UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Mapping Decolonized Futures:

Indigenous Visions for Palestine and Hawai'i

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Geography

by

Nour Joudah

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Mapping Decolonized Futures:

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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Geography

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Professor Adam D. Moore, Chair

This dissertation examines indigenous visions for Palestine and Hawai'i and efforts by both communities to imagine and work toward liberated futures. The (counter)mapping projects explored in these chapters break away from debates confined to questions of citizenship and state boundaries. Instead, they present a defiance of settler productions of time and feature indigenous duration as a non-linear temporality. Refusing settler colonial regimes that relegate indigenous lives to the past and indigenous futures to settler dominance, these projects employ historical and imaginative cartographic practices that embrace and insist on better, freer futures. Blending visual analysis with ethnographic interviews, I examine technical and political considerations of individuals and projects for Hawai'i and Palestine that document, archive, and remap indigenous spaces and lands.

The dissertation of Nour Joudah is approved.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Illustrations………………………………………………………………………...vi

Acknowledgments……………………………………………………………………...viii

Vita/Biographical Sketch…………………………………………………………...xiii

Chapter 1 – Introduction………………………………………………………………. 1

1.1 Inspiration………………………………………………………………………….…1
1.2 Rejecting Fatalism, Embracing Resurgence……………………………………………. 4
Eliminating Metaphor and Looking Inward……………………………………………… 5
Applying the Embrace…………………………………………………………………. 12
1.3 Relational Comparison and Methodology……………………………………………..13
Case Selection: Palestine and Hawai'i……………………………………………………16
Fieldwork ……………………………………………………………………………18
1.4 Chapters and Themes…………………………………………………………….……… 20

Chapter 2 – Declaring the Algerian Counterstate:
Mapping during the War of Independence (1954-1962) ………………………24

2.1 Introduction……………………………………………………………………………..24
2.2 "Reading" the Maps…………………………………………………………………….26
2.3 Mapping Algeria during the War of Independence……………………………………….28
Borders before the War……………………………………………………………………28
The Wilaya: Organizing and Territorializing the Algerian Resistance……………………...30
The Fifteen French Departments: Reorganizing Colonial Bureaucracy……………………33
2.4 Conclusion……………………………………………………………………………...35
Epilogue: An Independent Algeria: Wilayat for a New Economy…………………………...36

Chapter 3 – Archiving Indigenous Spatial Histories………………………………………38

3.1 Introduction ……………………………………………………………………………38
3.2 Settler Colonialism's Structural Formation and Driving Logic……………………………...40
3.3 The Websites and Meeting the Teams……………………………………………………45
Palestine Open Maps (POM) ……………………………………………………………..45
Papakilo and Kipuka Databases…………………………………………………………..53
3.4 Conclusion ……………………………………………………………………………..58

Chapter 4 – Honoring Pasts, Escaping Presents, Dwelling in Futures:
The Palestine Land Society Village Reconstruction Competition ……………. 60

4.1 Introduction……………………………………………………………………………..60

4.2 The Reconstruction Competition……………………………………………………………….63
Common Features……………………………………………………………………………65
4.3 Dwelling-to-(Re)Build………………………………………………………………………….66
4.4 The Designs: Mapping Dwelling Space…………………………………………………………..69
Al-Qastal: Escaping the Present…………………………………………………………………70
Ain Ghazal: Collective Revival…………………………………………………………………...73
Beit Jibrin: Reimagining Relations……………………………………………………………77
Other Designs/Evolution of Competition………………………………………………………79
4.5 Conclusion…………………………………………………………………………………...80

Chapter 5 – Performing the Countermap:
Protection, Restoration, and Return in Hawai'i ………………………………82

5.1 Introduction…………………………………………………………………………………82

5.2 Critical Cartography and Countermapping ………………………………………………84
5.3 When Countermapping and Performative Cartography Collide……………………………..87
5.4 From Protesting to Planting: Being the Countermap ………………………………………..90
Arriving at the Mauna: Day 133………………………………………………………………..91
Teaching at the Mauna: Day 134……………………………………………………………93
Day 135…………………………………………………………………………………………96
HuiMAU and Regenerating the Landscape……………………………………………………99
5.5 Conclusion……………………………………………………………………………………103

Concluding Remarks……………………………………………………………………………104

Bibliography…………………………………………………………………………………...109

List of Illustrations

Figures

Figure 1. Algeria's Transformation 24

Figure 2. French Departments and FLN Boundaries 32

Figure 3. French Airfields and Morice Line 32

Figure 4. British Survey Sheets with Key 47

Figure 5. Palestine Open Maps (POM) viewer, combined maps 48

Figure 6. POM viewer, combined maps and zoomed Gaza 49

Figure 7. Vectorization from Amman POM Mapathon 52

Figure 8. Network informing POM 53

Figure 9. Papakilo Database Searchable Collections 54

Figure 10. Papakilo Database, Special Searches 55

Figure 11 Kipuka Viewer Search Categories 56

Figure 12. Example of Ahupua'a selection on Kipuka viewer 57

Figure 13. Al-Qastal Design Submission 70

Figure 14. Revived spring in Ain Ghazal 73

Figure 15. Ain Ghazal Design 76

Figure 16. Beit Jibrin Sketch on Reconfiguring Relations 78

Figure 17. Woodward and Lewis' Categories of Representations of Non-Western Spatial Thought and Expression 88

Figure 18. Tatreez Map 89

Figure 19. Ahu at Mauna Kea 90

Figure 20. Pu'uhonua o Pu'uhuluhulu University class schedule 94

Figure 21. Uncle Bobby's class 94

Figure 22. UCLA Pacific Island Student Association representatives at Mauna Kea 95

Figure 23. HuiMAU garden 101

Figure 24. HuiMAU garden 101

Figure 25. Eucalyptus forest in Hamakua 102

Figure 26. HuiMAU restoration plans 102

Maps

Map 1. 1848-1956 (France) 28

Map 2. 1954-1962 (FLN) 30

Map 3. 1956-1962 (France) 33

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This project is first and foremost about embracing Indigenous futures and having faith in the potential of the past and present to create something new moving forward. At times, academic research and the media present collective refusal to surrender in a narrow frame of resistance, limiting and confining community power to survival despite loss. This “survival despite” narrative regrettably places elimination and displacement – instead of creativity and growth – at the core of conversations on Indigenous du ration. While settler colonial invasion is a structure driven by the former, Indigenous resurgence is empowered by the latter and a belief that each of us can shape what comes next.

I have spent my life witnessing this belief in potential on many levels, collectively among Palestinians and extended family living under occupation and most intimately by my parents in my own home. My mother and father have embodied sumoud for me every day and in every decision and sacrifice they have made. Ahmad and Zarifah Joudah – you are towering examples of hard work, principle, and love; you taught me the power of looking ahead all while knowing what came before. This dissertation and degree are dedicated to you, your kindness, and the pride you passed on to your children.

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- *Forthcoming:* Joudah, Nour. "Declaring the Algerian Counterstate: Mapping during the War of Independence (1954-1962)." In *Architecture of the Territory: Constructing the National Narrative*, ed. by Collective for Architecture-Lebanon and Fadi El Toffeli. (Actar Publishers: 2022).
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

> Settler colonialism is not eventful; it is enduring, it has its own structure and logic and refusal as well, operating like a grammar and posture that sits through time…. The condition of Indigeneity globally is to know this. ***Indigenous peoples are grappling with the fiction of justice while pushing for justice.*** [1]
>
> – Audra Simpson

> The map is at once empirically rooted and imaginatively liberated and liberating. No spaces can be controlled, inhabited, or represented completely. But the map permits the illusion of such possibilities. ***Mapping is a creative process of inserting our humanity into the world and seizing the world for ourselves***.[2]
>
> – Denis Cosgrove

1.1 Inspiration

When I started the doctoral program in 2016, I – like most students – still had a very malleable topic on my hands. The sites and cases have changed, but the core of the plan and its intention has stayed the same over the years: a comparative and spatial analysis of decolonization that challenges the notion of settler permanence as inevitable and of indigenous survival as confined to the present.

I knew from day one that I wanted to center Algeria in a historical analysis, having always been simultaneously fascinated and dumbfounded by the debate on its status as a settler colony. And as a Palestinian, the legacy of Algerian resistance and independence loomed large in a regional collective memory that precedes and transcends my lifetime. I was not yet clear on what my window to incorporating Algeria would be, but inspiration struck almost immediately. In my first quarter, I had the good fortune to take a graduate seminar with Prof. Slyomovics on urban North

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[1] Audra Simpson, "Consent's Revenge," *Cultural Anthropology* 31.3 (2016), 329.
[2] Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining, and Representing the World* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008), 168.

Africa, and in my digging into a tangential mention from lecture, a story of creative mapping and indigenous vision quickly emerged.

In July 1954 – four months before Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN) launched the war of independence and two *years* before it adopted its political platform – it established a counter state to French Algeria and redrew the map. They transformed the three coastal French departments into six wilayat (provinces), each wilaya with a corresponding political and military leadership. The Algerian resistance defied French spatial organization of their communities, their cities, and their state beyond the abstraction of anticolonial discourse. In a very material sense of embodied experience, the FLN's new map became a guidepost for how Algerians understood their cities and districts. The wilayat were a *living countermap to* the colonial state and *of* its colonized, indigenous population. Taking the audacity – and perhaps even humor – of their endeavor one step further, they mapped their seventh wilaya onto Paris, confronting colonial logic on the boundaries of the French state. If France could map onto them, why couldn't they map onto France?

During the eight years of violent struggle that followed, French counterinsurgency plans directly engaged with the FLN's wilaya borders and subdistricts. Eventually, France conducted its own remapping of the colony for the first time since its 1848 conquest, building up an expansive municipal bureaucracy that would remain in the aftermath of Algerian independence. Post-independence, the new Algerian state once again made remapping the wilayat a priority. Not only would it redraw the provincial boundaries twice more by the early 1980s, it made developing the concept of the wilaya – as a democratic unit with its own identity – a central component of decolonized state planning.

My research into this period, which lead to several papers, presentations, and what I am including as the second chapter of this dissertation,[3] inspired not only my turn to exploring maps as practice and gateways for exploration, but also what has become the heart of this project: indigenous communities using mapping as imaginative decolonial praxis.

As I developed my research design for this study, I placed the countermapping and remapping of pre- and post-independence Algeria as a nodal point of inquiry. I wanted to craft a comparative approach that interrogated how indigenous mapping projects inform potential for and attempts at decolonization, in both historical and contemporary settler colonial contexts. Despite an inability to fully execute this original design,[4] the Algerian story of the counterstate remains an essential component to the research I have conducted and the questions I have asked. Algeria – as arguably the only existing case of complete settler departure/evacuation – is uniquely situated to serve as an exploratory site. Placing Algeria – seen as an outlier for many leading theorists and comparative historians of colonialism – at the center of a comparative study has incredible potential. Referred to as a "so-called" settler colony[5] or "mixed colony,"[6] it has been recognized as atypical despite the large settler population that characterized its conquest. However, it is precisely Algeria's colonial and settler colonial entanglement that makes it such a rich space via which to understand other settler colonies. Settler colonial studies' focus on British dominions as

[3] "Declaring the Algerian Counterstate: Mapping during the War of Independence (1954-1962)" is a chapter in the forthcoming book, *Architecture of the Territory*, edited by the Collective for Architecture-Lebanon.
[4] See section 1.4 below for detail.
[5] Patrick Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race," *American Historical Review* 106.3 (2001): 868. As cited in "French Algeria in Comparative Perspective: A Specific Form of Settler Colonialism," workshop introduction by Elodie Saubatte, 9-10 June 2016, France.
[6] D.K. Fieldhouse, *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Study from the Eighteenth Century* (Macmillan, 1982), 250. As cited in "French Algeria in Comparative Perspective," by Saubatte, 9-10 June 2016, France.

the quintessential mold for settler colonial societies[7] has limited the expansion of analysis and frameworks from moving beyond comparisons strictly focused on historical trajectory and apex.

Even as this project transformed to a study focused on the contemporary cases of Palestine and Hawaii, it continues to be primarily concerned with countermapping as a creative process of indigenous visions for decolonial futures. Whether through archiving, designing the reconstruction of destroyed villages, or the embodied imagining of protest and land restoration, the chapters that follow seek to provide a glimpse of collective efforts to escape settler temporalities that deny the growth of indigenous duration.

1.2 Rejecting Fatalism, Embracing Resurgence

Indigenous colonized people, the world over, have been subject to immense loss of life and land. Even while acknowledging and studying their dispossession, sympathetic governments, mainstream media, as well as academia, often discuss indigenous peoples' futures with fatalism, as a *fait accompli*. Settler colonial states such as Australia, Canada, the United States, Israel, and others, treat the discourse of decolonization almost as if it were science fiction. However, indigenous people have not merely survived ongoing eliminatory practices, they are living in the present, looking forward, and planning for emancipatory and collective futures.

My project is driven by a personal and intellectual desire, ethic, and need to do more than record history or participate in fine-tuning current settler colonial heuristics. Yes, it is true that indigenous survival is real and essential despite settler-colonialism's underlying logic of elimination. But survival is also grueling and cannot be taken for granted. It is important to me that my work – and related work – center a future that looks beyond the labored breathing of

[7] Martin Evans, "Towards an Emotional History of Settler Decolonization: De Gaulle, Political Masculinity and the End of French Algeria 1958-1962," *Settler Colonial Studies* (2018).

indigenous communities and is not suffocated by the rigidity of any discipline(s). By fusing indigenous political theories of resurgence and critical cartographic perspectives on how maps are wielded as tools of power, I aim to encourage conversations in settler colonial studies (and societies) that do not dismiss the idea of decolonization as impossible, but rather engage with indigenous aspirations as guides for decolonial thought as well as action. Whether textual or performative, indigenous cartographies are not merely "alternative" spatial representations or knowledge systems, they are affirmations of indigenous survival and visions of being – in a place structured to outlast them.

Eliminating Metaphor and Looking Inward

Understanding the staying power of its violent founding and the ongoing logic of elimination[8] in settler states is essential to how one approaches questions of decolonization and what it requires. When Patrick Wolfe writes that settler colonialism has been "impervious to regime change,"[9] he is not saying that decolonization is impossible, but that it is a structure that cannot be dismantled by one election, political party, campaign, or policy. The elimination of indigenous peoples – whether physical, spatial, or discursive – in settler colonial contexts lays a foundation that demands more than traditional postcolonial understandings of decolonization as independence from a metropole.

Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang's "Decolonization is not a metaphor" is a reminder and demand that discussions on and attempts at undoing that founding have to be rooted in the material. Tuck and Yang urge the end of using the "language of decolonization" when speaking about critical pedagogy and other social justice projects, and that it is a "distinct project…far too often

[8] See 2.2 for more on settler colonialism's structural formation and driving logic.
[9] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4 (2006): 402.

subsumed into the directives of these projects, with no regard for how decolonization wants something different from these forms of justice."[10] More so, the metamorphosis of the term into metaphor is another means of erasure:

> When metaphor invades decolonization, it kills the very possibility of decolonization; it recenters whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future. Decolonize (a verb) and decolonization (a noun) cannot easily be grafted onto pre-existing discourses and frameworks, even if they are critical, even if they are anti-racist, even if they are justice frameworks. ***The easy absorption, adoption, and transposing of decolonization is yet another form of settler appropriation.*** When we write about decolonization, we are not offering it as a metaphor; it is not an approximation of other experiences of oppression. Decolonization is not a swappable term for other things we want to do to improve our societies and schools. Decolonization doesn't have a synonym.[11]

Tuck and Yang's critique here is not to solely dismantle the stretching of the term due to some linguistic overextension which removes meaning, but also due to who/what it centers (whiteness) and why ("to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity"[12]). What they call "moves to innocence" are a means by which settlers can fantasize alternate means of reconciliation without giving up land, power, or privilege. The authors discuss some of these moves in detail: settler nativism, fantasizing adoption, colonial equivocation, conscientization, at risk-ing/asterisk-ing Indigenous peoples, and re-occupation and urban homesteading.[13] These moves and the diversity of settler identities significantly complicate decolonization as well as solidarity for it.

Perhaps most relevant for my work is their emphasis on a lack of "spatial separation" among "empire, settlement, and internal colony."[14] If decolonization is fundamentally a repatriation of land (and life on that land), then thinking spatially is necessary even if insufficient.

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[10] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 1.1 (2012): 2.
[11] Ibid., 3. [emphasis added]
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 4.
[14] Ibid., 7.

This begs the question: what are the spatial considerations of decolonization in settler colonial societies? Discussing images of theft of native land, Tuck and Yang write that "settler colonization can be visually understood as the unbroken pace of invasion […]. Decolonization, as a process, would repatriate land to Indigenous peoples, reversing the timeline of these images."[15] It is a useful way of understanding the material as opposed to the metaphorical use of the term, but one that also does not adequately engage the reality they have already laid out on spatiality.[16] They do go on to explain that decolonization must eliminate settler property rights and sovereignty, a reversal of the process in which land was made into property and Native sovereignty gave way to settler dominion. Tuck and Yang further lay out that "redistribution" of land as common wealth to a settler society (discussing here social justice movements like Occupy) is incommensurable with decolonization.[17] This point of incommensurability comes up repeatedly throughout indigenous studies texts on decolonization.[18]

Tuck and Yang concede the inability of aspects of human rights and civil rights projects to speak to, align, or ally with decolonization; opportunities for collaboration or solidarity should be contingent, strategic, and often temporary.[19] They are explicit on two key points: the goal is to break the settler colonial structure (not reformulate it) and decolonization as a framework does not

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[15] Ibid., 25.
[16] To their credit, this is also not their responsibility, but a point worthy of future exploration.
[17] Ibid., 26-27.
[18] Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Rejection* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Mahmood Mamdani, "Settler Colonialism: Then and Now," *Critical Inquiry* 41 (2015): 1-19; Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014); Corey Snelgrove, Rita Kaur Dhamoon, and Jeff Corntassel, "Unsettling Settler Colonialism: The Discourse and Politics of Settlers, and Solidarity with Indigenous Nations," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 3.2 (2014): 1-32; Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 1.1 (2012): 1-40; Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8.4 (2006): 387-409; Lorenzo Veracini, "Decolonising Settler Colonialism: Kill the Settler in Him and Save the Man," (working paper, 2017); Lorenzo Veracini, "Telling the End of the Settler Colonial Story," in *Studies in Settler Colonialism*, ed. Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 204-218.
[19] Tuck and Yang., "Decolonization is not," 28.

need to be able to answer all questions regarding how and the future. For both these, it is worth quoting at length.

1. Breaking the settler-colonial triad, in direct terms, means repatriating land to sovereign Native tribes and nations, abolition of slavery in its contemporary forms, and the dismantling of the imperial metropole. **Decolonization 'here' is intimately connected to anti-imperialism elsewhere. However, decolonial struggles here/there are not parallel, not shared equally, nor do they bring neat closure to the concerns of all involved – particularly not for settlers.** Decolonization is not equivocal to other anti-colonial struggles. It is incommensurable.[20]

2. An ethic of incommensurability…stands in contrast to aims of reconciliation….Reconciliation is about rescuing settler normalcy, about rescuing a settler future. Reconciliation is concerned with questions of ***what will decolonization look like? What will happen after abolition? What will be the consequences of decolonization for the settler?*** Incommensurability acknowledges that these questions need not, and perhaps cannot be answered in order for decolonization to exist as a framework….Decolonization is not obliged to answer those questions – **decolonization is not accountable to settlers, or settler futurity.....[it] is accountable to Indigenous sovereignty and futurity**.[21]

In addition to what Tuck and Yang illuminate above regarding implications for political practice, these conclusions also beg questions of the academic work that scholars conduct. What does incommensurability mean for comparative work? What are its limits and its potential for contribution? How can settler colonial studies consider decolonization and center indigenous futures, holding settlers *to* account as opposed to *being* accountable to them? In other words, how can it better insist on ways to hold settlers accountable and maintain that decolonization and indigenous liberation is not dependent on settler comfort/agreement? Finally, isn't part of imagining an end also imagining what comes next? Though I agree that decolonization should not be required to answer certain questions to be a legitimate framework, I wonder if it is not enriched

[20] Ibid., 31. [emphasis added]
[21] Ibid., 35. [italics in original, bold added]

by doing so – and by extension those of us engaging with it. This does not and should not translate to a demand for prescriptive solutions, but instead an opening for investigating and understanding ongoing imaginative practices. More importantly, there is a need to understand those imaginative practices as generative and integral in moves toward decolonization, not merely abstractions.

If we look at a case like Algeria, one finds a process that highlights many of these realities. Algeria today is, as was Algeria's War of Independence then was more than anticolonial struggle. Settler evacuation is neither the end point nor the example of successful decolonization. Algeria's relationship with France is more than lingering postcolonial relation; its counterstate period as well as its post-independence remappings highlight that lack of spatial separation among empire, settlement, and internal colony that Tuck and Yang feature. One could choose to understand their mappings as response as moves toward statist recognition; however, I would argue they are about something else altogether. They are a look inward, a reconfiguration of indigenous spaces and a prime example of "a critical individual and collective *self*-recognition."[22]

In *Red Skin, White Masks*, Glen Coulthard develops a critique of the politics of recognition, drawing theoretically from Fanon (and his critique of Hegel), and advocates a "resurgent approach to Indigenous decolonization."[23] Coulthard begins by centering land; he defines Indigenous anticolonialism as "a struggle primarily inspired by and oriented around *the question of land*…not only *for* land…but also deeply *informed* by what the land *as system of reciprocal relations and obligations* can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms."[24] This is the foundation by which he embarks on his

[22] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 48.
[23] Ibid., 149.
[24] Ibid., 13.

interrogation of continued colonial dispossession – via means other than state violence – in the liberal settler polity of Canada.

Tracing Hegel, Fanon, and Charles Taylor, Coulthard unpacks the evolution of thought on the politics of recognition. While agreeing with Taylor (and Hegel) that the formation of identity is a dialogic process with others, and affirming Taylor's invocation of Fanon that "subjectivities of the oppressed can be deformed by mis- or nonrecognition," Coulthard challenges what he calls Taylor's assumption that a "liberal regime of mutual recognition" is capable of addressing settler-colonial power relations.[25] Coulthard re-infuses the discussion on politics of recognition with Fanon's challenge to Hegel's "partial answer" and makes an addition to Fanon's amendment to Hegel.[26] Those struggling against colonialism must do more than "'turn away' from the colonial state and society and instead find in their own *decolonial praxis* the source of their liberation."[27] This process must also "involve a critical individual and collective *self*-recognition on the part of Indigenous societies … with the understanding that our cultural practices have much to offer regarding the establishment of relationships within and between peoples and the natural world built on principles of reciprocity and respectful coexistence."[28] For Coulthard, Indigenous peoples should direct the empowerment they gain from this "self-affirmative and self-transformative ethics of desubjectification" away from the "lure" of statist politics and instead direct it towards their "on-the-ground struggles of freedom."[29] It is only after this self-recognition that Indigenous peoples should seek to contact those who are willing to engage in a constructive manner. For him,

[25] Ibid., 29-31.
[26] Ibid., 48.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

this politics is about creating a radical ethical alternative to the "structural and psycho-affective facets of colonial domination."[30]

Coulthard's call to look inward is a way to strengthen both the survival of Indigenous nations as well as current and future resistance. Looking to Leanne Simpson and Taiaiake Alfred, he emphasizes that resurgence is not about a return to the past but a way to escape the rigidity of the colonial present.[31] Resistance in the form of direct action is affirmative, offering "another modality of being,"[32] as well as reactive. This contribution is one of many ways that a resurgent Indigenous politics seeks to create economic and political alternatives. In his five theses on indigenous resurgence and decolonization, there is a glimmer of Faulkner's famous "The past is never dead. It is not even past." – with a crucial addition: it can be used to better the future.

