racial category for scholars and activists fighting for social and political recognition and resources. Among the most important accomplishments of the American Studies Association in the past few decades has been the bringing together of a wide range of ethnic studies scholars whose rich analyses of multiple racial formations have transformed the field of American studies as a whole. Yet in most continentally based work on racialization in the United States, Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders are either absent or barely mentioned. For the most part, the pathbreaking work done about and through the pervasiveness of a black–white binary (and more recently black–nonblack), and the multiple politics of immigration and indigeneity has not contained a conceptual space for Pacific Islanders.

If the Pacific is ever referenced, it is most often through the use of terms such as Asian/Pacific Islander, Asian Pacific, Asian Pacific American, API, APA, AAPI, and all the other related variations that tie together two very different pan-national and pan-ethnic entities—“Asian American” and “Pacific Islander.” This construction is solely a US phenomenon, and its use in US public policy, mass media, and social activism circles has been both vexed and publicly contested by Hawaiian activists for more than fifty years. I say “by Hawaiian activists” rather than “by Pacific Islander activists” for two reasons. The first is that in this nomenclature Hawaiians have consistently been used to stand in for Pacific Islanders as a whole, to the detriment of both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiian Pacific Islanders whose specificities go unmarked and unaddressed. The second is that Hawaiians experience issues beyond the data distortion that affects all Pacific Islanders in the United States through the use of these terms, which function to make the specificity of Hawaiian transnational indigenous alliances, a settler colonial analysis of Hawai‘i where Asians are a

substantial part of the settler population, and the active and ongoing movements for Hawaiian sovereignty conceptually invisible.

In this essay I explore the origins of this construction, the persistence of its use by Asian Americans and other non-Pacific Islanders, some key consequences of this practice, and the reasons it continues to be resisted by Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders in the United States.

Origin Story: From California Coalition Politics to a Racial-Ethnic Grouping

What's in a name and why does it matter?

The names that we humans call ourselves and that others call us are politically, culturally, and spiritually meaningful to the development of both individual and group identities, and to activism performed from and through those identities. Some names are explicitly coalitional, like the term “women of color” that came into wide use in the United States after the 1981 publication of the revolutionary anthology edited by Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*.³ Moraga’s preface, Toni Cade Bambara’s introduction, and the framework and contents of the anthology make it abundantly clear that this coalitional identity is contingent, hard-won, and chosen rather than assumed by the very different women who chose to work through this politics of relatedness in difference. The power of coalitional naming lies in the political choices of the various groups to identify themselves with the coalition, as when people from different marginalized racial groups in the United States organized themselves under the name “Third World” in the 1960s and 1970s. The foundational logic of Third World organizing did not depend on a shared racial-ethnic identity but on a shared political identity as peoples colonized by “First World” elites.⁴ The latter is the context from which Lemuel Ignacio, a Pilipino grassroots community activist involved in Third World coalitions based in Northern California, wrote a history of the beginnings of US “Pacific/Asian” political alliances in his book titled *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: Is There Such an Ethnic Group?*⁵

Two important issues to be noted about this early history of coalition that first produced a Pacific/Asian label/connection are its West Coast–centricity and its reliance on mostly Hawaiians, more rarely Samoans, and rarer still “Guamanians” to be the Pacific/Pacific Islanders in the political mix. Ignacio’s own answer to his titular question was that “there is no such ethnic group as

‘Asian Americans and Pacific Island Peoples.’ There are different ethnic groups under the general term. The only communality [*sic*] is a common historical experience as exploited people in this country.”⁶ He was adamant that coalition was the only model in which it made sense to connect the two groups. Without comment as to who or what produced this grouping, he wrote: “In 1972 ‘Pacific Islanders’ began to be grouped with Asian Americans without expanding the latter designation *in spite of the fact that the former ethnic groups are not of Asian ancestry or background*”⁷ (my emphasis). In 1977 the US Office of Management and Budget cemented this odd bureaucratic connection when it issued standards requiring that federal agencies collect and analyze data through four racial categories: White, Black, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and Asian or Pacific Islanders.⁸ The peculiar locution of “or” in the latter is not explained, and in the decades to follow it is used interchangeably with “and” in ways that blur the fact that these are two completely different pan-ethnic/pan national-groups being tied together.

Ignacio and his political allies never conflated the identities or interests of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders; nevertheless, his insistence on their political coalition was undermined by the demographics of the community organizers who were actually involved—mostly Asian American with some Pacific Islander participation. It is difficult to have a coalition without the involvement of different groups. He noted, “The Pacific Island peoples who actually participated in Asian American activities were Hawaiians, Guamanians, and Samoans, mostly from American Samoa.”⁹ He does not recognize that what links these particular Pacific Islander groups is that they were all colonized by the United States and their territories incorporated into the US nation-state, much less take into account the political implications of those histories for his “immigrant and native” framing of the “Asian American and Pacific Islander” coalition.

Ignacio details the early political struggles that took place about this coalitional naming. From the first, the Pacific Islanders insisted on their distinctiveness from the Asian Americans:

At the insistence of the Pacific Islanders themselves the preferred designation as first used by the Pacific/Asian Coalition was “Asian Americans and Pacific Island Peoples,” in order that the distinction is pointed out. There are two major groupings within that general reference—“Asian Americans” who are products of Asian immigration and “Pacific Island Peoples” who are native to this land and its resources.¹⁰

On the one hand, the existence of immigrant Pacific Islander groups disappears in this division. And on the other, this assertion of the “native”-ness of Guamanians, Samoans, and Hawaiians did not lead Ignacio and his fellow Asian American activists toward an anticolonial analysis that questioned why these native peoples ended up incorporated into the US nation-state; instead, quite the opposite.¹¹ And significantly, Ignacio uses the American mythology of Hawai‘i as a racially inclusive and tolerant “melting pot” to gloss over US colonialism in the Pacific. He ends his brief discussion of the specific problems faced by Hawaiians:

