Ho`i Hou iā Papahānaumoku:
A History of Ecocolonization
in the Pu`uhonua of Wai`anae

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Abstract

For the indigenous people of Hawai`i, well-being derived directly from their relationship to their land, and as such, the economic, social and physical ailments that plague them today are symptoms of their separation from their land and traditional lifestyle. This separation resulted from ecocolonization, a new theory created in this dissertation. Ecocolonization is the process by which indigenious people collaterally suffer the effects of the seizure and destruction of their natural resources by an outside political force, in this case, western settlement in Hawai`i. This dissertation looks at how Hawaiians speak of their own land and their relationship to it to explore the impact of ecocolonization in Wai`anae by employing indigenous epistemologies, specifically Hawaiian epistemologies. The theory of ecocolnization is then developed and used to explore the history of Wai`anae. We see how Wai`anae residents work to keep it as a pu`uhonua, or santuary, for the Native Hawaiians who live there. We learn westerns who stole the waiwai or wealth from Wai`anae through the seizure of land and water and how this led to economic devastation in the district. We look at the complete seizure of Mākua Valley and reflect upon the site as a symbol of how the Hawaiian family unit has been dismantled. We look at the relationship between healthy land and healthy people and analyze the use of poor health as a means of keeping Hawaiians colonized. Ultimately, the ills we witness in Hawai`i today among `ōiwi can only be cured when the land and natural resources of Native Hawaiians are returned to them, such that they may restore the traditional practices that first granted them well-being; for prosperity will only return to Hawaiians when we ho`i hou iā Papahānaumoku, return to Papahānaumoku.

Contents

Introduction:
Ecocolonization and the Pu`uhonua of Wai`anae

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Wai`anae Coast in the 1960s

There once lived two sisters, twin sisters, on the coast of Māʻili in the district of Waiʻanae. Famed for their beauty, they were loved by many. So it would be fated that one of the sisters would capture the attention of a chief from the region, who sadly could not distinguish the woman he loved from her twin sister. Legend tells us that a moʻo (sacred dragon-like creature common in Hawaiian tales) came along and transformed all three into hills. Those hills are Puʻu Māʻiliʻiliʻi, Puʻu o Hulu Kai and

Puʻu o Hulu Uka. The hills can be seen today, where the chief continues to look longingly upon the sisters, attempting to distinguish his love from her sister.

Puʻu o Hulu sits in the foreground while Puʻu Māʻiliʻiliʻi can be seen in the distance.

While this mystic image of Waiʻanae is common among residents, it is not so common among outsiders. Just as residents of Waiʻanae are quick to recount stories of Waiʻanae's rich history and magic, non-residents are also very quick with their stories about Waiʻanae. Their stories are far less affectionate; they are in fact vicious and cruel. Many of those judgments are made publicly, on blogs.

One recent example came on July 9, 2008, after a jury convicted Les Schnabel Jr. of Manslaughter after less than a day of deliberation.[1] The prosecutor asked for the

maximum sentence of 20 years in prison. The conviction arose from an incident that occurred in 2007 at a beach park out in Wai`anae. Tourist and potential law student, Christopher Reuther, arrived in Hawai`i, and on the day of his arrival, went out to a beach in Nānākuli. Various reports say he was warned not to stay at that park.[2] He was also warned about taking pictures of beach residents. He did both anyway. After taking a picture of Schnabel without his consent, Schnabel confronted Reuther.[3] Schnabel attacked Reuther, punching him once in the head. Reuther fell, hitting his head on his rental car as he fell. Reuther died two days later from his injuries.[4]

Reuther's death was a tragic event, but also a telling one. The various responses it garnered from the community were very revealing. Blogs popped up quickly. One blog dedicated to the incident posted an article, "Killed for being Haole." The article read: "Why did Christopher Reuther have to die less than 24 hours after visiting Hawaii? Because he was racially profiled and attacked. His crime? Being white and on a beach typically researched (sic) for locals."[5] Other blogs expressed similar sentiments. The blog for the Honolulu Advertiser included comments like "he needs to be in jail and his bloodline stopped…PUT HIM IN JAIL NOW PROTECT THE CITIZENS OF THE STATE FROM ANIMALS LIKE LES SCHNABLE JR HE IS A REPEAT OFFENDER."[6] While these comments can be considered to be typically made for any local community, many were specific to Wai`anae:

> i been living here for 16 years and I cannot understand why locals in wainnae feel they are so tough and they hate when tourists go there, they live on the beach ,do drugs commit crimes, like kill people, rob and steal, then all of a sudden they get arrested and go to trial, take anger management, AND MIRACULOUSLY they are healed I hope this guy gets the MAX 20 YEAR TERM, so him and his drug buddies, who are probably still in WAINNAE, being criminals can learn form his case.[7]

These comments reflect a distinct and geographically located bias against the people of Wai`anae. There appears little effort to understand the area better, as the last blogger could not spell Wai`anae correctly, conversely spelling it wrong twice and with the same incorrect spelling.

Unfortunately, the negative image of Wai`anae, as a place where "locals… feel they are so tough … live on the beach, do drugs commit crimes…" has become an increasingly predominate one. The comments were similar after fires destroyed the homes of campers living on the beaches. "Kids in Waianae are not trustworthy because ...do i even have to explain? What scumbags, I hope their parents get some punishment for being too dumb and overweight.."[8] These views represent a perspective held by outsiders about Wai`anae.

The conflict in these two views, one of Wai`anae as rich and sacred and the other as dangerous and downtrodden, represents a larger tension that has existed in Wai`anae for hundreds of years between residents and outsiders. In the early years of foreign contact, the conflict was between native residents (kama`āina) and those who sought to control land and resources in the region. Towards the end of the Hawaiian Monarchy in the 1890s, the conflict escalated as entrepreneurs and military interests influenced land-holdings in the area. Eventually, during the territory years in the first half of the 20th century, military interests would lead to radical shifts in landownership and economic activity in Wai`anae, serving as the precursor for nearly one hundred years of social and physiological deterioration of the native population. While community dialogues about the conditions in Wai`anae may currently revolve around crime and homelessness, this dissertation traces these contemporary concerns back to

their origins. Upon review of this tumultuous history, we find the origin of this conflict to be a struggle common to native communities: it is a struggle for land.

This dissertation begins with the visible strife in Wai`anae today. The problems that persist in Wai`anae are multi-faceted: homelessness, poor health, poverty, economic depression. This dissertation quickly moves through the contemporary crises back to a history that reveals a very different Wai`anae. Through newspaper accounts, stories and song, a rich and beautiful Wai`anae right beneath and coming up through the cracks of what presently exists is discovered. A population of culturally mindful and astute people who have fought to protect their natural resources for centuries is found. The reverence shown these residents is the perpetuation of a tradition in which residents of this community have long celebrated their land. This dissertation shows how economic and social struggles in Wai`anae today are tied to the historical land struggles of the past.

We begin with the strife because it is where I, as a researcher, began. It is the easiest thing to see. Suffering and disadvantage run rampant in Wai`anae. I first went out there to look at it, to understand it. As a Native Hawaiian, I felt tremendous obligation to help other Native Hawaiians. I did not grow up in Wai`anae. I grew up in town, about an hour away, but in a completely different world. I lived in a single family home with my parents and brother. I went to an elite private school. I went to college, then on to graduate school. By comparison, thousands of children and young adults in Wai`anae live in tents, climbing from the beach each morning to go to school. Many homes are broken. Health problems are common. It is an unimaginable life for me, even today.

Somewhere between high school and college I started spending a lot of time in Ewa Beach, outside Wai`anae. (There was a boy who became a husband.) The area looked nothing like the Mānoa, where I grew up. Mānoa was cool and mountainous. The streets were wide and clean. Neighbors were mindful, quiet, and considerate. I have never been the victim of a home invasion. Ewa Beach by comparison was miserably hot and dry. It stank from the smell of the nearby landfill and pig slaughterhouse. People shouted or turned up the television regularly when airplanes approached for their landing, directly over the houses. Most houses had bars on the windows, often installed after multiple break-ins. I didn't even know such places existed on my island.

Upon entering graduate school, I learned about environmental justice. Environmental justice is the social movement and academic area of study that looks at the disproportionate placement of locally unwanted land uses are sited in or near disadvantaged communities. I decided to write my master's thesis on environmental justice on the Leeward Coast to bring attention to the things I saw in Ewa Beach. My master's thesis studied the grave disproportionate placement of the island's hazardous land uses in Ewa and Wai`anae. I continued the study of environmental justice while in law school. I completed law school and entered into my PhD program. Less than two years into the program, my husband was diagnosed with a rare cancer of the fat cells called liposarcoma. There are one in three hundred cases in the United States each year. The average age of onset is sixty. My husband was twenty-eight. No doctor had any reasonable explanation for his rare diagnosis. They could only speculate that it was the result of environmental factors.

Introduction

Upon returning from Houston, where my husband was treated at the M.D. Anderson Cancer Center, I became increasingly aware of a similar devastation occurring on the Leeward Coast. Suddenly it seemed that rare cancers were everywhere. I started to spend more time in Wai`anae. It was hardly the Wai`anae of my childhood where my uncle took me out on his boat with my dad when I was seven years old and taught me to fish. The most obvious difference was the tents. There were tents everywhere. People were clearly living on the beach, as opposed to just camping out there for a few days. There had already been some people living on the beach, but things seemed different now. There were more people, more families. I felt compelled to understand what was going on. I felt compelled to find some explanation, if there was one.

I found myself in Wai`anae as a conflicted researcher. I was both insider and outsider. I had very real and personal connections to this community from my family ties and my relationship to Ewa Beach, where my son attended a preschool that required the children to bring bottled water due to fears that drinking tap water might make the children sick. I found myself deeply empathetic to what the people in Wai`anae were going through. My relationships enabled the research in that I formed ties to people in the community that contributed. There is no doubt that the empathy I felt limited in my capacity to be objective. Perhaps researchers who study people, particularly native communities, should have more than an interest or fascination for the communities they study; they should genuine feel affection for that community. Although my personal history makes me biased, that bias drove the research and

compelled me to discover a Wai`anae beyond the newspaper headlines, and through that effort I found a community that was truly magical.

A Magical Wai`anae

Waiʻanae seeps with magic. It is so named for the plentiful mullet (`anae) that run through its fresh water (wai) streams. Its landmasses are the bodies of legendary figures. Its caves housed our gods. Our chiefs and leaders loved this place. From the stories of Waiʻanae we learn we are beautiful and ferocious people and that we have been since the beginning of time. Waiʻanae embodies the Hawaiian people at their most beautiful. And perhaps this is why, for the honor and preservation of this unparalleled beauty, that in Waiʻanae our most resistant and ferocious selves subsist.

We are the land. He Hawaiʻi au. I am Hawaiʻi. And the story of Waiʻanae is about a people who fought for the land; fought for themselves. Children who have refused to abandon their mother, Papahānaumoku. Waiʻanae shows me that the story of the land and the story of the Hawaiian people are one story. We are the land. We are Hawai`i. This is the story of what happened to Wai`anae; its transformation from a repository of traditional culture to a place trampled by foreign interests; to the site of a modern-day conflict between Hawaiians who fight to protect nohona Hawai`i (Hawaiian lifestyles) and those who find these lifestyles encumbrances upon the manifestation of development.

Hawai`i is a sacred place ravaged and dominated by blasphemy. And her people, the Native Hawaiian people, were born of her womb; so suited is the name Papahānaumoku, Papa who gives birth to islands. Like most of the indigenous people of the world, `ōiwi (another name for Native Hawaiians meaning “of the bones”) view

the earth upon which they reside as their mother, or *terra mater*. As children of a sacred earth, kama`āina dutifully served and cared for their land. In return, Papahānaumoku blessed them with enough natural resources so that her children could live prosperously. Among her many blessings to her people was her grandson, Hāloalaukapalili. Hāloalaukapalili came to the Hawaiian people from her daughter, Ho`ohōkūkalani. Hāloalaukapalili's common body form, the kalo plant, would be the staple food of the Hawaiian peole for thousands of years. For the indigenous people of Hawai`i, well-being derived directly from their relationship to their land, and as such, the social, economic and physical ailments that plague them today are symptoms of their separation from their land and traditional lifestyle. This separation resulted from ecocolonization, the process by which indigenious people collaterally suffer the effects of the seizure and destruction of their natural resources by an outside political force, in this case, western settlement in Hawai`i by foreigners (also referred to herein as "haole" or "hoa`āina"). Therefore, the ills we witness in Hawai`i today among `ōiwi can only be cured when the land and natural resources of Native Hawaiians are returned to them, such that they may restore the traditional practices that first granted them well-being; for prosperity will only return to Hawaiians when we ho`i hou iā Papahānaumoku, return to Papahānaumoku.

Yet, before we can begin our journey to return to Papahānaumoku, we must first understand the ways in which we have been separated from her and what this means for the Hawaiian people. We focus here on one moku, the district of Wai`anae on the island of O`ahu. This dissertation looks at how the environmental destruction and changes in the land led to the social and economic devastation that exists in Wai`anae

today. In this historical analysis, we find that the history of the environment in Wai`anae are inseparately tied to the history and welfare of the native people, and the people of Wai`anae constantly fought to protect their land and resources since foreign contact, demonstrating a consistent awareness of the impact the changes to the natural resources around them would have on their well-being.

The contestation over Wai`anae reflects an effort to maintain the region as a place of refuge and import for its residents. A study on the health of Wai`anae explains: "*Health for Hawaiians is experienced as a pu`uhonua or safe palce.* The relationship between a sense of place and health was experienced as *pu`uhonua*, or safe place. The concepts of safety, security, comfort, and refuge are captured in this final theme. Participants created for themselves a *pu`uhonua* because of the way they lived their lives. They became a *pu`uhonua*, because the place they live, Wai`anae, was a *pu`uhonua*."[9] Control and protection of Wai`anae as a sacred space serves multiple functions of the people of Wai`anae. Defining Wai`anae speaks to more than the opportunity for a group of people to recognize the value of the space in which they live; it allows for their well-being. It allows the entire community to identify themselves, and the resulting conflict for that space is more than just a land dipute – it is a struggle for identity and existence.

Papahānaumoku and the ideology she symbolizes represents more than the spirituality of the Native Hawaiian people; it embodies the way in which indigenous peoples view the world. As philosopher Micrea Eliade writes:

> An Indian prophet, Smohalla, chief of the Wanapum tribe, refused to till the ground. He held that it was a sin to mutilate and tear up the earth, mother of all. He said: "You ask me to plow the ground! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest.

> You ask me to dig for stone? Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die, I cannot enter her body to be born again. You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men! But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?[10]

Smohalla made this statement in the late 1800s, reflecting a timeless Native perspective on the earth as mother and natural resources as familial relations. Aunty Loretta Ritte, famed Hawaiian activist, echoed a nearly identical sentiment close to one hundred years later in reference to Papa (a shorterned form of Papahānaumoku). In opposition to the continued military bombing of the island of Kaho`olawe, she said,

> First I'd like to say *aloha* and welcome you to our home. My name is Loretta Ritte and I'm speaking as a Hawaiian and as a native of this *`āina*. One thing I've learned from my *kūpuna's* as a Hawaiian is the great respect for the *`āina*, for the *`āina* is the giver of life, of life. And if we do not respect the land, then where would we be? How do we take care of Papa, our earth? By filling her pores with concrete, her beauty, so she cannot breathe? By digging into her, drilling into her, bombing her, to leave wounds and scars on this earth. Is that how we take care of our land?[11]

Papahānaumoku represents more than just physical land; it reflects the well-being of the Native Hawaiian people. These statements reflected a common philosophy native people shared about ecological conservation. Clearly, these statements were not meant to be taken literally. American Indians were brillliant farmers, as were Hawaiians. Of course they cut grass. Hawaiians dug into the earth, as did American Indians. These statements were protests to American imperialization, which threatened native lands and culture. They were protests to commodification of native resources, which resulted in the removal of natives from their land and the systematic destruction of natural resources necessary of the survival of indigeous civilizations.

When Papa is not well; we are not well. When we cannot care for Papa; we cannot care for ourselves. `Ōiwi and Papa share a fundamentally symbiotic

relationship; one cannot survive without the other. When we rediscover our relationship with Papa; we rediscover a relationship to ourselves as Hawaiian people. Our return to Papa begins with the identification of our spaces and resources as sacred. For indigenous people, establishment of a sacred sphere of beliefs provided more than just ideologies and norms that contributed to traditional societal understanding of the world around them. It codified critical knowledge regarding natural resource management and sustainablity. When native people identified a space or resources as "sacred," it identified and protected natural resource necessities.

Within the native community, identification of sacred resources manifests itself through a creation of a discourse of texts and oral literature. This discourse was and now again threatens to be highly problematic for non-resident foreigners for the following reasons:

a) Identifying sacred sites and resources allows for the exclusion and alienation of foreigners from those resources;
b) It engenders the perpetuation of culture and community, which may in turn galvanize a social or political movement in opposition to the interested foreign power(s);
c) It may facilitate conflict over these resources between the natives who sustained the resources and the foreigners who covet them for their own economic gain;
d) Self-identification is a form of self-determination that serves to psychologically and culturally empower a community.

Ultimately, the conflict in Wai`anae stems from a community that seeks to empower itself and the foreign powers, particularly the state and federal governments, who control a considerable amount of the land in Wai`anae and are interested in maintaining control over Hawai`i's natural resources.

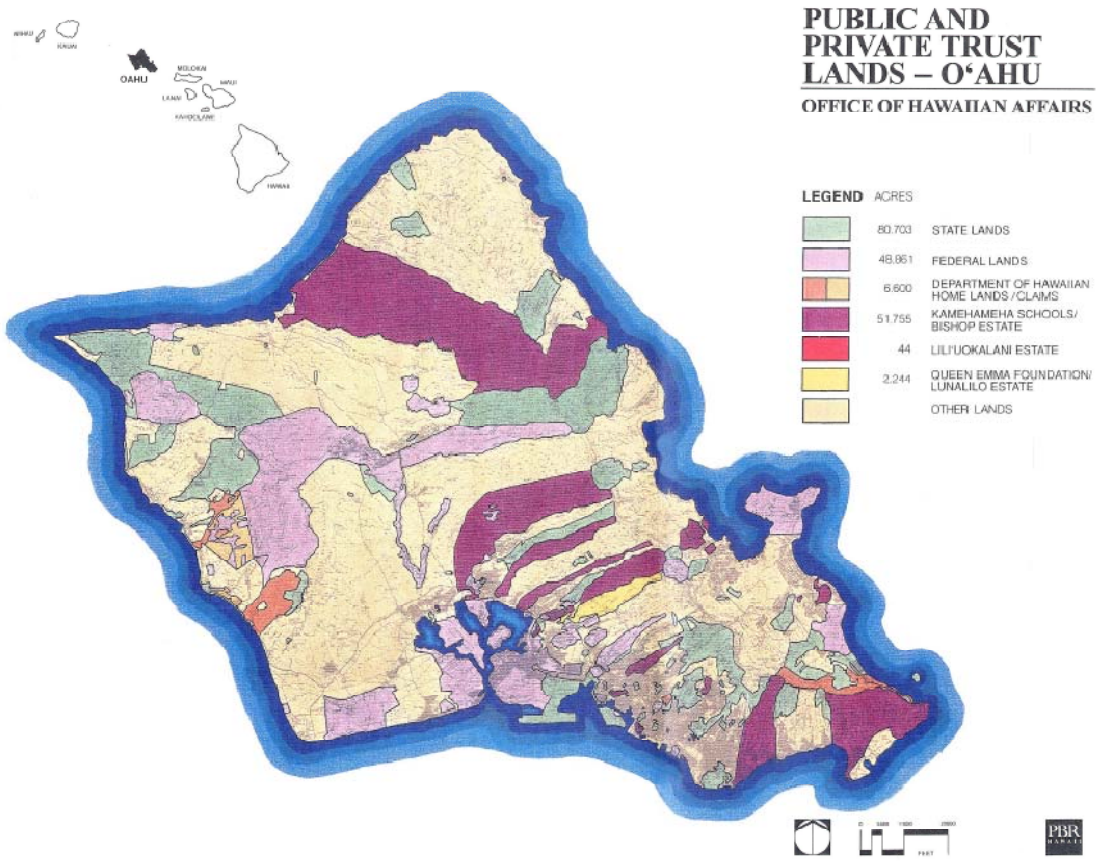

Figure 1. Note the large tracts of land controlled by the State and Federal governments in Wai`anae, located on the Western Coast of the Island of O`ahu. Source: Office of Hawaiian Affairs (2006).

Land ownership or control is only one issue in an elaborate system of problems facing the Wai`anae community today. Equally disturbing and threatening are the grave physiological and economic problems facing the community's residents. In the following section, we review the geography, demographics, economic status and other

social conditions of Wai`anae, focusing in particular on the Native Hawaiian population. Histories on land holdings and the control of natural resource management are discussed at in Chapters Two and Three. Analysis of the health conditions of the residents is discussed in Chapter Four.

Demography of Wai`anae Today

Figure 2. This modern map of the Wai`anae moku and its current nine ahupua`a shows the geographic location of the region. These boundaries differ from district boundaries that existed at the time of first foreign contact, although it was not uncommon throughout pre-contact Hawai`i for boundaries to change due to changes in political climates. Photo from DZM Hawai`i (2008).

Today Wai`anae is not well, although this was not always the case. Prior to contact, Wai`anae was a thriving hub of political activity. As with all of Hawai`i,

foreign contact would bring devastating changes to this region. As Samuel Kamakau describes the arrival of Captain Cook and foreigners,

> The seeds that he [Captain Cook] planted here have sprouted, grown, and become the parents of others that have caused the decrease of the native population of these islands. Such are gonorrhea, and other social disease; prostitution; the illusion of his being a god [which led to] worship of him; fleas and mosquitoes; epidemics. All of these things have led to changes in the air which we breathe; the coming of things which weaken the body; changes in plant life; changes in religion; changes in the art of healing; and changes in the laws by which the land is governed.[12]

If these changes began by the time Kamakau wrote his text, they have only become more pronounced and devastating in the decades since. The "Wai`anae Ecological Characterization" study conducted by the Hawai`i State Government Department of Business Economic Development and Tourism states:

> Over the past 150 years, Wai‘anae has seen dramatic changes in its land cover and natural resources as a result of the introduction of western values, among them land ownership and monetary value. The demise of the sugar industry left large agricultural districts subject to urban sprawl. Urban growth and watershed impacts, such as the loss of native forest and the diversion of water, have resulted in increased water pollution, soil erosion, and runoff, which have been detrimental to Wai‘anae's ocean and coastal resources. Mullet (anae), the fish for which the area was named, are not as abundant due to altered coastal and estuarine habitats.[13]

Today Wai`anae's population continues to struggle to maintain the sustainability of the region. The number of residents in the region is greater than at any other point in its history.

> At the time of the 2000 census, the population of the Wai‘anae moku was 42,259. Within the moku, Wai‘anae was the most populous community, with 32 percent of the population (more than 13,000 people) residing there. Lualualei was the next most populous, with close to 8,000 residents (19 percent of the Wai‘anae moku's population).[14]

Of these 42,259 residents, the majority are Hawaiian. The study explains, "People of the Wai'anae moku represent a diversity of racial and ethnic backgrounds, including Hawaiian, Caucasian, Filipino, Japanese, Samoan, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese, African, and other Asian and Pacific Island races. More than 40 percent characterize themselves as being of two or more races. More than 62 percent of moku residents consider themselves Hawaiian or part Hawaiian."[15] This is disproportionately high compared to the state average.

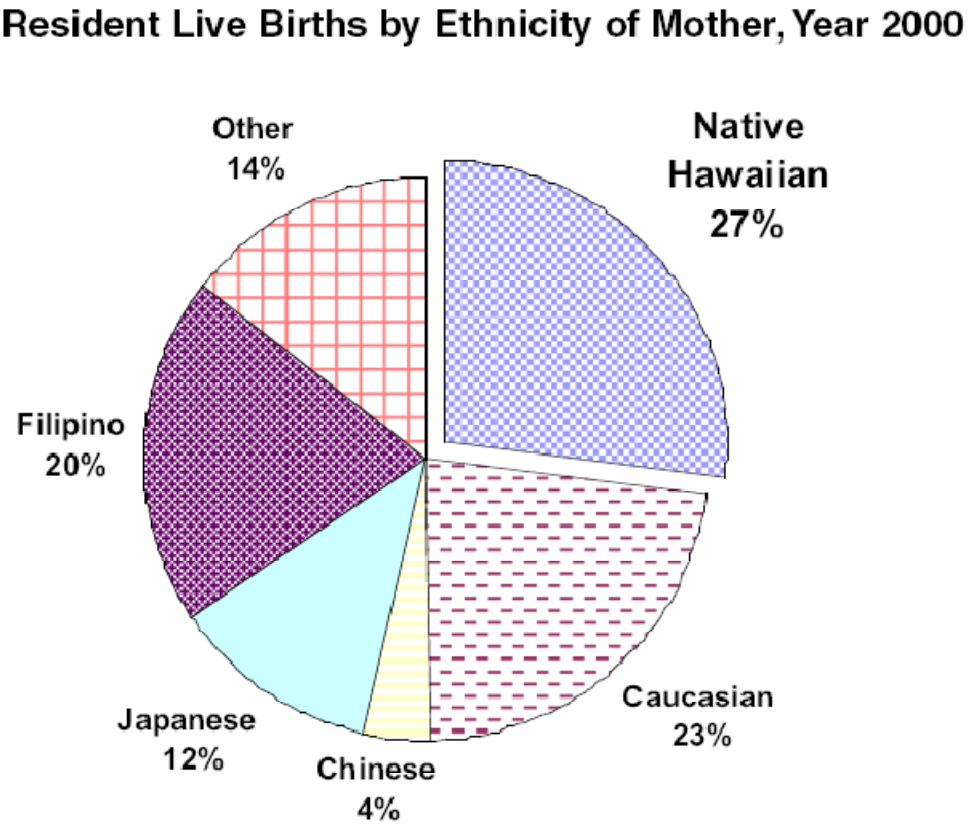

Figure 3. The percentage of births in Hawai`i, comparable to the percentage of Hawaii residents with Hawaiian ancestry, is approximately 27%, whereas the percentage of residents in Waianae with Hawaiian ancestry is 62%, over twice the state average. *Source: Office of Health Source Monitoring, Hawaii State Department of Health / Native Hawaiian Data Book, Office of Hawaiian Affairs* (2002)

Compare this with other locations on O`ahu. The concentration of Hawaiians in Wai`anae far exceeds other regions on the island.[16]

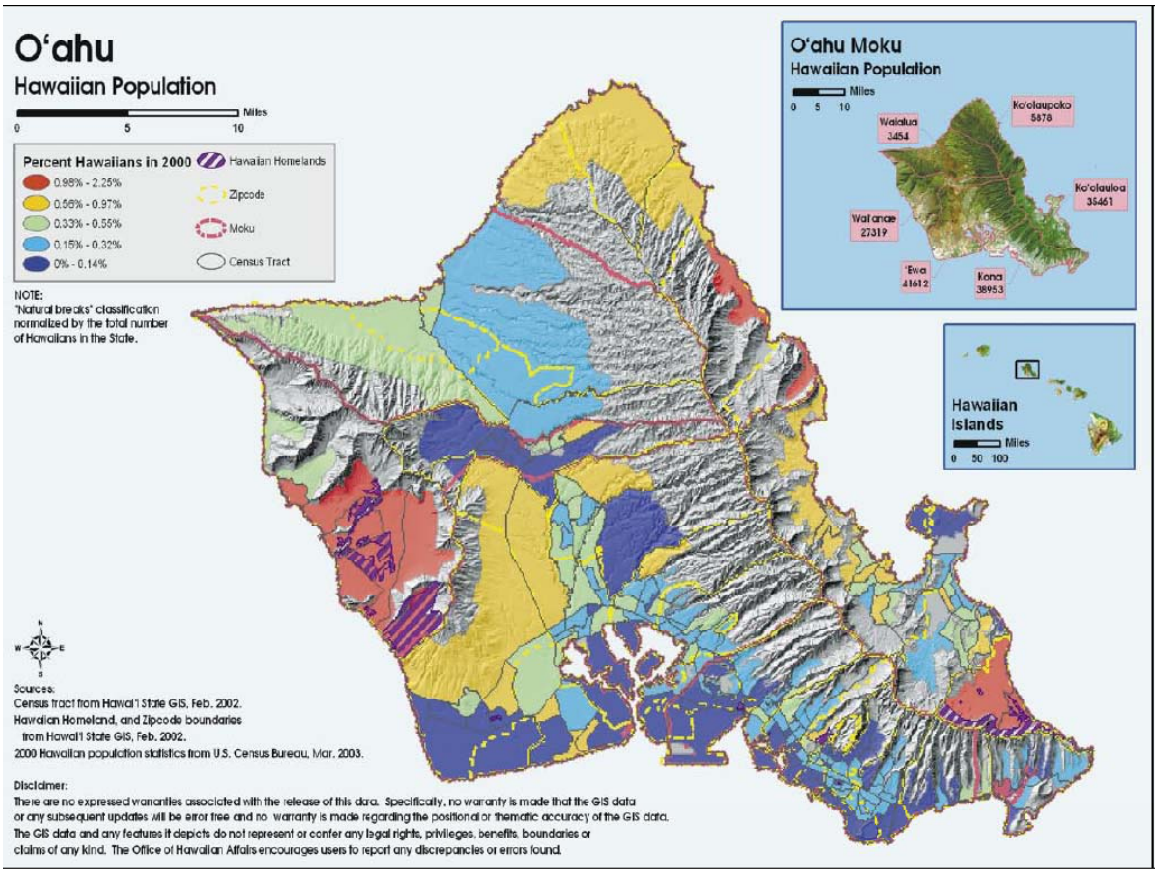

Figure 4. The distribution of Hawaiians residing on the island of O`ahu. Source: *Native Hawaiian Data Book, Office of Hawaiian Affairs* (2006)

The residents of Wai`anae also struggle economically. The study describes the following: "The median household income and per capita income of Wai'anae residents are $42,451 and $13,029, respectively, lower than those of O'ahu residents and State of Hawai'i residents. The percentage of residents living below the poverty level, 21.9 percent, is more than double the percentage of O'ahu residents as a whole (9.9 percent below the poverty level)."[17] Wai`anae also sees an extremely high number of residents become houseless. Nonetheless, as one article reads: "While on paper,

Wai‘anae's problems may seem overwhelming, its ability to organize as a community is unmatched on the island.”It's not that we want to scream 'Poor Wai‘anae!'" Katy Kok [Nani O Wai‘anae director] says. "We have a great pride in this lower income area."”[18] Community pride and activism are a critical part of Wai`anae’s identity.

Activism in Wai`anae responds largely to the systemic oppression historically imposed upon this community, oppression that this dissertation will illustrate contributed significantly to the conditions that exist today. While various scholars dispute the effectiveness or futility of such activity, I argue that activism, regardless of its ultimate political impact, has intrinsic psychological value for the community. The great threat to any community is not oppression but inaction. When a community become so downtrodden by institutionalized prejudice and discrimination that its members no longer even bother to act in an (perhaps futile or even superficial) effort to preserve their own emotional well-being, then we go from being the oppressed to the defeated. Once defeated, we lose the will and capacity to pass our virtues and knowledges to the next generation, as those mired in apathy lose faith in their virtues and thereby lose the will to pass them on to others. This is how cultures die. Note one tale from a kupuna in Wai`anae: “Daddy spoke beautiful Hawaiian and I would often ask him why we weren’t taught to speak the language. I was able to understand and only speak a little bit. Today, speaking Hawaiian is a lost art. Daddy said we would have to learn English because that was the times.”[19] As a result of Hawaiian parents who stopped teaching their children Hawaiian because “that was the times,” language and other cultural practices declined among Hawaiians.

Introduction

There is little dispute that Wai`anae today faces some of the most oppressive and destructive conditions anywhere in Hawai`i. Unlike the rest of the island, they confront poverty and violence regularly. In this regard, their actions, both social and ideological, are in sync with many communities across the world that mobilized in response to institutional inequity. As Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward explain,

> lower-class groups have little ability to protect themselves against reprisals that can be employed by institutional managers. The poor do not have to be historians of the occasions when protestors have been jailed or shot down to understand this point. The lesson of their vulnerability is engraved in everyday life; it is evidence in every police beating, in every eviction, in every lost job, in every relief termination. The very labels used to describe defiance by the lower classes – the pejorative labels of illegality and violence – testify to this vulnerability and serve to justify severe reprisals when they are imposed. By taking such labels for granted, we fail to recognize what these events really represent: a structure of political coercion inherent in the everyday life of the lower classes.[20]

Therefore, it is necessary not only to identify these institutionalized structures of political coercion, their histories and modern day forms, but also to devise a method of constructing a counter narrative. There needs to be a way to study Wai`anae that moves past the pejorative labels and internalized frustrations into the subverted history and culture of traditional Wai`anae. To accomplish this I will use mele, oli, cultural practices, mo`olelo and other traditional sites of knowledge.

Theoretical Orientation: Ecocolonization

Ecocolonialism is the theory I have created which refers to the process by which western forces simultaneously colonize indigenous natural resources and the First

People who inhabit that environment. The colonization of these two entities cannot be separated.

The theory of ecocolonization, a theory that I primarily locate in Hawai`i and among the history of its People, derives from a need among Hawaiian academics to develop theories and methodologies that center on this place. Ecocolonization speaks of the land and its indigenous people as a single unit, although the patterns of colonization throughout the world have not treated them as such. Imperial ideologies, without an appreciation of this fundamental link between the people and land, sever them in discursive discussions. They talk about the land and the people as separate entities when they are not. Understanding the ways in communities remain socially dysfunctional requires a serious investigation into the damage done to surrounding natural resources.

Hawaiians came from the land. We are literally, "the children of the land." We are the land, as children are their parents. In describing the significance of this, Kumu Hula Pueo Pata says the following:

> When Hawaiians ask who the parents are of another, they query, "Na wai `oe (literally, who made you OR to whom do you belong?)?" Looking at mana`o on land issues along with our word kama'āina, our kupuna have left us ways with which to view our relationship to our lands.
>
> "Kama'āina" literally means "land child", and is therefore taken to mean "Native-born, one born in a place, host." However, those familiar with our Hawaiian language would see more in the way of mana`o behind this simple word. A "land child" or "child of the land" implies that such a child has a parent... a parent to whom the child belongs or by whom [the child] was created. It's an interesting concept to think of a person as belonging to, or having been created by, the land. How could this be?

* * *

"Na wai `oe? To whom do you belong... who made you?" "Na Kauahi au. I belong to Kauahi... he made me." This kind of interaction clearly makes it known that the person questioned is a descendant of Kauahi. As Hawaiians, genealogies play a direct role in determining our descent from our ancestors and our relationship to those around us. As the vast majority of our ancestors could have traced their lineages back to specific gods and places beyond the horizon, we could thus determine the amount of mana that we inherited. Such bequeathals anciently determined our social statuses ranging from ali`i to maka`ainana.

"Na wai `oe? To whom do you belong... who made you?" "Na Kauahi au. I belong to Kauahi... he made me." Kauahi descended from Keahi, Keahi from Nalehu, Nalehu from `Aunaki, and on and on. This hypothetical genealogy could continue all the way back to, say, the human Pele who was later deified into the goddess we know of today... and hence to her mother Haumea or her father Kane-hoa-lani, etc. All those of true ali`i blood are guaranteed to have genealogical links like this back to the gods.

Wahi pana, being physical forms or remains of our godly or human ancestors are still revered today as honored kupuna. Places named for the deeds of our godly or human ancestors are thus treated as heirlooms handed from one generation to the next. This hill IS Pele... Pele IS my ancestor... this hill IS a form of the ancestor from whom I descend. "Na wai `oe? To whom do you belong... who made you?" "Na Kauahi au. I belong to Kauahi... he made me... and he came from Keahi, who came from Kalehu, who came from `Aunaki, who came from Pele." Because Pele made me, I belong to her... because this particular land feature is one of her forms, I belong to it. I am literally a "kama'āina"... a "child of the land".

Such traditional relationships between kama'āina and the land lend testament to their deep respect and reverence for the lands upon which they reside and by which they are surrounded. Grandparents give birth to parents, parents give birth to children, children give birth to grandchildren. Each generation is nourished in many forms by the generations above it. As forms of our ancient ancestors and their deeds, the land still nourishes all those who live upon it, both kama'āina and foreign. However, as direct descendants of those venerated kupuna, do we still recognize ourselves as their kama (children)? Do we still treat and respect them as such? For that matter, can we still recall our connection to them in unbroken lineal descent from them to us? The answers to those questions lend to the differences between "kama'āina (children of the land)" and "kupa (citizen, native)".

All in all, because of some of the things mentioned about, our ancestors of old passed on the traditional concept that we belong to the land... not the land to us. We are taught to tend and care for our kupuna because they did the same for us. We are also taught to tend and care for our `āina because it does the same for us

> in both its capacity as forms of kupuna and also as a source of immediate life-sustaining necessities. Such concepts strengthen our identities as "kama'āina"... "children of the land".[40]

This fundamental notion, "we belong to the land… not the land to us" is echoed in most environmental theories. Yet, ecocolonialism differs from these theories in that it contends that the Native people of a land have a fundamentally different stake and relationship to land than other groups, who may also support environmentally-friendly policies. Most lands have kama'āina, children of the land. Those children, the indigenous peoples of that land, typically have familial relationships with that land tracing back thousands of years. From this unique relationship, the very identities of those peoples are directly tied to their ancestral lands.

The relationship between someone and their ancestral land is a profound one because it speaks to one's history and identity. This relationship is amplified when one is raised on his or her ancestral land. For Hawaiians, this is our only home. Understanding our history and culture comes directly from understanding the land. The Native belief system taught Kanaka Maoli that the Native people were born from the kalo plant. This became pivotal to the ways in which Hawaiians understood their entire world. As Professor Manu Meyer explains, "Taro cultivation is a spiritual/environmental facet of epistemology. If people are linked to the shadowy figure of a far and distant past and yet make that shadowy figure tangible and present every day they cultivate and partake of its manifestation, this can't help but validate and inform issues of context and values."[41] Our very sense of ourselves, our identities, does not exist separate from our land. Just as the western world appreciates the importance of genealogy, here, in Hawai`i, the land is our genealogy. Ecocolonialism specifies that

if you want to understand the people of Hawai`i, the Kanaka `Ōiwi, you must understand the land.

What happened to the Hawaiian people is a model of ecocolonization. The misperception is that the United States colonized the Native people, that the colonization of Hawai`i derived primarily from the desire to colonize the indigenous population. This simply isn't the case. The colonization of Hawai`i stemmed from the United States' need to control Hawai`i's natural resources, namely its waters, ports, and lands. The "civilization" of the Native people simply became a way to control people while exploiting natural resources. Colonization, in any location, has never been about the betterment of First Peoples; it has always been about gaining acquisition over the resources controlled by those Peoples.

The decision to coin the term "ecocolonization" at a time in academia when identifying Hawai`i as "colonized" is highly problematic for some scholars. I think it would be a grave error to distance ourselves and our discourse from the peoples and places impacted by colonization. The greatest illusion of colonization is the perpetuation of the myth that colonization is primarily political. As with most things, Westerns controlled the discourse on colonialism. Westerns first identified the discourse as political when it was truly economic. Colonization is driven by economics, not politics. At the core of colonialism's methodological web is a need for resources. The "colonization of Hawaii" was a struggle for resources; political occupation is only one of many problematic results. Compare this to Albert Memmi's comment on colonization: "the intelligent members of the bourgeoisie and colony had understood that the essence of colonization was not the prestige of the flag, nor cultural

expansion, nor even governmental supervision and the preservation of a staff of government employees. They were pleased that concessions could be made in all areas if the basis (in other words, if the economic advantages) were preserved."[42] More evidence of the holistic machine of colonization is modern day realities of western dominance.

We can often better appreciate the past by grappling with the end result. Samuel Huntington identifies a common picture of the west today:

> The West is the only civilization which has substantial interests in every other civilization or region and has the ability to affect the politics, economic and security of every other civilization or region. Societies from other civilizations usually need Western help to achieve their goals and protect their interests. Western nations, as one author summarized it:
>
> - Own and operate the international banking system
> - Control all hard currencies
> - Are the world's principal customer
> - Provide the majority of the world's finished goods
> - Dominate international capital markets
> - Exert considerable moral leadership within many societies
> - Are capable of massive military intervention
> - Control the sea lanes
> - Conduct most advanced technical research and development
> - Control leading edge technical education
> - Dominate access to space
> - Dominate the aerospace industry
> - Dominate international communications
> - Dominate the high-tech weapons industry.[43]

If we at least appreciate that this is the status of the west today, we can perhaps begin to move past the ruse of democratic propaganda which couches our understanding of Hawai`i's past in terms of the realities of Hawai`i's colonial present.

Evidence of ecocolonialism presents itself over and over throughout history. The European seizure of Africa combined the colonization of the land and the people

through the naked aggression of the slave trade, in which people were treated as property. Only slightly more subtle, the colonization of the Native American Indians, under the guise of the efforts to civilize and Christianize the Native people, proved to a largely successful effort to seize the vast natural resources of the Americas. When the Native American proved to be unfit for civilization, they were viciously slaughtered as colonizers gleefully seized lands emptied by epidemics and evictions. Throughout the Pacific, European and American explorers claimed Pacific Island nations on behalf of western nation states. As David Hanlon explains of American activity in Micronesia:

> Following Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Raymond Williams defines ideology as "an articulated system of meanings, values, and beliefs" that can be abstracted to serve as a worldview for any social group. This definition will serve our purposes well enough, especially as we amend it to account for the historically specific circumstances of American colonialism in Micronesia. It is perhaps one of the functions of a national ideology to mask the crude objectives of self-interest and to deny the violence of conquest that precedes and makes possible the colonial act.[44]

Ecocolonization attempts to unmask the western ideologies that persist today and dismantle the system of meanings, values and beliefs that contributed to the dismemberment of native people and their natural resources. We apply Hanlon's analysis to the circumstances of resource seizure in Wai`anae and look at how native stories were replaced by foreign narratives. The result was the theft of thousands of acres of lands and irreplaceable natural resources that have yet to be returned.

Ecofeminism: Theoretical Roots

Ecofeminism is, in the words of Noel Sturgeon, "a movement that makes connections between environmentalisms and feminisms; more precisely, it articulates the theory that the ideologies that authorize injustices based on gender, race, and class are related to the ideologies that sanction the exploitation and degradation of the

environment."[45] Ecocolonization derives from this theory. Ecofeminism demonstrates an appreciation for the treatment of people and its relationship to the treatment of the environment. Ecocolonization, though, does not build upon ecofeminism as much as it attempts to explain its historical roots. Whereas ecofeminism articulates how western ideologies that reinforce notions of dominance over nature contribute to ideologies of dominance over marginalized groups, ecocolonization points out that these conflicts developed first from western ideologies that contributed to the domination of western settlers over Native Peoples throughout the world.

