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

Nik Cristobal’s lineage yields from the islands of Kaua‘i and O‘ahu. She was born and raised on the island of Kaua‘i and is currently a PhD student in the Social and Comparative Analysis in Education program at the University of Pittsburgh. Her former work as a social worker and clinical specialist on Kaua‘i with keiki inspires her scholarly work in the areas of critical race, ethnic, and gender studies in education. She aspires to use her education to give back to her island community.
“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

Introduction

In this paper, Kanaka ʻŌiwi education will be discussed through the lens of critical race theory. To maintain criticality in the politicizing of Indigenous identities, the term Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi. My understanding of this term represents my intent to reference all peoples of Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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. Euro-american dominance via colonization and occupation in U.S. schooling forces Kanaka ʻŌiwi to identify and assimilate to the standards of the dominant culture. This system presents the potential for Kanaka ʻŌiwi students to grow resentful of the institutionalized racism embedded in their education. Kanaka ʻŌiwi antipathy toward the eurocentric educational system and the system’s resentment of Kanaka ʻŌiwi set Kanaka ʻŌiwi students up to fail in formalized educational settings, thereby contributing to adverse life outcomes. For instance, Kanaka ʻŌiwi primary school students have consistently scored below students of all other ethnicities in standardized math and reading scores. This trajectory leads to an overrepresentation of Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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.

For Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi epistemologies.

3 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.
4 Maenette Benham and Ronald Heck, Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai‘i: Silencing of Native Voices (Mahwah: Erlbaum, 1998), 7.
6 Benham and Heck, Silencing of Native Voices, 4.
To center Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi through theory and educational praxis.

Historical Overview of Colonization in Hawai‘i

First Encounters

The first encounter of Kanaka ʻŌiwi with haole (white foreigners) influences came with the arrival of British explorer Captain James Cook and his crew upon Hawai‘i’s sands in 1778.8 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 ʻŌiwi fight for self-determination that continues till this day.9 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 ʻŌiwi under the premise that it was God’s will that they help Kanaka ʻŌiwi become more civilized.10 American missionaries described Kanaka ʻŌiwi as pagan savages, denouncing and abolishing Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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.11 Following this idea, ʻōlelo Hawai‘i, hula (sacred dance), and other cultural modes of education were banned.12

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

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8 I use common words in ʻōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) throughout. I reference the English translation upon first use. I also italicize ʻōlelo 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 ʻŌiwi worldview.
13 Kameʻeleihiwa, “ʻUa Mau Ke Ea o Ka ʻĀina i Ka Pono,” 41.
physical and spiritual level, hastening Kanaka ʻŌiwi dispossession of the ʻāina and self-stewardship through "the slow insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions." Beyond exploitative introducing Kanaka ʻŌiwi to new ideologies surrounding religion and ʻāina, haoles exposed Kanaka ʻŌiwi to foreign diseases, causing the 800,000 to 1 million Kanaka ʻŌiwi population to experience a 90% decrease by 1948.

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. Upon Hawai'i's annexation, Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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.

Economics

Prior to Captain Cook's arrival, Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻiliahi (sandalwood) in the early to mid-nineteenth century. With the depletion of ʻiliahi 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.

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?" This "dressing" is what is known as local culture.

Local culture materialized from Asian-Pacific cultural transfusion with Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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

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17 Trask, "Politics of Oppression," 73.
18 Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, 86.
U.S. mainland or other country), and Kanaka ʻŌiwi. Championing Hawaiʻi’s uniqueness in its lack of a racial majority contributes to the pictorializing of Hawaiʻi as a model of the possibilities of a racially egalitarian society. 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 ʻŌiwi in favor of Asian settler colonialism. Asian settler colonialism is precarious in that it recognizes that Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 Hawaiʻi’s economy.

When the sugar cane and pineapple industry collapsed as a result of the Great Depression and WWII, the tourism industry took over. Now, Hawaiʻi 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 ʻŌiwi residents. Tourism as a form of cultural prostitution, the exploitation of a culture for capitalistic gains, is forced upon Kanaka ʻŌiwi through economic control by colonial powers. The desecration of the ʻāina through the building of hotels and highways upon sacred sites, commodification and eroticizing of Kanaka ʻŌiwi art forms such as hula, and appropriation of Kanaka ʻŌiwi culture, bolster the economy of Hawaiʻi, and therefore the United States, by directly denigrating Kanaka ʻŌiwi existence.

Following WWII, U.S. military occupation in Hawaiʻi magnified. Hawaiʻi 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 Kahoʻolawe 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. The expropriating of thousands of acres of ʻāina and the rapid increase in the population of military personnel in Hawaiʻi since WWII lends to the continued proliferation of Kanaka ʻŌiwi economic livelihood, with military spending second to tourism as Hawaiʻi’s largest industry. With the U.S. military

26 Haunani-Kay Trask, From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai’i, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), 17.
27 Ibid., 90.
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.30

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 1893.31 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.32 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.33 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.34

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.35 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.36 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,

35 Brayboy, Tribal Critical Race Theory, 433–35.
Kanaka ʻŌiwi have pioneered other means of cultural preservation and perpetuation as a way to reconcile cultural discontinuity.