With the ALOHA spirit and reality of the Hawaiian people, Americans can build a true pluralistic society in consonance with other peoples of color. As native peoples of this nation Hawaiians have a unique and stabilizing contribution to make in saving America from corroding at its very core and roots. Hawaiians can be the redemptive leaven to a dominant society which has lost its soul.¹²

This idea evokes interesting echoes of the redemptive role that the figure of the Indian “noble savage” was asked to play as a symbol of liberty and freedom in the new American nation. Ignacio’s words are deeply rooted in the liberal multicultural rhetorical tradition of those who argued for the incorporation of Hawai‘i as the fiftieth state of the United States because they saw its multiracial population as a role model of ethnic and racial harmony for the rest of the United States rather than the consequence of a plantation economy built on top of Hawaiian death and dispossession.¹³ This racist love contrasted with the racist hate of those who wanted to deny Hawai‘i statehood because it would grant US citizenship to the nonwhite majority of Territory residents;¹⁴ neither group, of course, was particularly concerned with the wishes of the Hawaiian people. The United States illegally circumvented the UN protocols that would have allowed a referendum in which Hawaiians would decide the future status of the Territory of Hawai‘i—*independence, association, or statehood*—to take place.¹⁵

Ignacio’s idealistic evocation of a “true pluralistic society” in his account disguises a significant tension between an immigrant of color politics of wanting full recognition and inclusion within a (white) settler colonial nation-state and an indigenous politics of resistance to that incorporation. Focusing on the shared civil rights concerns of both the Asian American groups and the Pacific Islanders helped disguise this conflict.¹⁶

His book includes early testimony by Paige Kawelo Barber, a Kānaka Maoli activist who was speaking at the 1972 First National Conference on Asian American Mental Health in San Francisco that presaged the conflicts to come:

In Hawaii, Asians are considered by some Hawaiians to be the facilitators of oppression. The majority of Asians in Hawaii hold key positions in nearly all decision-making bodies throughout the State. . . . On the national level, it may be true that Asians are treated as second-class citizens. However, the plight of the Hawaiian people in their own homeland is an even greater problem. Imagine how we feel, when attempting to resolve our concerns we realize that those who have the political power in Hawaii are Asians themselves. . . . The national conference for Asians helped me to understand that the Hawaiian people have something in common with Asians, but only on a national level. Locally, the Asian role is one of success.¹⁷

Ignacio includes an interesting analysis of the conflict in the mid-1960s between those activists who advocated for an “integrated entity” and those who advocated for a “coalition wherein each of the [Asian American and Pacific Islander] ethnic groups retains their own identity and autonomy”:

Many took the route of the integrated whole model with one or two of the dominant Asian ethnic groups usually holding the power and benefitting then from the fruits of the cooperative work. . . . But some insisted on coalitional arrangements on commonly agreed issues and strategies arrived at through negotiating each ethnic group’s self-interests. In 1975 the latter strategy seemed to be the most logical, acceptable, and workable, especially among the emerging Asian and Pacific ethnic groups because in coalitional arrangements their respective ethnic agendas were being respected and advanced. The debate continues to this day. Many still hold on to the *passé* integrated Asian American and Pacific Islander model because it is convenient and expedient. These Asian Americans have become party to the dominant society’s grandiose “melting pot” dream or scheme.¹⁸

The consequences of what Ignacio named the “convenient and expedient” “melting pot” version of Asian American activism have been detrimental for underrepresented Asian national-origin groups as well as the Pacific Islanders who were swept into the mix. The 2012–13 Pew Research Center’s comprehensive study “The Rise of Asian Americans” demonstrated that the stark differences between Japanese American and Hmong American education, health, and wealth statistics, for example, mean that the assets of one demographic subcategory can mask the deficits of another, disguising the need for specific kinds of intervention in different populations. The cheerful conclusions of the Pew researchers that “Asian Americans are the highest-income, best-educated and fastest-growing racial group in the U.S.” enraged many Asian American activists who felt the report reinforced the stereotype of the Asian American “model minority” and discounted the existence of anti-Asian oppression.¹⁹ But what the statistical disaggregation actually revealed is that there are highly financially and educationally successful subsets and other communities dispro-

portionately impoverished and underresourced, all within the category Asian American, and therefore statistics using the category need further levels of analysis to ensure that the underrepresented do not disappear in the aggregated data. This is an extremely important issue but one that is the responsibility of self-identified Asian American activists, scholars, and politicians to take up, and that ought not to be used to explain or justify the continued co-optation of Pacific Islanders as a whole or in subsets within an Asian American rubric. Whether or not, or when, Asian American is a useful category of political organization and analysis is for those who identify as Asian American to decide.

California as a Bridge to Hawai'i

The grassroots political organizing that gave rise to the coalition of Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans that Ignacio documented is very specific to California, historically a fertile site of racial mixing and cross-cultural encounters both voluntary and violent, multiple generations of Asian immigration, and grassroots political activism across a wide political spectrum. Additionally, California has functioned as a bridge from the continental United States to Hawai'i and houses a significant population of people of Asian descent who were born and raised in Hawai'i and maintain familial and cultural ties to their plantation roots. Many still term themselves "local people," in the sense of "local" to Hawai'i.