Yet, ecofeminism serves as an appropriate basis for ecocolonization because both theories have practical goals. The goals of ecology are equally influential here. Charlene Spretnak writes,

> The technological experts of the modern era, with their colleagues in business, government, and the military, are waging an antibiological revolution in human conduct. The moral systems of Western ethnics and religion are nearly powerless in this struggle because those systems themselves are largely devoid of ecological wisdom. The crying need right now – if we have any hope of charting a postmodern, posthumanist, and postpatriarchal transition to the Age of Ecology – is for a new philosophical underpinning of civilization. We need an ecophilosophy that speaks the truth with great immediacy in language that everyone can understand.[46]

This goal begs for coupling with the academic movements of indigenous people. Indigenous people, who draw continuously from "ecological wisdom" in their living and scholarship, contribute much to ecofeminism. Ecofeminism also demonstrates an appreciation for linking academics and community activism. For Native Peoples, this link has long been a reality.

None of this should imply that ecofeminism has not been moving towards an ecocolonization orientation for some time. Ecofeminism draws tangentially from

indigenous wisdoms. In "Speaking for the Earth: The Haida Way," Gwaganad of Haada Gwaii recounts her people's experience with foreigners, a story familiar to the indigenous peoples of the world.

> So the people came. We tried their way. Their language. Their education. Their way of worship. It is clear to me that they are not managing our lands well. If this continues, there will be nothing left for my children and my grandchildren to come. I feel that the people governing us should give us a chance to manage the land the way we know how it should be.[47]

The people of Haada Gwaii, renamed by British colonizers as the Queen Charlotte Islands and located in the Northern Pacific Ocean off the coast of British Columbia, share a concern for their land reminiscently similar to the concern expressed by indigenous Hawaiians. Gwaganad says of her environment: "So I want to stress that it's the land that helps us maintain our culture. It is an important, important part of our culture. Without this land, I fear very much for the future of the Haida nation. … I don't want my children to inherit stumps. I want my children and my grandchildren to grow up with pride and dignity as a member of the Haida nation. I fear that if we take that land, we may lose the dignity and the pride of being a Haida."[48] This demonstrates how indigenous knowledges already play an important role in ecofeminism. Yet, ecofeminism does not specifically recognize how colonization serves as a basis for all the injustices tied to the dominance of western ideologies.

It is important to begin making this history known. In this regard, bringing Indigenous Peoples together, in scholarship and in activism, is extremely important. When these groups are brought together, we see how patterns of oppression repeat themselves throughout history. For example, the similarity between the pleas of the Native Haida and the Native Hawaiian hardly need be pointed out. Yet, ecofeminism

makes no explicit connection between colonization and the resulting dispossession of Native Peoples and the environment. Ecofeminism instead sees a larger connection between the discrimination against all "suspect classes" (race, gender, class) and environmental destruction. Ecocolonization allows Indigenous Peoples to appreciate how western ideologies contributed to the devastation of land and cultures throughout the world. It becomes a space in which to share stories. Share successes. Reinforce knowledges. Vent anger. Overcome grief.

Therefore, ecocolonization focuses explicitly and exclusively on the relationship between the colonization of indigenous peoples and the colonization of the environment. As the product of a western ideology that attempts to commodify, and thereby exploit, all resources (both human and environmental), ecocolonialism is the continuing root of all the problems identified and addressed by ecofeminists.

Many of these ideas are shared in Donald A. Grinde and Bruce E. Johansen's text *Ecocide of Native America: Environmental Destruction of Indian Lands and Peoples*. Ecocide focuses on the environmental devastation caused by the western world to Native environments and how this devastation is tied to the genocide of Native American Indians. As Grinde and Johansen put it: "To appreciate the impact of the environmental crisis on Native Americans, it is necessary to understand the earth from a Native American perspective – as sacred space, as provider for the living, and as a shrine for the dead. Ecology and land are intimately connected with Native American spirituality, which entails that land is not regarded merely as real estate, a commodity to be bought, sold, or exploited for financial gain."[49] Ecocolonization differs from this in its focus upon Native Peoples and the social problems facing these communities today.

It further extends these problems and applies them to Indigenous Peoples throughout the world. The ecocolonization of Native Peoples is a global problem.

Ka `Aina Kapu o Wai`anae

There are many wahi pana remaining in Hawai`i today, but of all of them, it was Wai`anae that gave us fire.

It was Wai`anae that gave us fire.

As the progeny of those who in our legends were the keepers of our fire, the people of Wai`anae today carry that fire in their bellies. It reminds us of their great import and power. This fire ignites them. It warms them. It protects them. For Wai`anae has always been in great need of protection. As all things sacred and special, the things of Wai`anae have always been coveted by those who were not of Wai`anae and therefore not entitled to them. From its coastal waters to its mountaintops, there was no inch of Waianae not actively sought by outsiders from first contact. Wai`anae's post-contact history is one of struggle and survival. No single district has undergone greater assault from foreigners than Wai`anae. No people have suffered more as a result.

The relationship between Wai`anae and the Hawaiians who live there perseveres in spite of great adversity. It is a testament to the relationship between Native Hawaiians and the land they love so dearly. In Wai`anae, where our fire was born, the people cling to the earth as an infant does his mother. There is no telling where one begins and the other ends, this mother and her child. There is only noting that one will not exist without the other. That embrace is a place of refuge, a pu`uhonua.

This dissertation explains how Wai`anae remains a pu`uhonua for Hawaiians. Wai`anae's status as a pu`uhonua derives from the ability of its residents to preserve many of the pre-contact values and traditions that originated there. This success stems largely from the perpetuation of nohona Hawai`i (Hawaiian lifeways) in the moku. Na Hawai`i o Wai`anae continue to maintain some control over the landscape of Wai`anae: both physical and ideological. Whereas in many locations throughout Hawaii, `ōiwi have been unable to maintain control of their land, resulting in the alienation from native Hawaiians and one hanau (place of birth), Hawaiians in Wai`anae have been able to remain pili to their `āina. This closeness, both physical and spiritual, allows for Wai`anae to be a kulanakauhale pu`uhonua.

Throughout the dissertation we discuss the physical and ideological landscapes of Wai`anae. By looking at the ways in which Hawaiian concepts and ideologies remain dominate in the region, evidence of a significant degree of agency reveals itself. Unlike other regions of O`ahu, traditional beliefs that intertwine myth and place are still actively taught and the lessons of these traditions are actively practiced. As a result, Wai`anae becomes both a physical and ideological pu`uhonua; Wai`anae is a place where Hawaiians can be Hawaiian.

The dominance of nohona Hawai`i in Wai`anae further allows for the maintenance of a more traditional relationship between the land and the Hawaiian people. While later chapters will show that foreign powers went to great lengths to alienate the people of Wai`anae from their land, examples of resistance are also presented. Thus, whereas Wai`anae remains the frontline of the struggle between Native Hawaiians and imperial America, it is also the site on O`ahu where Hawaiian

values are best protect and preserved. It is one of the many places where Hawaiians on O`ahu are likely to find those who still practice our culture; it is where we must look to learn how to ho`i hou iā Papahānaumoku when we achieve the freedom to make this return.

When we call our one hanau a pu`uhonua, we are empowering ourselves. We are claiming in native tongue and discourse what we have (momentarily) lost in title. We are dismembering foreign acts of occupation and imperialism. We declare that the mana of a place exists independent of "ownership." We resist western imperialism and all the ills among our people that have followed.

Ku`e! We resist! And from this resistence we can regain our footing. This allows us space to heal. This gives the land time so she can heal and restore herself. Onipa`a! We stand our ground! We maintain control and stewardship over our aina, over our resources. Holomua! We push forward and flurish, into the past, into the future!

[1] "Guilty Verdict in Manslaughter Trial," available at http://www.honoluluadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080710/NEWS20 (accessed August 16, 2008).

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Killed for Being Haole" available at http://www.hawaiitopia.com/?p=41 (accessed August 16, 2008).

[6] Honolulu Advertiser Blogs, available at http://www.honoluluadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080710/NEWS20/807100366&s=d&page=61#pluckcomments (accessed August 16, 2008).

[7] Ibid.

[8] "Homeless Lose Tents in Waianae Brushfire," Honolulu Advertiser Blogs, at http://www.honoluluadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080917/BREAKING01/80917066&s=d&page=2#pluckcomments (accessed October 1, 2008).

[9] Mary Frances Mailelauli`i Oneha, "Ka mauli o ka `oina a he mauli kanaka: an ethnographic study from an Hawaiian sense of place," Pacific Health Dialog, Vol 8, 2002, 309-310.

[10] Mircea Eliade, *Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion*, (New York: Harcourt, 1957), 138.

[11] Nā Maka o Ka `Āina, Kaho`olawe Aloha `Āina (Video Transcript), on file with author.

[12] Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai`i* (Revised Edition), (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1992), 104.

[13] "Wai`anae Ecological Characterization," Community Report, DZM Hawaii and Nation Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, at http://hawaii.gov/dbedt/czm/initiative/wec/index.htm (accessed March 16, 2008).

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] The study notes:

> The Wai‘anae moku has a high concentration of Native Hawaiians. More than 62 percent of moku residents consider themselves Hawaiian or part Hawaiian. Of moku residents reporting only one race, about 22.9 percent are Native Hawaiian, compared to only 5.6 percent of the population for O‘ahu, and 6.6 percent for the State of Hawai‘i. Caucasians and Asians make up a significantly smaller percentage of the population within the moku than for O‘ahu as a whole.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Dawson, T. 2000. "In Battered Waianae, Community Organizes to Save Environment, Health." *Environment Hawaii* 10(9). http://www.environment-hawaii.org/300cov.htm (Accessed October 30, 2007).

[19] Wai`anae Coast Culture and Arts Society, *Ka Po`e Kahiko o Wai`anae*, (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., 1986), 3.

[20] Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements, Why They Succeed, How They Fail*, (New York: Random House, 1979), 25-26.

[40] Cody Pueo Pata, Personal Communication (on file with author).

[41] Manulani Aluli Meyer,Ho`oulu: *Our Time of Becoming: Hawaiian Espitemology and Early Writings*, (Honolulu: Ai Pohaku, 2003), 98.

[42] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Expanded Edition), (Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1991), 6.

[43] Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 81-82.

[44] David Hanlon, *Remaking Micronesia: Discourses over Development in a Pacific Territory, 1944-1982* (Honolulu: UH Press, 1998), 4.

[45] Noel Sturgeon, *Ecofeminist Natures: Race, Gender Finist Theory and Political Action*, (New York: Rutledge, 1997), 23.

[46] Charlene Spretnak, "Ecofeminism: Our Roots and Flowering," *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism*, eds. Irene Diamond and Gloria Feman Orenstein, (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1990), 10-11.

[47] Gwaganad, *Speaking for the Earth: The Haida Way, Healing the Wounds*, ed. Judith Plant, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1989), 77.

[48] Ibid, 79.

[49] Donald A. Grinde and Bruce E. Johansen, *Ecocide of Native America: Environmental Destruction of Indian Lands and Peoples*, (Sante Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1995), 4.

Ka Leo o Ka `Āina:
The Voice of the Land

‘O ka wai leo mōpua ke lono nei
E ‘ale, e kūmoho, e hū aukahi

"I hear the sweetly voiced water.
Let it ripple, Let it rise, Let if flow."

‘Ōlelo No‘eau (C. Pueo Pata)[1]

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By the 20th century, the people of the Leeward Coast would find themselves laboring in hot, dry fields. Laboring the plantations wore on the Native people. The work beneath the unforgiving sun surely took its toll on them physically and spiritually. The mele of this era provide new insight into Wai`anae as foreigners came and changed the land. Above all else, it demonstrated in important description why kama`āina of Wai`anae considered their land sacred. The mele spoke of winds and valuable water sources. They chronicled and celebrated a revered history. It fuels the modern day

people of Wai`anae and reinforces their effort to have their place recognized as a pu`uhonua. This chapter looks at the reverence expressed for Wai`anae by its residents, particularly through song. Then the impact of foreign contact is examined to illustrate why the conflict over recognition of Wai`anae as a sacred place is critical to the restoration of the land and the people.

'Those who sing, "know"'

Before the missionaries arrived with the written word, Hawaiians bound their knowledge in song. As with many indigenous cultures throughout the world, Hawaiians appreciated song, chant and story telling as important pedagogical devices by which knowledge could be taught and transmitted between generations. Australian researcher Fiona Magowan speaks of her research on women's songs in Galiwin'ku:

> In northeast Arnhem Land, men and women frequently comment that 'Those who sing, "know"'. Accomplished singer and clan leader Wilson Ganambarr had firmly advised me of the importance of 'knowing' through song shortly after I began fieldwork at Galiwin'ku (Elcho Island) in 1990 in search of women's song traditions. I had asked him whether I might be able to learn songs performed by women performed by women, and he had advised: 'You must first learn my songs [manikay], my uncle's songs, my mother's mother's songs and my mother's songs from me in that order and then you may learn women's songs.'[2]

From her experience, she concludes:

> In Yolngu life, stories (dhäwu) are often told in song as a means of making sense of the world and everything in it. Wilson's insistence that I should learn his songs first was a way of telling me his stories. Thus, I learned his clan songs and stories simultaneously, as a mixture of practical skills that included knowledge of the landscape; the anticipated outcomes of hunting and gathering exploits; and acts of ancestral intervention. His songs always paralleled his storytelling as he used one genre to support the other in order to validate the 'facts'. Wilson's story and song versions were born of personal, collective and ancestral experience, and gave rise in turn to new experiences in their telling as he attempted to locate me in the web of Yolngu knowledge.[3]

Before foreigners came with their pens and papers and codified land boundaries, mele and oli identified Hawaiian spaces.

Fundamental to the well-being of Hawaiians is our ability to express ourselves in traditional voices: traditional language, crafts, and practices. I ka `ōlelo no ke ola, i ka `ōlelo no ka make – in the words there are life, in the words there are death. Navigation, art, mythology all play important parts in the identity of Native Hawaiians because they are traditional expressions of the Native self. Our histories, particularly the violences of colonization and the frustrations of oppression, are often more freely expressed through artists' mediums.

Native Hawaiians did not use western written communication tools prior to foreign contact. The Kanaka Maoli relied for thousands of years oral traditions. Oli and mele hula served as musical and artistic expression, transmissions of history and forms of education. Kumu Hula John Keolamaka`ainanakalahuiokalani Lake explains: "The oli and the mele hula are the basic forms of musical expression in precontact Hawai`i. Chanting, through the oli or mele hula in its function and interpretation represents the inexplicable mysteries of the deepest levels of physical and spiritual union in humankind and our relationship to nature."[4] Therefore, understanding oli and mele hula make hundreds of years of discourse created and transmitted by Native Hawaiians available to modern Hawaiians. In academia, this discourse is a necessity when studying Hawaiian history.

Mele hula and oli were not just entertainment or art. They became historical repositories of Hawaii's pre-contact social and political history. Kumu Lake explains:

> Hawaiian society was stratified into social, political, and religious levels and governed by strictly defined hierarchy. This society was subjected to the strictest form of order, bound by the mana and kapu concepts. Mana is the Polynesian concept of divine power instilled in every person. Kapu was a system of privileges and prohibitions that governed everyday Hawaiian life. These two concepts were indelible marks regulating Hawaiian behavior and attitudes. The kapu and the mana of the mele (chant) lie in its test – its `olelo.[5]

Mele therefore played an important role in the education of the Native Hawaiian people.

Translations of mele and other Native texts are limited by the practice of translation. As written in the Preface of *The Echo of Our Song: Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians*, Alfons L. Korn explains:

> The introduction of this book is entirely implied in the wording of its title. We think of it as a book of echoes, muffled echoes, because, as everyone knows, no translation of a poem can achieve quite the same results as the real thing. Just as an echo can never take the place of the original voice so a poem-in-translation, however much it may try to become a "reasonable" facsimile, can never take the place of the living poem, in its primary language, and as known to its native audience.[6]

To this end, it is really about the echoes of Wai`anae. It attempts to discover who she was and the journey she took to her present day condition. This effort relies heavily on the way her current kama`āina see her. In Waiʻanae, chants spoke of distinct land features. The oli "Ka Liʻa" reads:

Ala ka liʻa i Honouliuli
I ka wai haʻaheo kau i ka lani
Lālani nā puʻu nā kualono
Nā pae kuahiwi o Kaʻala
He ʻala ka mauʻu o ka nēnē
Ka hoʻopē a ka hau o Līhuʻe
Huʻi koni i wai o Kuenelua
Hene ʻaka Kalena i Haleʻauʻau
ʻAu ana Puʻuohulu ma mua
Kokoke i ka ʻike a ka ʻōnohi
Kilohi i ke kaha o Waimānalo
I ka nehe a ke kai i Nānākuli
Ua ʻūlili nonono wela i ka lā
Ke kula o Māʻili e waiho nei

I ʻaneʻi mai nō ka Waikōloa
Kahi i laʻi ai me Hālona
Haʻina ʻia mai ana ka puana
ʻO Liliʻuokalani nō he inoa.[7]

Translation:

The one so desired is at Honouliuli
Where the geyser of water spouts proudly to the heavens.
The hills and moutain ridges are lined up in a row.
The cluster of mountains of Ka`ala.
Fragrant are the grassy blades of the nēnē
Drenched in the dew of Līhu`e
One gets tingly by the chill of the water of Kuenelua
Where Kalena slopes gently to Hale`au`au
Pu`uohulu fares up ahead
Where a patch of rainbow was immediately seen.
Glancing at the area of Waimānalo
The sea was swaying at Nānākuli
Where the sun was glowing in heat
Upon the plain of Mā`ili laying there.
The Waikoloa comes this way
To stay contentedly with Halona.
The story is told
In honr of Lili`uokalani.

Written in 1898, this name chant for Queen Liliʻuokalani begins at Honouliuli travels through Līhuʻe and ends at Hālona, in the back of Lualualei. These boundaries, from Honouliuli to Kaena, are no longer the boundaries for the Waiʻanae district, but serve as so for the purposes of this dissertation. This use of these boundaries reveal not only the use of mele to identify places and their characteristics, but the endurance of oral knowledge. Uncle Kimo Alama explains about this mele:

> This is one of the 6 chants that was composed in honor of Queen Liliʻuokalani, commermorating one of her train rides to the Waiālua side of Oʻahu. One of her coutiers, Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast, composed this set of mele at her home, Puahaulani Hale, on July 14, 1898. The places mentioned in their are on Oʻahu's western leeward coast. Honouliuli is the western-most ahupuaʻa (land division) of the district of ʻEwa that separates ʻEwa from Waiʻanae district. The ʻEwa plain was where artesion water was discovered and was used to irrigate sugar cane there. Kaʻala is Oʻahu's highest elevation at over 4,000 feet above sea level in the Waiʻanae Mountains. Below Kaʻala on the opposite side of the

> moutain range are the places and things mentioned in the following 5 lines. Līhu‘e, where present day Schofied is, was the ancient capital of the O‘ahu kingdom where the fragrant nēnē grass was found on the plains there. These places were once part of the old (approximately 15th century) Wai‘anae boundaries. From the train when riding along the coast before coming to Kahe Point, Waimānalo is near the ‘Ewa and Wai‘anae border where the landfill is located today. Looking ahead, Pu‘uohulu hill is seen jutting out to sea. Nānākuli is sitauted at the beginning of the Wai‘anae district boundaries. Beyon[d] Pu‘uohulu is Mā‘ili. The Waikōloa is a wind that originates from Mount Ka‘ala and is known throughout the vicintiy as far as Mokulē‘ia, Līhu‘e and surrounding areas. Hālona is found at the back of Lualualei Valley on the Nānākuli side.[8]

Today the Wai‘anae Coast extends from Kahe Point, near the Southwest Point of the Island (Kalaeloa), to Ka‘ena Point, the Western most tip of O‘ahu. For the purposes of this dissertation, we will use the boundaries identified by the native people in their songs, which includes portions of Ewa and Wai`anae Uka,[9] the majority of which today is known as Wahiawā. The importance of this is to emphasize that for a very long time, Wai`anae was a very different region with an abundance of resources available to its residents. Much of the history has been lost as to how Wai`anae went from a very rich region to the struggling area it is today. Place names like Līhu`e or Kalena are rarely used today, despite the fact the next chapter will show that less than one hundred years ago, the people of Wai`anae fought hard to protect these places from the U.S. Military during the Territorial Era.

The follow up oli of Ka Li‘a speaks of places more commonly known today as parts of Wai`anae. The oli “Wai‘anae” explains:

‘A‘ohe ka heluna o Wai‘anae
Me ka nui lau holu o Pōka‘i
I ahona i ka ‘olu o ke kiawe
I ke ahe a ka makani he Kaiāulu
Ua inu i ka wai pi‘i a ka māhu
I ka wai aniani o Kamaile
Ka maile lau li‘i kō Ko‘iahi
‘O ka lei hinahina kā i Mākaha

Ka popohe a ka pua nohu i ke kula
E memelu i ka lā o nā Kea‘au
Lālau nā lima o ka malihini
Hopu i ke one kani o Mākua
Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana
‘O Lili‘uokalani nō he inoa.[10]

Translation:

There is no amounting to Wai`anae's delights
With the swaying coconut fronds at Pōka`ī
How fortunate it is for the cool grove of kiawe
And for the gentle blowing of the Kaiāulu.
We took drink of the distilled libation,
The glassy water of Kamaile.
The dainty-leaved maile is Ko`iahi,
The lei of hinahina is Mākaha's.
The perfectly formed nohu blossoms upon the plain
Is golden hued in the sun of Kea`au.
The hands of visitors grasp
To hold the sounding sands of Mākua.
The story is told
In honor of Lili`uokalani.

This oli speaks of the coconut fronds for which Pōka‘i Bay was famed. It speaks also of various ecological features which identified places in Wai‘anae. Uncle Kimo writes: "The places in this chant are on O‘ahu's western leeward coast. Wai‘anae was famous for its coconut grove at Pōka‘i where the tastitest coconuts were said to be found. That Kaiāulu is Wai‘anae's cool sea breeze. The *maile* at Ko‘iahi has been well known for its sweetness and fine leaves and is famous in poetry. The *hinahina* is the beach heliotrope and the *nohu* is also a beach plant that has yellow flowers. The sand at Mākua is very dry and makes a dull "whoof" sound when stepped upon in the dry summer months."[11] This oli emphasizes how Native people embedded knowledge about the land into the various forms of their oral histories. Native Hawaiians stored ecological knowledge in various forms of their oral histories: mo‘olelo, oli, and mele. By storing knowledge in stories, chants and songs, this population ensured the education of critical knowledge about

natural resource management to the next generation. In a sustainable environment, such knowledge proves critical to the existence and perpetution of the community and provides a foundation for creating an alternative narrative about the history of Wai`anae.

The importance of the tie between Wai`anae Kai and Wai`anae Uka cannot be emphasized enough. By the time statehood arrived in 1959, Līhu`e would no longer be considered part of the Wai`anae district, despite the fact that Wai`anae historically maintained a critical spirital, political and ecological connection to the area.

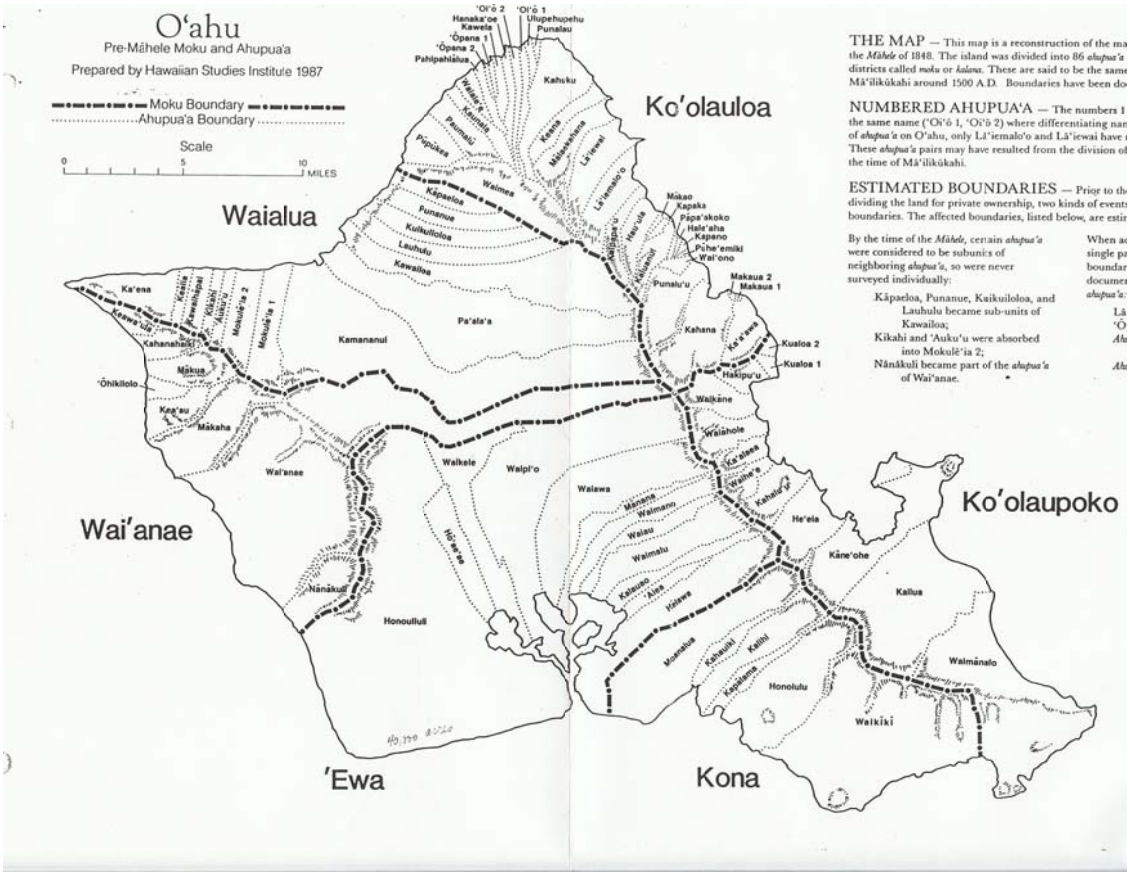


Figure 5. As this map shows, the original Wai`anae boundaries extended mauka all the way to Ko`olauloa. Source: Hawaiian Studies Institute, 1987

The area now occupied by Schofield Baracks was known as Līhu`e. The common use of the name has been lost, but mele still refer to this place name. Mele reveal the relationship between Līhu`e and the rest of Wai`anae.

"Lei Līhu`e"

Lei Līhu`e i ke kupakupa me ka nēnē
Lei Nene`u i ka `ala o ka līpoa
Lei o Malaea i ka nalu ha`i o ke ala
Lei hoi oe i ka ulu nui o Pōka`i

I ke ahe `olu (i ke ahe `olu) a ka makani
He Kaiāulu, he Kaiāulu
I Ke kolonahe mai ā ka hau i ka pō la`i
Aheahe `olu, aheahe `olu

Lei Mākua i ke one `ōpiopio
Lei Ko`iahi i ka maile lau li`ili`i
Lei Ka`ala i ka ua a ka nāulu
Lei ho`i `oe i ka ulu nui o Pōka`i

Translation:

Līhu`e's lei is of the *kupukupu* (fern) and *nēnē* (grass),
Nene`u's lei is the fragrance of the *līpoa* (seaweed),
Malaea's lei is that of the surf that breaks in formation,
You, Pōka`i, certainly wear the coconut trees as a lei.

In the gentle blowing (in the gentle blowing) of the breeze,
(Called the) Kaiāulu, Kaiāulu,
In the gentleness of the cool breeze in the calm nights
So pleasantly comforting, so pleasantly comforting.

Mākua's lei is of the freshly washed sand,
Ko`iahi wears the lei of daintly-leaved *maile*,
Ka`ala's lei is of heavy, sudden showers,
You, Pōka`i, certainly wears the coconut trees as a lei.[12]

This mele provides an excellent description of natural resource features. In many cases, the only places where description of elements of the land that may no longer be there.

The coconut groves of Pōka`i referred to in this mele illustrate this point. These groves, for which Pōka`i was famed, no longer exist.

Therefore, when we look at these three mele together, we see how mele create an important foundation for understanding Wai`anae prior to western influence. In addition to understanding lost place names and what natural resources were considered assets belonging to the people of Wai`anae, we learn what Wai`anae was like prior to foreign conflict. For example, "Wai`anae" and "Lei Līhu`e" both pay tribute to Pōka`i Bay and its coconut groves. The map below also illustrates where those groves were.

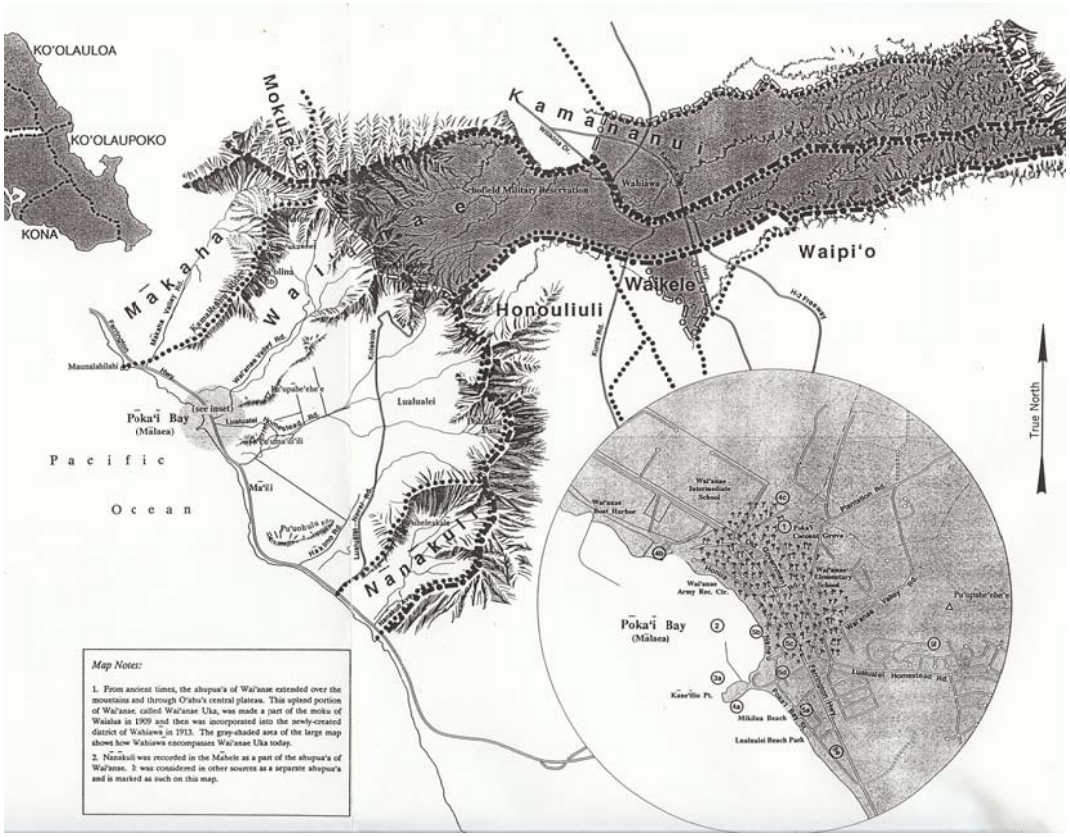


Figure 6. This map illustrates the coconut groves of Pōkai Bay and provides some historical informaion about the bay. "Pōkai Coconut Grove covered the land ma uka (upland) of the bay, extending from Pu`ukāhea to the base of Pu`upāheehee. ... Pōka`i Bay (Mālaea) stretches northwest

> from Kāne`īlio Point, spanning the shore area of Neneu and Honua." Source: Hawaiian Studies Institute.

Yet, in 1918, after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and establishment of the Terrorial Government, United States President Woodrow Wilson seized a land portion of the bay in Wai`anae. The Pacific Commercial Advertiser reported of the action:

> Under executive order issued by President Wilson several days ago another big area of Territorial shore land has been over as a military reservation, which may take in as much as nine miles of beach in the Waianae district and will also include a portion of the Waianae plantation. A remarkable feature in connection with the order and action of the Hawaiian department is that it went into effect without the knowledge of Land Commissioner H.G. Rivenburge and Governor McCarthy only heard of it yesterday, interesting that the former administration carried the thing through and either forgot to mention it when Governor McCarthy took office or deemed it too unimportant to place on record.[13]

This would only be the beginning of the fight for Pōka`i Bay and the Wai`anae Coast. In 1948, the Army would attempt to grab another 1.12 acres of Pōka`i Bay for military manueveurs, ingiting an uprising from the community in response.[14] This was in addition to the 103.6 acres that had already been taken two years before.

In 1916, the military would take two sites in Wai`anae as "camp sites." One site, in Nānākuli, consisted of 39.6 acres. A second site, in Mākaha, consisted of 64 acres. Of the Nānakuli site, the Brigadier General R. K. Evans, Commanding Hawaiian Department, Territory of Hawai`i, remarked in his survey "this area is covered with a thick growth of algaroba, and is apparently of value only as a source of fire and as a mediocore pasture."[15] The Mākaha survey was similar, stating that "this area is a sandy beach, covered with thick algaroba. It apparently has no other value than as source of fire wood."[16] Yet, the survey also notes that all the boundaries are perennial streams. This demonstrated the disconnect between the foreign view of the land and the native view of the land, for as a community that relied upon fishing for food, access to the sea was

critical. The military saw this land with minimal value; the natives saw necessary resources. Taking of coastal property was devastating. This was particularly true of Pōka`i Bay.

Pōka`i Bay was very important to the Wai`anae community. Many local residents speak of how the Bay was famed for its coconut groves, which indicate the presence of more water than flows through the area today.

> Wai`anae was the town and at Pōka`i Bay; we would go swimming all the time. Actually Pōka`i Bay was originally Mā`alaea Bay and all of the coconut trees that are planted around the bay was supposed to have been given by a prince of Tahiti, when he came for a visit to the bay. The bay actually started from where the Ka`aupuni Stream runs from in the back of the Union Service Station, up to the Japanese Hongwanhi School and where the Catholic Church is. It is one large coconut grove, hence the song of Mā`alaea Bay: "*Leo o Mā`alaea, i ka nani o Ka`ala, ke ho`i oe ika nui o Pōka`i*" which means the breaking of the waves at Ma`alaea and behold the beautiful coconut trees at Pōka`i.[17]

When we turn to the stories of the people, we discover the tremendous natural wealth in the pu`uhonua of Wai`anae. Conversely, surveys done by the Territorial government or the US government find these lands with little value. Yet, the United States Presidents issued dozens of Executive Orders Setting Aside Land for Public Purposes through the State of Hawai`i giving the U.S. government and Territorial Government ample motive to find these lands with little value.

Over the years, residents from Wai`anae have pled to various authorities to stop the seizure of their resources. In the next chapter, we see how residents involved the courts in the 1800s to protect land rights. In the third chapter, we will see the current chapter of these efforts, which involves the community's plea to the federal court to stop military training in Mākua Valley. In 1948, Wai`anae residents were pleading to the county to intervene and stop the Army's seizure of Pōka`i Bay.[18] After months of pleas

and protests, the city would condemn the property, paying $8,000 for the 1.12 acre parcel, giving residents a right of way to the Bay.[19] Still, the devastation from military use of the Coast proved to have devastating long term effects, including the loss of the coconut groves which were a community resource for residents.

Collectively, the use of mo`olelo and mele provide an important foundation for the various land conflicts that have taken place in Wai`anae. Whereas secondary resources allow for reconstructing historical conflicts, primary resources from residents, particularly Native Hawaiian residents, illustrate why these resources were so valuble to the community. It contributes to understanding why these conflicts were so signficant to the community. Mele help enhance our contemporary understanding of these places as multi-faceted natural and cultural resources. Therefore, they do more than allow for a historical reconstruction of what existed, but allow the creation of an inventory of resources that have been taken away from the community without reparation or restitution. When we begin to take stock of these resources, we are better able to analyze the social dysfunction that exists in Wai`anae today. Another resource whose absence has lastly and long-reaching impacts in the community is water, or wai.

Waiwai: The Natural Wealth of Wai`anae

The history of any place in Hawai‘i can largely be understood through understanding the history of its water. Water is life in Hawai‘i. Handy, Handy and Pukui explain in *Native Planters*, “Water, which gave life to food plants as well as to all vegetation, symbolized bounty for the Hawaiian gardener for it irrigated his staff of life – taro. Therefore, the word for water reduplicated meant wealth in general, for a land or a people that had abundant water was wealthy.”[20] Acknowledgement of the critical

necessary of water to traditional Hawaiian living was recognized in a 1981 study prepared for the National Park Service Natural Landmarks Program, Department of Interior, in which researchers wrote in their section on water entitled, "Water of Kane; Water of Life":

"…Where is the water of Kane?
Yonder on mountain peak …
Where the rivers sweep …
Yonder, at sea, on the ocean …
A well-spring of water …
The water of life!"

> The ancient Hawaiians saw life reflected in pairs: for every creature or (sic) land there was a creature in the seal for every event on land, there was an event in the ocean. There is a certain wisdom to this concept of the relationship between land and sea for freshwater in Hawaii has but one source, rainfall, and that as modern scientists visualize it is the source of all water, as it cycles between land and sea.[21]

Our genealogy linked us to the wisdom referenced here. As Hawaiians, our mo`okū`auhau make us part of the history. We are an element of our culture. Without us, our histories and cultures do not exist. As Māori scholar Charles Royal explains:

> The individual, therefore, is the contemporary, physical world expression of their whakapapa. That is why, in my view, Māori people are the primary representations of their history. We are irrefutable products of it. We are bound inextricably into whakapapa fabric. And once bound, we can not leave except by consciousness. That is, we are always physically connected to our whakapapa but we can remain ignorant of it. The researcher/learner brings together fragments of information which reconstruct the spiritual and intellectual sides of whakapapa, what I can "whakapapa consciousness." And it is the reconstruction of whakapapa consciousness that preoccupies much Māori activity today.[22]

Just as the Māori are the products of their history and culture through their whakapapa, Native Hawaiians are the products of their history and culture through their mo`okū`auhau. The wealth of ancestral knowledge embedded within Hawaiians through their mo`okū`auhau can never be accessed by those without that genealogy.

Why is mo`okū`auhau so important? It inseparably weaves us into the past, present and the future. It seams us into this land and its people. This history and relationship allows for traditions to survive; it allows the fishing traditions of Wai`anae to continue.

There are places in Hawai‘i known for their waiwai: Hilo, Mānoa, Hanalei. The term waiwai serves as another example of the intimate relationship between Hawaiians and their ‘āina. It commonly means wealth. Yet, its root word, wai, means fresh water. Therefore, when Hawaiians identified a place as waiwai, or wealthy, they referenced the amount of fresh water a particular place received. People in traditional Hawai‘i understood the receipt of an abundance of fresh water to be a sign of approval or blessings from akua. This belief still remains among farmers and other maka‘āinana, who always praise the arrival of rain as it feeds crops and brings life to the land. The general public also embraces remnants of this belief, as people are commonly heard referring to a light rain as a blessing from Hawaiian gods.

Wai‘anae may have never been as waiwai as Mānoa or Hanalei, yet it was waiwai. This seems particularly difficult to believe today, being that kula lands dominate contemporary Wai‘anae. Yet, maps, mo`olelo and mele reveal a different history of the waiwai of Wai‘anae. Wai‘anae was historically a place of tremendous spiritual, cultural and natural wealth. As earlier chapters identified, much of the natural wealth currently sleeps dormant in the district. Yet, the population who resided in pre-contact and early Kingdom days there did so successfully such that the region proudly reared exemplary chiefs and warriors, as a clear sign of prosperity and good health, which signaled abundant and healthy natural resources. For as with all places, the wealth and well-being

of Wai‘anae stemmed from its water and natural resources, which in turn allowed for a vigorous sustainable economy. The traditional economic barter system of early Hawai‘i allowed for residents to provide their families with all the necessities of life: health, shelter, and sustenance. Wai‘anae, blessed with great fishing on its coast and regular stream flow in its mauka regions, surely resulted in ahupua‘a that were truly waiwai.

From the mountains to the sea, the waters of Wai`anae provided for its people. Wai‘anae, known for being the birthing place of Māui, the deity which fished the Hawaiian islands from the sea, is famed for its fishing traditions. For many of us Hawaiians, we are taught through experience. We learn of our history through mo‘olelo. We learn our culture through practice. In this regard, fishing becomes more than a mechanism of obtaining food, but it becomes part of our cultural practices. These cultural practices become particularly important for a place like Wai‘anae because not only are oral histories and cultural traditions preserved through these activities.

Wai`anae, like any place in Hawai`i, cannot be fully appreciated or understood without understanding the ways in which its Native people described it. As Kumu Hula Pueo Pata explains:

> In Hawai`i nei, all of the islands, moku, `ahupua`a, `ili, mo`o, pauku, kihapai, kauhale, etc., and their topographical features, along with the surrounding oceans, celestial levels, etc. have Hawaiian names. These names not only have function in dubbing the place, but many times help in recording that place's features and/or histories.
>
> It is easy to see how places with names like "Ke-alia (the place of salt encrustation)", "Maka-wao (beginning of the forest)", "Ka-lae-huku (jutting point of land)", and "Kai-lua (place of two sea currents)" have thus been named for their topographical features.
>
> Names which record human-related events in our history would include "Wai-luku (waters of destruction [thus named after a bloody battle])", "Wanana-lua

> (two prophecies [once uttered at that place])", "`Uku-mehame (payment of mehame wood)", and even "Puna-lu`u (spring dived for [where fresh water was obtained from springs bubbling from under the ocean])". God-related events in our history which resulted in pana names include "Wai-kau (suspended water [when Kane made water appear from the face of a cliff for his aikane, Kanaloa])", "Pepeiao-lepo (dirty ear [when Kamapua`a ran through lo`i to escape Pele's wrath and resultingly got mud in his ears])", and even "Hana-ka-`o`o (the digging stick is put to work [when Pele began to dig upon the island of Maui]). All of those names record something special in that place's history by humans or gods.
>
> Other types of historical names are the results of when gods, kupua, people, or animals morphed into a specific topographical feature for one reason or another. "Pohaku Eaea (Eaea the rock)" was thus named after Pele entombed her resistant lover, Eaea, in lava; "Papalaua" was a mo`o whose body turned into a mountain when she was killed by Hi`iaka; or even "Ka-iwi-o-Pele (the bones of Pele)", a hill believed to have formed around the human remains of Pele before she was deified into a goddess.
>
> In all, there are other examples of how our pana received their names. However, the examples above are given to lend support to the concept of "kamaʾāina"... "child of the land". Places named strictly for topographical features are less likely to affect this term. Therefore, attention is now shifted to pana named for history... either for an act, OR for the once-living beings that were responsible for the places' names.[23]

As Pata articulates, geography for Hawaiians was not explained for topographical or geographical features also, but for this place within our oral histories. Places were explained in legend and lore. This brought to life the land which we understood to be the embodiment of our ancestors. Mythology, this lore, lay at the heart of our history and pedagogy.

