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## **Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory** Historical and Educational Context

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### **Abstract**

The effects of colonization on Kanaka 'Ōiwi, the Indigenous people of Hawai'i, have led to the systematic distancing of Kanaka 'Ōiwi from their cultural ways of knowing, replacing it, instead with eurocentric standards of education that adversely impact Kanaka 'Ōiwi wellbeing. In this article, I provide an overview of the history of colonization of Kanaka 'Ōiwi through a critical race lens. Critical Race Theory and TribalCrit are reviewed in relation to their theoretical relevance to Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemologies. A synthesis model of an adapted CRT and TribalCrit framework called, Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit is presented and discussed within the context of education as a space for resistance.

### **About the Author**

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# Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory

## Historical and Educational Context

Nik Cristobal

“We are dulled by the guessing game of another culture. We are inspired by epistemological mediocrity. We are always at the short end of a smaller and smaller identity stick.”

—Manulani Meyer<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

In this paper, *Kanaka 'Ōiwi* education will be discussed through the lens of critical race theory. To maintain criticality in the politicizing of Indigenous identities, the term *Kanaka 'Ōiwi* will be used to

refer to the Indigenous peoples of Hawai'i. The terms *Hawaiian* and *N/native Hawaiian* are avoided as they were introduced by colonizers and are not the preferred terminology for many Kanaka 'Ōiwi. My understanding of this term represents my intent to reference all peoples of Kanaka 'Ōiwi descent, regardless of blood quantum level.

Critical race theory makes explicit that the U.S. education system is a totalitarian one that operates from an assimilationist perspective.<sup>2</sup> Euro-american dominance via colonization and occupation in U.S. schooling forces Kanaka 'Ōiwi to identify and assimilate to the standards of the dominant culture.<sup>3</sup> This system presents the potential for Kanaka 'Ōiwi students to grow resentful of the institutionalized racism embedded in their education.<sup>4</sup> Kanaka 'Ōiwi antipathy toward the eurocentric educational system and the system's resentment of Kanaka 'Ōiwi set Kanaka 'Ōiwi students up to fail in formalized educational settings, thereby contributing to adverse life outcomes. For instance, Kanaka 'Ōiwi primary school students have consistently scored below students of all other ethnicities in standardized math and reading scores.<sup>5</sup> This trajectory leads to an overrepresentation of Kanaka 'Ōiwi in low-paying jobs following high school; a higher rate of teen pregnancy; and lower life expectancies as a result of a heightened risk of health issues such as diabetes, heart attacks, and strokes.<sup>6</sup>

For Kanaka 'Ōiwi students, the deep-seated history of colonization and occupation raises concerns about how to exist within the educational system when their two worlds are at odds. The integration of Kanaka 'Ōiwi into U.S., mainstream educational institutions requires that they replace their cultural world with Western culture. To reconcile this tension, Western notions of culture, knowledge, and power must be suspended and, instead, understood using Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemologies.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Manulani Meyer, “Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, no. 1 (2001): 124.

<sup>2</sup> Bryan Brayboy, “Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education,” *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2005): 436.

<sup>3</sup> I use capitals when using the terms *Native* and *Indigenous* and lowercase when using terms such as *eurocentric*, *european*, *white*, and *american* to remain centered on Indigenous identities.

<sup>4</sup> Maenette Benham and Ronald Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i: Silencing of Native Voices* (Mahwah: Erlbaum, 1998), 7.

<sup>5</sup> Office of Hawaiian Affairs, *2010-2018 Strategic Results: Hawai'i Assessment Test Indicator Sheet SY2015*. Honolulu: 2015, accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.oaha.org/wpcontent/uploads/Hawai'iAssessment-Test-Indicator-Sheet-SY2015.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Benham and Heck, *Silencing of Native Voices*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer, “Our Own Liberation,” 125.

To center Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemology is to counter the problematic rhetoric of *paradise*. Although “paradise” is how many people would describe Hawai'i, “paradise” is a product of U.S. colonization used to dilute the history of Hawai'i until all that is left is what is pleasant to the Western, white worldview. The dominant narrative of Hawai'i is that of a tropical “paradise” getaway, in which Kanaka 'Ōiwi are understood either through racial stereotypes of simplicity or are erased from the narrative completely. In countering this narrative, I provide an overview of the history of Hawai'i. I believe it is necessary to situate Kanaka 'Ōiwi education in a historical revisionist context, because much of the history of colonization in Hawai'i has been omitted or altered so as not to disrupt a non-Indigenous, Western audience. I then discuss how critical race theory (CRT) can and should be adapted to empower Kanaka 'Ōiwi through theory and educational praxis.

## Historical Overview of Colonization in Hawai'i

### First Encounters

The first encounter of Kanaka 'Ōiwi with *haole* (white foreigners) influences came with the arrival of British explorer Captain James Cook and his crew upon Hawai'i sands in 1778.<sup>8</sup> Captain Cook commanded the two ships that cut through the waters of the Pacific, the *Discovery* and the *Resolution*, which manifests an ironic origin of Kanaka 'Ōiwi fight for self-determination that continues till this day.<sup>9</sup> Conversations surrounding the discovery of Hawai'i and the resolution for reclaiming what was stolen remains an area of contestation over 240 years after the crew upon the *Discovery* and *Resolution* besieged the seashores of Waimea, Kaua'i.

In 1820, *manifest destiny*, a euphemism for Indigenous extermination, enabled American missionaries to introduce Christianity to Kanaka 'Ōiwi under the premise that it was God's will that they help Kanaka 'Ōiwi become more civilized.<sup>10</sup> American missionaries described Kanaka 'Ōiwi as pagan savages, denouncing and abolishing Kanaka 'Ōiwi cultural traditions and convincing the *ali'i* (royalty/chiefs) that the way to achieve *mana* (spiritual power) and *pono* (righteousness/goodness) was to follow the Christian religion.<sup>11</sup> Following this idea, 'ōlelo Hawai'i, *hula* (sacred dance), and other cultural modes of education were banned.<sup>12</sup>

By 1848, capitalist ideals were enacted, thus producing the concept of private ownership of the *'āina* (land), leading to large parcels of the *'āina* being “owned” by missionaries and settlers.<sup>13</sup> Because policies set forth by *haole* influences are founded on the grounds of imperialism and self-interest, the distinction between habituation and ownership of *'āina* invalidated the preexisting relationship Kanaka 'Ōiwi had between people and the *'āina* on a

<sup>8</sup> I use common words in 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language) throughout. I reference the English translation upon first use. I also italicize 'ōlelo Hawai'i words upon first use to flag these terms for readers who may be unfamiliar with such terminology. I refrain from using italics throughout the paper as a way to challenge the reader to remain centered on Kanaka 'Ōiwi worldview.