For many years, "localness" was a trope that glossed over significant differences between Asians and Hawaiians in Hawai'i. The historical creation of a "local" identity was forged in plantation politics, as disparate immigrant workers learned to communicate and relate across a polyglot community built on Hawaiian land and Hawaiian dispossession.²⁰ With its pidgin language based in Hawaiian grammar and incorporating Hawaiian and Asian vocabularies, the creative strength and antihaole solidarity of working-class localness disguised its displacement of Hawaiians, as "local" began to stand in for "Hawaiian." The vision of Hawai'i as a multicultural melting pot where different peoples have shared their culture and histories and have intermarried produced this strong identity of resistance that both coexisted with and supported, yet in many ways overshadowed, specifically Native Hawaiian issues and losses. From this context, the Asian immigrant descendants of Hawai'i knew very well that their histories and cultures were quite different from those of Asians who immigrated to the continental United States; they rejected being categorized as *Asian American*.²¹

Within Hawai'i the ambivalent nostalgia produced by these plantation histories and identities has been sharply challenged, and the decades-earlier testimony of the Kanaka Maoli activist Paige Kawelo Barber supported, by the analyses of Candace Fujikane and others in their groundbreaking anthology on Asian settler colonialism that posited a core settler–native distinction rather than the local–outsider binary that had been so prevalent in Hawai'i.²² But outside Hawai'i a persistent kind of cultural ownership/entitlement to Hawaiian culture continues to be exhibited by Asian Americans that seems to be connected to their self-identification as “APIs” or “Asian Pacific Islanders.” It is not Fijian, Tongan, or Chamorro cultural symbols that Asian American student groups and social service and civil rights organizations on the continent incorporate into their work and events. Rather, the symbols that are appropriated are typically luaus, hula, Hawaiian music, lei, and “aloha spirit.” All these constitute the sign of the “Hawaiian at heart.”²³

Falling out of the Categories: Struggles for Educational Access and Curricular Reform in the Ethnic Studies Movement

Though the California Bay Area has a history of Hawaiian settlement stretching back to before the gold rush and is one of the main locations of concentrated Pacific Islander communities in the United States, it has taken until 2014 for a certificate program in Critical Pacific Islands studies to be launched at San Francisco's City College. Keith Camacho has documented the decades-long struggle of Southern Californian Pacific Islander students to implement PI curriculum at UCLA.²⁴ Students at the University of Washington are fighting for the implementation of a major in Pacific Islander studies, and the University of Michigan offers some regularly scheduled Pacific Islander specific courses through its “APIA Studies” minor. Other than that, course offerings on Pacific Islanders are sparse and irregular at best and nonexistent at worst in higher education on the US continent.²⁵ Historically, the very limited space there has been for Pacific Islander–related curriculum has been created through Asian American studies programs, a structural issue that contributes to the blurring of the distinction both between the fields of study and the identity categories.²⁶

The Asian American studies programs that provide/d that space grew out of the ethnic studies movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s at the University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State, where students, faculty, and community members within and outside the university system demanded that the histories of US people of color—both of their own communities and of

others—be learned and taught. The first strikes demanding the creation of ethnic studies courses at San Francisco State and the University of California at Berkeley were led by the Third World Liberation Front, a multiracial group of black, Latino, Asian, and Native students from a variety of student organizations: the Afro-American Student Association, Mexican American Students Confederation, Asian American Political Alliance, Pilipino American Collegiate Endeavor, and Native American Students Union. The social movements of the 1960s and 1970s were both cause and result of this greater access and demand for education; it took the development of a substantial cohort of racialized bodies within the classrooms to demand that their histories and knowledge bases accompany them and be recognized as well. The programs that had these substantial political constituencies behind them were Afro-American/black studies, American Indian studies, Raza/Chicano studies, Puerto Rican studies (in New York), and Asian American studies.²⁷ Hawaiians (by far the largest demographic of Pacific Islanders in the United States) did not have the numbers of these other racialized groups, nor had the Hawaiian renaissance that was then blossoming in the islands through the antimilitary organizing of PKO (Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana) and robust cultural and political revival crossed the ocean to shape the 1970s decolonial imaginary of non-Hawaiians.²⁸

The depoliticized marketing of “multiculturalism” and diversity in colleges and universities that followed the development of ethnic studies programs in the 1980s and 1990s solidified what I have called the four food groups (a discredited schema of nutritional needs) of contemporary US racial discourse: Latino (Hispanic), Black (African American), Native American, and Asian/Pacific Islander. “Pacific Islanders” were a group that tended to fall out of the multicultural marketing both because of the proportionally tiny numbers of Pacific Islanders in the United States and the Eurocentricity of the US educational system in which knowledge about Australia, New Zealand, and the many island nations of the Pacific is for the most part absent. In the absence of Pacific Islander bodies in the classroom to protest curricular absences (because of both demographically small numbers and lack of educational access), or knowledgeable allies to advocate for Pacific inclusion, the stage was set for campus and community organizations and events to use the Asian/Pacific Islander descriptor while having no Pacific Islander students, staff members, or content that focused on Pacific Islander-specific issues. As I have noted in an earlier essay, they were enabled to continue this practice in a way that would be impossible if they described themselves as Asian/Latino American, for example, while having no Latino staff, constituency, or programming both because Pacific

Islanders are a relatively tiny and geographically concentrated population in the United States and because most non-Pacific Islanders have no idea who Pacific Islanders are.²⁹ This present absence has had a substantial impact on maintaining the invisibility of Pacific Islander existence and issues because non-Pacific Islanders tend to assume that if a racial minority organization is naming its activities and constituents with Pacific Islander in the description, (1) there must be Pacific Islanders involved, or (2) Asian Americans must really be Pacific Islanders and the terms are interchangeable. Unfortunately, the first is rarely true, and the second is not true at all.

