

## TEACHING AMID U.S. OCCUPATION: SOVEREIGNTY, SURVIVAL, AND SOCIAL STUDIES IN A NATIVE HAWAIIAN CHARTER SCHOOL

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Written by educators working in the Hawaiian charter school movement, this article discusses Hālau Kū Māna New Century Public Charter School's (HKM) project- and community-based approach to social studies. In describing HKM's high school level curriculum, the authors problematize U.S. occupation of Hawai'i and the ways that occupation has been naturalized through schools for more than a century. The authors argue that educating youth to think critically and speak out about social issues impacting Hawaiian lands and communities is crucial to nurturing a healthy lāhui Hawai'i. Vigorous political engagement, informed community participation, and a commitment to aloha 'āina are hallmarks of a vibrant Hawaiian social body. The curriculum described, grounded in aloha 'āina and kuleana, is offered as a path to lead Native Hawaiians out of "huikau," confusion.

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E iho ana o luna. E pi'i ana o lalo. E hui ana nā moku. E kū ana ka paia.<sup>1</sup>

**W**e concur with Kumu Jonathan Osorio's (2006) suggestion that contemporary Kānaka Maoli<sup>2</sup> are more "huikau" about our collective identity than our kūpuna who lived through the 1893 overthrow. It is not surprising that we have become confused about our political identity as a lāhui, a nation, a people. We are surviving against more than 100 years of American-centric, assimilatory education that has aimed to change the way we live and see ourselves in relation to our land, our history, and our country. Since 1893, schools in Hawai'i have not been in the business of teaching Kānaka about our capacity to self-govern, as a thriving and independent people. For the most part, they have been too busy preparing us to be compliant subjects, welcoming lei-greeters, and productive workers for a country not our own, and under this regime, we have fared at the bottom in almost all major indicators of community health. This article is about banishing the confusion, and associated poor health, that come from such an education.

In this article, we offer a means to begin untangling the huikau, through a social studies curriculum grounded in aloha 'āina<sup>3</sup> and kuleana. If vigorous political engagement, informed community participation, and a commitment to aloha 'āina are hallmarks of a vibrant Hawaiian social body, schools must prepare our 'ōpio to actualize such a society. Here, we describe a high school level social studies curriculum, developed and implemented at Hālau Kū Māna New Century Public Charter School (HKM), that engages students in (a) rigorous and critical study of history, highlighting the ways histories are politicized, (b) practices of mālama 'āina, and (c) inquiry and intervention in timely social issues affecting Kanaka Maoli communities.

HKM is 1 of 13 Hawaiian-focused public charter schools created at the dawn of the 21st century aiming to change the cultures and purposes of contemporary schooling. In the last 8 years, Kanaka Maoli communities have utilized New Century Public Charter Schools as vehicles for asserting educational self-determination—that is, Native Hawaiian designed and controlled education for Hawaiian families and others interested in perpetuating Hawaiian culture.<sup>4</sup> Throughout most of the 20th century, Hawaiian culture-based education was relegated to supplemental, remedial, and special education when included at all. In contrast, these charter

schools make indigenous knowledges—such as navigation, fishpond restoration, taro cultivation, chant, and dance—centerpieces for cultural revival, community networking, and academic pursuit.<sup>5</sup>

Located between Papakōlea and Maunalaha in Honolulu, HKM serves 'ōpio in Grades 6–12 who come from various districts on O'ahu.<sup>6</sup> Like other Hawaiian-focused charter schools, HKM has limited autonomy in creating and implementing culturally relevant curriculum, yet the school still operates within the state public school system under the umbrella of the U.S. political system. Thus, one shouldn't mistake our described curriculum or the work of our school as unfettered expressions of Hawaiian sovereignty or self-determination. This is not our claim. What we do claim is that a community-based and place-based social studies education will lead to a stronger Hawaiian social body, which may be able to take the next steps in resurrecting our nation.

Too often Hawaiian education is considered remedial, “special ed,” or unintellectual. We want to be clear that the kind of social studies—grounded in a Hawaiian worldview—we advocate here is, in fact, more rigorous because it draws on the most current academic debates taking place in the field of Hawaiian history and politics, requires investment in and accountability to communities beyond the classroom walls, and allows students to integrate and apply their learning.

The first section below serves two purposes. It simultaneously outlines the foundational aspects of our “Modern Hawaiian History” course, and in that process, also educates readers about the framework of “occupation” discourse. We highlight some important legal and political dimensions of Hawai'i's establishment as an independent country and discuss the illegal U.S. occupation. Here we draw on recent research on the political relationship between the lāhui Hawai'i and the United States, which calls researchers and teachers to consider this situation in terms of prolonged, “belligerent occupation” under international law (Craven, 2004; Perkins, 2006; Sai, 2004).

The next section extends the analysis of prolonged occupation to suggest the multiform ways this occupation manifests itself in our lives today. We teach and live our lives both within and against these conditions of occupation. This section provides some key questions for a critical and robust, Hawaiian-inflected social studies. Such a field must include both connecting historical legacies with the contemporary realities of everyday people and, conversely, historicizing pressing social problems so as to think about their root causes.

The back half of the article addresses the issue, “now what?” If the frame of occupation helps us analyze historical and contemporary problems facing Kānaka Hawai‘i, what then do we do to address those problems? The curricular solutions we suggest include grounding students in the values and practices of aloha ‘āina and kuleana. The section on “Aloha ‘Āina/Mālama ‘Āina” elaborates the way this fundamental value is conceptualized and communicated to students. While mālama ‘āina undergirds the entire curriculum at Hālau Kū Māna, this article specifically highlights the interdisciplinary high school course called Papa Lo‘i, which focuses on lo‘i kalo, or taro cultivation.

Finally, in “Kū i ka Pono, Kū‘ē i ka Hewa’: Teaching Politics and Community Activism,” we discuss the integration of grassroots community action into Papa Lo‘i. This section explicitly addresses the question: “Does political action belong in a school environment?” Detailed attention is given to describing student involvement in community actions surrounding the genetic modification and patenting of kalo.

Taken together, we believe these four aspects of a community- and project-based approach to social studies will help to banish huikau and nurture a vibrant lāhui Hawai‘i.

## PROLONGED OCCUPATION: A LEGAL HISTORY

According to the Hawai‘i Content and Performance Standards (HCPS), to which all public schools are held, only a single semester of “Modern Hawaiian History” is required throughout a student’s high school career. The scope of the typical Modern Hawaiian History course, which essentially begins with the *end* of the Kingdom era and the beginning of American annexation, suggests that Hawai‘i does not become fully “modern” until it is incorporated into the United States. The HCPS call teachers of this course to cover the period spanning the 1893 overthrow to the present. Additionally, the standards and benchmarks are littered with historical inaccuracies regarding Hawai‘i’s political status in the 19th and 20th centuries, reinforcing a prolonged U.S. occupation and ignoring significant developments of 19th-century Hawaiian Kingdom law and governance.



as Ka Lā Kū'oko'a (Hawaiian Independence Day). Formally observed for 50 years, this Hawaiian national holiday was suppressed when the so-called "Republic of Hawai'i" government came into power following the United States' illegal intervention in 1893. In an effort to supplant Hawaiian national pride and history, the "Republic" proclaimed that the American holiday Thanksgiving would replace Hawaiian Independence Day. To this day the majority of Hawaiians celebrate Thanksgiving and are completely unaware that a national holiday such as Ka Lā Kū'oko'a existed.

Curriculum focusing on the continuity of Hawaiian sovereignty is itself evidence of a suppressed history rising to the surface. In recent years, more detailed research articulating and affirming ongoing Hawaiian independence has emerged. However, because such intellectual work has yet to become mainstreamed as conventional knowledge, it is not found in most high school curricula in Hawai'i.

A curriculum acknowledging Hawai'i's history as an independent state challenges the perpetual myth of Hawai'i as the 50th (federated) state of the United States. Questioning those deeply held beliefs, especially when they are based on outdated and mistaken understandings of the past, is essential in a rigorous and faithful study of history. Currently, we know of only a very small number of high school Hawaiian history classrooms in the islands that are utilizing this recent scholarship on the continuity of Hawaiian sovereignty and the prolonged occupation. Perhaps the erroneous interpretations found in the HCPS are, at least in part, due to the limited usage of current academic research pertaining to Hawai'i's political and legal history.

In the current climate of considering federal recognition for Native Hawaiians, a clear understanding of our collective national identity is particularly important. Yet much conventional Hawaiian history curricula frame Kānaka Maoli as an ethnic, rather than a national, group. On the contrary, by beginning from the fact that U.S. annexation of Hawai'i was never accomplished through a treaty process but only through a domestic law of the United States, students can critically interrogate a genealogy of U.S. federal legislation that has strategically categorized Native Hawaiians as domestic wards. In his discussion of the implications of research on the continuity of Hawaiian statehood, Perkins (2006) asserted,

The consideration of Hawai'i as an independent state leads to a different outcome regarding the relationship of Hawaiian sovereignty and land. This conception and its outcome—that Hawaiian sovereignty is maintained and Hawaiians retain a one-third interest in all land in Hawai'i—should be taught along side the prior colonial conception. (p. 111)

A responsible Hawaiian-focused social studies must consider these ideas and allow students to explore the debates about Hawaiian history in the context of their political stakes today.

In our Hawaiian history course, as one way to provoke debate and deeper understanding of the framework of prolonged U.S. occupation and ongoing Hawaiian sovereignty, students are asked to critique and debate a statement made by Iraqi president Saddam Hussein in 1990, comparing Iraq's occupation of Kuwait with the U.S. occupation of Hawai'i. In his interview with journalist Bernard Shaw, Hussein suggested the likelihood of Iraq withdrawing from their occupation of Kuwait was as likely as the United States withdrawing from Hawai'i.<sup>10</sup>

“Mr. President...” Bernie began, “to prevent the embargo from destroying your country, will you withdraw from Kuwait?”  
 “If an embargo could lead the American people to withdraw from Washington, or the British people to withdraw from any city...if an embargo could force the Americans to withdraw from Hawai'i, it would probably lead the Iraqis to think...” “So your answer is no?” Bernie followed up.  
 “Naturally,” said Saddam. (Wiener, 2002, p. 152)

This statement further provides an entry point from which students begin to unpack the similarities and differences of U.S.-occupied Iraq and U.S.-occupied Hawai'i. Both were clearly recognized as independent states at the time occupation began, although the historical contexts are different. Students understand that although Hussein's government was overthrown, the country of Iraq still exists, and although the population is composed of different ethnicities and religious affiliations, we still refer to the Iraqi citizens as Iraqi nationals. That has

not changed, despite occupation. Students are asked to think about the parallels between these circumstances and a prolonged occupation in Hawai'i, where sovereignty continues even though the formal governing body is not in place.