<sup>9</sup> Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1851: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), 13.

<sup>10</sup> Mililani Trask, “The Politics of Oppression,” in *Hawai'i Return to Nationhood*, eds. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1994), 71.

<sup>11</sup> Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, “Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka 'Āina i Ka Pono: The Concepts of Sovereignty and Religious Sanction of Correct Political Behavior,” in *Hawai'i Return to Nationhood*, eds. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1994), 34–43.

<sup>12</sup> Noenoe Silva, “He Kanawai E Ho'opau I Na Hula Kuolo Hawai'i: The Political Economy of Banning the Hula,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000): 29.

<sup>13</sup> Kame'eleihiwa, “Ua Mau Ke Ea o Ka 'Āina i Ka Pono,” 41.

physical and spiritual level, hastening Kanaka 'Ōiwi dispossession of the 'āina and self-stewardship through “the slow insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions.”<sup>14</sup> Beyond exploitatively introducing Kanaka 'Ōiwi to new ideologies surrounding religion and 'āina, haoles exposed Kanaka 'Ōiwi to foreign diseases, causing the 800,000 to 1 million Kanaka 'Ōiwi population to experience a 90% decrease by 1948.<sup>15</sup>

In 1887, haoles who became dominant in the Hawai'i political system spearheaded the Bayonet Constitution against King Kalākaua, stripping him of his political power. Queen Lili'uokalani succeeded King Kalākaua and during her reign she sought to reinstate the political power of the monarchy; however, in 1893, she was forcefully overthrown and detained.<sup>16</sup> Upon Hawai'i's annexation, Kanaka 'Ōiwi filed resolutions with the U.S. Congress that ended in defeat. Hawai'i became a territory of the United States and later, in 1959, the 50th state in the union.<sup>17</sup>

### Economics

Prior to Captain Cook's arrival, Kanaka 'Ōiwi operated through the *Kapu* (forbidden, sacred, protected) system, in which every individual had a distinct role in the community. In the *Kapu* system, all goods and resources were produced in an environmentally sustainable manner and were used to benefit the collective. This system changed with haole-imposed systems of commerce and trade of *iliahī* (sandalwood) in the early to mid-nineteenth century.<sup>18</sup> With the depletion of *iliahī* and the arrival of the missionaries, Hawai'i's economy turned to whaling. Whaling declined by the 1870s with the rise of the petroleum industry. The U.S. annexation of Hawai'i and the collapse of the whaling industry gave rise to the sugar cane and pineapple industries. The population of Hawai'i more than doubled between 1896 and 1915, with the introduction of immigrants from Japan, the Philippines, China, and Portugal to provide manual labor on Hawai'i's plantations.<sup>19</sup>

With the influx of numerous racial groups, Hawai'i became a “melting pot,” a metaphor to describe mixing various cultures into one. Instead of cultures coming together yet maintaining their cultural distinctiveness, they dissolve into the dominant culture. In the case of Hawai'i, the “tossed salad” metaphor has been used to provide more nuance to this phenomenon of cultural encounters. The tossed salad metaphor implies that several cultural groups are tossed together in one bowl yet maintain their singularity. The question remains, “What dressing is used to cover this all?”<sup>20</sup> This “dressing” is what is known as *local culture*.

Local culture materialized from Asian-Pacific cultural transfusion with Kanaka 'Ōiwi and haole culture, thus, splitting Hawai'i identity politics into a triad: locals (of any race, but mostly of Asian ancestry, living in Hawai'i and adopting the “Hawai'i lifestyle”), non-locals (from the

<sup>14</sup> Brayboy, “Tribal Critical Race Theory,” 431; Jonathan Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 3.

<sup>15</sup> Trask, “Politics of Oppression,” 71.

<sup>16</sup> Kamaki Maunupau, “Ho'ohaole Maila 'Ia Kākou— Make Us into Whites: A Kupuna's Thoughts on Assimilation and Decolonization,” in *Hawai'i Return to Nationhood*, eds. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1994): 45–46.

<sup>17</sup> Trask, “Politics of Oppression,” 73.

<sup>18</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 86.

<sup>19</sup> Sumner La Croix. “The Economic History of Hawai'i: A Short Introduction,” *University of Hawai'i-East-West Center, Department of Economics* (2002), [http://www.economics.hawaii.edu/research/workingpapers/WP\\_02-3.pdf](http://www.economics.hawaii.edu/research/workingpapers/WP_02-3.pdf).

<sup>20</sup> LeAna Gloor, “From the Melting Pot to the Tossed Salad Metaphor: Why Coercive Assimilation Lacks the Flavors Americans Crave,” *Hohonu: A Journal of Academic Writing* 4, no. 1 (2006): 29.