Wai`anae's geographical features appeared prominently in legends, particularly Mount Ka`ala and Ka`ena Point. Hi`iakaikapoliopele, the youngest and most beloved sister of Pele, chants to Mount Ka`ala when she travels through the region on her quest to retrieve Pele's lover Lohiau from Kaua`i. Emerson explains the import of the Ka`ena area in legend:

> The story of Cape Ka-ena, that finger-like thrusts itself out into the ocean from the western extremity of Oahu, touches Hawaiian mythology at many points: Its mountain eminence was a *leina uhane*, jumping-off place, where the spirits of the decreased took their flying leap into ghost-land. Here it was that the demigod Mawi (sic) had his *pou sto* (sic) when he made the supreme effort of his life to align and unite the scattered group of islands; and here can still be seen Pohaku o Kauai, the one fragment of terra firma his hook could wrench from its base. Here, too, it was that Pele stood when she chaffed the old demigod for having lured her on, as she supposed, with drum and fife to the pursuit of Lohiau; and now her sister Hiiaka stands in the same place.[24]

Yet, Wai`anae's import extended far beyond traditional legend into more modern Hawaiian history.

Nothing has been more devastating to Hawai‘i than capitalism and commerce. More dangerous than any other ideology to arrive with the westerns, even more dangerous than their ethnocentric, colonizing mindset, was the belief that *anything* could be brought or sold. It remains an absurd and irresponsible belief. Yet, this belief remains central to our government and our economy. And it continues to the people and natural resources of this ‘Āina. The legal changes that took place after 1840 (including the Māhele, the Masters and Servants Act, and the Reciprocity Treaty) would ensure the fall of the lāhui. Once the government legalized commercialization and capitalism, the Native people – who had no understanding of these absurd foreign ideologies – stood no chance in protecting their traditional rights. Surely the nobles could not have known how treacherous and deceitful the foreigners would become. Assigning blame, particularly to the Native leaders of the mid 19th century, serves no purpose now. All we can do is try to understand and fight to restore our culture and ‘āina. For it was a lack of understanding that led to the fall of the lāhui in the first place. May we never be that naïve again.

Ho`iho`i hou ā ke kūlana o ka nohona (restoring the standard of living)

One place exemplifies what restoring the ‘āina can do for a community; this is Ka‘ala Farms. Located in the uplands of the Ka‘ala mountains, Ka‘ala Farms runs environmental and educational programming modeled after the ahupua‘a system. Director and founder Uncle Eric Enos explains:

> The practice of organizing the land through *ahupua‘a* is central to traditional Hawaiian culture. Within these districts, the ancient Hawaiians lived in a kinship system that included the *kalo*, or elder brother that nurtured and fed them, and the land, or ‘*āina*. The *ahupua‘a* stretched from the mountain watersheds out to the reefs, and within them the *po‘e kahiko*, or people of old, had everything they needed to nourish their

> bodies and their spirits. The *ahupua'a* is not only a method of organizing the land, it also encompasses much of the traditional Hawaiian way of life, from spiritual beliefs to resource management. It is the concept that shapes our work at Ka'ala.[25]

Enos' work with Ka'ala Farms illustrates more than how successful 'āina based programs can be in Hawaiian communities. Enos' work emphasizes the critical importance of water restoration in the revitalization of Hawaiian health and culture.

(c) Trisha Kehaulani Watson

This is Ka'ala Farms in 2006, yet Uncle Eric explains:

> Back in the 1970s, this same tract of land was covered with dry brush. Early cultural sites were lost among the weeds, and the water had been rerouted to serve urbanization and to irrigate introduced agricultural products. For many of us in Wai'anae, the landscape of our lives was not much better. Many of us found it difficult to relate to the curriculum in the schools. Drugs and alcohol took many of our young people and parents, and jobs were hard to come by. Many of our youth and their families from generations back felt disconnected from traditional ways of knowing and being and found it hard to define themselves as men and women in the roles that were offered them.[26]

Therefore, the history of Kaʻala Farms today involves a struggle to regain the use of land and the restoration of water to the area; it is a struggle to protect a sacred place as a pu`uhonua. In Kaʻala, as in most of Waiʻanae, government and private interests diverted fresh water necessary to the cultivation of kalo and other vegetation. The land dried up and the native vegetation went dormant as a result. Loʻi terraces became overgrown with dry bush and foreign plants. Yet, beneath the brush, the physical structure of traditional Hawaiian irrigation practices remained. In the case of Kaʻala, once community members regained control and usage of the land, they were able to remove the overgrown brush to identify where the old loʻi were located. Perhaps the best way to understand Wai`anae and the devastation that occurs there comes from understanding how the plantations, and now the City, deprives that area of water. Hawaiians say "Mōhala i ka wai ka maka o ka pua,"[27] unfolded by the water are the faces of the flowers. This spoke of how the people thrived where the water flowed freely. As Hawaiians understood how critical water was to our way of life. One resident recalls about the valley she lived in: "Oh they get plenty food up there [in the valley]. The cows they get all kinds, fern, grass, anything. Everybody says this place is a dry place. Not in the valley. The valley is always green. It always did rain up there. ... They have the whole valley. The whole valley is theirs. Its all green and rich with this stuff. They shouldn't take it away from us. Most of it used to be green, too."[28] When the plantations began to divert water from the ahupuaʻa that needed it, valleys and regions dried up. The people suffered. This is the implications of the conflict between Hawaiians who identify a place as sacred and foreigners with econonmic interests in the resources. When and where Hawaiians lost these conflicts, the people and the `āina suffered.

This phenomenon, the drying up of ahupua‘a and the drying up of the people, is best seen in the unused terraces at Ka‘ala Farms. Whereas the history of Wai‘anae is perhaps best understood through its legends, its suffering is certainly best understood in the tales of its people and the devastation in its land.

The State should immediately begin to reverse the land seizures that occurred under the Organic Act and subsequent legislation. Ranching and plantations proved unsustainable industries. When they failed, the people of the region were the most impacted, as they were not the ones who possessed financial surpluses that allowed them to weather economic storms. The maka‘āina must be allowed first and foremost the ability to feed themselves and their families. This was our most critical native right. And under foreign law, we have seen this basic right stripped from the people through the seizure of land and the diversion of water sources. These policy practices lie at the heart of native economic devastation. If we want native people to thrive in economically and environmentally sustainable ways, we must return the land and the water so that it can be put back into production.

(c) Trisha Kehaulani Watson

The value of Ka`ala is recognized by many. In a report identifying the Wai`anae Range as a priority one landmark site, researchers acknowledges:

> This proposed landmark site extends from Makua to Palikea along the crest of the Waianae Range and comprises a narrow, serpentine ridge with extremely steep sloes, particularly on the southwestern exposure. Nanakuli, Lualualei and Waianae are great amphitheater-header valleys on this southwestern exposure. At the northwestern end of the high Wai`anae crestline, Mt. Kaala interrupts the sharp ridgeline and presents a naerly flat plateau, roughly a mile across, supporting a bog. Mt. Kaala is Oahu's highest elevation at 4,025 feet above sea level. Kolekole pass, at an elevation of 1,600 feet, forms the low point along the Wai`anae crestline. Puu Kailio, just below the pass, is the firepit of the ancient Wai`anae caldera. Farther south along the ridgeline the steep cliff face or pali continues on teh southwest facing slope, whereas teh northern and estern slopes are more gentle although they too are deeply incised by amphitheater-headed vallehys. Palikea at the southern extremity of the

> high Waianae ridge crest is a pyramidal shaped peak reaching an elevation of 3,098 feet above sea level.
>
> The crest of the Waianae Range is an erosional ridge of considerable antiquity as far as teh insland of Oahu is concorned and supports important terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems.[29]

This reflects many of the songs about Ka`ala, that speak of its majesty. Many mele have been composed for Ka`ala.

From mele, we learn about not only the value of the mountain to Wai`anae, but that people knew of its distinct winds with specific names. One song, "Beautiful Ka`ala," preserves such a name, the name of the wind Kaiāulu:

Huli aku nānā iā Ka`ala
Kuahiwi kaulana kū kilakila

Huli aku nānā iā Wai`anae
He nani i ka maka ke `ike aku.

`O ka pā kolonahe me ke aheahe
Makani kaulana e ke Kaiāulu.

Ha`ina `ia mai ana ka puana
E ola e ke kama e ke Kaiāulu.

Ha`ina `ia hou mai ana ka puana
Nani Ka`ala kau i ka hano.[30]

Translation:

Turn about towards Ka`ala,
(That) famous mountain standing so majestically.

Turn about towards Wai`anae,
Lovely for the eyes to behold.

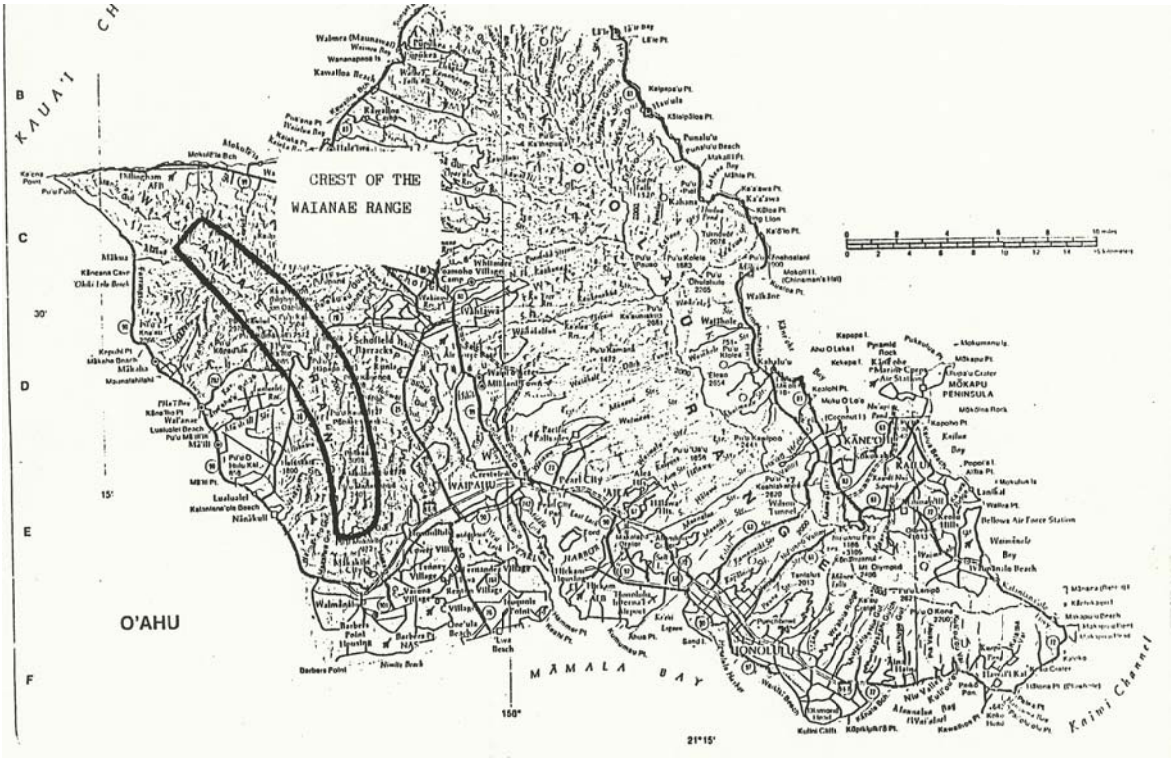
The soft blowing is so gentle,
(Of the) well-known breeze, the Kaiāulu.

The story is told:
May a good life be for the child of the Kaiāulu.

The story is told once more of
Ka`ala's beauty held in honor.[31]

This song not only speaks of the majesty of the mountain, it also speaks of the breeze that blows distinctly on the sea coast of Wai`anae, the Kaiāulu wind. Unlike the foreigners, who did not necessarily identify natural resources or the landscape the same way the Native people did, Hawaiians identified winds, waters and places by their proper names. These distinctive names allowed the people to associate specific winds or waters with appropriate natural resource management practices.

Although foreigners would also find Ka`ala valuable. The next chapter recounts from the military would gain control of this resource for military purposes. As we see in the chapter on Mākua Valley, certain geographic or ecological features (which would often be present in song or myth), would tell the people when they could productively fish, plant or gather. Yet, Mākua would be taken too. Therefore, without addressing the unilateral and systemic taking of land from Wai`anae during the Territorial Era for the U.S. Military, it is unclear how any part of Wai`anae, from the land to the people, can begin to recover from such an extreme history of naked imperialism.



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There is no disputing that Wai`anae possesses tremendous natural resources. The crest of the Wai`anae Range is considered a particularly valuable natural resource. It was proposed as a natural landmark site, noting: "The crest of the Wai`anae Range is an erosional ridge of considerable antiquity as far as the island of Oahu is concerned and supports important terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems."[32] The range provided critical support to the water of the region.

We know that private land ownership began with westerns, but the idea that water could be taken from a region also began with the westerns. As Handy, Handy and Pukui explain: "Inalienable title to water rights in relation to land use is a conception that had no place in old Hawaiian thinking. The idea of private ownership of land was likewise unknown until Kamehameha's autocracy, established as a result of the intrusion of foreign concepts, set up the figment of monarchy, a politicosocial pattern alien to the

Polynesian scene theretofore existing."[33] Ideology changed Wai‘anae. As the plantation owners sought to divert naturally flowing water sources to feed thirsty sugar crops, lo‘i dried up. The people of Wai‘anae began to turn to the source of food that they had always turned to in times of crises, the sea. The people of Wai`anae are able to tell us of the various ways in which their traditions were taken away.

Wai‘anae is no longer waiwai: in water resources, in land for its people, in wellness and in economic resources. And for Hawaiians who understand wai o ke ola, the water of life, means also that water is life, all these problems began when the economic ambitions of American capitalists burned so hot that it dried the waters of Wai‘anae. Therefore, a great deal of the harm that Wai‘anae sees today derives from the pilfering of its water resources and the resulting inability of the people to restore their traditional economy and sustainability.

<u>Aia i hea ka Wai a Kane?</u>

E ú-i aku ana au ia oe.
Aia i-hea ka Wai a Kane?
Aia i-lalo, i ka honua, i ka Wai hu,
I ka wai kau a Kane me Kanaloa--
He wai-puna, he wai e inu,
He wai e mana, he wai e ola.
E ola no, e-a!

One question I ask of you:
Where flows the water of Kane?
Deep in the ground. in the gushing spring,
In the ducts of Kane and Loa,
A well-spring of water, to quaff,
A water of magic power--
The water of life!
Life! O give us this life!

- Traditional

Maps of Waiʻanae Kai identify hundreds of open and productive loʻi in the mauka area of that ahupuaʻa. Even more revealing than the identification of large areas of kalo cultivation is the identification of numerous streams in the area. Numerous streams ran throughout Waiʻanae Kai. The streams were perennial and ran year round to allow for year round cultivation of kalo for the regions. Modern geological surveys also evidence the presence of abundant groundwater flowing through a now dangerous dry region.

A 1971 hydrologic atlas of Wai‘anae reveals how extensive tunneling caused the streams that once feed the region to run dry.

> All streams [in Wai‘anae] are intermittent at low altitudes. Under natural conditions, stream flow was probably perennial above an altitude of about 600 feet in Mākaha Valley, Wai‘anae Valley, and the northern part of Lualualei Valley. Ground water discharging from dike compartments constituted this flow. Development of the water by extensive tunneling and diversions to pipelines since the early 1900's in Wai‘anae Valley, 1935 in Lualualei Valley, and 1945 in Mākaha Valley, has reduced the flow to the extent that streams are now perennial only above an altitude of about 1,000 feet.[34]

The tunneling and diversions to pipelines in the 20th century stole the water that fed the people of Wai‘anae to feed plantation fields where Hawaiians and immigrants slaved away under treacherous conditions.

Yet, as a kula region is how Wai‘anae is known today. Many of the places sung have dried up. Many of the songs have gone silent. It is an ironic silence, because so known is Wai‘anae today for its dry lands that its own people identify the origin of the name Nānākuli from its residents who "looked silently" because they had no food or water to share with visitors who called. It seems that even within their community history, Wai‘anae knew itself as being poor and impoverished. Yet, as shown, it had not always been that way. The natural devastation that occurred in Wai`anae resulted largely from ecocolonization and the settlement of foreigners in the region.

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Ke Kulanakauhale o Wai`anae:
Wai`anae, a City of Refuge

…you might feel that you had understood the meaning of the Age of Enlightenment (though, as far as I can see, it had done you very little good); you loved knowledge, and wherever you went you made sure to build a school, a library, (yes, and in both of these places you distorted or erased my history and glorified your own). But then again, perhaps as you observe the debacle in which I now exist, the utter ruin that I say is my life, perhaps you are remembering that you had always felt people like me cannot run things, people like me will never grasp the idea of Gross National Product, people like me will never be able to take command of the thing the most simpleminded among you can master, people like me will never understand the notion of rule by law, people like me cannot really think in abstractions, people like me cannot be objective, we make everything so personal. You will forget your part in the whole setup, that bureaucracy is one of your inventions, that Gross National Product is one of your inventions, and all the laws that you know mysteriously favour you. Do you know why people like me are shy about being capitalists? Well, it's because we, for as long as we have known you, were capital, like bales of cotton and sacks of sugar, and you were the commanding, cruel capitalists, and the memory of this is so strong, the experience so recent, that we can't quite bring ourselves to embrace this idea that you think so much of. As for what we were like before we met you, I no longer care. No periods of time over which my ancestors held sway, no documentation of complex civilisations, is any comfort to me. Even if I really came from people who were living like monkeys in trees, it was better to be that than what happened to me, what I became after I met you.

-Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place*

The invasion and occupation of Hawai`i is not a unique story. As this quote from Jamaica Kincaid illustrates, Western imperialism created a model of colonization and cultural destruction that can be found in every corner of the world. The story Kincaid shares about her homeland Antigua rings true in every land impacted by imperialism and colonization. Hawai`i is no exception. And while foreign impact signals a devastating and anguishing moment in the histories of colonized and dispossessed peoples through the world, to the West, we were just another stop on the supposed divined path of their manifest destiny. For, like Kincaid, I whole heartedly agree, that "even if I really came from people who were living like monkeys in trees, it was better to be that than what happened to me, what I became after I met you."

Before contact, when the laws of Kamehameha still ruled in Hawai`i, places of refuge existed throughout the islands. Two of the most famed sources of refuges in Hawai`i were the lands sacred to the war god Kuka`ilimoku and the lands belonging to Kamehameha's wife, Ka`ahumanu.[1] It is written that those who entered into those places would be safe from harm. As such, people would flee to these sacred places to seek refuge. Hence, they were called pu`uhonua, and were considered to be places of peace and safety. Cities that served as sites of refuge were called kulanakauhale pu`uhonua.[2]

After Liholiho ended the active practice of the `aikapu[3] many of the Hawaiian beliefs and traditions were forced into the shadows. Customs once openly exercised transformed to become more subtly embedded in the culture, as to not arouse suspicion or attention from those who sought to extinguish all traces of the traditional culture. This transformation was a long, painful one that transpired over 200 years, as Hawaiians actively and passively resisted the foreign imperialism that infested their islands. Yet, today we find that Hawaiians are bringing back our beliefs and traditions into the light, openly practicing customary rights suppressed by foreign rule. Therefore, while many practices may not be supported or recognized by existing, American law, we find that in places throughout Hawaii, Hawaiians abide by their own set of traditional laws and beliefs. It is this *de facto* existence of traditional practices that allow for the perpetuation of the Hawaiian culture in the face of American imperialism.

In Wai`anae, on the island of O`ahu, residents have regularly and vocally resisted foreign invasions: pathological, ideological, political, and economic. They were even known resisters to the Maui ali`i who took over O`ahu prior to Kamehameha's unification of the islands.[4] The ali`i of Wai`anae aligned with Kā`eokūlani, the high ali`i

of Kaua`i, in his campaign to protect his island from Kalanikūpule, high ali`i of Maui and O`ahu.[5] Historian Stephen L. Desha writes of this resistance: "On the arrival of Nā`ili and Nu`uanu, the Wai`anae ali`i, Nā`ili spoke these words of Kā`eokūlani:"

> Ea, `auhea mai `oe e ke ali`i nui o Kaua`i, I have a word to say to you. Those people you established at Wai`anae, in other words, your warriors and some of your canoe paddlers, have discussed and decided, that if you are thinking of being cowardly and perhaps fetching some more warriors from Kaua`i, then they will throw you into the sea, as it would be shameful to retreat to Kaua`i in this cowardly way.[6]

This sort of straight-forward pride was a good example of the character of the people of Wai`anae. Kā`eokūlani followed Nā`ili and Nu`uanu back to Wai`anae where they decided to challenge Kalanikūpule. Desha explains: "Those rebellious O`ahu chiefs bowed their heads in assent, and Kā`eokūlani understood that they would stand behind him and reinforce him and his warriors. He said to them: ``Auhea mai `oukou, e nā ali`i, our battle is at Waikīkī, that is where this struggle will be.''"[7] This episode in Wai`anae's history reflected how the Wai`anae of people there stood up against systemic "hewa,"[8] or wrongs, even if it meant standing up against the reigning authority. Residents actively protected their community, usually against external political forces. In this regard, it has maintained its status as a wahi pana, or sacred place, and to its residents, who remain predominately Hawaiian; it is a place of refuge: ke kulanakauhale pu`uhonua o Wai`anae.

Historically, Wai`anae served as a refuge for Hawaiians, feeding the reverence for Wai`anae as a pu`uhonua. A number of the residents of Wai`anae now can trace their first settlement of the region to the reign of Kamehameha. One text explains:

> …. The district of Wai`anae. After the rout of the army of Kalanikupule, the king of Oahu at Nuuanu, April 29, 1795 by the invading army of Kamehameha Nui, the conquered Oahuans were driven from their homes, their land seized and divided amongst the friends of Kamehameha – the despoiled people in large numbers fled to Wai`anae and settled there. This part of Oahu being hot, arid,

> isolated, with little water, was not coveted by the invaders; the sea off the coast of Wai`anae has always supplied an abundance of fish, hence the name – wai, water, anae, large mullet.
>
> The kilkilo Hoku, or astrologers. To preserve the folk-lore of their homeland, Oahu, the exiled high class priests or kahunas founded a school at Pokai bay for instructing the youth of both sexes in history, astronomy, navigation, and the genealogies of their ancient chiefs and kings; romance and sentiment hovers round Mount Kaala (the mount of Fragrance), and three valleys extending from its western base to the Wai`anae shore, Makaha, the valley of robbery; Po-kai, the valley of the dark sea; meaning given in Hawaiian dictionaries. This is a vague definition, the true meaning is a cryptical allegory relating to the clever strategy of the famous Maile-kukahi, a high chief of Oahu, whose flexible flanks of warriors surrounded four invading armies from Hawaii and Maui at the great battle of Kipapa (Kipapa, paved) where the corpses of the slain paved the bottom if this ravine, about A.D. 1410. Kaala, Kane, Beautiful Kaala, Oh! (with) the golden cloak of Kane, the sun Kane was the first deity of the Hawaiian pantheon. Kaala was the guardian or sentinel of the great road of Death, Ke ala nui o ke make, along which the spirits of the dead returned to their former homeland. The Komohana or west is where the tired sun lies down to sleep. The west is Kane ne`ene`e, the departing son. The west is the much traveled road of Kanaloa, Ke ala nui maa-we-ula a Kanaloa (the second deity of the Hawaiian pantheon.)[9]

Therefore, understanding Wai`anae extends far beyond any archeological study or any analysis of its population. For indigenous peoples, understanding any place requires a knowledge and appreciation of that place's cultural import. This means knowing its legends – as geological features were often associated or created by the gods. Stripping Wai`anae of its histories as told by its Native people strips Wai`anae of its history. The recognition of Wai`anae as a pu`uhonua recognizes its history.

This chapter therefore provides a history of how ecocolonization systemically threatened Wai`anae as a pu`uhonua and how the people of Waianae constantly resisted those threats. This history is a violent and frightening one, as research demonstrates that Wai`anae was often the first sight of the various forms of invasion that came from the West. It was one of the first sites of foreign contact, and as such suffered devastating losses as the result of foreign disease.[10] The pathological invasion was exacerbated by

cruel and foreign labor practices that forced Hawaiians from their family lands into the mountains of Wai`anae to harvest sandalwood for ali`i to trade in exchange for foreign goods.[11] One source explains that between "1816 and 1818 the people of Waianae were ordered to cut sandalwood in payment for the ship, Columbia."[12] The authors continue to explain, "One result of such cruel labor of the Wai`anae Coast was that people began pulling up young sandalwood plants to avoid harvesting the adult trees later on. Today, sandalwood is nearly extinct in the Wai`anae Range. Another result of exposure, starvation and heavy labor was to lower the resistance of the people to haole (white) disease."[13] As a favorite spot of residence and recreation for ali`i, Wai`anae also withstood early efforts to force the people to adopt Christian cultures and practices.[14] As shown in the last chapter, it would have land seized for military uses, in a devastating departure from traditional natural resource management practices. This departure would deprive many of the families in the region the ability to feed and care for themselves. The seizure of land and resources coupled with depopulation forced the residents of this region into America's capitalist economy as cheap laborers on the ranches and plantations that now occupied land once used to feed the native population. The use of artesian wells in the regions permanently changed perennial water flows making Wai`anae the dangerously dry region it is today. As a result of these constant assaults on the people and their land, Wai`anae is one of the most economically devastated regions in Hawai`i, and home to the largest Native Hawaiian population in the islands.

Nothing devastated the Native people of Hawai'i more than the arrival of the westerns. Of all the weapons of colonization these foreigners brought with them, none has been more lasting in its impact or devastating in its result than capitalism. The

Native Hawaiian population survived the diseases of the western world, accommodated Christian beliefs, adopted (forcibly) western law, and has begun the restoration of culture values and the native tongue, but commercialization and capitalism, started when the first western voyagers arrived, continues to dispossess and displace Native Hawaiians today. Therefore, no laws created by the Kingdom government have proven more devastating to the Native people and the indigenous way of life than those that integrated capitalism and commercialism into the laws of the lāhui and the resulting seizure of their resources, particularly water.

There is little doubt that the chiefs and kings of early Hawai‘i were active in trade with the westerners. Kamakau notes on Cook's first visit to Hawai‘i: "[The Native people] greeted [Cook] well and gave him gifts of hogs, chickens, bananas, taro, potatoes, sugar cane, yams, fine mats, and bark cloth. Captain Cook accepted their gifts… To the Hawaiians he gave gifts of cloth, iron, a sword, knives, necklaces, and mirrors".[15] Kamakau describes a quick descent into increased desire for trade with the foreigners.[16] There was little reason to believe that the Native people were not trading with the foreigners. Yet, the trade between the Hawaiians and the westerns very rapidly turned dangerous.

The Native people lived a sustenance lifestyle where people only harvested and used only what they needed prior to contact. Suddenly, Natives were trading for things that were not necessary to their traditional lifestyle. And to obtain these items, they would soon be expected to harvest their natural resources, beginning with sandalwood. Kamakau describes a famine that resulted from the effort to cultivate sandalwood: "[foreigners] informed the king and his chiefs that the fragrant sandalwood was a

valuable article of trade with the people of China. …The king accordingly …sent his people to the mountains after this wood… The chiefs also were ordered to send out their men to cut sandalwood. This rush of labor to the mountains brought about a scarcity of cultivated food throughout the whole group".[17] While the loss of sandalwood as a natural resource was not particularly devastating to the Native people, here we already see how commercialization of the land (and its related impact on labor) hurt the Native people. The events Kamakau describes would only become the precursor for the events that would occur after 1840, the most devastating being the Māhele.

For nearly two hundred years, the historians have battled over the full extent of the devastation the Māhele causes the Native Hawaiian people. Non-Hawaiian historians argue that pre-contact land tenure involved a feudal system that oppressed most residents and therefore conversion to a fee simple ownership system amounted to liberation. Some fringe Hawaiian scholars have argued that the import of this ownership conversion has been overstated and that it would be occupation by the military that would truly devastate the Native Hawaiian people. My position isn't original, but it stands by the majority of Hawaiian scholars. The Māhele was the single most devastating legal decision in Hawaiian history; more devastating that the creation of a Constitutional monarchy, more devastating than the overthrow; it took land away from Hawaiians and gave it to non-Hawaiians. Nothing has proven to be more devastating to our people. It has been an act we have yet to figure out how to reverse.

Native scholar Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa explains: "The 1848 *Māhele* was the legal mechanism by which the model of private property ownership of *'Āina* replaced that of the traditional Hawaiian system of sharing control and use of the *'Āina*".[18] Nothing in the

colonial history of Hawai‘i has been more devastating than the Māhele. The Māhele was in many ways just an extension of the commercialization of the natural resources that begun with the sandalwood trade.[19] Prior to the Māhele, capitalism in the islands, while problematic, had not been devastating to the people, especially in comparison to other western imports, like disease and Christianity. Sandalwood, for example, had little usefulness in the traditional culture according to Malo.[20] Therefore, aside from the collateral impacts of labor consumption, the trading of natural resources had not been devastating to the society. The Māhele changed the impact of capitalism, trade and consumerism from one of inconvenience to one of complete devastation.

It's unclear if the Native people were able to completely appreciate what the Māhele would mean for the lāhui. One must continue to wonder if the Native government would have allowed the Māhele to go forward had they fully understood the potential consequences of private property ownership of land in the islands. Osorio specifies:

> The single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society was the Māhele or division of lands and the consequent transformation of ‘āina into private property between 1845 and 1850. When it was concluded, the Mō‘ī possessed more than one million acres of the kingdom's 4.2 million acres, 251 Konohiki and Ali‘i Nui owned or possessed about a million and a half acres, and the 80,000 Maka‘āinana had managed to secure about 28,000 acres among them.[21]

Kame‘eleihiwa comes to a similar conclusion in *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, in which she writes: "the real loss of Hawaiian sovereignty began with the 1848 *Māhele*, when the *Mō‘ī* and the *Ali‘i Nui* lost ultimate control of the *‘Āina*".[22] Where the Māhele grew out of the infusion of western beliefs about commerce into the islands that began with Cook's arrival in 1778, it also marked a significant "dropping off" point that lead to the near-complete obliteration of the Native Kingdom, culture and its Native people.

Kame‘eleihiwa’s text is essential to any discussion on the infestation of capitalism in Hawai‘i, because in her text she emphasizes how Ka‘ahumanu resisted the land tenure conversion in Hawai‘i.[23] One must therefore wonder, if “[i]t was not until 1848 that the *Ali‘i Nui* were finally convinced by their missionary advisors that capitalism and the private ownership of *‘Āina* was unavoidable”,[24] perhaps the Ali‘i Nui appreciated the consequences of commercialization in the islands. Yet, as they had come to do with so many things, it seems that the Ali‘i Nui deferred to the increasingly powerful missionary contingent that continuously called for the islands to “westernize” both in private conversation and from the pulpit.[25]

Yet, analysis of Wai‘anae in the time leading to the conversion of land tenure reveals a great deal about what communities were doing in response to the change. Due to the role of sandalwood harvesting in the region, the people of Wai‘anae were subject to strenuous labor conditions in the early days of post-contact, when the impact of foreign disease remained most devastating. The reality was that people were dying, constantly. The population of Wai‘anae plummeted. By the mid 1800s, there were less than 1,000 residents in the region. Therefore, in this context, attempting to put land title in the hands of residents makes sense. Even if family members died or families move away, they would at least still hold title to their family lands. Yet, what we know is that for many families, this effort comes too late. While we cannot know for sure how many people were in Wai‘anae at contact, we surely know that less than 1000 is a fraction of this population. As such, the Māhele becomes an extremely poor and misleading effort to establish land rights for Hawaiian families in Wai‘anae, because most families who cared

for those lands and were entitled to them were gone. And other residents simply rejected the notion that land could be owned.

Native peoples had a completely different paradigm as to their relationship with the land. Therefore, the process of confiscating natural resources through alien laws can be defined as ecocolonization. Ecocolonialism refers to the process by which western forces simultaneously colonize indigenous natural resources and the First People who inhabit that environment. The colonization of these two entities cannot be separated.

Ecocolonization speaks of the land and its indigenous people as a single unit, although the patterns of colonization throughout the world have not treated them as such. Imperial ideologies, without an appreciation of this fundamental link between the people and land, severe them in discursive discussions. They talk about the land and the people as separate entities when they are not. Therefore, understanding the ways in which houselessness occur and the social ills of the people sustain themselves requires a serious investigation into who the surrounding natural resources have been too injured.

The fundamental notion that "we belong to the land… not the land to us" is echoed in most environmental theories. Yet, ecocolonialism differs from these known theories in that it contends that the Native people of a land have a fundamentally different stake and relationship to land than other groups, who may also support environmentally-friendly policies. Most lands have kamaʻāina, children of the land. Those children, the indigenous peoples of that land, typically have relationships with that land tracing back thousands of years. From this unique relationship, the very identity of those peoples is directly tied to their ancestral lands.

While the long-term effects of the Māhele are widely noted as devastating to the Native people, even the short-term effects were devastating. Such effects began to quickly reveal themselves after the lands were divided. Merry explains: "Although the intention of the Māhele was to give the aliʻi and mōʻī their own lands and to provide firm title to the makaʻāinana, the people on the land, very few commoners actually acquired land in their own names. Instead, large tracts of the land passed into the hands of naturalized foreigners and, after 1850, non-naturalized foreigners".[26] This occurred in Waiʻanae. High Chief Abner Pākī would receive the majority of the unclaimed lands in the Māhele. Land Commission Awards tell us very little about the families of Waiʻanae because many families did not apply for the awards.

The true intent of the Māhele revealed itself. It had not been a mechanism by which to secure the rights of the makaʻāinana but a way for foreigners to wrestle land from the Kingdom into their own private possession. Nothing evidences true intent of the Māhele and the missionary "confidants" who continuously pressed the Kingdom into it than the explosion of economic prosperity that followed for haole. The Māhele allowed for the second most destructive western contribution to the islands: sugar.

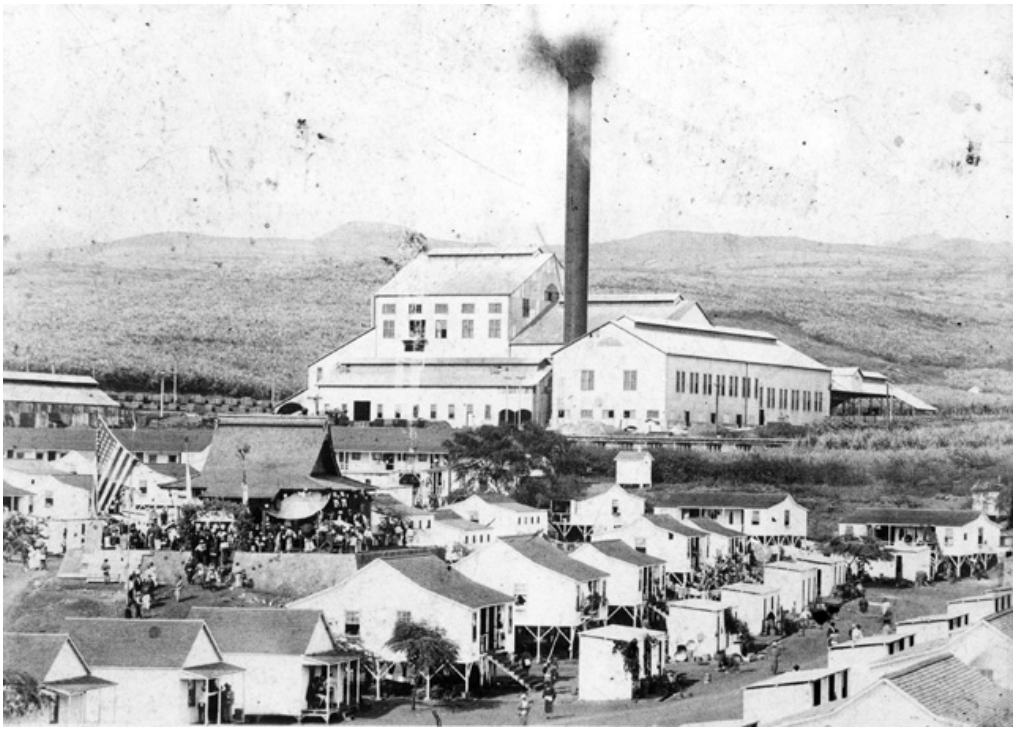
The sugar industry was more than just a commercial enterprise. For haole it was certainly primarily about money, lots of money. Yet, for those who continue to feel the impact of this industry, sugar triggered a series of changes in Hawaiʻi that decimated once and for all the traditional life that existed prior to western contact. If in 1840 there perhaps still existed some remote possibility that the Native Hawaiian people could ward off colonization and occupation and protect the traditional people and the lifestyle, the

Māhele in 1848 and the rise of the sugar industry immediately thereafter ensured that would never happen.

Sugar is a horrible industry. It requires excessive amounts of labor capital and subjects those working the fields to terrible and dangerous conditions. Yet, far worse than the human labor costs of sugar would be the political and environmental ones. Sugar planting required huge tracts of land. The acquisition and control of these huge tracts of land led to the mass dispossession and displacement of the Native people. People were being moved to make way for sugar. Not only this, but sugar (far more than other crops), requires water. Lots of water. The complex and environmentally responsible irrigation system that the Native Hawaiians used for thousands of years would be completely wiped out by the sugar industry. Each of these impacts will be discussed in turn, as they each required some support by the ruling government.

The Māhele opened the door for the sugar industry. Sugar planters would surely not have been comfortable, particularly coming from a western ideology that considered private property a fundamental right, building plantations if they did not own the land. Merry explains: "In 1850, the sugar plantation economy was still in its infancy. The legal groundwork for this system, however – private ownership of land, masters and servants legislation, and a system of government and law that protected private property in American terms – was in place".[27] The government enabled the sugar planters. Most were active in the Kingdom government. Others simply benefited from the various government actions that supported the budding industry: land grants or discounted sales on land, infrastructure improvements paid for by the Kingdom, bounties on exports, immigration laws.

Massive displacement and dispossession among the Native people occurred as a result of the Māhele. Whereas the Native people firmly believed that (despite the Māhele) they would retain rights to live on and cultivate the land, this proved to not be the case, as best evidenced in cases like *Oni v. Meek*, where the Supreme Court decided "the relationship that had defined both Ali‘i and Maka‘āinana for centuries was replaced by legal definitions of rights, definitions that could be altered by each new statute and each new decision".[28] And not only were people being forced off their land, but they were being forced to work for the plantations and live in camps, like refugees.



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This photo taken in Leeward O‘ahu of a sugar mill perfectly illustrates both the large amounts of land required for plantations (both for crops, milling and living quarters). We also see how workers were herded into tiny living structures. Quite the monumental

change for Native people who (only one generation previous) had been living a far more traditional lifestyle.

For only one generation before, the Leeward area (like most of Hawai‘i) thrived economically and culturally. Yet, with colonization, the land in this area would quickly be devoured by foreigners eager to use the land for their own economic gain. The region would bear witness to the famous *Oni v. Meek* conflict, which historically became one of the worst legal decisions in Hawai‘i’s judicial history in that it helped ensure the dispossession of Hawai‘i’s native people. It deprived the people of the lifestyle that had been their tradition for thousands of years. This lifestyle both provided for the Native Hawaiian people economically and culturally, but it also allowed them an active, healthy lifestyle. Therefore, *Oni v. Meek* did more than dispossess people of their land; it stripped them of their health.

This case involved a dispute between two parties, the Plaintiff, Oni (no first name provided) and the Defendant, John Meek over the land use rights in the Honouliuli ahupua‘a. John Meek was the leaseholder of a large tract of kula land in Honouliuli (pictured below). A status only recently created through changes in the land tenure system from one that favored and protected the Native people to one that overwhelmingly favored and benefited foreigners. Before and after the changes to the land tenure laws, Oni was a hoa‘āina in Honouliuli, residing on his kuleana, which he had been previously awarded.

© The Nature Conversancy

The controversy in this case arose when Meek seized two of Oni's horses who had been grazing on his (Meek's) land. The Court found that for three years Meek had repeatedly notified Oni to remove his horses from the land. Finally, Meek seized the horses. After seizing the horses, Meek took them to the Government pound where they were sold. Oni then sued Meek for the value of the horses.

Oni first argued that a reservation clause in one of the three leases Meek held stated that Meek's leasehold rights could not interfere with the rights of the konohiki. Because the lease Oni referred to only related to one small section of Meek's leases land, and because Oni could not prove that his horses were seized from that specific section of land – the Court rejected this argument. The Court states that even if Oni had been able to show that his horses were taken from that specific tract of land, the reservation in the lease would not have created any right beyond the rights already provided to the tenants in statutory law.

Oni then argued that he had a customary right to the use of Meek's land. Oni argued that since their arrival in Hawai‘i in 1833, horses belonging to nā hoa‘āina had been allowed to pasture on the kula land along with the horses belonging to the konohiki.

Oni argued that this right continued despite changes in the land use laws. The Court disagreed with Oni's argument, stating that "the custom contended for [was] so unreasonable, so uncertain, and so repugnant to the spirit of the present laws, that it ought not to be sustained by judicial authority."[29] This basically means that the customary right, based on the old land law system, conflicted with the new land law system. Yet, despite the Court's strong language, it does not completely reject the argument that under the right circumstances, customary rights could still exist. They simply find that Oni had no customary right to the use of Meek's kula land because Oni failed to show customary use. The Court was particularly persuaded by the fact that Oni went to the konohiki, Mr. Haʻalelea, after Meek was awarded the land and offered to continue to be a laborer for him in consideration for being able to "enjoy all their accustomed rights and privileges."[30] Therefore, the Court found that the relationship between Meek and Oni was a contractual one, and not based on customary rights.

The Court determined that when weighing customary rights against the rights of the fee simple landowner, the fee simple land owner prevailed – it was a triumph of Western law over the Native legal system that existed before it. This decision became the basis under which customary rights would be denied until the 1980s. Yet, customary rights must be seen as more than just legal rights – it was also the source of the healthy lifestyle that created such a healthy, thriving Native people in pae ʻāina in the first place. Embedded in customary rights are the rights to practice our traditional economy and traditional vocations.