Lorenzo Veracini critiques Coulthard for engaging in a rigid compartmentalizing that he sees as unhelpful to undoing settler colonialism. He describes Coulthard's rejection of politics of recognition as a "type of decolonizing practice that does away with the possibility of a relationship," and finds his neglect of settlers "beyond tactically welcoming them as potential 'allies'" as counterproductive (and even what the settler wants – a discontinuation of the indigenous-settler relationship).[33] I do not find what Veracini suggests (that decolonizing practices be relational) to be inherently problematic (in particular working toward a society where such a suggestion is feasible – thus the strategic alliances Coulthard suggests). However, I would venture to say that many indigenous populations would also consider his approach naïve for the current moment. The problem with Veracini's critique and suggestion here lies in an assumption of a

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[30] Ibid., 49.
[31] Ibid., 157.
[32] Ibid., 169.
[33] Veracini, "Decolonising," 15.

particular political moment that has not yet been achieved. Coulthard's advocacy for a prioritization of internal indigenous political growth and a critical eye at recognition is also a result of the moment we are in and lessons learned. It is both off-putting and confusing to simultaneously acknowledge, as Veracini does, the "cunning" of state sponsored recognition and then admonish Coulthard's call to look inward.

There is such a thing as looking to the relationship with the settler too much when a people still need to talk to each other. The settler (as Veracini himself admits) has no right to insist on being a part of that internal conversation. I also do not interpret Coulthard's conclusions that "Fanon … was less willing to explore the role that critically revitalized traditions might play in the (re)construction of decolonized Indigenous nations"[34] as a "betrayal"[35] of Fanon's decolonial stance or transitory vision of nationalism. Instead, the argument and study from which Coulthard draws his conclusions is steeped in a particular moment that requires a resistance organized in a way best suited for it and in response to a politics that has been wielded in harmful ways. In the long term, the settler is not excluded; they cannot be (whether the indigenous want it to be so or not). However, indigenous communities can and should make choices or seek the creation of circumstances that mitigate that relation as they see useful for certain moments. Put another way - one does not need to speak to everyone at every moment.

Applying the Embrace

Drawing from these indigenous political theories and perspectives of resurgence, the following chapters aim to decenter spatial permanence in settler colonial theory and analytical frameworks which relegate indigenous life to a distant past or entrenched present. Focusing on

[34] Coulthard, *Red Skin*, 148.
[35] Veracini, "Decolonising," 15.

specific indigenous mapping projects of Palestine and Hawaii, I seek to forge a better understanding of how settler imaginaries and indigenous spatial knowledge systems are expressed or erased in current maps and how they continue to be repurposed and reimagined for the future. I examine the Hawaiian and Palestinian cases through visual analysis and extensive ethnographic interviews with indigenous activists, NGO staff, and project leaders. The study is not a paired comparison of the two sites with a rigid list of variables, but instead is a relational comparison that explores how these seemingly distant locales take part in producing similar processes. Therefore, while chapters zoom in on each place and countermapping initiative for in-depth looks of the specific projects in Hawai'i and Palestine, the narratives underline several themes on participation and labor in mapping and content creation and its social or political contribution to developing alternative futures.

My approach – like the work of the indigenous communities highlighted here – shows how indigenous communities are refilling emptied and emptying landscapes and challenging settler temporalities. Whether through a reclamation of archives or land itself, these indigenous initiatives and individuals are not only rejecting fatalism, but they are also offering a future to work toward and using the process of imagining that future to strengthen themselves. Transcending the formidable obstacles of statist approaches, Palestinians and Hawaiians know that their futures must be of their own making and not merely results of settler recognition or concessions. Designing the reconstruction of a destroyed village in an architectural brief, placing their bodies in direct confrontation with settler violence, and mapping themselves on lands deemed forever gone exemplifies countermapping as an evolving decolonial praxis.

1.3 Relational Comparison and Methodology

Many of the core elements of settler colonialism are fundamentally concerned with space, mapping, and territory; yet, core texts have mainly come from anthropology and history. Engagement within geography has dealt mainly with race,[36] historical-legal questions of property,[37] and ideas in urban studies on re-conceptualizing the colonial city.[38] I seek to build on geography's long history of examining cartographic practices and production and the increasing focus on indigenous cartographies[39] to examine historical and contemporary indigenous mapping and countermapping projects. My research features maps as a tool of knowledge and power[40] in early colonial settlement and dispossession and within indigenous communities today. Using the two directions of study in critical cartography, the finished map and mapping process,[41] I focus on

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[36] Anne Bonds and Joshua Inwood, "Beyond White Privilege: Geographies of White Supremacy and Settler Colonialism," *Progress in Human Geography* 40.6 (2016): 715-733; Laura Pulido "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III: Settler Colonialism and Nonnative People of Color," *Progress in human Geography* (2017): 1-10; Sarah A. Radcliffe "Geography and Indigeneity I: Indigeneity, Coloniality, and Knowledge," *Progress in Human Geography* 41.2 (2017): 220-229; Radcliffe, "Geography and Indigeneity II: Critical Geographies of Indigenous Bodily Politics," *Progress in Human Geography* (2017): 1-10; Wendy S. Shaw, RDK Herman, and G. Rebecca Dobbs, "Encountering Indigeneity: Re-imagining and Decolonizing Geography," *Geografiska Annaler* 88B.3 (2006): 267-276; Audra Simpson's 2015 International Conference of Critical Geography keynote address "We are Not Red Indians (We Might all be Red Indians): Anticolonial Sovereignty across the Borders of Time, Place, and Sentiment," and sessions on "Imperialism, Settler Geographies, and Indigenous Sovereignty: Learning from *Red Skin, White Masks*" and "Settler Colonial Geographies" at 7th ICCG "Precarious Radicalism on Shifting Grounds: Towards a Politics of Possibility."

[37] Nicholas Blomley, *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Cole Harris "How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from and Edge of Empire," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94.1 (2004); Jeremy J. Schmidt "Bureaucratic Territory: First Nations, Private Property, and 'Turn-Key' Colonialism in Canada," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* (2018).

[38] Noura Alkhalili "'A Forest of Urbanization': camp Metropolis in the Edge Areas," *Settler Colonial* (2017); David Hugill "What is a Settler-Colonial City?" *Geography Compass* (2017); Libby Porter and Oren Yiftachel "Urbanizing Settler-Colonial Studies: Introduction to the Special Issue," *Settler Colonial Studies* (2017); 2015 ICCG session "City as site of Decolonization."

[39] Renee Pualani Louis, Jay T. Johnson, and Albertus Hadi Pramono, "Introduction: Indigenous Cartographies and Counter-Mapping)," *Cartographica* 47.2 (2012): 77-79.

[40] J. Brian Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," In *Geographic Thought: A Praxis Perspective*, edited by George Henderson and Marvin Waterstone, 129-148, (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008). Originally published in D.Cosgrove and S. Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[41] Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining, and Representing the World* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

document/database analysis, archival work, and interviews to understand how these mapping projects attempt to mobilize indigenous visions to produce future decolonized spaces.

My project places settler colonies in conversation with each other across space and time to challenge a tendency in settler colonial studies to match cases by apex of historical trajectory. Uninterested in producing knowledge via comparison concerned with rigid ideal-type and deviations from it, I employ a relational comparative approach with my incorporation of Palestine and Hawai'i. Drawing from Gillian Hart's work, relational comparison[42] can take numerous forms. However, I am choosing to center three main guiding principles: (1) "political stakes are front and center;" (2) a non-teleological focus on "spatio-historical specificities, interconnections, and mutually constitutive processes", and (3) bringing key forces across regions of the world into the same frame of analysis, as "connected yet distinctively different nodes in globally interconnected historical geographies…and as sites in the production of global processes, not just recipients of them."[43] In doing so, this study naturals ebbs and flows between key and broad geographical and political questions and site-specific issues.

The study of settler colonialism is itself deeply rooted in comparative work. It is through a relational comparative analysis of Australia, Israel-Palestine, and the United States that Patrick Wolfe explicates the utility of "structural genocide" as a category and presents the logic of elimination as a key differentiating factor between franchise and settler colonialism.[44] The burgeoning field of settler colonial studies continues to follow in this tradition, bringing – as Hart emphasizes a need to do – key forces across regions of the world into the same frame of analysis.

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[42] Lefebvre and Massey in Gillian Hart, "Relational comparison revisited: Marxist postcolonial geographies in practice," *Progress in Human Geography* 42.3 (2018):371-394.
[43] Hart, "Relational comparison revisited," 372-373.
[44] J. Kehaulani Kauanui, ed., *Speaking of Indigenous Politics: Conversations with Activists, Scholars, and Tribal Leaders* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2018), xiv.

Of the three guiding principles to relational comparison that I have mentioned here, it is fair to say that a framework of globally interconnected historical geographies is ever present in the field. For the work presented in this dissertation, these key forces begin as an investigation into mapping as a decolonial praxis and become an exploration for how indigenous conceptions of time challenge what future spatialities are possible. Indigenous communities are not only subject to eliminatory practices and the destruction of their spaces; they also collectively work toward growth and do not treat future histories as a given. Though the manifestations and contradictions of these processes vary, they are often connected in common struggle and structural understanding.

The guiding principles of centering political stakes and a non-teleological focus, however, have been much more elusive in settler colonial comparisons. I seek to address the question of political stakes by incorporating and embracing indigenous political theories and actions of resurgence, as described above in section 1.2. My hope is that showing "*how* key processes" of indigenous mapping challenge settler understandings and experiences of time can aid in "generat[ing] new understandings of the possibilities for social change."[45] The non-teleological approach is what most influenced the selection of sites for comparison.

Case Selection: Palestine and Hawai'i

While Algeria may have been the inspiration for this dissertation, I was, as mentioned earlier, unable to include it fully in the comparative work that follows. As I prepared to leave the United States and begin fieldwork, the Algerian consulate in New York informed me that my research visa had been denied, despite the Algerian Ministry of Higher Education granting my clearance to the National Archives. Consequently, I was forced to largely cut Algeria from

[45] Hart, "Relational comparison revisited," 375.

comparison with the other two sites. However, I hope to be able to re-integrate the case during my postdoctoral fellowship, which I discuss more fully in my concluding remarks.

As for the cases that make up the core of this dissertation – Hawai'i and Palestine provide not only different experiences in decolonization (or lack thereof), but like Algeria, also do not fit a quintessential mold. Though the United States overall fits into a traditional understanding of a modern state founded as a settler colony, its toppling of the former kingdom of Hawai'i in 1893 and the following illegal annexation – or occupation as it is referred to by kanaka maoli – set it apart from much of the displacement, dispossession, and ethnic cleansing of indigenous people on the "mainland." For Palestine, questions of refugeedom, diaspora, and exile have left the Palestinian population consumed with the question of return to the homeland, grappling with what Arendt (1951) called the rightless condition of statelessness. This site of inquiry therefore is not bound by indigenous efforts *in* this place, but *for* Palestine, including contributions from diaspora.

Selecting Palestine and Hawaii not only puts regions across the world in conversation with one another, but their settler colonial entanglement with military occupation – like Algeria's with franchise colonialism – forces a non-teleological lens in understanding their present and future. Settler colonial studies' fixation on comparing similar historical trajectories to qualify comparison limits the potential of understanding indigenous processes across settler colonies. Additionally, this tendency can and does create discourses of exceptionalism as opposed to recognizing how similar key forces operate in varying locales and time periods. By selecting these non-pardigmatic cases, I hope to offer a comparison rooted in lived experiences instead of chronological order.

A key component of these mapping projects by indigenous communities in Hawai'i and Palestine is that they are ongoing. From the growth of online databases and recording oral histories to land reclamation and reconstruction-redesign initiatives, there are concerted efforts not only to

imagine decolonized futures but to impose blended images of yesterday and tomorrow onto the conversations of today.

Fieldwork

The main set of maps for Palestine is sourced from an international competition run by the Palestine Land Society (PLS). Though built on a history of indigenous documentation of presence, struggle, and survival, this current project is also working to reimagine how to rebuild the destroyed and depopulated villages in a decolonized future territory. As a large majority of the hundreds of destroyed villages were never built over by Israeli settlers, PLS is also challenging the Israeli argument of unavailable space for refugee return. Currently, eight universities are participating (five in Palestine, two in Jordan, and one in Lebanon); this expanded to Palestinians in the U.S. and Europe in 2020. University students majoring in architecture and planning redesign these villages on the original site but with updated conditions of population and services. Submissions also include a short essay which elaborates on the design and historical characteristics of the location.

Using my access to the maps, reports, and data provided by PLS to participants, as well as their final submissions, I analyze what past and present information is incorporated and prioritized in these future designs. I conducted 13 individual interviews and 3 focus groups related to the competition and related projects. These semi-structured interviews took place in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey, and video calls to Palestine. They focus on students' decision to participate and their design considerations, motivation for participating, and understanding of the competition's purpose and usefulness (or lack thereof) to the larger struggle for refugee right of return. I also interviewed PLS-partnered faculty at the participating universities, who recruit participants and serve as advisors.

Additionally, I contacted and interviewed the organizers for three ongoing literary and visual mapping projects or publication efforts focused on supporting and sharing expressions of alternative Palestinian futures: Lifta Volumes, Mapping Segregation by 7amleh, and Palestine Open Maps (POM) by Visualizing Palestine. The group interview with the POM team in Beirut, Lebanon led to my attendance at one of their mapathon events in Amman, Jordan as well as two years of follow-up interviews and communication regarding updates on the project. During my time in Jordan, I also collected dozens of colonial maps from the British Institute and American Center for Oriental Research archives.

After my time in the Middle East, I spent several months in Hawai'i– specifically the islands of Oahu and Hawaii. Again, I conducted both individual and group interviews, as well as archival work. I spent time with indigenous rights activists of land restoration projects and researchers of growing countermapping databases. I had a meeting, tour, and interviews with activists at HuiMAU, near Hilo, working to regenerate indigenous land by replanting native species and educating native Hawaiian children on histories of place. These organizations' work strongly speak to efforts to revive previously dispossessed lands and remake them for future generations. I also interviewed individuals at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) who are intimately involved with developing the Papakilo and Kipuka databases. The Kipuka database has incorporated OHA's archival data into a geographic information system (GIS). Though the GIS record has existed for almost two decades, the current iteration of the project is being used as a repository for Hawai'i geographic knowledge, blending culture with land and history; essentially, it is a mapped genealogy of land tenure in Hawaii. Working from the original inventory of the Mahele land divisions of 1848, they remove parcels that were sold or transferred (legally or not) and attach relevant documents to the GIS. The goal is to provide a better picture and easy access

to an overall genealogy of ceded land tenure, linking it to information about Hawaii's land, culture, and history by giving people access and opportunity to understand those lands most important to them.

Lastly, I spent several days as a participant observer at the Mauna Kea protest site against construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT). I conducted interviews with indigenous activists who may not participate directly with creating the mapping/database projects, but who utilize them after the fact. Additionally and more importantly, as discussed in Chapter 5, these activists employ performative mapping not only through the daily protocols of hula and group dance, but via their physical presence in the space: a form of embodied resistance.

Combining individual interviews and focus groups has given me an opportunity to gauge and determine the path of the project as a whole and provide a wealth of data. By capitalizing on the group dynamic of reflection and reaction that develops during conversations on family history and political activism, many thoughts or concerns surfaced that individuals would not mention in one-on-one interviews often surfaced.

1.4 Chapters and Themes

The chapters that follow examine indigenous visions for Palestine and Hawai'i and efforts by both communities to break away from debates confined to questions of citizenship and boundaries of the state, debates that relegate indigenous lives to the past and their futures to settler dominance. Blending visual analysis with ethnographic interviews, I examine technical and political considerations of individuals and projects documenting, archiving, and remapping indigenous spaces and lands.

More broadly, the chapters seek to answer more broadly: in what ways is countermapping being mobilized to organize indigenous struggle and inform visions for the future? How does

affirming a particular past spatial presence also challenge the idea of settler permanence today? I ask more specifically, with the motivation of these mapping projects and participants: In designing the reconstruction of a destroyed Palestinian village, how do participants understand potential scenarios of return? How are archived land records and oral histories being used to center land restoration projects and direct/protest actions in Hawaii? By investigating settler colonialism across various landscapes and specific indigenous projects in these societies, I engage visions for decolonial futures not as abstractions but also as potential guides for indigenous political mobilization.

Chapter 2 presents the preliminary research conducted on the Algerian counterstate and mappings during the War of Independence. This chapter is forthcoming in an anthology titled *Architecture of the Territory: Constructing a National Narrative* and edited by Collective for Architecture-Lebanon. In it, I interrogate key ways that the Algerian wilayas and French departments were an extension of the larger struggle and competition for power, with the French desperate to hold onto organization and control and Algerians declaring demands for new lives and spaces.

In Chapter 3, I show how Palestinian and Hawaiian projects to gather colonial maps, document native place names, and revive indigenous mapping practices are not undertaken and tucked away merely for the sake of documentation. They are part and parcel of ongoing political projects and movements seeking to remap what was destroyed and rebuild new life in those spaces. The indigenous labor of building databases of colonial materials and indigenous knowledge and the consequence of redefining terms, limits, and purposes of documentation is a direct and targeted challenge to temporal ownership as well as the settler need to entrench the present as *a fait*

accompli. By activating the past as a move toward liberated futures, Palestinian and Hawaiian databases and map platforms stand in defiance of settler productions of time.

Chapter 4 builds on the complications presented by indigenous experiences of time and the unconfined temporalities that characterize those experiences by focusing on an international competition for designing the reconstruction of destroyed Palestinian villages. Understanding that indigenous resurgence is not about a return to the past but a way to escape the rigidity of the colonial present, I argue that countermapping by way of imagining future spatial expression is both a form of resurgence and a challenge to the narrative of linear settler time. The practice of designing and planning reconstruction for depopulated and destroyed Palestinian villages across the Israeli settler landscape complicates production of space as it relates to proximity of inhabitants as well as temporality. Until now, mapping "dwelling space" as a "momentary expression…produced in relation and through interaction" has been largely discussed and utilized for existing residential land and shifting paths of plant gathering at rural sites. However, I propose that the concept lends itself particularly well to countermapping efforts by indigenous communities who work to both remember pasts *and* imagine futures.

The indigenous initiatives discussed in chapters 3 and 4 confront the temporal trap of settler regimes by employing historical and imaginative cartographic practices that embrace and insist on better, freer futures for indigenous lives. Chapter 5 poses the potential of understanding direct actions, whether protest or via land restoration, as a category of performative cartography. Indigenous countermapping and performative cartographies have largely been discussed separately, with the former centered on visual textual efforts and the latter a historical assertion of presence and survival of self and knowledge. Missing, however, is the consideration of embodied, performative countermapping – a cartographic challenge to hegemonic, state maps by the

presentation of indigenous bodies in spaces the state has mapped as off limits. Drawing from time at Mauna Kea and with kanaka activists in Oahu as well as interviews with founders of the HuiMAU land initiative in Hawaii, I depict groups and individuals who have centered restoration of plant life and the presence of their bodies to reclaim and recreate indigenous spaces. Connecting these efforts to the Great Return March in Gaza, I posit these efforts should be understood as embodied imagining as much as an act of resistance to occupation.

CHAPTER 2
DECLARING THE ALGERIAN COUNTERSTATE:
MAPPING DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE (1954-1962) [46]

> What cannot be overlooked is what gave maps their ability to embody this novel entity in the first place. Since scholars are unanimous that maps helped to bring the state *into being*–that maps helped *construct* the state–it certainly can't be the map's putative ability to 'represent a part of the earth's surface.' **After all, it was the maps that *conjured up* borders where none had existed; the maps that summoned *unity* from chaos; the maps that *enrobed* the shapeless; that is, the maps that endowed with form what from the beginning had been no more than a dream (the dream of every early modern state).**[47]
>
> - Denis Wood

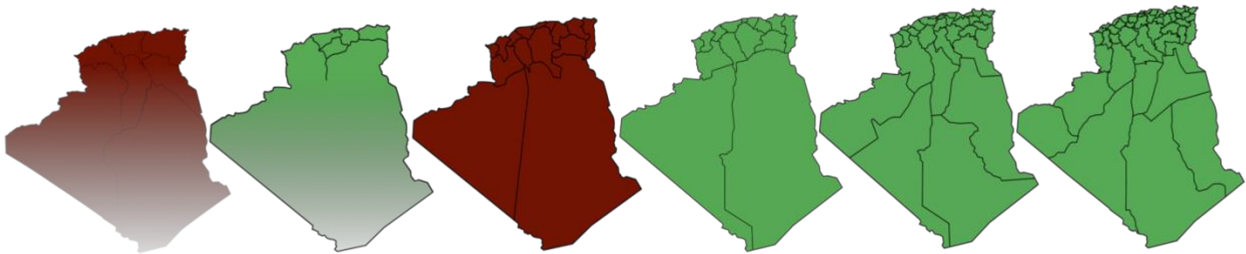

Figure 1. Algeria's Transformation, a six-map series representing French and Algerian mappings (1848-present). [48]

2.1 Introduction

Algeria is often called the country of a million martyrs and has stood as a towering example to many of anticolonial struggle. The Algerian war of independence from 1954 to 1962 left Algerians with a collective claim of sacrifice and wounds that cut deep, with each Algerian finding themselves tied both to significant loss as well as credit for victory. Though some areas saw confrontations with the French more regularly, the geographic distribution of the resistance was

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[46] This chapter is forthcoming in the anthology *Architecture of the Territory: Constructing a National Narrative*, edited by Collective for Architecture-Lebanon.

[47] Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps*, (New York: The Guilford Press, 2010), 33.