Falling out of the Categories: A History of Census Struggles

Greater “inclusion” of Pacific Islander constituents and issues within Asian American analyses and organizations is not a solution to the problems of miscategorization and appropriation; it only compounds them. Hawaiian resistance to categorical inclusion can be read in the community responses to the changes in the racial categories of the US Census that have both shaped and responded to various social justice movements and their demands for recognition. Claudette Bennett’s compilation of the changes from 1790 to the present shows that in the 1970 census, respondents were instructed to fill one circle for the race that they most closely identified with from nine categories: White, Negro or Black, Indian (Amer.) (respondents were instructed to print the name of their tribe), Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean, and other (respondents were to print the name of the other race). In 1977 the US Office of Management and Budget (OMB) issued Directive 15 with standards for federal agencies to collect and tabulate data on race that identified four racial groups: White, Black, American Indian or Alaskan Native, and Asian or Pacific Islanders. Other categories were allowed if they could ultimately be collapsed back into one of the four.³⁰ As I previously noted, no explanation was given for why Asian and Pacific Islander groups were put together—the “or” seems to recognize they are different, but its slippage to “and,” or even worse, to an ambiguous slash that joined the two, quickly followed in popular usage.

Not only is this conflation a problem in and of itself, it also spawns detrimental material and analytical consequences for Pacific Islanders. One is that when Pacific Islanders approach foundations and government agencies to apply for funding to address PI issues, they are told that those issues have already been funded—through APA/API organizations that have no PI constituencies.³¹ Another is that the policy and analysis work done using an API

framework not only does not help provide usable PI data; it often radically distorts the conditions of PIs in the United States, precisely because the demographics and issues of the pan-ethnic groups are so different. A 2011 report, “Asian American and Pacific Islander Workers,” provides just one example of the radical demographic disparity that “AAPI” analyses do not take on: “7.4 million Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI) work in the United States. . . . About 7.1 million of these AAPI workers are Asian Americans; about 300,000 are Pacific Islanders.”³² This numerical disparity means that other statistics the report cites—“as a group, AAPIs have a higher level of educational attainment than whites, blacks, and Latinos” and “over half of AAPI workers have a four-year college degree or more”—are misleading at best, or ludicrous at worst, when applied to Pacific Islanders. The disaggregated data show that Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (NHPI) adults twenty-five years and older are less likely to hold a college degree than average, and that only about 18 percent of NHPI adults have a bachelor’s degree, a rate identical to that of African Americans.³³ Another telling example of statistical disparity is that while Asian Americans owned over 1.5 million businesses in 2007, NHPI businesses numbered less than 3,800.³⁴

In its justification for finally disaggregating the two statistical categories, the OMB noted: “Under the current standards for data on race and ethnicity, Native Hawaiians comprise about three percent of the Asian and Pacific Islander population. By creating separate categories, the data on the Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islander groups will no longer be overwhelmed by the aggregate data of the much larger Asian groups.”³⁵ This does not solve the problem of non-Hawaiian Pacific Islander data disappearing within the proportionally much larger Hawaiian group, but is still an enormous step forward for the collection of useable data.

These are reasons why the former Hawai‘i senator Daniel Akaka and many Hawaiian activists fought for years to have the OMB modify Directive 15 and require the US Census and all federal institutions collecting racial data to classify “Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders” outside the Asian categories. When a July 9, 1997, *Federal Register* Notice asked for public feedback on the federal racial categories, the OMB received about three hundred mostly handwritten letters on various issues and “approximately 7000 individually signed and mailed, preprinted postcards on the issue of classifying data on Native Hawaiians.”³⁶ The OMB responded to what it described as Native Hawaiians’ “compelling arguments that the standards must facilitate the production of data to describe their social and economic situation and to monitor

discrimination against Native Hawaiians in housing, education, employment, and other areas.”³⁷

As a result of this public plea by Native Hawaiians, the OMB broke the “Asian or Pacific Islander” category into two—one called “Asian” and the other called “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander,” thus creating five minimum racial categories rather than the previous four.

The “Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander” category will be defined as “A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands.” (The term “Native Hawaiian” does not include individuals who are native to the State of Hawaii by virtue of being born there.) In addition to Native Hawaiians, Guamanians, and Samoans, this category would include the following Pacific Islander groups reported in the 1990 census: Carolinian, Fijian, Kosraean, Melanesian, Micronesian, Northern Mariana Islander, Palauan, Papua New Guinean, Ponapean (Pohnpelan), Polynesian, Solomon Islander, Tahitian, Tarawa Islander, Tokelauan, Tongan, Trukese (Chuukese), and Yapese.

The “Asian” category will be defined as “A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam.”³⁸

On the face of it, these lists of those included in the Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander category and those included in the Asian category are not particularly complicated. Given the history of objection by Pacific Islanders to the conflation of the two categories and the years of effort it took from Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander activists to have them formally disaggregated, it is extremely frustrating that the conflated category continues to be used. In many cases the required disaggregated data get reagggregated to allow comparisons over time with the earlier conflated category. Worse still, Asian American individuals and organizations and their non-Pacific Islander allies have actually expanded their use of APA, API, and so forth, nomenclature during the fifteen years subsequent to the 2000 federal disaggregation of a category that had existed for only twenty years in the first place.

How and Why Does the Conflation Continue on the US Continent?