Oni also argued that he had a statutory right to the use of the land. The statute referred to a joint resolution passed in 1846, prior to the Act of 1850, which was the basis

for Meek's land ownership. Oni argued that the rights provided to the hoa'āina in the 1846 Act were never "expressly repealed by the Legislature." The Court found the two Acts to be inconsistent, but they resolved this inconsistency by holding that "by necessary implication" the 1850 Act repealed the 1846 Act. The Court stated:

> It was evidently the intention of the Legislature at the time of the passage of the Act of 1850, that the former right of the hoa'āina to "pasture his horse and cow, and other animals, on the land, but not in such numbers as to prevent the konohiki from pasturing his," should cease to exist. It was inconsistent with the new system, and therefore was not reserved on the change of the law.[31]

Essentially, the Court found that since the two Acts conflicted with one another, the second Act (passed in 1850) overruled the first Act (passed in 1946).

The Court decision in this case largely settled the issue of traditional and customary rights. The Court finding states that only those rights that are specifically identified in the law survived the Māhele. In the case of *Oni v Meek*, the Court specified:

> When the landlords have taken allodial titles to their lands, the people on each of their lands shall not be deprived of the right to take firewood, house timber, aho cord, thatch, or ti leaf, from the land on which they live, for their own private use, should they need them, but they shall not have a right to take such articles to sell for profit. They shall also inform the landlord or his agent, and proceed with his consent. The people shall also have a right to drinking water, and running water, and the right of way.[32]

The Court continued: "That it was the intention of the Legislature to declare, in this enactment, all the specific rights of the hoa'āina (excepting fishing rights) which should be held to prevail against the fee simply title of the konohiki, we have no doubt."[33] The Court decides that since Oni's claim is not based on a right specifically mentioned in the law, it does not exist. This would have a very important impact on the hoa'āina right to bring traditional and customary rights claims.

Oni v Meek is an important part of this region's history. And although many know of the case, most do not know where the land in dispute was located. The case shows how as soon as the laws changed, foreigners were dispossessing the Native people physically and economically. Because foreigners were so quick to buy up their region and did not hesitate to push the Native people of this land off the land, the area would become a major site of plantation enterprises by the end of the 19th century.

Waiʻanae would also become home to the first plantation on Oʻahu, not far from the site of the *Oni v. Meek* conflict. While many believed that the kula lands of Waiʻanae were not necessarily well suited for a plantation, one foreigner put his money and influence into the venture.

> … Honolulu's armchair experts shook their heads in 1878 when word got out that a well known judge was signing big money into a plantation at Waiʻanae, the first on Oʻahu. … His name was Hermann A. Widemann, a German jack of all trades, promoter and intellectual. Widemann had prospected for gold in California and tried growing sugar on Kauaʻi. He had also been circuit judge there, tax assessor, road supervisor, government clerk and owner of a dairy. In the 1860s he sold his unprofitable sugar plantation and moved with his Hawaiian wife to Honolulu. King David Kalākaua appointed the mercurial Widemann to his first cabinet in 1774 (sic). He also served for a time as an associated justice of the Hawaiian Supreme Court.
>
> On the fact of it, prospects at Waiʻanae appeared dim. But Widemann could count on a number of things in his favor. For one thing, he had solid financial backing through Hackfeld & Co. (now known as Amfac) and he was sponsored by one of Hawaiʻi's most reputable and technically qualified sugar planters, George N. Wilcox of Kauaʻi. It was Wilcox who had taken over Widemann's struggling Grove Farm Plantation near Līhuʻe and turned it into a thriving venture. On July 9, 1878, Wilcox loaned Widemann $40,000 secured through Hackfeld & Co. to start Waiʻanae Sugar Co. Also in Widemann's favor was his staunch support of the Hawaiian monarchy. This gave him influence with the king which helped him obtain a lease on Waiʻanae crown lands. In 1879 he leased all of Waiʻanae Kai for 25 years.[34]

The economic venture was unprecedented for the moku. The venture would succeed, but it would thrive at the expense of the health and labor of the local people, much as the sandalwood industry had.

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This photograph of laborers working in a pineapple field on the Leeward Coast illustrates that plantation work required a great use of energy; this use of labor was largely inefficient. Comparatively, labor in the traditional Hawaiian lifestyle mastered efficient use of water and land.

The people of Wai‘anae were particularly resistant to the plantations as they came into their district. They identified early on that the ways in which land and water were being acquired and used were dangerously inconsistent with the traditional practices of

mahiʻai or native farmers. It is explained: "Part of the price of this progress was the ill will of some of Waiʻanae's stubbornly traditional residents. Already, kāhunas had placed a curse on [Julius Lyman] Richardson [the manager of the Waiʻanae plantation]. Waiʻanae tradition tends to be critical of the plantation for obtaining the water rights at Kamaile by trading Hawaiians for land up mauka. Also, Waiʻanae Sugar Co. had frozen out the Chinese planters by refusing to grind their cane. This was not considered correct conduct in Waiʻanae."[35] Waiʻanae again identified itself as a place of ideological conflict between foreign ideas of commerce and development and Hawaiian ideologies of sustainability.

For Hawaiians, life on the land was not work but *life*. As Handy, Handy and Pukui write: "The gardener was a man of peace, concerned with the production of food and the utilization of his natural resources, rather than with prowess; content to share his provender with his landlord who held title to the land he worked. His cultural heritage was that of a seasoned and mature knowledge of the art of gardening and of seasons, weather, water, and soil."[36] This emphasizes the emotional and spiritual health of the traditional Hawaiian lifestyle. The writers also express how this lifestyle led to physical health. In their words: "The planter himself, in pre-European Hawaiʻi, was as an organism physically benign in breed, blending in happy combination elements derived from several superior racial strains, and enjoying the stimulating factors of climate, secure personal and social existence, plus sound subsistence, vigorous exercise, and to a remarkable extent, freedom from disease."[37] Therefore, removal from this lifestyle, whether to plantations or resorts, logically results in physical illness. All of this, largely, in the name of sugar.

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Sugar, more than any other industry, commodified the land and natural resources of Hawai‘i. It commercialized water – a concept that would have been both absurd and appalling prior to contact. Yet, the sugar industry could not survive without excessive water use.

> The sugar industry diverted a lot of water. On O‘ahu, the Waiāhole Tunnel delivered an average of 30 million gallons a day (mgd) and Lake Wilson yielded another 30 mgd. On Hawai‘i, the Kohala and Hāmākua watersheds yielded 80 mgd. On Kaua‘i, Kekaha Sugar Company brought down an average of 50 mgs, Hawaiian Sugar Company another 65 mgs, and Līhu‘e Plantation averaged 100 to 140 mgs. The East Maui Irrigation Company’s system averaged 160 mgs – and could deliver 445 mgs. By 1920, the sugar industry was diverting in excess of 800 mgs of surface water and, in addition, pumping almost 400 mgs of groundwater. The entire city of Boston used 80 mgd in 1939.[38]

This atrocity was enabled by Kingdom law. Even after the Māhele, the sugar planters wanted more. Hence the push for the Reciprocity Treaty in 1876. Wilson explains that

the Reciprocity Treaty was critical in securing the continued support and increased investment by sugar planters in Hawai‘i. She writes: “The Reciprocity Treaty was predicated on full government support of the fledgling sugar industry, including its efforts to develop water. Without that support, which included allowing the sugar planters to transport water out of the watershed, investors would not have been attracted to Hawai‘i”.[39] Once the Reciprocity Treaty passed, the government would be giving out licenses to divert water for sugar within the year.[40] As the hydrology atlas of Wai‘anae explains, much of the water of Wai‘anae would be diverted from the region during the first half of the 20th century. Water licensing still occurs on the Leeward Coast today, but the people of Wai‘anae certainly fought for their water.

In the 1880s, as the sugar industry continued to grow, the need for water also grew. They began to take water at the expense of lo‘i kalo, kalo fields that fed the families of the region.

> In Mākaha Valley, the pioneer planters were not very successful. The first one failed within a year, probably, for lack of capital. His lease was taken over in 1882 by A. Hastings & Co. In 1883 Hastings enraged Mākaha taro farmers by blocking the ‘auwai (irrigation ditch) that fed the taro patches from Mākaha Stream. Apparently, the haole sugar planter assumed that his lease of the land gave him right to all water flowing through it. The Hawaiian operated under the traditional system of sharing water.
>
> Eleven taro farmers led by M. K. Maikai brought suit against Hastings. In 1884 the Hawaiian Supreme Court ruled that the water must be shared on the same basis it had been traditionally. The decision set a precedent for similar disputes that were breaking out all over the Islands.
>
> Thirsty sugar plantations had increased the importance of water rights, especially, on the arid Wai‘anae Coast. Without irrigation water, no plantation could succeed. In order to increase acreage, the planter had also to increase his water supply. At Wai‘anae, the supply was severely limited. If the sugar plantations took too much, the taro farmers got too little. This limitation of water, and squabbles over how much each should receive, became a constant source of aggravation to managers of Wai‘anae Sugar Co.

> Sill Widemann's luck held. Almost in his backyard, an enterprising mechanic had discovered how to tap underground water by drilling. The discovery took place at nearby 'Ewa in 1879 not long after Widemann's men had planted his first crop of cane at Wai'anae. While other planters were still bringing water down from mountain streams, Widemann was dickering with well drillers at Wai'anae.[41]

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This taking of water in Wai`anae proved a pivotal point in the ecocolonization of Wai`anae, as it would critically change the ecology of the entire region. Wai'anae, although always a dry region, certainly enjoyed more water than it enjoys today. Those who participate in Makahiki ceremonies in Mākua valley in fact learn chants to express joy and lament for the water lost in the valley by foreign settlement. For despite being a fairly dry region today, Wai'anae nonetheless possessed enough natural resources to provide for those who lived there. As Handy, Handy and Pukui write: "The third dry area on O'ahu was the coast along the leeward flank of the Wai'anae range, from Mākua to Nānākuli. Only Wai'anae Valley supported a number of areas where wet taro was planted, watered by streams from the Wai'anae range, streams whose flows were probably constant owing to the high bogs on top of the mountains. … It is probable that there was also a village up in Mākaha Valley, where the taro terraces are still to be seen,

having been in use up to fairly recent times."[42] Clearly, the region provided support for the population living there. Yet, with western contact, both the population of the region grew and the amount of water being provided to the region decreased, although this did not occur without resistance from the Wai`anae residents.

So Hawaiians, namely taro farmers, certainly resisted the systematic colonization of their land and resources, especially their water rights. The holding in the Maika`i decision, where the farmers sued for their water rights, read:

> We are of the opinion that the petitioners, Maikai, Waikane and Pauli, and also Kahalemake, who did not sign the petition, are entitled to water from the Makaha stream in Waianae, with which to irrigate the lands held by them. All these persons are holders of kuleanas, awarded by the Land Commission.
>
> The other petitioners are hoaainas or tenants at sufferance under the Konohiki, and they must look to him for their supply of water. By the lease from him to the defendant's assignors, it appears that he has parted with his right to the water, reserving only two hours' use of the same for his own kalo lands, and reserving (what he could not dispose of) the water for native kuleana holders, the exact expression in the lease being, "sufficient water for all kuleana rights."
>
> It is difficult to estimate exactly how much water will be required to supply the parties to whom we award it, but the best conclusion at which we can arrive is that the plaintiffs are to have the use of all the water from Makaha stream from 7 o'clock p. m. of every day to 12 o'clock midnight, and the rest of the time the defendants are to have the use of the water. The konohiki is to take his water out of the time allotted to defendants.[43]

While this decision affirmed water rights for taro farmers, it also started to partition these rights. As other economic interests would move in, the rights of farmers would continue to be whittled away, most effectively by legislation passed after the overthrow and the implementation of these laws.

Wai‘anae would be particularly devastated by foreign economic interests that targeted land and natural resources. The changes in land tenure began with the separation between Hawaiians and their land, but the effort would be considerably furthered by

government seizure of lands in Wai‘anae. Shortly after the overthrow, the Organic Act[44] would give the governor of the territory the right to setting aside lands for public purposes. It would also give the U.S. President an equal amount of power to seize land for public use. Therefore, there were two separate provisions in the Act, sections 71 and 91, which give the Governor of Hawai`i and President of the United States, both the power to take any land for public use. Much of the seizure of land and water thereby occurred under Government Leases, State Executive Orders and Presidential Executive Orders.

The territorial government would issue numerous government leases to various foreign commercial interests, essentially handing over huge tracts of land in Wai‘anae for development and militarization. Thousands of acres of land would be taken from the people of Wai‘anae through State Executive Orders. One example would be the seizure of nearly 2,000 acres for a “transmitting station for national defense.” Executive Order No. 599 reads:

> I, Lawrence M. Judd, Governor of the Territory of Hawai‘i, by virtue of the authority vested in me by paragraph q of Section 73 of the Hawaiian Organic Act, and every other authority me hereunto enabling, do hereby order that the following described public land be and the same is hereby by aside for public purposes, to-wit, for site for “TRANSITTING STATION FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE”, to be under the control and management of the Navy Department.
>
> Portion of the Government Land of Lualualei, situation between Land Court Application 1026, (Wai‘anae Company, Applicant), and Lualualei Homesteads, 3rd Series, and the Navy Ammunition Depot, located in the Lualualei Homesteads, 1st Series, Lualualei, Wai‘anae, O‘ahu, acquired from L. L. McCandless by Condemnation, and Lot 7-A, covered by Governor’s Executive Order No. 382.[45]

Executive Order 599 continues to declare: “Together with that portion of the Lualualei Road (60 feet wide), extending from the South side of Mikilua Road to the North boundary of Land Court Application 130, said road having a length of 8,250 feet, more or

less, said tract containing 1,737 acres and 11.4 acres in Lualualei Road, MAKING A TOTAL AREA OF 1748.4 ACRES."[46] The only restrictions to this gift were the lands already in use through government leases to Wai'anae Co. and Hawaiian Electric Co.

Mākua valley would be seized in a similar fashion, as discussed in the next chapter. It is important to note that these powers would not end when Hawai`i became a State in 1959. The practice would continue well into the later part of the 20th century. In 1981, Governor George Ariyoshi would set aside over 1,100 acres of land for a natural area reserve that surrounds multiple military installations.

These land transfers became the topic of conflict in the early 20th century. It would also bring more of John Meek's lands back into Court. In this case, the lands impacted were Kālena. Kamehameha III would award Artemas Bishop the land known as Kālena, Wai`anae (now part of Wahiawa) in Royal Patent Grant No. 527 in January 1851. John Meek, in his efforts to purchase large tracts of land in Leeward, O`ahu, purchased Kālena from Bishop for three hundred and fifty dollars only four months later in May 1851. The Kālena land is then left to Meek's son Eli in his will. Yet, Meek was survived by his wife, who sold the Kālena land to Lincoln L. McLandless for $11,800 U.S. Gold Coin in hand paid on August 12, 1875.[47]

These lands would be taken by (U.S.) Presidential Executive Orders after the creation of the Territory. Just as the Organic Act gave the Governor authority to claim land for public use, so did the Organic Act give the U.S. President authority to claim land for public use. Thousands of acres were getting swept up into the State or Federal Government's possession, and in Kālena, "the first executive order, No. 1242, was issued by President William H. Taft on August 23, 1910, and the second, executive order No.

2800, was issued by President Woodrow Wilson on February 4, 1918. The second executive order covered substantially the land described in the first but was more precise in its description. It appears from the evidence that these two orders included the lands claimed by the applicant and that the area in question was, at the time the application was filed, and is now claimed by the United States government and was and is now occupied by the United States military forces."[48] Here was an example of the tremendous power the Organic Act gave to the U.S. President to seize lands at will. It also demonstrated the lack of restraint in using this power to take land for the U.S. Military.

The growing presence of the military in Hawai`i meant that the situation had changed considerably since Meek land holdings were at issue before a court. Now, the Territorial Court found reason to give the United States absolute authority over all State lands; the Court would not even entertain the issue of title holding that the United States did not consent to the Court's jurisdiction.[49] In an incredibly ironic twist of fate, McLandless, surely knowing he could do little to challenge the authority of the U.S. President, instead brought suit in an effort to determine his rights as land owner under the Royal Patent,[50] relying on the spirit of Monarch law that former landowner John Meek as successfully diminished. McLandless reaped what Meek sowed; McLandless found no recourse in the Court. The holding of the Court is cited in its entirety because the author is unaware of it being cited elsewhere, and it is a significant decision.

> The authority of the Presidents of the United States to so deal with the public lands of the Territory exists by virtue of the agreement of annexation entered into between the then Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America. On February 9, 1897, a resolution was passed by the senate of the Republic of Hawaii ratifying annexation of the Republic which reads in part as follows: "Be It Resolved, by the Senate of the Republic of Hawaii: That the Senate hereby ratifies and advises and consents to the ratification by the President of the treaty between the Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America on the subject of the

> annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States of America concluded at Washington on the 16th day of June, A. D. 1897, which treaty is word for word as follows: * * * 'Article I. The Republic of Hawaii hereby cedes absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies; and it is agreed that all the territory of and appertaining to the Republic of Hawaii is hereby annexed to the United States of America under the name of the Territory of Hawaii. Article II. The Republic of Hawaii also cedes and hereby transfers to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, government or crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipments, and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining. The existing laws of the United States relative to public lands shall not apply to such lands in the Hawaiian Islands; but the Congress of the United States shall enact special laws for their management and disposition. Provided: that all revenue from or proceeds of the same, except as regards such part thereof as may be used or occupied for the civil, military or naval purposes of the United States, or may be assigned for the use of the local government, shall be used solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands for educational and other public purposes.' "[51]

The significance of this decision was profound. First, it remains unclear what authority the Republic of Hawai`i acted under when it ratified the Treaty referred to herein. By some accounts, it acted illegally in its overthrow of the Monarchy and in all subsequent acts.[52] This illegal Republic then ceded authority to the United States, who then used that authority to seize control of thousands of acres of lands for its own military. Actions it had been unable to accomplish with such ease under the Monarchy. When these actions were challenged, in the United States' courts, the Courts found that they had no jurisdiction over their own government and that land owners had no recourse. The growing power of the United States and State Government made it increasingly difficult for the residents of Wai`anae to maintain their region as a sacred place.

The decision also demonstrated that the Territorial Government sought control over more than just the ceded lands. The McLandless decision upheld the seizure of privately held lands. The Republic turned over control of the ceded lands, but it also

turned over sovereign authority which allowed the United States to take any lands. It seems no one could anticipate how insatiable the needs and desires of foreigners were. What began with the need to obtain title to lands evolved into a need for political power. That need for political power led to a need for absolute control over the sovereignty of the Kingdom. Control of the sovereign power led to the seizure of thousands of acres of land, private or not, for militarization and other uses. Even control of those lands was not enough. Soon efforts to control the natural resources began.

Systema Naturae

It is important to remember that while all of Wai`anae was an ecological system, with the people, land, water, flora and fauna all having critical inter-related parts. We have already noted impacts upon the people, land, water, and fauna (in our case, taro). Fauna or farae would not be spared the reach of American imperial desires. Wai`anae becomes known to us also through its legends, as does its resources. It is the birthplace of Maui, who is revered throughout the Pacific.

> …Akaalana lived with Hinakawea, and Maui-mua, Maui-waena, Maui-ikiiki, and Maui-a-kalana, all boys were born.
>
> At Ulehawa and Kaolae on the south side of Wai`anae was their birthplace. There are pointed out the things left by Maui. Among other famous things to be seen are the cave in which Hina made her tapa, the fishhook Manaiakalani, the snare for catching the sun, and all his other implements. But Maui-a-kalana went to Kahiki after the birth of his son in Hawaii and the last of his children born of Hina-a-kealoha was Hina-akeka, and these become the ancestors of all lands in the ocean as far as the country which foreigners call New Zealand. There in the islands of the ocean Maui performed those famous exploits which are ever held in remembrance among this people.[53]

Wai`anae holds particular cultural significance for the Hawaiian people, because of its relationship to Maui. This sacredness has rarely between recognized by the western world. Yet, its local people, those who celebrate its beauty, carry on its traditions. The

effort to identify why the place is sacred is a mechanism of protecting its history and culture. Fishing is a wonderful example of how Wai`anae's traditions are perpetuated.

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As this 1991 from Nānākuli photo illustrates, much of the recreation and culture of the region comes from fishing. The ocean becomes a way to enjoy free time in a healthy and productive manner. Therefore, when we deprive children and families the opportunity to fish, we deprive them of much more than food or fishing rights. We are depriving them of culture, as it celebrates the god Maui and his exploits. When we deprive the kama`āina of the ability to practice their culture; we deprive them of their history.

Fishing has always been a critical component of the lives for the families of Wai`anae. For those who may worry regularly about where their next meal will come from, fishing and the sea provides some comfort in that it ensures that the family will eat. It is one of the benefits of living on the beach. Families can fish for their meals. In this regard, fishing rights are extremely important. This need to fish applies even more in Wai‘anae than other places, because residents traditionally relied on for fishing to feed their families.

Wai‘anae is its fishing tradition. Handy, Handy and Pukui explain: “[Wai‘anae’s] compensatory feature was the exceptionally rich deep-sea fishing available off and beyond Ka‘ena Point, where the current pressed by the north-east trade winds flows in a westerly direction along these shores. It was here that the ancient chief Kawelo distinguished himself as a fisherman; and there are also many stories of the culture hero Māui as a great fisherman identified with this area. Much of the coast hereabouts is marked by steeply built-up, shifting sand dunes and treacherously rough seas, which probably accounts for the acclaim connected with particular fishing explants of the past.”[54] Therefore, threats to fishing in Wai‘anae and at all the beaches therefore not only pose a danger of denying families the ability to eat, but it also threatens to further erode the cultural practices and traditions that make the area unique.

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Fishing played a critical role in traditional Hawaiian life. Alan Murakami of the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation explains: "Under the ancient system of land tenure, ahupua'a occupants shared fishing areas appurtenant to the ahupua'a, which were exclusively used by them. However, all were free to fish in the open ocean, except as might be directed by the ali'i, or restricted by the king or by religious or other practices."[55] The ability to fish in the open ocean is now one of the last sites of cultural practice and survival for Native Hawaiians in Wai'anae.

Fishing speaks to the importance of cultural practice as a site of history and discourse. We know that fishing was a great importance to the people of Wai`anae because of the many documented fishing shrines known in the history but that have since been destroyed.[56] Activities, both a resource management and spiritual practice, are

critical to a culture, because cultural practices speak to history and mo`okū`auhau. They speak of the people who created and maintain the practice.

Yet, the maintenance of the practice was severely disrupted by the territorial government. The efforts to alienate the people from the land extended past the changes in land title, they involved criminalization of cultural activities, like fishing.

> Act 230, S. L. 1919, by section 1 prohibits all persons other than citizens of the United States from placing, setting or operating fish traps, pounds or weirs in any location of the sea fisheries of the government of the Territory of Hawaii; by section 2 empowers the treasurer of any county or city and county to issue an annual license to any citizen applying therefore as an operator of fish traps, pounds or weirs, and by section 3 makes it a misdemeanor for any person to place, set or operate fish traps, pounds or weirs in any location of the sea fisheries of the government of the Territory of Hawaii without first complying with section 2 of the Act.[57]

Again, Wai`anae saw the government seizing control over natural resources that had been previously available to all residents. As this chapter showed, the ecocolonization began with a seizure of land, then water, than extended out into all things within the *Systema Naturae*.

The capacity of the land to heal itself once water is restored and people are allowed to serve as stewards and mālama ʻāina only reinforces the notion that returning to the land heals not only the land but the people who care for her. The land is our family, our makua, our parent. And as all good children, we only want the ability to mālama mākua.

[1] Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i,* Revised Edition (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 132-133.

[2] Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1971).

[3] Liholiho supposedly ends the `aikapu upon the death of his father, Kamehameha I. Despite popular belief, he did not possess the rank or authority to do so. Such authority would have come from his mother, Keopuolani, who was of niaupio rank, or high rank obtained by the mating of a chief or chiefess with his or his half-sibling. Her ranking was passed onto her children, as it could not be lost even by Keopuolani's mating with Kamehameha, who was of lower rank than her. While the highest ranking among Kamehameha's wives, she was not the highest ranking chiefess of this time, as niaupio was not the highest rank one could achieve. That rank is the pio rank, achieved by the mating of full-blooded ali`i nui siblings. Only pio rank children were considered equals of the gods. Hence why the child of Kauikeauoli and Nahienaena was so important to the lahui, the child would have been pio ranked, and equal to the gods. Yet, since no reigning moi was of such rank and none had the akua kapu (i.e., were as sacred as the gods), it is questionable whether or not Liholiho could undo the `aikapu, which has imposed by Wākea, the sky father, upon the Hawaiian people.

[4] Stephen L. Desha, Kamehameha and his Warrior Kekūhaupi`o, (Honolulu, Kamehameha Schools Press, 2000), 386.

[5] Ibid, 387.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid, 386, the ali`i identified the invasion of the Maui chiefs onto O`ahu as "`a`e hewa."

[9] Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers, Sites of Oahu (Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 64

[10] Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i,* Revised Edition (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 95

[11] Edward J. McGrath Jr., Kenneth M. Brewer, and Bob Krauss, Historic Wai`anae: Place of Kings, Honolulu: Island Heritage, 1973, 18

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid, 19.

[15] Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i,* Revised Edition (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 95.

[16] Ibid, 100-101.

[17] Ibid, 204.

[18] Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 137.

[19] Sally Engle Merry also offers an interpretation as to the relationship between sandalwood and the Māhele.

> By the 1840s the sandalwood was gone, the peasantry was alienated and shrinking, revenues to the ali'i were being strangled by a hierarchy of konohiki (land stewards) each taking his share of a dwindling land product, and the ali'i were willing to divest themselves of their vest tracts in exchange for smaller parcels more clearly under their control. The missionaries pushed for individual land ownership in the 1840s to promote industriousness and the emergence of the bourgeois family.

Here Merry argues that the Māhele was not only the product of foreign persuasion and legal influence, but the result of economic pressures that developed as the sandalwood industry collapsed from over-harvesting.

Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 41.

[20] David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities: Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, Revised Edition (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1997), 21.

[21] Jonathan Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 44.

[22] Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 15.

[23] Ibid, 95.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Merry offers some explanations as to why the changes after 1840s were far more devastating to the Native people than earlier changes in the law. She explains:

> In sum, the transition of the mid 1840s to the early 1850s was very different from that of the mid 1820s to the mid 1840s. Although (William Little) Lee apparently knew some Hawaiian, neither he nor (John) Ricord had the deep understanding of the Hawaiian language and culture of the leaders of the first transition such as William Richards and Lorrin Andrews. The men who led the second transition spent far less time in Hawai‘i before they began the complex task of forming a government and legal system than did the missionaries who guided the first transition. They saw themselves as promoting the process of "civilizing" the islands and responding to the demands of resident foreigners by introducing the rule of law and the Western system of courts, codes, and legislative rule-making.

Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 42.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Jonathan Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 54.

[29] Oni v. Meek, 1858 WL 4829, 1-6 (Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Hawaii Hawai‘i, 1858).

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34]Carol Wilcox, *Sugar Water*, (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1998,) 37.

[35] Ibid, 42.

[36] E.S. Craighill Handy, Elizabeth Green Handy with Mary Kawena Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawai‘i: Their Life, Lore, and Environment* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), 310.

[37] Ibid, 312.

[38] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird, ed. *For Indigenous Eyes Only: A Decolonization Handbook* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005), 5.

[39] Ibid, 16.

[40] Ibid, 18.

[41] Edward J. McGrath Jr., Kenneth M. Brewer, and Bob Krauss, Historic Wai`anae: Place of Kings, Honolulu: Island Heritage, 1973.

[42] E.S. Craighill Handy, Elizabeth Green Handy with Mary Kawena Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawai'i: Their Life, Lore, and Environment* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), 275.

[43] Maikai v A. Hastings & Co., 5 Haw. 133, 133, 1884 WL 6659 (Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Hawaii, 1884)

[44] § 73. Commissioner of public lands.

(a) That when used in this section -

(1) The term "commissioner" means the commissioner of public lands of the Territory of Hawai'i;

(2) The term "land board" means the board of public lands, as provided in subdivision (1) of this section;

(3) The term "public lands" includes all lands in the Territory of Hawai'i classed as government or crown lands previous to August 15, 1895, or acquired by the government upon or subsequent to such date by purchase, exchange, escheat, or the exercise of the right of eminent domain, or in any other manner; except (1) lands designated in section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, (2) lands set apart or reserved by Executive order by the President, (3) lands set aside or withdrawn by the governor under the provisions of subdivision (q) of this section, (4) sites of public buildings, lands used for roads, streets, landings, nurseries, parks, tracts reserved for forest growth or conservation of water supply, or other public purposes, and (5) lands to which the United States has relinquished the absolute fee and ownership, unless subsequently placed under the control of the commissioner and given the status of public lands in accordance with the provisions of this Act, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, or the Revised Laws of Hawai'i of 1915; and

(4) The term "person" includes individual, partnership, corporation, and association.

(b) Any term defined or described in section 347 or 351 of the Revised Laws of Hawai'i of 1915, except a term defined in subdivision (a) of this section, shall, whenever

used in this section, if not inconsistent with the context or any provision of this section, have the same meaning as given it by such definition or description.

(c) The laws of Hawai‘i relating to public lands, the settlement of boundaries, and the issuance of patents on land commission awards, except as changed by this Act, shall continue in force until Congress shall otherwise provide. Subject to the approval of the President, all sales, grants, leases, and other dispositions of the public domain, and agreements concerning the same, and all franchises granted by the Hawaiian government in conformity with the laws of Hawai‘i, between the 7th day of July, 1898, and the 28th day of September, 1899, are hereby ratified and confirmed. In said laws "land patent" shall be substituted for "royal patent"; "commissioner of public lands," for "minister of the interior," "agent of public lands," and "commissioners of public lands," or their equivalents; and the words "that I am a citizen of the United States," or "that I have declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States, as required by law," for the words "that I am a citizen by birth (or naturalization) of the Republic of Hawai‘i," or "that I have received letters of denization under the Republic of Hawai‘i," or "that I have received a certificate of special right of citizenship from the Republic of Hawai‘i."

(d) No lease of the surface of agriculture lands or of undeveloped and public land which is capable of being converted into agricultural land by the development, for irrigation purposes, of either the underlying or adjacent waters, or both, shall be granted, sold, or renewed by the government of the Territory of Hawai‘i for a longer period than sixty-five years. Each such lease shall be sold at public auction to the highest bidder after due notice as provided in subdivision (i) of this section and the laws of the Territory of Hawai‘i. Each such notice shall state all the terms and conditions of the sale. The land, or any part thereof so leased, may at any time during the term of the lease be withdrawn from the operation thereof for homestead or public purposes, upon the payment of just compensation for such withdrawal. Every such lease shall contain a provision to that effect: Provided, That the commissioner may, with the approval of the governor and at least two-thirds of the members of the land board, omit such withdrawal provision from, or limit the same in, the lease of any lands whenever he deems it advantageous to the Territory of Hawai‘i, and land so leased shall not be subject to such right of withdrawal, or shall be subject only to a right of withdrawal as limited in the lease.

(e) All funds arising from the sale or lease or other disposal of public land shall be appropriated by the laws of the government of the Territory of Hawai‘i and applied to such uses and purposes for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Territory of Hawai‘i as are consistent with the joint resolution of annexation, approved July 7, 1898.

(f) No person shall be entitled to receive any certificate of occupation, right of purchase lease, cash freehold agreement, or special homestead agreement who, or whose husband or wife, has previously taken or held more than ten acres of land under any such certificate, lease, or agreement made or issued after May 27, 1910, or under any homestead lease or patent based thereon; or who, or whose husband or wife, or both of them, owns other land in the Territory, the combined area of which and the land in

question exceeds eighty acres; or who is an alien, unless he has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States as provided by law. No person who has so declared his intention and taken or held under any such certificate, lease, or agreement shall continue so to hold or become entitled to a homestead lease or patent of the land, unless he becomes a citizen within five years after so taking.

(g) No public land for which any such certificate, lease, or agreement is issued after May 27, 1910, or any part thereof, or interest therein or control thereof, shall, without the written consent of the commissioner and governor, thereafter, whether before or after a homestead lease or patent has been issued thereon, be or be contracted to be in any way, directly or indirectly, by process of law or otherwise, conveyed, mortgaged, leased, or otherwise transferred to, or acquired or held by or for the benefit of, any alien or corporation; or before or after the issuance of a homestead lease or before the issuance of a patent to or by or for the benefit of any other person; or, after the issuance of a patent, to or by or for the benefit of any person who owns, or holds, or controls, directly or indirectly, other land or the use thereof, the combined area of which and the land in question exceeds eighty acres. The prohibitions of this paragraph shall not apply to transfers or acquisitions by inheritance or between tenants in common.

(h) Any land in respect of which any of the foregoing provisions shall be violated shall forthwith be forfeited and resume the status of public land and may be recovered by the Territory or its successors in an action of ejectment or other appropriate proceedings. And noncompliance with the terms of any such certificate, lease, or agreement, or of the law applicable thereto, shall entitle the commissioner, with the approval of the governor before patent has been issued, with or without legal process, notice, demand, or previous entry, to retake possession and thereby determine the estate: Provided, That the times limited for compliance with any such approval upon its appearing that an effort has been made in good faith to comply therewith.

(i) The persons entitled to take under any such certificate, lease, or agreement shall be determined by drawing or lot, after public notice as hereinafter provided; and any lot not taken or taken and forfeited, or any lot or part thereof surrendered with the consent of the commissioner, which is hereby authorized, may be disposed of upon application at not less than the advertised price by any such certificate, lease, or agreement without further notice. The notice of any sale, drawing, or allotment of public land shall be by publication for a period of not less than sixty days in one or more newspapers of general circulation published in the Territory: *Provided however*, That (1) lots may be sold for cash or on an extended time basis, as the Commissioner may determine, without recourse to drawing or lot and forthwith patented to any citizen of the United States applying therefor, possessing the qualifications of a homesteader as now provided by law, and who has qualified for and received a loan under the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, as amended or as may hereafter be amended, for the acquisition of a farm, and (2) with or without recourse to drawing or lot, as the commissioner may determine, lots may be leased with or without a right of purchase, or may be sold for cash or on an extended time basis and forthwith patented, to any citizen of the United States applying

therefor if such citizen has not less than two years' experience as a farm owner, farm tenant, or farm laborer: And provided further, That any patent issued upon any such sale shall contain the same restrictive provisions as are now contained in a patent issued after compliance with a right of purchase lease, cash freehold agreement, or special homestead agreement.

The Commissioner may include in any patent, agreement, or lease a condition requiring the inclusion of the land in any irrigation project formed or to be formed by the Territorial agency responsible therefor and making the land subject to assessments made or to be made for such irrigation project, which assessment shall be a first charge against the land. For failure to pay the assessments or other breach of the condition the land may be forfeited and sold pursuant to the provisions of this Act, and, when sold, so much of the proceeds of sale as are necessary therefor may be used to pay any unpaid assessments.

(j) The commissioner, with the approval of the governor, may give to any person (1) who is a citizen of the United States or who has legally declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States and hereafter becomes such, and (2) who has, or whose predecessors in interest have, improved any parcel of public lands and resided thereon continuously for the ten years next preceding the application to purchase, a preference right to purchase so much of such parcel and such adjoining land as may reasonably be required for a home, at a fair price to be determined by three disinterested citizens to be appointed by the governor. In the determination of such purchase price the commissioner may, if he deems it just and reasonable, disregard the value of the improvements on such parcel and adjoining land. If such parcel of public lands is reserved for public purposes, either for the use of the United States or the Territory of Hawai‘i, the commissioner may with the approval of the governor grant to such person a preference right to purchase public lands which are of similar character, value, and area, and which are situated in the same land district. The privilege granted by this paragraph shall not extend to any original lessee or to an assignee of an entire lease of public lands.

(k) The commissioner may also, with such approval, issue, for a nominal consideration, to any church or religious organization, or person or persons or corporation representing it, a patent for any parcel of public land occupied continuously for not less than five years heretofore and still occupied by it as a church site under the laws of Hawai‘i.

(l) No sale of lands for other than homestead purposes, except as herein provided, and no exchange by which the Territory shall convey lands exceeding either forty acres in area or $15,000 in value shall be made. Leases may be made by the commissioner of public lands, with the approval of two-thirds of the members of the board of public lands, for the occupation of lands for general purposes, or for limited specified purposes (but not including leases of minerals or leases providing for the mining of minerals), for terms up to but not in excess of sixty-five years. There shall be a board of public lands, the members of which are to be appointed by the governor as provided in section 80 of this Act, and until the legislature shall otherwise provide said board shall consist of six

members, and its members be appointed for a term of four years: Provided, however, That the commissioner shall, with the approval of said board, sell to any citizen of the United States, or to any person who has legally declared his intention to become a citizen, for residence purposes lots not exceeding three acres in area; but any lot not sold after public auction, or sold and forfeited, or any lot or part thereof surrendered with the consent of the commissioner, which consent is authorized, may upon application be sold without further public notice or auction within the period of two years immediately subsequent to the day of the public auction, at the advertised price if the sale is within the period of six months immediately subsequent to the day of the public auction, and at the advertised price or the price fixed by a reappraisal of the land, whichever is greater, if the sale is within the period subsequent to the said six months but prior to the expiration of the said two years: and that sales of Government lands or any interest therein may be made upon the approval of said board for business uses or other undertakings or uses, except those which are primarily agricultural in character, whenever such sale is deemed to be in the interest of the development of the community or area in which said lands are located, and all such sales shall be limited to the amount actually necessary for the economical conduct of such business use or other undertaking or use: Provided further, That no exchange of Government lands shall hereafter be made without the approval of two-thirds of the members of said board, and no such exchange shall be made except to acquire lands directly for public uses: Provided further, That in case any lands have been or shall be sold pursuant to the provisions of this paragraph for any purpose above set forth and/or subject to any conditions with respect to the improvement thereof or otherwise, and in case any said lands have been or shall be used by the United States of America, including any department or agency thereof, whether under lease or license from the owner thereof or otherwise, for any purpose relating to war or the national defense and such use has been or shall be for a purpose other than that for which said lands were sold and/or has prevented or shall prevent the performance of any conditions of the sale of said lands with respect to the improvement thereof or otherwise, then, notwithstanding the provisions of this paragraph or of any agreement, patent, grant, or deed issued upon the sale of said lands, such use of said lands by the United States of America, including any department or agency thereof, shall not result in the forfeiture of said lands and shall result in the extension of the period during which any conditions of the sale of said lands may be complied with for an additional period equal to the period of the use of said lands by the United States of America, including any department or agency thereof.

(m) Whenever twenty-five or more persons, having the qualifications of homesteaders who have not therefore made application under this Act shall make written application to the commissioner of public lands for the opening of agricultural lands for settlement in any locality or district, it shall be the duty of said commissioner to proceed expeditiously to survey and open for entry agricultural lands, whether unoccupied or under lease with the right of withdrawal, sufficient in area to provide homesteads for all such persons, together with all persons of like qualifications who shall have filed with such commissioner prior to the survey of such lands written applications for homesteads in the district designated in said applications. The lands to be so opened for settlement by said

commissioner shall be either the specific tract or tracts applied for or other suitable and available agricultural lands in the same geographical district and, as far as possible, in the immediate locality of and as nearly equal to that applied for as may be available: Provided, however, That no leased land, under cultivation, shall be taken for homesteading until any crops growing thereon shall have been harvested.

(n) It shall be the duty of the commissioner to cause to be surveyed and opened for homestead entry a reasonable amount of desirable agricultural lands and also of pastoral lands in the various parts of the Territory for homestead purposes on or before January 1, 1911, and he shall annually thereafter cause to be surveyed for homestead purposes such amount of agricultural lands and pastoral lands in various parts of the Territory as there may be demand for by persons having the qualifications of homesteaders. In laying out any homestead the commissioner shall include in the homestead lands sufficient to support thereon an ordinary family, but not exceeding eighty acres of agricultural lands and two hundred and fifty acres of first-class pastoral lands or five hundred acres of second-class pastoral lands; or in case of a homestead, including pastoral lands only, not exceeding five hundred acres of first-class pastoral lands or one thousand acres of second-class pastoral lands. All necessary expenses for surveying and opening any such lands for homesteads shall be paid for out of any funds of the territorial treasury derived from the sale or lease of public lands, which funds are hereby made available for such purposes.

(o) The commissioner, with the approval of the governor, may by contract or agreement authorize any person who has the right of possession, under a general lease from the Territory, of agricultural or pastoral lands included in any homestead, to continue in possession of such lands after the expiration of the lease until such time as the homesteader takes actual possession thereof under any form of homestead agreement. The commissioner may fix in the contract or agreement such other terms and conditions as he deems advisable.

(p) Nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent said commissioner from surveying and opening for homestead purposes and as a single homestead entry public lands suitable for both agricultural and pastoral purposes, whether such lands be situated in one body or detached tracts, to the end that homesteaders may be provided with both agricultural and pastoral lands wherever there is demand therefor; nor shall the ownership of a residence lot or tract, not exceeding three acres in area, hereafter disqualify any citizen from applying for and receiving any form of homestead entry, including a homestead lease.

(q) All lands in the possession, use, and control of the Territory shall hereafter be managed by the commissioner, except such as shall be set aside for public purposes as hereinafter provided; all sales and other dispositions of such land shall, except as otherwise provided by the Congress, be made by the commissioner or under his direction, for which purpose, if necessary, the land may be transferred to his department from any other department by direction of the governor, and all patents and deeds of such land

shall issue from the office of the commissioner, who shall countersign the same and keep a record thereof. Lands conveyed to the Territory in exchange for other lands that are subject to the land laws of Hawai‘i, as amended by this Act, shall, except, as otherwise provided, have the same status and be subject to such laws as if they had previously been public lands of Hawai‘i. All orders setting aside lands for forest or other public purposes, or withdrawing the same, shall be made by the governor, and lands while so set aside for such purposes may be managed as may be provided by the laws of the Territory; the provisions of this paragraph may also be applied where the "public purposes" are the uses and purposes of the United States, and lands while so set aside may be managed as may be provided by the laws of the United States. The commissioner is hereby authorized to perform any and all acts, prescribe forms of oaths, and, with the approval of the governor and said board, make such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this section and the land laws of Hawai‘i into full force and effect.

All officers and employees under the jurisdiction of the commissioner shall be appointed by him, subject to the Territorial laws of Hawai‘i relating to the civil service of Hawai‘i, and all such officers and employees shall be subject to such civil service laws.

Within the meaning of this section, the management of lands set aside for public purposes may, if within the scope of authority conferred by the legislature, include the making of leases by the Hawai‘i aeronautics commission with respect to land set aside to it, on reasonable terms, for carrying out the purposes for which such land was set aside to it, such as for occupancy of land at an airport for facilities for carriers or to serve the traveling public. No such lease shall continue in effect for a longer term than fifty-five years. If, at the time of the execution of any such lease, the governor shall have approved the same, then and in that event the governor shall have no further authority under this or any other Act to set aside any or all of the lands subject to such lease for any other public purpose during the term of such lease.