U.S. mainland or other country), and Kanaka 'Ōiwi.<sup>21</sup> Championing Hawai'i's uniqueness in its lack of a racial majority contributes to the pictorializing of Hawai'i as a model of the possibilities of a racially egalitarian society.<sup>22</sup> However, this "racial paradise" assumes that all racial and ethnic groups are socially, politically, and economically equal. Local identity and the myth of the melting pot, therefore, serves to mask over the history of U.S. colonialization of Kanaka 'Ōiwi in favor of Asian settler colonialism.<sup>23</sup> Asian settler colonialism is precarious in that it recognizes that Kanaka 'Ōiwi relations with their U.S. colonizers are hierarchical, with haole as the ultimate colonizing force, thereby, cloaking colonialization by Asian settlers behind a people of color/ haole binary. Teasing apart the idiosyncrasies that come with a history of multiple colonializations makes apparent that not only haole but also Asian (particularly Japanese) disproportionately influence politics and control the wealth in Hawai'i's economy.<sup>24</sup>

When the sugar cane and pineapple industry collapsed as a result of the Great Depression and WWII, the tourism industry took over. Now, Hawai'i is a "fluid money-commodity economy" that runs off of the revenue generated by millions of tourists that visit the islands every year, increasing the gap between the rich and the poor and disproportionately impacting Kanaka 'Ōiwi residents.<sup>25</sup> Tourism as a form of *cultural prostitution*, the exploitation of a culture for capitalistic gains, is forced upon Kanaka 'Ōiwi through economic control by colonial powers.<sup>26</sup> The desecration of the 'āina through the building of hotels and highways upon sacred sites, commodification and eroticizing of Kanaka 'Ōiwi art forms such as hula, and appropriation of Kanaka 'Ōiwi culture, bolster the economy of Hawai'i, and therefore the United States, by directly denigrating Kanaka 'Ōiwi existence.<sup>27</sup>

Following WWII, U.S. military occupation in Hawai'i magnified. Hawai'i went from being a U.S. military outpost to a strategic epicenter of military power and control of the Asia Pacific region. Immediately succeeding the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 up until 1990, the entire island of Kaho'olawe was seized by the U.S. military and used as a bomb-testing site, destroying the natural ecosystems of the island and imposing long-lasting detrimental environmental impacts on reefs, Native wildlife, and fresh water tables.<sup>28</sup> The expropriating of thousands of acres of 'āina and the rapid increase in the population of military personnel in Hawai'i since WWII lends to the continued proliferation of Kanaka 'Ōiwi economic livelihood, with military spending second to tourism as Hawai'i's largest industry.<sup>29</sup> With the U.S. military

<sup>21</sup> Judy Rohrer, "Disrupting the 'Melting Pot': Racial Discourse in Hawai'i and the Naturalization of Haole," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (2008): 1111.

<sup>22</sup> Glen Grant and Dennis Ogawa, "Living Proof: Is Hawai'i the Answer?" *ANNALS* 530, no. 1 (1993): 139.

<sup>23</sup> Candace Fujikane, introduction to *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life*, eds. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 28–29.

<sup>24</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 47.

<sup>25</sup> Marion Kelly, "The Impact of Missionaries and Other Foreigners on Hawaiians and their Culture," in *Hawai'i Return to Nationhood*, eds. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1994), 174.

<sup>26</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), 17.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>28</sup> Wright and Balutski, "Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory," 98.

<sup>29</sup> Kyle Kajihiro, "A Brief Overview of Militarization and Resistance in Hawai'i," DMZ- Hawai'i/ Aloha 'Aina, March 1, 2007, accessed December 17, 2017, [http://www.dmzhawaii.org/dmz-legacy-site/overview\\_military\\_in\\_hawaii.pdf](http://www.dmzhawaii.org/dmz-legacy-site/overview_military_in_hawaii.pdf),

controlling over 25% of the 'āina on the most densely populated and commercialized island of O'ahu, demilitarization efforts must focus on regaining control of Kanaka 'Ōiwi natural resources and economic self-determination.<sup>30</sup>

### The Sovereignty Movement

In 1993, President Bill Clinton signed a Joint Resolution, issuing a formal apology to Kanaka 'Ōiwi, acknowledging the United States's participation in the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1893.<sup>31</sup> Since the overthrow, the fight for self-determination has been a tumultuous one, with several organizations on the frontlines. Some of these organizations include state-level governmental entities, such as the Office of Hawaiian Affairs; federal-level governmental entities, such as the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs; and Native non-profit, grass-roots entities, such as Ka Lāhui Hawai'i.<sup>32</sup> These groups differ in their approach to *ea* (life or breath, also used as a translation for sovereignty), but the consensus is that Kanaka 'Ōiwi rights have been infringed upon and reparative action needs to be taken to restore justice. Currently, the nation-within-a-nation model, the state-within-a-state model, and the independence and the free association models are all up for proposal.<sup>33</sup> As of September 23, 2016, the U.S. Department of the Interior announced that the U.S. federal government would recognize a nation-to-nation relationship with a unified *ka lāhui* (the Kanaka 'Ōiwi nation), if such a system were to form and if this nation were to decide this is in the best interests of its people.<sup>34</sup>

Forging self-determination, self-identification, and self-government re-instills the right of Indigenous communities to control their resources, decide how to govern themselves separate from U.S. legal structures, and define and operate through their own cultural understandings and ways of being.<sup>35</sup> For many Kanaka 'Ōiwi, there is a sense of *kuleana* (right, responsibility, privilege, concern, authority) to use their education, talents, and skills to strengthen and give back to their community.<sup>36</sup> This notion of *kuleana* entails a responsibility to their *lāhui* in aiding the efforts toward *ea*, *aloha 'āina* (love for the land), and sustaining Kanaka 'Ōiwi cultural practices cross-generationally.

### Cultural Perpetuation

Throughout a turbulent history fraught by the decline of the Kanaka 'Ōiwi population, changes in the economy provoked by outsiders, illegal seizure and desecration of the 'āina, and the suppressing of 'ōlelo Hawai'i and culture, Kanaka 'Ōiwi have persevered in the reclamation of cultural values and traditions exploited and appropriated by occupation and colonialization. Kanaka 'Ōiwi understand the dynamics of change and what it takes to move the community forward, despite exposure to myriad factors designed to eradicate the culture. Beyond and in conjunction with the equity and justice platform of the sovereignty movement,

<sup>30</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "The Color of Violence," *Social Justice/ Global Options* 31, no. 4 (2004): 12.

<sup>31</sup> U.S. Senate Reports, *Joint Resolution*, Public Law 103-150, No.103-126., 1993, accessed January 8, 2018, <https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-107/pdf/STATUTE-107-Pg1510.pdf>.

<sup>32</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Politics in the Pacific Islands: Imperialism and Native Self-Determination," *Amerasia Journal* 16, no. 1 (1990): 12

<sup>33</sup> Miliilani Trask, "Ka Lahui Hawai'i: A Native Initiative for Sovereignty," *Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research & Education* 6, no. 5-6 (1993): n.p.