Unlike the occupation in Hawai'i, the U.S. occupation of Iraq receives constant media attention and is watched by the world. It is a hypervisible occupation. On the contrary, the occupation of Hawai'i has been covert, naturalized by making invisible. Thus, it is essential in a rigorous Hawaiian history course to draw on recent scholarship that challenges the long-held myth that Kānaka Maoli did not resist, that they passively accepted, U.S. annexation and imperialism (Basham, 2007; Silva, 2004). This legacy of aloha 'āina—love for the land, for our nation, and for our country—continues today. Yet, the ongoing impacts of occupation also continue, and the next section deals with those contemporary issues as well as ways to engage those issues in a Hawaiian-focused social studies course.

## MULTIFORM IMPACTS OF OCCUPATION

The collective survival and well-being of Kānaka Maoli is dependent on expanding our critical understanding of the occupation. Education must be a part of this work. This section, discussing the multiform impacts of occupation, is offered both as a way to sketch the larger context in which our schools function, as well as to pose important questions to be addressed in a Hawaiian-focused social studies classroom. Placing “occupation” and “'āina” at the center of analysis produces a rich field of possibility for interdisciplinary inquiry in courses and research projects of all kinds.

When we say we are “teaching amid occupation,” we refer not only to the prolonged illegal occupation of Hawaiian national territory by the U.S. state and its military. We also draw on the layered meanings of the term *occupation* to signal the continuing social, economic, cultural, and spiritual impacts of an American way of life and national consciousness on our lands and people. Despite the temporary loss of a functioning aupuni, or governing apparatus, the lāhui survives. The collective imaginary formed through our people's historical, cultural, and genealogical connections remains. However, the lāhui is not a stagnant entity, always already in existence. It takes a tremendous amount of individual and collective cultural work, both psychic and material, to sustain a lāhui amidst continued occupation and

onslaught by U.S. imperial forces, including its military and corporate mass media culture. These multiple forms of occupation aim to structure our relationships to our 'āina and to each other in ways that are violent and unhealthy, both in the short and long term. The manifestations suggested here include (a) the occupation of our collective cognitive, emotional, and spiritual health; (b) the occupation of the realm of economic possibility; and (c) the occupation of intellectual production and mass media representation of the islands and our cultures.

Our cognitive, emotional, and spiritual health as a people has been severely affected by assimilationist schooling practices, but schooling should not be seen uniformly as a foreign imposition on Hawaiians, nor as a wholly oppressive colonizing process. The first schools in the Hawaiian Kingdom were seminaries, set up by Protestant missionaries, to train Hawaiian men as religious assistants, teachers, and future statesmen for a modernizing Hawai'i (Benham & Heck, 1998; Osorio, 2002; Wist, 1940). Female seminaries, established as a corollary to the male seminaries, aimed to produce proper Christian wives for the graduates of church-run schools like Lāhainaluna or Hilo Boarding School (Beyer, 2003). These early schools were aimed at an adult student body. Between 1824 and 1827, nearly the whole adult population went to mission station schools, and by the end of that decade, 387,000 copies of 22 books had been printed in the islands, representing some 10,287,800 pages in the Hawaiian language. Enrollments in the missionary schools reached their height in 1832, when there were more than 53,000 pupils in 900 schools (Wist, 1940). But Kānaka Maoli did not remain the kind of pupils for which missionaries may have hoped. They came for what they wanted—to learn to read and write—and then they left. Only 5 years after the high enrollment of 1832, the number of pupils was down to about 2,000 (Wist, 1940).

Thus, the competing modernization projects of missionaries and ali'i shifted focus toward schooling children. The codification and institutionalization of public schooling was adjunct to the creation of the first Hawaiian constitution in 1840, transforming the Kingdom from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. Compulsory schooling was seen as an indispensable part of educating proper subjects for a modern nation-state. By 1842, education in reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic was required for anyone to be married or hold high office (Benham & Heck, 1998). By 1852, there were 535 “public free schools taught by natives in the Hawaiian language” with 15,842 scholars. Additionally, the corpus of Hawaiian schoolbooks and other literature amounted to over 80 million pages (Hawaiian Kingdom, 1852, p. 1).

The development of the public school system was embedded in a larger struggle for hegemony over the systems of formal education, governance, and economy in Hawai'i. For example, while White men representing the nexus of missionary and sugar business interests were attempting to build the Kingdom's public school system as a way of sorting and segregating racialized citizen-subjects for an oppressive plantation society, Native Hawaiian statesmen and community leaders were separating public schools from church affiliation, promoting literacy in the Hawaiian language, and increasing funding for the "common" schools—those serving working-class Hawaiian and Asian pupils.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, teachers' salaries at English schools—positions filled by nonnatives—were markedly higher, and the availability of teachers in Hawaiian language was curtailed when the courses of study at Lāhainaluna Seminary and Hilo Boarding School, which trained many of the native teachers, were changed from Hawaiian to English (Hawaiian Kingdom, 1884).<sup>12</sup>

Once the U.S. military stepped in to support the sugar oligarchy in usurping control of the lawful Hawaiian government, formal political control of the national education system was wrested from the Hawaiian Kingdom, and governance of public instruction became wholly centralized, a phenomenon that continues in Hawai'i to this day. In 1896, the self-proclaimed "Republic of Hawai'i" passed a law mandating that all instruction in schools, both public and private, be given in English. The law absolutely cut schools off from public funding and recognition if they taught in Hawaiian (Lucas, 2000). For the bulk of the 20th century, under prolonged U.S. occupation, there wasn't a single school in the islands that made the indigenous Hawaiian language or culture central to its curriculum until the advent of Hawaiian language immersion schools in the 1980s.

Instead, public schooling took on the function of naturalizing U.S. occupation, cultural assimilation, and capital expansion, much like in other U.S. imperial territories. It is not surprising, then, that *huikau* about our collective political identity became the norm over the course of the last hundred years. Schools failed to teach an ancestral language to ground us. Importantly, they also failed to teach us a language of political analysis with which to name, explain, and resist the alienating conditions of occupation and dispossession, which we instinctively knew, even when we didn't have the means to speak about it. These failures of mainstream education in Hawai'i and their impacts continue today. This discussion of the multiform manifestations of occupation is a beginning for reinvigorating and building upon a language of political analysis in our thinking, teaching, and dialogue with our students.

The ongoing *occupation of our cognitive, emotional, and spiritual health* is evidenced in the status of 'Ōpio 'Ōiwi in the public school system. While important gains have been made in rebuilding Hawaiian language and culture-based schooling, the majority of Kanaka Maoli students remain in the mainstream public school system in the islands. Within this system indigenous Hawaiians not only make up the largest single ethnic group,<sup>13</sup> we are also more often labeled “special ed” or “behaviorally handicapped.”<sup>14</sup> In fact, since the 2000–2001 school year, the Hawaiian share of special education enrollment has increased at a faster pace than the Hawaiian share of total Department of Education enrollment. Thus, both the total number and the proportion of Hawaiians enrolled in special education in Hawai'i public schools is growing (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003). Furthermore, Hawai'i mainstream public schools that have a predominantly Native Hawaiian population tend to be of poorer quality than other public schools, with more teachers who have less experience and no tenure (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003).

'Ōpio 'Ōiwi Hawai'i, Native Hawaiian youth, have the highest rates of self-reported drug use, the highest rates of youth arrests for all types of crimes, and high rates of teen pregnancy and relationship violence.<sup>15</sup> These symptoms of collective cognitive, emotional, and spiritual dis-ease are directly related to the formal educational systems in the islands. Schools transmit culture, whether consciously or unconsciously. Seizing control of the health of our 'ōpio will depend on asserting further control of the schools where they spend a significant portion of their waking hours. Moreover, students should be engaged in thinking about ways to address pressing social problems through the skills they are learning in school. Thus, education becomes relevant and valuable for students and their communities, while 'ōpio also develop a sense of kuleana and empowerment.

For example, decades of health research have established the link between the health of a people and socioeconomic status.<sup>16</sup> Social class is the single best predictor of health. Yet an examination of the links between socioeconomic status and health is completely absent from most economics courses in Hawai'i high schools. By the same token, an investigation of the links between the history of U.S. imperialism in Hawai'i and contemporary conditions of health among Kānaka Maoli is absent from the vast majority of Hawaiian history courses. Where do students get to discuss and address the large-scale social issues (like suicide rates, mortality rates from chronic diseases, sexual violence, etc.) that have almost certainly touched their lives and their families?

Here, inquiry around the rubric of “land” and “occupation” might be framed as investigations of the *occupation of economic possibility*. In a place where the military of the occupying government controls at least 20% of the land on the most populated island, and land values are raised because of widespread speculative investment from outside of Hawai‘i coupled with increasing settlement of newcomers into the islands, Native Hawaiians have the lowest rate of homeownership among the major ethnic groups in the islands in 2000 (Kana‘iaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005, p. 82). In 2007, the median home resale price on O‘ahu was \$650,000, having doubled in the previous 5 years (Wu, 2007). According to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s Fair Market Rent system, a person living in a one-bedroom apartment in metropolitan Honolulu would have to earn \$25.92 hourly to meet living wage standards for 2008. In the least expensive of the nonmetropolitan areas of Hawai‘i, the lowest living wage is in Hawai‘i county, where one would still have to earn \$17.10 an hour.<sup>17</sup> Within this intolerable situation, Native Hawaiians are severely overrepresented among the homeless.<sup>18</sup>

Schools in Hawai‘i can no longer simply train young people to “get good jobs” in order to fit into the current economy. We need to prepare young people to think critically and imaginatively to create ways *out* of this occupation of our economic possibilities, which attempts to make it impossible for Kānaka to thrive on our own homelands. What are the other economic possibilities that a curriculum focused on aloha ‘āina might open up, such that we don’t see the only solution to this problems being individual Hawaiians getting “better jobs” to make more money? The next section on HKM’s curriculum based on mālama ‘āina begins to address this question.

Finally, it is important that a critical Hawaiian-focused social studies interrogate what we call the *occupation of intellectual production and mass media representations*. This is an occupation that aims to stifle vigorous political debate and to shrink the possibilities of thinking and acting as nā po‘e aloha ‘āina. Signs and symptoms of the occupation abound. Two recent instances illustrate this point and serve as examples of current events that have proved fruitful for investigation and debate in the classroom.