[48] These maps are my work and were created using Affinity Designer. Maps 1, 4, 5, and 6 were based off vector versions found online of open-source maps and manipulated accordingly to produce the new images. Maps 2 and 3 had no versions available that could be manipulated; these maps were created from scratch and digitally drawn, cross-referencing historical maps to create a new image for this series. Maps in red represent French mappings and those in green represent mappings by the FLN and independent Algerian state.

cast quite wide. Whether on the borders experiencing the intensity of official French counteroffensive campaigns or in central cities and villages, Algerians throughout the country were very conscious of their relationship to and political roles of the towns, cities, and districts in which they resided. One unique and critical component of the National Liberation Front's (FLN) strategy was the establishment of an Algerian counterstate. This counterstate was not merely theoretical or centered around exile leadership. The FLN decided to map their military operations and leadership structure not in relation to the existing French departments, or provinces, as they currently existed on the colonial map, but instead announced their own Algerian wilaya, redrawing and renaming the districts and provinces in Arabic and with different boundaries.

The intent here is not to lay out an intricate or detailed history of the Algerian revolution or French military offensives. Instead, by examining the mappings, I interrogate key ways that the Algerian wilayas counterposed to French departments were an extension of the larger struggle and competition for power, with the French desperate to hold onto organization and control and Algerians declaring demands for new lives and spaces. These two mappings of the Algerian state did not exist unaware of each other, nor were they (solely) responses to each other. Each set of boundaries was recognized, whether formally or de facto, by the powers that set them, with both settler and indigenous Algerian communities were subject to the happenings of the department and wilaya in which they resided. These mapping practices manifested far beyond the cartographic representation of boundaries. They were the Algerian resistance and colonial French state's contesting expressions of territoriality and aspirations to de/reterritorialize the political and physical landscape of Algeria and France during the war.

Since the French conquest of Algeria in the mid-nineteenth century until as recently as 1984, Algeria has undergone a series of province-based remapping and territorial transformations.

With each phase of mapping Algeria and redrawing its provinces, the French government, the FLN,[49] and the Algerian government after independence made decisions that have worked to both assert and transform a set of social and political conditions. These mapping phases can be broken down (roughly) into: colonial French Algeria prior to the Algerian war for independence (1848-1956); Algeria during the war of independence (1954-1962), and; and independent Algeria after the war (1962-present). For our purposes here, the focus will be on this second phase, the period of two simultaneous and competing territorial assertions during the Algerian war for independence.

2.2 <u>"Reading" the Maps</u>

Moving forward, I try to heed J. Brian Harley's call for the application of two key concepts from critical cartography: maps should be understood as a form of knowledge and power, and they should be read as "thick" texts in the Geertzian sense. Understanding that "maps are never value-free images,"[50] Harley advocates for an approach beyond semiotics: one that examines the language of maps and the discourse of a literature of maps. Practical implication and application of Geertz's call for thick description, taking into account the context that gives meaning, and of Foucault's analysis of knowledge as a form of power has led to a plethora of understandings: maps as a medium of state power, as acts of surveillance, propaganda, boundary making, and more.

Maps can reinforce and create myth, be it the anticipation of empire and the legitimization of conquest or the imagining of an alternative.[51] Harley reminds us though that the "'vocabulary' when reading the map as a text " is a "socially conservative" one.[52] Reading a map for the power present also must be done "specific [to] historical situations," and "concluding generalizations

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[49] National Liberation Front and the main nationalist movement during the Algerian War of Independence.
[50] Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," 129.
[51] Ibid., 129-134
[52] Ibid., 139.

must be read as preliminary ideas for a wider investigation."[53] The goal with this practice is to "move away from a history of maps as a record of the cartographer's intention and technical acts to one which locates the cartographic image *in a social world*."[54]

Harley extends his call to treat maps as texts instead of representations of reality to historical analysis, illuminating lingering problems in historical geography:

> When we decide to make maps—or to plan an atlas—we still do so in good faith that we are going to make some quality in the data, or in the world itself, more objective. Yet the ***mapping of the past is doubly hazardous***. It depends (in many cases) not on the direct observation of something in nature but on the sources which reflect some aspect of a ***vanished nature*** that cannot be verified by direct observation. To make such maps requires a double act of mimetic faith. We are ***always assuming*** that there is a presence to be reached, ***an original which we can copy***, and that our image has established a correspondence with that "reality." ***Through maps, historical geography can succeed, or so it is still widely believed, in its search for the mirror of nature in the world of the past.*** The data map has acquired an authority as a form of representation, a tool of science, which though criticized on points of detail, is seldom attacked on principle.[55]

"Maps are always an *argument*,"[56] and in historical geography they not only encourage a particular reading, but also silence other ones. The "hazardous" nature is perhaps most apparent in the tendency to replace the people of the past with a graphic text that may describe a spatial, but not historical, organization.[57] Despite this critique, Harley does not believe that historical geography needs to abandon maps but that it should use them as gateways for larger exploration, as mediations as opposed to "abstractions of the past."[58]

It is in this vein of conceptualizing maps as mediations and gateways in exploration and with these critical approaches in mind that I attempt to tell the story of a particular historical period

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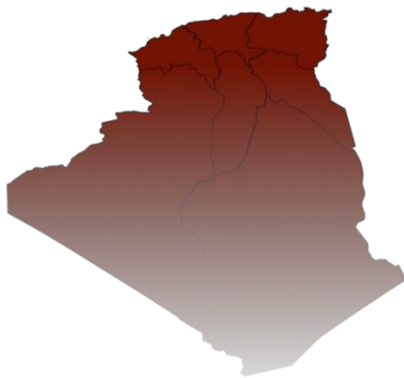
[53] Ibid., 142.
[54] Ibid. [emphasis added]
[55] J. Brian Harley, "Historical Geography and the Cartographic Illusion," *Journal of Historical Geography* 15.1 (1989): 84. [emphasis added]
[56] Ibid., 86. [emphasis added]
[57] Ibid., 87.
[58] Ibid., 84.

of Algeria's map and its province-based transformations.[59] This exploration is guided by the focus on maps as practice, recognizing that maps are always mappings and "being and becoming are not inseparable (part of our being *is* becoming)."[60] Additionally, the questions put forth and subsequent analysis draw inspiration from John Pickles' attention to the role of state-led mapping in territorializing spaces and the capacity of the map to render a disappearance as much as an appearance.[61]

2.3 <u>Mapping Algeria during the War of Independence</u>

<u>Borders before the War</u>



Map 1. 1848-1956 (France)

Before delving specifically into the war period, it is important to provide a brief historical background on the preceding phase of mapping Algeria. Map 1 shows seven clearly marked areas with a gradual fade moving south. This map represents generally the period 1848-1956 for the main provinces; however, the four southern areas were not formalized along these lines until 1905. France made the three northern coastal provinces of Oran, Algiers, and Constantine (east to west) into departments in 1848 and formally incorporated them in 1870. This 1870 incorporation led to the conferral of French citizenship and provided representation in the French National Assembly for European settlers living in these departments. These departments were for all intents and purposes a part of the

[59] I completed a visual mapping of all of the phases (1848-present) as part of another project but have honed in here to develop an analysis on the war phase.
[60] Jeremy W. Crampton, "Cartography: Performative, Participatory, Political," *Progress in Human Geography* 33.6 (2009), 845.
[61] In discussion of Joe Painter and Marcus Doel's work. John Pickles, "On the Social Lives of Maps and the Politics of Diagrams: A Story of Power, Seduction, and Disappearance," *Area* 38.3 (2006), 348-9.

French state.[62] The four Saharan provinces (Ain Sefra, Ghardaia, Touggourt, and Oasis), renamed the Southern Territories in 1902, remained under military control for almost 80 years of the French colonial rule. These southern territories were not departmentalized until 1957, in the territorial reorganization during the war, and its European residents not granted local civil status until 1925.[63]

Despite the slightly later finalization of the Southern Territories' boundaries, this mapping does represent the longest period of unchanged territorial boundaries within Algeria in the series. In doing so, one is presented with a superficial sense of a historical period of stability, especially when placed as the first in a series of remappings. A case can be made that the visual of these larger provinces in comparison to and alongside the proceeding maps especially gloss over two critical factors regarding territorial transformation and control in and of Algeria: (1) the relationship of these departments to the French state and (2) the "slow evolution"[64] of legal classifications and developing bitterness on civilian and military administration. Though these factors remain relevant for future phases, further analysis of them is best left aside as its own project for another time.

[62] S. Dorocki, "A History of Administrative Divisions of Algeria under French Rule," *Studia Historyczne (Historical Studies)* 48.1 (2005), 75.
[63] Prior to 1925, Algerians in the Southern Territories were governed by the Mosaic Personal Status legal regime. Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Dividing South from North: French Colonialism, Jews, and the Algerian Sahara," *The Journal of North African Studies* 17.5 (2012), 775.
[64] L. Gray Cowan, "The New Face of Algeria: Part 1," *Political Science Quarterly* 66.3 (1951), 343.

The Wilaya: Organizing and Territorializing the Algerian Resistance

Map 2. 1954-1962 (FLN)

The six wilaya in Map 2 represent the military zones/regions that corresponded with both the spatial organization as well as political and military leadership of the Algerian resistance during the war of independence.[65] The division of Algeria into these six wilaya was first decided during a July 1954 meeting in Switzerland; a couple of months later, each wilaya was assigned one of the "historic leaders" of the war.[66] These wilaya leaders and the three leaders in Cairo were considered "the collegial directorate of the revolution."[67] Each wilaya was further broken down with a zone, region, sector, and douar and faction. Each of these territorial distinctions also had a designated military and administrative leadership.[68]

In addition to these six wilaya mapped within Algeria, the FLN also designated Paris, a non-Algerian space, as wilaya 7. Jeremy Crampton reminds us, that "territory need not be enclosed and bounded" and that "the 'effects' of the territory extend beyond its borders."[69] Just as France claimed Algeria's departments as part of its sovereign state, proclaiming that the Mediterranean Sea separated it like the Seine runs through Paris, the FLN's choice to place a military region in France challenged the French conception of where the war was to be fought and who has the right to map onto the other. Jim House and Neil Macmaster in the book *Paris 1961*, write of the 7th

[65] William B. Quandt, *Revolution and Political Leadership: Algeria, 1954-1968*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969), 70; Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria 1954-1962*, (New York: Vikin Press, 1977), 83.
[66] Alf Andrew Heggoy, *Insurgency and Countersurgency in Algeria*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1972), 63.
[67] Quandt, *Revolution and Political Leadership*, 93.
[68] Heggoy, *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Algeria*, Chart 6 on 110.
[69] Jeremy W. Crampton, "Cartographic Calculations of Territory," *Progress in Human Geography* 35.1 (2011), 97.

wilaya that: "The underlying logic of the counter-state was to build an embryo Algerian state apparatus, such a level of institutional completeness and political, cultural and social autarky that the immigrants could avoid contact with the surrounding French society and state."[70]

As the formalization, and to some degree institutionalization, of these wilaya progressed, the power which came with overseeing one also grew. Ahmed Ben Bella, who became Algeria's first president and did not attend the foundational and clandestine Congress of Soummam in Algeria in 1956, was later very critical of its decisions and became increasingly concerned. He felt there was "creation of an unwieldy bureaucracy" that left the interior wilayas struggling without arms and supplies; worse, individuals in charge were unaccountable to anyone.[71] Though the wilaya were understood as military regions of the FLN, they were also political territorial units with political officers; over time, internal leadership struggles plagued relationships both within and between wilaya. Additionally, with much of the revolutionary leadership continuing to be in exile and the French border lines (Morice and Challe discussed below), wilayas of the interior also maintained a significant degree of local autonomy.[72]

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[70] *Paris 1961*, p. 66,
[71] Quandt, *Revolution and Political Leadership*,101.
[72] Ibid., 127.

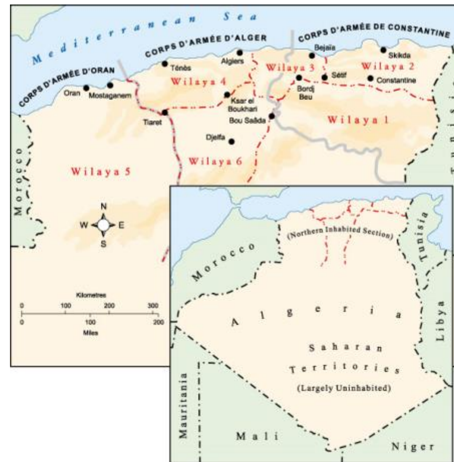


Figure 2. The disposition of the three French core departments and the boundaries of the FLN political-military commands during the Algerian War.[73]

Figure 3. French airfields and Morice Line between Algeria and Tunisia in relation to FLN wilaya borders.[74]

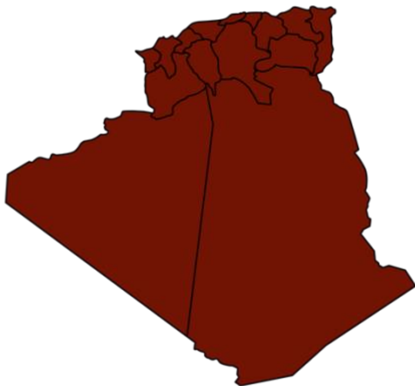
The wilaya also faced varying geographical challenges militarily. For example, though it's true that it was more difficult to get weapons to the interior wilayas (the political critique made by leaders like Ben Bella), border wilayas also paid a high price while fighting the French border offensives. The Morice Line, seen to the east, and the Challe Line (not mapped above, but similarly to the West bordering Morocco), was intended to cut the rebels off from arms being smuggle across the Tunisian and Moroccan borders and resulted in tens of thousands of Algerian rebel casualties.

[73] Map by Christopher Johnson, as cited and published in Pierre Pahlavi "Political Warfare is a Double-Edged Sword: The Rise and Fall of the French Counter-Insurgency in Algeria."
[74] Source: Creative Commons.

Despite this, the resistance cited that the highest rate of recruitment of fighters was at the height of these French offensives.[75]

Mapping Algeria for themselves, establishing the wilaya with boundaries not in accordance with the three French departments and setting a corresponding political structure within those new boundaries, was an incredible way for the Algerian resistance to territorialize themselves. That the territorial breakdown within each wilaya corresponded with a known leadership also grounded the resistance within the communities in which they operated. This "exercise of territoriality" by an organization reflects "two major dimensions of territoriality: conceptions of territoriality and tactics of territoriality."[76] The FLN posed a challenge to the French conception of how Algerian territory is divided, forcing French military engagement with their territoriality.

The Fifteen French Departments: Reorganizing Colonial Bureaucracy



Map 3. 1956-1962 (France)

Though the French 1956 mapping (Map 3) was not a response to the six wilaya per se, it was largely a result of and an attempt to deal with the rebellion which began in 1954. The French territorial reorganization of Algeria into fifteen departments was a central component of a series of changes, all of which were meant to slow the revolution and national independence movement.[77] The reorganization was ordered on June 29, 1956, and on the following day, the hated "communes mixtes" were also abolished. The two-college (electoral) system—in which the first electoral college represented the Europeans and

[75] Horne, *A Savage War of Peace*, 264 and 321.
[76] Yosef Jabareen, "The Emerging Islamic State: Terror, Territoriality, and the Agenda of Social Transformation," *Geoforum* 58 (2015), 52.
[77] Heggoy, *Insurgency and Countersurgency in Algeria*, 151.

the second the Muslims (giving one European vote the weight of eight Algerian ones)[78]—was also abolished on the municipal level.[79] However, since the system continued at the national level, the FLN continued to assert the Algerians' status as second-class citizens. This assertion was both rhetorical as well as violent in attempts to prevent collaboration with the French.[80]

Economically speaking, the creation of additional departments also meant the creation of a sprawling and visible administration, and with it an ability to employ the local population. With more "civil servants, the government not only spread its influence but took a step forward in the struggle against the low income and widespread unemployment that plagued the natives."[81] The increase was not limited to the number of jobs, but also opened more management and executive positions opening to Algerians, supplemented by a raise in the legal minimum wage for rural agricultural workers. Because the original departments were so minimal (three), it was also easier to multiply from within them, with multiple metropolitan cities that could stand as departments in their own right in terms of both size and population.

Though France's remapping can seem, on the surface, as more of a political counterinsurgency, the French army was very involved in the territorial reorganization and creation of a system of Special Administrative Sections (SAS).[82] The exponential increase of SAS throughout the country severely hindered the ability of the resistance to operate in villages with the freedom they once had. Rebel factions found themselves hiding and moving in the mountains between cave systems.[83]

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[78] Ibid., 144.
[79] Ibid., 151.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid., 149.
[82] Ibid., 146.
[83] Horne, *A Savage War of Peace*, 254.

2.4 Conclusion

To a large degree, France creating the new fifteen departments is a significant exercise of territoriality, as are the FLN's wilaya. However, it is also an example of a territoriality that is not an effect solely of aggression, but one made by "expressive qualities, selected or produced."[84] Though the original example is animals, the premise that Deleuze and Guattari insist upon illuminates a critical point: a thesis which assumes aggression as the instinct to preserve also assumes the presence of a territory rather than explains it; i.e. assuming that the aggressor is [already] in "familiar territory."[85]

In this case, to frame or understand France's territoriality merely as an aggression meant to preserve control is too narrow a view. It does not take into account the French tactic of creation or its presence on a territory that it would be incredibly precarious to describe as "familiar." It is necessary to understand of how the colonial state structures its authority on the ground,[86] but even more crucial and carried out less is seeking to understand how "the territoriality of the colonial state, was not the background to colonial politics, but a key condition of possibility/or colonial politics."[87] In other words, these maps and borders are not abstract representations of political realities but are expressions of political production. In this sense, the wilaya served as a substantial Algerian challenge to French spatial authority, and in turn, began to break the colonial condition of possibility. The FLN not only put forth, not just a theoretical independence, but also so effectively showed people the material and spatial imagining of a future map come to life, that they declared new conditions of possibility.

[84] Gary Genosko, "A Bestiary of Territoriality and Expression," in *A Shock to Thought: Expression after Deleuze and Guattari*, ed. Brian Massumi (New York: Routledge, 2002), 58.
[85] Ibid., 48
[86] Henry Sivak, "Law, Territory, and the Legal Geography of French Rule in Algeria: The Forestry Doman, 1830-1903" (PhD diss, University of California Los Angeles, 2008), 45.
[87] Ibid., 46.

Epilogue: An Independent Algeria: Wilaya for a New Economy

Maps 4 (1962-74), 5 (1974-83), and 6 (1984-Present) – the final three images in the Figure 1 series are all territorial representations and mappings set post-independence by the Algerian state. For the first 12 years, there was very little change from the French department boundaries set during the war except for some slight boundary differentiation in the Saharan departments, Tiaret, and Medea.

This decision to largely leave the 1956 French reorganization intact was not an enthusiastic one. The Algerian government maintained after independence that the French "reasons behind the laying out of the administrative boundaries of the departments were not intended to facilitate economic progress or administration. The goal was rather to ensure the control and repression of the local population."[88] Despite this, they also asserted that it would have been "too difficult at the outset, in the first years of independence, to remedy this situation."[89] Instead, in the late 1960s and through the early 1970s, they developed a Wilaya Code that provided for a national commission assigned with setting out new territorial units "which might contribute to improving the natural geographic and economic structure of the communes and wilayas."[90] With this new organization also came a four-year plan, dovetailing in a critical part of post-independence reconstruction and state formation. The wilaya itself was viewed and presented rhetorically as a living democratic institution, with a part to play in every aspect of Algerian life.[91]

[88] Algerian Ministry of Information, *The Wilaya* (1973), 65
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid., 26.

In 1974, the 15 departments became 31 wilaya, and ten years later, in 1984, again multiplied as Algeria was redrawn and organized into 48 wilaya. Information for these final two mappings, particularly the most recent, is scant and largely involves political and economic factors, some need- and some favor-based. It is clear, however, that the current 48 wilaya are mostly centered around the presence of an urban center, with a majority of the remapping is focused on the more urbanized northern population centers.

CHAPTER 3
FROM PALESTINE TO HAWAI'I:
ARCHIVING INDIGENOUS SPATIAL HISTORIES IN THE PRESENT

3.1 Introduction

Throughout history and across various colonial regimes, maps and mapping have played an integral role in the creation, development, and dismantlement of social and political spaces. Maps portray a set of geographical imaginaries. As children, we are taught to find ourselves on maps, to tie identities to place and expect these places to affirm our presence in them. But what if one is unable to find themselves on a map? For indigenous communities in settler colonial societies, maps rarely include them, let alone affirm past presence on the land or continued existence. Dominant state maps replace indigenous spatial histories and knowledge with settler imaginaries and private property systems, reinforcing geographic narratives of discovery and progress. However, mapping is not necessarily a unidirectional or top-down process, nor is it inherently a practice of documenting a past or present.

In Hawai'i and Palestine, projects to gather colonial maps, document native place names, and revive indigenous mapping practices and spatial histories are not undertaken and tucked away for the mere sake of documentation. They are part and parcel of ongoing political projects and movements seeking to remap what was destroyed and rebuild new life in those spaces. Countermapping initiatives that involve or start as largely archiving projects develop imaginative cartographies and become – for makers and users – tools of decolonial praxis. This chapter examines several initiatives of countermapping via archiving and digitization and explores them as subversive methods and actions of indigenous resurgence. What becomes apparent when looking at projects like Palestine Open Maps (POM) by Visualizing Palestine and the Papakilo and Kipuka databases by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is that a wide network of sources

informs their development and that such databases have come to play a unique role in the indigenous communities and movements of which they are a part.

Physical archives often conjure an image of large rooms in distant locales, rows of shelved files, and stacks of old, dusty documents to be painstakingly sorted. These digital platforms on the other hand provide aesthetically vibrant interfaces, open access to the larger public regardless of location, and a vested interest in growing via user input. Both initiatives highlight a longer trajectory of indigenous research and a dozen or more other archives, oral history collections, land surveys, property deeds, and more. These sources form images not only of a robust indigenous past tied to place but the potential for a decolonized future that considers more than "locational values."[92] Archiving indigenous spatial histories, in turn, fills a present and future landscape that imagined settler geographies have insisted were permanently emptied.

One of the countless contradictions of colonial modes of domination is the colonizer's love of archives and "of preserving – not Indigenous peoples themselves, but a *record* of them."[93] In order to legitimize its present, colonial regimes craft a temporality that limits the past's relationship to the future. This paradox manifests in the archival realm as meticulous documentation and simultaneous dismissal – confining the past to a moment and insisting on its irrelevance for the future. In the settler colonial context, indigenous communities that actively employ memory to counter claims of settler discovery are accused of refusing to move forward and are re-relegated to the past when addressing *present* struggles and *future* potential. However, these settler attempts at controlling temporal application are more than obfuscations of ongoing histories. They are also reflections of distinct experiences of time.

[92] Kale Hannahs, Interview with Papakilo and Kipuka team at Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), 31 October 2019.
[93] J.J. Ghaddar, "The Spectre in the Archive: Truth, Reconciliation, and Indigenous Archival Memory," *Archivaria* (2016): 23.

