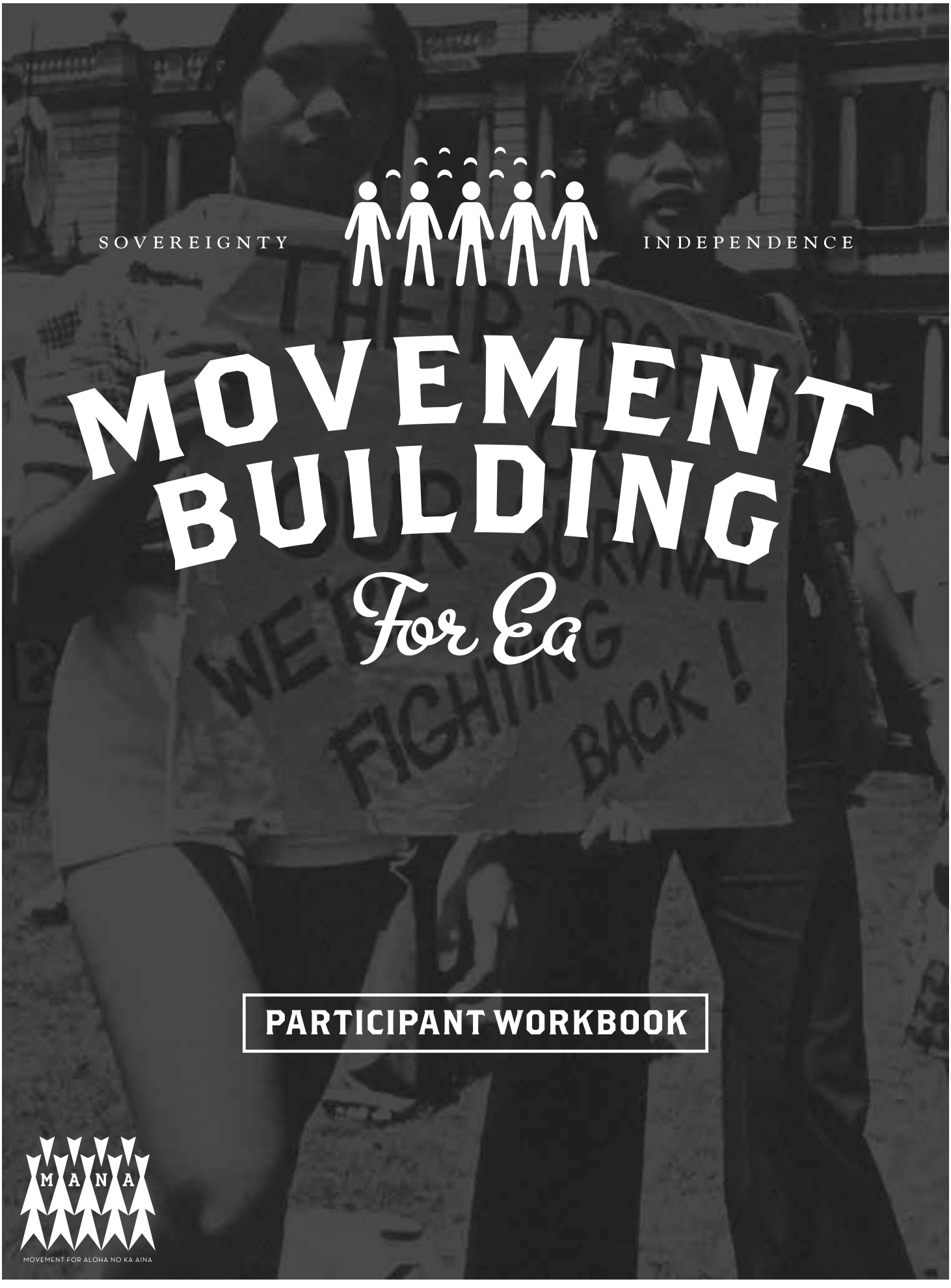

SOVEREIGNTY
INDEPENDENCE
MOVEMENT BUILDING
For Ea
PARTICIPANT WORKBOOK
MANA
MOVEMENT FOR ALOHA NO KA AINA

MOVEMENT BUILDING FOR EA

CURRICULUM OVERVIEW

Ea mai Hawaiinuiakea
Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka po
Puka mai ka moku, ka aina,
Ka lalani ʻĀina o Nuumea,
Ka pae aina o i kukulu o Tahiti.

These lines come from an oli (chant) of Kahakuikamoana who, according to Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe, was "*he kahuna nui i ke au kahiko*"— a great spiritual and political leader of ancient times. As recounted in this oli, Hawai'i rises, as from the ocean, from the dark depths of creation. Similarly, Hawai'i emerges as a political force built upon the foundations of the peoples and places who came before us.