In the first example, the University of Hawai‘i (UH) Board of Regents voted in September 2007 to approve a contract with the U.S. Navy to set up an Allied Research Lab, commonly known as a UARC (University Allied Research Center), despite long-standing protests from major UH constituent groups. The 3-year agreement will fund the lab, likely focusing in areas such as astronomy,

oceanography, advanced electro-optics systems, lasers, remote sensing detection systems, and communications (Cole, 2007). The UH administration argued that the agreement would bring in millions of dollars of funding. However, people within the university community raised opposition based on concern about weapons and restricted research, as well as about the incompatibility between the goals of such a facility and the stated mission and vision of the university, as early as 2 years prior.<sup>19</sup> In 2005, community protests against the UARC included a lock-in at UH's Bachman Hall administrative offices, and the Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i, the University of Hawai'i Faculty Senate, and the Kualii Council—representing Hawaiian programs on campus—all passed official resolutions opposing the UARC.<sup>20</sup> Despite a commitment to a transparent process that would keep all groups informed, the UH administration buried the issue from public scrutiny and then slipped the decision in 2 years later, without including the UH community and the larger public in the process or giving adequate notice to allow for meaningful public comment and debate when the contract was suddenly up for discussion again.

In studying the UARC case, students could be asked to think about the purposes of public education and knowledge production. They could be called to think beyond simplistic economic reasoning (i.e., “we need the money”) and to think about the implications of “classified research.” They might also be asked to historicize the University of Hawai'i as a land grant institution or its location on national lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Similarly, students should be given the analytical tools and opportunities to critique mass media representations of Hawai'i as a tourist paradise. Trask (1999), Kaomea (2000), and Ferguson and Turnbull (1999) have critiqued the ways Hawai'i has been framed as a site that should be open, welcoming, inviting, beckoning military use and associated business investment. Using such analyses, students could think about the controversies around our second example, the Hawai'i Superferry in 2007.

The subject of heated community debate and public protest, the Hawai'i Superferry, a 350-foot high-speed catamaran with the capacity to transport 900 passengers and 300 cars, was given approval to begin operation in August 2007 without completing an environmental assessment.<sup>21</sup> The primary owner of the Superferry is J. F. Lehman, former Secretary of the Navy and member of the 9/11 Commission, whose investment companies specialize in naval and aerospace defense technologies. When hundreds of protesters on surfboards and canoes blocked the ferry from entering

a Kaua‘i harbor, the Coast Guard was called by emergency order to remove them from the water and establish a security zone which when violated is punishable by 10 years in prison. Police arrested protestors on shore, and Governor Linda Lingle threatened parents of minors who had been involved in the protests with child welfare investigations, using state child protective services as a coercive tool to silence dissent and elicit compliance.

The public debate and media coverage provide a wealth of material for students to critically engage. In thinking about the debates over whether the Superferry should be allowed to run without an environmental assessment, students could be asked to think about how political decisions are made.<sup>22</sup> What is prioritized? What voices and interests matter most and in what instances? In thinking about the special legislative session convened or the threat made by Governor Lingle to parents of minors who had been involved in the protests with child welfare investigations, students might discuss, “what are legitimate uses of state power?”<sup>23</sup> Students could also be prompted to analyze the arguments and tensions between the idea that “Hawai‘i is one state, and thus there should be equal access to all resources for all people,” versus the idea that access depends on kuleana and that island-specific communities should have more localized control over their own resources.<sup>24</sup>

The issues and questions outlined in this section are suggestions for teachers of Hawaiian history, economics, and other social studies courses to engage. They also demonstrate that the problems of our world demand critical and interdisciplinary courses of study and action for our ‘ōpio. Reflective teaching amid (and about) the occupation opens up many possibilities for a rigorous and socially invested practice of learning and living. The next sections take this discussion further by describing the ways HKM teachers make mālama ‘āina and community activism foundational in our curriculum. In the midst of occupation, under the cover of this haze, Kānaka are planting for another future, healing the wounded, raising children to act based on their familial connections and obligations to the ‘āina.

## ALOHA 'ĀINA/MĀLAMA 'ĀINA

'O Wākea ke kāne, 'O Papa ka wahine, ua noho pū lāua a hānau mai 'o Hawai'i he moku, 'o Māui he moku, 'o Ho'ohōkūkalani ka wahine. 'O Wākea ke kāne, 'O Ho'ohōkūkalani ka wahine, ua noho pū lāua a hānau mai 'o Hāloanakalaukapalili ke keiki alualu, ke kalo, 'o Hāloa ke kāne, ke ali'i mua loa.<sup>25</sup>

Aloha 'āina and mālama 'āina are the root of HKM's curriculum. In contrast to most conventional public schools, HKM offers a vastly different, culturally driven, project-oriented program for its students. School consists of time spent engaged in multidisciplinary, year-long projects that are thematically organized. Each project is environment and culture based, addressing all the core academic standards. As such, traditional core courses are integrated into the projects rather than taken as separate classes, and students and teachers are responsible for meeting and exceeding state and school standards. The projects also integrate community service, life skills, and technology instruction. Additionally, all students are required to take both Hawaiian language and hula/oli at least twice a week.

Projects are set up by age cluster (Grades 6–8 and 9–12). Thus, the school is divided according to *Kaikaina*, our middle schoolers, and *Kua'ana*, our high schoolers. At the Kaikaina level, students are introduced to the foundational concepts of the Ahupua'a system, a social, environmental, and economic model for sustainable living. Kua'ana students work in one of three projects for an entire academic year: *Wa'a*, which focuses on the canoe as the principal vessel of travel for Kānaka Hawai'i; *Loko I'a*, which focuses on the fishpond as the principle technology for protein production in traditional Hawaiian society; and *Lo'i*, which focuses on the production of kalo, the staple food of Hawaiian society. In their senior year, students also take on increased responsibility, helping teach younger students at times, conducting more independent research, and completing a senior project.

Regular physical practice of land and ocean stewardship in outdoor lab environments is crucial to the whole curricular framework and approach to learning. Some of these learning sites include Haukulu and 'Aihualama (at the Harold L. Lyon Arboretum) in Mānoa Valley, Kewalo Net Shed located at the shoreline of the Waikiki Ahupua'a, and He'eia and Waikalua fishponds on the windward side of O'ahu. The remainder of this article focuses on the interdisciplinary high school course on lo'i kalo, referred to as *Papa Lo'i* or *Lo'i Project*. Through HKM's Papa Lo'i,

high school students have made significant and historic contributions to the restoration and care of lo‘i kalo in Mānoa Valley. In this way, we are building alternatives to the occupation described in the first two sections of this article. Creating viable and sustainable ways of living from the ground up allows Kānaka Hawai‘i to survive and thrive so as to make the occupation obsolete.

Results from the Hawaiian Cultural Influences in Education study shed light on the impact of culturally relevant teaching and learning strategies on students.<sup>26</sup> Survey data show that HKM students report significantly higher rates of knowing about and caring for their immediate natural environment and community than do students in other public schools. At HKM, ‘ōpio acquire a deeper sense of place through a curriculum that emphasizes a familial connection to the ‘āina. Likewise, stronger community ties are reflected in higher rates of mālama ‘āina, whereby HKM students practice environmental stewardship more often (see Figures 1 and 2).

**FIGURE 1** Students gain in-depth community knowledge

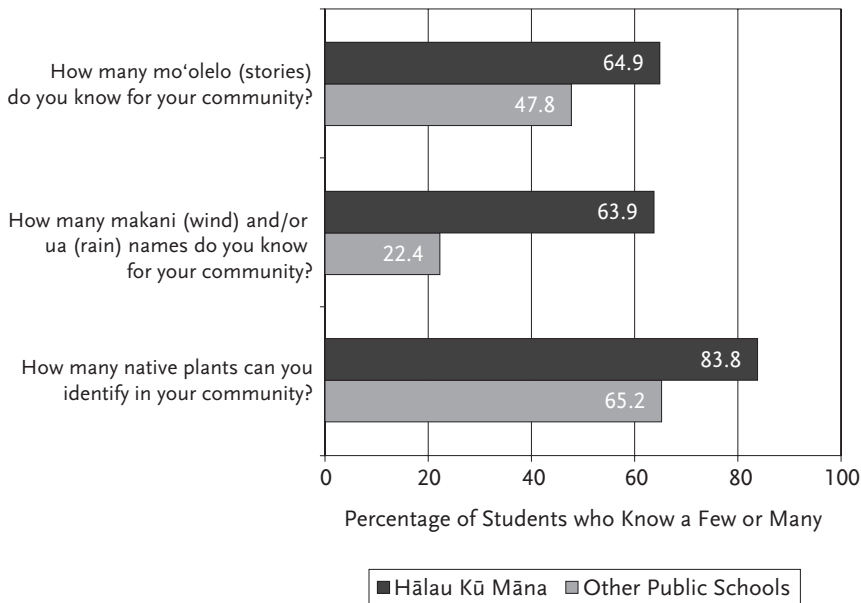
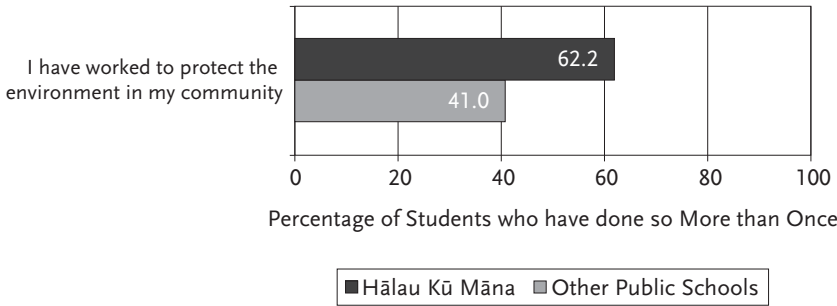


FIGURE 2 Students practice mālama ‘āina and environmental stewardship



Papa Lo‘i is organized around the physical work, the science, the arts, and the philosophies of taro cultivation. Ka Papa Lo‘i o Kānewai, on the UH–Mānoa campus, was the original training grounds for the first Lo‘i classes at HKM. Since 2003, HKM’s Papa Lo‘i has worked to restore an ancient terraced system at the back of Mānoa Valley. Through the efforts of various community experts, HKM teachers, a handful of Lyon Arboretum staff, and the students themselves, lo‘i that had been dormant for over 100 years are now living again. The haumāna drove every step of the development of this renewed lo‘i system, carving the features of the lo‘i and literally moving tons of material with little more than their hands. This system of lo‘i was given the name ‘Aihualama, after the ‘ili in which it sits and the stream from which it draws its water.

Approximately 1 acre in size, ‘Aihualama was dense with brush and large trees that canopied the sunlight when we first trudged through its thick muddy floor. It seemed to staff and students alike an impossible place to restore lo‘i. However, in 2004, after many months of chant and prayer, a heavy storm blew through Mānoa Valley, taking down a number of the tallest trees, standing at nearly 100 feet. Their unexpected but propitious descent was seen as a hō‘ailona, a sign that Papa Lo‘i was to take on the kuleana of caring for this beautiful place exposed to us by auspicious winds. The story of ‘Aihualama’s birth continues to be told to each new batch of students every year. It is a way to emphasize that hō‘ailona are a means for our ancestors to communicate with us and to give us directions about our kuleana.