As discussed throughout this dissertation and at length in the following chapter, Indigenous duration not only affirms survival, but it also embraces an unconfined temporality. It is a state of *living through* and *in* the past and future *daily*, with every moment inextricable from the other. Just as settler colonialism "destroys to replace"[94] indigenous spaces, it does the same with producing time. More than historical erasure or extending dispossession to the archive, it refuses the possibility of an indigenous future because it would be forced to reckon with its own failures. The pathological denial here is not without purpose. An essential component to settler colonialism's logic of elimination and the structured, ongoing nature of settler invasion is destroying any holistic temporality that allows for and works toward indigenous futures.

Part of that colonial love of archive, of preserving a *record* of Indigenous people is that "the scientific and commercial value of that record resides in the fact that it could never be duplicated."[95] Indigenous archiving defies this belief. The indigenous labor of building databases of colonial materials and indigenous knowledge and the consequence of redefining terms, limits, and purposes of documentation is a direct and targeted challenge to temporal ownership as well as the settler need to entrench the present as *a fait accompli*. If considering the territoriality of states in historical context is meant to break the binding of the territorial trap,[96] then indigenous activation of pasts as a move toward liberated futures shatters the settler colonial temporal trap.

3.2 <u>Settler Colonialism's Structural Formation and Driving Logic</u>

As a founding theorist of settler colonial studies, Patrick Wolfe is famously known for his understanding of settler colonial invasion as "a structure not an event."[97] These five words are

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[94] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and Elimination of the Native," 388.
[95] Ghaddar, "Spectre in the Archive," 23.
[96] John Agnew, "The territorial trap: The geographical assumptions of international relations theory," *Review of International Political Economy* 1.1 (1994): 53-80.
[97] Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (New York: Cassell, 1999), 2.

likely quoted more than any other description of settler colonialism,[98] and yet frequently, the "invasion is" preceding them is left off. That the settlers "come to stay"[99] and that the *invasion* is ongoing, incomplete, and systemic is particularly salient for considerations of spatial ramifications. This structural reality also speaks to the challenges for those concerned with decolonization and transforming settler colonial societies. Justice here necessitates dismantling (and ideally reformulating) a spatial and temporal process still in motion, not ending or rectifying one moment of invasion.

The logic of elimination is a key feature of the invasion and settler colonization process. Wolfe's "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" not only defines and explicates this driving logic, but in the process of doing so also brings to the surface serious implications for the society it creates. In this structure, he identifies land's indispensable connection to life as the basis for the "inherently eliminatory" tendency of settler colonialism.[100] When it comes to the elimination of indigenous peoples, their presence on the land – an impediment to the settler's "access to territory" – is the "primary motive for elimination. *Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element*."[101] Like settler colonialism more broadly, this elimination is not a one-time event with a clear beginning and end. Instead, it is what he describes as "an organizing principle of settler colonial society," which seeks to destroy with the purpose of replacing with something else.[102]

The ways that European settlers "discovered" new worlds and instituted legal regimes differentiating between *dominion* and native *occupancy* of lands highlights the centrality of this

[98] For example - at a recent (2017) conference on race and settler colonialism at UCLA, of nine presentations, only one professor did not use this quote as foundational to their argument.
[99] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Transformation," 2.
[100] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 387.
[101] Ibid., 388. Emphasis added.
[102] Ibid., 388.

eliminatory and founding organizing principle. Dominion implied sovereignty, which belonged only to the Europeans.[103] The rhetorical and legal evolution of *terra nullius* (despite intent) to incorporate sovereignty moved the conversation of "just" conquest from a question of individual to collective rights. By requiring recognition of sovereignty, the custom now served as a declaration that certain "empty" territories could be occupied.[104] In her seminal work "Whiteness as Property," Harris reminds us of the precarious relationship between custom, command, and law.

> "Indian custom was obliterated by force and replaced with the regimes of common law that embodied the customs of the conquerors. The assumption of American law as it related to Native Americans was that conquest *did* give rise to sovereignty. Indians experienced the property laws of the colonizers and the emergent American nation as acts of violence perpetuated by the exercise of power and ratified through the rule of law."[105]

Unlike new immigrants to an existing state, settlers are not subject to indigenous law but seek to create and "become the law."[106] In order for settlers to make a place home, they must "destroy and disappear"[107] the native population on the land. One key process in setting up the structure of settler colonialism is remaking land into (a certain kind of) property and a person's relationship to land contingent on land tenure.[108] Moreover, this disappearing also removes the rightful landlords and rent collectors who would otherwise acquire profits from these, now colonial, lands.[109]

In addition to overt violence and death, the logic of elimination also manifests in removal and assimilation. Wolfe powerfully makes the case that assimilation is "beyond any doubt…a kind

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[103] Ibid., 391.
[104] Andrew Fitzmaurice, "The Genealogy of Terra Nullius," *Australian Historical Studies* 129 (2007), 12.
[105] Cheryl Harris, "Whiteness as Property," *Harvard Law Review* 106.8 (1993), 1727.
[106] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, & Society* 1.1 (2012), 6
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid., 5.
[109] Mira Vimalassery, "The Wealth of the Natives: Toward a Critique of Settler Colonial Political Economy," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3.3-4 (2013), 304.

of death."[110] Citing the brutality of the 1838 Trail of Tears, which followed Andrew Jackson's 1830 Indian Removal Act, he also points to those few natives who were spared. These men were seen as separate from their collective by virtue of their individual and not tribal ownership of land. Quoting General Sheridan ("The only good Indian is a dead Indian.") and boarding school founder Richard Pratt ("Kill the Indian in him and save the man."), Wolfe includes assimilation as a critical component to his discussion of elimination and genocide. Further, he rejects the specification of "cultural genocide" for its role in confusing definition with degree. For Wolfe, though such "hyphenated" genocide is certainly present in historical examples of settler colonialism, understanding it in a framework of elimination allows for a larger category that encapsulates the desire to remove owners of territory (via multiple means).[111] The utility of this framework speaks again to the broader nature of settler colonialism as structure and not event, finally leaving us with Wolfe's suggestion of "structural genocide."[112] Such a term not only removes debates on degree of killing or hierarchy of the victims, but it historicizes in a way that allows for development and formation of a particular context.[113]

These eliminatory practices are at the heart of core elements of settler colonialism and are fundamentally concerned with space, mapping, territory, and expansion – key geographic principles and frameworks. While geographers have not been absent from the study of settler colonialism and settler states, current engagement has dealt mainly with factors such as race,[114]

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[110] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 397.
[111] Ibid., 402.
[112] Ibid., 403.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Anne Bonds and Joshua Inwood, "Beyond White Privilege: Geographies of White Supremacy and Settler Colonialism," *Progress in Human Geography* 40.6 (2016): 715-733; Laura Pulido "Geographies of Race and Ethnicity III: Settler Colonialism and Nonnative People of Color," *Progress in human Geography* (2017): 1-10; Sarah A. Radcliffe "Geography and Indigeneity I: Indigeneity, Coloniality, and Knowledge," *Progress in Human Geography* 41.2 (2017): 220-229; Radcliffe, "Geography and Indigeneity II: Critical Geographies of Indigenous Bodily Politics," *Progress in Human Geography* (2017): 1-10; Wendy S. Shaw, RDK Herman, and G. Rebecca Dobbs, "Encountering Indigeneity: Re-imagining and Decolonizing Geography," *Geografiska Annaler* 88B.3

historical-legal questions regarding property,[115] and preliminary questions in urban studies on re-conceptualizing ideas of the colonial city.[116] Veracini charges more pointedly that historical geography has focused on settlement patterns and migration while largely disregarding settler colonialism as an interpretive category, adding that "settler colonialism is traditionally attributed an excess of geography and a corresponding paucity of history."[117] He argues this combination has resulted in a neglect of "settler colonialism's geographical specificity," a structural process that empties the landscape before it reorganizes it.[118]

Cartography does more than give visual form to this erasure and creation; it resets the clock on the life of the state and the story it tells about itself. Audra Simpson eloquently asks, in her conclusion to *Mohawk Interruptus*:

> "How to stop a story that is always being told? Or, how to change a story that is always being told? The story settler-colonial nation states tend to tell about themselves is that they are new; they are beneficent; they have successfully 'settled' all issues prior to their beginning. If in fact, they acknowledge having complicated beginnings, forceful beginnings, what was there before that process occupies a shadowy space of reflection; … Indians, or Native people, are not imagined to flourish, let alone push or interrupt the stories that are being told."[119]

(2006): 267-276; Audra Simpson's 2015 International Conference of Critical Geography keynote address "We are Not Red Indians (We Might all be Red Indians): Anticolonial Sovereignty across the Borders of Time, Place, and Sentiment," and sessions on "Imperialism, Settler Geographies, and Indigenous Sovereignty: Learning from *Red Skin, White Masks*" and "Settler Colonial Geographies" at 7th ICCG "Precarious Radicalism on Shifting Grounds: Towards a Politics of Possibility."

[115] Nicholas Blomley, *Unsettling the City: Urban Land and the Politics of Property* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Cole Harris "How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from and Edge of Empire," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94.1 (2004); Jeremy J. Schmidt "Bureaucratic Territory: First Nations, Private Property, and 'Turn-Key' Colonialism in Canada," *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* (2018).

[116] Noura Alkhalili "'A Forest of Urbanization': camp Metropolis in the Edge Areas," *Settler Colonial* (2017); David Hugill "What is a Settler-Colonial City?" *Geography Compass* (2017); Libby Porter and Oren Yiftachel "Urbanizing Settler-Colonial Studies: Introduction to the Special Issue," *Settler Colonial Studies* (2017); 2015 ICCG session "City as site of Decolonization;" Nour Joudah, "Intervention – Gaza as Site and Method: The Settler Colonial City with Settlers," *Antipode Online* (24 August 2020).

[117] Lorenzo Veracini, "The Imagined Geographies of Settler Colonialism," In *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place, and Identity*, edited by Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 190.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus*, 177.

What she shows of course, as do innumerable indigenous scholars and peoples, are unending and ongoing interruptions that stand in the face of settler invasion and its timeline. The databases and platforms I discuss in this chapter exemplify such interruptions to the settler story, but moreover, they repurpose the past with the same tool that was used to establish that story. By operationalizing colonial archival materials, they cause users to not only face settler "beginnings," but also understand that those spaces are not removed from the contemporary ones they inhabit.

3.3 The Websites and Meeting the Teams

For both projects, my inquiry started with a deep delve into the sites themselves from a user perspective. Several hours clicking through map layers and pages of searchable collections quickly revealed a picture far beyond the presentation of a simple database or series of digitized maps. Accordingly, my requests for interviews[120] about both projects were immediately suggested by the creators to be group meetings and both invitations to homes and offices were to sit with as much of the team as they could gather. Whether it was the team at the OHA office taking their lunch breaks and longer to sit and share with me or the POM team serving endless tea and snacks at one of their homes, the groups made sure I was clear on two critical points: these projects are incomplete and ongoing, and it is for kanaka and Palestinians to decide their full purpose.

Palestine Open Maps (POM)

Palestine Open Maps describes itself as a "platform for map-based exploration and immersive storytelling."[121] The site provides an open-source and searchable viewer made up of

[120] Quotes and discussions below from interviews with POM and OHA teams, 5 April and 31 October 2019 respectively.
[121] "About," Palestine Open Maps, https://palopenmaps.org/about.

maps from the 1870s, the British Mandate period, and an Israeli state map from 1951. In an ongoing effort, they are also combining these with "other available data sources, such as the 1945 Village Statistics, historic photography, oral histories, and present-day digital maps and data." In curating this interactive site, they state that the "platform seeks to offer an invaluable resource for mapping the transformation in the human geography of historic Palestine over the past 70+ years."[122]

The 1940s British Survey of Palestine maps are a large collection of hundreds of separate sheets and cover the Mandate territory at scales of 1:20,000, 1:100,000, and 1:250,000. The maps include topographical elements and physical geography, population centers, roads, property boundaries, agricultural land usage, and much more. They were digitized by the Israeli national library, but were difficult to navigate despite being in the public domain, and their utility was severely hindered by an inability to search the maps easily for specific information or view them holistically. Ahmad Barclay explained, "for whatever reason, they decided to put it online in a viewer. So, you could see these individual map sheets just in this kind of big collection. And you could look at individual sheets and they're coded and named but not in a kind of way that it is accessible. You couldn't download in high resolution, only look inside the little viewer.…so I personally became on a mission to get a hold of these sheets in high resolution."

Figure 4 is an visualization of the sheets laid out next to a Survey key, showing the piecemeal nature and inability to view as a whole. Even in the survey's most detailed scale, each village has to be located in relation to major points.

[122] Ibid.

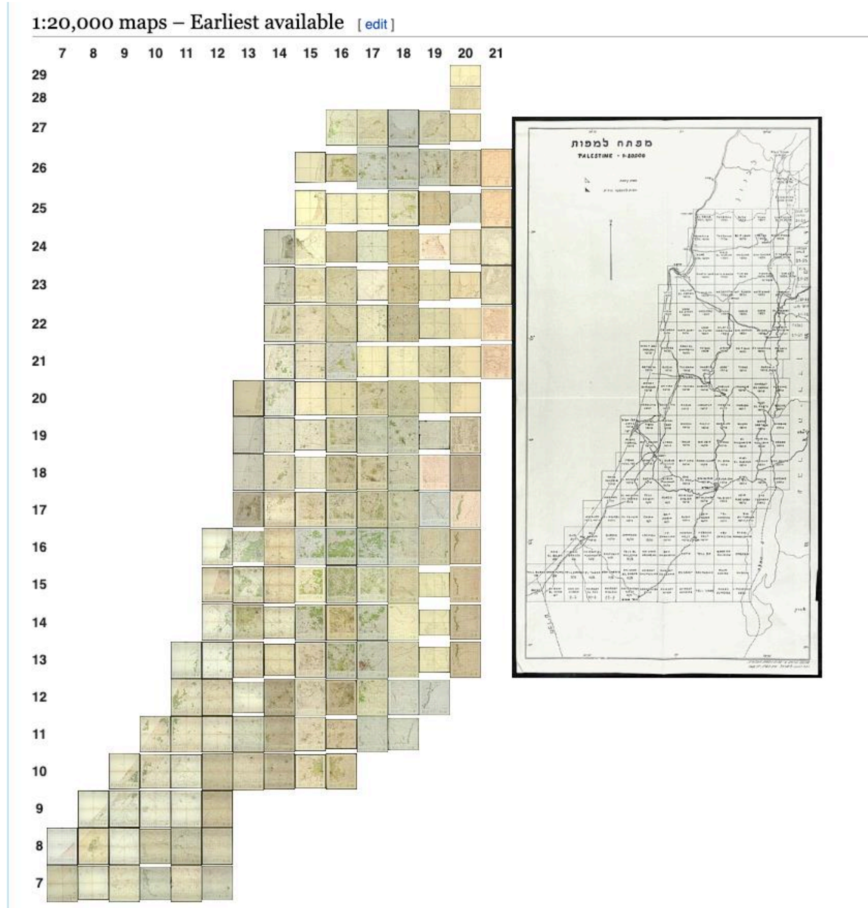

Figure 4. Visualization of individual British Survey sheets with key.[123]

When a colleague from Visualizing Palestine saw how invested Ahmad was in finding ways to download these maps, they suggested he put a brief together for a workshop in Amman at Impact Data Lab. As a result, a team came together that was interested in doing this work and POM began their endeavor by combining the sheets into seamless layers that can be navigated online.

In the figures 5 and 6 of the POM viewer seen below, the user – when selecting "combined maps" from all the survey years and scales – glides seamlessly as they zoom in and out from the southern coast at 1:100,000 to Gaza city at 1:20,000. The viewer offers contemporary Google satellite imagery overlay as well as notations for which villages remain, were depopulated,

[123] Screenshot from Wikipedia "Survey of Palestine." Key and map source: Survey of Palestine.

depopulated and appropriated, built over, etc. Users can also zoom in and out to click on areas of the map and download sheets of that area at multiple scales.

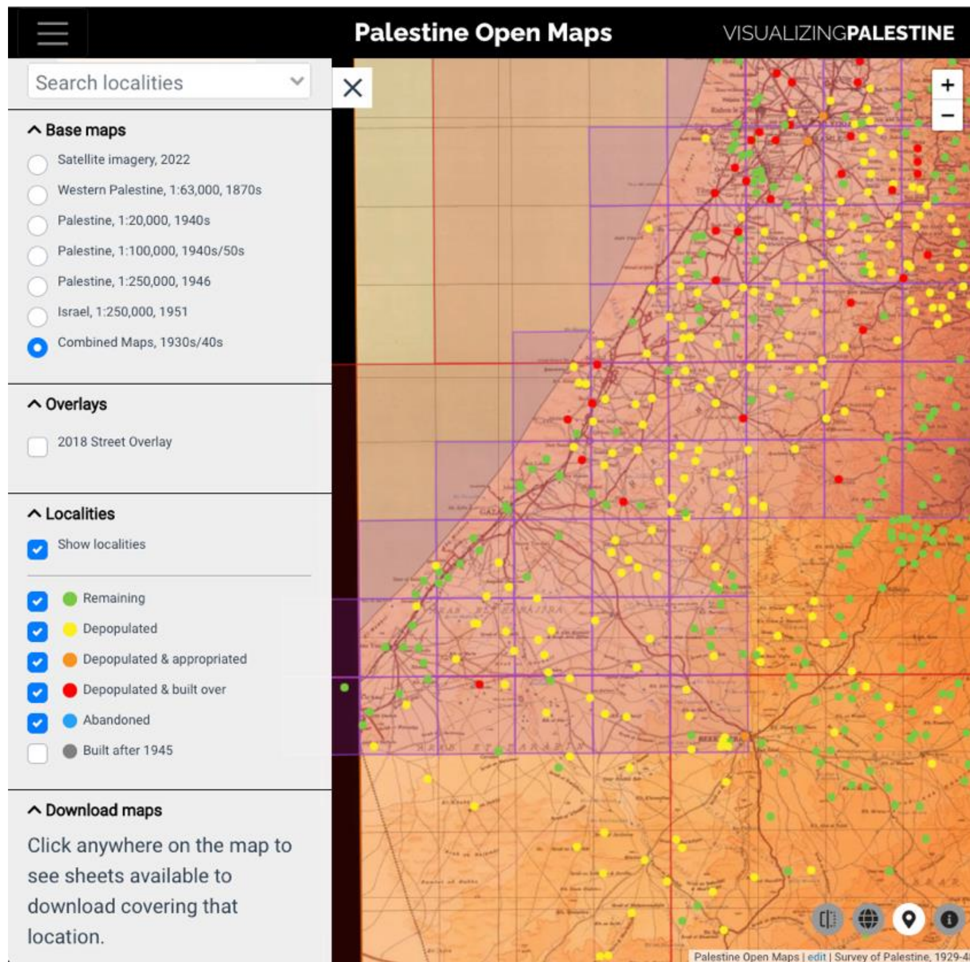

Figure 5. POM viewer, selected for combined maps and showing all localities. Screenshot.

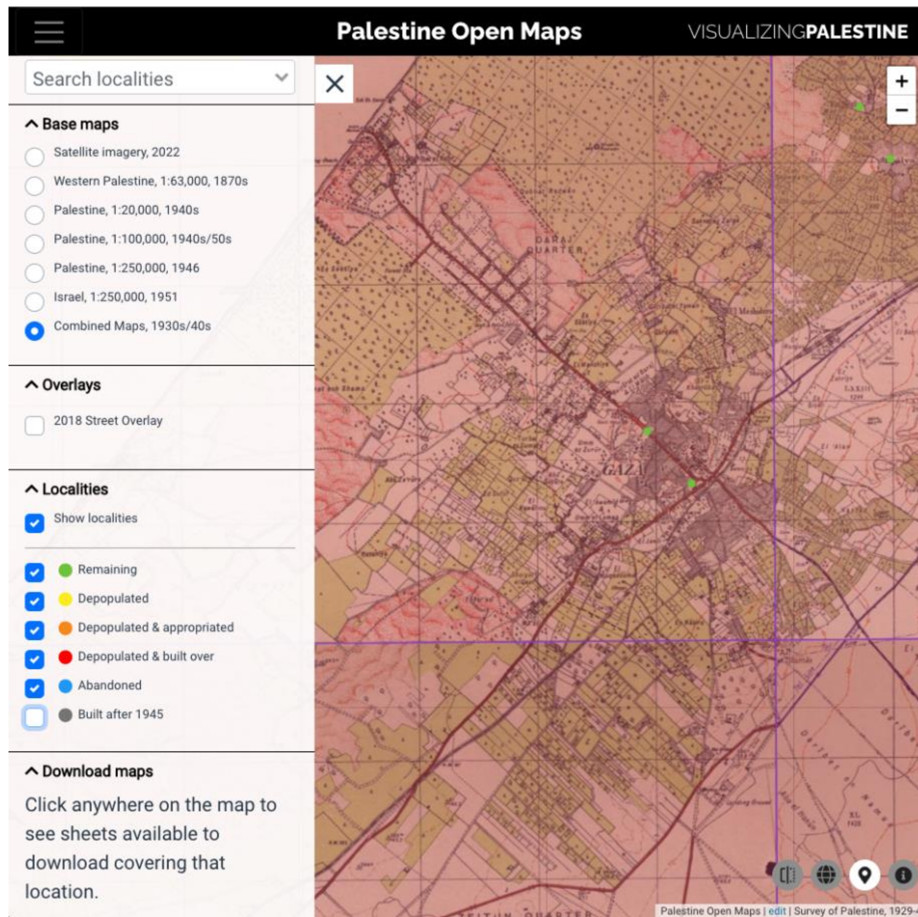

Figure 6. POM viewer, selected for combined maps and zoomed in on Gaza. Screenshot.

A majority of the maps consist of the 155 sheets in the 1:20,000 Survey set, mostly from the early 1940s. The 1870 maps from the Palestine Exploration Fund had already been georeferenced by the Stanford Rumsey Center and were more easily available to download and create a merged set from more easily. Ahmad Barclay explained that the process for the other base map layers was much more involved, but straightforward. The maps are measured and triangulated in detail on a grid that can be recognized by various GIS software; if you can match the corners of the sheets, you can layer, he clarified. Though the workshop got them started, much of the work users see on the platform today was put in by Majd Shihabi, Hanan Yazigi, Morad Taleeb, and many others.

Majd helped launch POM as part of a "Free Culture" fellowship named after his friend and colleague, Bassel Khartabil, a Palestinian-Syrian arrested and killed by the Assad regime. As a free culture activist, working on open-source tools and free access to information, friends of Khartabil's at Wikimedia, Creative Commons, and Mozilla got together and created the fellowship. Majd was the first recipient and chose Palestine Open Maps as his main initiative. Majd in particular leads the effort to vectorize the historic map sheets using the Open Street Maps (OSM) infrastructure and to do so in global mapathon events. Majd explained, "the maps are all raster, pictures of paper maps…[but] they contain a lot of valuable information that we could analyze using GIS tools…they could be more useful if you have access to the content *in* them."