<sup>34</sup> Molly Solomon, "Feds Finalize Rule on Native Hawaiian Government," *Hawai'i Public Radio*, September 23, 2016, accessed April 23, 2017, <http://hpr2.org/post/feds-finalize-rule-native-hawaiian-government>

<sup>35</sup> Brayboy, *Tribal Critical Race Theory*, 433-35.

<sup>36</sup> Nicole Salis Reyes, "'What am I doing to be a good ancestor?'" An Indigenized Phenomenology of Giving Back Among Native College Graduates," Unpublished dissertation, University of Texas-San Antonio, 2016.

Kanaka 'Ōiwi have pioneered other means of cultural preservation and perpetuation as a way to reconcile cultural discontinuity.

Hula, *oli* (chants), and *mele* (songs) were once banned under the fiat of Manifest Destiny, but now serve as a strong source of cultural preservation and a way to promote the “physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being” of Kanaka 'Ōiwi.<sup>37</sup> In a *hula hālau* (hula school), hula, *oli*, and *mele* are used to teach *haumāna* (in this context, specifically a hula student) about their *mo'okū'auhau mo'olelo* (genealogical or ancestral story/ narrative), while grounding them in Kanaka 'Ōiwi cultural values. Hula, as a site of cultural and political resistance, recognizes and respects *Kumu Hula* (hula teachers/cultural practitioners) as bearers of cultural knowledge and as an impetus of Kanaka 'Ōiwi cultural preservation and perpetuation.<sup>38</sup> Through the *Kumu*, *haumāna* become educated about the cultural components that make up hula, including knowledge pertaining to ancestral origins, spiritual beliefs, plants, animals, weaving, carving, and so forth.<sup>39</sup>

Another method of cultural preservation and self-determination is the establishment of *lo'i kalo* (irrigated terraces used to harvest taro). *Kalo* (taro) is a crop of great spiritual significance to Kanaka 'Ōiwi. Kanaka 'Ōiwi *mo'olelo* connects Kanaka 'Ōiwi to their genealogical origins through *kalo*. *Kalo* also served as a main source of sustenance for ancient Kanaka 'Ōiwi and continues to be a culturally significant food source, most commonly used to make poi. *Lo'i kalo* serve as spaces where agricultural sustainability is practiced through the use of traditional harvesting techniques; where camaraderie is built among those in the Kanaka 'Ōiwi community; and where the *mo'olelo* of *kūpuna* (elders/ ancestors) is transmitted.<sup>40</sup> *Kuleana* for cultural preservation through *aloha 'āina* is also practiced through sustenance fishing, the protection of sacred sites, and the medicinal use of natural resources in healing.<sup>41</sup>

Kanaka 'Ōiwi also proclaim their cultural voices in non-Native spaces. One such illustration of this stands out: the *Hōkūle'a*. The *Hōkūle'a* is a voyaging *wa'a* (canoe), built and navigated using traditional Kanaka 'Ōiwi methods. The *Hōkūle'a* completed two expeditions to Rapa Nui and other islands in the Pacific, exploring Kanaka 'Ōiwi origins at a deeper level. In 2016, the *Hōkūle'a* and her crew completed a worldwide voyage, thus, achieving their goal of reconnecting with ancient traditions and sharing Kanaka 'Ōiwi culture with the world.<sup>42</sup> Nainoa Thompson, Navigator of the *Hōkūle'a*, enacts his *kuleana* by educating youth in the ways of traditional navigation techniques. He thrives on teaching youth how to use the stars and the ocean as educational tools and promotes the Kanaka 'Ōiwi cultural value of collectivity and

<sup>37</sup> Mele Look et al., “Kumu Hula Perspectives on Health,” *Hawaii Journal of Medicine and Public Health* 73, no. 12, Sup. 3 (2014): 22.

<sup>38</sup> Silva, “Banning the Hula,” 42.

<sup>39</sup> *Kaiwipunikauikawēkiu Lipe*, “Aloha as Fearlessness: Lessons from the Mo'olelo of Eight Native Hawaiian Female Educational Leaders on Transforming the University of Hawai'i Mānoa into a Hawaiian Place of Learning,” Unpublished dissertation, University of Hawai'i Mānoa, 2014, 31.

<sup>40</sup> Sondra Field-Grace, “Anahola—Taro-Roots Practice Self-Determination,” in *Hawai'i Return to Nationhood*, eds. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1994), 210–13.

<sup>41</sup> Office of Hawaiian Affairs, *Mo'olelo ea o nā Hawai'i History: History of Native Hawaiian Governance*, by Davianna McGregor and Melody MacKenzie, Honolulu, HI: 1090-AB05, accessed January 08, 2018,

<https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.opengov.ibmcloud.com/files>

[/uploads/McGregor-and-MacKenzie-History\\_of\\_Native\\_Hawaiian\\_Governance.pdf](#)

<sup>42</sup> “The Story of the *Hōkūle'a*,” Polynesian Voyaging Society, accessed January 8, 2018, <http://www.hokulea.com/voyages/our-story/>.

cooperation in making their journeys through the Pacific successful. Youth are given the kuleana of carrying out their own voyage, independent of adult help. The ultimate mission of navigational education is to connect youth to their ancestral roots and to help them understand their interconnectedness with the environment and realize their part in recreating a meaningful future for the next generation of Kanaka 'Ōiwi.<sup>43</sup>

## CRT

Colonization and occupation are far from being phenomena of the distant past. Kanaka 'Ōiwi are continuously forging paths of *survivance* that seek to alter the political, social, and economic status of Kanaka 'Ōiwi. Survivance is more than physical survival; it is an act of resistance and cultural thriving.<sup>44</sup> Kanaka 'Ōiwi paths of survivance include the individual and collective kuleana Kanaka 'Ōiwi have for contributing to ka lāhui, ea, and aloha 'āina. As colonization and occupation continue to constrict Kanaka 'Ōiwi pathways to survivance, theory, too, must continue to expand these pathways; to empower, liberate, and validate the lived experience of those most injured by institutionalized racism.<sup>45</sup> Critical race theory (CRT) has created the space needed for Kanaka 'Ōiwi to use theory as a scope with which to view, critique, and dismantle the oppressive structures that pervade Kanaka 'Ōiwi livelihood. As Kanaka 'Ōiwi survivance is strengthened through theory so, too, will it be strengthened in practice. CRT is undoubtedly a fruitful framework in helping Kanaka 'Ōiwi and allies better understand how to use the past to inform the present and empower the future.