Hawai‘i Stands In for the Pacific

The enormous differences between Pacific Islander immigrant, migrant, and indigenous issues and politics have not been able to be articulated in a context in which the pan-ethnic, pan-national category is assumed to be univocal

and implicitly Hawaiian.³⁹ In almost every case where I have asked an Asian American group or organization why they are using the term *API/APA* and so forth to identify themselves or their work, the answer is connected to Hawai'i. In contrast, they do not justify the use of the term by their ties to American Samoa or Guam, much less to those Pacific Islanders who have not been directly colonized by the United States. In an earlier section of this essay I discussed the historical connections between Native Hawaiians and Asian immigrants within Hawai'i. The grain of truth in the "melting pot" mythology of Hawai'i is that there are a large number of multiracial Native Hawaiians who have Asian as well as Kanaka Maoli heritage. (Interestingly, while Hawaiians have the highest reporting of multiracial heritage of all the PI groups at 69 percent, every disaggregated group within the PI category is proportionally more multiracial than the US average.) This demographic reality confuses those who do not understand that there are people who are Hawaiian who can *also* be Asian because they have Asian ancestors *in addition* to their Hawaiian ancestors, while Hawaiians who do not have these additional Asian ancestors are not Asian at all. The genealogical basis of Hawaiian identity can incorporate other lineages, as long as the Hawaiian lineage is known. It is significant that non-Hawaiians of Asian descent are not calling themselves API or AAPI in Hawai'i where there are both active Hawaiian sovereignty movements and a critical mass of non-Hawaiian Pacific Islanders; it is only on the continent that this is possible.

But as I have written in a forthcoming essay on genealogy, storytelling, and responsibility, Hawaiians cannot allow ourselves to be used to stand in for the Pacific on the continent.⁴⁰ Last summer I was honored by an invitation to give a keynote address on violence against LGBT-identified people at the First Annual Pacific Islander Anti-Violence conference convened in San Mateo, California, by the Peninsula Violence Prevention Center and affiliated Tongan and Samoan community activists and social service providers.⁴¹ It was a historic and notable conference not least because it was the first time that many of us had ever even been in a room that was filled with multiple groups of Pacific Islanders, including substantial Hawaiian, Tongan, Samoan, Fijian, and Chamorro attendance and participation. The strong presence of youth, elders, police officers, social workers, and religious leaders from these different communities enabled conversations about violence prevention to take place that would never otherwise have been possible. Respecting the value of this, in my talk I called on my fellow Kānaka Maoli to not allow the existence and particularities of other Islanders to be erased through not contesting their

absence in API-framed organizing in the United States, and for all of us to reflect on the ignorance of each other's lives produced by our colonial educations, and learn and do more about each other's struggles.

A Persistent Problem

It has been an interesting experience, to say the least, to have spent the last twenty-plus years trying to get Asian American organizations and individuals to stop using API/APA nomenclature.⁴² Something more powerful than categorical confusion has been at play, whether it is the anxiety of inclusiveness, or some unarticulated emotional attachment to being connected to Pacific Islanders. If it were purely an issue of category confusion, it would be cleared up easily. Some groups have seemed to understand the issue—for example, Asian Pacific Islanders for Reproductive Health changed their name to Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice along the way to becoming a multiracial organization. It is not clear whether others did—while the Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium dropped “Pacific” from its name and changed it to the Asian American Justice Center, it still uses AAPI nomenclature in its infographics and descriptions of events.

The statistical problems with aggregating the two pan-national, pan-ethnic constructions of “Asian American” and “Pacific Islander” are fairly straightforward, if mostly ignored. The cultural contortions of the conflation are more difficult to unpack.

Pacific Islanders Are Not Yet Another Underrepresented Asian Constituency

I speculate that one reason that the incongruity that results from incorporating Pacific Islanders into Asian American projects and analyses is not readily apparent to many Asian Americans is the incoherency and multiplicity of the “Asian American” grouping. By this I mean that the pan-ethnic, pan-national category of “Asian American” masks enormous cultural, historical, and demographic differences between different Asian groups in the United States in the service of creating a sociopolitical entity that is intelligible within the racial schema of the United States. Those Americans of Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Chinese, Laotian, Vietnamese, Hmong, and Thai descent, and so forth, who participate in Asian American organizing and organizations, know very well that what links their different groups together is the history of anti-Asian sentiment in the United States and their shared resistances to that form of racism.

Just as there are no “American Indians” prior to European colonialism, but rather a multitude of indigenous nations with their own cultures, affinities, and histories of conflicts and alliances, there is no Asian America outside the xenophobic anti-immigrant policies of the United States.

This does not in any way mean that there is no value to the categories American Indian and Asian American; on the contrary, given the pervasive and ongoing histories of settler colonialism, anti-immigrant, and anti-Asian racism in the United States these are extremely important affiliations in developing and maintaining political solidarity between and among the groups that so identify with that collective name, as well as in developing new forms of cultural production that are pan-tribal and multi-ethnic. But this externally shaped connection between very different groups does mean that members of various Asian national origin groups and ethnicities will regularly experience cognitive dissonance at many “Asian American” events where their own particularities are not represented even while the event is supposedly about them—whether on the quotidian level of food (pho vs. sashimi) and holiday celebrations (Divali vs. Lunar Banquets) or at the socioeconomic and political level where the Pew report shows the vast disparities between different Asian groups. I believe a generalized anxiety around the issue of inclusion exists because there are so many Asian national-origin groups and ethnicities and their specific issues that are not always represented well or at all within various Asian American political and cultural organizations and events.

If so, it makes sense that the most common response by far that Asian Americans have given me to explain their use of the API/APA construction is that they want to be “inclusive.” In a context where representation (as “Asian American”) simultaneously takes place with nonrepresentation (the specificities of being Korean, Hmong, Pakistani, etc.), Pacific Islanders become another un(der)represented Asian American constituency to them that just needs more inclusion within the larger project. The problem with this, however, is that Pacific Islanders are not another underrepresented Asian constituency that fits uneasily into the Asian American coalition; they are not Asian American *at all*, and the political coalition that linked the two different pan-ethnic groups in the political and bureaucratic imaginary was the product of a moment that is long over, though its conceptual categories live on, much to the detriment of Pacific Islanders in general and Hawaiians specifically.