Majd explained in our Beirut meeting that he's had participants as young as 15 and as old as their late 70s. Holding mapathons everywhere from the Bourj al-Shamaly refugee camp in Lebanon to London, Cambridge, Beirut, and Milan, each event seems to serve a different audience but with a similar purpose. The one in Milan, held only several weeks before I met with the team in April 2019, had no Palestinians in attendance except for Majd, but he shared that excitement was so off the charts that the venue had to force the event to end a half hour after schedule because they needed to close. Interest varies from those who have a love of mapping, open data projects, architects and academics, to some who simply found it therapeutic to sit and vectorize details. Some participants, members of what they call the h.o.t. team, continue to vectorize after mapathons. Despite all these events and interest, Ahmad tells me that maybe only 5-10% of the maps are vectorized today.

Even as a geographer, it was difficult for me to picture the vectorization process and its potential until I saw it in person at a mapathon event in Amman. As folks shuffled into the beautiful stone gallery space, young Palestinian students and aunts and parents coming with their nieces and

children socialized over coffee and tea and shared village names and family histories. Several attendees were American or European and excited to explore the platform and do some work on an area of interest. As promised from our conversation in Beirut, Majd and Ahmad showed how almost anyone with a fifteen-minute training can use the basic version of OSM with editor. After Majd's introduction and no need to download any software, participants opened a URL browser and spent several hours vectorizing either a selected village or category (e.g railways, roads, buildings, etc.) across a wider space. Palestinians were encouraged to work on and explore their villages and all participants were urged to select areas that had not been heavily worked on.

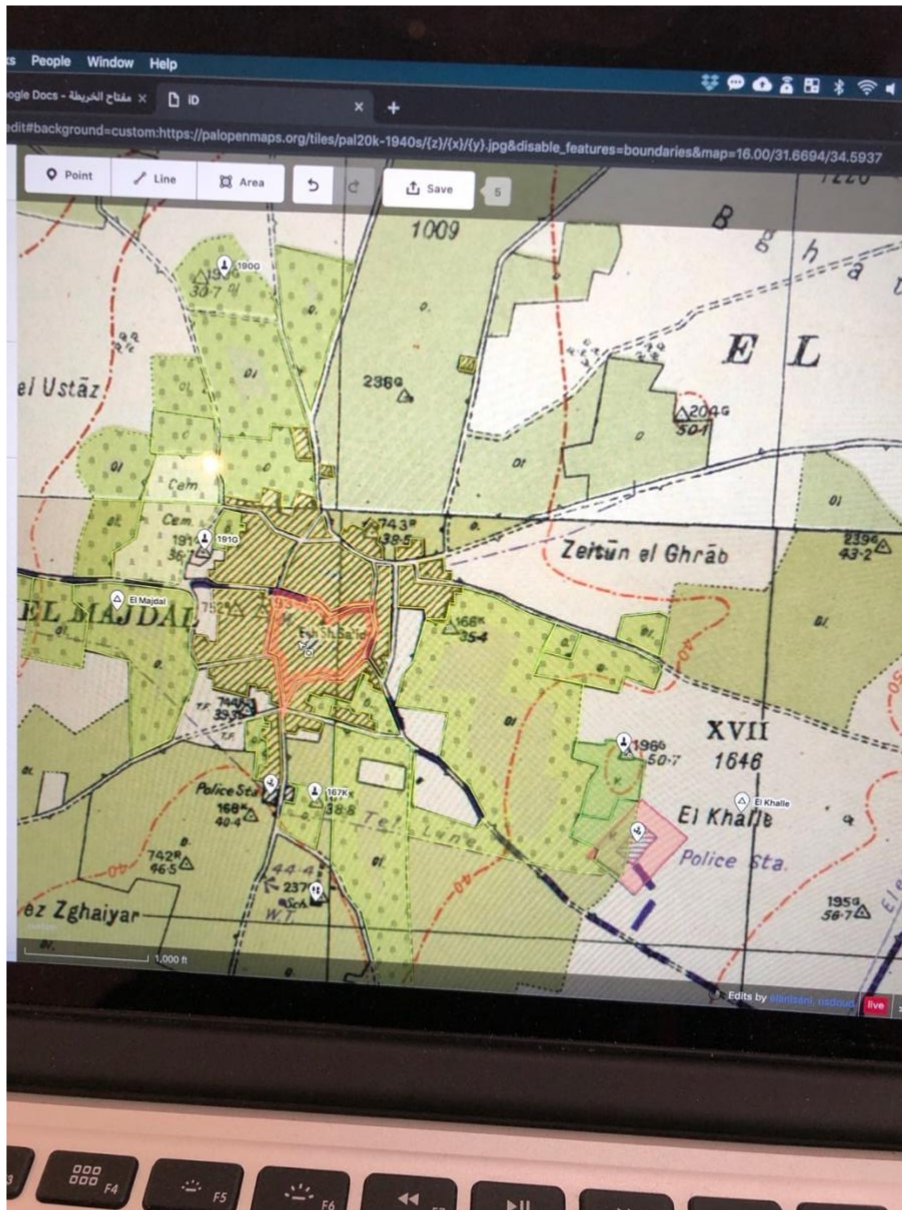

Figure 7. Photo of active vectorization, author's personal laptop screen at Amman Mapathon, April 2019.

The POM team places these events and reaching larger numbers of people is a main goal and motivator. Enthusiastically citing the impressive work of Salman Abu Sitta and the Palestine Land Society (PLS) as a parent of the project, they see their platform as an open source and expanding way to pull in people globally. There is nothing to purchase and no segmented archive to dig through, only one searchable viewer which incorporates both PLS's village database as well

as the colonial maps. Hannah Barakat at Brown University, in her thesis *Roots and Routes*, describes POM as mirroring the "ontologies of a mesh network, comprised of relationships between *individuals*, *digital tools*, and *decentralized systems* of processing information."[124] She explains that the work is "not a reaction but a continuation of Palestinian epistemologies," creating digital spatial networks comprised of decades of indigenous records and initiatives. Everything from the sources that inform POM to the user-based information the platform intends to grow around reflects its desire and mission to record and activate Palestinian spatial knowledge.

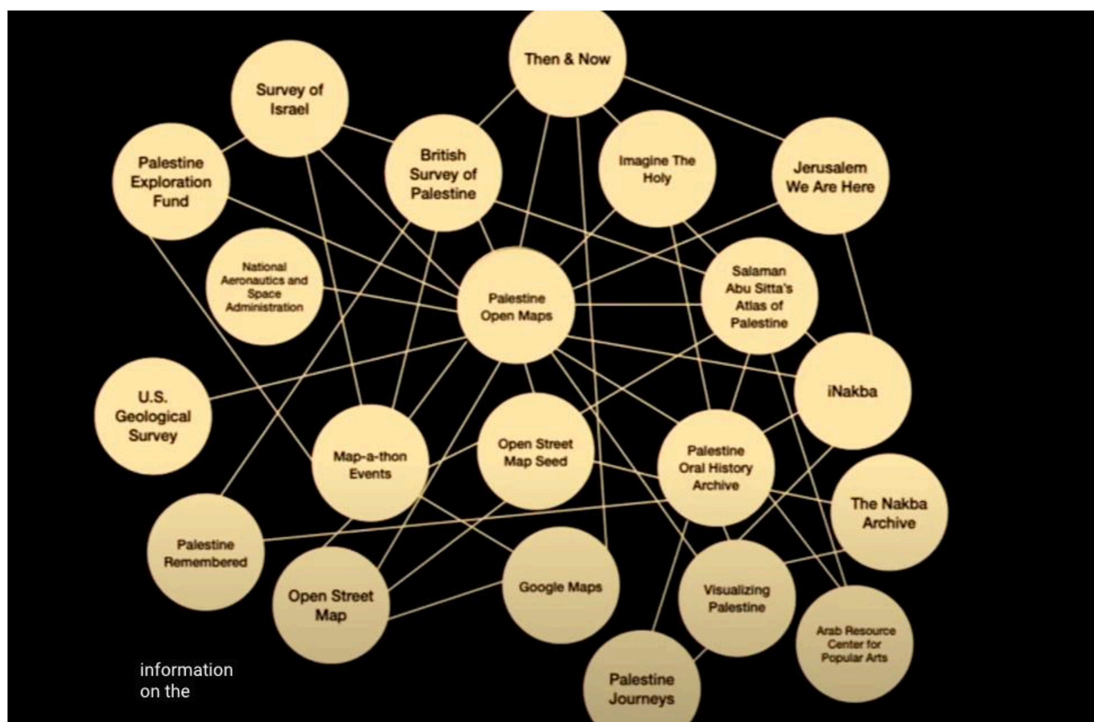

Figure 8. Network informing POM. Screenshot from Barakat thesis presentation.

<u>*Papakilo and Kipuka Databases*</u>

The Papakilo database, which also houses the map-based Kipuka database, began as an attempt to better manage compliance reports at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). These are

[124] Hanna Barakat, "Roots and Routes: Palestinians navigating Im/mobility and Making Space Amidst Fragmentation" (BA Honors Thesis, Brown University, 2022), 16.

one of OHA's main mandates is these compliance reports, which also include reviews of environmental assessments, environment impact statements, cultural impact statements, repatriation of items and lands, and other kanaka related matters. As a self-described "quasi-government agency that represents Native Hawaiians," they started creating a database of all these reports as early as the 1960s. Undertaking reports, they would find themselves going to state archives, museums, and other agencies with land records and wanted to create a database that would help them manage this plethora of records and reports, which contained large volumes of historical and contemporary data. The result is a site that today that allows users to search land records, Hawaiian language newspapers, genealogical archives, as well as by location and place name. Similarly to the mesh network that Barakat describes informing POM, the Papakilo database includes almost 20 collections from partner organizations and libraries and continues to grow. In 2021 Papakilo celebrated their tenth anniversary, but the digitization efforts began as early as 2006.

Figure 9. Papakilo database searchable collections.

Figure 10. Papakilo database homepage, special searches.

Kale Hannahs explained that while "initially, we wanted to kind of make it very map-based…we started dealing with a lot of collections that didn't have any locational value" and quickly identified a need to expand the project. In particular, he pointed to the Hawaiian language newspaper collection, which spans over 100 years (from the 1830s to the 1940s). These newspapers were "populated by the general community…people wrote in"… "it's kind of like social media now" with a snapshot of everything from gossip to records of beautiful genealogies and chants. As the OHA team realized the wide expanse of sources that would go into building this community archive, the Kipuka database became one of several projects under the Papakilo umbrella. With Zach S. and his team focusing on the mapping side, Papakilo became a repository from which Kipuka could pull.

The Kipuka database reflects its namesake, meaning a variation or change in form. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs has incorporated its archival data into a geographic information system (GIS). This GIS record has been around almost two decades, however in this current iteration of

the project – the Kipuka database is being used "as a repository of Hawai'i geographic knowledge, blending culture with land and history" – it is essentially a mapped "genealogy of land tenure in Hawai'i." [125] Though many people have attempted to trace land records back to the Mahele, or land divisions of 1848, this online platform takes a new approach. Renee Pualani Louis explains that it only "begins with the original land divisions that created the crown, government, and private lands. From this original inventory, they remove parcels that were sold or transferred (legally or not) and attach relevant documents to the GIS."[126] The goal is to provide a better picture and easy access to overall genealogy of ceded land tenure and link it to information about Hawaii's land, culture, and history by giving people access and opportunity to understand those lands most important to them.[127]

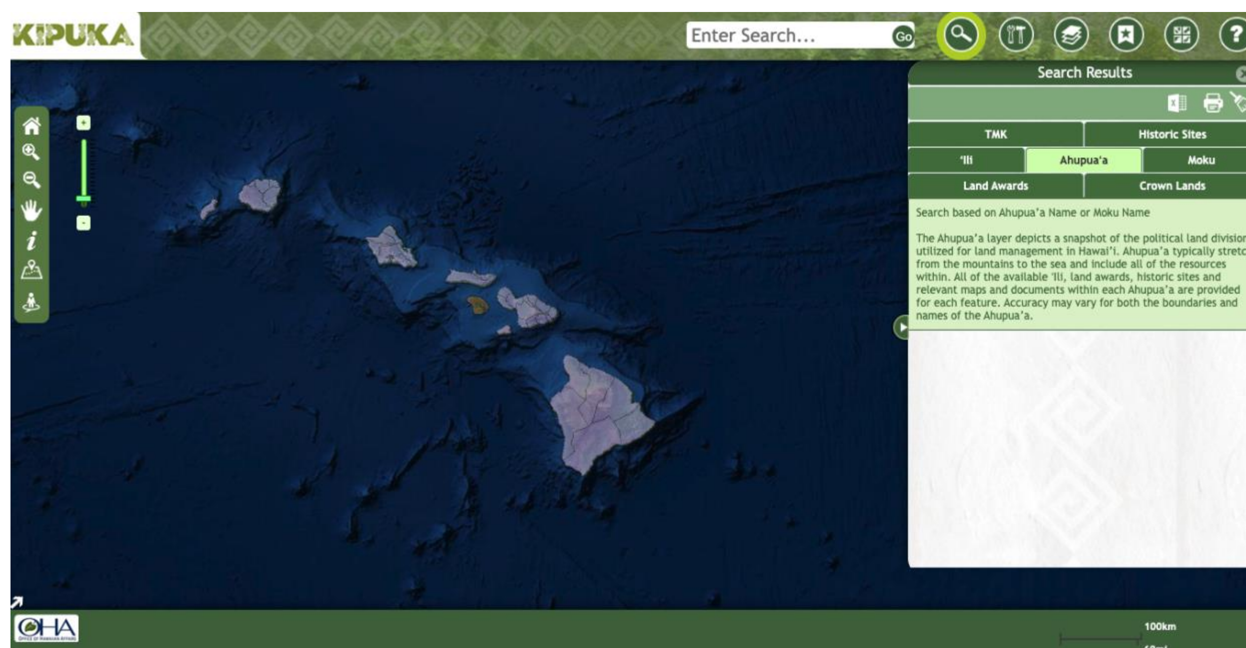

Figure 11. Kipuka viewer search categories and descriptions. Screenshot.

[125] Renee Pualani Louis, *Kanaka Hawai'i Cartography: Hula Navigation, and Oratory* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2017), 8-9.
[126] Ibid.
[127] OHA as quoted in Ibid.

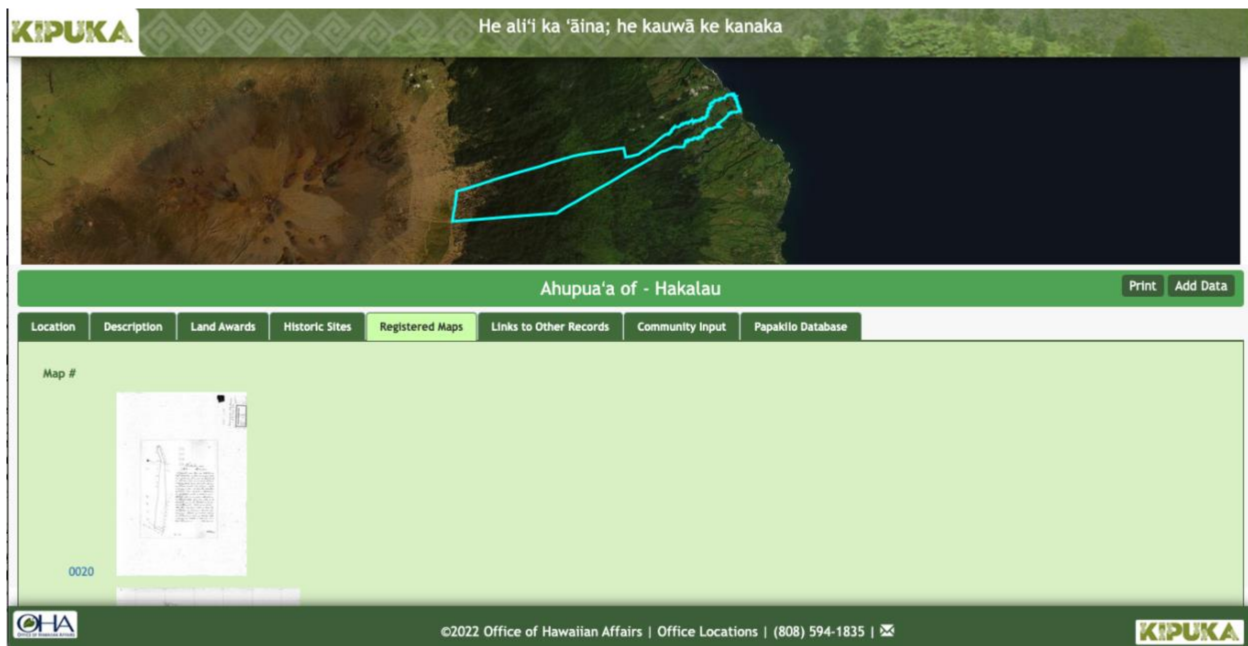

Figure 12. Example of information provided when user selects a specific Ahupua'a on Kipuka viewer. Screenshot.

Auntie Lucy, who describes herself as the resource person at OHA, says she does a lot of consultations with community members conducting research, and the first step now is often training them on how to use Papakilo and Kipuka. She wants kanaka to feel empowered to find the information themselves, to be their own researchers, and to make meaning of the information they find for use in their lives. Kale pointed to a specific example involving the increase in Hawaiian language and land research, in which people started to grow taro differently based on what they found in old newspapers. He adds that they owe much of the databases' success to partner organizations and collections and this also provides increased ally-ship within the community "whenever we want to fight something such as the Mauna Kea issue right now." He added:

> we have eight islands and we have a saying in Hawaiian, "A'ohe pau ka 'ike i ka hālau ho'okahi" which means not all knowledge is taught from one school or one tree. Through the isolation of the islands, everybody has developed their own type of variations of language, variations of traditional methodologies and practices. And, so, within the Hawaiian language newspapers, even within the Mehele records

> or the documents that privatize the papers that document the privatization of land and all these various collections that we are now being able to analyze in real time at once, you're getting a much broader scope of how things were done across all eight islands. So, um, especially with the taro is a good way with how it changed. They used to just put it in the ground, but now they're starting to do mounds where they pack it up a little bit more….[128]

Accordingly, Zach adds that the historic sites and land awards data present in so much of these collections are what he most wants to update to complete the Kipuka database build. He explains that while databases of place names exist and long lists from kingdom records are plentiful, they have not yet been fully connected to Kipuka for visual map-based exploration. Though not conducting mapathons in the same manner as POM, Zach – like Kale and Auntie Lucy for Papakilo – gives presentations on the map platform to schools, civic clubs, and other groups.

3.4 Conclusion

Both projects are still being refined and their interfaces tinkered with; at the top of their lists for next steps are completing full Arabic and Hawaiian language versions of their map viewers and sheets and integrating oral history archives into the GIS platforms. Ideally, clicking on any location would provide not only historical map data, but various missing place names and links to oral histories of those sites. Something that has been interesting to see expressed in both projects and communities is how much they understand their nations as a crossroads of their respective regions, Hawai'i for the Pacific and Palestine for the Levante and Middle East. They see these projects as not only part of a movement within their specific locales but a wider colonial legacy and need for colonized populations to reclaim and repurpose historical records. These new archives do more than recover colonial "records of them" and their lands, but are collections by and for their communities, with no linear limitation on expression or experience of time.

[128] Interview with Papakilo and Kipuka team, 31 October 2019.

Both the POM and OHA teams also spoke extensively on the role of maps historically in the privatization of land and how they were used to mark, register, empty, and "refill" spaces. By breaking down these processes and providing access to their detail, they see these platforms as a way to challenge settler narratives and refusal to decolonial futures. When I asked Ahmad Barclay from POM about his dream scenario, setting funding limitations aside, he responded "when someone searches on Google for a map of Israel, I want them to find this site. I don't just want them to see what existed once, but to make a connection to today."

Veracini may be correct in his critique and argument that the lack of connecting history to settler geography has led to a neglect of settler colonialism's geographical specificity, but that is a neglect by researchers and academics, not indigenous peoples. This chapter and this dissertation works to show the many ways indigenous experiences of time impact and are used in decolonial praxis. By centering indigenous duration and indigenous-led visions, initiatives, and analysis, we can begin to fill the need for literature that challenges the settler colonial temporal trap and pays attention to reclamations as much as erasures of the past.

CHAPTER 4
HONORING PASTS, ESCAPING PRESENTS, AND DWELLING IN FUTURES: THE PALESTINE LAND SOCIETY VILLAGE RECONSTRUCTION COMPETITION

> "In one minute, the whole life of a house ends. The house murdered is also mass murder, even if vacant of its residents. It is a mass grave for the basic elements needed to construct a building for meaning, or for an insignificant poem in a time of war. The house, murdered, is the amputation of things from their relations and from the names of emotions, and it is tragedy's need to guide eloquence to contemplate the life of a thing. In each thing there's a being that aches . . . the memory of fingers, of a scent, of an image. And houses get murdered just as their residents get murdered. And as the memory of things get murdered—wood, stone, glass, iron, cement—they all scatter in fragments like beings. And cotton, silk, linen, notepads, books, all are torn like words whose owners were not given time to speak. And the plates, spoons, toys, records, faucets, pipes, door handles, and the fridge, the washer, the vases, jars of olives and pickles, and canned foods, all break as their owners broke. And the two whites, salt and sugar, are pulverized, and also the spices, the matchboxes, the pills and oral contraceptives, elixirs, garlic braids, onions, tomatoes, dried okra, rice and lentils, as happens with the residents. And the lease contract, the marriage and birth certificates, the utility bills, identity cards, passports, love letters, all torn to shreds like the hearts of their owners. And the pictures fly, the toothbrushes, hair combs, make-up accessories, shoes, underwear, sheets, towels, like family secrets hung in public, in ruin. All these things are the memories of people who were emptied of things, and the memories of things that were emptied of people . . . all end in one minute. Our things die like us, but they don't get buried with us!"[129]
>
> - *Mahmoud Darwish*

4.1 <u>Introduction</u>

Nostalgia and imagining the future are often seen as dichotomously opposed temporalities and spaces. However, with indigenous struggle, engaging in critical acts of remembering becomes an inextricable part of both imagining a future and working to realize it. Today, the perspective in critical cartography of acknowledging maps as biased or tools of power, as images that are neither value-free nor simply accurate or inaccurate, is – for most – an analytic given. The more recent

[129] Mahmoud Darwish, "The House Murdered," Translated by Fady Joudah, In *The Progressive Magazine* (10 November 2006), https://progressive.org/latest/the-house-murdered/.

focus in the field on indigenous countermapping takes this one step further, highlighting the significant role of mapping as an imaginative, generative practice as well.