(r) Whenever any remnant of public land shall be disposed of, the commissioner of public lands shall first offer it to the abutting landowner for a period of three months at a reasonable price in no event to be less than the fair market value of the land to be sold, to be determined by a disinterested appraiser or appraisers, but not more than three, to be appointed by the governor; and, if such owner fails to take the same, then such remnant may be sold at public auction at no less than the amount of the appraisal: *Provided*, That if the remnant abuts more than one separate parcel of land and more than one of the owners of these separate parcels are interested in purchasing said remnant, the remnant shall be sold to the owner making the highest offer above the appraised value.

The term "remnant" shall mean a parcel of land landlocked or without access to any public highway, and, in the case of an urban area, no larger than five thousand square feet in size, or, in the case of a suburban or rural area, no larger than one and one-half acres in size.

Any person or persons holding an unpatented homestead under a special homestead agreement, entered into prior to the effective date of this paragraph, excluding those homesteads under the control of the Hawaiian Homes Commission as provided in section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, shall be entitled to a reamortization of the indebtedness due the Territory of Hawai‘i on account of such special homestead agreement upon filing an application for the reamortization of said indebtedness with the commissioner within six months after the effective date of this paragraph. Upon the filing of any such application, the commissioner shall determine the balance due the Territory in the following manner: The amount of the principal which would have been paid during the full period of payment provided for in the special homestead agreement had the agreement been duly performed according to its terms and the amount of the interest which would have been paid under the special homestead agreement prior to the effective date of this paragraph had the agreement been duly performed according to its terms shall be computed and added together; from the sum of these amounts there shall be deducted all moneys that have been actually paid to the Territory on account of the special homestead agreement, whether as principal or as interest. The balance thus determined shall be the total amount remaining due and payable for the homestead covered by such special homestead agreement, any other terms, conditions, or provisions in any of said agreements, or any provisions of law to the contrary notwithstanding: Provided, however, That nothing herein contained shall be deemed to excuse the payment of taxes and other charges and assessments upon unpatented homestead lands as provided in said agreements, nor to excuse or modify any term, condition, or provision of said agreements other than such as relate to the principal and interest payable to the Territory. The total amount remaining due, determined as hereinabove provided, shall be payable in fifteen equal biennial installments. Simple interest at the rate of three per centum per annum shall be charged upon the unpaid balance of such installments, whether matured or unmatured, said interest to be computed from the effective date of this paragraph and to be payable semi-annually. The first payment on account of principal shall be due two years subsequent to the effective date of this paragraph, and thereafter the due dates of principal payments shall be at regular two-year periods; the first payment on account of interest shall be due six months subsequent to the effective date of this paragraph, and thereafter the due dates of interest payments shall be at regular six-month periods. In case of default in payments of principal or interest on the due dates as hereby fixed the commissioner may, with the approval of the governor, with or without legal process, notice, demand, or previous entry, take possession of the land covered by any such special homestead agreement and thereby determine the estate created by such agreement as hereby modified, whereupon liability for payment of any balance then due under such special homestead agreement shall terminate. When the aforesaid payments have been made to the Territory of Hawai‘i, and all taxes, charges, and assessments upon the land have been paid as provided by said agreements, and all other conditions therein stipulated have been complied with, except as herein excused or modified, the said special homestead agreements shall be deemed to have been performed by the holders thereof, and land-patent grants covering the land described in such agreements shall be issued to the parties mentioned therein, or their heirs or assigns, as the case may be.

Neither the Territory of Hawai‘i nor any of its officers, agents or representatives shall be liable to any holder of any special homestead agreement, past or present, whether or not a patent shall have issued thereon, or to any other person, for any refund or reimbursement on account of any payment to the Territory in excess of the amount determined as provided by the preceding paragraph, and the legislature shall not recognize any obligation, legal or moral, on account of such excess payments.

[Am April 2, 1908, c 124, 35 Stat 56; May 27, 1910, c 258, § 5, 36 Stat 444; July 9, 1921, c 42, §§ 304 to 311, 42 Stat 116; July 27, 1939, c 383, 53 Stat 1126; June 12, 1940, c 336, 54 Stat 345; Aug. 21, 1941, c 394, 55 Stat 568; Sept. 26, 1941, c 426, 55 Stat 734; Aug. 7, 1946, c 771, 60 Stat 871; July 9, 1952, cc 616, 617, 66 Stat 514, 515; April 6, 1956, c 180, § 1 and c 185, § 1, 70 Stat 102, 104; Aug. 1, 1956, c 820, § 1 and c 859, 70 Stat 785, 918; July 18, 1958, Pub L 85-534, § 1, 72 Stat 379; Aug. 14, 1958, Pub L 85-650, § 2, 72 Stat 606; Aug. 21, 1958, Pub L 85-718, 72 Stat 709; Aug. 28, 1958, Pub L §§ 1, 2, 72 Stat 971; L 1959, JR 21, § 1 am and rat L 1960, c 15, § 2]

Historical note. - The effective date of the last two paragraphs of this section was June 12, 1940. The Act of July 10, 1937, c. 484, 50 Stat. 508, 48 U.S.C. § 562g, provides in part: "That the Legislature of the Territory of Hawai‘i may create a public corporate authority to engage in slum clearance, or housing undertakings, or both, within such Territory. . . . The legislature . . . may, without regard to any federal Acts restricting the disposition of public lands of the Territory, authorize the commissioner of public lands, the Hawaiian homes commissioners, and any other officers of the Territory having power to manage and dispose of its public lands, to grant, convey, or lease to such authority parts of the public domain, and may provide that any of the public domain or other property acquired by such authority may be mortgaged by it as security for its bonds. . . ."

The Act of February 27, 1920, c. 89, 41 Stat. 452, 16 U.S.C. § 392, provided that the provisions of section 73 relating to exchanges should not apply with respect to the acquisition of privately owned lands within Hawai‘i National Park.

The Act of August 7, 1946, c. 787, 60 Stat. 884, provided that the provisions relating to exchange should not apply to the acquisition of certain lands in Hilo.

See the Act of August 24, 1954, c. 888, 68 Stat. 781, authorizing the commissioner of public lands to sell public lands to certain lessees, permittees and others.

The amendments of July 9, 1921, are part of the "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920." See Joint Resolution of annexation and the note thereto, RLH 1955, page 13, in regard to the cession of public lands to the United States, their status, disposition thereof, application of the proceeds thereof, and grants of franchises, between annexation and the establishment of territorial government. See Chronological Note of Acts Affecting Hawai‘i for Acts of Congress, Presidential proclamations and Executive orders relating to public lands, RLH 1955, page 9ff. See also the note to §§ 75, 89, 91, 95, 97 and 99 of the Organic Act on public lands. As to shores, harbors, etc. see § 106 the Organic Act.

Quaere, whether the federal statute, 29 Stat. 618, 8 U.S.C.A. 71-77 (see now 48 U.S.C. §§ 1501 to 1508), relating to disabilities of aliens to hold land in territories in general applies to Hawai‘i.

For related federal acts, see the Act of April 6, 1956, c. 184, 70 Stat. 104, and the Act of Aug. 20, 1958, Pub. L. 85-694, 72 Stat. 686, authorizing the amendment of certain patents of government lands by removing the conditions therein restricting use of such lands. See also the Act of August 18, 1958, Pub. L. 85-677, 72 Stat. 628, granting the status of public lands to certain reef lands.

In addition, see Chapter 173. Furthermore, see the Act of August 21, 1958, Pub. L. 85-713, 72 Stat. 707, authorizing the exchange of public lands for private lands of equal value required for highway purposes.

Moreover, see the Act of August 28, 1958, Pub. L. 85-834, 72 Stat. 987, permitting certain sales and exchanges of public lands to persons who suffered substantial real property losses due to the tidal wave of March 9, 1957.

For related territorial acts, effective upon approval by Congress of legislation making the acts valid without approval by Congress, or upon ratification by the state legislature, see L. 1957, c. 39, permitting holders of certain public lands to mortgage the land without necessity of obtaining governor's consent. See also L. 1959, c. 180, s. 2, amending the second paragraph of this section 73(r) to read: "The term 'remnant' shall mean a parcel of land unsuitable for development as a separate unit, and, in case of an urban area, no larger than five thousand square feet in size, or in case of a suburban or rural area, no larger than one and one-half acres in size." In addition, see L. 1959, c. 269, authorizing the subdivision, improvement and leasing of public lands for residential purposes to qualified persons selected by drawing without public auction. Furthermore, see L. 1959, J.R. 2, s. 1, amending this section 73(g) by adding to the first sentence proviso to read: "Provided, That if consent be given to a mortgage or other transfer for security purposes to an established lending agency and such agency be the Federal Housing Administration or other similar federal or territorial agency or a corporation authorized to do business as a lending agency in the Territory or elsewhere in the United States, no further consent shall be required for: (1) any subsequent assignment or reassignment made by such agency or assignee thereof to a like lending agency for refinancing or other security purposes; or (2) any transfer made at a foreclosure sale held pursuant to the provisions of said mortgage or transfer for security purposes; or (3) any subsequent transfer made by the purchaser at said foreclosure sale if the transferor shall be such agency or assignee thereof, provided that all other or further disposition shall be made only in accordance with the provisions of this act."

Cross References. - As to continuation of existing homestead rights and removal of certain restrictions, see § 171-97 et seq.

[45] Territory of Hawai‘i, *Executive Order No. 599: Setting Aside Land for Public Purposes*, by Lawrence M. Judd, Governor of the Territory of Hawai‘i (Honolulu: 22 December 1933).

[46] Ibid.

[47] Kālena Lands, Hawai`i State Archives, (on file with author).

[48] In re McLandless, 34 Haw. 93, 1937 WL 4437, 2 (Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii, 1937)

[49] In re McLandless, in which the Court states:

The sole question presented therefore is whether or not when an applicant by land court proceedings seeks to establish title to lands which the United States government possesses, occupies and claims, territorial courts have jurisdiction to try the title to such lands when the United States has not consented that a suit against it or its property may be brought.

Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] The Court continues to explain:

On July 7, 1898, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution annexing the Hawaiian Islands, which reads in part as follows: “Whereas the Government of the Republic of Hawaii having, in due form, signified its consent, in the manner provided by its constitution, to cede absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, and also to cede and transfer to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, Government, or Crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipment, and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining; Therefore *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled,* That said cession is accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and that the said Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies be, and they are hereby, annexed as a part of the territory of the United States and are subject to the sovereign dominion thereof, and that all and singular the property and rights hereinbefore mentioned are vested in the United States of America. The existing laws of the United States relative to public lands shall not apply to such lands in the Hawaiian Islands; but the Congress of the United States shall enact special laws for their management and disposition: Provided, That all revenue from or proceeds of the same, except as regards such part thereof as may be used or occupied for the civil, military, or naval purposes of the United States, or may be assigned for the use of the

local government, shall be used solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands for educational and other public purposes."

In 1900 when Congress passed the Organic Act it provided in section 91 in part as follows: "That, except as otherwise provided, the public property ceded and transferred to the United States by the Republic of Hawaii under the joint resolution of annexation, approved July seventh, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, shall be and remain in the possession, use, and control of the government of the Territory of Hawaii, and shall be maintained, managed, and cared for by it, at its own expense, until otherwise provided for by Congress, or taken for the uses and purposes of the United States by direction of the President or of the Governor of Hawaii."

Ibid.

[52] David Keanu Sai, A Slippery Path Towards Hawaiian Indigeneity: An Analysis and Comparison Between Hawaiian State Sovereignty and Hawaiian Indigeneity and its Use and Practice in Hawaii Today, *Journal of Law and Social Challenges* (San Francisco School of Law), Vol. 10, Fall 2008

[53] Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers, Sites of Oahu (Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 64

[54] E.S. Craighill Handy, Elizabeth Green Handy with Mary Kawena Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawai'i: Their Life, Lore, and Environment* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), 468.

[55] Melodie Kapilialoha Mackenzie, ed., *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1991), 174.

[56] Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers, Sites of Oahu (Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 64

[57] Territory v Takanabe et al., 28 Haw. 43, 1924 WL 2906, 1 (Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii, 1924).

Mālama Mākua:
Ku`e i ka ma`i na waho mai

E mālama i ka makua, he mea laha ʻole.[1]

Mary Kawena Pukui explained this ʻōlelo noʻeau to mean "parents should be cared for, for when they are gone, there are none to replace them."[2] To Hawaiians, Mākua Valley in Waiʻanae represents our parents; Mākua is a kinolau or physical body form of the parents of all Hawaiians. This chapter identifies Mākua as a particularly sacred place, or wahi pana, the protection of Mākua remains as of vital import to Native Hawaiians as the protection and caring for our human parents. The first part of this chapter looks at the ecocolonization of Mākua valley; the second half of this chapter looks at the impacts of ecocolonization on mākua (parents) and Hawaiian families. This chapter emphasizes the familial relationship between Hawaiians and the land by drawing parallels between how the separation from the people from their kūpuna `āina (ancestral land) is akin to separating the Hawaiian family unit.

The army occupation of this valley and the resulting destruction of it stands as one of the best representative examples of American ecocolonization of Native land and natural resources. The occupation and descration of Mākua is both a physical and spirtual offense against the residing indigenous people of this land. Mākua provides the best example of the conflict between Wai`anae as a pu`uhonua and the western coveting of these places. Nowhere in Wai`anae is the effort to identify our sacred places more vocal; nowhere is the neglect of this voice more apparent.

Nā Moʻolelo o Mākua: The Native Histories of Mākua

Mākua's rich history extends back as many as thirty-five generations, as early as the 8th century. All of the Waiʻanae region is renowned for its chiefs and military history, as explained in the previous chapter.

In addition to its distinguished pre-contact history regarding its rulers or aliʻi, Mākua houses a rich spiritual history that reflects its deep significance to the Hawaiian people. Even today, as one stands in the valley, hōʻailona appear regularly to those who help mālama Mākua. Whether in the form of clouds and timely winds (called makani, a Hawaiian word also meaning ghost or spirit), or images that appear in the mountains or valley floor, signs or hōʻailona serve as telling reminders of the powerful spirituality of Mākua.

Before beginning to describe some of the kapu or sacred figures that blessed the valley with their presences in the valley, one must first understand the role of spirituality in the Hawaiian culture. Like with most indigenous cultures, Hawaiians bother little to distinguish between empirical or observable knowledge and spiritual knowledge. What was spiritual was just as, if not more, real than what was empirical. And as such,

mo‘olelo or traditional stories, often are comprised of both empirical and spiritual elements. Therefore, while some may discount the most fantastic elements of Hawaiian stories as discountable legends, these stories more likely represent real accounts of events that transpired and were simply preserved in narrative forms that reflect the epistomology or knowledge system of pre-contact Hawaiians.

Knowledge is sacred to Hawaiians. Unlike the western world that believes anything can be learned, Hawaiians understood that knowledge was a gift, for with knowledge came great responsibility. Those who speak for Hawaiians should have `ike because they will know how to pass on this knowledge. One element critical to this knowledge is localized experience.

Our land speaks to us, through its health and through its wounds. As kama`āina and hoa`āina, being on the `āina, engaging with her and experiencing all she shared with us is essential to the process of becoming knowledgeable. Our experiences are our most important forms of education. Through experiences we learn. Once we experience, we must communicate in native ways. We must speak through traditional mediums so we may engender the experiences of others.

In *The Other Side of Silence*, Urvashi Butalia speaks courageously and candidly about history and memory. In her study of the Partition she observes of her methodology:

> Oral history is methodological tool that many feminist historians have found enormously empowering. Looking at women’s narratives and testimonies, and placing them alongside, or indeed against, the official discourses of history, has offered feminist historians a new and different way of looking at history. How does ‘history’ look when seen through the eyes of women? How does it evolve, in narratives and testimonies, when women talk to women?[3]

This project developed straight from this reasoning. How does history (and place) look through the eyes of Hawaiians? How does it evolve, in narrative and testimonies (and in legends and mele), when Hawaiians speak with each other? Does ancient Wai`anae exist outside the memories of her Native residents? Who is she in their language? Who is she in long passed tongues?

It is necessary to speak loudly against objectification, isolation, over-simplification, and degradation. I find great solace in the writings of other women who resist silence, such as Gloria Anzaldúa who writes:

> There is a rebel in me – the Shadow-Beast. It is a part of me that refuses to take orders from outside authorities. It refuses to take orders from my conscious will, it threatens the sovereignty of my rulership. It is that part of me that hates constraints of any kind, even those self-imposed. At the least hint of limitation on my time or space by others, it kicks out with both feet. Bolts.[4]

Those in academia are obligated to lead this rebellion. We are obligated to ourselves, our students, our people. In our shows of resistance, we empower others to do the same. To awaken their Shadow-Beasts. To let them roam free.

Hence, in part, my decision to use the term "ecocolonization" to define what occurs here. As discussed later, many will find the term problematic. I turn to a section from Daisy Hernandex and Bushra Rehman's *Colonize This! Young Women of Color on Today's Feminisms* as an analogy of how I made my decision:

> After many late night talks, we chose the title of Cristina Tzintzun's essay for this book in order to acknowledge how the stories of women and colonization are intimately tied. But when we first sat down to write this introduction and looked in the dictionary, we found that colonize means "to create a settlement." It sounds so simple and peaceful. We rewrote the definition. To colonize is "to strip a people of their culture, language, land, family structure, who they are as a person and as a people." Ironically, the dictionary helped us better articulate the meaning of this book. It reminded us that it's important for women of color to write. We can't have someone else defining our lives or our feminisms.[5]

Indigenous people cannot have someone else defining our lives or our native identities. It is our obligation to articulate the sufferings we witness and experience. It is our obligation to rewrite the discourses that oppress us. It is our right to define things as we see them and feel them.

We have been ravaged by ecocolonization…

Wai`anae is a pu`uhonua…

I cannot fully explain all the things I know; Mākua is a particularly appropriate place about which to have this discussion considering its spirituality. Perhaps it is the knowing of my own Shadow-Beasts, one built of mo`okū`auhau and a lifetime of wonderful experiences. I know only that there are unsettled murmurs lying just beneath my consciousness. And on rare and blessed occasion, there is clarity. It comes only from letting go. As Nainoa Thompson has explained:

> "This was one of the more powerful experiences I've had on the canoe – one of those special moments when you step out of the bounds of your normal – outside your normal existence into another place,"…
>
> "When you go into the doldrums, that area near the equator called the max cloud line, it's the cloudiest place on earth. You are blind as a navigator – you can't see heavenly bodies." …
>
> "Mau said, very profound, I'll never forget this: 'Don't look with your eyes, look inside.' He said, this is how you stand, this is how you feel the canoe as the waves pass through. To read the ocean waves, that's hard. That's when you step from science to art."
>
> "I just feared the doldrums. I didn't know how in the world I was going to get through this band of clouds, because I didn't have the skill to navigate without seeing the starts and the sun. I come from science and math; I had overtrained in studying the stars and celestial stuff. I didn't have the time to study the waves with Mau. I just didn't have time." …
>
> "And I wasn't mature enough to tell the crew: I don't know. So I faked it and hit it, and I was trying to read the ocean waves in all this rain and in all this changing

> wind. I was a wreck. I was pacing around. I was getting very intense, looking for things you couldn't see."
>
> "Mau was with me, but I couldn't talk to him. That was the agreement. I knew if he had to step in, it would have taken away from his success as a teacher. If I succeeded in navigation, he succeeded as a teacher. It would be his honor, if, when he sailed with me, he would never have to say anything to me, and I know that, I never wanted him to have to correct me."
>
> "It was getting very intense and I was extremely tired. I was so exhausted, I turned to the rain and I locked my elbows on the rail and tried to get rest standing up. In doing that, in all this rain and all this could, I felt this really warm sensation and my mind got very clear. And I could feel the moon. I knew the moon was up, but I didn't know where it was because I couldn't see it. But somehow I could tell the direction." …
>
> "In the fatigue, my best guess is that you let go. Like Mau says: 'Don't look with your eyes. Let that go. Look inside to find the answers.' At that point, when I leaned on my elbows, I was really giving up. And in giving up, it was like letting go, and letting go allowed this other experience."
>
> "I turned to Buddy [the steersman] and I said: 'Go this way.' A lot of confidence, not knowing why. I know, but I didn't know how I knew. We kept sailing and sailing and I could track the moon in my mind."
>
> "Then there was like a gift – a hole opened up in the sky and the moon was right there."[6]

Thompson's experience reflects a transcendental knowing that some Hawaiians embrace. This knowing extends beyond our actions and into the very natures of who we are. Therefore, when we deny our "mo`okū`auhau consciousness," we deny more than an understanding of our history and culture, we deny ourselves. We deny ourselves life as Hawaiians. And the struggles we assume must not to force academia; they must be for ourselves. When we become conscious of our whakapapa, when we seek `ike, we discover our Native tongue – anything becomes possible. I can compare it only to a passage from Anne Howe's *Shell Shaker*:

> When it happens for the first time, it's like discovering you've been speaking with a borrowed tongue. You think the words are yours but, in fact, they're someone

> else's. Long before humans learned to clothe their feelings in words, love was a rhythm that two people shared. Once in sync, it was not ever necessary to ever speak of it. Rarely do Indians say "love" to a partner they way whites do. It is a rhythm they feel continuously, unto death.[7]

Discovering one's Native self is like this – it is the discovery of a rhythm that runs through each of us. Hawaiian academics today speak of our culture when we should be practicing our culture. We should aim to speak not to these colonized discourses, but to each other. Native knowledge is not found in a university classroom, it is found on our land and in our communities. Hawaiians knew that learning came through practice: ma ka hana ka `ike. Learning required work. It was only through doing work that one truly learned.

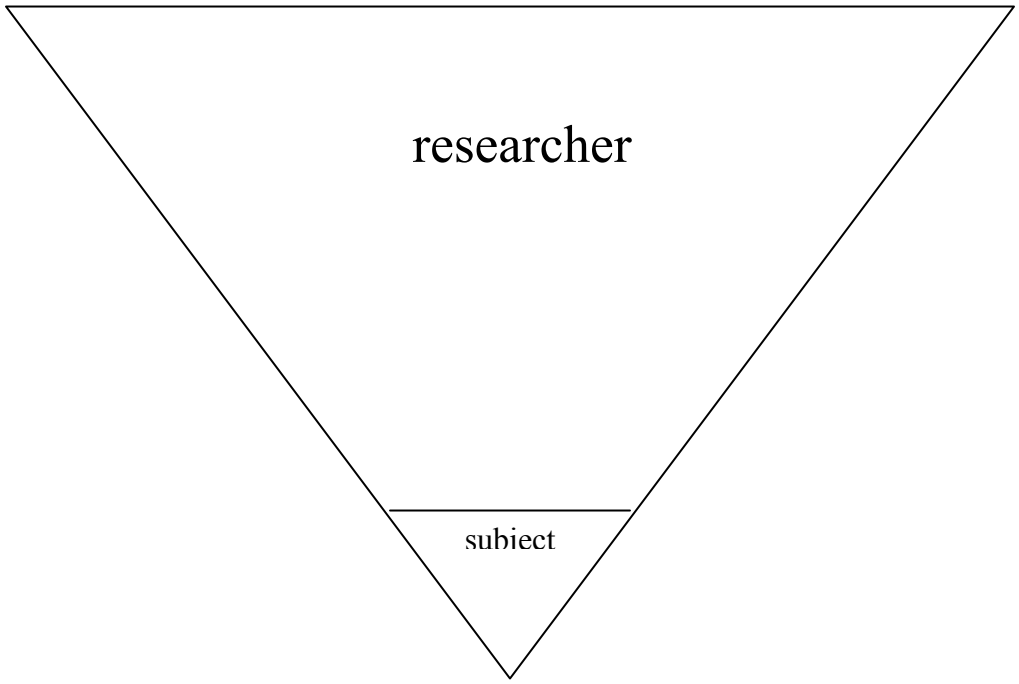
Being in Mākua enables this surrender of our selves to the spirits that reside there. They soar through the wind of the valley. They whisper in your ear. They fill your senses. The kūpuna caretakers of Mākua fight to protect this place and the knowledges it contains. Mākua is sacred because of its history and because of the spirits that still reside there. It is a kapu, sacred place. Its knowledge, too, is kapu, as was all Hawaiian knowledge.

`Ike is not noa. For years, Hawaiian culture was based upon the kapu system. Kapu has come to mean "taboo," but this is a grossly over-simplified translation. Kapu rather referred to the aspects of life that were sacred, not necessarily "taboo" or forbidden. Kapu is therefore best understood for the purposes of this project in comparison to the term "noa."

Noa generally means free. To make something noa is to release one's hold on it; to free it; to let go of it. Therefore, Hawaiian learning revolved around the idea of the

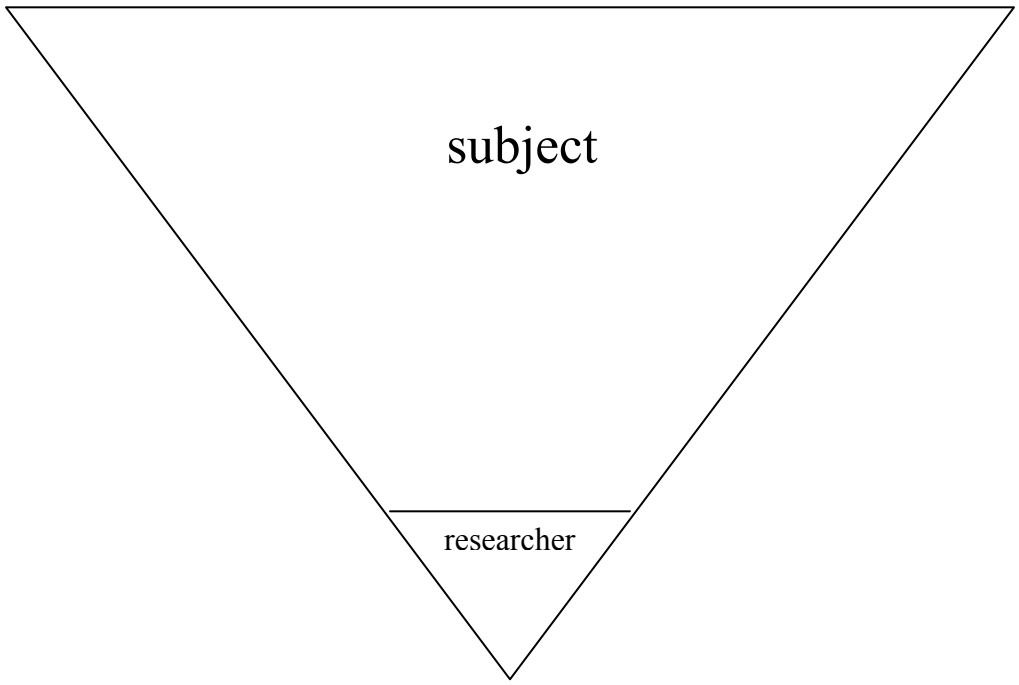
kapu, because knowledge was not noa. `Ike is not noa. No one was entitled to knowledge or information. Knowledge was earned. Knowledge was sacred.

This western dominance of the researcher (or learner, as it is) conflicts with Native views of knowledge. Within indigenous knowledge systems, the learner is entirely subordinate. And in a Hawaiian methodology, it should still be treated as such. This is the fundamental fatal flaw of western methodologies – western researchers believe that all knowledge is obtainable and tangible. Far worse is that underlying presumption that everyone can or should be able to learn anything. Western academic refused to believe that there should be limits to knowledge.



Within the western framework, visualized above, the research process begins with the researcher. It is he or she who dominates the entire process by controlling a recognized and accepted methodology in which 1) a topic is selected, 2) a hypothesis or

theory is developed, 3) a research method is designed, 4) data is collected, 5) the data is analyzed and the project written up. What if we could change this?



Here, instead of waiting until Step 4 (data collection) to engage with our subjects, we engage with our subjects from the outset and allow them to guide the project, making the subject and knowledge itself dominant in the research process. What if we allowed topics to choose us? Ethnohistory and ethnographic studies allow for this. And it is a more appropriate way to study Native people. Instead of working within such a Euro-centric research methodology, by simply engaging with the people and their history without plan, agenda, or expectation, we are utilizing a learning method (because researchers are really only glorified learners) more consistent with traditional pedagogies.

In many ways, *The Polynesian Family System of Ka-`u* comes very close to achieving this. The Introduction to the Seventh Printing includes this information:

> Mrs. Pukui's mother, Mrs. Wiggan, whose Hawaiian name was Paahana, was a full Hawaiian of the old school and has spent most of her life in the Ka`u district.

> She was well aware of the steady losses to Hawaiian history and lore as the older folk died, and she was happy to share whatever she knew with those she could trust to preserve her knowledge. As a means of forestalling malicious gossip, or Hawaiian resistance to the overcurious haoles, Mrs. Wiggan adopted into her family both Dr. and Mrs. Handy. When word of this act passed along the Hawaiian grapevine, the expedition's path was made easy where it would otherwise have been difficult. Many blood relatives of Kawena Pukui, especially those of the Ka`u and Hilo districts, became very willing informants. However, an elderly aunt of Mrs. Pukui named Keli`ihue, who lived in Ka`u, was most reluctant to give out any information, until one night, we are told, an ancestor appeared before her in a dream and sternly ordered her to tell all she knew. In fact it is the recollections and experiences of the two elderly Hawaiians Paahana and Keli`ihue that comprise most of the unique material that appears in *The Polynesian Family System in Ka-`u, Hawai`i*.[8]

We see here how this seminal text would not have been possible 1) without Pukui's blood ties to Ka`u and 2) without the intervention of ancestral spirits. We even see how the kūpuna are reluctant to share knowledge or share knowledge only with "those she could trust to preserve her knowledge." This hints at the importance of knowledge within traditional Hawaiian culture.

Knowledge, mana`o or `ike, are parts of the self. When we ask someone to share knowledge, we are asking for part of one's self. Within Native traditions, knowledge is as real as blood or flesh. Therefore, when Hawaiians shared or transmitted knowledge, it was understood that what was being taught was sacred. With knowledge came kuleana, knowledge came with responsibilities. Therefore, the knowledge given to someone marked their maturity as well as their intellectual capacity. In traditional society, the teacher (in this case our subject) determined when the student (in this case our researcher) was suitable to carry the responsibilities that came with receiving certain knowledge. This is also why we say `ike is not noa. Knowledge comes with certain kapu. Certain knowledge, like the burial sites of our kūpuna,[9] were not supposed to be known by everyone, because those without the maturity to receive the information or the

willingness to assume the responsibilities that come with the information could very easily misuse the information they receive. Hence, an example of Hawaiian pedagogy is presented to illustrate the process through which one accumulated knowledge in pre-contact Hawai`i.

Mākua is an appropriate place to discuss how modern research can evolve to incorporate traditional knowledges, because in 1977, renowned anthropologist Marion Kelly would lead a study on Mākua for the Bishop Museum that collected extensive interviews and documents on Mākua that served as one of the first studies to respectfully include the spiritual history of a place. Kelly's study, which contributed largely to this chapter, now serves as a vital repository for the cultural and social history of Mākua. In her study, she places strong emphasis upon folklore and spiritual knowledges.

References of this second and spiritual form of knowledge or being can be commonly found in certain parts of our language, specifically, in concepts like ʻike pāpālua, or second sight or knowledge. Mary Kawena Pukui defines this term as "To see double; to have the gift of second sight and commune with the spirits; supernatural knowedge."[10] This references the idea that knowledge or understanding for Hawaiians came in part from a spiritual realm or from ākua, the gods. Another similar concept is kino pāpālua, or second form. Pukui explains this term: "to have a dual form, as the demigod Kama-puaʻa, who could change from man to hog."[11] Mākua served as home to a similar figure, the moʻo of Mākua.

> In heavy rains, the *moʻo* come down the stream from Koʻiahi to meet her boyfriend, the shark from Kāneana Cave. When the stream flows strong, it breaks through the sand beach and flows into the sea. The *moʻo* goes into the sea and goes on the big rock next to the blow hole at the Waiʻanae end of the beach. The rock is called Pōhaku-kū-laʻi-laʻi. On this rock, she would turn herself into a beautiful princess and call to him. The shark would come out of Kāneana Cave

> through the undersea channel and swim out to the blow-hole. He would then turn into a man, and he and the princess would make love. When they were ready they would go to live in the stream. And when the water is green the *mo'o* is in the stream. When it is clear she is not. No swimming is allowed when the *mo'o* is in the stream.[12]

Another important part of Mākua was the cave, known to local residents as "Kaneana Cave." One woman recollects: "And my father was there to oversee when they opened the cave. And my father said, 'His human form of [Kaneana] is still up on that hill, and he watches for you when you go to the beach to go swimming, or to try and catch fish. He can change himself to a shark and come and get you and bring you in that cave and eat you.'"[13] Mākua remains particularly alive with traditions that speak to the natural resource management of the area. Yet, mo`olelo were also used to teach proper behavior.

> A resident recollects about the lessons she learned at the cave in Mākua.
>
> The entrance of that cave is out by the long reef they call Papaloa. And she has an opening underneath. If you go way out to the end, and you just stand like that, you will see a big opening. And he enters through there, and he can have anyone that treats him mean. That is where he takes them, down below. If you ever entered that cave, you will see the water. Down below, there's a pool. We were made to crawl into that cave, and we didn't want to go. Just to teach us a lesson we went. And when we went, and the time he took his captives all in there, and then he killed them, the blood. And it [the cave] is a beautiful thing. And the only thing that got me scared was the sharks (sic) head. It was a big sharks (sic) head right on the stone. I don't know if _____. [Dad said,] "Pretty soon you'll be one of them, lady, because of your big mouth." I have a bad temper, and in that cave I kept my mouth shut. Now you crawl out. That is how he gets out and changes into a man. Lot of the old folks and the children named him if we disobeyed. We were not as fussy then. No, no, we do it, we do it.[14]

The lessons present in traditional folklore also contained social values and community norms. The loss of myth and folklore meant that traditional lessons about the family and community were being lost. Compare this to the American stories about Santa Claus. Children are taught that Santa has a list of children who are "naughty" or "nice."

Children accordingly behave in order to be on Santa's "nice" list. Story-telling and cultural narratives speak to history, contemporary norms, resource management, essentially every aspect of life. When those narratives are silenced, entire histories can be effectively wiped away.

Extinguishing histories serves foreign interests. If claims of indigenous rights come from the historical use of space, clearly foreigners who seek to control and occupy space once inhabited by Native people would be well served to silence their oral histories, usually the only way by which histories of Native people's are preserved. As concerned over indigenous rights grows globally, particularly identified by the passage of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The Declaration contains extensive provisions, beginning with Article 25, about the use of Native lands, even stating: "Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples, unless justified by a significant threat to relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned."[15] By silencing the thriving history of Mākua, the military strengthens their ability to maintain control over it.

Seizing Mākua: A History of Military Occupation

The Leeward Coast of the island of Oʻahu is to this day one of the most polluted and uninhabitable sites in Hawaiʻi. Unlike Kahoʻolawe, which houses no towns or large human populations, the Leeward Coast is home to most of Hawaiians in Hawaiʻi.

On the Leeward Coast lies Mākua Valley. According to Earthjustice, a leading environmental advocacy group: "Mākua Valley on Oʻahu has been described by biologists as probably the greatest biological treasure in Hawaiʻi. The valley is home to

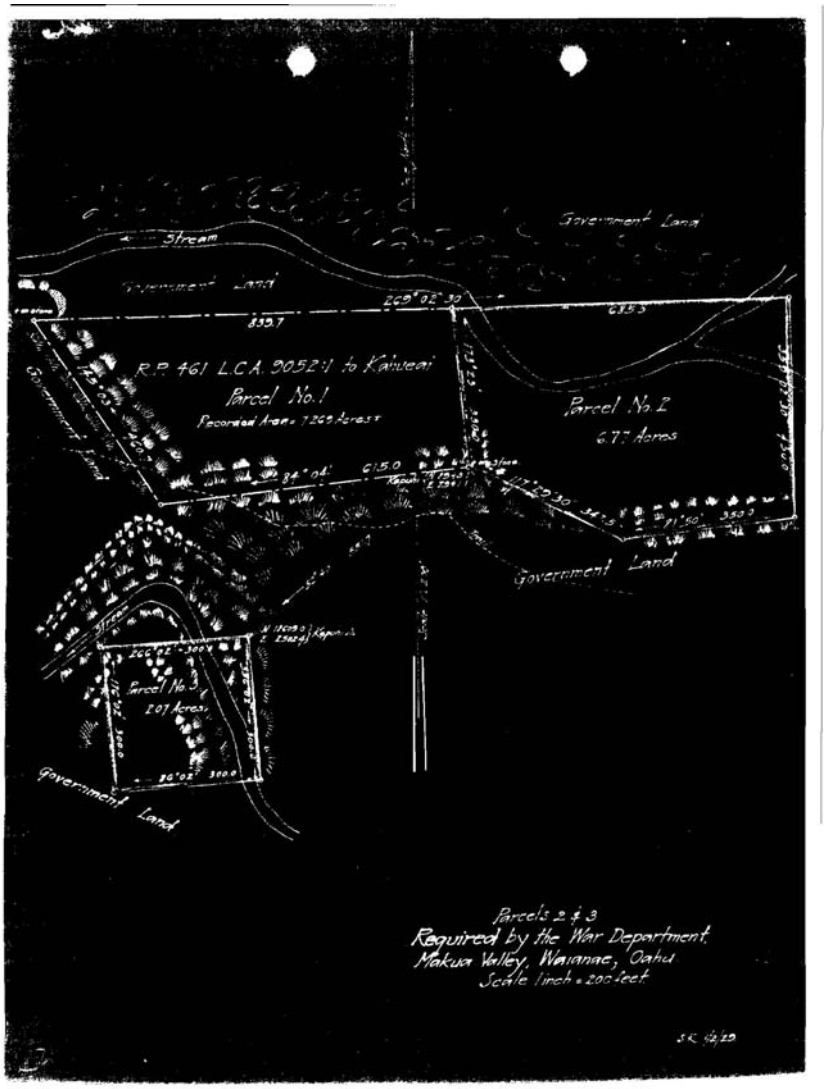
45 federally listed plant and animal species, as well as hundreds of acres of designated critical habitat. However, a decades-long history of live-fire training and fires has left the endangered species barely clinging to survival."[16] Despite years of struggle to protect Mākua, the military presence continues.

The entire western end of Waiʻanae, where Mākua valley lies, bears tremendous cultural and historical significance to the Kānaka ʻŌiwi. For example, Waiʻanae ends at Kaʻena Point. Kaʻena Point is described as "the place from which souls departed from this earth."[17]

Yet, the cultural significance of these areas was completely ignored during the military buildup that occurred in the early 20th century. After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, the American military wasted no time using the provisions of the Organic Act discussed in the previous chapter to seize large areas of lands. The seizure of Mākua began in the 1920s.

In 1929, Governor Judd issued Executive Order No. 351 "for sites for Fortifications to be under the control and management of the War Department of the United States of America, including such necessary right-of-ways thereto across any adjoining Government Lands."[18] According to the community stories, the military would begin placing howitzers on these tracts of land, next to kuleana land awards. The placement of these howitzers on the area begs the question: why? World War II had not yet begun, so there was no reason to believe a foregoing threat was imminent. Further, howitzers are land weapons. The answer is horrific. Guns were used by militia to control the Native Hawaiians in the area. They were used against Hawaiians on Kaua`i after the overthrow, as recounted in newspapers accounts.[19] The use of military weapons in

Mākua would evolve from a protective measure to control the Native population in an area otherwise far from military sites to a means of environmental devastation.



(c) State of Hawai`i

Prior to the seizure of Mākua, hoa`āina like Sam Andrews and Lincoln McLandless used the land in Mākua for plantations and ranching.[20] Andrews and McLandless' exhaustive use of land reflected colonial farming practices common throughout New England in the 18th and 19th centuries. Colonial farmers would regularly occupy native lands, and "in

the process of clearing, colonial farmers treated their land as a resource to be mined until it was exhausted, rather than one to be conserved for less interest but more perennial use."[21] Therefore, Mākua exemplified a clear pattern of ecocolonization that would repeat itself throughout the entire territory. First, depopulation would result in decreased land use by native residents. Then the conversion to a land ownership regime would allow for hoa`āina to purchase large tracts of land. These hoa`āina or foreign-born resident land owners would put lands into surplus agriculture or ranching by using intensive natural resource management practice which decreased natural land productivity. Finally, the Organic Act allowed the President or Governor to seize these lands for the military. This allowed the state to give America-friendly land owners compensation while providing the military land damaged by excessive agricultural and pastoral use. The military then freely uses the land for weapons testing, resulting in the complete destruction of natural resources and cultural sites.

Wai`anae residents are currently fighting the continued use of Mākua for weapons testing. Earthjustice was able to negotiate a settlement between Mālama Mākua and the military. In summarizing the settlement agreement, Earthjustice explains:

> To address Mālama Mākua's concerns regarding the use of weapons that have a history of causing fires at MMR, such as mortars and rockets (both identified by the Army as posing a "medium" fire risk), the agreement restricts use of such weapons to times when the official "burn index," or fire danger rating, is in the "green" zone, defined as conditions presenting a "low" fire risk, in which "[w]eather conditions [are] favorable for all authorized munitions." The military may use "low" risk weapons, such as rifles and other small arms, as long as the burn index remains in the "green" or "yellow" ("medium" risk) zone. Other terms of the settlement include:
>
> - MMR's range control personnel will provide burn index calculations every 15 minutes (as opposed to the usual one-hour intervals) while using "medium" risk weapons. All training with these weapons must stop if range control cannot obtain a positive "green" burn index reading.

- All training will stop if either a fire is observed or a mortar or rocket lands outside the firebreak road, and may not resume until safe conditions are confirmed. If a fire starts outside the firebreak road, training will cease altogether pending further consultation with the Service.
- All units training at Mākua will implement various firefighting measures, such as providing two firefighting helicopters on-site (instead of the one usually provided) and a firefighting vehicle, and dedicating 20 soldiers as firefighting personnel, in addition to the federal firefighters already present. The training units will also place clearly visible markers at the limits of the zone of fire to reduce the risk of misfires.
- No prescribed burns will take place pending completion of the consultation.[22]

While the settlement limits the long-term impacts the military has on the environment, the military nonetheless retained control of the land.

According to the military statements, 2100 acres were burned by Army fires in the valley.[23]

© United State Army

Yet, the military refuses to acknowledge its impact. *Sites of O'ahu* notes some of the important cultural sites that have been destroyed in Mākua.