CRT responds oppositionally to structural inequalities that privilege eurocentric standards over the standards held by people of color. CRT posits that racism is endemic in society and is structurally supported through our economic, legal, political, and educational systems. Because it is engrained in our structures and systems, racism is inseparable and inescapable from our ways of belonging and being.<sup>46</sup> CRT originally gained traction from the civil rights movement with the emergence of critical legal scholars who exposed the exploitative nature of race and legality. Since then, CRT has found relevance in other fields, such as education and among a variety of minoritized populations in the United States<sup>47</sup>

## TribalCrit

CRT is a tree with many branches. These branches represent the social, political, economic, and historical complexities of various minoritized groups in the United States. These branches include, but are not limited to, AsianCrit, LatCrit, Critical Race Feminism, and TribalCrit.<sup>48</sup> Recognizing the appropriateness of utilizing a CRT in education framework in addressing the exploitation of Indigenous peoples, TribalCrit will be discussed further.

The tenets of TribalCrit were created and theorized within the frame of CRT and were modified to address the needs of Indigenous communities within the United States. Bryan Brayboy highlights the nine tenets of TribalCrit as follows:

<sup>43</sup> Gisela Speidel and Kristina Inn, "The Ocean is My Classroom," *Kamehameha Journal of Education* 5 (Fall 1994): 11–23.

<sup>44</sup> For a more detailed discussion on survivance, see Gerald Vizenor, *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).

<sup>45</sup> bell hooks, "Theory as Liberatory Practice," *Yale Journal of Law & Feminism* 4, no. 1 (1991).

<sup>46</sup> Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, introduction to *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*, eds. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 7.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>48</sup> For AsianCrit, see: Derald Sue et al., "Racial Microaggressions and Difficult Dialogues on Race in the Classroom," *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 15, no. 2 (2009): 183–90. For LatCrit, see: Daniel Solórzano and Dolores Delgado Bernal, "Examining Transformational Resistance Through a Critical Race and LatCrit Theory Framework: Chicana and Chicano Students in an Urban Context," *Urban Education* 36, no. 3 (2001): 308–42. For Critical Race Feminism, see: Theodora Berry, "Engaged Pedagogy and Critical Race Feminism," *The Journal of Educational Foundations* 24, no. 3/4 (2010): 19–26. For TribalCrit, see: "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education," *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2005), 425–46.

1. Colonization is endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, white supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.
4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.
5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens.
6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.
7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.
8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.
9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change.<sup>49</sup>

The above tenets are useful in providing a sturdy yet malleable base upon which various Indigenous groups can work in critically examining and transforming oppressive structures. Despite its utility in challenging and changing educational systems, TribalCrit, when unsupplemented, remains limited in helping Kanaka 'Ōiwi address the contextually and historically specific positioning of Kanaka 'Ōiwi in education. Because TribalCrit was developed by and for Native Americans in the continental United States, much of the framework needs adapting to better speak to the needs of the Kanaka 'Ōiwi population. As a result, Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit was developed and will be expanded upon in this paper.

### Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit

Grounding their work in empirical studies of Kanaka 'Ōiwi in higher education, Wright and Balutski and Salis Reyes created principles and tenets of Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit. Salis Reyes situated her tenets in Indigenous critical pedagogy, while Wright and Balutski situated their principles in Kanaka 'Ōiwi critical consciousness.<sup>50</sup> Although these authors diverge in some ways in their epistemological understandings of Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit, I argue that the core of their conceptualizations are the same. Wright and Balutski and Salis Reyes are among the only scholars to theorize and operationalize a CRT specifically for Kanaka 'Ōiwi. In an attempt to build off of the work already performed on Kanaka 'Ōiwi CRT, and as a way to shift from strategic essentialism to specificity in theory, I synthesize the tenets and principles laid out by Wright and Balutski and Salis Reyes into one, unified CRT model for Kanaka 'Ōiwi. Although Wright and Balutski and Salis Reyes termed their theories 'ŌiwiCrit and KanakaCrit,

<sup>49</sup> Brayboy, "Tribal Critical Race Theory," 429–30.

<sup>50</sup> Salis Reyes, "An Indigenized Phenomenology," 88–91; Erin Wright and Brandi Balutski, "Ka 'Ikena a ka Hawai'i: Toward a Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory," in *Kanaka 'Ōiwi Methodologies: Mo'olelo and Metaphor*, eds. Katrina-Ann Oliveira and Erin Wright (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 88–89.

respectively, both terms are legitimized in Kanaka 'Ōiwi academic circles as a way to decolonize standards implicit in scholarly research.<sup>51</sup> In my attempt to weave their understandings together, I use the term Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit.

Situating Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit at the center of Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemology is vital. Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemology is the fabric of a Kanaka 'Ōiwi identity and includes the ways that knowledge is attained, retained, and communicated. For Kanaka 'Ōiwi, knowledge has a spiritual, 'āina, and relational dimension; the senses are acquired through the context of culture, in which feelings and intelligence, head and heart are inseparable, and ideas and language are only important insofar as function connects with purpose and intelligence with practice.<sup>52</sup> By starting with and centering Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemologies in the work done through critical frameworks, “we [...] give our work a [Kanaka 'Ōiwi] identity, shaped by a [Kanaka 'Ōiwi] way of sensing, knowing, and understanding the world.”<sup>53</sup>

Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemologies as expressed through Kanaka 'Ōiwi critical consciousness and Indigenous critical pedagogy within the Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit theoretical model is focused on colonization, liminality of identity, self-determination, and kuleana.<sup>54</sup> Extrapolating CRT and TribalCrit to Kanaka 'Ōiwi critical consciousness and Indigenous pedagogy, the themes and tenets of Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit were developed. I synthesize these themes and tenets below:

1. Occupation and colonialism are endemic in society.<sup>55</sup> The consequences of colonialism and occupation are pervasive and unique to Hawai'i in their exploitation of 'āina and appropriation of identity, particularly in the areas of local identity and settler colonialism, tourism, and de/militarization.<sup>56</sup>
2. Kanaka 'Ōiwi identities are multiple, intersectional, and liminal.<sup>57</sup> *Mo'okū'auhau* (connections to people, places, and spaces) can be used to describe and understand the diverse pathways and relationships that individuals have with respect to different contexts.<sup>58</sup>
3. As we learn and tell our *mo'olelo* (stories, narratives, histories), we contribute to our survivance.<sup>59</sup> Further, it is important to recognize and honor *hūnā* (sacred, hidden) of *mo'olelo*. Unlike Western notions of research, not everything is free and open, and sometimes what is shared can only be understood by a few.<sup>60</sup>
4. Kuleana is the culmination of Kanaka 'Ōiwi *mo'olelo* about the ways in which we enact agency through social justice.<sup>61</sup> Social justice is inherently tied to our *ea* and *ka lāhui*. We must use our knowledge to restore justice and *pono* through *aloha 'āina* by breathing life into *ka lāhui*.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Katrina-Ann Oliveira and Erin Wright, *Kanaka 'Ōiwi Methodologies: Mo'olelo and Metaphor* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), x–xi.

<sup>52</sup> Meyer, “Our Own Liberation,” 129.

<sup>53</sup> Nicole Salis Reyes, “Ike Kū'oko'a: Indigenous Critical Pedagogy and the Connections between Education and Sovereignty for Ka Lāhui Hawai'i,” *Hūlili* 9 (2013): 216.

<sup>54</sup> Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory,” 91; Salis Reyes, “An Indigenized Phenomenology,” 84–88.

<sup>55</sup> Nicole Salis Reyes, “A Space for Survivance: Locating Kānaka Maoli through the resonance and dissonance of critical race theory,” *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 21, no. 6 (2017): 747.

<sup>56</sup> Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory,” 93.

<sup>57</sup> Salis Reyes, “A Space for Survivance,” 749.

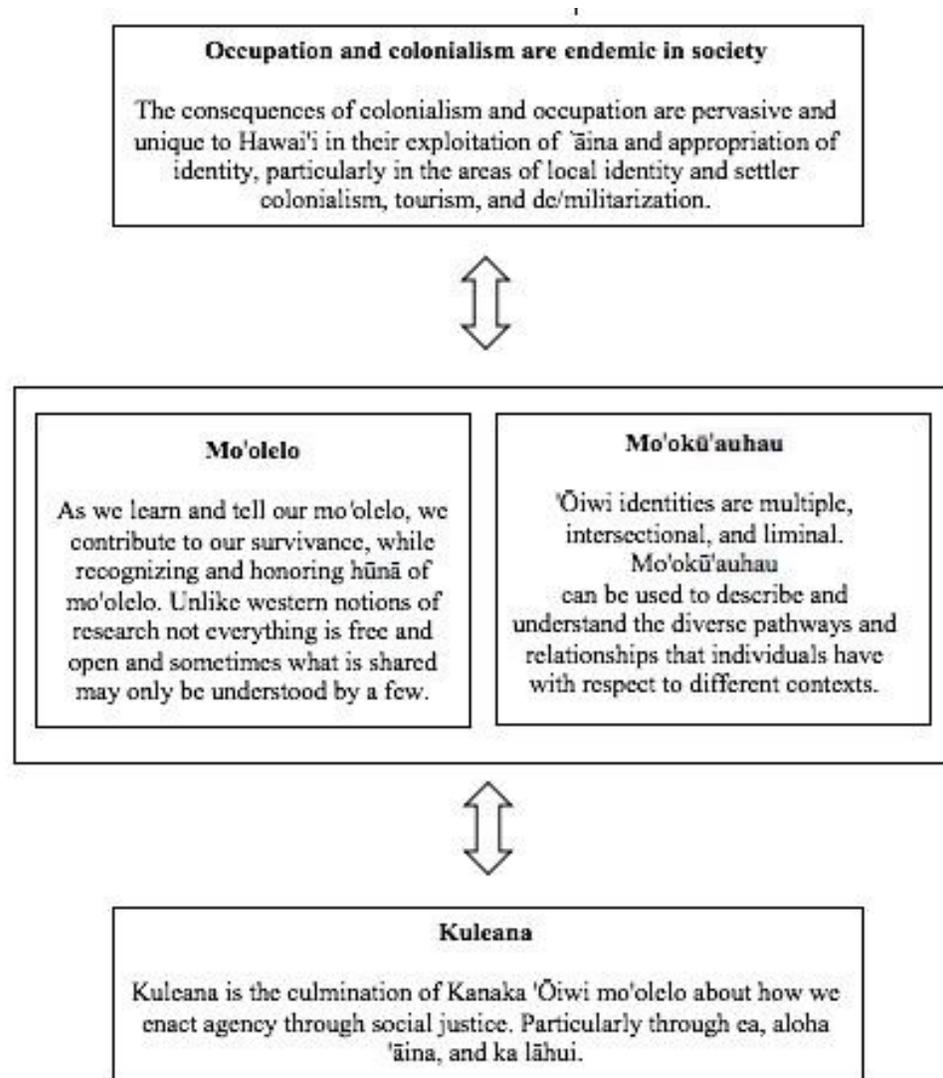
<sup>58</sup> Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory,” 93.

<sup>59</sup> Salis Reyes, “A Space for Survivance,” 751.

<sup>60</sup> Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory,” 93.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>62</sup> Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory,” 94; Salis Reyes, “A Space for Survivance,” 750–751.