Hula, ʻoli (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 ʻŌiwi. 37 In a hula hālau (hula school), hula, ʻoli, and mele are used to teach haumāna (in this context, specifically a hula student) about their moʻokūʻauhau moʻolelo (genealogical or ancestral story/narrative), while grounding them in Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi cultural preservation and perpetuation. 38 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. 39

Another method of cultural preservation and self-determination is the establishment of loʻi kalo (irrigated terraces used to harvest taro). Kalo (taro) is a crop of great spiritual significance to Kanaka ʻŌiwi. Kanaka ʻŌiwi moʻolelo connects Kanaka ʻŌiwi to their genealogical origins through kalo. Kalo also served as a main source of sustenance for ancient Kanaka ʻŌiwi and continues to be a culturally significant food source, most commonly used to make poi. Loʻi 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 ʻŌiwi community; and where the moʻolelo of kūpuna (elders/ancestors) is transmitted. 40 Kuleana for cultural preservation through aloha ʻāina is also practiced through sustenance fishing, the protection of sacred sites, and the medicinal use of natural resources in healing. 41

Kanaka ʻŌiwi also proclaim their cultural voices in non-Native spaces. One such illustration of this stands out: the Hōkūleʻa. The Hōkūleʻa is a voyaging waʻa (canoe), built and navigated using traditional Kanaka ʻŌiwi methods. The Hōkūleʻa completed two expeditions to Rapa Nui and other islands in the Pacific, exploring Kanaka ʻŌiwi origins at a deeper level. In 2016, the Hōkūleʻa and her crew completed a worldwide voyage, thus, achieving their goal of reconnecting with ancient traditions and sharing Kanaka ʻŌiwi culture with the world. 42 Nainoa Thompson, Navigator of the Hōkūleʻa, 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 ʻŌiwi cultural value of collectivity and

38 Silva, “Banning the Hula,” 42.
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.43

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.44 Kanaka ‘Ōiwi paths of survivance include the individual and collective kuleana Kanaka ‘Ōiwi have for contributing to ka ʻālana, ea, and aloha ʻāina. 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.45 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.46 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 States47

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.48 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:

44 For a more detailed discussion on survivance, see Gerald Vizenor, Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).
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.49

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.50 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,


respectively, both terms are legitimized in Kanaka 'Ōiwi academic circles as a way to decolonize standards implicit in scholarly research. 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. 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.”

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. 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. 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.

2. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi identities are multiple, intersectional, and liminal. 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.

3. As we learn and tell our mo‘olelo (stories, narratives, histories), we contribute to our survivance. 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.

4. Kuleana is the culmination of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi mo‘olelo about the ways in which we enact agency through social justice. 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.

52 Meyer, “Our Own Liberation,” 129.
56 Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Critical Race Theory,” 93.
57 Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Critical Race Theory,” 93.
59 Ibid., 94.
In understanding the interrelatedness of these tenets, I adapted Wright and Balutski’s three-level conceptualization of the thematic intersections of KanakaʻōiwiCrit. The top level includes the macro-level forces that impact Kanaka ʻŌiwi education such as colonialism, tourism, and de/militarization. The middle level includes Kanaka ʻŌiwi epistemological and ontological, culture-based forms of articulating educational moʻolelo. This level speaks back to the negative effects of occupation and colonization that hinder Kanaka ʻŌiwi in education. The third level, the self-reflexive and praxis-oriented aspect of Kanaka ʻŌiwi education,

Wright and Balutski, “Kanaka ʻŌiwi Critical Race Theory,” 94.
Kanaka ʻŌiwi Critical Race Theory

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

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.65 The primary assertion of KanakaʻŌiwiCrit, then, is that occupation and colonization are endemic to society,66 Nuancing this further, the consequences of occupation and colonization are pervasive and unique to Hawai‘i via exploitation of ʻāina and appropriation of identity.67

KanakaʻŌiwiCrit as a burgeoning theoretical framework to understand and challenge the systemic subordination of Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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, KanakaʻŌiwiCrit 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 KanakaʻŌiwiCrit as it relates to education.