Papa Lo‘i’s curriculum introduces the cultural and spiritual concept of mālama ‘āina from the outset of the course; it is the first idea students engage and grounds the rest of the curriculum throughout the year. The essential question framing

the course is “what is mālama ‘āina, or aloha ‘āina?” From this foundation spring various philosophical discussions and analyses about the layered meanings of mālama ‘āina and aloha ‘āina. During the first week, students learn the ‘Ōpukahōnua chant that opens this section of the article. This chant establishes a familial connection with the islands of the archipelago and with Hāloa, as both elder sibling and staple food source. Students analyze the way the ethic of mālama ‘āina is communicated in the story of Papahānaumoku and Wākea. For example, the genealogy of Hāloa serves as a reminder that we are ‘ohana to the kalo as well as the ‘āina. Students are encouraged to think about the interconnection of all things. As Kānaka, we are undoubtedly related to everything that exists, and we are accountable to the well-being of all things. This mo‘olelo about Hāloa, both kalo and kanaka, not only represents the genealogical descent of Kānaka Maoli and the interconnectedness of all existing entities and substances but also provides a metaphor for the smaller ‘ohana unit.

One of the early lessons at the lo‘i is the parts of the kalo plant. Besides memorizing, diagramming, and identifying parts of the plant, students learn to distinguish between different varieties of kalo based on observation of the various characteristics. In talking about the piko of the plant, we also teach our ‘ōpio about our own piko: our piko po‘o connecting us to our ‘aumākua, our piko ‘ōpū connecting us to our present, and our piko ma‘i connecting us to future generations. All aspects of the curriculum reinforce the notion that students should be able to reflect on how their learning is relevant to them in terms of the various piko. This gives them a strong sense of self and strong sense of identity upon which they can build. ‘Ōpio are asked to think about the ways each part of the kalo represents the members of the ‘ohana. Hawaiian terminology provides natural metaphors for discussing the relationships between parents and offshoots, whether plant or human. When kalo is mature and harvested, the leaves and corm are cut off from the stem leaving the huli, which is then replanted in the ‘āina to start a new ‘ohana. Genealogy becomes a central way for students to think about their kuleana in class and beyond. They can consider their responsibilities and obligations within their own families as parallels to the way our genealogical ties to Papahānaumoku bind us in a relationship to the land based on reciprocity.

Thus, in revisiting our essential question, we understand mālama ‘āina to mean more than simply “taking care of the land” or occasionally cleaning beaches, more than picking up rubbish or recycling, more than cleaning the ‘auwai or repairing the kuauna. All of these practices may be part of what we do in Papa Lo‘i, yet

mālama 'āina is much, much more. In the way we contextualize this concept for our students, we are the 'āina too. Mālama 'āina extends beyond the confines of the land itself and can be interpreted as taking care of your own health, securing the well-being of your family and friends, and participating in the protection and care of your community. This includes political, social, and environmental issues that directly affect Hawai'i, Hawaiian people, and our cultural integrity. As kumu, we emphasize to the students that to effectively care for the 'āina, each of us needs to care for ourselves. In essence, as individuals we need to be healthy in order to be pono. If we are pono then our community is pono. To illustrate these connections, we talk about how various Hawaiian traditions emphasize that Kānaka do not just have a relationship with the 'āina or the Akua; Kānaka *are* 'āina and Akua.

For example, according to some traditions, Keakahulihonua was the first human woman. She was drawn out onto the dirt where Kāne bestowed his hā (breath) upon her, bringing her to life. Thus, she is physically made of 'āina. Further, Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogies reaffirm that Kānaka Maoli are born of chiefly as well as Akua lineages. There are numerous mo'olelo about mortals having offspring as a result of mating with an Akua. The shark god Kamohoali'i marries a woman named Kalei, and together they bear a son, Nanaue. Hawaiian traditions also tell of the ways humans become Akua. Upon his passing, the ali'i Kahekili becomes Kānehakili, the Akua of thunder and lightning. Pele, Kamapua'a, and Māui are other examples of kupua that take on human forms. Students also consider that the human body is made primarily of water, a kinolau or bodily form of Kāne, and all of our bodily secretions then are also his kinolau.

'Ōpio are asked to think about how these various philosophies and metaphors for the relationships between humans, deities, and environment relate to their own frameworks of belief within their 'ohana. The aim is not to create a single structure of belief but to explore ways of thinking about the 'āina and themselves with which they may or may not be familiar. Moreover, educating our 'ōpio from the perspective of our traditions is invaluable to their empowerment. Mele, oli, and mo'olelo are pillars of the Papa Lo'i curriculum, since our oral and literary traditions reinforce the cultural values learned through actual practices of cultivating the land. Additionally, we utilize 'ōlelo no'ea to convey values and guides for appropriate behavior within our class (Pukui, 1983). Each one is discussed in terms of its literal meaning, as well as the ways it is interpreted in our classroom context for providing guidelines for pono, proper behavior (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 Selected 'ōlelo no'eau used regularly in classroom context

'Ōlelo no'eau (and English translation)	Interpretation and usage for our classroom context
<i>Ma ka hana ka 'ike.</i> In doing, one learns.	This 'ōlelo no'eau validates the core reason our school is project based. In the actual physical labor, we see the manifestation of our philosophy. Students see, nurture, and taste the lessons we speak and read about, as they cultivate, harvest, share, and eat kalo.
<i>Maika'i ke kalo i ka 'ōhā.</i> The taro is only as good as the stalk.	We remind 'ōpio of this 'ōlelo no'eau when they misbehave and when they act appropriately. Whatever they do, good or bad, is a reflection of their 'ohana and their kumu. This reinforces the notion of familial accountability.
<i>Ho'okahi leo, ua lawa.</i> One voice is enough. To say something once is enough.	When the 'ōpio interrupt a speaker, the kumu says: "Ho'okahi leo," and they finish with "ua lawa." This provides a cue to let them know that their talking out of turn is unacceptable and disrespectful. The call and response allows us to refocus.
<i>A'ohe pau ka 'ike i ka hālau ho'okahi.</i> Not all knowledge is taught in one school.	This 'ōlelo no'eau teaches makawalu or many perspectives. Having many versions of the same story is not wrong. Each version offers a different perspective. Similarly, many different ways of thinking, learning, and expressing are valuable. We use this 'ōlelo no'eau to validate the diverse ways students gain and demonstrate understanding.
<i>I ka 'ōlelo no ke ola, i ka 'ōlelo no ka make.</i> In the language there is life and in the language there is death.	Kānaka Maoli believe what we say has a great impact on everything around us. Our kūpuna could kill by simply chanting a person to death. On another level, without our language our culture would not be able to survive. In the classroom, we use this 'ōlelo no'eau to remind 'ōpio to be aware of what they say to one another.
<i>Mai kaula'i nā iwī o nā kūpuna i ka lā.</i> Don't lay the bones of the kūpuna in the sun.	It is deemed bad to leave the bones out to dry because our bones contain our mana. Anyone could take your mana if they got a hold of your bones. We implement this 'ōlelo no'eau into our class by explaining to the haumāna that our 'ike or knowledge is our mana. Whenever we give class handouts, the haumāna must be responsible for them and put them away. They should also have pride for their own work. If papers are left around and someone should happen to pick it up, they could use it for themselves and, in doing so, they are taking your mana. Knowledge is precious and powerful, deserving of respect and care.
<i>O ka 'āina ke ali'i, o ka maka'āinana ke kauwā.</i> The land is the chief and commoners are her servants.	We are just stewards of our 'āina, and we need to give respect by attending to the needs of the environment and by always giving first to the 'āina before taking for ourselves.

In addition to the ethics and values expressed by 'ōlelo no'eau, the wisdom of our kūpuna is also conveyed through the cultural protocols. For example, protocol guides and frames the work at 'Aihualama lo'i. Chants set the tone for the day's work and ask for the physical, mental, and spiritual protection of all. Students, staff, and guests always oli when entering 'Aihualama. The students of Papa Lo'i learn *Oli Mānoa*, composed by Kumu Kamuela Yim specifically for use by the Lo'i class and for entering 'Aihualama because the chant speaks of the specific names and physical features of Mānoa. Chants for planting and growth are also memorized and practiced. These give a deeper meaning to the regular work at the lo'i, which includes daily maintenance of the irrigation system, water-level management, stream study and survey, kuauna repair, mulching, planting, clearing, reforestation of native trees and shrubs, and moving of 'ōpala. In addition to the work done at 'Aihualama, haumāna are also exposed to other farms. Through these visits, they learn the kuleana of visitors to new places, including proper protocols to ask for permission to enter, to recognize and give thanks to the 'āina as well as the people and akua of that place, and to give back to each place through hana—helpful work.

The physical practices, orature, literature, and behavioral expectations we have described here all mutually reinforce each other as parts of our integrated, culture-based curriculum. Through this work, one of the primary goals of Papa Lo'i is for all to realize and deepen our awareness that our collective survival is dependent on mālama 'āina. Practicing mālama 'āina is both an expression of our deep aloha for Papa, and, if we take care of her, she will provide us with 'ai or food. Our familial relationship is both a spiritual and a practical one. Some students have an easier time connecting these lessons to their own lives than others. For example, when HKM moved to its permanent campus at Makiki for the 2007–2008 school year, the 'ōpio were engaged in planting dryland māla or gardens at the new campus. During one of the planting sessions, two students excitedly shared their own experiences of harvesting kalo in their own yard: “Ho, Aunty, you should've seen it! It was bigger than my head! It was so good, Aunty, and I hope these get big like that one. Yeah, Rusty? Was big ah?” one student called to his classmate, “Come help me and Aunty dig this hole.”

As the other boy approached and joined in the work, he agreed enthusiastically. “Yeah, Aunty, we dug it up and it was huge! It was like this big,” he said holding his hands up to frame his head. “It fed everyone, Aunty. It was yum! I'm getting hungry just thinking about it. Do you think our kalo is gonna get big like that? Let's dig. Come on! Come on, Aunty!”

For these students, mālama ‘āina at school reinforces the values they are already practicing in their own home, with their own ‘ohana. Thus, it is somewhat easier for them to make the connections that we have kuleana, or responsibilities and accountabilities to one another and to our ‘āina. Hawaiian genealogies are an expression of those reciprocal relationships, and they allow us to see ourselves within our collective identities as ‘ohana and lāhui. Our genealogies give identity, purpose, and kuleana. As a class, Papa Lo‘i students learn that each person never stands alone. Instead, we must think of the ways all our decisions and actions bear upon our friends, our kumu, our ‘ohana, our ancestors, and the generations yet unborn.