From the growth of online databases and recording oral histories to land reclamation and reconstruction-redesign initiatives, there are concerted efforts by indigenous people throughout the world not only to imagine decolonized futures but to impose blended images of yesterday and tomorrow onto the conversations of today. The imposition of this blending is not a rhetorical or abstract endeavor. Understanding that indigenous resurgence is not about a return to the past but a way to escape the rigidity of the colonial present,[130] I argue that countermapping by way of imagining future spatial expression is both a form of resurgence and a challenge to the narrative of linear settler time. In this article, I provide a snapshot from a larger comparative study. Zooming in on a portion of the Palestinian case, I explore how countermapping by documentation and design can become a decolonial praxis for those who engage in it. Examining specifically the Palestine Land Society's (PLS) Village Reconstruction competition, I use what Denis Cosgrove[131] calls the two directions of study in critical cartography – the finished map and mapping process – to ask how the initiative straddles objectives of historic preservation and imagining entirely new futures.

Blending visual analysis with ethnographic interviews, the narratives and analysis that follow offer a striking example of indigenous resistance across space and time. The practice of designing and planning reconstruction for depopulated and destroyed Palestinian villages across the Israeli settler landscape complicates the production of space as it relates to proximity of inhabitants as well as temporality. The competition and its participants couple that resurgent escape of the entrenched present with J. Brian Harley's call to use maps as gateways and

[130] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White* Masks, 157; drawing on Leanne Simpson and Taiaiake Alfred.
[131] Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*.

mediations, bringing to life a spatial expression for what Leanne Betasamosake Simpson aspirationally describes as a moment in which "the past and future collaps[e] in on the present."[132]

For the Palestinian experience – like so many Indigenous ones – time is always collapsing in on itself. *Sumoud*[133] is not linear; it cannot be traced in an order of events marked past, present, and future. Rather, it is made up of limitless temporalities and lived daily across a vast expanse of spaces. In other words, collective memory, current moment, and collective future imagining are joint and immediate, not opposed and distant. Against the progressive narrative of linear time, spectacles of terror rupture pasts as present to return Palestinians to their inaugural moment of loss and reinscribe the terms of their alienation from each other, their land, and themselves. Where dispossession is ongoing, linear narratives elide elders' legacy and children's potential.[134]

Until now, mapping "dwelling space" as a "momentary expression…produced in relation and through interaction" has been largely discussed and utilized for existing residential land and shifting paths of plant gathering at rural sites.[135] However, I am proposing that the concept lends itself particularly well to countermapping efforts by indigenous communities who work to both remember pasts *and* imagine futures. In the PLS competition, the Palestinian participants' and their village designs take the concept of dwelling space into the future, in a literal sense. In this instance, mapping both past and future dwelling space is a momentary expression of indigenous

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[132] Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 247.
[133] Sumoud is a term in Arabic that translates to steadfastness, but encompasses concepts and experiences of perseverance, survival, determination, and much more. It has come to be a central identifying characteristic of the Palestinian struggle and is used widely to express duration with purpose.
[134] Nour Joudah, Tareq Radi, Randa M. Wahbe, and Dina Omar, "Palestine as Praxis: Scholarship for Freedom," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 50.4 (2021): 101.
[135] Robin Roth, "The challenges of mapping complex indigenous spatiality: from abstract space to dwelling space," *cultural geographies* 16 (2009): 207-227.

resurgence both politically and materially. The submissions are deeply considerate of topographical elements, neighboring populations, and economic conditions of return. Unlike many who write on the practice of countermapping or participatory mapping, my goal is not to provide a roadmap on how to conduct such work, but instead examine how the work being done by indigenous communities themselves moves beyond abstraction.

I seek to answer: In redesigning a destroyed village from scratch, what are the students' motivations and priorities? How does affirming a particular past spatial presence also challenge the idea of settler permanence? And most importantly, in what ways do these designs highlight a praxis and vision beyond the confines of the competition and the limitations of the present?

4.2 The Reconstruction Competition

The Palestine Land Society competition, which began in 2017, charges young Palestinian architecture students with reconstructing and designing the destroyed villages of 1948. As an initiative, it builds on the organization's and Salman Abu Sitta's decades-long work to archive,[136] publish, and reframe mostly British mappings – taking a step now toward reviving pre-Nakba spaces. As a large majority of the hundreds of destroyed villages were never built over by Israeli settlers, PLS is also challenging the Israeli argument of unavailable space for refugee return. This current project is the fruit not only of the documentation in the *Atlas of Palestine* and more recent historical work on the Palestine Exploration Fund, but a larger project at PLS to engage in the material possibilities of refugee return.[137]

As native Hawaiian geographer Oliviera reminds us places, like people, have genealogies; knowing a place is intimately related to reciting its stories. In the last thirty years, hundreds of

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[136] Salman Abu Sitta, *Mapping My Return: A Palestinian Memoir* (New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2016).
[137] "Return Plan," https://www.plands.org/en/articles-speeches/speeches/2018/return_plan.

elder Palestinian Nakba survivors have written village histories[138] for a large portion of the towns destroyed in 1948. The books vary in structure but generally contain similar themes. For example, all the histories contain a map of some form and one or more family trees. With the current competition, students are given historical data, hand drawn maps from living Nakba survivors (some taken from these village histories, others solicited by PLS), British Mandate surveys, current Google satellite imagery, and demographics of the residents and descendants.

Currently, eight universities are participating (five in Palestine, two in Jordan, and one in Lebanon); this expanded to include Palestinians in the U.S. and Europe in 2020. University students majoring in architecture and urban planning redesign these villages on the same village site but with updated services using data on projected population. Submissions include the design for rebuilding the village today, as well as a written component which considers historical characteristics of the location.

Using my access to the maps, reports, and data provided by PLS to participants, as well as their final submission, I analyze what past and present information is incorporated and prioritized in these future designs. Additionally, I incorporate over a dozen individual interviews and three focus groups related to the competition and related projects. These semi-structured interviews focus on students' decision and motivation to participate, design considerations, and their understanding of the competition's purpose and usefulness (or lack thereof) to the larger struggle for refugee right of return. I also interviewed PLS-partnered faculty at the participating universities, who recruit participants and serve as advisors.

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[138] Rochelle Davis, *Palestinian Village Histories: Geographies of the Displaced* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010).

In seven years of conversation, the most repeated statement by Abu Sitta is "I am not a geographer. I am not an oral historian. I am a refugee trying to regain what he lost." He explains that "documenting is a thing of the past…. This is about a return plan…about using the past to create a future." With almost 10,000 files of archival material, PLS has robust folders on approximately 480 destroyed Palestinian villages." Abu Sitta continued, "the competition follows naturally from the process of documentation…. We asked ourselves 'what do we do with all of these village files? We must make them usable' and we ended up here."[139]

PLS has set certain parameters for the participants: villages must be located on original site/lands; any remaining landmarks must be preserved; and they are to incorporate as much data from files provided and independent research as possible. Otherwise, students are free to explore and interpret as they see fit, and the competition judging guidelines have given them a free pass on having to address issues of Israeli infrastructure (road systems and utilities). There is a noticeable lack of cities in the competition; Abu Sitta accounts for this partly as a strategic decision given the narrative being countered on available space and partly due to a vision in which lively cities will be connected to rural livelihoods. The jury for the competition has implored Abu Sitta to consider expanding participation to non-Palestinians, but PLS has remained insistent on preserving this aspect of Palestinian production.

Common Features

Though designs have varied greatly in several ways over the past five years, most of the over 150 submissions have a series of common key features: public squares, museums, an attempt to address new road systems, use of oral histories (from independent research), and use of Google satellite images. Perhaps the most interesting commonality however is an almost across the board

[139] Interview with Salman Abu Sitta, 25 April 2019.

presence of "guest houses" or "reunion hostels" for refugees or Palestinians in diaspora who choose not to return permanently but would need housing when visiting. Almost all the students' choices of which village to reconstruct had to do with them being drawn to an aspect of its story. Surprisingly, none of the winners I interviewed from the last three years selected a village near their own. (If refugees themselves, often their own villages were not an option. PLS offers files on 50-100 villages to choose from, rotating options annually.)

Abu Sitta's guiding ethic that "you document the past for a purpose, not for a museum," that "you document to *know* what you lost, and *therefore,* to find ways to *recover* it" reverberates through the designs and the written narratives submitted by the students. Time and again, participants insisted that for them this project was different; it was not yet another cultural endeavor or remembrance of the Nakba. Rather, these young Palestinian architects and urban planners see their participation as a collective move in looking towards the material possibilities of liberation.

4.3 Dwelling-to-(Re)Build

Tim Ingold[140] – from whom Robin Roth,[141] Natchee Blu Barnd,[142] and Mark Rifkin[143]'s work on dwelling space, indigenous geographies, and settler temporalities all draw – proposes two opposing perspectives that explain why people from different cultural backgrounds perceive the world in different ways. The differentiation between what he calls the dwelling and building perspective rests largely on the creation of meaning through activity versus meaning that has been

[140] Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill* (New York: Routledge, 2000).
[141] Roth, "The challenges of mapping complex indigenous spatiality."
[142] Natchee Blu Barnd, *Native Space: Geographic Strategies to Unsettle Settler Colonialism* (Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2017).
[143] Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017).

previously attached. Ingold is quite upfront about the evolution in his own thinking from the building to dwelling perspective, for which he now advocates, and even as he makes the argument to move away from the former, he acknowledges the at-times fruitful role it has played in his field of anthropology. Ingold defines the dwelling perspective as one

> "that treats the immersion of the organism-person in an environment or *lifeworld*[144] as an inescapable condition of existence. From this perspective, the world continually comes into being around the inhabitant, and its manifold constituents take on significance through their incorporation into a regular pattern of life activity."[145]

Alternatively, in the building perspective – the more widely applied understanding in social and cultural anthropology – people are "understood to inhabit a world – of culture and society – to which form and meaning have already been attached….they must perforce 'construct' the world, in consciousness, before they can act in it."[146] Ingold goes on to dissect the traditional application of the building perspective and its impact on how we understand dwelling, landscape, and temporality. The architect's perspective especially, he explains, is "first plan and build the houses, then import the people to occupy them." Ingold contends that this does not accurately reflect human experiences of people's relationship to the environment since it is in the *process of dwelling* that individuals and communities build and it is only in the capability of dwelling that one can build.

If houses are living organisms with life histories and unfolding relations (as some suggest),[147] then what do we make of houses taken, destroyed, erased? The prose piece from Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish which opens this article gives the resounding answer that it is

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[144] David Seaman, "Phenomenology, Place, Environment, and Architecture: A Review of the Literature.""The lifeworld refers to the tacit context, tenor and pace of daily life to which normally people give no reflective attention. The lifeworld includes both the routine and the unusual, the mundane and the surprising."
[145] Ingold, 153. Emphasis added.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ingold, *Perception of the Environment*, 187, citing Suzanne Blier.

mass murder, an emptying of memories and memories emptied. This destruction – particularly in the collective form of indigenous spaces – necessitates an expanded and more nuanced understanding of inhabiting, and in turn, what it means to dwell before building. Drawing from Natchee Blu Barnd, inhabiting "describes a frame used for establishing belonging or home, a relation to place….sometimes rooted in possession, both of land and of Indianness….to signal differing notions of relationship to land and the related processes of legitimization for bodily presence in specific locations (whether individual or collective)."[148]

At first glance, it could seem that the PLS competition is the quintessential embodiment of the building perspective. However, as one listens to the young architects describe their process, another vision takes shape entirely. These spaces are not empty abstractions to be organized nor are their buildings void of life because the refugees are presently absent. Instead, they are windows to *paused lifeworlds*, deprived of the daily interactions that come with dwelling but overflowing with collective relations and legitimization. With exile and refugeedom comes the need for these Palestinians to embody dwelling precisely in a manner that supersedes the "mere fact of occupation"[149] and grounds dwelling in a temporality unconfined by the present.

Here, Mark Rifkin's "being-in-time" pushes us toward actualizing the need to not only move space out of abstraction, but time as well. More than an inclusion in the present, being-in-time and "Indigenous duration" challenge temporal linearity. Rifkin describes this duration as "operat[ing] less as a chronological sequence than as overlapping networks of affective connection (to persons, nonhuman entities, and place) that orient one's way of moving through space and time." Via methods such as storying (and I will add mapping as praxis here), Indigenous peoples

[148] Barnd, *Native Space*, 5-6.
[149] Ingold, *Perception of the Environment*, 185.

reclaim and remake settler colonial violence to a shared language and temporality that allows for futures and possibility. Palestinians would call this Indigenous duration *sumoud*. More than mere survival, it embodies connection and an ongoing sense of presence, a steadfastness rooted in moving *forward*.

The narratives and images that follow exemplify what I am terming a dwelling-to-(re)build perspective. This production of space and of the Palestinians who would inhabit it reflect a reality of displacement and dispossession: the spaces Indigenous communities map and dwell is not confined to *this* moment. Dwelling space here is not only a momentary expression of houses and lands emptied in a distant past but a vision of rebuilding and reviving those spaces *and* the interactions and relationships that once filled them.

4.4 **The Designs: Mapping Dwelling Space**

Al-Qastal: Escaping the Present

Figure 13. Al-Qastal design submission to PLS, full visual brief.[150]

This first set of images was created by Yazan Nasrallah (University of Petra, Jordan), winner of the Palestine Land Society's 2018 reconstruction competition. Yazan selected the village of Al-Qastal, outside Jerusalem. Initially overwhelmed by the over 150 village files provided to

[150] Designs represented in figures 13-17 were provided by Palestine Land Society, with permission granted to use for academic publication.

participants that year, Yazan struggled to select his site. He spent over ten days opening each village file and exploring British survey mappings, oral history compilations, Google satellite imagery, hand drawn memory maps by Nakba survivors, and data on refugees and projected descendent count. His own family's village wasn't among the year's files and so selection became a process of elimination. He was interested in the Jerusalem area, and as he read, he learned that al-Qastal was of the first villages to be occupied, that it had even been nicknamed *muftah al-Qud*s or the key to Jerusalem.

Yazan looked up decisively at me and said "that's when I knew. If this is where the Zionists started, then this is where we'll begin return." For Yazan, the exercise of creating something that imagines freedom, he explained, is not the same as making a video or building a museum. "I was emotionally invested in very different ways," he recalls. "You start to imagine something that you have regained."[151]

He went on: "It was a small village, but very important because it was on high ground and the Jerusalem-Yaffa road ran through it, and still does. This along with the presence and death of Abdelqader al-Husseini in its battle made the case for me to select it."

Yazan struggled in the beginning to find the information he needed. He found himself turning to Israeli websites on the garden-park present on the village site today and translating information on the Zionist victory from Hebrew to Arabic. When I asked Yazan how mapping relates to his work, he responded:

> Mapping is very different. It is important to me to create an experience. For me, maps are more about functionality, roads, etc. Here, functions were of secondary importance. The story and experience were most important to me.
>
> There is an emotional experience that I am creating for every individual who comes to the village, which I don't think is present if you're just to conduct a mapping. I

[151] Interview with Yazan Nasrallah, 25 March 2019.

> think more tending to detail, multiple visual perspectives, a lived experience – whether visitor or resident in the village. I think this takes the most time. And we go into architectural detail as a graduation project. The museum and residential area….
>
> The project is more than me making a new plan. It is also a documentation of the past village. Generations come and go. The generation that never lived in Palestine – their knowledge, their familiarity is not like those that lived there.
>
> But I can say that I *lived* in Qastal – for a full year. The duration of the project. Every day, I examined everything in the maps. I learned where every stone lay…as if I lived in the village. If I read a thousand books, it's impossible for me to have lived in Qastal the way I did during this project. I lived it completely.
>
> I imagined how it was in the past, I saw how it is today, and I imagined how it could be in the future. This is, I think, the biggest treasure of the competition.

The most unique aspect of Yazan's design is what he calls the journey. He creates an imagery upon arriving to the village of seeing nothing but empty land on approach from the Jerusalem-Yaffa road. Yazan wants an immediate emotional response that there is no life here until there is a burst of greenery upon reaching the village entrance, literal return to life. This experience extends into the village square, the museum, agricultural terraces, homes, and so on. Yazan concedes "this experience is not as relevant with time, but more so for a new visitor." Yazan's design while full of architectural detail is the creation of an experience above all else.

Towards the end of our conversation, Yazan's tone shifted slightly, taking a step back and smiling with admiration at the images he was so excited to share, he told me, "Of course, if I was designing this practically for people returning tomorrow, I would have different priorities." Like so many of the participants, Yazan concedes that in an imminent return scenario, every village planner, architect, and community would need to be in touch with one another. These designs would need to be a conversation and one unit in a master plan, including intensive regional conversations. None of the participants shy away from this practicality. And in the two following design examples, we see varying attempts to account for this.

Ain Ghazal: Collective Revival

Figure 14. Revived spring in reconstructed Ain Ghazal.

The second-place prize in 2019 went to a group of five students (Nour Balshi, Christina Battikha, Careen Matta, Carmen Matta, Elio Mousa)[152] from the American University of Beirut – the first group submission to the competition in its first three years. This was also a unique interview process, as I had an opportunity to speak with the AUB students both before and after they had completed their design.[153]

All five of the students were drawn to participate in the competition partly for political reasons or family heritage, but more than anything they were captivated by the idea of challenging

[152] One of the five students was Palestinian, two identified as half-Palestinian half-Lebanese, and the remaining two were Lebanese.

[153] Interviews with AUB group, 15 April and 6 September 2019.

themselves to design an emptied space at such a large scale. Until now, projects in their architecture or urban planning courses focused on much smaller scales, but the opportunity to imagine the lifeworld of an entire village was something they simply could not pass up. They told me what makes their design so special is that it is not a reflection of one perspective, but five. Part of Abu Sitta's vision for this competition has been to not only show the physical possibilities of reconstruction, but also strike debate and conversation over what this could look like. To hear these students to talk as a group is perhaps one of the most representative moments of this aspect:

> "The ethics of group work was very important to us," they explained. "Not any *one* of the villagers will have liberated Palestine; that will be the manifestation of an entire nation's will. We cannot deny the power of working together now or when they return. If each of us had been working alone, we would not have had the conversations we did that led to critical things in the design, like drowning the road."

This Israeli road cutting through the village's lands today, is a key component in their design. They decide to literally drown the road and revive the *ain*, or spring, for which the town was named. The students propose rebuilding Ain Ghazal by reviving its source of life first, "a new spatial interpretation of the 'ain'," explaining that it was not only that homes and buildings were destroyed but that the landscape was "disfigured" and that the road now "cut through the fertile terraces which used to bear many fruit and olive trees." The structure they design (seen in Figure 15) serves as both a housing tower for returning refugees and a functional reservoir to collect rainwater, reconnect the landscape, and act as a "bridge" between "the past of the village and its future."[154]

In their second interview, having completed the design and waiting for competition results, they were eager to show me what they had accomplished. Six months earlier, they had practically

[154] Palestine Land Society, "Competition History and Operation – Year 3," 6 September 2019. https://www.plands.org/en/competition-news/competition-history-and-operation-year-3.

no specific design vision to share, but were intrigued by participation. Now, they were jumping out of their seats to describe and point to image details.

> "As you're driving through the main road, the first thing you're going to see is our project, which is intended to be the gate of the village. When you look inside, you see a big void. From this void, you see the whole project up to the last floor, which is the *saha* [town square]. As you go through, you're going to see a welcoming façade that actually draws you inside of the project. This façade is made out of a mesh that helps plants grow on it so that it becomes more organic and vernacular so that the plants are brought back to life by the water itself. The whole project becomes alive and you can see the life through the façade. It's mostly transparent, and actually blends in with its natural surroundings."

> "As a whole, the project is condensed into one singular structure that is retaining all the water behind; we are binding the village together, bringing old inhabitants together with the market, not in the very traditional way that a village is spread out into the landscape. But rather, we condense the village to this wall to retain and create this body of water that is going to revive Ain Ghazal."

Saha/ Plazza

Celebration Hall

Library

Theatre

Souvenir Shop
Cafe
Museum
Lobby/ Seating Area

Light Industry
Shops

Vertical Circulation
Panoramic Watch Tower
Facade Structure

Vegetated Mesh

Saha/ Plazza

Mosque
Ablution
Washrooms
Majlis/ Seating area
Kitchen

Housing

Clinics
Clinics
Classrooms
Nursery

Market

Parking

Programmatic Relationship

Agricultural Terraces

Seasonal Amphitheatre

Water Reservoir

Overall Massing

Village Infrastructure (Before 1948)

Israeli Infrastructure (1967)

Current Condition

Rebirth of Ain Ghazal

Palestine Land Society: The Reconstruction of Destroyed Palestinian Villages | Aub02 | American University of Beirut | 01/Jan 2019

02

Rain Water Collection system in Winter

The water is used both for agriculture and domestic use

Water Level in the reservoir in Summer

The ground transforms into an open air amphitheatre

With time, starting from the nucleus, inhabitants followed the traditional patterns of gradually growing around memory icons such as Maqams and water sources resulting in a vernacular evolution of the village.

The water reservoir metaphorically and visually drowns the israeli built road restoring the landscape

Palestine Land Society: The Reconstruction of Destroyed Palestinian Villages | Aub02 | American University of Beirut | 01/Jan 2019

03

Figure 15. From Ain Ghazal design brief, detailing of the façade wall and drowning of the Israeli road.

The AUB group did something in their village mapping unlike anyone that no one else has to date. Essentially, they did *not* detail a layout of homes and facilities. As the most collaborative of the submissions – not just with each other but with the future residents of their village, the students believed strongly that the Palestinians returning needed to have a voice in rebuilding their homes and what that would look like in the long run. Therefore, the structure and village vision they submitted centered organic growth post-return.

> "I think had we planned the village, it would have been very ironic, because it would have looked like an Israeli settlement. That is also a main motive because we do not want the people of Ain Ghazal to be forced to live in a way that doesn't look like them. They will have been immigrants in other places and have adopted new ways of living. But when they come back to Ain Ghazal, they are not going to just lose themselves because they have come back to their motherland."
>
> "We felt the best we could do is empower the villagers and with our architecture, give them tools to feel secure and more empowered to face past or present oppression."
>
> "Ain Ghazal in the old days was a result of years and years and centuries of natural growth and expansion, and that's how we believe a village should grow. So, we wanted to give the people of the village the option to do that."

Beit Jibrin: Reimagining Relations

This sketch (Figure 16) of Beit Jibrin, designed by Loay Dieck at Birzeit University received the 2018 third-place prize. In many ways, Loay's explanation on a conceptual approach to village design is the most integrative of surrounding areas. He admits pretty quickly that he does not presume to know how this should play out but insists that every reconstruction needs to also be a revitalization of relationships.