We open this curriculum with these few powerful lines, with the intention that they inspire the reemergence and coalescence of mana in the islands and peoples of Hawai'i. This curriculum explicitly aims to raise up peoples' voices for the ea of this 'āina. In that vein, the curriculum makes the following three learning objectives central. Participants will:

1

IDENTIFY

Identify and analyze power relations and systems of power operating in their daily lives and in the broader society.

2

DEVELOP

Develop practical skills for community organizing, such as strategizing based on power analyses and planning tactical campaigns.

3

EXPRESS

Express and compose compelling messages in various forms, including stories, mele (songs/poetry) and signs.

The curriculum consists of four modules that can be modified and adapted to fit the needs of community or student groups interested in the training. On the next page, you will find an overview of the four modules, followed by a "menu of options" that provides a few possible suggestions for how the modules could be organized into a customized training.

*This curriculum is a project of MANA: Movement for Aloha no ka ʻĀina. It was created through a grant from the Hawai'i Peoples Fund and in conjunction with the book, *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land and Sovereignty* (Duke University Press, 2014). The primary authors of the curriculum are Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 'Ilima Long and No'eau Peralto, with assistance from Tina Grandinetti and Andre Perez. Instructor manual and participant workbook design by Mark Dean Guillermo.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SCHEDULE AT-A-GLANCE

A full-length training for students and organizers in Hawai'i, introducing participants to significant stories of community struggle in the islands, to important Hawaiian cultural concepts and ethics, to chants that can be used to rally people, as well as practical skills for planning and implementing effective actions in your communities. Participants will leave this training with momentum and a plan of action for organizing around an issue that they have identified as important.

SUGGESTED TIMEFRAME

1 – 5 Days

MAIN ELEMENTS

All four full modules, plus additional time for group planning and for mālama 'āina or other outdoor activities. Team-building and group dynamics throughout.

MODULE	FOCUS & ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS	ORGANIZING SKILLS	CRITICAL VOCABULARY
Hānau ka Mauna: (Re)connecting to the Piko of our Ea	Cultivating and expressing a meaningful connection to place	Identifying your piko and the forces that obstruct your (re)connection with that piko; Expressing connection to place through creative writing; Researching for deepening understandings of ancestral knowledge of place (Hawaiian places)	• ea • mo'okū'auhau • piko • kuleana • 'ōiwi • colonialism • extractive colonialism • settler colonialism • power
Make'e Pono Lāhui Hawai'i: Campaign Planning and Anti-racism	Start organizing in your own immediate realm. "Recognize, analyze, organize, exercise!"	Planning a tactical campaign (how to identify a target, make a demand, and execute/escalate a time-bound campaign); Recognizing racism and institutionalized power	• strategy • tactics • campaign • racism • white supremacy
Taking Control of the Story, Taking Control of Our Future: The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana	Controlling the way a story or struggle is framed is an important aspect of movement-building.	Analyzing dominant narratives and their consequences; learning to "flip the script" or tell a compelling alternative story; base-building for movements	• aloha 'āina • dominant and counter narrative • control myth • meme
The Power of Kuleana and Direct Action: The Waiāhole-Waikāne Community Association's Struggle against Eviction	"Making power vs. Taking power"	How to consider one's kuleana in a coalition and act in solidarity; How to plan for a direct action that may involve confrontation with the law	• kuleana • direct action • politics of demand • "making power" vs. "taking power

Throughout each of the four modules, activities to build trust and a sense of teamwork are also woven in to the content.

FOCUS AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS

Cultivating and expressing a meaningful connection to place. Ea is an active practice of life and sovereignty.

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

ea, mo'okū'auhau, piko, kuleana, 'ōiwi, colonialism, settler colonialism, power

ORGANIZING SKILLS

Identifying your piko and the forces that obstruct your (re)connection with that piko; Expressing connection to place through creative writing; Researching for deepening understandings of ancestral knowledge of place.

FLOW OF ACTIVITIES

- **Three Names** (5-10 min)
- **Collective Agreements** (5-10 min)
- **Oli Ea** (5-10 min)
- **What is Piko?** (30 - 40 min)
- **Where's Your Piko?** (20 – 40 min, depending on # of participants)
- **Re-Searching Mo'okūauhau of Place: A Resource Guide** (participant's own time)
- **Re-presenting Your Place** (1 hr)
- **Discussion: What are obstructions to my/our piko?** (1 hr)
- **What is Ea?** (30 – 45 min)
- **Mele 'Ai Pohaku** (10 min)

FOCUS AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS

Organizing in your own immediate realm. "Recognize, analyze, organize, exercise!"