Through practice and reflection ‘ōpio learn that kuleana is heavy and difficult at times, yet most importantly is an honor. Many of our students already carry significant kuleana in their own families, and they are able to reflect on these responsibilities and privileges as a way to thinking about larger kuleana they may take on in their communities throughout their lives. Furthermore, we emphasize to students that with knowledge comes responsibility. To ignore that responsibility is negligent, and it is not a sustainable mindset suitable for an island society. Thus, with all they learn, haumāna are asked to think about the kuleana they will carry as a result of holding particular sets of skills or understandings, like farming kalo, dancing hula, or speaking Hawaiian.

Not all haumāna take to these skills and values easily, or accept them at all. We are, of course, talking about teenagers. Resistance ranges from normal complaining to swearing and name-calling, and from a healthy questioning of teachers’ opinions to angry outbursts, like one student’s comments to his kumu:

What the hell is Hawaiian going to do for me? How can you make money by learning it? What kind of job can I get with it? I don’t want to be a Hawaiian Language teacher for minimum pay at a stupid school! When am I ever going to use it? No one speaks Hawaiian!

This sentiment is reflected in the world around us, sometimes by our own family members, neighbors, and others. It is not uncommon for people to still be unable to see the value in Hawaiian cultural learning or to understand that those who speak Hawaiian or who mālama ‘āina can have a wide range of careers.

As kumu, we use various strategies to address students' resistance to completing assignments or participating in mālama 'āina work. For some 'ōpio, it just takes a lot of time and patience. For example, Kumu Kaleilehua had the privilege of working with one student who came into her class with the reputation of being a complainer, especially about any physical mālama 'āina work in which she would get dirty or sweaty. Her peers referred to her as "prissy." Whenever the class went on hikes she would pout and ask frequently, "Are we there yet? How much longer until we reach there?" There were multiple times when she would flat out refuse to do anything outside. On those days, Kumu Kaleilehua would work right beside her while doing the assigned task, like weeding the māla, and talk to her about the importance. At other times, the kumu would simply ignore the girl's complaints and continue the task at hand. Then one day, months later, Kumu Kaleilehua noticed that the girl wasn't complaining about anything. In fact, she was knee deep in mud touching all of the things she swore she would never touch—like frog eggs. That day, kumu thanked her and told her she was proud of her actions.

Toward the end of the year on the last hike the class took, as the student was in the middle of complaining she suddenly came to a realization and yelled, "Dammit, no use already! I complain and complain, and it's just making me all out of breath and I'm tired. Aunty doesn't care. I'm just not gonna say anything already." The whole class burst out into laughter, including the student. Kumu Kaleilehua never would have guessed that this same student would be the one to start inquiring about what she should do if she had a māla with kalo in it. Over time, the 'ōpio admitted that she had started a māla at home and was worried that her plants would die. Thus, we as kumu must be patient and steadfast with communicating to our haumāna about the importance of mālama 'āina, because we can never tell when and how students will internalize and begin practicing these things on their own.

Papa Lo'i kumu and haumāna continue to practice regular care of 'Aihualama lo'i. Our students have cleared terraces, reestablished the 'auwai irrigation system, flooded the lo'i, and planted kalo, along with all kinds of other useful native plants. In 2007, the students harvested their first crop from the initial planting. Validating cultural protocols as foundational in this process, ceremonies were conducted the night before that very first planting. Under a sky lit by the full Māhealani moon, 'awa was ceremonially served to members of the HKM 'ohana, including the students and their families. Our haumāna expressed pride in the fact that they participated in something of such traditional reverence as planting in accordance with the

moon phases as did our ancestors centuries ago. The ceremony also provided an important opportunity for each person to reflect on and share about the importance of this work to themselves personally, as well as to the larger community. We have found that through these practices, most students, though not all, learn and bring their own expressions to the values of mālama ‘āina and kuleana. Moreover, they see the usefulness and application of “social studies.” The final section focuses more specifically on the political aspects of social studies.

## “KŪ I KA PONO, KŪ‘Ē I KA HEWA”: TEACHING POLITICS AND COMMUNITY ACTIVISM

Call me a radical for I refuse to remain idle. I will not have the foreigner prostitute the soul of my being, and I will not make a whore of my soul (my culture).

—George Jarrett Helm

Does political action belong in a school environment? We believe that all education is political, whether or not the teachers and students are conscious of the politics embedded in the learning. To be Hawaiian in Hawai‘i, to maintain our distinct culture and collective identity as a people, is political. To speak our language, once banished by those who established the illegal U.S. occupation, is a political gesture. By reliving our cultural protocols and giving breath to our oli, we have already engaged in the political struggle to enrich our lāhui Hawai‘i and restore national pride. As kumu, aloha ‘āina starts with us. And yet the hegemonic cultural, economic, and political systems occupying our islands operate in ways that are antithetical to the ethics and practices of aloha ‘āina and mālama ‘āina. As a consequence, it is undoubtedly political to become an educator advocating for Hawaiian cultural values and traditions.

In HKM’s Lo‘i Project, taro farming and the associated cultural traditions comprise the hands-on, service-learning focus of the class, as well as providing the anchor for core academic standards-based instruction. Thus, the project integrates

language arts, science (with a focus on earth and life science strands), and social studies. Through completion of this year-long project, students meet social studies standards in anthropology, geography, and U.S. history. Engagement with community organizing and political action gives students an opportunity to see the intersections of these various fields in action.

In the last several years, one controversial matter exemplifies this opportunity most clearly: the fight over the genetic modification (GM) and patenting of kalo. Kalo farmers and Hawaiian academics were among the most vocal in voicing opposition to University of Hawai'i scientists patenting Hawaiian kalo varieties and conducting genetic modification upon Hāloa. When this issue came to the forefront of the local news media, our haumāna had already begun working in the lo'i and had become exposed to the full spectrum of taro cultivation from clearing land to eating the fruits of their labor. As a class, we had drawn upon the wisdom and guidance of farmers who have engaged in both the cultural and political aspects of kalo farming: 'Anakala Eddie Ka'ananā, Danny Bishop, Walter Ritte, and Paul and Charlie Reppun. Such personal relationships and mentoring are essential to a Hawaiian process of learning and apprenticeship.

Because HKM staff and students had already begun to establish informal partnerships with many taro farmers in the islands, it was a natural connection for students to become interested in the patenting and GM kalo issue. In addition, having their own close relationships with kalo through the practice of mālama 'āina and having digested mo'olelo Hawai'i about kalo and 'āina, our 'ōpio wanted to move beyond mere interest to full participation. They wanted to know what the issue was all about and how they could become involved.

It is critical to any subject matter, especially when dealing with community issues and political action, that students have a full understanding of the facts and the range of positions and that they themselves develop a pilina, or relationship, to the issue. Caring deeply about the real outcome of a controversial issue motivates in-depth learning. Once a pilina has been established, it is important to flood students with information. And as 'ōpio develop their own positions on political issues, they need to be able to explain and defend their positions. As kumu, we used the opportunity of their interest in the GM kalo issue to suggest critical questions they could ask: What is genetic modification? What are the impacts of patenting? Who is making the decisions? What are their interests? Who bears legitimate authority and kuleana to make decisions about kalo, something to which the 'ōpio themselves feel so strongly connected?

Particularly when dealing with heated community-based issues and actions, the kumu must balance a fine line between information and prejudice. Makawalu: show all sides of the story. When tackling the GM kalo issue, we found that it was a daunting task to remain objective. It was important to be transparent about our own political positions and biases and to explicitly reassure the haumāna that they need to make their own conscious choices independently.

During the period of time when the University of Hawai'i was on the political hot seat, the local news media provided almost daily material for group reading, viewing, and discussion. We first addressed the issue of bias, and we looked at various sources that provided commentary on perceived pros and cons for genetically modifying and patenting kalo. A simple T-graph is suitable for such an exercise at the initial level. Haumāna were then asked to interpret the information and choose for themselves what they believed to be pono or hewa. After having gained as much knowledge as we could, we divided the class in half and practiced thesis writing focused on the positions they had developed on the subject.

Another form of assessment utilized was a speech and debate unit on the controversy. Again, pilina is important because once the haumāna care about an issue and then become confident in the facts, their motivation grows in leaps and bounds. To encourage even further growth beyond their own comfort zones and to develop a deeper sense of kuleana and accountability, invite outside guests from the community (in this case, taro farmers, scientists, university professors, or administrators) to sit on the panel assessing student speeches. Create a formal atmosphere, and the haumāna rise to the occasion. This is a form of authentic assessment.

An even deeper form of authentic assessment with respect to this issue included the opportunity for all HKM students and staff to take part in two community actions related to this issue. In the spring of 2006, the entire school joined with kalo farmers and Hawaiian cultural practitioners in marching down Dole Street from Ka Papa Lo'i o Kānewai (the Kānewai lo'i system, which is part of the University of Hawai'i) to Bachman Hall, the center of decision making for the UH system, to press for the end of UH patents on kalo. We met at Kānewai, where students were addressed by various farmers and community leaders. Chris Kobayashi, a mahi'ai kalo from Hanalei, Kaua'i, expressed the farmers' position this way:

As a farmer, I strongly object to patents on taro or any other crop. Why should farmers have to pay for huli [the upper part of the root, used for replanting]? Our taxes have helped to fund UH. Some of us have been co-operators with UH on different taro research programmes including breeding, cultivation and diseases. More importantly, how can anyone claim ownership of plants that have evolved and been selected or bred by farmers for specific environmental conditions and desirable properties over generations? (Quoted in Ritte & Freese, 2006)

And Kanaka artist-activist Alapa'i Hanapī put it more succinctly:

Ownership of taro is like slavery...we have demanded the UH give up its taro patents and return these varieties to Hawaiians. We are the custodians who have guided the appropriate use of kalo for millennia as a benefit for all people of Hawai'i. (Quoted in Ritte & Freese, 2006)

Encouraged and validated by the words of various speakers, in Hawaiian and in English, some of the 'ōpio painted their faces with the lepo from the lo'i to display their physical and spiritual connection to their ancestor, Hāloa. When the procession began, it was led by respected kupuna Eddie Ka'ananā from a vehicle guarded by younger Kanaka demonstrators. With our oli filling the air and our signs held high, the collective sentiment was clear.

The procession arrived at Bachman Hall, meeting with nearly 200 others gathered to oppose the patents. HKM's sister school, Hālau Lōkahi, stood at the top of the entranceway in full traditional dress, chanting in greeting to the marchers and in resistance to university administrators. With mana that flowed there that day, aloha 'āina materialized in a whole new way for many of our haumāna. It became real rather than rhetoric. They were able to witness social movement firsthand and to see that political action is a crucial part of aloha and mālama 'āina. Moreover, they were able to palpably experience Hawaiian collective identity and kinship. Such an experience could never have been replicated in a classroom. Two years

later, many of our haumāna still talk about the feelings of pride and power they experienced that day. They were also encouraged to hear that their participation may have had an impact; UH voluntarily agreed to rescind and rip up its patents.