Kumuakuopio Heiau
(Destroyed)

> Site 178. The site is on the mountain side of the present church and is known by the native though nothing remains of the heiau except a sand platform 120 by 100 feet that is about 20 feet higher than any of the surrounding land. Two piles of 1 foot stones are left near the center. The rest of the stones were used in building of rock fences….[24]

Fishing Shrine
(Destroyed)

> Site 179. The Mākua ko'a has more the appearance of a small heiau or house site than of a fishing shrine. It is known and pointed out by the old fisherman in the region. It stands in the center of the sandy beach and, during the time of heavy seas, it is said to be the only part of the beach that is not covered with water. The shrine is a rectangle approximately 55 by 35 feet in extent with fairly well-preserved north and east walls. In the northeast corner, a platform 20 by 4 feet projects some 2 feet our and above the other walls. The north wall is built of water worn stones from 2 to 3 feet high, and inside, the sand is flush with the wall and slopes up to a central portion that is 3 feet higher. The south wall, parallel with the sea, and the west wall have been obliterated. Coral lies about the site. That the shrine is still regarded with respect is evidence by a bottled offering partially secreted in the wall.[25]

A survey of Hawaiian sources, like remains of heiau or the oral histories of the people of the region leave little doubt that Mākua remains a place of historical and cultural significance for Kānaka Maoli.

We also know Mākua thrived, with a fish from the coast to feed its villagers. One resident recalls:

> You know the stone wall above the cave? The cave is here, and there's a stonewall right alongside the road here. We children were told that. My grandpa is haole. He came home one night feeling good, and he heard this voice, I'll say it in Hawaiian. "Analū, Analū, hele `oe mai, e ki`i mai i`au. Mai, mai. Ae, he analū." "Ma`a nei-nei." "Lohe `oe ku`u leo." "A ma`a nei." He followed the voice. He went right us about the middle of the cave, and he found a little doll. Before he found her, she said, "maia nei-

> nei, hele mai oe i`au. A`e Ki`i mai i`au." It was the fish goddess. She was the voice. Her name was Hina. He mele oukou i ka mea ai, mai ke kai, aole oukon (sic), e nele mai oukon (sic) e piha mai ka mea ai.[26]

The woman explains that the doll was Hina, and she was calling to her grandfather. She (the doll) explains that if he took the doll home, the land would never be without fish. She continues on to explain:

> Now that we are Christians and everything, I still believe in that, because form the time I was a little girl, certain times of the year the fish does not stay out where they have to go on canoes. The fish comes in to the shore, right where the breakers are. And the school is so big that there's a head fisherman to call everyone to come, and they lay out their nets and then all you do is call all the people and he choses (sic) the divers, I was one once. They make you go dive to unloosen the nets underneath. If you don't loosen the net, and they can't pull it up, then the head fisherman tries to hit you on the head with an oar and you go down in the water to loosen the net. From the children to adults, you always go home with fish – moi, oi`o (sic), `opelu, akule – all the small fishes that cost so much money.[27]

This demonstrates that despite its remote location, its agricultural and aquacultural diversity provided for the people of the area. Kelly's study revealed how much of a thriving community Mākua was, and we know today that military activities over the last 100 years caused extensive devastation on the valley. Yet, incredulously, the military concludes about its presence:

> Finding of No Significant Impact
>
> Name of the Action: Routine Training at Mākua Military Reservation and PFC Pililā'au Range Complex
>
> The proposed action is to conduct company-level, maneuver, combined arms live fire exercise (CALFEX) training at the Company Combined Arms Assault Course (CCAAC) at PFC Pililā'au Range Complex, Mākua Military Reservation (Mākua), O'ahu, Hawai'i. This Finding of No Significant Impact (FNSI) is based on information contained in the Supplemental Environmental Assessment for Routine Training at Mākua Military Reservation and PFC Pililā'au Range Complex (SEA), dated 11 May 2001, and that document is incorporated by reference.

* * *

Factors considered in determining that no environmental impact statement is required:

The SEA analyzes impacts of the proposed action on the affected environment and also looks at the cumulative impacts of the proposed action. Based on the mitigation measures to be undertaken by the Army and the restrictions on the proposed training, the SEA concludes that there will be no significant impacts to the affected environment. The SEA examines the following areas in detail:

Land Use

Mākua is located on the northwest side of the Island of Oʻahu on the Waiʻanae Coast. The "Waiʻanae Sustainable Communities Plan" identifies a long-range plan for Mākua to be preserved as agriculture/open space and preservation. It also recognizes the importance of the continued use of Mākua by the military for the foreseeable future due to its importance for training and the overall economy of the State of Hawaiʻi and the City and County of Honolulu. There would be no change to Mākua land use or the Waiʻanae District and surrounding land use as a result of the Proposed Action. The Proposed Action would have no significant impact on land use.

* * *

Socio-economic environment and environmental justice

The Proposed Action would result in minimal changes, if any, to population, housing, economy, employment or income figures, the use of facilities and services, or recreational opportunities. There would be no impact to rural settings or traditional practices of the Waiʻanae community. The impact of the proposed action to the socioeconomic aspects of the surrounding community is not significant. The Waiʻanae community has a large minority and low-income population. Because of its proximity to Mākua, this population will be affected by the proposed action more than any other human population in Hawaiʻi. The proposed action would not result in any disproportionately high and adverse human health effects or environmental effects on minority and low-income populations. The impact to this population is not significant.

Cultural resources

Mākua contains a number of cultural resources. These include archaeological sites and historic resources, as well as places associated with community values, religious practices, spirituality, Hawaiian gathering rights and cultural uses of the natural environment. Some of these sites had been damaged in the past by more extensive military training. Under the proposed action both the size of the units

> trained and the training area will be reduced. This reduction will protect cultural resources from damage during training exercises. Protective measures include, but are not limited to managing cultural resources in place as exclusion areas, establishing physical barriers, data recovery, and modification of maneuver corridors and target arrays. There will also be site monitoring and additional surveys. These steps and other mitigation measures have been embodied in a programmatic agreement with the State Historic Preservation Officer and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Because of all of these steps, the impact of the proposed action on historic property will not be significant.
>
> * * *
>
> Cumulative Impacts
>
> The SEA concluded that the incremental impact of the action on Mākua, when added to the impact of past actions at Mākua is not significant. The impact of the proposed action, taken together with other present uses in the affected area is not significant. Reasonably foreseeable future actions are not expected to have a significant impact on the environment. Any additional or new uses of Mākua will be subject to additional analysis under the National Environmental Policy Act.
>
> Conclusions:
>
> This Supplemental Environmental Assessment has evaluated all data concerning the effects of the Proposed Action on land use, soils and geology, vegetation, wildlife and endangered species, air quality and the noise environment, transportation and socioeconomics, and other topics. In every case, the impacts were found to be less than significant. Based on the SEA, it has been determined that the implementation of the proposed action will have no significant direct, indirect, or cumulative impacts on the quality of the natural or human environment. Because no significant impacts will result from implementation of the proposed action, an environmental impact statement is not required and will not be prepared. This decision is a final agency action for purposes of the Administrative Procedure Act.[28]

Mākua has been devastated by military action. Over 2000 acres burned out of control. Unique species were wiped from existence as a direct result of the military activity in Mākua. Native Hawaiians, who resided in that valley, do not have access to their family land. And yet, the military somehow finds that its actions are without significant impact.

Further, Hawaiians of that region, whose histories and culture tie directly to Mākua Valley are continuously denied free access to the area. Rather, the military

routinely allows non-Hawaiian interns regular access to the area. One public example of this is available on the Mākua Valley Environmental Impact Statement site. An article is posted which reads:

> Toward the end of my internship and in a stark contrast to the dry valley at Mākua, I was suddenly exposed to what I'm told is the "wettest place on O'ahu", the Ko'olau summit, which is part of the Army's Kawailoa Training Area. It was hairy getting up there because the weather is always unpredictable. It can be bright and sunny everywhere else on the island but these mountains will still be in the clouds. When we arrived, I felt like I had entered a perpetual wind-rain zone, and for the next 24 hours that I was there it remained the same. Our project was to clear a 3-km long fenceline for a fenced enclosure near the summit of the Ko'olau Mountain range. The fence's purpose is to keep out pigs, which are very destructive to the natural landscape. Using machetes, handsaws, and weedwackers, we were able to make fast work of the brush and trees that would stand in the way of the fence. Obviously, we tried to minimize the damage that we did to the area by working along the already existing trail and staying away from any species that cannot re-root and grow back easily. For example, we cleared a lot of 'Uki plants which are lightly rooted in the ground and have very thick, long leaves. We simply rolled the whole plant over and put it on the side of the trail where it would re-root in no time. Joby pointed out some endangered plants that thrive in the chilly, wet environment of the Ko'olau's. It's tragic that these plants are rare or endangered, and we hope that they will make a comeback once the pigs are controlled. Humans will continue to have a minor impact since this area is difficult to access even by helicopter.[29]

There are multiple problems with this statement. First, it illustrates the military's willingness to allow non-native individuals into places restricted to native people, even those who have been long stewards of the land. Community groups have fought to get more access to Mākua. Mālama Mākua "hopes to eventually have more access to the valley to identify, restore and maintain sites important to Hawaiians."[30] Yet, the military readily gives non-Hawaiians with no tie to the valley access and the opportunity to work in Mākua. This insults our sense of kuleana. Mākua is our 'āina.

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Second, the adamant refusal to understand how the military's control and presence over an area remains a devastating environmental influence reflected in her observation: "Humans will continue to have a minor impact since this area is difficult to access even by helicopter."[31] Yet, the 2100 acres destroyed by Army fires emphasize that direct and repeat human contact is not necessary in order to cause devastation to an area. Further, this sports a complete ignorance of the Hawaiian ahupua'a system, which requires environmental health throughout the entirety of the system for the system to function properly. To assume that human impact within Mākua Valley can be contained by the delineation of military activity, by relegating military exercises to specific areas of land, is to continue to ignore the sustainability ideologies of the Native Hawaiian people that recognize holistic approaches to the environment.

The continued military presence on the Wai'anae Coast impacts the persistence of dispossession and displacement among the Hawaiian people of that region. The military

has always been a factor in why Native Hawaiians have been removed and are continually denied access to their homeland. From the initial property interests of the military in Hawai‘i in the 19th century, through the current battles between community groups and the military, no single force has been more colonial in its assault on the Native people than the U.S. military.

Hawai‘i is certainly not alone in this matter. As editor of the California Environment Report William J. Kelly writes:

> Environmental contamination from defense hardware manufacturing dots the U.S. landscape. While much of the contamination occurred before Congress enacted landmark environmental statutes, the pollution continued after those laws were passed.
>
> The sites range from high profile Superfund cleanup projects, such as the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, 10 miles from downtown Denver, where bombs containing the nerve agent sarin were found buried, to less well known sites, such as Ordnance Products, Inc., in North East, Maryland, where the company made grenades for the Vietnam War and buried the waste, including solvents, acids and fuses.[32]

While the impact of military-based environmental devastation hurts everyone, Native people have been particularly hurt by military activity. This results from the combination of the military's activities as both a source of environmental destruction and cultural destruction. Return to the basic premise of ecocolonization: you cannot discuss the colonization of land without similarly acknowledging the colonization of the indigenous people of that land. You cannot separate the land from its people. As such, any injury caused to land results in a like injury to the people, the Native stewards, of that land. Therefore, when the U.S. military takes over and subsequently destroys land, they are also taking over and destroying the Native people of that land. They destroy their culture, their food base, and their traditions.

Examples of this have been witnessed across the United States. University of Alaska professor Nelta Edwards notes of the environmental contamination near the Alaskan Inupiat community: "Traditional food acquisition activities remain paramount for the people of Point Hope despite the influence of Western culture introduced by European whalers, traders, and missionaries. These activities signify much more than just survival or even merely a way of life. Alaska Native people consider them inextricable from belief systems and self-identity."[33] Similarly, Native Hawaiian people, like most Native groups, consider the ability to live on and from the land "inextricable from belief systems and self-identity."

Therefore, the military's contribution to dispossession exists in the physical seizure of land from the Native people. Particularly in Mākua, where Native people were removed so the Army could use the land for training, the military's use of land contributed to the devastation in Wai'anae. The military's irresponsible activities also contribute to the health problems of the region, as recently the area became aware of military ammunition dumping in the waters off Wai'anae. The military refuses to disclose what was dumped or how much, but there is little doubt that the contamination of the waters in the area have had severe health impacts for those who use those waters regularly.

Further, the military's continued assault on the land results in spiritual and cultural trauma for the indigenous people whose very identities are inseparably tied to that land. Kama`āina who look at the land and its features do not see landmarks but stories of their family and childhood. Watching the destruction of that land and those features is akin to watching family assaulted.

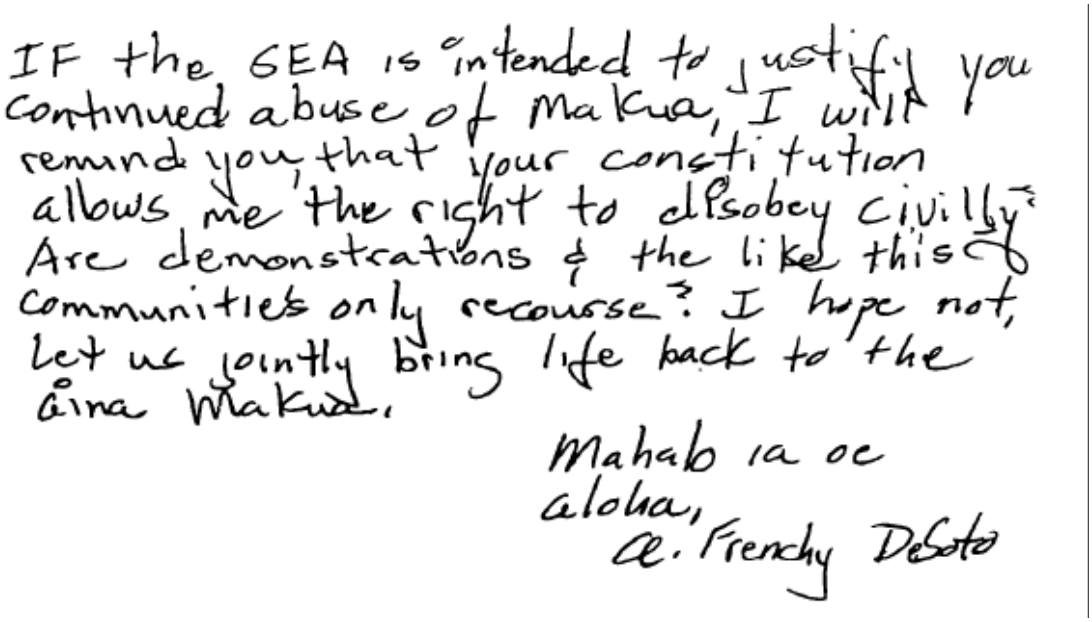
“‘O ka makua ke koʻo o ka hale e paʻa ai”

To Peter Yuh Nopa Coordinator
Directorate of public Works, U.S. Army Hawaii
Schofield Barracks, Hawaii 96857-5031

Sir: Mauna is hereby provided in commentary regarding Your draft Supplemental Environmental Assessment for Routine training at Makua Military reservation, Hawaii

Your SEA is inadequate & unacceptable (Hewa) because it severly restricts public involvement, it further withholds & disregards with obvious design & intent, information about hazardous contamination of the aina, water & air, spits on traditional and customary religious sites & practices. The SEA does not address the health & welfare of this community, when you transport hazardous materials through our towns, past our schools therein putting at extreme risk, our children & grandchildren. Shame on you, enough already, Stop go home, before you "accidentally" kill our children in the name of national defence.

I strongly urge & demand a full EIS, with full community input. cont'd


IF the GEA is intended to justify you continued abuse of Makua, I will remind you, that your constitution allows me the right to disobey civilly. Are demonstrations & the like this Communities only recourse? I hope not, let us jointly bring life back to the ʻāina Makua.

Mahalo ia oe
aloha,
a. Frenchy DeSoto

January 1983

ALBERT POWELL [Department of Land and Natural Resource, State of Hawai‘i]: We’re going to ask you to remove yourself and your belongings back beyond the perimeter, which is either out on the beach or beyond this inner road.

We’re going to remove these shelters. And if you do not comply, those that are still in the area will be arrested.

KAWEHI KANUI GILL: As compared to the early ‘70’s, the ‘80’s is a waking up period where people are getting involved, not just standing on the side and watching. They’ve been watching since the ‘70’s. In the ‘80’s they’re going to get involved.

SAM MAHI‘AI IS ARRESTED.

VOICES: Be careful with him! All right, uncle! Love you, uncle!

APPLAUSE

ROCKY NAE‘OLE IS ARRESTED

ELAINE KELI‘IHELEHUA IS ARRESTED

MOANIKEALA AKAKA: Shame, taking Hawaiian grandmothers like this off the land.

STELLA PIHANA IS ARRESTED

IRENE "TINY" NIAU IS ARRESTED

VOICES: All right, Tiny!

EMMA ALANA: This is what we're fighting for.

APPLAUSE[34]

"'O ka makua ke ko'o o ka hale e pa'a ai."[35] The parent (makua) is the support that holds the household together. In 1983, the Department of Land and Natural Resources forcibly removed the last Hawaiian tenants from Mākua Valley. Stewards of the valley whose ancestral ties to that 'āina dated back thousands of years.

During the eviction, sentiments about the importance of Mākua Valley as a symbol of the Hawaiian people appeared again and again. Uncle Pōkā Laenui stated during the evictions:

> Well, we're coming back home, home to Mākua, notwithstanding what the state says that it's not our home. We are residents of Mākua and we just came home.
>
> What we are saying is that it should be consistent with its history, with its lifestyle. The history of Mākua, of the *makai* side of Mākua, is that it has always been a fishing village. In fact, as some of the signs to verify this, just before we started our march back to Mākua, we found an *'ulumaika* stone. And these, I think, is *hō'ailona*, it's signs of what Mākua wants us to do, to begin that reconstruction of Mākua.
>
> And the way I look at it too is that, it is to begin the reconstruction of the nation of Hawai'i.[36]

Yet, the Mākua evictions and the resistance to them were about so much more than a single incident. The forced removable of Hawaiians from Mākua Valley marked a direct assault on the Hawaiian way of life. As Aunty Ho'oipo DeCambra explained: "…that we bring to the hearts and minds of everyone who will see this as a symbol of our love for the *'āina*, for our love for the history of being Hawaiian, for the love that we have for all people to have the right to have a home, to have a base to raise their children, to have the

right to food, to life and happiness. Give us the power, ‘o Ke Akua, to show to the world that we love and we are bringing a message, a message that we have a right to live in harmony with the *‘āina*.”[37] For Hawaiians, Mākua represented the relationship all Hawaiians had to their homeland. Mākua is our parent. And no good child allows their parent to be harmed.

We know from the Land Commission Awards that at least twelve families claimed lands in the valley. While the political and legal consequences of the land commission awards remains a topic of debate with Hawaiian academic circles today, this text concerns itself primarily with their cultural importance. Native Hawaiian families were on these lands; they cared for them; they possessed cultural rights to their usage.

Location	**Awardee**	**Land Commission Award Number**	**Royal Patent Number**	**Acres**	**Parcels**
Haunouli	Iloewaa	9705	396	14.931	1
Haunouli	Kalama	236-K	368	3.136	1
Kaawa	Kuli	9709	5464	14.967	3
Kalena	Kuwaa for Manua	9054	3634	18.1	1
Kamakaakuholu	Napuupaa	6123	3554	8.889	1
Kaohai	Kahueai	9052	461	7.68	2
Kaolekea	Kauhi	9706	1076	0.69	1
Kihanau	Kauhi	9706	1076	0.38	1
Kihanau	Puiwa	9706	476	6.336	2
Koiahi	Kauhi	9076	1076	10.26	1
Koiahi	Pulu	9078	1075	7.1	1

Location	Awardee	Land Commission Award Number	Royal Patent Number	Acres	Parcels
Kulaelawa	Keolohua	9053	391	12.922	1
Lanui	Pulu	9078	1075	5.996	1

The U.S. Military currently occupies Mākua Valley. Like many of the lands under military control, the military began to seize Mākua in the early 20th century during the territorial era. After the overthrow of the kingdom, the American government spent the early part of the 20th century seizing lands for economic and military purposes.

The military openly acknowledges that prior to military occupation, Mākua thrived under native stewardship. An archaeological study of the valley identifies numerous significant sites, of which the military states:

> The types of sites identified in historic and archaeological records indicate Mākua represents a typical ahupua'a settlement. Settlements along the coast were focused around fishing and gathering of marine resources, and settlements in inland areas were focused on agriculture. Land Commission Awards (granted in the mid-19th century) indicate that lands had been passed down since the early 18th century, and attest to the long history of agricultural use of Mākua. Early nineteenth-century visits by Levi Chamberlain and Reverend John S. Emerson documented extensive use of Mākua by native peoples. By the mid-19th century, the area of Mākua had been taken over by Euro-Americans for cattle ranching.[38]

Table 4-8:
Known archeological sites at Mākua Military Reservation

Site	Description	Source	Site	Description	Source
178	Kumuakuopio Heiau*	McAllister 1933	4536	Stone Walls and Well	Eble *et al* 1993
179	Fishing Shrine*	McAllister 1933	4537	Complex of 14 Stone Walls	Eble *et al* 1993

180	Kaahihi Heiau*	McAllister 1933	4538	Enclosure & C-Shape	Eble *et al* 1993
181	Heiau Ukanipo	McAllister 1933	4539	Small Retaining Wall	Eble *et al* 1993
182	Swimming Pool*	McAllister 1933	4540	Agricultural/Habitation Site	Eble *et al* 1993
9518	Mākua Trail	Rosendahl 1977	4514	Kuleana Plots	Eble *et al* 1993
9520	Stone Walls and Enclosure	Rosendahl 1977	4542	Agricultural/Habitation Site	Eble *et al* 1993
9521	Terraces	Rosendahl 1977	4543	Agricultural/Habitation Site	Eble *et al* 1993
9522	Terraces and Walls	Rosendahl 1977	4544	Agricultural/Habitation Site	Eble *et al* 1993
9523	Occupation Complex	Rosendahl 1977	4545	Agricultural/Habitation	Eble *et al* 1993
9524	Occupation Complex	Rosendahl 1977	4546	Enclosure/Platform	Eble *et al* 1993
9525	Stacked Stone Wall	Rosendahl 1977	4547	Agricultural Complex	Eble *et al* 1993
9526	Occupation Complex	Rosendahl 1977	5456	Subsurface Habitation Features	Williams and Patolo 1998
9531	Stone Walls and Platforms	Rosendahl 1977	5587	Agricultural/Habitation Site	Williams and Patolo 1998
9532	Subsurface Deposit	Rosendahl 1977	5588	Agricultural/Habitation Site	Williams and Patolo 1998
9533	Large Platform	Rosendahl 1977	5589	Agricultural/Habitation Site	Williams and Patolo 1998
4627	Agricultural Complex	Carlson *et al* 1993	5775	Complex of 72 features in vicinity of Ukanipo Heiau	Clehorn, et.al. 1999
4630	Habitation Site	Carlson *et al* 1993	5776	Complex of 111 features in vicinity of Ukanipo Heiau	Clehorn, et.al. 1999
4628	Stone Mound and Cupboard	Carlson *et al* 1993	5777	Shrine/Upright Stone in vicinity of Ukanipo Heiau	Clehorn, et.al. 1999
			5778	Complex of 10 features in vicinity of Ukanipo Heiau	Clehorn, et.al. 1999

***Destroyed**
Source: US Army-Hawai‘i Directorate of Public Words and US Army 25th ID(L) and USAH, 2000

The 1998 *Cultural Resource Management Plan Report – O'ahu Training and Area, Island of O'ahu, Hawai'i*[39] provided a preliminary evaluation of the significance of identified archeological sites at Mākua. One site, Ukanipo Heiau, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The remaining sites, with the exception of two heiau, the fishing shrine and a swimming pool, were noted in the report as having potential for archeological resources. The two heiau, shrine, and the pool described in a 1933 survey were reported to have been destroyed; efforts to locate them are ongoing. Although the potential of the remaining sites has yet to be fully investigated, these sites may contain sufficient archeological information to qualify for the National Register under Criterion D. In addition, yet unidentified cultural resources may also be present.

The removal of the village residents from Mākua represents the many ways in which Hawaiian people were removed from their land and resources. It is not far-fetched to relate the separation of people from their land to the separation of Native people from their families. They are interrelated. One Wai`anae woman reflects:

> Even today, Hawaiians suffer from a separating sickness of another kind [than lepersy] – a separating him from his land. It seems like he doesn't have the unity, but I see a kind of building up of groups of people, small groups of people wanting to go back and work the land, wanting to find out where the "mana" is, the spiritual power that will hold them together. How you separate people is when you begin to take away some of the things that mean very much to them. ... Now big corporations come, big-money people come in and say, "Hey, wait a minute, now, you've been hogging this land, and you've been hogging the water. We want some of it; we want you to turn off some and let us have some of that. We're going to build these big condominiums and these big townhouses." I'm not talking about this from hearsay. I've seen these things happen.[40]

When we look at the connections between Hawaiians and their land and natural resources, these are more than just metaphors. They are microcosms of Hawaiian living. Mākua represents more than just the loss of a sacred place; it represents the loss of sacred family units.

Most people do not equate the militarization of land with the destruction of the family unit, but there is a relationship between military aggression against Hawaiians and strain upon the Hawaiian family structure. Mākua is a physical place that has been devastated by the military, but Mākua is also a symbol of the Hawaiian family. Largely, the strain the military places upon the family results from the forced removal of families from their one hānau (ancestral lands), but there have also been specific cases in which military actions targeted Hawaiians. The sad story of Ko`olau and Pi`ilani illustrated a specific case where the military used its force to attempt to tear apart a Hawaiian family. In this case, the mākua (parents) refused to allow their family to be torn apart.

Aloha Wale: A History of Native Dispossession

The removal of Hawaiians from their land was common and devastating after the overthrow. Many of the seizures and dispossessions, particularly by force, were predicated by the case of Ko`olau and Pi`ilani on Kaua`i. Kaluaikoʻolau and Piʻilani found themselves threatened by the effects of colonization. Foreign laws regarding maʻi hoʻokaʻawale terrorized Koʻolau and his family. In 1892, Koʻolau and his son, Kaleimanu, were diagnosed with maʻi hoʻokaʻawale, also known as Hansen's disease. Little was known about the origins of maʻi hoʻokaʻawale at this time so those afflicted with the disease were sent away to be quarantined from the rest of society until their

deaths. After the overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani, Piki laws denied those with maʻi hoʻokaʻawale with the ability to take kōkua to Kalawao with them. Not wanting to be separated from his wife, Koʻolau, shot and killed the Deputy Sheriff sent to take him to Kalawao, a place also known by the Native people as ka luakūpapau kanu ola, or the grave where one is buried alive.

After shooting the sheriff, Koʻolau, Piʻilani and Kaleimanu fled from their home into Kalalau Valley, where they lived off the land. The Piki, in response, sent a militia into Kalalau Valley to hunt down Koʻolau. The Piki militia never found Koʻolau and his family. The three lived off the land in Kalalau for a number of years as the disease slowly progressed in both Kaleimanu and Koʻolau.

The disease would first claim Kaleimanu. Shortly thereafter, it also claimed Koʻolau. Piʻilani would bury both her son and her husband in Kalalau Valley. After mourning her excruciating loss alone in the valley, she returned to Kekaha, where the remainder of her family still lived. A journalist would eventually write the beautiful, however sad, tale of Koʻolau as told by his wife Piʻilani.

Before fleeing to Kalalau, Koʻolau tries to send Piʻilani away. Of this, Piʻilani recalls:

> He mau ʻōlelo walania kūhohonu loa kēia a kuʻu kani, a he mau huaʻōlelo aʻo nō i piha me nā manaʻo maikaʻi a kū i ke aloha ʻoiaʻiʻo nō māua me ke keiki a māua, akā, ua lilo wale nō ia mau ʻōlelo a pau i mea kāpae a noʻonoʻo ʻole ʻia e koʻu lunaʻikehala, no ka mea, ua hoʻoholo ʻia koʻu manaʻo a ua paʻa, ʻaʻole loa e hiki i ka māmā o kekahi mea honua ke hoʻololi a hiki i ka hopena, a ua hōʻike aku au i ia mea i mua o kuʻu kāne me ka hoʻohiki paʻa loa no ka manawa hope loa, ma koʻu pane ʻana aku pēnei:
>
> "Ma lalo iho o nā ao kaʻalewa o nā Lani Kiʻekiʻe a i mua o ke Akua Mana Loa, ke lawe nei au i kaʻu hoʻopaʻa a ke hoʻohiki paʻa loa nei, ʻaʻole loa au e ʻae aku i kou manaʻo, ʻaʻole loa hoʻi e hoʻokō i kēia kauoha āu, a ʻaʻole loa hoʻi au e haʻalele i ka ukali ʻana ma hope e kou meheu a hiki i ka wā a ke make e hoʻokaʻawale ai iā

> kāua, a me kēia, e make māʻinoʻino au ke hoʻokō ʻole au i kēia ʻōlelo hoʻohiki paʻa aʻu e mōlia nei i koʻu kino a me koʻu ola – ʻamene."[41]

Piʻilani's commitment to her husband, even when that commitment ensured hardship illustrates how colonization very early on attempted to tear apart the family unit. Like Piʻilani and Koʻolau, Native families today are forced to choose hardship in order to keep their families together. Therefore, acclamation into colonized Hawaiʻi often requires indigenous Hawaiians to choose between the relinquishing of basic Native values, like ʻohana, or the arduous life of "houselessness" – which appears to be among the last places where Native people can retain their Native values.

The dismembering of ʻohana serves as a mechanism for obliterating the indigenous culture. While the family unit commonly serves an important economic and social role in most cultures, in the Hawaiian culture, the role of ʻohana was so central to Kānaka Maoli identity that the attack upon the institution of the ʻohana was an attack upon Kānaka Maoli identity itself.

Research into the traditional Hawaiian lifestyle reveals the ʻohana to not only play a central social role in the Kānaka Maoli identity, but ʻohana served an essential role within the maintenance of the entire community. The famed study The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻū, Hawaiʻi reveals:

> The fundamental unit in the social organization of the Hawaiians of Kaʻū was the dispersed community of ʻ*ohana*, or relatives of blood, marriage and adoption, living some inland and some near the sea but concentrated geographically in and tied by ancestry, birth and sentiment to a particular locality which was termed the ʻ*āina*.
>
> * * *
>
> Between households within the ʻohana there was constant sharing and exchange of foods and of utilitarian articles and also of services, not in barter but as voluntary (through decidedly obligatory) giving. ʻOhana living inland (ko kula uka), raising taro, bananas, wauke (for tapa, or barkcloth, making) and olonā (for its fiber), and needing gourds, coconuts and marine foods, would take a gift to

> some ‘ohana living near the short (ko kula kai) and in return would receive fish or whatever was needed. … In other words, it was the ‘ohana that constituted the community within which the economic life moved.[42]

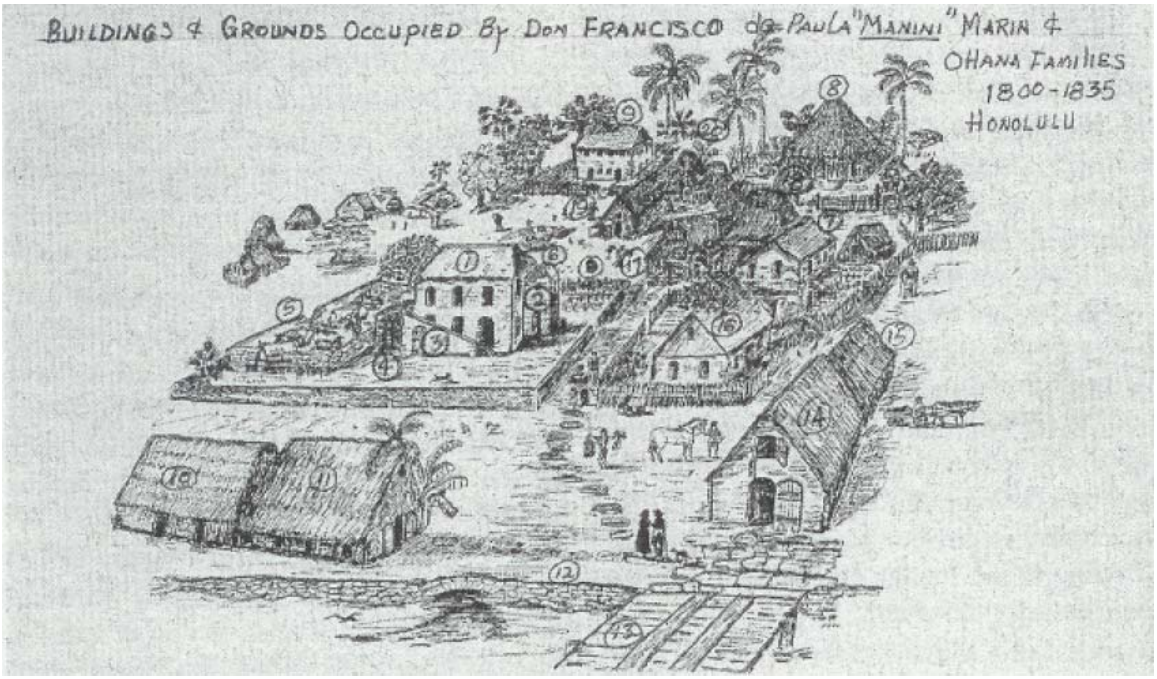
Therefore, it must be emphasized that the ‘ohana represented a larger system of communal living upon which life (through the sharing of resources) depended.

Hawaiian Sense of Community

Like many non-Western societies, Kānaka Maoli viewed community differently that Westerns. Their entire society depended upon the function of the community. In the words of civil rights activist Howard Thurman:

> The working definition of community is the experience of wholeness, of completeness, of inner togetherness, of integration, and wherever this is experienced, at whatever level of life, at that particular level there is community. We point out last week that the individual human being experiences in his organism this definition of community. As if the organism, all the parts, had committed to the memory a sense of the whole, a social sense which is the overtone of the biological inner-continuity. Now this is the heritage. It is this that is the essential and necessitous equipment of the little child, of the baby when the baby is born, if all is well.[43]

Foreigners systemically dismantled this sense of wholeness within the Hawaiian Islands over the course of the last 250 years.



This early drawing illustrates the community living system in the early 1800s. In this system, women and men still occupied separate living spaces. Keeping families together was of the utmost importance to Hawaiians, but not only the immediate family as defined by Western terms, but the extended family more consistent with the kauhale living system utilizing throughout pre-contact Hawai‘i. The kauhale system allowed for greater social and community support for all individuals. This allowed the family to effectively parcel out responsibilities in a manner that allowed everyone to use their time and resources well.

The kauhale system received a devastating blow when foreign diseases began to ravage their way throughout the islands after being brought from distant shores by merchants and whalers. The kauhale system depended on a healthy population and regular repopulation of that living community. When foreign diseases led to rampant

death and infertility, the system began to crumble within a single generation of initial contact. The impact of foreign contact was that devastating on the Native people.

Maʻi Hoʻokaʻawale

Perhaps the best example of the devastating impact disease had on Hawaiian families and the Hawaiian family structure was maʻi hoʻokaʻawale, the separating sickness.

It is unclear exactly how many Native Hawaiians were impacted by leprosy, but it seemed that nearly every Hawaiian family knew or was related to someone impacted. Countless children were taken from their families. As one Kalaupapa resident recalls: "Like the other patients, they caught me at school. It was on the Big Island. I was twelve then. I cried like the dickens for my mother and for my family. But the Board of Health didn't waste no time in those days. They sent me to Honolulu, to Kalihi Receiving Station, real fast. They then sent me to Kalaupapa. That's where they sent most of us. Most came to die."[44] The bounty offered to those who turned in someone with leprosy only ensured that more families would be torn apart.

The fear generated by health officials led Hawaiian families to reject their own family members. Many were like Koʻolau and Piʻilani, who fought to stay together. One researcher explains: "There is evidence early Hawaiians feared the Board of Health and mandatory isolation at Kalaupapa more than the actual affects of the disease of leprosy. Often, friends and family readily hid infected persons within households, rather than surrender them to a life of banishment at Kalaupapa."[45] Yet, as health officials convinced many residents to turn their own family members into the Department of Health.

The disease therefore did more than just impact individuals, it devastated the family units. One Kanaka woman explains: "I hate to tell you this, my family hoʻokaʻi (rejected) me. All of my relatives hoʻokaʻi me. They were sad and disappointed in me for getting this sickness, and after I got it they did not want me anymore. That's what the maʻi Pākē does. It hoʻokaʻi you from your loved ones. The name of leprosy is a fearful thing, they fear this disease. That's why they hoʻokaʻi me (separated me)."[46]

Even those whose families refused to give them up often gave themselves up, as the disease forced many who suffered from it into hiding. Another Hawaiian woman explains:

> My mother did not want me to go to Kalihi Hospital. She knew more about the sickness than I did. Maybe she knew I would not be cured. So, she suggested I not show myself to anybody. She said, "Go hide. Hide inside the house. When someone comes to the house, run out the back door into the bushes on the mountain side." And I did that for three months. I went into hiding and the Health Department inspector did not find me. But, I had a husband and two children. There was so much crying over me, and I began to tire of the hiding life. I thought, I will try the cure. Maybe in three months I will get well. After all, the doctor promised. So, I left for Honolulu. My family told our neighbors I was going to visit relatives.[47]

At the time of the interview, this woman had been at Kalaupapa forty-six years.

The illnesses that sicken the Native Hawaiian community today are not unlike leprosy in that they tear apart families. Whether they are health conditions, like diabetes, or social ills, like houselessness or substance abuse, the western responses by the state that focus on the individual and not family or community continue to hoʻokaʻawale. They separate us.

Conclusion

Understanding how specific incidents or problems are interrelated within a community illustrates how solutions must be multifaceted. The history of leprosy is not simply about the etiology of the illness, but it is also about the cultural and historical context of the illness. Similarly, homelessness is not simply about being poor or without shelter, but it also being without family or about the strain it places upon the extended family.

Homelessness, particularly in communities like Wai‘anae, where many of the residents are also family members, strains the resources of the entire region because families are forced to deal with economic difficulties of the extended family. This will often have a cumulative effect on the extended family. The ahupua‘a land maintenance relied upon large extended family units for support and labor, as illustrated through the idea behind the kauhale system. Therefore, when foreign disease began to impact the number of family members available to maintain the land and family community, the entire kau hale structure began to erode. When the living system depends upon the health of the extended family, any illness, whether it is physical or social, will negatively impact their entire community.

Therefore, until social problems begin to create opportunities which allow for the extended family unit to redevelop and function, illness will continue to devastate the entire Native Hawaiian community. The extended family and the kauhale system created the foundation of the community in traditional Hawaiian living systems; the extended family unit came first. It is only in modern times that we prioritize the individual above the family or community. We believe that the individual must be cured first. But through the healing of the family and the community, individuals will heal. Part of the

problem with western solutions is that they try to rehabilitate individuals without understanding that individuals need healthy communities or families to return to. As long as families and communities remain dysfunctional, individuals will not be healthy.

[1] Mary Kawena Pukui, "2178," *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 237.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 16.

[4] Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands: La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (Second Edition), (San Francisco, Aunt Lute Books, 1999), 49.

[5] Daisy Hernandez and Bushra Rehman, "Introduction," *Colonize This! Young Women of Color on Today's Feminism*, eds. Daisy Hernandez and Bushra Rehman (California: Seal Press, 2002), xxi-xxii.

[6] MJ Harden, *Voices of Wisdom: Hawaiian Elders Speak*, (Hawai`i: Aka Press, 1999), 220-221.

[7] LeAnne Howe, *Shell Shaker*, (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2001), 45.

[8] Handy, E.S. Craighill and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka`u, Hawai`i*, (Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1972), 152.

[9] Ibid. In which it is written:

> The bleaned bones were made into a light comapct bundle tied with sennit cords, and borne to the place of concealment, It was easily carried on the back by the *kahu* (guardian), who went alone in the night sot aht no one but he would know where they were placed.

[10] Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1971).

[11] Ibid.

[12] Marion Kelly and Sidney Michael Quintal, "Cultural History Report of Mākua Military Reservation and Vicinity, Mākua Valley, Oʻahu, Hawaiʻi," 1977:22, Interview No.4. (Honolulu: Dept. of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, April 7, 1977), 2.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] United Nations, General Assembly, Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Report of the Human Rights Council (Agenda Item 68), Sixty-first session of the United Nations, A/61/L.67, 7 September 2007.

[16] "Biological and Cultural Treasures at Makua to be Protected." *Earthjustice Online*. July 23, 2004. *http://www.earthjustice.org/our_work/victory/biological_and_cultural_treasures_at_makua_to_be_protected.html.*

[17] Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers, *Sites of O'ahu* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 92.

[18] Territory of Hawai'i, *Executive Order No. 351: Setting Aside Land for Public Purposes*, by Wallace R. Farrington, Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i (Honolulu: 23 January 1929).

[19] Frances N. Frazier, trans., *The True Story of Kaluaiko'olau As Told By His Wife Pi'ilani* (Līhu'e: The Kaua'i Historical Society, 2001), 101-102.

[20] Edward J. McGarth Jr., Kenneth Brewer, Bob Krauss, *Historic Waianae: Place of Kings* (Honolulu: Island Heritage Book, 1973), 68

[21] William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 152-153.

[22] "Citizens and Military Reach Settlement in Mākua Lawsuit." *Earthjustice Online*. March 31, 2004. *http://www.earthjustice.org/news/press/004/citizens_and_military_reach_settlement_in_makua_lawsuit.html.*

[23] 25th Infantry Division (Light) & U.S. Army, Hawai'i, Public Affairs Office. "Mākua Military Reservation Prescribed Burn Assessment." Release number: 2003-07-22. July 31, 2003. Online. *http://www.makuaeis.com.*

[24] Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers, *Sites of O'ahu* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 83.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Marion Kelly and Sidney Michael Quintal, "Cultural History Report of Mākua Military Reservation and Vicinity, Mākua Valley, O'ahu, Hawai'i," 1977, Interview No.4. (Honolulu: Dept. of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, April 7, 1977).

[27] Ibid.

[28] "Finding of No Significant Impact." *Pililā'au Range Complex & Mākua Military Reservation.* Online. *http://www.25idl.army.mil/Makua/Makua/Resources/ImpDocs/EnvSupp/CompleteEABySection/Section1/FONSI%2011%20May%2001.htm.*

[29] Sarah Apgar, "An ROTC's Cadet Hawaiian Experience." *Hawai'i Army Weekly*. Oct 1, 2000.

[30] B.J. Reyes, "Army treads Makua lightly," *Starbulletin.com*. October 26, 2003. *http://starbulletin.com/2003/10/26/news/story7.html*.

[31] Sarah Apgar, "An ROTC's Cadet Hawaiian Experience," *Hawai'i Army Weekly*. Oct 1, 2000.

[32] William J. Kelly, "Tanks and Toxics, plans and pollution: the ecology of a military build up," *The Business of War, Multinational Monitor*. Jan 2003.