Culture Clash

Alongside the statistical distortions of the demographic data that I have described are the distortions in cultural analysis produced by pretending that the two groups are combating the same stereotypes. This is not an argument about hierarchy: stereotypes affecting Pacific Islanders are not *worse* than those applied to Asian Americans in the United States—they are *different*. This is readily apparent when examining the forms of gendered racism and racist sexism that Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders experience. In my 2009 essay “Navigating Our Own ‘Sea of Islands’” I noted:

Geisha girls, dragon ladies, and delicate flowers are not the stereotypes Islander women battle. The sexualized stigmatization of “promiscuous” native women is about a perceived lack of civilization, not the orientalism that creates stereotypes of decadence and sexual artifice. . . . On the continent, large-bodied and dark-skinned Islander men are gendered/ racialized as black men, with the attendant prejudice and danger of stereotypes of hyper-masculinity, not feminized with the stereotypes Asian American men face. The police violence experienced by Samoan and Tongan men in southern California, for example, has everything to do with their perceived blackness and savagery, not their emasculation. Neither set of stereotypes is “worse” than the other, but they are not the same.⁴³

Gender and sexual stereotypes pervade the differential racialization of Pacific Islanders and Asian Americans. The dissonance between the two can be seen in two recent pop cultural examples, HBO’s television series *Jonah from Tonga* and *Fresh Off the Boat*, the first US network television series featuring an Asian American family since 1994’s controversial *All American Girl*.

Protests erupted last summer when HBO imported the show *Jonah from Tonga* from Australia along with the white comedian Chris Lilley, who performs the title character in brown makeup and a fright wig. Big, dumb, and lazy, Jonah spends his time avoiding work and getting into trouble with his friends. In an interview Lilley reflected on the creation of his character:

A lot of Pacific Islander kids are in prison in Australia for some reason, I don’t know why, but it’s a problem so I thought it would be cool to explore that idea that he was probably going to end up going to jail. And it seems extreme, the mentality, but it’s how it is in a lot of prisons in Australia with a lot of Pacific Islanders. So it was just that thing that you know at the end of every episode that no matter what steps they take forward with him he’s still the same kid and he’s not going to fit into the system.⁴⁴

The opening two paragraphs of an NBC news article about the controversy demonstrate the palpable strain involved in connecting this particular racist portrayal to Asian Americans:

“Blackface is becoming more and more unacceptable, and the same idea is offensive to Asian Americans,” said Anthony Sze-Fai Shiu, associate professor of English at the University of Missouri-Kansas City. “But then why are we still having these same conversations about the representations of yellowface that have been there since the beginning of early cinema?”

Instances of other races impersonating Asians—known as yellowface or brownface, depending on the ethnicity—have recently gained increased awareness, with reaction and criticism quick to spread on social media.⁴⁵

First, Tongans are not Asians or Asian Americans; second, Lilley’s “brown-face” impersonation is much more closely linked to “comic” black-face minstrelsy than anything else in the US context; third, the “jokes” the comedian relies on play on particular tropes of the savage and primitive that are not deployed against Asians and Asian Americans, who are targeted with very different racist tropes. By assuming that Tongan is identical to Asian American, both the news writer and the Asian American critics he interviews miss the significance of Richard Kaufusi, the only Tongan (and only Pacific Islander) quoted in the article:

“This will be many people’s first introduction to Tongans and Pacific Islanders,” Kaufusi said. “Really? This is what’s presented on a national stage or a global stage like HBO?” . . . Still, Kaufusi hopes the heightened awareness will at least compel people to seek out more information and see Pacific Islanders as more than punchlines.⁴⁶

The peculiarity of this slippage from brown-face to yellow-face might signal another Asian American activist anxiety—that of being perceived as “almost white” and left out of the US coalition of “people of color.” Pacific Islanders as a group are considerably “brownier” in their racialization within the United States than are Asian Americans. Tongans, Samoans, and Fijians are not assigned an orientalist “model minority” stereotype in which the economic and political successes of some sectors of the “Asian American community” are attributed to Confucian values and hard work, masking complex factors relating to class status in countries of origin and differential opportunities within the United States, and erasing Asian American poverty and experiences of racial discrimination. In a country where a black–white binary of racialization is so pervasive and seemingly intractable even within antiracist organizing, Asian Americans’ continued usage of API nomenclature situates them more closely to the “brown” that is sometimes conflated with black, rather than to the “yellow,” which is sometimes conflated with white.

In a recent interview with Ta-Nehisi Coates, Eddie Huang, the author of the profane hip-hop-inflected comic memoir of Asian immigrant childhood that inspired the TV series *Fresh Off the Boat*, noted, “for me, my experience in America growing up, it was black and white. Especially in the 80’s. Especially in the 90’s. It was not a brown, yellow, black, white, purple situation. It was black and white.”⁴⁷ In this scenario he chose to move toward the black in the form of a hip-hop cultural identity and in so doing reveals the scars of anti-Asian gendered racism. The enthusiastic response by male Asian American writers to the premiere of this new series based on Huang’s life reflects a history in which the enduring cinematic image of an immigrant Asian male teenager was the grotesquely named Long Duk Dong, whose every clumsy and laughable on-screen appearance in the teen movie hit *Sixteen Candles* was accompanied by pseudo-Asian gongs.⁴⁸ The columnist Arthur Chu writes, “Eddie Huang is our Richard Pryor, coming along a good 40 years after Pryor exploded onto the scene of African-American entertainers and shattered the expectations of black respectability politics.”⁴⁹

Wesley Yang’s profile of him for the *New York Times Magazine* expands on this notion:

Even if Huang’s attraction to black culture is played for cheap laughs [in the sitcom], to him it is an essential element of his person. It provides the missing half of the fully human entity that the Asian-American who consents to the model-minority myth has to relinquish. A model minority is a tractable, one-dimensional simulacrum of a person, stripped of complexity, nuance, danger and sexuality—a person devoid of dramatic interest. Huang is something else: a person at war with all the constraints that would fetter him to anything less than an identity capacious enough to contain all his contradictions and ambivalence.⁵⁰

There is a great deal to say in another essay about the attraction of “black cool” and/or soul for immigrant “others.” In this case, it bolsters an Asian American masculinity wounded by a racist history of being portrayed as weak, laughable, and sexually unattractive that contrasts sharply with the hypermasculinization of Pacific Islander men as displayed in the arena of contact sports such as rugby and American football.⁵¹ In a patriarchal society hypermasculinization may carry more prestige, but both constructions are the product of a racist regime limiting the full humanity of both Asian American and Pacific Islander men through these different memes.