A few months later, HKM participated in a follow-up community event, Lā Kūkahi. Organized by Kalaniākea Wilson, the intent of this event was to establish a permanent Hawaiian presence at Bachman Hall. However, the tone was decidedly to ho'oulu, nurture growth, and to ho'omana kūpuna, to honor the elders and ancestors, rather than just to kū'ē, or protest. Thus, HKM brought our entire 'ohana—students, families, staff, and related community members—to participate in the ceremonies and celebration. The primary hana, or task, was to pass stones from hand to hand along the mile-long stretch of road between Kānewai and Bachman Hall. Through this physical work, participants were able to experience kūkahi and lōkahi, coming together for a common purpose of building a stone altar to honor our kūpuna. The ahu, whose construction was led by Moloka'i Kānaka, Walter Ritte, Kalaniua Ritte, and Hanohano Naehu, still stands in the center of the Bachman Hall garden, right outside the front doors, to remind decision makers that the kūpuna Hawai'i are always present to provide guidance and accountability. To this day, as a part of Papa Lo'i, we continue to visit this ahu to ho'omana with our oli, pule, and ho'okupu. This is our ongoing kuleana.

Essential to the process of learning, reflection completes the cycle of critical inquiry and action. After the excitement and intensity of each of these community actions and back in the relative quiet of the classroom environment, students were asked to write and talk about their reactions, thoughts, and feelings. Reflective journaling is an important part of the process of debriefing any involvement in political events and community activism. A few examples of reflective questions that have been posed to our haumāna include:

- Was this event an expression of aloha 'āina? Describe why or why not.
- Have your actions been executed with pono? Use specific examples.
- How has your participation helped your community, people, and/or 'āina?
- What difference do you feel you have made?
- What was the greatest lesson that you have learned through this experience?

Following our public involvement in the kalo issues at UH–Mānoa, after reading the news media coverage about our active presence in a clearly political action, students wrote in response to the prompt, “Does political action belong in a school environment?” The closing words of one of our recent graduates sums up the sentiments expressed by students for that assignment and by the authors in this article:

So it comes down to this: Does political action belong in a school environment? I'll give you a simple answer. Hell yes!...If in schools the teachers do not take political action, or discuss politics and recent issues, all they're doing is graduating ignorant fools....And we all know that ignorant fools leading ignorant fools leads to senseless and illegal actions [like] the Iraqi War. Make sure that the political actions around the world aren't hidden from our youth because forgotten knowledge is useless. Make sure the youth [are] not ignorant to the world around them.

— Kalani L. D. Aldosa, 12th grade, 2007

The following year, students in Papa Lo'i studied the same issue, although they participated in different political actions. This time, they attended proceedings at the Hawai'i State Capitol as legislators considered a measure that would put a 10-year moratorium on genetic engineering of kalo and several bills that would affect charter school funding. When we posed the same question to this class, over half of their reflections mirrored Kalani's sentiments above. Some of the responses included below were framed within the context of our school needing to strongly advocate for equitable funding for all charter schools as public schools. Here are a few excerpts of the students' responses to the question of whether or not politics belongs in schools.

I feel that politics does belong in school because we get to exercise our beliefs through protesting....It also teaches us to be open about our opinions when it comes to political issues. We are not only learning about Math and English we are now learning about what happens in the real world and what will affect our lives in the future.

—Kukahi Lua, 9th grade, 2008

I think it's good that teachers are involved in politics and that they share their mana'o (perspective) with their students....I think it's important for us to protest and fight for what we believe in. It's also good for the politicians to hear our voice and know that whatever the problem is, [it] is affecting us.

—Victoria Tom, 10th grade, 2008

It's good to be aware of your political problems in your area. Usually no other schools but charter schools go to the Capitol to fight for what they want. Sometimes we're educated more on certain problems than our parents.

—Lakela Duque, 11th grade, 2008

The things we get to do in school [are] pretty amazing. Going down to the Capitol and fighting for the things we believe in is a good way to show the people that we stand up for what is right.

—Willy Kaina, 9th grade, 2008

There is no doubt in my mind that the strongest leo (voice) is that of the haumāna (student). I strongly believe that political issues do belong in school because it is the future [of] the students that most of today's disputes will affect.

—Noeau Paalani, 11th grade, 2008

I believe that students and schools have a lot of power, in fact I know this. Just look at the Civil Rights movement. Many of those protestors and leaders were students in high school and college, and they made a world of a difference.

— Ashton Dozier, 9th grade, 2008

We enjoy learning about issues impacting our school and we enjoy being a part of a change.

—Tiare Kalani, 12th grade, 2008

It teaches the youth, before they become taxpayers, that they have the right to be involved in politics....We're taught to recognize when a wrong is committed and [to] also [do] all in our power to remedy that....The State Capitol isn't something to fear, somewhere that feels forbidden. It's somewhere that represents the struggle we go through not only as Hawaiians, but as human beings, always fighting for what we deserve....Learning of politics early would prove for a better, more stable future.

—Pomaikai Freed, 12th grade, 2008

Survey findings from the Hawaiian Cultural Influences in Education study further support this anecdotal data, as HKM students demonstrate significantly higher rates of familiarity and active engagement with contemporary sociopolitical issues impacting the Hawai'i community. As Figure 3 reveals, HKM students are more likely to possess knowledge and opinions about a wide range of issues affecting Kānaka Maoli than their counterparts in other public schools. The gap between these groups widens substantially when students are asked whether they have ever done something about these issues (see Figure 4). The curriculum and teaching approaches established at HKM ensure that students are given opportunities to apply their learning in areas that are relevant to them and their fellow community members.

FIGURE 3 Students' knowledge/familiarity with Hawaiian and local issues

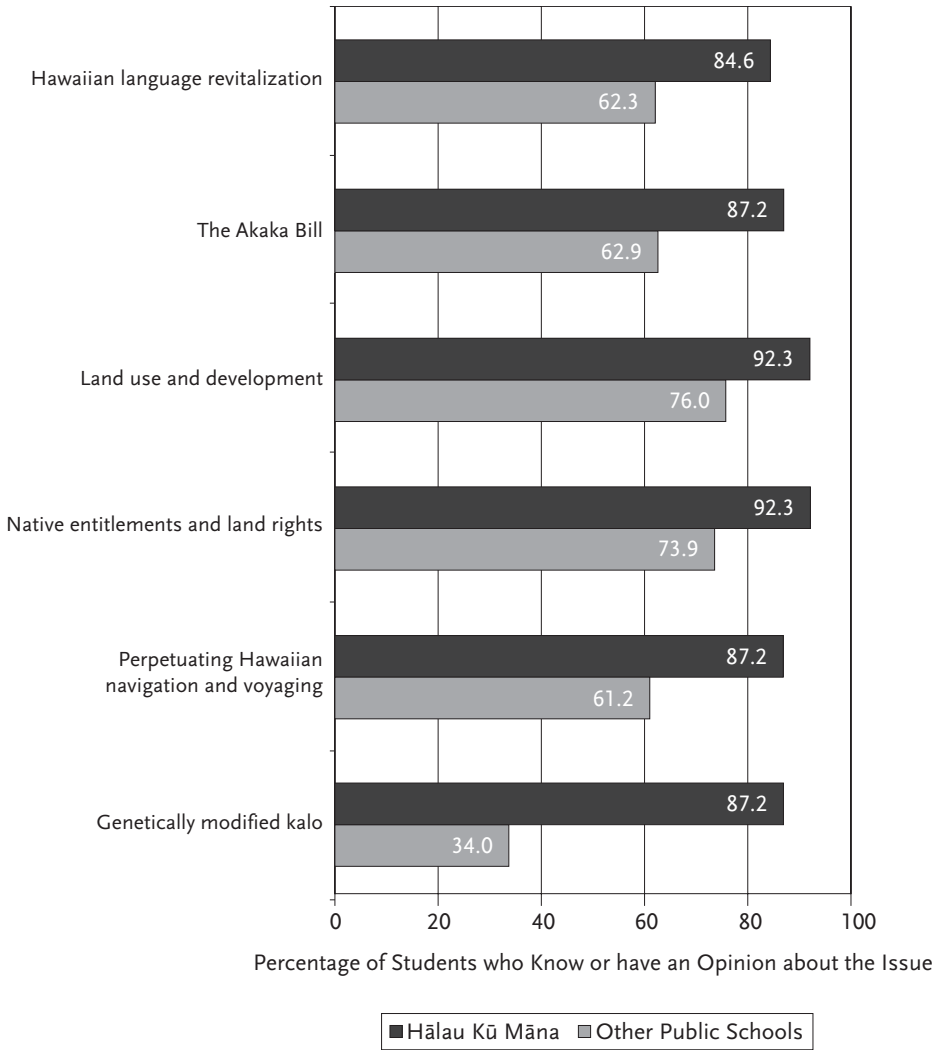
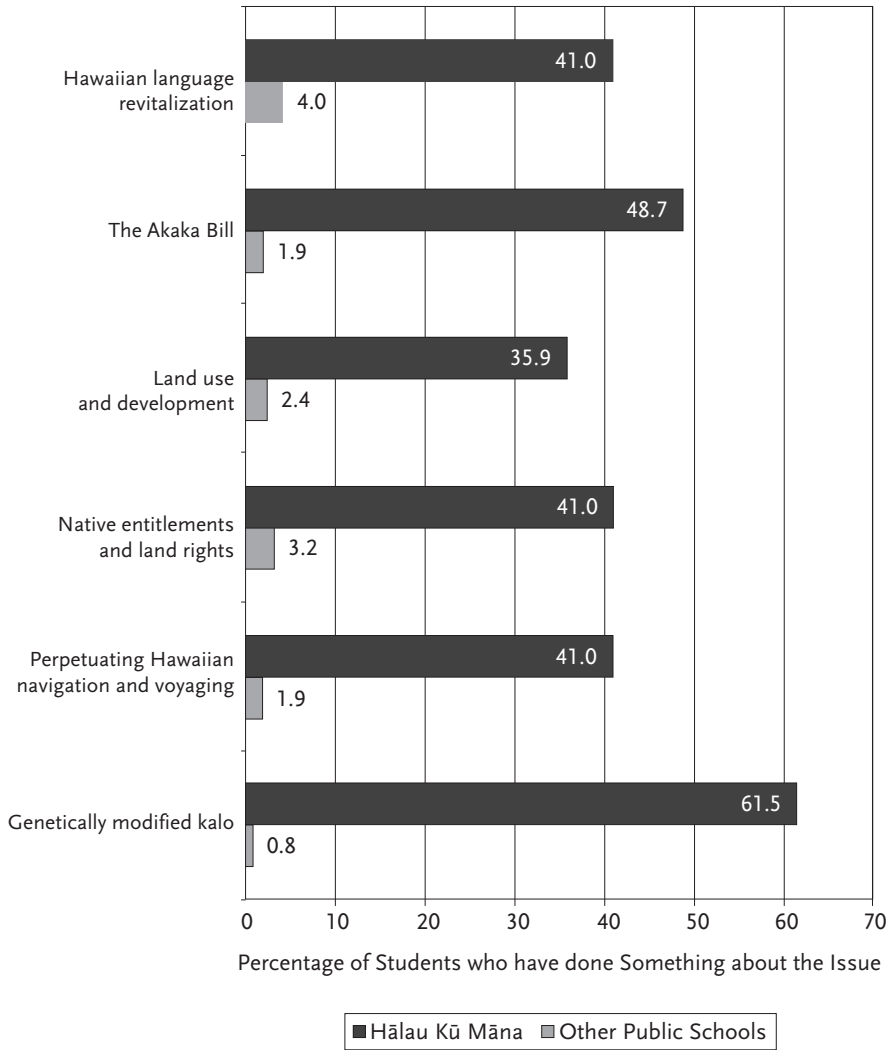