KanakaʻŌiwiCrit and Kuleana

The application of KanakaʻŌiwiCrit is achieved through the concept of kuleana, which combines authority with responsibility in defending and nurturing the collective livelihood of Kanaka ʻŌiwi,68 Kanaka ʻŌiwi students are culturally inclined to see themselves collectively rather than individualistically.69 Kanaka ʻŌiwi education, therefore, cannot be extracted from the community that supports them. Truly valuing and supporting Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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.70

For Kanaka ʻŌiwi students, competency is demonstrated by enacting one’s kuleana in carrying out cultural practices gained through the KanakaʻŌiwiCrit tenet of moʻokūʻauhau. Moʻokūʻauhau can be thought of as a genealogical linkage Kanaka ʻŌiwi have to their ancestral past, which includes spiritual, natural, and relational connections. Moʻokūʻauhau and the tenet of moʻoleo are intertwined. It is through moʻoleo, such as the Kumulipo (the cosmological genealogical oli) and storytelling from kūpuna, that Kanaka ʻŌiwi come to know and feel their spiritual connection to the ʻāina, including the mountains, ocean, winds, and rains. In educational spaces that utilize culturally responsive pedagogy, Kanaka ʻŌiwi demonstrate this connection by naming specific places that are important to their ʻohana (family) and sharing the moʻoleo of these places through mediums such as oli, hula, and storytelling.71 This bond is further established when students understand how to cultivate kalo, independently navigate waʻa using ancient Kanaka ʻŌiwi navigational techniques, and learn to speak and write in ʻoʻlelo Hawai‘i.72

72 For a detailed ethnographic case study on a Kanaka ʻŌiwi charter school that embodies KanakaʻŌiwiCrit in practice, see, Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻopua, The Seeds We Planted (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota
Moʻokūʻauhau and moʻoleo directly relate to the praxis tenet of kuleana. For moʻokūʻauhau and moʻoleo to matter, they must have some utility; they must be practiced and shared.\(^{73}\) KanakaʻOiwiCrit provides a useful framework for understanding that knowledge is not something one possesses, but rather something that one practices. Moʻokūʻauhau and moʻoleo are practiced toward and for a collective. In order for KanakaʻOiwiCrit to be put into action, there must be, as Kanaʻiaupuni and Liebler state, a "collective memory of a shared history. Hawaiʻi, 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)."\(^{74}\)

In KanakaʻOiwiCrit, this collective memory recognizes the ways in which colonization and occupation are endemic in society. Kanaka ʻŌiwi, as well as all students in the Hawaiʻi educational system, must be taught from a young age the truth about the history of Hawaiʻi through a Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi in the past, present, and future. In gaining this awareness, Kanaka ʻŌiwi students can unapologetically learn their moʻokūʻauhau and share their moʻoleo 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.\(^{75}\)

When an understanding of colonization and occupation connects with moʻokūʻauhau and moʻoleo, knowledge can be practiced through kuleana. In KanakaʻOiwiCrit, kuleana is enacted in three major areas: ea, aloha ʻāina, and ka lāhui. A model that exemplifies these components will be discussed further.

Davianna Pōmaikaʻi McGregor and other scholars describe the reconnection of Kanaka ʻŌiwi to cultural ways of being in a model they call Hoʻoulu Lāhui.\(^{76}\) The Hoʻoulu Lāhui model is predicated on the idea that lāhui is not built; it is raised and nurtured in resemblance to the cultural ways Kanaka ʻŌiwi nurture each other. The model reflects ʻohana as the basic pathway to Kanaka ʻŌiwi wellbeing. Relevant to education, the first and most impactful influence on keiki (children) is ʻohana. For Kanaka ʻŌiwi keiki, the community is also important in the development of cultural identity and wellbeing. It is through community and ʻohana that keiki first begin to learn their moʻokūʻauhau moʻoleo and start to develop a sense of kuleana to reach toward ea and to nurture ka lāhui.

As this model illustrates, all Kanaka ʻŌiwi systems are embedded within the ecological dimension of the ʻāina.\(^{77}\) Kanaka ʻŌiwi treat the ʻāina as a highly respected entity. ʻĀina 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 ʻāina. This embodies the KanakaʻOiwiCrit praxis dimension of kuleana through aloha ʻāina. Aloha ʻāina is more than having love for the land or feeling a sense of stewardship and connectedness to the ʻāina. Aloha ʻāina 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 ʻŌiwi and the ʻāina.\(^{78}\)

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\(^{74}\) Kanaʻiaupuni and Liebler, “Pondering Poi Dog,” 693.


\(^{77}\) Ibid., 111.

\(^{78}\) Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, “Seeds We Planted,” 32.
In positioning Kanaka ʻŌiwi students in this model, it is important to recognize that, if systems of education are to be culturally responsive, they must invest in ʻohana as part of education, integrate community ways of knowing and involvement, and empower Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻāina. Through these commitments, kuleana will be met, epistemologies honored, and survivance achieved.

**Figure 2**

**Conclusion**

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

Recognizing that Kanaka ʻŌiwi 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 ʻŌiwi keiki must be awake to the truths of the past, must know their moʻokūʻauhau, and must share their moʻolelo. It is in kuleana for ea, aloha ʻāina, and ka lāhui, that Kanaka ʻŌiwi, as both a culture and a people, will persist. By expanding upon critical and Indigenous theory and using it to inform the ways Kanaka ʻŌiwi are thought about or not thought about in education, researchers, policy makers, educators, and practitioners can better ensure that Kanaka ʻŌiwi will no longer be “dulled by the guessing game of another culture,” but be sharpened by their own.

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