My point here, as in the rest of this essay, is that proceeding as though the identities, histories, and categorical constructions of “Asian Americans” and “Pacific Islanders” are the same actually impedes our understanding of both, and the consequences of those distortions are far more dire for Pacific

Islanders, who exist as only 3 percent of the imagined “AAPI” grouping. The conditions of material and intellectual support that could enable a critical mass of Pacific Islander voices to speak and be heard about the specificities of their issues as Pacific Islanders in a US context are slowly developing. Following the footnotes of the essays in this special issue reveals the strength and diversity of past scholarship and political and intellectual activism created by many different islanders. The movement of Pacific Islander scholars trained in the United States across the continent and across the oceans ensures that there is no single site or home for this ongoing work. The Pacific currents are moving; it remains to be seen where they will take us.

Notes

- Mahalo nui loa to J. Kēhaulani Kauanui for countless years of work on this issue; David Chang, Scott Morgensen, Ty Kāwika Tengan, Paul Lyons, and anonymous *AQ* reviewers for their extremely helpful editorial feedback; and all those who have been working many years for non-Hawaiian Pacific Islander political, cultural, and intellectual visibility in the United States—in particular, Teresia Teaiwa, Vince Diaz, Christine Taitano DeLisle, Keith Camacho, Sefa Aina, and Fuifulupe Niumeitolu.
1. See the histories of political and intellectual organizing recounted in Vicente M. Diaz and J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 13.2 (2001): 315–42; Teresia K. Teaiwa, “On Analogies: Rethinking the Pacific in a Global Context,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 18.1 (2006): 71–87; and Keith L. Camacho, “Transoceanic Flows: Pacific Islander Interventions across the American Empire” *Amerasia Journal* 37.3 (2011): ix–xxxiv. The groundbreaking conferences “Native Pacific Cultural Studies on the Edge” at the University of California at Santa Cruz in 2000 and “Pacific Islands, Atlantic Worlds” at New York University in 2001 that were organized by Diaz and Kauanui, and Adria L. Imada, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Anne-Marie Tupuola, and John Kuo Wei Tchen, brought these legacies of struggle to the continent.
 2. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “Asian American Studies and the ‘Pacific Question,’” in *Asian American Studies after Critical Mass*, ed. Kent Ono (New York: Blackwell, 2004), 123–43.
 3. Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (New York: Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, 1981)
 4. Clifford Geertz, “What Was the Third World Revolution?,” *Dissent* 52.1 (2005): 35–45.
 5. Lemuel F. Ignacio, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: Is There Such an Ethnic Group?* (San Jose, CA: Pilipino Development Associates, 1976).
 6. *Ibid.*, 84.
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. Claudette Bennett, “Racial Categories Used in the Decennial Censuses, 1790 to the Present,” *Government Information Quarterly* 17.2 (2000): 161–80.
 9. Ignacio, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*, 85.
 10. *Ibid.*, 112.
 11. See, e.g., Michael Lujan Bevacqua, “My Island Is One Big American Footnote,” in *The Space Between: Negotiating Culture, Place, and Identity in the Pacific*, ed. A. Marata Tamaira, Occasional Paper Series 44 (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2009), 120–22; Michael Lujan Bevacqua, “‘These May or May Not Be Americans’: The Patriotic Myth and the Hijacking of Chamorro History on Guam” (PhD diss., University of Guam, 2005); Vicente M. Diaz, “Simply Chamorro: Telling Tales of Demise and Survival in Guam,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 6.1 (1994): 29–58.