FIGURE 4 Students' active engagement with Hawaiian and local issues



Teachers must decide the extent to which they can integrate relevant political issues and actions into their courses. We have certainly found that students' reactions are overwhelmingly positive, and we have been consistently impressed by our students' abilities, for example, to deliver testimony of their own thoughts and experiences with clarity, confidence, and conviction at legislative hearings, conferences, and other public venues. There is no shortage of relevant political issues to cover with which to encourage dialogue and practice of kuleana and aloha 'āina through social studies courses. Perhaps the biggest challenge is for teachers to be kumu—living examples who practice these foundational values rather than simply lecturing about them. We are grateful to have the opportunity to keep challenging ourselves in that regard.

## KA HA'ĪNA

E iho o luna. E pi'i o lalo. E hui nā moku. E kū maoli nō ka paia.

As a result of nearly 110 years of U.S. occupation in Hawai'i, it has become all too easy for Hawaiians to resemble Americans and disregard or forget the cultural identity that makes us Kānaka Hawai'i. Too many of us have Americanized our thoughts, our style, our language, our values, our habits, and our nationality. This huikau jeopardizes the integrity and survival of our collective identity and existence as a lāhui Hawai'i. Our survival amid occupation depends on our continual practice of our culture. If we do not speak our language, dance our dances, chant our chants, pray to our gods, and grow food on our land and in our waters, we risk cultural extinction. The curriculum we have outlined in this article is offered as a path to lead our people out of huikau.

Vigorous political engagement, informed community participation, and a commitment to aloha 'āina are hallmarks of a vibrant Hawaiian social body. Therefore, to nurture a healthy lāhui Hawai'i, we must teach our youth to think critically and speak out about social issues impacting Hawaiian lands and communities. We must equip our 'ōpio with a language of political analysis, a toolbox of practical mālama 'āina skills, and the wisdom of our kūpuna passed to us in our mo'olelo and 'ōlelo no'eau. Our young people are no strangers to the major social ills Kānaka Maoli face as a result of over a century of prolonged occupation. They

must be prepared to address these issues we face as a people, and we can begin to give them this preparation through robust, project- and community-based social studies as described here.

In our own homeland, where temporary residence of a prolonged occupation pollutes our perception of truth and fallacy, of identity and nationality; where foreign authorities claim the legitimacy to assess our cultural visions and missions; where economic dependency ensnares our political, economic, and educational independence; where purportedly “rigorous” educational standards dictate the ways we teach our children; where a C-minus president can prescribe the educational whitewashing of a separate and illegally occupied Hawaiian nation;<sup>27</sup> on our own homeland, Hawaiian culture-based education is literally under the gun. Yet we continue to fight. Not with arms but with edification. Not with bombs but with our leo. Not with hate but with aloha.

For the four of us, Hālau Kū Māna has been our pu‘uhonua, our bastion, our refuge, the place from which we set sail. We seek to cultivate positive changes in the minds, bodies, and spirits of our ‘ohana. We work for healing against more than a century of occupation. We are motivated and passionate about the education of our own people because it is our kuleana. We see HKM as one of a growing number of pu‘uhonua where young, brilliant, beautiful Hawaiian women and men give their lives, their families, their joy, and their pain to Huli Ao, to turn over the time of our suppression and bring our Kānaka Maoli into a new era of pride and power. We are here to Huli Ao, to turn dark into light. We hope you will join us.

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#### ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, PhD, was born and raised on O'ahu. She is a cofounder and local school board member of Hālau Kū Māna (HKM) and has also worked for the school as a teacher, accountability specialist, and program director. Currently, she serves as an assistant professor of political science at the University of Hawai'i (UH)–Mānoa, teaching courses in indigenous politics and Native Hawaiian politics. Willy Kauai has been teaching at HKM since 2004. He is currently the lead teacher of the Loko I'a (fishpond) project, providing specific expertise and instruction in Hawaiian history, civics, and politics. He is a PhD candidate in political science at UH–Mānoa and will soon be completing his teacher certification through the Hālau Wānana program. Both he and 'Īmaikalani Winchester are members of Kīpuka, a group of young Hawaiians who were one of the parties suing U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld for violation of the rules and regulations of the National Environmental Protection Act in the expansion of U.S. military control of lands in Hawai'i for the Stryker Brigade. Kaleilehua Maioho holds a BA in Hawaiian studies (with an emphasis in Pacific languages) from UH–Mānoa and BA with honors in Māori studies from the University of Auckland. She is the lead teacher of ka Papa Lo'i (the Lo'i Project) and is responsible for teaching 'ōlelo and mo'olelo Hawai'i, as well as U.S. history. She has extensive background as a Hawaiian language teacher, having taught in both immersion and bilingual settings from preschool through high school. She is also a student in the Hālau Wānana program. 'Īmaikalani Winchester earned his BA in Hawaiian studies and his MA in political science (with a focus on indigenous politics) from UH–Mānoa. He has taught U.S. history, Hawaiian history, civics/politics, language arts, and Hawaiian language at HKM. Currently, he specializes in the cultural practices of farming kalo. He is also a lead community organizer for Ka Lā Ho'ihō'i Ea, held each summer at the end of July recognizing Hawaiian sovereignty and independence. He is working toward teacher certification through the Hālau Wānana program.

## NOTES

1 Hawaiian is the ancestral language of the authors and of the place from which this research emerges. Thus, in this article, Hawaiian words are not marked as different or foreign to the text by italicization. The exceptions are when words are used as specific titles, as in names of courses at Hālau Kū Māna. For readers who do not understand the Hawaiian language, a glossary is provided in the Appendix. We feel this small act of turning the pages to look for a definition reminds readers that learning and teaching about Hawai'i demand the effort to learn the native language rather than have it immediately translated into English.

2 In this article, a number of terms are used interchangeably to refer to the indigenous people of Hawai'i, people who are genealogically connected to Ka Pae 'Āina 'o Hawai'i since time immemorial: Kānaka Maoli, 'Ōiwi, 'Ōiwi Hawai'i, Kānaka Hawai'i, Hawaiian, and Native Hawaiian. Preference is given to native terms. However, "Hawaiian" and "Native Hawaiian" are often deployed in popular and scholarly usage.

3 Beyond its literal translation as "love for the land," we use the term *aloha 'āina* in the fullness of its usages by Hawaiian nationalists from the 19th century onward. The term was used both by Hawaiian patriots who led a massive protest movement against U.S. annexation (see Basham, 2007; Silva, 2004) and by activists of the 1970s who engaged in land occupations to protect the 'āina from destruction by military and tourist industry exploitation (see Aoude, 1999; Morales, 1984).

4 The term *New Century Public Charter Schools* comes from Hawai'i's Act 62, which allowed for the creation of start-up charter schools and capped the total number of charter schools allowed in the state at 25. Act 62 was signed into law on May 27, 1999. Since that time, a limited number of additional charter schools, both start-up and conversion, have been allowed.

5 Kānaka Maoli are one among many Native peoples who have used the U.S. charter school model of education reform to create schools utilizing indigenous cultural knowledges and practices as their educational foundations. Rural and urban charter schools have been founded by diverse Native Alaskan and Indian communities, including but not limited to Yupik, Inupiaq, Tlingit, Hopi, Blackfoot, Seminole, Navajo, Pueblo, Northern Cheyenne, Dakota, Chippewa, Arapaho, the confederated tribes of the Umatilla reservation, the Barona band of Mission

Indians, and several pan-Indian networks in large metropolitan centers. More than 50 Native charter schools exist across territories controlled by the United States, including Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska, Oregon, Utah, North Carolina, and California.

6 For more information on Hālau Kū Māna's mission, values, and program, see the school's website at [www.halaukumana.org](http://www.halaukumana.org).

7 A significant number of treaties and other primary documents of the Hawaiian Kingdom are easily accessible for teachers and researchers at <http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/index.shtml>.

8 Anglo-Franco Proclamation of Hawaiian Statehood (1843, November 28). Available at <http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/treaties.shtml>.

9 Osorio (2002) and Silva (2004) presented book-length works that bring to light previously suppressed histories of the Hawaiian Kingdom era and Kanaka Maoli resistance to American imperialism.

10 This interview is documented in *Live From Baghdad: Making Journalism History Behind the Lines*, by former CNN journalist Robert Wiener (2002, p. 152). Limited preview of the book is available on Google Books at <http://books.google.com/books?id=DZ38HeRbRaQC&pg=PP1&dq=live+from+baghdad&sig=2Gu5KM1bqpkWryISrrUTrgSEjXo#PPA152,M1>.

11 For instance, Mataio Kekūanaō'a, as head of public education in the Kingdom, urged an increase in funding for common schools in the 1860s. On the other hand, Charles R. Bishop, who served as president of the Board of Education (BOE) throughout the 1870s and early 1880s, exacerbated the difference in funding between select English-language schools and Hawaiian-medium schools. See Benham and Heck (1998) and Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2005) for further discussion of the role of school systems in producing hierarchies of inequality in Hawai'i, particularly with respect to Kānaka Maoli.

12 The Hawaiian legislature was aware of and concerned about the discrepancy between teacher salaries at English-medium and Hawaiian-medium schools. In 1890, Representative Kahookano introduced a resolution, passed by the entire body, for an accounting of all the school teachers and their salaries in the Kingdom. The resolution also asked for an explanation of why school teachers were being sought from outside of the islands and the native population. BOE president Bishop

provided a listing that shows that foreign teachers were paid 6 to 10 times more than Kanaka Maoli teachers. See *Answers by the President of the Board of Education* (Hawaiian Kingdom, 1890).