[33] Nelta Edwards, "Radiation, Tobacco, and Illness in Point Hope, Alaska: Approaches to the "Facts" in Contamination Communities," *The Environmental Justice Reader: Politics, Poetry and Pedagogy*, Ed. By Joni Adamson, Mei Mei Evans, and Rachel Stein, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), 105-106.

[34] Nā Maka o ka `Āina, Mākua Homecoming, Transcript.

[35] Mary Kawena Pukui, "2424," *'Ōlelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 265.

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Marion Kelly and Sidney Michael Quintal, "Cultural History Report of Mākua Military Reservation and Vicinity, Mākua Valley, O'ahu, Hawai'i," 1977:22, (Honolulu: Dept. of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, April 7, 1977).

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[40] The Women's Support Group of the Waianae Coast, *A Time for Sharing: Women's Stories from the Wai`anae Coast*, (Honolulu: The Women's Support Group of the Wai`anae Coast, 1982), 33.

[41] Frances N. Frazier, trans., *The True Story of Kaluaiko'olau As Told By His Wife Pi'ilani* (Līhu'e: The Kaua'i Historical Society, 2001), 101-102.

[42] E.S. Craighill Handy and Mark Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'ū, Hawai'i*, 8th printing, (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1988), 2-6.

[43] Howard Thurman, "Community and the Self," Speech given at Marsh Chapel, Boston University, Boston, MA – April 16, 1961, Reprinted in *Say It Plain: A Century of Great African American Speeches*, Edited by Catherine Ellis and Stephen Drury Smith (New York: New York Press, 2005), 33-40, at 36-37.

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Kumuhea:
Ecocolonization and the Epidemics of the Native People

© Karen Kasmauski/CORBIS
12 year old girl with Type II Diabetes gives herself an insulin shot in Waiʻanae.

Anyone who wants to know the human psyche will learn next to nothing from experimental psychology. He would be better advised to abandon exact science, put away his scholar's gown, bid farewell to his study, and wander with a human heart through the world. There in the horrors of prisons, lunatic asylums and hospitals, in drab suburban pubs, in brothels and gambling-hells, in the salons of the elegant, the Stock Exchanges, socialist meetings, churches, revivalist gatherings and ecstatic sects, through love and hate, through the experience of passion in every form in his own body, he would reap richer stores of knowledge than text-books a foot thick could give him, and he will know how to doctor the sick with a real knowledge of the human soul.

Carl Jung

Kumuhea was an evil demigod, a son of Kū, known for ruining the health of his human wife.[1] "Kumuhea kupu ʻino" is our ʻōlelo noʻeau for things destructive to health.

It acknowledges how Kumuhea's presence in his wife's life led to poor health. It was through the deprivation of an adequate diet that Kumuhea made his wife ill. By only allowing her a diet of sweet-potato leaves, as opposed to the range of foods needed to feed herself and keep herself healthy, Kumuhea kept his wife ill and thereby controlled her. The continued American presence in Hawai'i acts as Kumuhea, a destructive force to health. Through the deprivation of necessary services and resources American imperialism and hegemony maintains control over the Hawaiian population by keeping them weak, usually through illness. In this regard, understanding displacement (and homelessness) among Native Hawaiians requires a hard look at the health of Native Hawaiians as a population.

Since contact, epidemics have plagued the Native Hawaiian people. This chapter looks at how colonizing forces have benefited from these "epidemics" in the Native Hawaiian community. To this end, the State allows these scourges to continue against the Hawaiian people. Maladies and economic hardships are both intersected here as epidemics reinforced by State action as a mechanism of keeping the Native population weak, for a strong population would only encourage further resistance to the continuing dispossession of the Native. The relationship between the disenfranchised and health has been documented for decades, as medical anthropologist Paul Farmer explains it: "we have learned that the relationship between poverty and health is … complicated. But the complexities are often found in the diverse ways in which the health of the disenfranchised may be made to suffer. That is, poverty and other social inequalities come to alter disease distribution and sickness trajectories through innumerable and complicated mechanisms."[2] For Native Hawaiians, colonization operates as a primary

mechanism by which their community health is made to suffer. The relationship between poverty and illness is largely overlooked. We acknowledge that poor people receive poor health care, but rarely does the literature scrutinize the ways in which these variables interact; the ways in which one reinforces the other.

The study of Native populations becomes a notably important site of this inquiry. For Native scholars have long written about the relationship between health and colonization. Tsark noted: "It saddens me that we Kānaka Maoli continue to present one of the poorest health profiles both in Hawai'i and in the continental United States. This is a direct result of the suppression of native religion, and cultural values and belief systems."[3] Yet, it is still not widely acknowledged that the health problems of the Native Hawaiian people developed from colonizing religious and cultural practices. Instead, Natives are often themselves blamed for their physical condition and the physical condition of their people. If acknowledged at all, non-Hawaiian agencies identify cultural oppression as only one of a range of factors impacting Native Hawaiian health. The National Center for Disease Control, for example, writes of Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders (NHOPI):

> NHOPIs generally experience poorer health than the American population as a whole: they are more at risk for developing and dying from cancer, heart disease, diabetes, and other diseases. Factors contributing to poor health outcomes among NHOPIs include cultural barriers, limited access to health care, and poor nutrition and lifestyle.[4]

"Poor nutrition and lifestyle" become the scapegoat for Americans, as discussed later in this chapter, the stereotypes given to Hawaiians only enable ecocolonization. Attributing the poor health of Hawaiians to lifestyle choices enables institutional patterns that fail to give Native people the sovereignty and health care needed to care for themselves.

Understanding how all these various factors (poverty, illness and colonization) interact is complicated. But we are slowly making ground. There is a strong relationship between health and socio-cultural factors that is currently being studied. Studies conducted here in Hawai‘i support this basic notion. One study on Type 2 Diabetes identifies as one of its implications: "the between-ethnic group differences observed in this study concerning the relationship between depressive symptoms and health-related quality of life supports the idea that sociocultural factors (e.g. health beliefs and expectations of social network) could play an important role in this relationship."[5] Yet, the "hard data" on the relationship between sociocultural factors and health among Native Hawaiians remains inadequate, despite the best efforts of academics like Crabbe and Kaholokula, who commit their work to this area.

This only lends to the position that Native Hawaiian health remains a complicated and misunderstood matter within the western world. And the suffering of Native Hawaiians remains comfortably distanced from the affluent; those most able to alleviate this suffering. As Farmer explains: "But the experience of suffering, it's often noted, is not effectively conveyed by statistics or graphs. In fact, the suffering of the world's poor intrudes only rarely into the consciousness of the affluent, even when our affluence may be shown to have direct relation to their suffering."[6] Since the affluence remains fatally disenfranchised from the health needs of the poor, efforts to improve the devastating health conditions among Native Hawaiians still fall within traditionally western paradigms that include invasive treatments with western drugs and reactive (as opposed to preventative) measures. These practices are wholly inconsistent with traditional approaches to health and healing within the Native Hawaiian community. As University

of California Professor Juliet McMullin explains, "Hawaiian health is more than merely attending to the physical body. Health is more than the dictates of biomedicine, science and technology. It is intimately tied to a communion with their ancestors (*kūpuna*), with the land that cares for them (a concept that is commonly referred to as *mālama 'āina*), and with taro."[7] McMullin's point is that Native health is tied to the Native land from which they come.

This notion was a key theme and summary from the Ka 'Uhane Lōkahi: 1998 Native Hawaiian Health and Wellness Summit and Island 'Aha. In their executive summary, it states: "**'Āina, wai and kai are key to our survival.** The land, water and ocean are inseparable from our health as a people, thus these issues cannot be disassociated from health issues. From discussions on stewardship to access and gathering rights, this topic permeated virtually every discussion as critical components of our overall well-being."[8] For over two hundred years, Native Hawaiians have attempted to explain to foreigners how the well-being of Native Hawaiians is critically tied to that of the land and Hawaiians' access to their natural resources.

In a historical overview, the report states the importance of the relationship between traditional Hawaiian values and physical health. The report reads:

> Hawaiian concepts of health and wellness are interrelated and inseparable from other concepts associated with living on islands. The foundation for these concepts are built upon relationships – relationships with natural elements (wind, rain, water, etc.), with natural environmental (forests, oceans, mountains, etc.), with specific places (family or ancestral land(s) – places of birth, burials, etc.), with other living things (flora and fauna), and with people. All of these relationships form a Hawaiian concept of ola build upon a strong spiritual foundation. Everything has a life, everything has value, both animate and inanimate.
>
> Traditional society dictated appropriate values associated with these relationships. Some of these values were laulima, aloha, kōkua, lōkahi, pono and mālama.

> There was many others. These values provide guidance for achieving optium health and wellness despite the fact that many in the dominant soceity would consider them superfluous to productivity. The fact remains that most Hawaiians still view these values and their practices as appropriate and desirable and essential ingredients to good health and well-being.[9]

This again reinforces the idea that well-being relied upon a Hawaiian's relationship with his or her surrounding environment. For the people of Wai'anae, the historical strains upon this relationship resulting from foreign forces directly impact their current community health status.

Ka Mauli O Ka 'Āina A He Mauli Kānaka

In 2001, Mary Frances Mailelauli'i Oneha published an ethnographic study on the relationship between health and place in Wai'anae. In her study, she explains: "A sense of place has been directly linked to spiritual well being for all indigenous peoples. Yet, there is minimal evidence that demonstrates understanding and awareness of indigenous health from this perspective. Health, or lack of it, appears to be related to place or the loss of it. Issues of Hawaiian health are inseparable from issues of land, water, and atmosphere."[10] She interviewed thirteen Wai'anae community members and reported the following findings:

> The findings suggest that the relationship between sense of place and health embodies four categories: (1) relationship to akua (god, spirit), (2) relationship to natural elements, (3) relationship to self and others, and (4) belonging to a particular place. Three major traditional Hawaiian concepts, which defined how the relationship between sense of place and health are experienced, were *pono*, *mana*, and *kuleana*. The relationship between these concepts revealed five cultural themes. Health for Hawaiians:
>
> I. is having a spiritual connection to their ancestral place;
> II. relates to the past, present, and future;
> III. is experienced with intention and understanding;
> IV. means an openness to the flow and use of energy; and

V. is experienced as a *pu'uhonua* or safe place.[11]

Her findings certainly illustrated the validity of her central theme, ka mauli o ka ʻāina a he mauli kānaka, the life of the land is the life of the people.

The study revealed the strong tie between the people of Waiʻanae to their ancestral land. As Aunty Hoʻoipo DeCambra said: "This is me; this is my space. And going away can only be temporary. It's like an anchor. You can't be separated from it. It's just not possible. I could not imagine living anywhere else. I can't comprehend it – I cannot."[12] Resident after resident echoed similar feelings about their home. Their identity and well-being paralleled the land. The study explains: "*Health for Hawaiians is having a spirtual connection to their ancestral place*. The first cultural theme addressed the deep emotional ties Hawaiians have to the place in which their ancestors reside, *kula iwi*, the land of their bones, the place where they were born and raised, and the land of Hawaiʻi. The basis of health for Hawaiians was having a spiritual connection to the place their ancestors reside, *kula iwi*."[13] Aunty Puanani Burgess illustrates this point: "Put your nose between the rocks; somebody put it there, so smell it; you can still smell the scent of him. That's what so neat about going to someplace like that; you have a history."[14] This dissertation illustrates how that history is one of displacement and colonization for the people of Waiʻanae. So when the history of our kula iwi contains decades of pain and illness, that history seeps up from the land and into the people. We embody the illnesses of our kula iwi.

Illness becomes intergenerational through the destruction of natural resources. The imbalances of parents are passed onto the children. Just as balanace and good health allow for the pono and well-being of children. Uncle Pōkā Laenui says: "My father had

been the one who planted most of the trees and the idea is that the parent always plants the fruit and never gets the full enjoyment of it. The parents plant fruits for children. And it's so true because, the fruits that he has planted, he has passed on, and so we and our children are the one who benefit from it."[15] When we inverse this idea, we recognize that the inability to plant impacts children and subsequent generations most. When we lost control of the land and control of the water, what we also lost was the ability to perpetuate well-being. When we lose our relationship to the land, we lose our identity. And this loss of self roots itself in our families and becomes a site of intergenerational violence and illness.

Land and Health

`Ike is a gift. And one can spend a lifetime learning, having experiences, and gathering information and yet never receive `ike. Hawaiians taught one another through particularly sacred and spiritually informed means. In traditional Hawai`i, following spiritual protocols in the training of kāhuna or experts could not be circumvented. In the text *Hawaiian Herbal Medicine*, June Gutmanis explains the role of the kāhuna lā`au lapa`au: "As a *kahuna la`au lapa`au* the boy would become not only a priest but a trained expert. Like all other *kahuna*, he would become a practitioner who know and taught the technicalities of his profession. And like all *kahuna*, his most important role would be that of liaison between the people and the great gods (*akua*), the family guardian (*`aumakua*), and a multitude of other gods."[16] Similarly sacred was the process by which kāhuna were selected and taught. Gutaris explains this process as well:

> The choice of a future kahuna might be apparent at birth when the omens were too numerous to dispute. Or it might become known from the results of a

> character reading done after the boy left the women's eating house. Then again, the gods might wait until the boy had entered his teens to show their interest. It was the kahuna who was to the do the training that, looking at the signs (nana i na `ouli), knew the will of the gods.
>
> If a candidate was chosen as a baby he might be raised by the kahuna who was to be his teacher. Whether he remained with his family or not, the young kahuna-to-be would not begin his training until the gods gave the appropriate sign.[17]

As in the case of Pukui in Ka`u, teachers only bestowed learning upon those chosen by ākua.

Deeply sacred and intimate was the learning process between teacher and student in traditional Hawai`i. Gutaris also explains this relationship: "No matter when the novice began his training it was based on the one-to-one relationship of a strict apprenticeship. The student was expected to have a good memory and to learn fast, *`a`apo a`e*. Instructions were never given more than twice or three times at the most, then no more, pau. Never questioning, always observing, the boy began his training doing menial tasks. He was in turn closely watched to assure to no *kapu* were broken."[18] Again, the important of the kapu remains central in Hawaiian learning. Gutaris notes: "If [the novice] failed to keep this *kapu* his knowledge would be shallow, not deep, *pulelehua ka ike*."[19]

This idea also recurrected throughout the indigenous world. As Donald L. Fixico explains in *The American Indian Mind in a Linear World: American Indian Studies and Traditional Knowledge*:

> The traditional educational system is to learn by two methods. The first is to listen, observe, be patient for a sign (which has caused others to call traditional Indians passive). And lessons are learned by receiving or taking in this information. An important point may be that it may not be most effective to try to deliberately obtain knowledge, as only information would be gained (not knowledge) and frastuation usually happens in this acquisitive process.

> After receiving knowledge, which may not always be understood at first, then a person reacts by imitating the elder who might be a teacher, or reacting to the instruction learned from nature, and knowledge is learned in this way like the mainsteam by doing – the practical experience and this knowledge of doing one's job, taking an exam, hunting, and so forth is application of knowledge receiving by using this knowledge.[20]

Herein, we see how American Indians also share the Hawaiian method of simply being patient and waiting for knowledge to be given. Even in contemporary times, releasing control over one's surroundings and allowing external forces to control learning proved extremely beneficial.

Few dispute that environmental factors contribute to a population's general health. Yet, cultural factors and cultural health also contribute to health as well. Particularly in indigenous populations, where the culture's history often holds keys as to health and self-healing, poor cultural health can speak to poor physical health. Food, a mechanism of both health and culture in Hawaiian society, plays a critical role in the health of the people. Therefore, when traditional food cultivation suffered from western contact, the health of the people suffered.

> The importance of taro to Hawaiian culture cannot be underestimated. Taro as a cultural symbol has multiple meanings. The place is a symbol of the *'ohana* (family), specifically of an elder sibling in Hawaiian cosmology for whom respect and care must be shown. In return for the care given to the elder sibling, and the land it grows in, that elder sibling (taro) will care for the Hawaiian people by feeding them. Taro is a symbol of Hawaiian family, and land and life.[21]

In recognition of the fundamental importance kalo, known to foreigners as taro, occupies with the traditional Hawaiian community, many cultural practitioners focus their cultural education around lo'i restoration and kalo cultivation.

Considering the origins of kalo, its central role in both health and sovereignty are appropriate in reestablishing Native Hawaiian health. This functions well within the

theory of ecocolonization. For kalo influences not only our culture and beliefs, but speaks to where Hawaiians originated. While it is a key symbol of values, it is also our origin. Kalo appears in the Papa and Wākea creation story. Science begins with "the big bang." Creation begins with the Book of Geniuses. The Hawaiian people begin with Papa and Wākea, the Earth Mother and the Sky Father.

> Wākea and Papa created a heavenly daughter, Hoʻohōkūkalani, whose beauty aroused her father's passion. One night, father and daughter became one. Hoʻohōkūkalani delivered a stillborn baby, and from the infant's grave a kalo (taro) plant sprouted. Wākea called the plan Hāloa-naka, for its long, quivering leaves. Later, father and daughter produced a boy, naming him Hāloa in honor of the starch, the kalo, that nourished him as he grew into man.
>
> In the following centuries, Hawaiians cultivated kalo in gardens large and small; the kalo, in turn, sustained the families. They knew kalo as their ancestor Hāloa, his heart-shaped leaves and genealogy entwined with their cosmos, their land, their gods, their chiefs, and themselves.[22]

Kalo is more than a symbol, more than an agricultural system, more than a food: it literally represents the people. The health of the people depends upon the health of the kalo and the health of the land. When the Hawaiian people fail to care for the kalo, the relationship of reciprocity between kalo and man is broken. The people will not be cared for in return. Therefore, when the epidemics of foreign contact began to sicken the Native Hawaiian people and they, in turn, could not care for their land, the health of the people deteriorated. While foreign disease may have initiated the current poor health of the Hawaiian people, it was the inability to care for the land and the inability to sustain themselves through their traditional foods and cultural practices that perpetuated ill health.

Poverty and poor health are logical weapons of colonization. There is a practical reason to keep Hawaiians ill. Sick people cannot fight. They cannot fight politically; they cannot fight economically. The people of Wai‘anae speak of being unable to work because they are injured or sick, because they are disabled by chronic health conditions.

The traditional lifestyle was far healthier and more active. One woman recalls from her childhood:

> I had to work before I could have my breakfast. I would get up in the morning, fix my *pūne`e*, fold my *kapa* and roll up the mosquito net and put it away. We had to scrub the sidewalks with the *palaka niu`ānai* and brown soap. We would wash down our *hale lua* with chlorine.
>
> When we finished doing our job in the house, we would go down to the taro patch to clean the *lo`i* or we would pull the taro to cook to make our poi. Tutu Kane, my father and my uncle did the heavy work. When our work was finished we would come in to have our breakfast. We would collect and have our collect the *pūpū-pāke* in the taro patch to cook. At that time we didn't have crawfish. Tutu Wahine would limit our food.
>
> … Tutu didn't have running water. The river water was used for drinking water, the taro patch and cooking. Tutu's land was like a hole. If it rained you would slide down. We never brought fruits or candies. Tutu's house had a veranda. We used a mosquito net over us for sleeping. We had a mosquito net otherwise the mosquitoes would eat us up. We didn't have modern beds. Tutu Wahine made *pūne`e* out of *lau hala*. Each of us had our own *kapa*.
>
> Tutu Wahine loved plants. Our tutus were taught that the human urine was good for plants. Tutu Wahine would get up at five a.m., collect all the children's urine pots and mix it with water. Then she would water her *laua`e* and *`ilima* flowers.
>
> Tutu Wahine didn't take us to see any doctors. She would go out to the yard and pick up plants and pound it into medicine. She would say a little prayer, then give it to us children: The doctors lived so far away. The only way we had to travel was by horse and buggy. …
>
> Tutu Wahine would chew our food. This was called *pu`a*. Then she would feed us mouth to mouth. Tutu Wahine would give us a teaspoon of wine before we would have our supper. Before the sun would set, we

> children would have our verses to say, like "*Aloha Keakua*"[.] My father carried this tradition on in later years.[23]

This history provides great insight to Hawaiian health and living. We see that children were actively involved in caring for the house and for the land, particularly the lo`i. Pūpū-pāke were an invasive apple snail present in taro patches, but we see here how regular work in the lo`i allowed for this invasive species to be controlled. Native people were able to cope with many the various environmental changes that resulted from regular contact between Hawai`i and the world through shipping vessels.

The value of Native plants in caring for the family is also explored. Doctors (or healing experts in pre-contact times) were not typically present or easily accessible, so most Hawaiians has to learn how to take care of themselves and heal whatever ailments arose. Traditional skills and lifestyles harmoniously co-existed and the Hawaiian people were, by necessity, extremely knowledgeable regarding many aspects of life. While being an "expert" in a particular skill required a lifetime of training, most Hawaiians nonetheless acquired some level of skill in different areas: medicine, agriculture or aquaculture, engineering, crafting, pedagogy. Hawaiian people were environmentally sovereign. They relied exclusively upon their surrounding environment: they crafted all their material goods; they were food sovereign; they constructed all their dwellings. This sovereign system was an intricate and balanced web of co-habitation. Once foreign contact and ecocolonization disrupted this system, the entire system collapsed. Deterioration of physical health is an element of ecocolonization.

They became disabled by their poverty. Poverty and poor health are often synonymous in Wai‘anae. In this regard, the people of Wai‘anae are not distinct from the

millions of Americans denied access to adequate health care due to poverty. Farmer explains:

> Our society ensures that large numbers of people, in the United States and out of it, will be simultaneously put at risk for disease and denied access to care. In fact, the spectacular successes of biomedicine have in many instances further entrenched medical inequalities. This necessarily happens whenever new and effective therapies – from antituberculous drugs to protease inhibitors – are not made readily available to those in need. Perhaps it was in anticipation of late-twentieth-century technology that Virchow argued that physicians must be the "natural attorneys of the poor."
>
> In any setting where medical injustice is a given, it is incumbent upon physicians and other healers to respond to the troubling questions posed by the destitute sick. These issues cannot be left to the leaders of the insurance and pharmaceutical industries, whose bottom line is not relief of suffering. Until doctors ask other types of questions – Who becomes sick and why? Who becomes a patient? Who has access to adequate services? How might inequalities of risk and outcome be addressed? – they will remain at least as blind as the anthropologists who "missed the revolution."[24]

The Wai'anae community currently works to incorporate this model into its community health care programs. In this community, it is a given that the clientele are poor Native Hawaiians. Outreach workers are overcome with the growing number of residents in need of health care and homeless outreach services. Resources are constantly stretched thinner and thinner in an effort to provide for as many people as possible.

In Wai'anae, social problems and physical problems intersect. Homelessness is only one result of the symptoms that plague this community. Residents face domestic violence, substance abuse, poor pre-natal care and nutrition, chronic health problems, mental disorders. Therefore, "solving homelessness" requires much more than just finding shelter for residents, it demands looking at all the ways in which this community suffers. For as Farmer explains in another text:

> Cornel West argues that "the condition of truth is to allow the suffering to speak. It doesn't mean that those who suffer have a monopoly on truth, but it means that

> the condition of truth to emerge must be in tune with those who are undergoing social misery – socially induced forms of suffering."
>
> The second lesson is that medicine has much to learn by reflecting on the lives and struggles of poor or otherwise oppressed people. How is suffering, including that caused by sickness, best explained? How is it to be addressed? These questions are, of course, as old as humankind. We've had millennia in which to address – societally, in an organized fashion – the suffering that surrounds us. In looking at approaches to such problems, one can easily discern three main trends: *charity*, *development*, and *social justice*.[25]

As discussed in the previous chapter, our society has largely ignored the suffering on the Waiʻanae Coast.

Only the Waiʻanae Coast Comprehensive Health Center seems to appreciate that healing a community begins with engaging with its suffering. How does a community suffer? What do those suffering have to say for themselves? Only when we understand suffering, can we begin to understand what a community needs in order to heal.

Waiʻanae Community Comprehensive Health Center

At the Waiʻanae Coast Comprehensive Health Center, they are beginning to ask and answer these questions. Literature from the Center explains:

> The Waiʻanae Coast Comprehensive Health Center's mission is to outreach and provide services to a predominately low income, Native Hawaiian patient population on leeward Oʻahu. This mission is in conflict with Medicaid managed care as it is currently structured in the State of Hawaiʻi.
>
> The mission of the Health Center has led it to the development of outreach programs addressing the unique health needs of native Hawaiians. Conditions disproportionately occurring in the Hawaiian population include teen pregnancy, substance abuse, chronic pain, behavioral health problems, morbid obesity, and chronic disease. For the Hawaiian community, early onset of chronic disease has led to a higher "potential years of life lost." These conditions have been documented through the *E Ola Mau* submitted to Congress and the White House and led to the passage of the Native Hawaiian Health Care Act.[26]

Native Hawaiian and low income are perfect descriptions of their clientele. Workers there repeatedly note how most of the homeless people they work with are Hawaiian. The data from WCCHC show that nearly 50% of its clientele are Hawaiian. Outreach workers estimate that at least 50% of the homeless population in Wai‘anae are Hawaiian. Workers and residents insist the percentage is actually higher; many estimate it to be 60-75%.

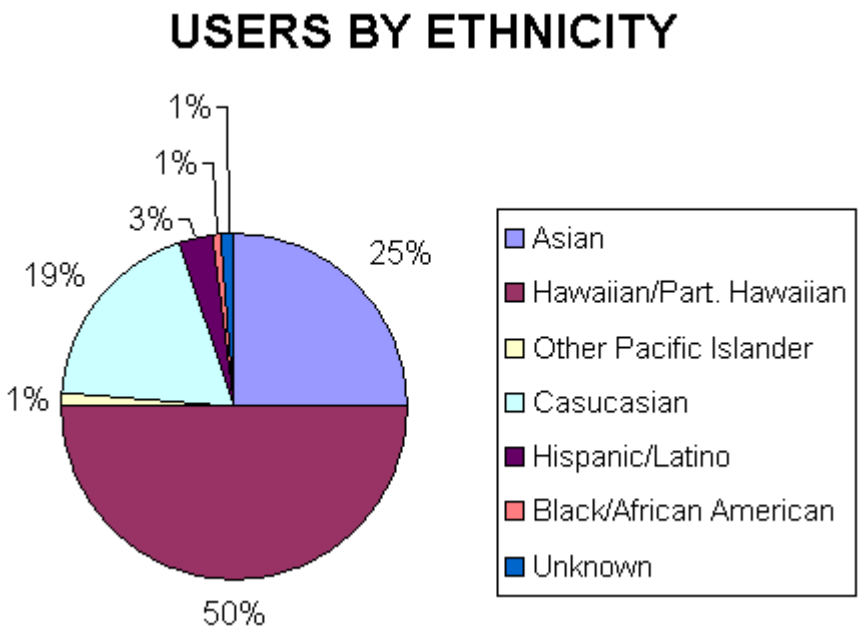

Figure 7. Breakdown of the clientele at the Wai`anae Coast Comprehensive Health Center by race/ethnicity. Source: Wai`anae Coast Comprehensive Health Center.

This next figure, provided also by Wai‘anae Comp, indicates that the overwhelming majority of their patients live below or near the poverty level. As the only large health care facility in the area (the closest hospital can be as much as an hour away in traffic), Wai‘anae Comp sees most of the residents at one time or another. It is also the area’s largest employer.

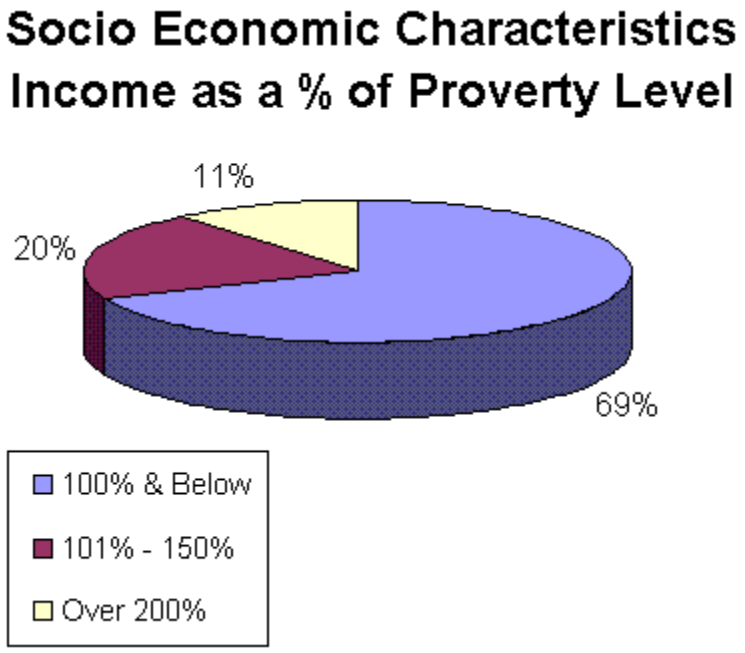

Figure 8. Percentage of WCCHC's clientele as related to the poverty level. Source: Wai`anae Coast Comprehensive Health Center.

This data leads me to believe that the houseless population in Wai'anae sits closer to 50 – 60% of the population, well above the approximately 30-40% claimed by the state. Wai'anae Coast Comprehensive Health Center, as the larger health provider in the area and one of the largest providers of services to the houseless, serves as a better measure of the composition of this population than any state study. Largely the result of WCCHC's long-term commitment to the area and its residents, residents express more trust and willingness to work with WCCHC than any other organization gathering data on this population. Therefore, WCCHC's data, while perhaps lacking the western validity claimed by other studies, possesses the cultural validity necessary to understand the needs of the people of Wai'anae.

Further, the health problems of the residents of Wai‘anae, particularly the Native Hawaiian houseless population, must be viewed in the schema articulated by Farmer in *Infections and Inequalities: The Modern Plagues*, Farmer explains:

> In a very real way, inequality itself constitutes our modern plague. The burdens of inequality are primarily borne by the poor and marginalized, for not everyone can claim victimhood, despite the self-serving identity politics and "soft relativism" of our times. But it is worth noting that even wealthy societies driven by great inequalities are bereft of social cohesion. This lack of cohesion is tightly linked to increased rates of morbidity and mortality: "It is clear now," Wilkinson in an important study of inequality in industrial societies, "that the scale of income differences in a society is one of the most powerful determinants of health standards in different countries, and that it influences health through its impact on social cohesion."[27]

In one program, the Makahiki Project, attempts to use elements of the traditional Hawaiian culture to improve health. It is explained: "The Project, named after the traditional ceremony as celebrated by the kānaka maoli, or Native Hawaiians, aims to increase physical activity and improve nutrition by providing activities that teach various means of growing and acquiring healthy foods. Activities, such as farming, aquaculture, and fishing are just some of the skills that participants will learn."[28] For workers at WCCHC understand from working with community members that improving individual health requires improving cultural and community health. They cannot be separated. "Wai‘anae Comp," as it is referred to by most residents, certainly bears good reasons to want to find solutions to improving health among Native Hawaiians in their area. Most of the workers are from the area, they know well the people they help because this is their community. Again, this makes it a better guiding post as to how to help this community.

<u>The Wai‘anae Diet</u>

Wai‘anae community members fully appreciate that the key to wellbeing requires environmental and health changes. In 1991, Wai‘anae Comp published *The Wai‘anae Book of Hawaiian Health*. The preface reads:

> Hawaiian health is a critical issue today because in Hawai‘i, “the healthiest state in the union,” Native Hawaiians have the worst health in the nation. This is in sharp contrast to the excellent health that the Hawaiians had in pre-Western contact times, before 1778 when Captain Cook arrived. Today, Hawaiians have the highest rates of heart disease, cancer, stroke and diabetes in the state. Over 70% of all Hawaiians die of these diseases, and all of these diseases are diet-related.
>
> This is the reason why the main focus of this book is on diet.
>
> Why should a book about Hawaiian health come from Wai‘anae? First of all, the Wai‘anae coast has the largest concentration of Hawaiian people in the state. According to the 1980 U.S. Census, 56% of the people in Nānākuli and 34% of the Wai‘anae people are Hawaiian. Second of all, the Wai‘anae coast has the poorest economic conditions in the state and some of the poorest health. Yet, Wai‘anae is rich in Hawaiian tradition and in human resources and spirit.
>
> This book and the Wai‘anae Diet Program are efforts to make use of this richness to reverse an epidemic of diet-related deaths among the Hawaiian people, both in this community and across the state.[29]

This focus on a diet comprised of traditional foods illustrates that “to reverse an epidemic” among Native Hawaiians, the ability to return to elements of the traditional lifestyle is key. We must reverse some of the impacts of ecocolonization.

The Wai‘anae Book of Hawaiian Health provides some very interesting history on the traditional health of the Hawaiian people.

> The Hawaiian of the past was thin and strong rather than overweight. Let us repeat that… they were **thin** rather than overweight. In other words, their natural status was to be slim. This is in contract to the commonly held belief that Hawaiians were naturally obese. If you have doubts about the trust of this statement, just look at the pictures of ancient Hawaiians in this book and ask yourself, “Where are the overweight Hawaiians?”
>
> The Hawaiian people were tall, “above the middle statute, graceful, and stately.” They were attractive and healthy. This was the conclusion of this early observer

> in times soon after Western contact. Hawaiian people today have it in them to be this way, if we return to some of the ways of our kūpuna.
>
> In addition to being taller than average, the Hawaiian people were "capable of bearing great fatigue." In other words, they were energetic and very active. This energy and hard working nature was a reflection of their excellent health. A high level of physical activity was a normal part of Hawaiian life.[30]

Hawaiians were naturally healthy and fit. A sustainable lifestyle demands it. One cannot tend to loʻi or fish without a fairly high level of physical capability. There were no vehicles or animals to ride in pre-contact. People walked where they needed to go.

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E ola ʻāina, e ola poʻe

The land lives; the people live. The concept is a simple one. As people we have the right to feed ourselves, to feed our familes, to care for our land. To Hawaiians, the land, family and self are one entity. When one dies, all die.

(c) Trisha Kehaulani Watson

Many have expressed the ideal health status of Hawaiians as "ola lōkahi." This embodies the idea that life (ola) is united (lōkahi). All forms of life are interwoven and therefore health comes from the restoration of this connection. Uncle Kekuni Blaisdell, M.D. articulates the principles of Hawaiian health within the context of Hawaiians' relationship with the cosmos.

> Because of common parentage from Papa and Wākea, the kānaka maoli (Native Hawaiian as calls himself) considered himself lōkahi (united) with all in the cosmos from the beginning and forever.
>
> In spite of the prevailing spirituality, all in the Hawaiian cosmos was natural. There was nothing "supernatural" in the Western sense. Events could and were

influenced by all of the numerous forces in the material and spiritual cosmos, favorable and adverse, from the past as well as in present. These included the individual kanaka's thoughts and attitudes, as well as his action.

* * *

Pono, or proper order or harmony of these interacting, cyclic and opposing forces required conscious effort, including each individual kanaka's participation.

Kapu (sacred restricting taboo), established by the kāhuna (priest specialists), sanctioned by the ruling aliʻi and enforced by all, was society's way of preserving pono for the common good. For the kapu fostered self-discipline and responsibility in personal hygiene, health-promotion, illness-prevention, public sanitation and respect for the sacredness of nature.

Imbalance of mana or loss of pono accounted for misfortune, such as illness.

* * *

Each child was a previous pua (flower) assuming perpetuation of the race. Adults, of course, were the promiders. And the elderly were esteemed. Death after a meaningful life was welcomed as a reuniting with one's kūpuna (ancestors) in the eternal spirutal realm, with completion of a recurring cycle of rebirth and transfiguration into kinolau or reincarnation into other human forms. Thus, the kanaka considered himself part of a continuum with his kūpuna before him, all of his present ʻohana and nature about him during his physical existence or ola (life) on earth, and with his offspring and succeeding generations after him. An individual alone without these relationships was "unthinkable."

These relationships were promoted by frequent informal, favorable thoughts and spirutal communication with himself, others and all of nature, punctuated by daily, formal rituals to maintain pono or soundness of personal kino (body), beauty and grace, skills, and social, economic and psychic security. Pono with others and with nature assured mau ke ʻea o ka ʻāina, maintenance of "the life of the land."

The traditional law of the land was aloha ʻāina, or mālama ʻāina (love and care for the land). That is, since the resources of the ʻāina nurtured kānaka maoli, it was the responsiblity of kānaka maoli to cherish and care for the ʻāina for subsequent generations. Thus, kānaka were stewards, not private owners, of the ʻāina. Their subsistence economy required mutual mālama. For the fisherman, providing his catch was not only for himself, but for all in the ahupuaʻa (sea-to-mountain region). Similarly, the taro planter shared his harvest. And the mauka (upland) forester supplied wood for his fellow ahupuaʻa residents.

> Conversely, to intentionally harm others or anything in nature, was to harm oneself...[31]

Harm to nature was harm to the self. The Wai‘anae Diet is largely spiritual. It, in fact, provides a “spiritual recipe”: “Be aware of the processes of life. As it is in man, so it is in the nature of things. Lessons learned by man from nature allows him to balanace a perfect part of life often interrupted by man and his need for assurances and guarantees. For that there is none. All guarantees are only secure if “Hā” (breath) is in the balance and perfect.”[32] The people of Wai‘anae understand intimately the relationship between health, food and spirit.

The introduction of western medicine has been systemically problematic through the Pacific. In Guam, the shift to western medicine resulted in shifts in health practices and treatments that only increased the problems brought on by colonization. Anne Perez Hattori explains:

> Western medicine introduced definitions and understandings of science, nature, and the supernatural not subscribed to by most Chamorro people. For example, the concept of medicine as clinical and laboratory based conflicted with Chamorror notions of health as both naturally and supernaturally determined. Chamorros long accustomed to comprehending their health problems in terms of the desecration of sacred places or the violation of particular cultural behaviors much been thought strange the demands of navy doctors for samples of blood, soil, fecal matter, and other laboratory specimens. To people attuned to relating their health conditions to the surrounding conditions of people, land, spirits, and weather, such diagnostic techniques may have seemed disconnected from their environmental realities.[33]

So even where foreigners have shown concern for the health of native populations, the methods by which they attempt to address these problems contribute to the community’s poor health.

Yet, restoring pono and thereby restoring health cannot be achieved without the ability to live a traditional lifestyle. This means access to land and access to water. The economic security to return to an agricultural lifestyle. Above all else, it requires foreign forces to appreciate that Native Hawaiians see their land differently. Our view of the cosmos fundamentally differs from westerns. And reversing ecocolonization will require allowing Hawaiians to live in a manner consistent with their worldviews.

(c) Trisha Kehaulani Watson

Health and Ecocolonization

There remains a tremendous need to further integrate public health and environmental health. The foundational premise of ecocolonialism remains outside most discussions on public health, even the discussions on public health among Native Hawaiians. Such exclusions are understandable considering the overwhelming lack of funding and resources provided to public health programs. Yet, if health among the

Native Hawaiian population, especially in rural, underserved areas like Wai`anae, is to be improved, we must commit ourselves to programs that appreciate the inseparable tie between the health of Native people and the land base on which they reside.

The health of the environment is directly tied to the health of its community and this is exceptional true of indigenous populations. For Native Hawaiians, environmental devastation contributes to the poor health of the people because of the deep link between nature and the people.

> It is no great surprise that kupuna, land and taro are the symbols that represent Hawaiian health. And it is no surprise that these symbols simultaneously represent Hawaiian identity. Kahea ola (the call to life), a phrase commonly used by Hawaiian health agencies, is more than a call to restore the health of the physical body. It is a call to the Hawaiian people, to the elements of their culture, to the land, to fully restore that which has been half-alive, suppressed by Western ideologies. The themes of history, land and health … are intertwined, working together to define a Hawaiian culture and identity.[34]

Therefore, when western forces consume and ravage natural resources, the destruction extends beyond "nature" into the human communities. For example, when sewage gets pumped into the ocean, we do more than simply pollute the ocean. In addition to the extensive reef destruction and injuries to the ecosystem, within traditional Hawaiian culture, such an act may also be considered as defiling Kanaloa.

Pumping sewage into the waters is only one example of the vile manner in which we treat the environment. The reality is that people use these waterways; people live in these areas. Yet the state and city regularly fail to ignore the pleas of the public and the suspect (and often chronic) health conditions that develop in areas known for being polluted.

Polluting land therefore not only sickens the land but it sickens the people. The mechanism in which it does this is three-fold. First, Native People are directly sickened through the pollutants. This logically applies to all residents in any area suffering from pollution. Yet, it is found that in Hawai`i, the people of the Wai`anae Coast are disproportionately impacted by destructive land uses. Primarily through landfills, power plants and environmentally hazardous industrial land uses, the people of Wai`anae are more like to be impacted by environmental injustices than people residing in other places in Hawai`i. The high placement of locally unwanted land uses in this region is consistent with national trends throughout the United States and the world that place hazardous land uses in poor communities with large populations of ethnic minorities or Native Americans.

Second, environmental destructive hurts the Hawaiian people spiritually. For those who see themselves as lineal ancestors of the land, the pain of environmental destruction is a real and personal one. We are physically and emotionally pained by the injuries caused to our ancestral lands. Just as with any sort of emotional trauma, this suffering can manifest itself in physical symptoms. Or, alternatively, if the emotional pain of seeing our homeland bombed and attacked does not cause actual illness, it certainly weakens the Native spirit, making us more susceptible to illness.

Finally, the Native People are injured through environmental pollution through an inability to practice their culture. For Native Peoples, whose traditional lifestyles were active and healthy, colonization stripped them of these healthy lifestyles. This began with the need to provide labor to the plantations. It now translates into the need to provide labor for tourism and the inability to return to our traditional economic systems. Now

today Hawaiians are perceived as drains upon our larger society; this perception stems largely from the colonization of the image of the Hawaiian in local media. These stereotypes only fuel the conflict between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians and further alienate an effort to restore Native lands and the Native people.

Invisible and In Your Face:
Colonizing the Image of Native Hawaiians

> Mr. Kamakawiwoole (Mr. Kamakawiwoole)
> Got plenty not too much of nothing
> Got plenty nothing, he takes it out on me
> And he's just one mean Hawaiian man
>
> From "Mistah Sun Cho Lee"
> Lyrics by Keola Beamer

> Honolulu Baby
> Where'd you get those eyes
> And that dark complexion
> I idolize
>
> Honolulu Baby
> Where'd you get that style
> And those pretty red lips
> And that sunny smile
>
> 'Neath palm trees swaying
> At Waikiki
> Honolulu baby
> You're the one for me
>
> From "Honolulu Baby" Original Music from the Laurel and Hardy Film "Sons of the Desert" (1933)
> William Axt, George M. Cohan, Marvin Hatley, Paul Marquardt, O'Donnell-Heath, Leroy Shield

This particular section focuses in how representations of the Native Hawaiian "houseless" population symbolize Native dispossession. As the above lyrics of a popular Keola and Kapono Beamer song from the 1970s emphasizes, the image of the

dispossessed Native Hawaiian has become woven into the very fabric of local stereotypes about this indigenous group. Hawaiian dispossession, in this case on the Wai`anae Coast, is the intersection between people who have been forced from their physical space (land) and ideological space (discourse). This analysis illustrates how media representations of the "houseless" population on the Wai`anae Coast reinforces disengagement and a negative public perception of this population.