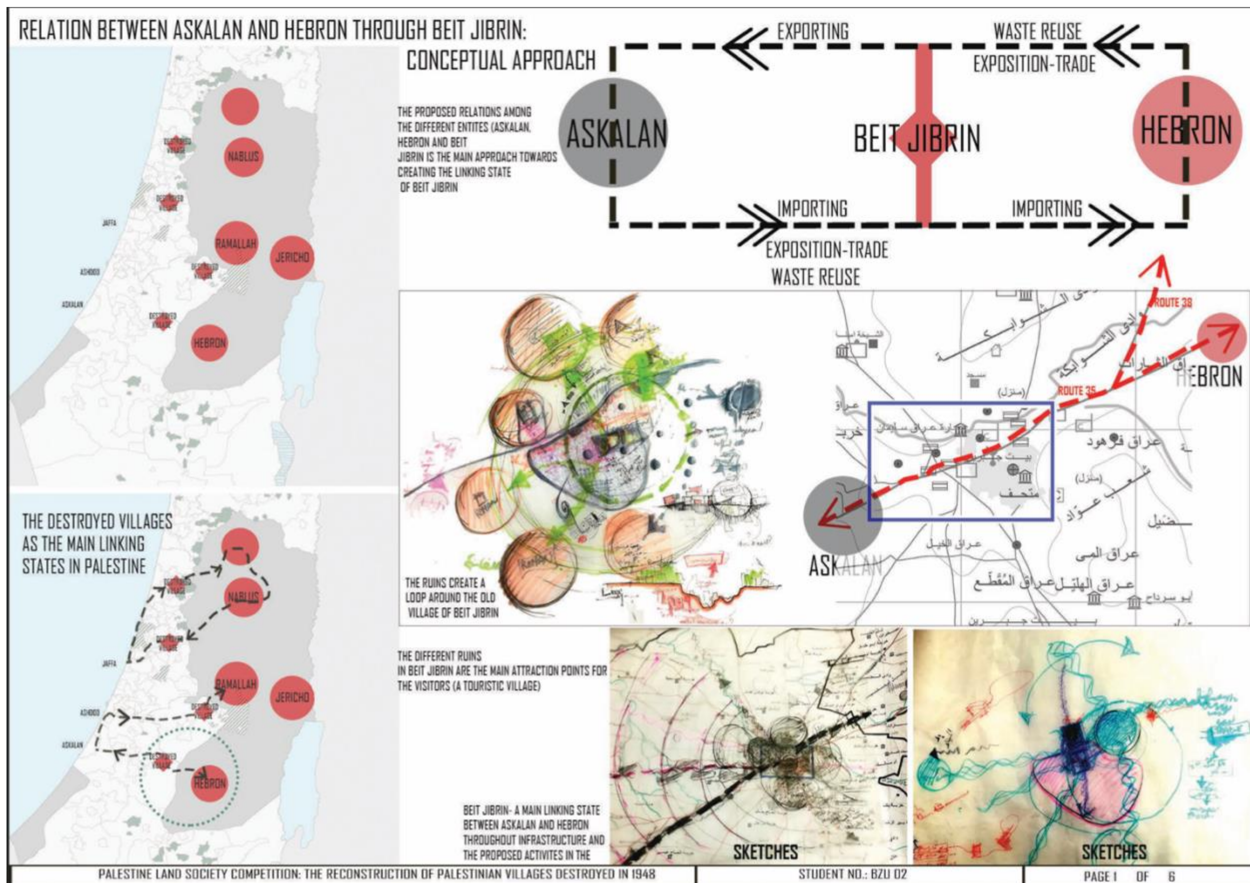

Figure 16. From Beit Jibrin design brief, sketch reconfiguring relations with neighboring villages and areas.

"The historical role of a village economically and its relationship to surrounding towns and cities was important to me," he explained. "How can we revive not just villages but these relations and district spaces? The connector between two places or two cities is not just a road but the lives of people in those villages and in those spaces in between them."[155]

Here Loay's "potential solution" in a decolonized future is not only to revive connection, but to use the destroyed villages as an opportunity to "confront fragmentation" and "relink the already fragmented enclaves of the West Bank."[156] Instead of restoring them under their pre-1948 districts, he proposes that these villages be considered independent entities so as not to enlarge the

[155] Interview with Loay Dieck, 31 May 2019.
[156] Loay Dieck's text submission to PLS competition.

current “enclaves” (e.g. Beit Jibrin’s inclusion in the Hebron district). Loay clarified that he does not intend to add yet another fragmented entity, but that these independent spaces could be situated as ones that link the “previous West Bank” to a dwelling space in another “previously occupied part of Palestine.” The link is based in infrastructure and activities, with potential in the case of Beit Jibrin to serve as a transit stop between a major economic hub and a coastal city. “Beit Jibrin would be a place to market the products of both cities through different expositions and daily markets and warehouses in the village.”[157] Loay further extends the function of these linking entities to advancing sustainability, pitching the village site as an ideal location for a power plant that doubles for solid waste disposal/reuse “bond[ing] the entities together rather than leav[ing] each city/district to act on its own.”

Other Designs/Evolution of Competition

The three designs above provide selesct snapshots of the innovation and resurgent practice seen throughout the Reconstruction Competition. Even with submissions for the same village site, inspirations for the designs vary greatly. For example, Meral Tabakhna, the third year’s commendation recipient, also selected Ain Ghazal, but did not include water sources as the defining element. Instead, “Ayn Ghazal 2050…was inspired by the experience of the indigenous Zapatistas and the philosophy of ‘walking and learning’.”[158] Meral grapples with the difficult economic realities of transitioning from refugee camp spaces to open land and includes redefining roles of production as her most substantial component. Additionally, because she was based at Birzeit University, unlike the group from AUB, she had access to the refugees and their descendants in the Nur Shams camp and met with community members to get input. Similarly,

[157] Ibid.
[158] Tabakhna submission to PLS.

two submissions for the reconstruction of Tantura set distinct priorities: re-using current Israeli structures and building over (while not destroying) pre-1948 remains. The design puts the new homes at higher elevation, almost stilted above the remains, to give residents a view of the Mediterranean Sea. Other designs envision developing a "green corridor" from the north of Palestine to the south in big picture views while also accounting for community parking so as not to overcrowd neighborhood streets. In the fifth, and most recent year, of the competition, the third-place submission included an "architecture of memory" and a full page of memory matrices to accompany the design.

Over the years, the PLS reconstruction competition has grown both in number and form of participation. What started largely as an annual collection of individual submissions has evolved into an overwhelming percentage of group designs. Most notably, the last two years have included calls and presentations to refugee communities of the villages, a sort of report back event between students and the refugees. As these have increased, so have design submissions that include interviews and input from refugees for the reconstruction plans.

4.5 Conclusion

From the moment these young Palestinians engage the PLS competition, they are simultaneously looking back to the past and forward to the future. Their participation, their designs, their lives do not hold these temporalities in separate realms. Yazan's selection of Al Qastal in the present is wrapped up not only in historic loss but also revival. The process he describes is not about designing buildings and planning roads but a lived experience in a place and time beyond his physical limitation. For the AUB group, their work brings to life incredible creativity through collaboration and a hope that the lifeworld of Ain Ghazal will evolve on its own, guided by its residents, with their design serving as a home base. The use of water to both drown

and provide new life exemplifies the principle of indigenous resurgence as a way to escape the rigidity of the colonial present. Their experiences challenge the notion that it is only in the process of physically dwelling that individuals and communities build futures and spaces. The individual village designs are reflections of the paused lifeworld of Palestine as a whole.

Loay's "linking entities" for Beit Jibrin take the dwelling-to-(re)build perspective one step further as he considers the potential for an entirely new set of inter-village relations in a liberated nation. His conceptualization of new paths and roles between villages offers an additional expansion of Ingold's dwelling perspective. For Ingold, the world is not "everywhere-as-space" but "everywhere-as-region;" here, he defines region as a matrix of movement and places as nodes in that matrix. In other words, "everywhere" is perceived through paths of movement and "places do not have locations but histories." Palestine, alternatively, is perceived in terms of interruption – interrupted physically via blocked paths to other Palestinian locales and people and interrupted temporally via stolen futures. In the Palestinian experience, exile and diaspora serve as an expansion of the networks and movements that make up the region. Similarly, the PLS competition and the students' designs are a reclamation of paths and movement denied.

With over 500 villages destroyed and depopulated in 1948, the revival of these spaces is central to Palestinian notions of return and a Palestinian map that reflects the population of which it was emptied. These designs, the conversations involved in producing them, and their presentation to the Palestinian community is not an abstract exercise. They are cartographic practices that insist on a decolonial future, re-dotting the map not with historic places but with future ones.

CHAPTER 5
PERFORMING THE COUNTERMAP:
PROTECTION, RESTORATION, AND RETURN IN HAWAI'I

"If we have to be here, stand here, live here for them to see us, then that's what we'll do, for as long as it takes."

- Kupuna (elder) at Mauna Kea

5.1 Introduction

Terms can be deceiving. Return, for example, conjures an image of moving backwards on a path already taken or a resumption of some activity. But when that former path is one of displacement and loss, return instead invokes the hope of new possibility, of a lifeworld-to-come and made anew. Within return is a reclamation of ownership, not one defined by boundaries and deeds, but an ownership of community and self, an ownership that restores connection.

In chapter four, I showed how the village designs of young Palestinian architecture students serve as a decolonial cartographic practice. *Return* of refugees and of the villages themselves in the PLS competition's goals and designs is aspirational but also deeply rooted in genealogies and historical presence. Like the creation of the online archives and map platforms discussed in chapter three, resurgence is exemplified by not placing one temporality above another in importance or focus, but, instead, merging experiences and expressions of time.

Palestinians and Native Hawaiians believe in the power of present action informed by past experience, but they are not limited by that past. Time and again, they refuse both rhetorical notions and physical, political violence that attempts to entrench the present and codify it as future. The indigenous initiatives discussed so far in this dissertation confront the temporal trap of settler regimes by employing historical and imaginative cartographic practices that embrace and insist on better, freer futures for indigenous lives. However, not all cartographic practices are as clear-cut or quickly identifiable as such.

Indigenous countermapping and performative cartographies have largely been discussed separately, with the former centered on visual textual efforts and the latter a historical assertion of presence and survival of self and knowledge. Performance cartography is understood and categorized as "traditional" practices that express spatial knowledge, often specifically within indigenous communities.[159] The theoretical focus on performativity has been on ways mapping can constitute identity[160] or even a time and place.[161] Embodied mapping has referred to maps as deployed *on* the body (i.e. tattoos, clothing, etc.) or maps with forms of the human body or specific persons on/in them, often in artistic configurations. Missing, however, is the consideration of embodied, performative countermapping – a cartographic challenge to hegemonic, state maps by the presentation of indigenous bodies in spaces the state has mapped as off limits.

This chapter poses the potential of understanding direct actions, whether protest or via land restoration, as a category of performance cartography. Drawing from time at Mauna Kea and interviews with founders of the HuiMAU land initiative in Hawaii, I depict groups and individuals who have centered the presence of their bodies and the restoration of plant life to reclaim and recreate indigenous spaces. I posit these efforts should be understood as embodied mapping that is as much as an act of resistance to occupation. By blocking a road or repairing ecosystems, in real time kanaka are enacting – with their bodies – the maps they believe in and want to make happen.

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[159] David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, eds., *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*, Volume 2, Book 3, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.
[160] Judith Butler as discussed in C. Perkins, "Performative and Embodied Mapping," *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (2009), 127.
[161] V. Del Casino and S.P. Hanna as discussed in Ibid.

5.2 Critical Cartography and Countermapping

There is likely nothing as romantically or commonly associated with Geography as the map. For the user and the mapmaker, maps provide an array of purposes: navigation, representation, creation, erasure, but perhaps most of all, potential. Over the years, cartography—the art, practice, and "science" of mapping—has been both an integral component of Geography and a discipline in its own right. Like other fields, the role and use of cartography for geographers, as well as larger audiences, has been influenced by an evolution of thought regarding the map and the practice of mapping. Today, the critical perspective of acknowledging maps as images that are neither value-free nor simply accurate or inaccurate, as biased or tools of power, is – for most – an analytic given.[162] Despite this, many examinations of early colonial mappings fall short, with geographers' descriptions concentrating on the mapping of indigenous communities and spaces as solely or largely a result of Western conquest or colonial encounter. This line of thinking can propagate the assumption that maps and mapping were not only colonial tools of dispossession, but that (1) cartographic practice writ large was not previously present and (2) that early colonial mappings were not informed by native spatial knowledge. Research has shown that neither of these secondary assumptions are true; more importantly, both are counterproductive to understanding

[162] Denis Cosgrove, "Cultural Cartography: Maps and Mapping in Cultural Geography," *Annales de geographie* 660-661 (2008): 169; Jeremy Crampton, "An Introduction to Critical Cartography," *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 4.1 (2005): 19; Arthur Robinson and Barbara Petchenik, *The Nature of Maps: Essays toward Understanding Maps and Mapping*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976. Matthew Edney, "J.B. Harley (1932-1991): Questioning Maps, Questioning Cartography, Questioning Cartographers," *Cartography and Geographic Information Systems* 19.3 (1992): 176; Crampton, "An Introduction," 20; Cosgrove, "Cultural Cartography," 170. Yves Lacoste,"An Illustration of Geographical Warfare." *Antipode* 5 (1973); J. Brian Harley, "Maps, Knowledge, and Power," In *Geographic Thought: A Praxis Perspective*, eds. George Henderson and Marvin Waterstone: 129-148, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, Originally published in D. Cosgrove and S. Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; Denis Wood, *The Power of Maps*, New York: The Guilford Press, 1992; John Pickles, *A History of Spaces: Cartographic Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-Coded World*, New York: Routledge, 2004.

how indigenous spaces have been mapped (or not).[163] The association of "Cartesian" or visual mapping as Western and indigenous cartography as a departure from this reinforces a rewriting of the history of cartography itself. That visual mapping is characterized as European and placed so squarely in opposition to indigenous mapping and cartographies also reflects the relegation of indigenous communities to certain dominions. This is especially true for a region such as the Middle East with a long history in visual cartographic sciences.

Though the history of mapping in Hawai'i and Palestine (and the larger Middle East) seems at first glance to be in stark contrast, both places have been subject to forces that diminish and marginalize their spatial knowledge systems. In much the same way that research has begun to account for native participation historically, work on countermapping accounts for native voices in the present working to reclaim the landscape and memory lost in dominant maps.

For Peluso, Nietschmann, and others, the reclaiming of mapping as a tool by indigenous communities offers the possibility of maps as a "medium of empowerment or protest,"[164] a challenge to images of state power, and a way to reclaim and defend lost territory.[165] Peluso understands countermapping as an appropriation both of state technique as well as a territorial strategy to claim resources. She also argues that the technological level and access to new tools that counter-mappers are utilizing further increase the potential of people in a mapped area "to control representations of themselves."[166] Nietschmann is perhaps even more optimistic,

[163] Kamanamaikalani Beamer and T. Kaeo Duarte, "Mapping the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Colonial Venture," *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics* 2 (2006): 34-52; Sara Pursley, "'Lines Drawn on an Empty Map:' Iraq's Borders and the Legend of the Artificial State (Part 2)," *Jadaliyya* (2015); Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012: 2; Zayde Antrim, *Mapping the Middle East*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2018: 263; Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient: British Maps and the Making of the Middle East, 1854-1921*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017.
[164] Nancy Lee Peluso, "Whose woods are these? Counter-mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia," *Antipode* 27.4(1995): 386.
[165] Bernard Nietschmann, "Defending the Miskito Reefs with Maps and GPS: Mapping with Sail, Scuba, and Satellite," *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 18.4 (1995): 34-37.
[166] Peluso, "Whose woods," 387.

describing maps by indigenous communities as an authentication of traditional territory and an international promotion of self-determination. He asserts:

> "More indigenous territory has been claimed by maps than by guns. This assertion has its corollary: *more indigenous territory can be reclaimed and defended by maps than by guns.* Whereas maps like guns must be *accurate*, they have the additional advantages that they are inexpensive, don't require a permit, can be openly carried and used, internationally neutralize the invader's one-sided legalistic claims, and can be duplicated and transmitted electronically, which defies all borders, pretexts, and all occupations."[167]

Unfortunately, Nietschmann does not seem to grapple with the question of who judges accuracy, nor does he engage with relevant power dynamics at play beyond the need for putting an alternate image out into the world. Furthermore, though admittedly cheaper than large defense and security expenditures, mapping is not a free or technically accessible practice to much of the world, with an ongoing and significant digital divide.

Others are less optimistic, wary and concerned that countermapping may reproduce violent effects of regular mapping[168] or could increase state control of indigenous land.[169] In an issue of articles focused on how methods of mapping can serve those mobilizing against dominant orders, Leopold Lambert, founding editor of *The Funambulist*, complicates the issue of using the term "counter," which he believes can give false comfort. Using the example of border lines, he reminds us that regardless of who is drawing, "in reality, border lines have thicknesses," both in the ink they are drawn in and in creating "a zone of ambiguity, where colonial powers usually want to exercise the highest degree of control."[170] For Sletto, these borders, even if created through indigenous countermapping, are often reproductions of historical struggles and tensions within

[167] Nietschmann, "Defending the Miskito," 5-6. Emphasis added.
[168] Leopold Lambert, "Introduction: Cartography and Power," *The Funambulist* 18 (2018): 10-11.
[169] Bjorn Sletto, "Special issue: Indigenous cartographies." *cultural geographies* 16 (2009): 147-152.
[170] Lambert, "Introduction," 11.

indigenous communities. They should, he argues, be understood "as contested, formalized representations that …reflect (re)constructions of boundaries that assume different symbolic meanings in different social and historical contexts."[171] Countermaps then must be seen as complex cultural productions and the lines on them as emerging from processes of shifting narratives and relations. Internal state boundaries are further subject to debates between state agencies, and counter maps which can be read as an "unproblematic expression of territoriality" neither fully represent how indigenous communities produce space nor how the use it.[172] Despite this, the state can use such maps to codify indigenous boundaries of one moment in time, neglecting everyday variations. If counter maps abstract, and conceal, indigenous spaces they can strengthen state control; therefore, "an effective counter-cartography," he argues has to unsettle power relations and be understood as "a political more than technical process."[173] Debates on efficacy aside, both perspectives recognize these indigenous efforts as a creation as well as confrontation.

5.3 <u>When Countermapping and Performative Cartography Collide</u>

Despite this significant evolution of critical analysis of historical and contemporary mapping, there has been much less engagement with indigenous cartographies that are ontologically and epistemologically different from Western visual mapping.[174] In Malcolm Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis' second volume of *The History of Cartography*, they break from previous volumes and books and expand cartographic definitions by looking to non-archival forms.

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[171] Bjorn Sletto, "'Indigenous people don't have boundaries:' reborderings, fire management, and productions of authenticities in indigenous landscapes," *cultural geographies* 16 (2009): 253.
[172] Ibid., 254.
[173] Sletto, "Special issue," 147-148.
[174] Renee Pualani Louis, Jay T. Johnson, and Albertus Hadi Pramono, "Introduction: Indigenous Cartographies and Counter-Mapping)," *Cartographica* 47.2 (2012): 77-79.

TABLE 1.1 Categories of Representations of Non-Western Spatial Thought and Expression

INTERNAL (Inner Experience)	EXTERNAL (Processes and Objects That Realize or Externalize the Internal Experience)	
COGNITIVE CARTOGRAPHY (Thought, Images)	PERFORMANCE CARTOGRAPHY (Performance, Processes)	MATERIAL CARTOGRAPHY (Record, Objects)
Organized images such as spatial constructs	*Nonmaterial and ephemeral*	*In situ*
	Gesture	Rock art
	Ritual	Displayed maps
	Song	*Mobile comparable objects*
	Poem	Paintings
	Dance	Drawings
	Speech	Sketches
	Material and ephemeral	Models
	Model	Textiles
	Sketch	Ceramics
		Recording of "performance maps"

Figure 17. Woodward and Lewis' categories, as presented in *The History of Cartography.* Screenshot of PDF.[175]

Looking particularly to performance cartography, they describe cartographies that take form as a "nonmaterial oral, visual, or kinesthetic social act, such as a gesture, ritual, chant procession, dance, poem, story, or other means of expression or communication" that define or explain spatial knowledge or practice.[176] Despite the much-needed inclusion of these concepts, engagement with these cartographies has remained limited. Woodward and Lewis' definition simultaneously "validated the existence of alternative cartographic expressions" and allowed others to relegate them to otherness and disregard them altogether as displays *rather than records* or as oral recitation of sites *but not maps*.[177] The aspiration and need now is to advance the understanding of cartography as a "science of practices, not representations."[178]

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[175] David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, eds., *The History of Cartography* (Volume 2, Book 3), 3.
[176] Ibid., 4.
[177] Louis, *Kanaka Hawai'i Cartography*, xviii.
[178] Kitchen and Dodge (2007, 342). As cited in Ibid.

In the context of the Middle East and North Africa, even with a long history of visual archival forms, extratextual performances of "cognitive, oral, and physical acts prompted by text" have long been essential to creating a discourse of place.[179] Many popular and locally produced cartographic and travel texts were intended for recitation; the description of places that accompanied visual representations were meant to evoke belonging or longing, wonder or familiarity. Additionally, there is the question of access and literacy. By putting these texts into performance, their audience expanded greatly, and they became *more* than records; they became expressions of connection and place in a particular historical moment.

Figure 18. Map depicting various Palestinian *tatreez* styles relating to cities and regions.

Performance can also be seen in things like geographically tied embroidery, or *tatreez*, a traditional Palestinian cross stitch. Woodward and Lewis list textiles under a strictly material cartography, but for Palestinians the act of wearing tatreez and when, why, in front of whom, how ornate, etc. was and continues to be performative – cutting across categories of record and process. Prior to 1948, neighboring villagers recognized the differences in pattern on each other's thobs (embroidered dresses).[180] But more than recognition, they marked points of pride for the area – vegetation, agriculture, skill, and even historical leadership (guarded tents of village mukhtars/chiefs). Some

[179] Antrim, *Routes*, 3.
[180] Widad Kamel Qa'war and Tania Tamari Nasser, *Al-Tatreez al-Falasteeni*, Beirut: AIRP Books, 2007. Also source for figure 18.

today lament that tatreez no longer carries such a place-based performance, but in some ways it has expanded the place it helps to perform and carry. After decades of displacement within and outside of Palestine, thobs today are rarely representative of one village or area, but often blended with styles from north to south.

What I propose here is, exemplified by the below, is the need to add a missing category of performance cartography: protest or direct action/confrontation. These examples, with explicit goals for spatial transformation, are the collision of countermapping and performance cartography. They also force us to ask – what makes a practice or product an indigenous cartography: when it started, who is producing it? What happens when we consider an indigenous performative cartography that is not based in "traditional practices" but in contemporary imaginaries?

5.4. From Protesting to Planting: Being the Countermap

Figure 19. Ahu, or altar, at Mauna Kea protest site.[181]

[181] All photographs comprising figures 19-26 in chapter 5 are from the author's personal collection.