12. Ignacio, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*, 118.
13. Donald N. Dedmon, "The Functions of Discourse in the Hawaiian Statehood Debates," *Communications Monographs* 33.1 (1966): 30–39; Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Process of Acculturation and Amalgamation* (New York: AMS Press, 1937); Glen Grant and Dennis M. Ogawa, "Living Proof: Is Hawaii the Answer?," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530.1 (1993): 137–54.
14. Giles Scott-Smith, "From Symbol of Division to Cold War Asset: Lyndon Johnson and the Achievement of Hawaiian Statehood in 1959," *History* 89.294 (2004): 256–73; Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); Lauren L. Basson, *White Enough to Be American? Race Mixing, Indigenous People, and the Boundaries of State and Nation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).
15. Francis Anthony Boyle, "Restoration of the Independent Nation State of Hawaii under International Law," *Thomas Law Review* 7 (1994): 723.
16. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Colonialism in Equality: Hawaiian Sovereignty and the Question of US Civil Rights," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107.4 (2008): 635–50.
17. Ignacio, *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*, 175–76.
18. *Ibid.*, 220–21.
19. Pew, "The Rise of Asian Americans," 2012, www.pewsocialtrends.org/asianamericans-graphics/; Julianne Hing, "Asian Americans Respond to Pew: We're Not Your Model Minority," colorlines.com/archives/2012/06/pew_asian_american_study.html.
20. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983); Darrell H. Y. Lum, "Local Genealogy: What School You Went?," in *Growing Up Local: An Anthology of Poetry and Prose from Hawai'i*, ed. Eric Chock et al. (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge, 1998), 11–12.
21. Stephen Sumida, *And the View from the Shore: Literary Traditions of Hawai'i* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991); Eric Chock, *Talk Story: An Anthology of Hawai'i's Local Writers* (Honolulu: Petronium, 1978).
22. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).
23. Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "'Hawaiian at Heart' and Other Fictions," *The Contemporary Pacific* 17.2 (2005): 404–13.
24. Camacho, "Transoceanic Flows," xxii.
25. Jean-Paul R. deGuzman, Alfred Peredo Flores, Kristopher Kaupalolo, Christen Sasaki, Kehaulani Vaughn, and Joyce Pualani Warren, "The Possibilities for Pacific Islander Studies in the Continental United States," *Amerasia Journal* 37.3 (2011): 149–61.
26. In his essay "'To 'P' or Not to 'P'?: Marking the Territory between Pacific Islander and Asian American Studies," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 7.3 (2004): 183–208, Vince Diaz makes the case that this blurring of fields and identities is potentially productive in disrupting conceptual categories for decolonial purposes. Kauanui's "Asian American Studies and the 'Pacific Question'" explores the places the two can productively engage without the Pacific being subsumed. I would suggest that it is difficult to disrupt categories whose content most people are confused about to begin with.
27. See Robert Smith, Richard Axen, and DeVere Edwin Pentony, *By Any Means Necessary: The Revolutionary Struggle at San Francisco State* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970); Angie Y. Chung and Edward Taehan Chang, "From Third World Liberation to Multiple Oppression Politics: A Contemporary Approach to Interethnic Coalitions," *Social Justice* (1998): 80–100; Karen Umemoto, "'On Strike!' San Francisco State College Strike, 1968–69: The Role of Asian American Students," *Amerasia Journal* 15.1 (1989): 3–41; and Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies: How a Radical Social Movement Became an Academic Discipline* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 66–113.
28. On PKO, see Davianna McGregor, *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); on cultural and political revival, see Haunani-Kay Trask and Ed Greevy, *Kue: Thirty Years of Land Struggle in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2004); and Rodney Morales, ed., *Ho'i Ho'i How: A Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge, 1984).
29. Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands': Remapping a Theoretical Space for Hawaiian Women and Indigenous Feminism," *Wicazo Sa Review* 24.2 (2009): 23.
30. Bennett, "Racial Categories."

31. Personal conversations with Pacific Islanders from three different ethnic groups and three different community-based nonprofit organizations.
32. John Schmitt, Hye Jin Rho, and Nicole Woo, *Diversity and Change: Asian American and Pacific Islander Workers*, No. 2011-16 (Washington, DC: Center for Economic and Policy Research, 2011).
33. "A Community of Contrasts: Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in the United States, 2014," empoweredpi.org/demographic-report/.
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35. "Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity," *Federal Register Notice*, October 30, 1997, www.whitehouse.gov/omb/fedreg_1997standards.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. For one example, see JoAnna Poblete-Cross, "Bridging Indigenous and Immigrant Struggles: A Case Study of American Sāmoa," *American Quarterly* 62.3 (2010): 501–22.
40. Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "All Our Relations: Mo'okūauhau and Mo'olelo," unpublished manuscript submitted for *Nā Mo'okū'auhau: Kānaka Māoli Research Methodologies*, ed. N'ani Wilson-Hokowhitu.
41. The organizers Malissa Netane, Ursula Ann Siataga, Dallas Te'o, Nani Wilson, and many others did amazing work pulling together resources and communities and building new bridges between them. Fuifuilupe Niumeitolu has been a tireless worker in connecting Islanders to each other and to California Indian communities.
42. Another essay is needed to fully detail the surreal responses ranging from the absurd to the threatening that J. Kēhaulani Kauanui and I received from the 1990s to the 2000s to our polite enquiries to Asian American organizers advertising their events and/or organizations as "Asian and Pacific Islander" who the Pacific Islanders were who were participating and what Pacific Islander issues were being addressed.
43. Hall, "Navigating Our Own 'Sea of Islands,'" 24.
44. Emma Soren, "Becoming 'Jonah from Tonga' with Chris Lilley," August 7, 2014, splittersider.com/2014/08/becoming-jonah-from-tonga-with-chris-lilley/.
45. Erik Ortiz, "HBO's 'Jonah from Tonga' Latest to Stir Brownface and Yellowface Debate," July 28, 2014, www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/hbos-jonah-tonga-latest-stir-brownface-yellowface-debate-n163946.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Soraya Nadia McDonald, "Meet Eddie Huang, the Memoirist Who Inspired 'Fresh Off the Boat,'" February 4, 2015, www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2015/02/04/meet-eddie-huang-the-memoirist-who-inspired-fresh-off-the-boat/.
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49. Arthur Chu, "Eddie Huang Is Our Richard Pryor: 'Fresh off the Boat' and TV history in the Making," February 5, 2015, www.salon.com/2015/02/06/eddie_huang_is_our_richard_pryor_fresh_off_the_boat_and_tv_history_in_the_making.
50. Wesley Yang, "Eddie Huang against the World," *New York Times Magazine*, February 8, 2015, www.nytimes.com/2015/02/08/magazine/eddie-huang-against-the-world.html?_r=0.
51. Brendan Hokowhitu, "Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport," *The Contemporary Pacific* 16.2 (2004): 259–84; Ty P. Kāwika Tengan and Jesse Makani Markham, "Performing Polynesian Masculinities in American Football: From 'Rainbows to Warriors,'" *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26.16 (2009): 2412–31; and Joel S. Frank, "Pacific Islanders and American Football: Hula Hula Honeys, Throwin' Samoans and the Rock," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26.16 (2009): 2397–11.