**Figure 1**

Nik Cristobal, *Kanaka'Ōiwi Crit Thematic Intersections*, Digital Illustration, 2018. <sup>63</sup>

In understanding the interrelatedness of these tenets, I adapted Wright and Balutski's three-level conceptualization of the thematic intersections of Kanaka'Ōiwi Crit.<sup>64</sup> The top level includes the macro-level forces that impact Kanaka 'Ōiwi education such as colonialism, tourism, and de/militarization. The middle level includes Kanaka 'Ōiwi epistemological and ontological, culture-based forms of articulating educational mo'olelo. This level speaks back to the negative effects of occupation and colonialization that hinder Kanaka 'Ōiwi in education. The third level, the self-reflexive and praxis-oriented aspect of Kanaka 'Ōiwi education,

<sup>63</sup> Adapted from Wright and Balutski, "Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory," 94; Salis Reyes, "A Space for Survivance," 747-752.

<sup>64</sup> Wright and Balutski, "Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory," 94.

encompasses the value of kuleana. This level moves the other two levels toward justice for Kanaka 'Ōiwi through the perpetuation of *ea*, *aloha 'āina*, and *ka lāhui*. The figure above provides a visual representation of the relationships between the tenets of Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit.

In summation, the primary assertion of CRT is that racism is endemic to society, while the primary assertion of TribalCrit is that colonization is endemic to society.<sup>65</sup> The primary assertion of Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit, then, is that occupation and colonization are endemic to society.<sup>66</sup> Nuancing this further, the consequences of occupation and colonization are pervasive and unique to Hawai'i via exploitation of 'āina and appropriation of identity.<sup>67</sup>

Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit as a burgeoning theoretical framework to understand and challenge the systemic subordination of Kanaka 'Ōiwi should not be thought of as a limitation in its applicability to scholarly works, but rather, as a strength. Just like the people it represents, Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit is a living, breathing, adaptable, yet unyielding framework that finds voice in the shifting winds and waves of institutional transformation. For the remainder of this paper, I will discuss the praxis dimension of Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit as it relates to education.

### Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit and Kuleana

The application of Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit is achieved through the concept of kuleana, which combines authority with responsibility in defending and nurturing the collective livelihood of Kanaka 'Ōiwi.<sup>68</sup> Kanaka 'Ōiwi students are culturally inclined to see themselves collectively rather than individualistically.<sup>69</sup> Kanaka 'Ōiwi education, therefore, cannot be extracted from the community that supports them. Truly valuing and supporting Kanaka 'Ōiwi within educational spaces requires repositioning dominant ideologies of what and whose knowledge is valid and what is considered appropriate in demonstrating competency in such knowledge.<sup>70</sup>

For Kanaka 'Ōiwi students, competency is demonstrated by enacting one's kuleana in carrying out cultural practices gained through the Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit tenet of *mo'okū'auhau*. *Mo'okū'auhau* can be thought of as a genealogical linkage Kanaka 'Ōiwi have to their ancestral past, which includes spiritual, natural, and relational connections. *Mo'okū'auhau* and the tenet of *mo'oleo* are intertwined. It is through *mo'oleo*, such as the *Kumulipo* (the cosmological genealogical *oli*) and storytelling from *kūpuna*, that Kanaka 'Ōiwi come to know and feel their spiritual connection to the 'āina, including the mountains, ocean, winds, and rains. In educational spaces that utilize culturally responsive pedagogy, Kanaka 'Ōiwi demonstrate this connection by naming specific places that are important to their 'ohana (family) and sharing the *mo'oleo* of these places through mediums such as *oli*, hula, and storytelling.<sup>71</sup> This bond is further established when students understand how to cultivate *kalo*, independently navigate *wa'a* using ancient Kanaka 'Ōiwi navigational techniques, and learn to speak and write in 'ōlelo Hawai'i.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Brayboy, "Tribal Critical Race Theory," 429.

<sup>66</sup> Salis Reyes, "An Indigenized Phenomenology," 85.

<sup>67</sup> Wright and Balutski, "Kanaka 'Ōiwi Critical Race Theory," 93.

<sup>68</sup> Goodyear-Ka'opua, "Kuleana Lāhui," in *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action* 5, no. 1 (2011), 147.

<sup>69</sup> Brayboy, "Tribal Critical Race Theory," 438.

<sup>70</sup> Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Racialized Discourses and Ethnic Epistemologies," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc., 2000), 258.

<sup>71</sup> Shawn Kana'iaupuni and Carolyn Liebler, "Pondering Poi Dog: Place and Racial Identification of Multiracial Native Hawaiians," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28, no. 4 (2005): 692.

<sup>72</sup> For a detailed ethnographic case study on a Kanaka 'Ōiwi charter school that embodies Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit in practice, see, Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, *The Seeds We Planted* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota

Mo'okū'auhau and mo'oleo directly relate to the praxis tenet of kuleana. For mo'okū'auhau and mo'oleo to matter, they must have some utility; they must be practiced and shared.<sup>73</sup> Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit provides a useful framework for understanding that knowledge is not something one possesses, but rather something that one practices. Mo'okū'auhau and mo'oleo are practiced toward and for a collective. In order for Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit to be put into action, there must be, as Kana'iaupuni and Liebler state, a "collective memory of a shared history. Hawai'i, the place, connects the Hawaiian diaspora through 'social relations and a historical memory of cultural beginnings, meanings, and practices, as well as crises, upheavals and unjust subjections as a disposed and (mis)recognized people (Halualani, 2002, p. xxvi)."<sup>74</sup>

In Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit, this collective memory recognizes the ways in which colonization and occupation are endemic in society. Kanaka 'Ōiwi, as well as all students in the Hawai'i educational system, must be taught from a young age the truth about the history of Hawai'i through a Kanaka 'Ōiwi lens. Students must be presented with a history that is forthright about colonization and occupation and is honest about the cultural strengths and challenges impacting Kanaka 'Ōiwi in the past, present, and future. In gaining this awareness, Kanaka 'Ōiwi students can unapologetically learn their mo'okū'auhau and share their mo'oleo in a way that empowers them to realize the possibilities that exist in exercising their criticality in a way that is personally, culturally, and collectively meaningful.<sup>75</sup>

When an understanding of colonization and occupation connects with mo'okū'auhau and mo'oleo, knowledge can be practiced through kuleana. In Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit, kuleana is enacted in three major areas: ea, aloha 'āina, and ka lāhui. A model that exemplifies these components will be discussed further.

Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor and other scholars describe the reconnection of Kanaka 'Ōiwi to cultural ways of being in a model they call *Ho'oulu Lāhui*.<sup>76</sup> The Ho'oulu Lāhui model is predicated on the idea that lāhui is not built; it is raised and nurtured in resemblance to the cultural ways Kanaka 'Ōiwi nurture each other. The model reflects 'ohana as the basic pathway to Kanaka 'Ōiwi wellbeing. Relevant to education, the first and most impactful influence on *keiki* (children) is 'ohana. For Kanaka 'Ōiwi keiki, the community is also important in the development of cultural identity and wellbeing. It is through community and 'ohana that keiki first begin to learn their mo'okū'auhau mo'oleo and start to develop a sense of kuleana to reach toward ea and to nurture ka lāhui.

As this model illustrates, all Kanaka 'Ōiwi systems are embedded within the ecological dimension of the 'āina.<sup>77</sup> Kanaka 'Ōiwi treat the 'āina as a highly respected entity. 'Āina is not only the foundation for agricultural sustainability, but also the foundation for spiritual customs and practices and one of the most powerful Kumu in the life of keiki. All systems shown in Figure 2 are interdependent but are planted within the 'āina. This embodies the Kanaka'ŌiwiCrit praxis dimension of kuleana through aloha 'āina. Aloha 'āina is more than having love for the land or feeling a sense of stewardship and connectedness to the 'āina. Aloha 'āina is about putting this feeling into action by carrying out one's kuleana for environmental sustainability, subsistence farming and fishing practices, and working with one's community in protecting and preserving the spiritual and cultural connections between Kanaka 'Ōiwi and the 'āina.<sup>78</sup>

Press, 2013).

<sup>73</sup> Manalani Meyer, "Native Hawaiian Epistemology: Sites of Empowerment and Resistance," *Equity and Excellence* 31, no. 1 (1998): 24.

<sup>74</sup> Kana'iaupuni and Liebler, "Pondering Poi Dog," 693.

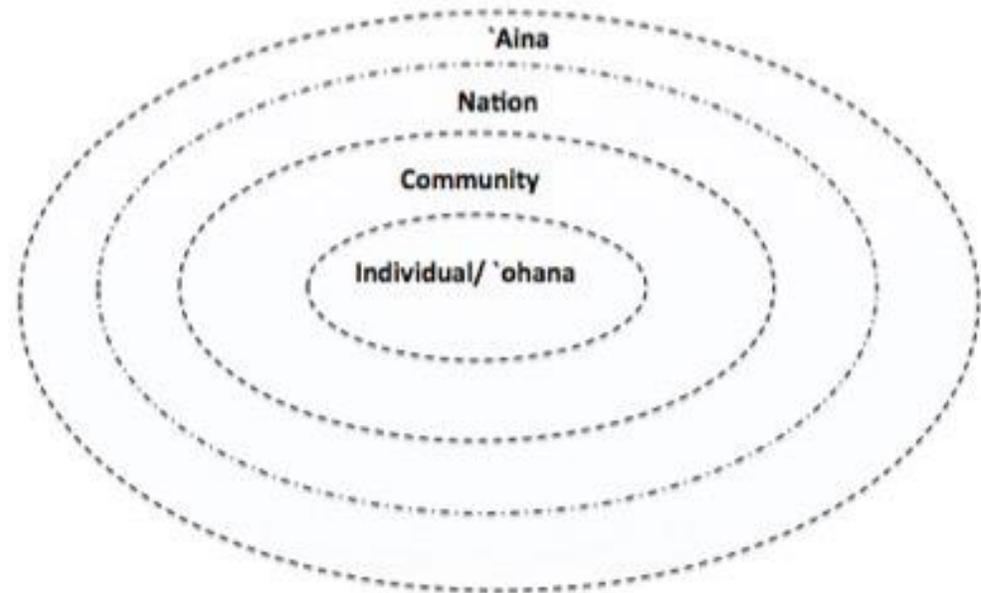
<sup>75</sup> Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 21.

<sup>76</sup> Davianna McGregor et al., "The Ecological Model of Native Hawaiian Wellbeing," *Pacific Health Dialog* 10, no. 2 (2003): 106–28.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>78</sup> Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, "Seeds We Planted," 32.

In positioning Kanaka 'Ōiwi students in this model, it is important to recognize that, if systems of education are to be culturally responsive, they must invest in 'ohana as part of education, integrate community ways of knowing and involvement, and empower Kanaka 'Ōiwi to exercise their criticality and agency in reaching toward ea and contributing to ka lāhui. While doing so, systems of education need to foreground all teaching and learning in the 'āina. Through these commitments, kuleana will be met, epistemologies honored, and survivance achieved.



**Figure 2**

Nik Cristobal, *The Ecological Model of Native Hawaiian Well being*, Digital Illustration, 2018.<sup>79</sup>

## Conclusion

Adapting and positioning CRT and TribalCrit to be of more relevance to Kanaka 'Ōiwi enriches the possibility of examining the cultural genocide that afflicts Kanaka 'Ōiwi in a critical manner. It is apparent that colonialism and occupation are endemic in Hawai'i society. The exploitation of the 'āina through militarization and tourism and the appropriation of Kanaka 'Ōiwi through commodification, local identity, and settler colonialism leads to the severance of Kanaka 'Ōiwi from their ways of being and negatively impacts their life outcomes.

Recognizing that Kanaka 'Ōiwi identity is complex and is rooted within dynamic epistemological origins is important in actualizing the changes needed to ensure the strengthening and continuance of the culture. In order to change oppressive systems, such as education, Kanaka 'Ōiwi keiki must be awake to the truths of the past, must know their mo'okū'auhau, and must share their mo'olelo. It is in kuleana for ea, aloha 'āina, and ka lāhui, that Kanaka 'Ōiwi, as both a culture and a people, will persist. By expanding upon critical and Indigenous theory and using it to inform the ways Kanaka 'Ōiwi are thought about or not thought about in education, researchers, policy makers, educators, and practitioners can better ensure that Kanaka 'Ōiwi will no longer be "dulled by the guessing game of another culture," but be sharpened by their own.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> McGregor et al., "Native Hawaiian Wellbeing," 106.

<sup>80</sup> Meyer, "Our Own Liberation," 124.

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