Arriving at the Mauna: Day 133

Our first stop was Costco, for gas and supplies, and for me – a contribution/donation to the community on the Mauna. As we packed up the car and started the drive up to Mauna Kea, Mahealani and Kahala – both originally from Maui – shared some of their family histories with me. In stark contrast and yet binding stories, Mahealani told me how her father was born on Oahu during Pearl Harbor and she grew up in California, coming back to the islands in the summers. Kahala, on the other hand, explained how his family in Maui is still living on their land. We discussed and compared how genealogies are traced in the Middle East and Hawai'i and the games and challenges we would play as children learning those histories. Though Mahealani and Kahala's experiences were quite unique, both from each other and from those in Palestinian communities, the parallels were also overwhelming. For the first time in my months on the islands and speaking with kanaka, a different picture of indigenous displacement became visible to me – one that included exile, political reawakening, and return.

As we pulled up to the encampment at the Mauna's base, flags from around the world were flying high and lining the path to the Kupuna tent. The impressive and colorful assortment of solidarity from indigenous organizations and communities in the Pacific to nation-states that relate to struggles for sovereignty loudly fluttered in a strong wind as the evening rain approached. A couple of days later, when someone saw me smiling while looking at the Palestinian and Irish flags, they commented "they're getting a little tattered. We need to change them while you're here." I replied that was very kind, but not necessary. The young man replied it was not just necessary, but one of his favorite tasks. The flags, he explained, "remind me every day how many people are watching, how many people and places want to see us succeed. Behind every flag is a group that has traveled here to show support. The flags are a way for them to stay with us after

they've left." We joked in passing about how many conquests in the world included the planting of flags as a claim to ownership. He chuckled, "maybe a collection of them is what undoes the conquest."

As the clouds descended on the camp at sunset and during evening protocol, dinner set up began. Following a prayer, hula, mele, and offering, everyone gathered in the kupuna tent to eat. Mahealani and Kahala introduced me to friends, and almost everyone made sure I knew that the location for dinner that night was unusual. In fact, it would be the only meal I would have in the kupuna tent for the remainder of my time at the Mauna camp. They gestured toward the kitchen tent they had shown me earlier during my tour as the spot where everyone typically grabs their daily meals. But with the smaller number of overnight residents that day and incoming weather, this seemed more efficient. The sense of community and respect for one another was palpable and its intensity remains difficult for me to convey.

I was asked my impressions of my first protocol and the hulas I witnessed. I shared that I found them incredibly expressive and inquired about their history. Mahealani and several other kanaka sitting with us, ranging from college to middle-age, explained how some hulas are written and newly created while some are hundreds of years old and specific to seasons. Shortly after dinner, an elder announced that Janet Jackson, in Hawai'i on her world tour, had made a statement at her concert in Honolulu that night in solidarity with the protests against the TMT, showing photos on the screen behind her while standing with her dancers and making the two-handed sign used by protesters. The following night, she gave the stage to over a dozen kanaka who performed Kū Kia'i Mauna, or guardians of the mountain – the namesake of the "We are Mauna Kea" movement.[182] As the news was announced to those at Mauna Kea, everyone was thrilled with the

[182] "Janet Jackson - Kū Kia'i Mauna (Honolulu 11-23-2019)," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQBRuSRU4Oo.

gesture and the awareness such a large event would help spread. However, nothing prepared me for when I finally watched the video several days later waiting for my flight back to Oahu. For eight minutes, a crowd of tens of thousands did not just watch the moving hula but participated with overwhelming presence in the call and response that followed. Despite the tight knit bonds at the protest site, there was also a sense of distance from everything and everyone else on the islands. Watching the performance, I was jolted back to the reality that physical distance is rarely indicative of disconnect.

Teaching at the Mauna: Day 134

I woke the next morning to sunrise and got myself ready for the 8 a.m. Aha. It had rained all night and I was grateful for the last-minute decision to sleep in my car. The day's schedule was announced for classes at the university (Figure 20). I attended the morning classes with Uncle Bobby on rock formations and mapping volcanoes on the islands before I snuck off to make notes for my afternoon class. Everyone I had told of my planned visit to Mauna Kea insisted that I had to teach a class[183] while there, but I found myself at a loss for what to do. Most suggested a 101 on Palestine, but after my drive up to the Mauna the day before, an idea struck me about personal narratives and displacement.

[183] University development began early. By day 6, the idea for a teach in arose – mostly to give over 2,000 people something to do. It exploded from there. At its height, there were 20 classes a day, 5 days a week. "We asked ourselves, 'how can we learn from people who are here that we would want to have speak?' Now as people are commuting more, classes run from Friday to Sunday."

Figure 20. Daily announcement for classes at Mauna Kea. Screenshot.

Figure 21. Uncle Bobby's class on geology and history of volcanoes in the area.

The noon Aha provided more than I could have asked for. Now Saturday, the crowd had grown and visitors were everywhere. In addition to Pueblo and Navajo representatives speaking in solidarity and giving offerings in support, I was stunned to see a group from UCLA – the Pacific Island Student Association. They spoke of their efforts on campus and how much it meant to them that they could come home in person to show support. For the non-Hawaiians among them, they commented on how the breeze of the Pacific was enough to know home was nearby.

Figure 22. UCLA Pacific Island Student Association representatives at Mauna Kea.

The UCLA students attended my class that afternoon and it was as if the topic had been prepared just for them. I spoke about my own incidents of “re-exile” from Palestine in the form of Israeli denials at the border, one as recently as a few months prior. I commented on how sometimes in the process of fighting to recover historical loss, we neglect the personal losses of the present. While the degree of exile for Palestinians and its role in the settler colonization of Palestine may feel unique to the case, the underlying driver and experience of displacement is not. I asked everyone – a group of about 12 – to share stories of where their families are from, where they grew

up, how they got there, and how their stories are reflections not only of past displacement but their ongoing struggles to go home. They painted a picture across the Pacific and United States that took me back to nights in Beirut, sitting with Egyptians, Tunisians, and Palestinians all pondering when migration crosses the line to something else.

Edward Said wrote:

> Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history can contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, they are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement.[184]

Said of course admonishes romanticization in the literature of the refugee, the displaced, but more importantly, he urges an understanding that we live in a world overcome by these rifts from native place and homes. The simultaneous anguish and hope he so eloquently describes reverberated through the stories shared on the Mauna that day, acknowledging that even for those who have found a way to return to the islands – for visits or permanently – there is always unrecovered loss.

Day 135:

The Sunday crowd for the noon Aha was the largest I would see and opened with a reminder that these gatherings every day were anchors to the commitment begun on July 12, 2019. Representatives from the Anishinaabe nation spoke and made offerings, but it was the few hours sitting at the welcome tent with Mahealani and Kahala that afternoon when I saw just how many individuals from different indigenous groups were present. In at least a dozen different greetings, hellos were almost always immediately followed with "we're also fighting to protect x site in y

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[184] Edward W. Said, "Reflections on Exile," *Granta* 1 September 1984, https://granta.com/reflections-on-exile/#:~:text=Exile%20is%20strangely%20compelling,sadness%20can%20never%20be%20surmounted.

place." A young man from British Colombia, Canada spent almost an hour with us in deep conversation about the need for tactics to change in response to realities on the ground.

I was reminded of the conversation I had a few days earlier with Leon No'eau Peralto, one of the founders of HuiMAU, a community organization from Hamakua Hikina (East Hamakua) on Hawai'i island. Reflecting on a victory to protect a burial site, he conceded "the struggles to protect sacred sites is heavy work….We got legal protection for that site and thousands of acres around it in the end. In that though, we realized the need to process that heaviness with something we were cultivating for the future." Later, I mentioned to No'eau that I was heading to Mauna Kea for several days and he was thrilled. He assured me the regeneration of community, of seeing the land and people as one, that he had been describing to me all day was in process there as well. I thought of what he said and of HuiMAU's work many times while I was on the Mauna – clearing land, planting native plants, promoting and enacting sustainable practices. On the surface, the difference seemed glaring, but the creation or revival of a Pu'uhonua, "a place of refuge, a place of healing, knowledge, learning, and a place of cultivation and the maintenance of abundance…fully driven by the people" that No'eau described sat at the core of everything.

Blocking the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) was certainly the instigation for and goal of the protests and resulting camp and roadblock at Mauna Kea's base, but like the other initiatives throughout these chapters it also served as response to a settler timeline. Embracing the TMT was qualified as an embrace of science, the future, letting go of the past and tradition. Look no further than the plethora of news stories covering the "debate" around construction. Every interview and article either asked protesters directly or implicitly had them

address and deny that they are not standing in the way of "discovery."[185] This discourse had loomed over the potential construction for years before the 2019 protests. Kanaka writer Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada wrote "We Live in the Future. Come Join Us." in 2015; in it, he pushes back on the accusation that Hawaiians are living in the past and insists that "the works and the actions of the people up on the mauna and those standing in solidarity with them … are concerned with nothing more than the very future of our world, our islands, and our people."[186] Hawaiians are not anti-science or interested in rolling back the clock toward the "dark ages" as some have accused, he says, but on leading the way to a future connected to the past.

> Remembering the past does not mean that we are wallowing in it. Paying attention to our history does not mean we are ostriching our heads in the sand, refusing to believe that the modern world is all around us. We native peoples carry our histories, memories, and stories in our skin, in our bones, in our health, in our children, in the movement of our hands, in our interactions with modernity, in the way we hold ourselves on the land and sea. Sometimes people see themselves implicated in the injustices and abuses we wear so clearly on our selves, and it makes them uncomfortable. They see a queen deposed and held prisoner in her own palace. They see children taken away from their tribes to abusive boarding schools, shorn of their hair, and made to refuse their native language. They see people and animals used as guinea pigs for nuclear experiments, the only outcry coming from those concerned about the animals. It makes them want to look away and ignore us. It makes them tell us to stop showing it to them. They are the ones who want us to only be living in the past, so that their pain can end.
>
> But we don't carry only pain, we carry connection. Whenever we resist or insist in the face of the depredations of developers, corporate predators, government officials, university administrators, or even the general public, we are trying to protect our relationships to our ancestors, our language, our culture, and our ʻāina. But at the same time, we are trying to reawaken and protect their connections as well.
>
> That short-sighted model of "progress"—that we seem to be standing in the way of—hinges upon all of us, all of Hawaiʻi's people, all of the Pacific's people, all of the world's people losing connection to land, to sea, to other human beings. The

[185] Local and national news: "Indigenous Hawaiians Weigh in on Controversial Thirty Meter Telescope," "Why Native Hawaiians are fighting to protect Maunakea from a telescope," "Hawaiian telescope project sparks protests at astronomy meeting."
[186] Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, "We Live in the Future. Come Join Us," 3 April 2015.

> less you feel these connections, the easier it is for you to be convinced that unrestricted development is the highest and best use of land.[187]

For Kuwada, the struggle at hand is not merely protection of the past, but redefining the "possibility of 'progress'," in a way that binds it to the future. Indeed no one I spoke to at Mauna Kea was living under the presumption or even with hope of a return to a time gone, but instead return was to one another, the stories that brought them to this moment, and the ones that would take them to the next.

HuiMAU and Regenerating the Landscape

The story of HuiMAU in many ways is also one of return – to place, genealogies, and purpose. No'eau and his co-founder Haley Kailiehu became friends in college. Despite their families being from the same area, they did not know each other growing up since she was raised on Maui and he in Hilo. Haley, a PhD student in English at the time, and No'eau in Indigenous politics, discovered they were not only from the same area, but that their grandparents knew each other, and their stories were already intertwined. Their work[188] started with a mural project at one of the local schools, something Haley had done as an artist on Oahu. As the hui, or organization, formalized, work expanded from education to restoration – in various forms. Beyond the physical land, they center restoring cultural landscapes, learning stories, songs, place names and passing that on to the children. Some of these chants or songs are also composed by No'eau or updated by a "growing group of elders and teachers, kumu, that have gotten to the place in their teachings of saying 'either we can let this song die or we can give it new life. If we don't know what it sounded like, then give it new life in our time."

[187] Ibid.
[188] Hui malama I ke ala 'ulili (HuiMAU) homepage, https://www.alaulili.com/.

At seven members of staff in 2019, the hui was on a mission to expand the 10 acres of land they are cultivating to 400 acres. The land in question is covered in eucalyptus trees and was a sugar plantation before that, so in addition to the difficult task of getting the lease from the Commitment Schools, the current owners, there is also the challenge of growing food again and restoring an ecosystem. An important part of the hui's story is they did not ask for permission to start and have spent years developing a master plan of phased restoration for the rest of the area. When we went to the restored acres pictured below, No'eau spoke a little about the plant life and the logistics of getting the work done, but more than anything his descriptions were about an intimate relationship to this place, aloha aina, and how the work to revive this land and its past is in order to create space for the future, "seeds of plants, but also seeds of work to spread the movement." As of December 2021, the project was transforming approximately 80 acres into "Hawaii's largest regenerative 'ulu (breadfruit) agroforestry system."[189]

[189] Ibid.

Figure 23. HuiMAU garden.

Figure 24. HuiMAU garden.

Figure 25. Eucalyptus forest in Hamakua.

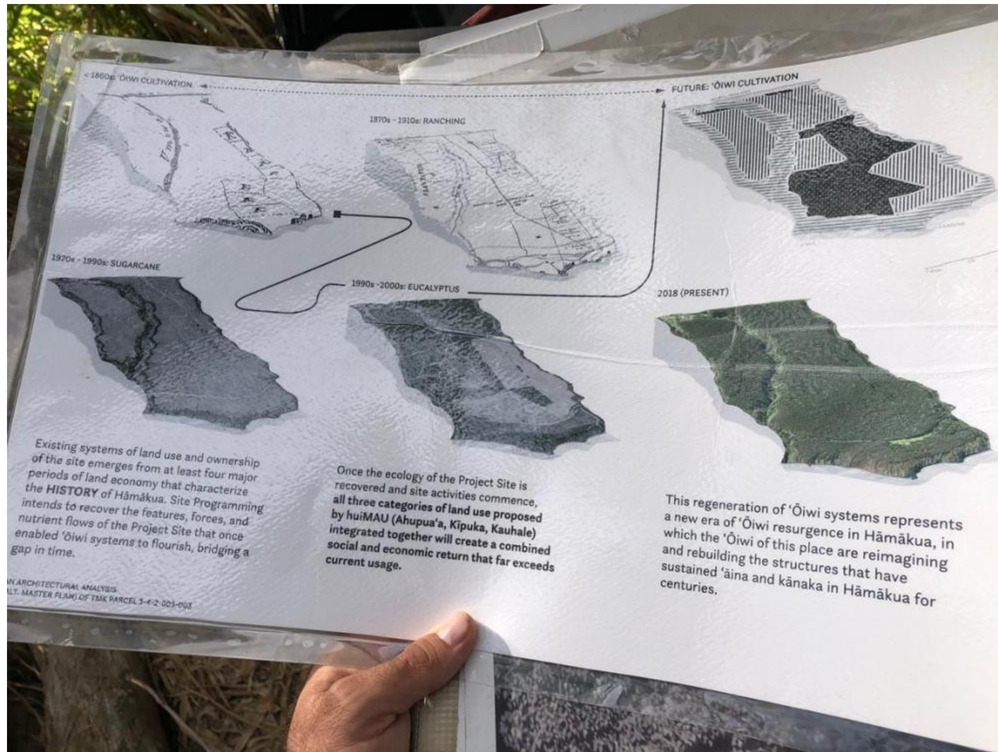

Figure 26. HuiMAU restoration plans for Euclayptus forest.

5.5 **Conclusion**

The presence of Hawaiians at Mauna Kea and those working on land restoration in East Hamakua are bringing to life the maps they want to see. These spaces are filled with an embodied, performative countermapping that actualizes refusal of settler encroachment as well as the building of decolonized spaces. Placing their bodies on the land and using their bodies to cultivate and change it, these individuals and movements pose physical, cartographic challenge to settler state invasion. They are not simply presenting a suggestion, an alternative map; they are creating the conditions of the maps they find acceptable, cordoning off sacred sites and planting their future foods.

As critical cartography's focus moves increasingly to countermapping and indigenous cartographies, it is enriched by incorporating ongoing indigenous cartographic practice. Moreover, such incorporation is a necessary move toward removing indigenous futures and the potential of countermaps from abstraction. Guided by the understanding that mapping is a creative process[190] and that maps often do not map land or people, but imaginaries of them,[191] one can look both to the past and present for indigenous spatial expressions working to map their futures. One should not limit oneself to the practices of past or present when doing so, however.

[190] Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*.
[191] Candace Fujikane, Keynote roundtable, (Re)Mapping Indigenous and Settler Geographies in the Pacific, University of Hawaii-Manoa, October 2018.

Concluding Remarks

No matter how much one writes, it is difficult to feel like they have covered or investigated all the twists and turns that come with long-term qualitative research. For almost every paragraph on paper, I feel as though another paragraph is left behind – in my head, my notes, or an unquoted interview. I began this research because I believed and still do that there are processes across space and time in these communities that challenge and can contribute to more than academic theory. These understandings and experiences of limitless temporalities and production of spaces are also indicative of peoples and places that refuse and actively work to alter the futures settler regimes have laid out for them.

The chapters seek to cover mapping spaces and futures via archiving, imagining reconstruction, and embodied resistance. Chapter 3 looks at the archive and past as a way to escape a temporal trap instituted by settler conceptions of linear time and insistence of an entrenched present. Reviving and repurposing historical documents, maps, oral histories, and other records, Hawaiians and Palestinians build databases and platforms that serve as resources and, more importantly, as a catalyst for looking ahead. In chapter 4, Palestinian architecture students tell a story of dwelling in the future, and in the process of creating their designs to reconstruct paused lifeworlds, they show just how little bifurcation there is between past and present. I present the dwelling-to-(re)build perspective in which this production of space and the Palestinians who inhabit it reflect a reality of displacement and dispossession: the spaces Indigenous communities map and dwell is not confined to *this* moment. For these students and this project of reconstruction, dwelling space is not only a momentary expression of houses and lands emptied in a distant past, but a vision of rebuilding and reviving those spaces and the interactions that once filled them. These village designs, the conversations involved in producing them, and their presentation to the

Palestinian community is not an abstract exercise. They are cartographic practices that insist on a decolonial future, re-dotting the map not with historic places but with future histories.

"Performing the Countermap," chapter 5, is an amalgamation of so much in this dissertation. Papakilo and Kipuka, the databases discussed in chapter 3, were referenced by many kanaka on the Mauna and at HuiMAU as sources of personal discovery and education. Everywhere I looked in my time on the island of Hawai'i, I saw physical manifestations of countermapping, reclaiming or defending indigenous land and life. Renee Pualani Louis and others' words on hula and celestial navigation as indigenous cartography rang in my head and I could not help but wonder why direct actions and protests were not also a countermap. As the theme of return, temporal and physical, continued to appear, I was also overwhelmed with images of the Great March of Return in Gaza and thousands of unarmed Palestinians week after week approaching a fence and military en-masse to reach villages on the other side. This performative countermap is one that I hope to fully develop a comparison for as I explore future research.

My time in Hawai'i would not have been possible if it was not for the people who opened their hearts and homes to me, and largely because of their work in solidarity with Palestine. These transnational solidarities and movements for liberations also hold significant promise and interest for moving forward. It was not long before my introductions for research in Hawai'i turned into invitations to speak about Palestine and the connections between them and their struggles against occupation and for unity within their respective communities. Among grassroots organizers as well as academics, the parallels could be jarring and comforting at once. There was a profound sense not only of similarities and solidarity between the locales and people, but also a fascination in each other's strategies and visions.

Another potential research path and something that has been interesting to see expressed in both Palestinian and Hawaiian communities (and was expressed to me via the POM and Papakilo and Kipuka teams) and is how much they understand their nations as a crossroads of their respective regions: Hawaii to the Pacific[192] and Palestine to the Levante and Middle East. They see many of these projects as not only part of a movement within their specific locales but a wider colonial legacy and need for colonized populations to reclaim and repurpose historical records. However, these national roles within their regions go beyond the historical and are integral to contemporary political mobilization.

For decades, Palestine was the focus of nearly every protest in the Arab world. It was the acceptable outlet of frustration for almost every regime in the region, the bone they would throw their frustrated masses. But it was also the vehicle for mobilization and a training ground for political organizing that became useful for activists later on.'[193] Since the Arab uprisings in 2011, a new culture and spirit of protest is thriving, less cloaked in one issue projecting onto another, more direct and forceful to its specific contexts and yet in ongoing conversation with its neighbors. For the first time, it is Palestinians learning from youth in the region as they navigate their own bifurcated and increasingly authoritarian Palestinian leadership. Similarly, kanaka in Hawai'i are building political networks with indigenous communities across Oceania. On more than one occasion, a process described to me as "rivaling diplomacy from the days of the Kingdom." Placing these regional dynamics in conversation with each other perhaps promises the most fruitful discoveries of mutually constitutive processes in the spirit of relational comparison.

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[192] Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once were Pacific: Maori Connections to Oceania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

[193] Nour Joudah, "Who says Palestinian resistance is dead?" *The Electronic Intifada*, 3 February 2012.

Finally, I am hoping to finally make it to the archives in Algeria during my upcoming postdoctoral fellowship. As I work to turn the dissertation into a book manuscript, reincorporating the Algerian case will significantly enrich the comparative study and deepen my contribution to the nexus of indigenous, settler colonial, and geography literatures. I have already received funding from the Council of American Overseas Research Centers and approval from the Algerian Ministry of Higher Education to conduct my remaining fieldwork at the National Archives. Using this archival work, I plan to expand the analysis in chapter 2 to Algeria's post-independence remappings so as to better understand decolonial imagination in practice. At UC Berkeley, I will work with Professor Jovan Lewis as my mentor. Dr. Lewis' forthcoming book *Violent Utopia* on North Tulsa as a site of sovereign belonging and promise of repair speaks to many of the underlying principles that guide my work. The various mapping and design initiatives which I study are also part of growing concerted efforts to break away from debates confined to questions of citizenship, sovereignty, and boundaries of the state. Preliminary conversations with Dr. Lewis have been fruitful, bringing to the fore realities and potential for decolonization in the present despite government, media, and even academic treatment of decolonized indigenous and black futures as a *fait accompli*. Dr. Lewis' dedication to rooting both historical and contemporary research in lived experiences and potential of radical repair will further deepen my analysis.

My hope is that these chapters and the cases they highlight are more than an intersection of literatures, but an injection of lived experiences into disciplinary analysis of indigenous mapping and settler colonialism. Whether textual or performative, indigenous cartographies are not merely "alternative" spatial representations or knowledge systems, they are affirmations of indigenous survival and visions of being – in a place structured to outlast them. These mapping projects are a call to imagine and work toward a future that does not accept settler spatial

permanence. Consequently, I try to do the same in my analytical framework – looking to political theories of indigenous resurgence as a guide to understanding decolonial praxis. If indigenous communities have not surrendered their futures to settler temporalities, then we cannot surrender our research to it either.

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