13 According to the 2000 U.S. Census, Native Hawaiians make up about 20% of the state's and of O'ahu county's total population. Yet, Hawaiian youth make up 32% of public school students in the state. In the last 20 years, the number and proportion of Hawaiian students in public schools have increased significantly. Between 1980 and 2000, the number of Hawaiian students increased by 44%, while the number of Japanese and Caucasian students declined by more than 30% each (Ishibashi, 2004). In other words, the number of Hawaiian students attending public schools is growing faster than the other major ethnic groups in the state.

14 In 2000–2001, 18.1% of Hawaiian students in public schools were enrolled in special education, as compared with only 11% of non-Hawaiian public school students. That same period, 35.4% of special education enrollment were Hawaiian students.

15 For collected statistics on youth drug use, sexual activity, and criminality, see Kana'iaupuni and Ishibashi's (2003) *Left Behind?* report and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs' (2002) *Native Hawaiian Data Book*. Both of these reports draw on information from other studies, including *Hawaiian Students' Performance on the 1999 Youth Risk Behavior Survey* (Lai & Saka, 2000), *Hawai'i Student Alcohol, Tobacco, and Other Drug Use Study* (State of Hawai'i Department of Health, 2002), and *Crime in Hawai'i 2001: A Review of Uniform Crime Reports* (State of Hawai'i Department of Attorney General, 2001).

16 Sponsored by Alu Like (1985), the E Ola Mau Health Needs Study first documented the scope of mental health needs among Native Hawaiians, including alcohol and substance abuse, depression, suicide, physical abuse and neglect, incarceration, and disruptive disorders. Broader health research has also established the strong link between socioeconomic status and health. Evans, Barer, and Marmor (1994) provide an excellent overview. See also Blaisdell (1993) and, for more contemporary work, the Native Hawaiian Mental Health Research Development Program's website for a listing of their research cadre's body of work on Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander mental health: <http://www.hawaii residency.org/NHMHRDP/publications.html>.

17 The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development estimates “fair market rents” for each fiscal year. These statistics were taken from the document “Proposed Fair Market Rents for Fiscal Year 2008 for the Housing Choice Voucher Program and Moderate Rehabilitation Single Room Occupancy Program” (U.S. HUD, 2008). They are available on the U.S. HUD website at <http://www.huduser.org/datasets/fmr/fmrs/index.asp?data=fmr08>, as well as at [http://www.universal-livingwage.org/fmrtables\\_2008/HI\\_FMR2008.htm](http://www.universal-livingwage.org/fmrtables_2008/HI_FMR2008.htm).

18 While it is difficult to determine a precise number or percentage of the homeless who are Native Hawaiian, there are several sources that point to the overrepresentation of Hawaiians among the homeless. See, for example, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (2006) press release that states, “of the roughly 4,000 homeless citizens currently in Leeward Oahu, as many as 60–70 percent are Native Hawaiian,” based on a state survey of 331 families living on the beaches of West O‘ahu in 2006. Available at [http://www.oha.org/index.php?Itemid=152&id=244&option=com\\_content&task=view](http://www.oha.org/index.php?Itemid=152&id=244&option=com_content&task=view). The University of Hawai‘i’s Center on the Family produces Homeless Service Utilization Reports annually (Ripke, Crespo, Kim, Yuen, & Yuan, 2007).

19 See coverage in *The Honolulu Advertiser* for a summary of the protests and arguments. For example, see Creamer (2005) and Nakaso (2005) at <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2005/May/01/ln/ln07p.html>.

20 The University of Hawai‘i–Mānoa Faculty Senate’s committee reports studying potential impacts of a UARC facility and their resolution opposing an Allied Research Lab at UH can be found at <http://www.hawaii.edu/uhmfs/uarc/>. The Faculty Senate argued that the agreement would set up an institutional relationship with the Department of Defense that is structurally different and inconsistent with the university’s mission statement. They raised concerns about an increased level of classified research and that research requiring security clearance would impede free inquiry and create two classes of researchers. Furthermore, the Faculty Senate did not feel that the proponents of the UARC made a persuasive case that costs of the proposal to UH are outweighed by benefits to the university.

21 In 2008, the state auditor completed a report that discussed Hawai‘i SuperFerry executives’ pressuring and influencing the Lingle administration to exempt the ferry from environmental laws. The full report, “Performance Audit on the State Administration’s Actions Exempting Certain Harbor Improvements to Facilitate Large Capacity Ferry Vessels From the Requirements of the Hawai‘i Environmental

Impact Statements Law: Phase I” (State of Hawai‘i Office of the Auditor, 2008) can also be downloaded at <http://hawaii.gov/auditor/Years/2008reports.htm>. See a summary of the report at <http://www.honoluluadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080417/NEWS01/804170348>.

22 See *The Honolulu Advertiser* article, “Lingle Keeps Lid on Superferry Records” at <http://www.honoluluadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080610/NEWS01/806100355>. The article discusses the Lingle administration’s unwillingness to publicly release documents related to its decision to exempt the Hawai‘i Superferry project from environmental review (DePledge, 2008).

23 See DePledge (2007), “Warnings Raise Ire of Hawaii Ferry Protesters” at <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2007/Sep/30/ln/hawaii709300367.html>.

24 For example, *The Honolulu Advertiser* reported on June 15, 2008, that screeners found a significant increase in restricted items like ‘opihī and lobsters, after the ferry reported record sales the previous month (Wilson, 2008). See “Vehicle Inspections Net Contraband” at <http://www.honoluluadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080615/NEWS09/806150340>.

25 This version of the ‘Ōpūkahaōnua genealogy is adapted from Kame‘eleihiwa (1992).

26 Hawaiian Cultural Influences in Education is a collaborative research study done by Kamehameha Schools, the Hawai‘i Department of Education, and Nā Lei Na‘auao alliance of Hawaiian-focused charter schools. Data reported here pertain to 8th and 10th graders surveyed in school year 2006–2007 and is limited to HKM students ( $n = 39$ ) and participating noncharter public school students ( $n = 1,202$ ). Items shown in charts are statistically significant at the  $p = .05$  level. For more study information, visit <http://www.ksbe.edu/spi/cbe>.

27 This article was written during George W. Bush’s presidency of the United States.

## APPENDIX

### GLOSSARY OF HAWAIIAN WORDS

Definitions in this glossary draw from and expand on those offered in the revised and enlarged edition of Pukui and Elbert's *Hawaiian Dictionary* (1986). In particular, they define the words as they are used in the context of the Hālau Kū Māna's school culture.

**Ahu** Altar, shrine

**Ahupua'a** Land division, usually extending from the mountains to the ocean

**'Ai** Food

**'Āina** Land; literally, that which feeds

**Akua** A general term for god. Sometimes refers to the primary Christian deity

**Aloha** Love, compassion

**Ali'i** Ruler, royal, noble

**Ao** Light, daylight, dawn; enlighten

**'Aumakua** Family or personal god, deified ancestor

**Aupuni** Government, particularly of the Hawaiian Kingdom established by the Kamehamehas

**'Auwai** Irrigation ditch, particularly for lo'i kalo

**'Awa** Kava

**Hā** Breath

**Hālau** Meeting house, place of learning; also refers to the people who make up a group of teachers and students, as a hālau hula

**Hāloa** Kalo and elder sibling of Kānaka Maoli

**Hana** Work, task

**Haumāna** Students

**Hewa** Wrong

**Hō'ailona** Sign, symbol

**Ho'okupu** A tribute, ceremonial gift, offering; also means to cause growth, to sprout

**Ho'omana** Honor

**Ho'oulu** Nurture, inspire

**Huikau** Confused; unsure

**Hula** Dance

**Huli** Taro top; also means to turn or reverse; to change, as an opinion or manner of living; revolution

**'Ike** Knowledge

**‘Ili** Land section, usually a subdivision of an ahupua‘a

**Kaikaina** Younger sibling, usually of the same sex; this term is used at HKM to refer to students of the equivalent to a middle school division.

**Kalo** Taro

**Kanaka** Person (without specific gender reference), subject, population, private individual or party as distinguished from the government, humanity

**Kānaka** Plural of kanaka

**Kānaka Maoli** Native Hawaiians

**Ka Pae ‘Āina ‘o Hawai‘i** The Hawaiian archipelago

**Kinolau** Many-bodied, usually the body form or manifestations of different gods or deities

**Kipuka** A variation or change of form, as a calm place in a high sea, deep place in a shoal, opening in a forest, openings in cloud formations, and especially a clear place or oasis within a lava bed where there may be vegetation

**Kū** One of the major male akua

**Kua‘ana** Elder sibling, usually of the same sex. This term is used at HKM to refer to students of the equivalent to a high school division

**Kuauna** Bank or border of a lo‘i kalo or a stream

**Kū‘ē** To oppose, resist, protest

**Kūkahi** Stand together as one

**Kuleana** Right, responsibility, authority

**Kumu** Teacher; intellectual; source; reason or cause

**Kupua** Demigod

**Kupuna** Ancestor, grandparent, or one of the grandparents’ generation

**Kūpuna** Plural of kupuna

**Lāhui** Nation, people

**Lei** A garland, often of flowers, feathers, or shells; figuratively refers to a beloved child or lover

**Leo** Voice

**Lepo** Dirt

**Lo‘i** Irrigated terrace; wetland taro field

**Lōkahi** Unity, agreement, accord

**Loko i‘a** Fishpond

**Mahi‘ai** Farmer; to farm

**Ma‘i** Genitals

**Makani** Wind

**Makawalu** Numerous, many; literally, eight eyes

**Māla** Garden

**Mālama** To care for, attend, preserve, protect

**Mana** Supernatural, spiritual, or divine power; life force or energy

**Māna** A chewed mass; a trait acquired from those who raised a child; also short for haumāna or student

**Mana'o** Perspective, thought, idea, opinion

**Maoli** Native, aboriginal, genuine, real

**Mele** Song

**Mo'olelo** A mode of representing events of the past; story, history, tradition, literature

**'Ohana** Family

**'Ōiwi** Native

**'Ōlelo No'eau** Proverb, wise saying

**Oli** Chant that is not accompanied by a dance

**'Ōpala** Trash, rubbish

**'Opihi** Limpet

**'Ōpio** Young person, generally adolescent or preadolescent

**'Ōpū** Stomach

**Piko** Navel, summit, crown of head

**Pilina** Relationship

**Po'e** People

**Pono** Balance, goodness, wellness, morality, excellence, integrity, justice

**Po'o** Head

**Pule** Prayer

**Pu'u honua** Place of refuge, sanctuary, or asylum

**Ua** Rain

**Wa'a** Canoe