Public Perception

No one has ever doubted the power of the media. Scholar Todd Gitlin revealed in 1980: "the mass media have become core systems for the distribution of ideology." Gitlin continues: "the mass media produce fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete."[35] To this end, local media, primarily in the form of local news outlets, have controlled the ways in which residents of Hawai`i view Native Hawaiians, particularly the homeless population on the Wai`anae Coast.

Media generates and reinforces imperial-based stereotypes about Native Hawaiians that serve only two primary purposes: maintenance of hegemonic structures and disabling community dissent. This seems to have always been the case for the press in Hawai`i. Queen Lili`uokalani wrote in *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*:

> And just here let me say that I have felt much perplexity over the attitude of the American press, that great vehicle of information for the people, in respect of Hawaiian affairs. Shakespeare has said it is excellent to have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous to use it like a giant. It is not merely that, with few exceptions, the press has seemed to favor the extinction of Hawaiian sovereignty, but that it has often treated me with coarse allusions and flippancy, and almost uniformly has commented upon me adversely, of has declined to publish letters from myself and friends conveying correct information upon matters which other

> correspondents had, either willfully or through being deceived, misrepresented. Perhaps in many cases *libellous* matter was involved. Possibly the press was not conscious of how cruelly it was exerting its strength, and will try, I now trust, to repair the injury.[36]

No such effort occurred. As shown through Lili`uokalani's expressed frustrations, the press not only favored non-Hawaiians, but it hindered dissent by failing to publish letters from those who supported Hawaiians. These functions fall directly in-line with Gitlin's incantation of Gramsci, in which Gitlin explains: "hegemony operat[es] through a complex web of social activities and institutional procedures. Hegemony is done by the dominant and collaborated in by the dominated."[37] Further, the media operates to control dissent, generally through the control of ideology and communication resources. These purposes serve a higher cause: colonization.

Colonization is about money. Colonizers do not just colonize for the thrill of it; they colonize because colonization allows a finite number of individuals to become extremely wealthy. So where the introduction discussed how Hawai`i *became* colonized, this chapter begins to reveal how Hawai`i *stays* colonized. For the continued colonization of Hawai`i (or any colonized population) requires two elements: 1) the maintenance of existing power structures; 2) oppression of resistance efforts. The local media works relentlessly towards these goals.

Any colonizing group needs to stay in power and doing so requires a concerted effort to make sure that no one else ever gets powerful enough to strip them of their power. As White notes: "It seems clear that the colonial encounter challenged local forms of meaning and power to a degree never experienced before" (White 3). Therefore, an analysis of how meaning and power interact within this local colony is necessary to any conversation on the continued subjugation of the Hawaiian people. The local

colonial encounter would have a particularly profound impact on Native understandings of illness, death and religion. Beginning here, understanding "the epidemic" of homelessness becomes much easier.

No one has ever doubted the power of the media. Todd Gitlin noted in 1980: "the mass media have become core systems for the distribution of ideology." Gitlin continued: "the mass media produce fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete."[38] To this end, local media, primarily in the form of local news outlets, controlled the ways in which residents of Hawai`i view Native Hawaiians. Native Hawaiians therefore continue to suffer at the hands of a mass media machine that stereotypes them in a fashion that perpetuates them as "happy Natives" and keeps them subjugated and oppressed.

Media generates and reinforces imperial-based stereotypes about Native Hawaiians that serve only two primary purposes: maintenance of hegemonic structures and disabling community dissent. These functions are particularly important in a colonized society like Hawai`i. These functions fall directly in-line with Gitlin's incantation of Gramsci, in which Gitlin explains: "hegemony operat[es] through a complex web of social activities and institutional procedures. Hegemony is done by the dominant and collaborated in by the dominated."[39] Further, the media operates to control dissent, generally through the control of ideology and communication resources. These purposes serve a higher cause: colonization.

Myth and Media

Myth and folklore play a unique role in Hawai`i. We have been defined and destroyed by myth, particularly myths of spirituality. Native identity (used here as

identity created by the Native people to identify themselves) has been governed by myth for the majority of our history. Beginning with the kumulipo, the creation chant, Native people have turned to myth to understand our history and culture.

Yet, after contact, the role of myth changed drastically, perhaps not among the kanaka themselves, but certainly as a device used by haole for Native identification (the process by which non-Hawaiians created an image of the Native and asserted it onto the Native people). The process by which haole misappropriated the image of the Native relied largely on the haole monopoly of the English language and a western epistemology that favored written documentation over the Natives' oral traditions. Once haole writers gained control over Native identification through control of the discourse – they never let go. As Haunani Kay Trask notes: "the Hollywood, tourist poster image of my homeland as a racial paradise with happy Natives waiting to share their culture with everyone and anyone is a familiar global commodity."[40]

This power of discourse has been written on at length. Therefore a full analysis of this literature need not be recounted here. More important than theories of discursive power are examples of how haole used their discursive power via mass media against the Native people, particularly in the culture of colonization. A dominant haole culture came to control media ideologies about the Native people – thus enabling the growing tourism industry of the early 20th century. In *Staging Tourism*, Jane Desmond wrote: "During the 1930s, Hawaiian cultural practices become increasingly commodified, and the tourist industry consolidates its reliance on live performance. Selected cultural practices which once circulated mainly in noncommercial social contexts now enter the case economy, marketed for outsiders. This commodification is aided by an emerging anthropological

discourse of culture which links notions of distinctive practices and products to specific population groups."[41] Therefore, we see here, as Trask does, how media images of the Hawaiian are linked to the needs of a tourist industry that depends on a certain stereotypical image of the Native Hawaiians.

Yet, the stereotypes of the Hawaiians generated by mass media are more insidious than this. Couple the positions of Trask and Desmond with Elizabeth Buck's analysis of Hawai`i's political economy. Buck writes: "The colonial structure depended on coercion, rather than consent, for social stability. The dominant material practices of the islands were not grounded in commonly shared systems of religion, culture, or language but were controlled by an ideology of plantation capitalism and racism ascribed to be a small but powerful minority."[42] Therefore, the stereotypes generated by the mass media about Hawaiians served not only an economic interest in which Natives served as "noble savage" lures to wealthy Americans, but it also acted to maintain an ideology of colonization within the islands. As noted, the continued colonization of the Hawaiian islands depends largely upon a lack of organized resistance. A divisive use of the mass media and the continuous regeneration of the image of the Native as either passive (as in the case of tourism) or irrational (as in the case of sovereignty) allow colonization to continue.

The damage of such paternalistic coverage amplifies in colonized and disenfranchised communities, because these communities' demonstrated need for social support. Social support largely depends on public perception, therefore when the media skews the coverage of a particular group or issue a certain way – the public is largely influenced by this perception. When the public buys into the stereotypes created by mass

media, colonization persists in that subjugated people receive little or no support from the larger community. Jennifer Bowie explains: "For society's out-groups – minorities, activists, and anyone else who stands outside the mainstream – the question of how they are portrayed by the media has become paramount. Society has become dependent upon the media to make sense of the variety of events and situations that occur in the world every day. The framework in which these events and situations are presented impacts the way society perceives them."[43] The process of situating media coverage within a specific framework is commonly referred to as *framing*. Bowie explains: "individuals are able to determine and define what is going on around them through the use of frames. Communication researchers have adopted and contributed to the concept of framing by addressing how frames are used to shape the information that appears in the mass media as well as the ways in which these frames affect how audiences perceive what they read and see."[44] Therefore, the public is not influenced by any of the "truth" of colonization of the subjugation of the Native Hawaiian people, rather they are influenced only by how the media frames this particular group.

One of the most divisive tools of framing is the stereotype. And if the stereotype that most hurts the Native and any effort to resist colonization. Stereotypes about the Native Hawaiian have existed for as long as westerners have been coming to Hawai`i. Bowie states: "Stereotypes tend to perpetuate an invalid set of assumed characteristics/generalizations of out-group members. They can inform the audience of a group's socioeconomic status as well as personality traits."[45] The stereotypes about Native Hawaiians are varied depending on the issue at hand. For the purposes of tourism, we are happy Natives, willing and eager to perform. Trask explains: "Above all, Hawai`i

is 'she,' the Western image of the Native 'female' in her magical allure. And if luck prevails, some of 'her' will rub off on you, the visitor."[46] In the arena of sovereignty, we are "angry, irrational Natives." Portrayed as lazy or criminal, the media can be relentlessly unforgiving in its effort to ensure the larger community never sympathizes with Hawai`i's indigenous people.

The media wields tremendous power in maintain the divide between Hawaiians and the rest of the community. Communications Professor David Domke noted: "Many have theorized that the press's selection and framing of language, news, opinion, and perceptions conveys and abets a social reality that legitimates the practices and ideas of the dominant social class… According to this view, certain ideologies embedded in media representations and frames are presented as common sense: that is, they are unchallenged, appearing as natural or "grounded in everyday reality," thereby encouraging their acceptance by audience members.[47] Therefore, the beliefs people have about Native Hawaiians are not even perceived as "stereotypes," but rather facts grounded in reality. This is the power of hegemony. Ideologies become so entrenched in our belief systems that most people never even think to question them.

Homelessness as "an Epidemic" and Other Modern Media Myths

In recent years, despite a natural geographic isolation of the region, the media has turned its lens on the "homeless epidemic" among the Native Hawaiian people. And while one might naturally consider such attention to be beneficial to a community in dire need of public support, the attention of mass media does not necessarily lead to improvements in the situation being discussed. For mass media often operates to maintain the status quo, instead of generating change. It has been written: "Most studies

of the mass media view them as either an agent of social change or an agent of social control."[48] In the case of Hawai`i, mass media serves only to reinforce an oppressive discourse about Native Hawaiians originally created by members of the late 19th century's haole oligarchy. Viswanath and Demers state: "the media as an agent of social control is often traced to the writings of Karl Marx, who drew attention to the role of ideology in supporting the interests, goals and actions of the 'ruling class.' Ideology prevented the emergence of class consciousness, which was seen as a necessary condition for revolution."[49] This analysis of the visual culture generated by the local print media illustrate emphasize this malignant role. This particular treatment also leans towards the views put forth by the Frankfurt School, which sees the media as oppressive. Todd Gitlin, in his seminal text, *The Whole World is Watching*, looked at the power of media, particularly visual media, in controlling the perception the public had about a certain group.

The depiction of homelessness as an "epidemic" is particularly interesting, especially considering the significant role of epidemics in Hawai`i's colonial history. Epidemics occupy a notably significant role in Hawai`i because of the devastating impact epidemics had on the population, nearly wiping out the entire Native population between the arrival of foreigners in the late 18th century through the 20th century. Yet, epidemics would also occupy a very special place in Hawaiian ideology, particularly after the arrival of the missionaries and Christianity.

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for the majority of our history. Beginning with the kumulipo, the creation chant, Native people have turned to myth to understand our history and culture.

Yet, after contact, the role of myth changed drastically, perhaps not among the kanaka themselves, but certainly as a device used by haole for Native identification (the process by which non-Hawaiians created an image of the Native and asserted it onto the Native people). The process by which haole misappropriated the image of the Native relied largely on the haole monopoly of the English language and a western epistemology that favored written documentation over the Natives' oral traditions. Once haole writers gained control over Native identification through control of the discourse – they never let go.

This power of discourse has been written on at length. Therefore a full analysis of this literature need not be recounted here. More important than theories of discursive power are examples of how haole used their discursive power against the Native people.

This discursive power, particularly during a time of race-selective and devastating plagues, allowed to haole to convince the Native people that the epidemics that befell them were the work of an angry God. The diseases came with the haole. Much is known now, but *then* both Native and non-Native alike believed that these were the work of a divine power. The impact of plagues and religions on Hawai'i is a book yet to be written, yet this much is vital to this project: haole coupled every epidemic that fell upon the Native people with rhetoric insisting that the Native people brought catastrophe upon themselves. Natives were responsible for and deserved the tragedies that befell them.

It is essential to emphasize this racist and incorrect dialogue because it continues today. In 2003, the *Honolulu Advertiser* published an article entitled "Homelessness

reaches 'critical mass' in Wai`anae," included this rhetoric of "epidemic." And like the epidemics of the 18th and 19th centuries, implications of the Natives' role in their own tragedy accompany discussions of the problem. There is no indication that the problems Hawaiians face today are in anyway related to (or the direct result of) the continued colonization of the Native people.

The damage of such paternalistic coverage amplifies in colonized and disenfranchised communities, because these communities' demonstrated need for social support. Social support largely depends on public perception, therefore when the media skews the coverage of a particular group or issue a certain way – the public is largely influenced by this perception. Jennifer Bowie explains: "For society's out-groups – minorities, activists, and anyone else who stands outside the mainstream – the question of how they are portrayed by the media has become paramount. Society has become dependent upon the media to make sense of the variety of events and situations that occur in the world every day. The framework in which these events and situations are presented impacts the way society perceives them."[50] The process of situating media coverage within a specific framework is commonly referred to as *framing*. Bowie explains: "individuals are able to determine and define what is going on around them through the use of frames. Communication researchers have adopted and contributed to the concept of framing by addressing how frames are used to shape the information that appears in the mass media as well as the ways in which these frames affect how audiences perceive what they read and see."[51] Yet, framing can also be used to marginalize groups, as is the case with the Native Hawaiian homeless population on the Wai`anae Coast.

One of the most divisive tools of framing is the stereotype. Bowie states: "Stereotypes tend to perpetuate an invalid set of assumed characteristics/generalizations of out-group members. They can inform the audience of a group's socioeconomic status as well as personality traits."[52] The case of the Native Hawaiian homeless population in Waianae becomes a fascinating case study because it includes not only the force of colonialism and racism but discrimination against the poor. In this regard, this population faces the perfect storm of discrimination: they are poor, indigenous minorities. The media claims to simply document life as it happens. This is not the case. The article opened:

> It resembles something out of John Steinbeck's 1939 novel of the Depression, "The Grapes of Wrath" — a hard dirt shanty town consisting of a couple of dozen flimsy dwellings fashioned from wooden pallets and broken-down vehicles. Plastic tarps strung between them provide meager protection from the elements.
>
> With no shade, the makeshift homes become dusty sweatboxes by day. When rain roared through last week, tarpaulins gave way and shelters turned to mudholes.
>
> For eight weeks, nearby residents have stared nervously at this throwback to a 1930s "Hooverville" that's sprouted off Farrington Highway next to the Wai'anae Boat Harbor.[53]

The image above appears to support the sentiments expressed in this article. Yet, they were made to do so.

We see similar treatment of Native Hawaiian subjects in the visual images generated by political cartoons at the height of American imperialism. In these images, we see how Native Hawaiians are widely characterized as insolent children, even lazy. While clearly a stretch from the images placed in print media today, we nonetheless see a continuation of dispossession. Just as in the late 19th century, Native Hawaiians today continue to lack the agency to control how we are represented to the public at large. In

this regard, the distance between the racist political cartoons of the overthrow era and the dehumanizing photographs being used to document the Native Hawaiian "houseless" population are not nearly as far apart as one may believe.

The media wields tremendous power in maintain the divide between Hawaiians and the rest of the community. Communications Professor David Domke has noted:

> Many have theorized that the press's selection and framing of language, news, opinion, and perceptions conveys and abets a social reality that legitimates the practices and ideas of the dominant social class… According to this view, certain ideologies embedded in media representations and frames are presented as common sense: that is, they are unchallenged, appearing as natural or "grounded in everyday reality," thereby encouraging their acceptance by audience members.[54]

The visual images generated by the local print media support this view. It seems that photographers have gone out of their way to create visual representations that appear "natural," even if a considerable amount of manipulation and staging are required to create this perception. The way we "see" Native Hawaiians (as a general public) has changed little in the last 150 years. Natives are still categorically seen as lazy, undeserving, and angry. It was the racist rhetoric that enabled the dispossession of Natives in the 19th century and it has been used continuously ever since to keep Hawaiians displaced.

So why do the homeless participate? Many genuinely believe that exposure through the media may generate public support or empathy from state officials. Such a belief is not unwarranted. Scholars have noted that there exists "a subsystem in which the media serve as an intermediary mechanism between the governors and the governed."[55] Goldenberg explains:

> Unless a group has direct access to the government officials dealing with its interest, group members interested in influencing those officials must attempt to influence them indirectly. The media are often involved in indirect attempts to influence policy. They are key access points to public officials for all groups. Through the media, issues are frequently brought to the attention of the public and of government officials. News coverage is used by groups in gaining status and visibility, in expanding the scope of conflict, in reinforcing attitudes, in activating third parties on their behalf, and in gaining a hearing in the political process.[56]

Therefore, the homeless are largely reliant on the media. They need to media to make their pleas for support to the general public. Yet, until Native Hawaiians have more control over the images and rhetoric being disseminated by the press, the houseless are more likely to suffer as the hands of the media than find support there.

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A competing discourse would bring to light the interrelatedness of Native issues. What ecofeminism gives us is the ability to see how classism, racism, gender discrimination and land issues are all symptomatic one a single force: colonization. The American cultural stronghold over Hawai`i relies on two elements: the colonization of

people and the colonization of land. The dominant visual discourse in Hawai`i allows for this colonization.

The discourse disengages the "homeless" population from the surrounding environment. We cannot allow these issues and struggles to be separated. The media disvalues the environment just as it devalues Natives. We can no longer afford to tolerate either. In addition to respecting and incorporating the Native texts, we must always be diligent in our effort to create new texts that challenge the dominant discourses present in today's society. Only through actively challenging dominant ideologies through our own texts and our Native ideologies can be begin to reclaim the intellectual landscapes still occupied by foreign voices.

On August 20, 1960, revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara made the following statement to a group of Cuban medical students:

> We must then begin to erase our old concepts and come ever closer and ever more critically to the people. Not in the way we got closer before, because all of you will say: "No, I am a friend of the people. I enjoy talking with workers and peasants, and on Sundays I go to such and such a place to see such and such a thing." Everybody has done that. But they have done it practising charity, and what we have to practise today is solidarity. We should not draw closer to the people to say: "Here we are. We come to give you the charity of our presence, to teach you with our science, to demonstrate your errors, your lack of refinement, your lack of elementary knowledge." We should go with an investigative seal and with a humble spirit, to learn from the great source of wisdom that is the people.[57]

Che's words have been inspiring community leaders for forty-five years. Grassroots workers (more than state institutions and more than the academy) seem to fundamentally understand the importance of community and the people. These words reflect the spirit of the people who guided my journey. They remind me fondly of the sentiments of Aunty Puanani Burgess:

He Alo A He Alo

(Face to Face)

He alo a he alo,
(Face to face)

That's how you learn about what makes us weep.

He alo a he alo,
(Face to face)

That's how you learn about what makes us bleed.

He alo a he alo,
(Face to face)

That's how you learn about what makes us feel.
what makes us work.
what makes us sing.
what makes us bitter.
what makes us fight.
what makes us laugh.
what makes us stand against the wind.
what makes us sit in the flow of power.
what makes us, us.

Not from a distance.
Not from miles away
Not from a book
Not from an article you read
Not from the newspaper
Not from what somebody told you
Not from a "reliable source"
Not from what you think
Not from a cliff
Not from a cave
Not from your reality
Not from your darkness

But,

He alo a he alo
(Face to face)

Or,

Else,

Pa`a ka waha (Shut tight, your mouth)

`A`ohe o kahi nana o luna o ka pali;
iho mai a lalo nei;
`ike i ke au nui ke au iki;
He alo a he alo.
(The top of the cliff isn't the place to look at us;
come down here and learn of the big and little current,
face to face.)

And come and help us dig, the lo`i, deep.[58]

Gitlin concludes *The Whole World is Watching* with a warning:

> As the mass media have suffused social life, they have become crucial fields for the definition of social meaning – partially contested zones in which the hegemonic ideology meets its partial challenges and then adapts. The cultural industries, including the news organizations, produce self-contradictory artifacts, balancing here, absorbing there, framing and excluding and disparaging, working in complicated ways to manage and contain cultural resistance, to turn it to use as commodity and to tame and isolate intractable movements and ideas. In the process, they may actually magnify and hasten manageable forms of political change. One thing seems certain: the society will go on helplessly manufacturing, and deforming, the opposition it deserves; yet as long as the political economy continues to deliver what the majority define as the essential goods, the legitimacy crisis of the system as a whole will likely remain within bounds. A resistible hegemony is resisted because it cannot satisfy human needs; it cannot be taken entirely for granted; it is hegemony in process.[59]

Individuals have a right to create meaning for themselves; to be more than subjects and Others. As long as media and meaning-making go uncontested, we are no more than the stereotypes generated by the media. Smith illustrated how those stereotypes become internalized. This then begs one to wonder if the conflicts and rivalries that exist within subjugated groups are legitimate conflicts or rather the products of internalized meanings created by the media. How often do we really stop to think about the messages the media bombards us with on a daily basis? Can we ever really know how they affect us? How do we know where the media constructed self ends and our "true" selves begin?

Freire makes an interesting comment on freedom and the importance of subjugated and oppressed people being willing to fight for their freedom. He writes: "The oppressed, having internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines, are fearful of freedom. Freedom would require them to eject this image and replace it with autonomy and responsibility. Freedom is acquired by conquest, not by gift. It must be pursued constantly and responsibly. Freedom is not an ideal located outside of man; nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion."[60] This is an interesting idea - that we are somehow incomplete as human beings until we begin to fight for our identity and for our own liberation. I imagine this would be an incredibly inspiring idea to the colonized indigenous people throughout the world, like the Native Hawaiians, who continue to struggle on the many fronts on which colonization occurs for liberation.

Freedom from colonization requires contestation of the stereotypes of Native Hawaiian identity is only one front. The contestation of visual discourses and visual media is only one site of this contestation. Yet, it is a site with the potential to empower people at the grassroots level. It allows subordinated people to share their visions of their world. It allows them to empower their efforts to define their places as sacred. To show the world that colonization is not about being lazy or angry, but that colonization permeates the lives of Native Hawaiians in vicious and violent ways on a daily basis. That our lands and important and beautiful. The violence of ecocolonization remains invisible to the outside world. This too enables stereotypes to persist.

Ho`oponopono

The Native Hawaiian people today are not pono. We have not been for over 200 years. We did not cause this hihia. So we alone cannot resolve it. We must find a way to ho`oponopono with the foreign forces that cripple us.

Hawaiians understand that being pono is critical to our well-being. As the Wai`anae Diet explains: "Loss of pono, or loss of balance, was believed to be the cause of all illness. In terms of physical health, loss of pono can be caused by eating the wrong foods. In ancient Hawai`i, the ahupua`a system helped maintain this balance, as this system of land division provided a manner in which people could have access to foods from the highlands down to the sea. In this way, the people were assured of having a balanced diet of a variety of foods."[61] And while this passage focuses on food, the reality of the situation demands attention to the forces that make it so difficult for the people of Wai`anae to feed themselves. These are issues of water, land rights, property prices and usage, healthy families capable of tending to agricultural parcels. We cannot discuss the restoration of the health of the Hawaiian people vacuously.

Public policy critically hinders the reversal of the trends of ecocolonization: poor health, land loss, poverty, violence. Policies and laws serve as a means of institutionalizing ecocolonization and the hegemonic mindsets that alienate Hawaiians and struggles from the general population. The reality is that these policies, ones that encourage destruction of natural resources and rampant industrialization and development hurt everyone. We, kama`āina and hoa`āina, share this `āina. We must come together. We must come together to resolve our differences or the pains of Wai`anae will be the future of all these islands and all their people.

I am a true believer. Much of this work comes from my na`au. My na`au holds the only truths I know to be true. All other things are fallible. I believe in my home. I believe in my people. I believe in the capacity of my community to enlighten and inspire anyone. I believe in my Akua, my `aumākua, my kūpuna. I believe they guide my hand as I write this. I believe in my people can survive this and thrive. I believe the Hawai`i my mo`opuna live in will be better than the one that exists today. I believe we all ho`i hou iā Papahānaumoku.

I believe.

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Conclusion:
Ho`i Hou iā Papahānaumoku

> The valley is a woman lying on her back, legs spread wide, her geography wet by constant rain. Waterfalls wash the days and nights of winter storms into the river that empties into the froth of the sea.
>
> In the valley, the rain is a gossamer cloth, a tempest of water and leaves. The rain is southerly with strange foreboding. The rain is northerly with cool rime.
>
> The rain glistens on maiden fern, the wind rustling the laua`e, the palapalai touching her there where it is always wet and seamy.
>
> The valley is a woman with the features of a face, a woman whose eyes watch the procession of the celestial sphere; a woman with woodland arms outstretched and vulnerable, a woman with shadowy breasts of `a`ali`i and hāpu`u, lobelias and lichens; a woman, a womb, impregnated earth.
>
> O body.
>
> Lois Ann Yamanaka
> *Behold the Many* (2006)

The greatest struggle for Native academics is the attempt to put the knowledges that arise from our indigenous experiences and ancestral senses in an academically acceptable framework. He Hawai`i au. I am Hawai`i. Therefore, my most valuable information does not come from an archive or a book, but from *being Hawai`i*. Understanding ecocolonization as a result grows from a community discourse. The conversations we have as a Hawaiian community. The things we know. The things we experience. Things that are largely intangible. They are the conclusions we have drawn from the stories that compose our lives, our family's lives, our kūpuna's lives: our history. Woven intricately into this tale are places and customs that are as much the

fibers of our being as our minds and our bodies. Papahānaumoku is part of our kino; nohona Hawai`i is part of our mana`o. We cannot be separated from them. To colonized and abuse one is to colonize and abuse the other.

A couple months ago I was asked to come and speak at a community meeting in Nanakuli about the PVT Landfill. I wrote about the landfill and community in my master's thesis. The concern was that the neighboring landfill in the Waimanalo Gulch would be shut down and that the PVT landfill was the only active landfill capable of immediately receiving the solid waste from throughout the County, which included the entire island of O`ahu.

The meeting was held at an old church in Nānākuli; it was not easy to find. You had to turn left by 7-11 on a different street and travel down a series of backroads to find the church, quietly tucked away in a quaint but densely populated neighborhood. I arrived in the early evening and parked my car down the street, immediately noticing the large, dark mountain slope of property behind the church. As I approached the church, I realized that the landfill ran adjacent to the church and was only separated from it by a thin, worn black tarp. There were holes where the tarp had torn. Looking through them, there was not much to see but shadowy darkness.

I had not eaten all day, so I parked myself near a plate of Famous Amos cookies and listened as various community people socialized. They spoke with obvious frustration, as this was yet another in a series of countless meetings, hearings and informational briefings they had taken the time to attend. They spoke with great concern about the closing of the Waimanalo Gulch landfill, as many had been in Nānākuli for multiple generations, long before there was ever a construction dump in their backyards.

None wanted to see their backyards become the primary solid waste dump for the entire island.

I stood there and gave them information about causation and environmental litigation. I told them how my own husband, who grew up only 20 minutes away from that church, suspiciously contracted cancer at age 28. From that, resident after resident stood up and told tales of their own cancers, tumors and illnesses. Many who stood were terminally ill - inexplicably terminally ill. And as I tried to respond, I felt tremendous sadness and helplessness, but more importantly I felt sick. I literally felt sick.

I have the great disfortune of being allergic to mold and other aerial irritants. I need to stay indoors on days when the vog from the volcano on Moku o Keawe turns the air of Mānoa into an eerie haze. Should I venture outside for too long, I am likely to end up on steroids to keep my throat from swelling shut. Within an hour of that meeting in Nānākuli, I could barely breathe. I recognized all the signs of my exposure to a high level of allergens: I was congested; my throat itched and felt inflamed; I had difficulty swallowing. I had not even thought to bring my allergy medication as it was an otherwise clear and breezy day and my allergies had not bothered me for weeks. Yet, I stood there holding a report from the State which explained how the landfill had no impacts upon the community. I stood there in the conflict zone between science and knowledge. I surely would have been unable to prove that my symptoms were caused by the landfill; I nonetheless knew they were. We regard science with an infallibility that results in the displacement of what our senses, both in the present and the ancestral meaning, tell us. As a result, Native knowledges become displaced, both within the discourse and within the individual.

We encourage individuals to trust their instincts but fail to create space in which that can occur. For above all else, Native Hawaiians suffer from a lack of trust: a lack of trust in themselves; a lack of trust in their community; a lack of trust in their culture; a lack of trust in their kūpuna; a lack of trust in Papahānaumoku.

Akua

|

Kūpuna

|

Community ----- Kanaka Hawai`i -----Culture

|

Papahānaumoku

I know this: being pono for me involves a series of beliefs and practices: a belief in Akua, the gods; respect for your kūpuna, both present and past; it demands respect for yourself; it requires involvement in the Hawaiian community; practicing the customs of the culture; relationship to the land. When exercising our identity we mālama each of these elements. To mālama the different aspects of our identity is critical, because to mālama something you must more than simply believe in it, you must care for it. When we care for something we are bound to it by a sense of reciprocity and interconnectedness.

Mālama Akua. We must have an active relationship with the gods, whichever god(s) we believe in, Hawaiian or not. Belief in a benevolent god(s) gives us faith in a

higher power and respect that there are things greater than ourselves. I believe that adhering to the traditional beliefs of Hawaiian polytheistic spiritual practices leads to a stronger relationship with the land than belief in Judeo-Christian religious practices, but I found that the two are not mutually exclusive. Rather, it seems many Hawaiians developed spiritual beliefs that allow for self-identification as "Christians" while still demonstrating practices that suggest a continued belief or at least respect for traditional spiritual ideologies. This would be an interesting area for further study.

Mālama Kūpuna. Embedded within the notion of mālama kūpuna are two separate practices: the caring for family and the caring for our identity. Continued involvement with kūpuna is critical for any Hawaiian. These are truly reciprocal relationships, of which the younger members are always the greater benefactors. Kūpuna continuously teach us. They are our greatest resources of our Hawaiian identity and greatest social controls. They are the greatest teachers we have. For any Hawaiian, the approval of our kūpuna is very important. They provide us with feedback, often only through non-verbal communication (i.e., certain looks, behaviors), that let us know if we are pololei, if we are correct in our behavior and moving forward in a pono way. I will give an example.

During the process of naming the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, a committee of approximately twenty of us agreed as to a process by which revered kūpuna would be asked to provide names. The group would select a name from among those put forward by the kūpuna, each of whom had a close relationship to the islands through mo`oku`āuhau (genealogy) or hana (work or practice). Two of the three kūpuna asked agreed to participate and provide names, an honor to our group unto itself. We held a

meeting for the kūpuna to share the names with the group and provide their mana`o behind them. After this occurred and people from the group were sharing their mana`o or thoughts on the names provided, an individual entered into the room, noticeably and considerably late, and put forward a name.

This person had not been asked to provide a name, nor had this individual been at the previous meaning when the process was selected. In my opinion, this behavior was `a`ole pono. It was disrespectful to the group and extremely disrespectful to the kūpuna who had provided names. I sat there steaming - trying to decide what to do - but then the kūpuna did the most amazing thing. At almost exactly the same, although they were across the room from each other, both kūpuna simply got up, politely said they had other places to get to, and left. Neither had to say anything, their behavior spoke volumes about their disapproval.

Those of us who understood just how severe a reprimand that was to that individual were very concerned and extremely embarrassed for the person who had intruded into the process, even if that person was oblivious to her own behavior. We would eventually select a name given to one of the kūpuna (in a dream) who in turn gave it to us: Papahānaumokuākea, a celebration of the union between Papahānaumoku and Wākea and a recognition of the unification of all the Hawaiian Islands, from Maunakea (or Mauna a Wākea) where Papa and Wākea first came together, up to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands.

The name now serves as a constant reminder of the sacred nature of those islands. It also serves to remind us that Papa and Wākea are also our kūpuna. Every Hawaiian can trace their genealogy back to them, as Kumu Cy Bridges did recently at the

rededication of Waimea Valley on O`ahu. He literally traced and chanted his genealogy from Papa and Wākea to himself. He Hawai`i kākou; we are Hawai`i.

The other element of mālama kūpuna relates to the `olelo nō`eau "Ola Ka Inoa," the name lives. A value taught to me by Uncle Earl Kawa`a, Ola Ka Inoa reminds us that we are a reflection of our family. The kūpuna teach us our name is the first gift from our family. Therefore, we must always act honorably as to not shame that name or our family. We must constantly care for the kuleana we carry as a result of our birth heritage. We must always remain mindful of who our kūpuna were and remember that they are always with us. My beloved Aunty Nickie Hines always reminds me that my kūpuna are always with me, watching me, caring for me. It is both an overwhelming and empowering realization that we are carrying the mana of all of our ancestors who came before us. In return, we care for them by bringing pride and honor to the name and legacy they gave us.

When we mālama kūpuna, we also intrinsically mālama keiki. When we are being honorable and faithful to the traditions of our kūpuna, we create a loving and powerful familial environment in which our children learn to mālama kūpuna. Through this we naturally feed the Hawaiian lifecycle, where mana and `ike are constantly transforming, passing into different forms and into succeeding generations.

Mālama Kino. This is caring for ourselves; caring for our bodies; our kino. As shown in the previous chapter on Hawaiian health, ill health among Hawaiian presents a tremendous obstacle in the effort to maintain and restore Hawaiian control over natural resources. This impedes the Hawaiian community's ability to combat political oppression. Therefore, we have an obligation to tend to our individual physical health.

*Mālama Hawai`i*. This is caring for Hawai`i and caring for Hawaiians. By reinforcing our notion of community, we are empowering our traditional culture. Caring for each other as Hawaiians means working in harmony to establish environments that allow for Hawaiians to prosper. It means being steadfast in putting community before self. This includes commitments to our culture: `olelo Hawai`i, mea no`eau, mo`olelo.

Mālama `Āina. Care for the land. Caring for the land is a cultural practice. Stewardship lies at the very core of our identity as Hawaiians. Through caring for the land, we share stories about the land, learn the legends of our landscapes, see and feel our history. We learn the different properties of plants. We practice planting and cultivation techniques. We practice diversified agriculture. We practice aquaculture. We create biodiversity. We learn about, perpetuate, and pay homage to our gods. We participate in a healthy, sustainable lifestyle: farm locally, minimize waste, and use organic and biodegradable materials. It also provides opportunity to exercise and use our energy for productive purposes. Mālama `Āina is where the journey back to Papahānaumoku begins and ends.

As with all things Hawaiians, these values are also cyclical. They originate from above, mālama akua, pass through our ancestors, into ourselves, to our community, and down into the lepo (soil), where we again find akua: Papahānaumoku. But in the `āina we find not just Papa, in the `āina we find all our akua: Kane, Kanaloa, Hi`iaka, Kū. When we realize this, the act of mālama kino becomes very important, because we are bringing our akua into our kino.

Ecocolonization therefore becomes the act of disrupting these relationships and these practices. This disruption is what makes us `a`ole pono or unbalanced. It leads to

social unrest, economic hardship, political disempowerment, and poor health. As with our practices, ecocolonization is primarily about a sacred relationship to our surrounding ecology. Decolonization begins with this sacred relationship. The land is the embodiment of our beliefs and our culture. It is the foundation of our native identity.

It is critical for the Hawaiian people to move from the preservation of their culture to the active practice of our culture. It is no longer enough to simply identify and recognize nohona Hawai`i; we must actively live nohona Hawai`i. Take the example of the Latin language. It is taught. It is used. It is studied. Yet, since it is not used in conversation, we consider it a dead language. The same principle holds true of cultural values; their true value comes from their practice.

I have witnessed the disconnect between the way institutions views the protection and preservation of a culture versus the way the community protects and preserves culture. Within the community, we as `ōpio are taught by kūpuna practices and behaviors, not simply ideas or concepts. Ma ka hana ka `ike. In doing one learns. Books teach us aloha, laulima, lokahi. Kupuna teach us actions: ho`omanawanui; pololei. We are not taught "Hawaiian values," because proper values are intrinsic in proper behavior.

I am reminded again one of my role models, Aunty Loretta Ritte, who often gently reminds me: ho`omanawanui; pololei. So I will share a mo`olelo of an experience I had with the Ritte `ohana in Hālawa Valley on Moloka`i.

In spring of 2006, a series of devastating floods swept through the islands. In Hālawa Valley on the island of Moloka`i, a flood washed through the kahawai (stream), washing away the manowai (dam). For the `auwai system, irrigation system, in Hālawa still actively employed many traditional aspects, including a manowai that was not

cemented so it would wash away in the event of a flood, saving the lo`i from flooding and destruction. Yet, the manowai was now in need of reconstruction, as the manowai diverts water from the kahawai into the po`owai at the head of the `auwai or irrigation system that took water to the lo`i kalo. Traditionally, there would have been enough residents in the valley, either in the kauhale system, extended family unit, or in the ahupua`a to help rebuild the manowai immediately after the flood. As such, depopulation, urbanization and other forces left the valley without the labor force needed to reconstruct the manowai. Thus, water was not flowing into the auwai and the lo`i was dry. The food supply was dying: the kalo was wilting and turning yellow from the lack of water in the lo`i.

I happened to be on Moloka`i a couple days later. A group of middle school children were visiting from O`ahu as well. Responding to a request for assistance from residents in the valley, Uncle Walter, as usual, pulled a group to together to go help in Hālawa. I was among the people in that group.

Hanohano Naehu, Kalaniua Ritte and I drove one of a number of pick-up trucks full of students into the valley. The students were typical middle school children: full of energy and excitement, expressing particular excitement over the promised trip to the beach after. We got to the end of the road, near the beach entrance. We walked into the valley. As every gets ready to oli kāhea, Hanohano barks at me: "Back of the line, Honolulu Hawaiian." I quietly pad to the back of the crowd. After awaiting residents and friends oli komo and allow us into the valley, it is explained that we are to help rebuild the manowai and restore the water to the lo`i. Hano, Ua and I go in first. We have to remove all the rocks and other debris from the po`owai and `auwai. The kids

come in next to start rebuilding the wall. I remember that everyone is loud and energetic at first, not yet appreciating how labor-intensive the work is. The rocks blocking the `auwai are fairly large and heavy. Within about a half hour, my arms and back are aching. But no one else is slowing down or stopped, so neither do I, but we are all much quieter. We get the `auwai and po`owai cleared. The manowai get bigger and starts to hold the water back. We are working in chest deep water by then. Diving down to find rocks. Swimming them up and down the kahawai. We run out of rocks in the immediate vicinity and a line of people naturally forms to bring down more rocks from upstream. There is very little talking. Somehow we all just know what to do.

Nobody stopped to give these students a "lesson" on Hawaiian values. No one stopped to explain we needed to think about "laulima" or "lokahi." The mākua just stepped forward to do it. The `ōpio just fell in line. Behaviors were observed and mimicked over the course of completing this task together. Behaviors were learned and embraced by the students. Intrinsic in those behaviors were many Hawaiian values and principles, but no one stopped to point that out or explain them. It was not necessary. All anyone needed was to be put back on the land; ua ho`i hou iā Papahānaumoku. Returned to Papahānaumoku.

The most amazing part of the day occurred after we finished restoring the dam and reopened the `auwai. Uncle Walter told the kids they were pau, and they could go to the beach now. For all the excitement they expressed on the way there about the beach, not one went. Not one. They all stayed to watch the water return to the lo`i. Some even ran down the `auwai with the water. They sat around the banks of the lo`i just watching the water flow into the patches. Their faces beamed with pride. I occasionally run into

people from that day; we always discuss what an amazing experience it was. How it stayed with us. Changed us.

The problems that Hawaiians face today will only begin to find resolution when Hawaiians take it upon themselves to live as Hawaiians. We must restore our culture and community from within. If we are to restore pono (physiologically, socially, culturally, environmentally), we must restore nohona Hawai`i.

So what does anyone care? Why would anyone but Hawaiians care about any of this? It's because ecocolonization is everywhere. Wai`anae was not the only place affected by it. It's in Puna and Mānoa - everywhere in these islands. It's moved beyond these islands into the Pacific and Asia. It's in Africa and the Americas. It has taken the entire planet out of balance. Everyone is vested in looking hard at ecocolonization and undoing it. We have seen the ways in which Wai`anae is dealing with ecocolonization: primarily by protecting and restoring their pu`uhonua.

Wai`anae remains a pu`uhonua because the `ōiwi who reside there maintain it as such. This kuleana has sometimes been out of want and sometimes out of necessity, but kuleana does not involve itself so much with why we are given a particular kuleana only with an appreciation and acceptance of the kuleana we are given. This understanding of how Hawaiians understand the responsibilities of stewardship does not make the history of this kuleana irrelevant though. Instead, it should bring light to the tremendous strength required of these `ōiwi in fulfilling this particular kuleana. They have encountered and overcome obstacles. It is the people of Wai`anae who keep the home fire burning for the entire lāhui.

These people have become my heroes. And I have learned that knowledge does not come from any book, any library or any university, but the relationships we build with other people. I am blessed beyond measure by kūpuna who gifted me with their time and their words. While those words may not appear here in quotations, I assure you of their presence. With great humility and admiration I thank Aunty Puanani Burgess, Aunty Ho`oipo DeCambra, Aunty Leandra Wai, Uncle William Ailā, Aunty Nickie Hines, Uncle Earl Kawa`a, Uncle Sparky Rodriges, Kumu Momiala Kamahele, Kumu Snowbird Bento, Aunty Gege Kawelo and the Hawaiian Civic Club of Wai`anae, Aunty Terri Keko`olani, Uncle Eric Enos, the members of Mālama Mākua and the countless others whose time, generosity and words shaped me through this experience.

Indigenous people throughout the world embrace the knowledge and experiences given to us by our kūpuna. We know that real education occurs there. So I end this story with an explanation by Māori writer Patricia Grace:

> There is a way the older people have of telling a story, a way where the beginning is not the beginning, the end is not the end. It starts from a centre and moves away from these in such a widening circles that you don't know how you will finally arrive at the point of understanding, which becomes itself another core, a new centre. You can only trust these tellers as they start you on a blindfold journey with a handful of words which they have seemingly clutched from nowhere: there was a hei pounamu, a green moth, a suitcase, a birdnosed man, Rebecca who was mother, a man who was a ghost, a woman good at making dresses, a teapot with a dent in its nose.
>
> Or sometimes there is a story that has no words at all, a story that has been lived by a whole generation but that has never been worded. You see it sitting in the old ones, you see it in how they walk and move and breathe, you see it chiseled into their faces, you see it in their eyes. You see it gathering in them sometimes, see the beginning of it on their lips, then you see it swallowed and it's gone.[1]

There once lived two sisters, twin sisters...

[1] Patricia Grace, *Baby No Eyes,* (Honolulu, University of Hawai`i Press, 1998), 29.

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