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

strategy, tactics, campaign, racism, white supremacy

ORGANIZING SKILLS

Planning a tactical campaign (how to identify a target, make a demand, and execute/escalate a time-bound campaign); Recognizing racism and institutionalized power.

FLOW OF ACTIVITIES

- **Chanting our Theories of Change** (15 – 30 min)
- **Recognizing Racism** (60 min)
- **"I Remember"** (50 - 60 min)
- **Chant: "E hiu a wela"** (15 – 20 min)
- **Strategy or Tactic?** (20 – 30 min
- **Understanding Campaign-Design** (45 min)
- **Practicing Campaign-Design** (1 hr)
- **Mele:** "2000" by Lahaina Grown or "All Hawai'i, Stand Together" (20 min)

TEAM BUILDING IDENTIFY & ANALYZE PRACTICAL SKILLS COMPOSE & EXPRESS

3

THE PROTECT KAHOʻOLAWE ʻOHANA

TAKING CONTROL OF THE STORY

FOCUS AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS

Controlling the way a story or struggle is framed is an important aspect of movement-building.

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

Aloha ʻĀina, dominant and counter narrative, control myth, meme

ORGANIZING SKILLS

Analyzing dominant narratives and their consequences; learning to "flip the script" or tell a compelling alternative story; base-building for movements

FLOW OF ACTIVITIES

Oli & Mele Review (15 – 30 min)

Aloha Kuʻu Moku ʻo Kahoʻolawe: Getting to Know Kahoʻolawe (45 min)

Aloha ʻĀina Narratives: What's the story? (45 min)

Aloha ʻĀina Consciousness (30 min)

Story back!: Practicing Counternarratives, Op-eds and Memes (45 min)

Mele: "E Mau" (10 min)

4

THE WAIĀHOLE-WAIKĀNE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION'S STRUGGLE AGAINST EVICTION

THE POWER OF DIRECT ACTION

FOCUS AND ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS

"Making power vs. Taking power"

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

kuleana, direct action, politics of demand, "making power" vs. "taking power"

ORGANIZING SKILLS

How to consider one's kuleana in a coalition and act in solidarity; How to plan for a direct action that may involve confrontation with the law

FLOW OF ACTIVITIES

Oli Practice: "We Shall Not Be Moved!" (15 – 20 min)

Kuleana Circle (15 – 30 min)

Making Power vs. Taking Power: What is Direct Action? (30 min)

WWCA Blockade Role Play (60 – 90 min)

Planning Your Own Direct Action (60 - 90 min)

Practice all Chants and Mele (20 - 30 min)

Mahalo Circle and Kuleana Commitments (10 – 30 min)

Closing mele: Hawaiʻi Aloha (5 – 10 min)

TEAM BUILDING IDENTIFY & ANALYZE PRACTICAL SKILLS COMPOSE & EXPRESS

1

HĀNAU KA MAUNA
(RE)CONNECTING
TO THE PIKO OF OUR EA

1

HĀNAU KA MAUNA
(RE)CONNECTING
TO THE PIKO OF OUR EA

This workshop session builds upon concepts introduced in the essay by No'eau Peralto, "Hānau ka Mauna: Reconnecting to the Piko of our Ea." The title of this essay, "Hānau ka Mauna" is derived from a birth chant for Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), in which the genealogy of Maunakea, referred to as "ka mauna a Kea" or "ka Mauna a Wākea" in different versions of the chant, is also recited. Genealogies like this remind us of the physical and spiritual connections that form the foundation of Kānaka 'Ōiwi kuleana to the 'āina of Hawai'i. Mauna a Wākea exemplifies the embodiment of these connections. As the highest peak in all of Oceania, it is a physical and spiritual piko for our lāhui kanaka. For 'ohana who descend directly from Mauna a Wākea's sacred slopes, this mauna is also a kulāiwi, where their ancestors' bones have been laid to rest and their keiki's piko have been planted. Peralto further explains:

> *Like the piko on our own bodies, Mauna a Wākea represents our physical and spiritual connections to past, present and future generations. Waiau, in particular, where some 'ohana deposit the piko of newborn keiki, embodies this procreative continuum, as the convergence of akua, 'āina, and kānaka.*

Over the past half-century, however, state-facilitated corporate interests have imposed their will upon Mauna a Wākea, desecrating its sacred summit with over a dozen astronomical telescope facilities. This has occurred all in spite of ongoing opposition and resistance from Kānaka and others who continue to fight to protect the sanctity of the mauna as a piko of our 'āina, our lāhui, and thus, our ea. The struggle to protect Mauna a Wākea and to continue the spiritual practices that connect us to this piko, has thus called us to reflect critically upon our mo'okū'auhau and kuleana to this, and other piko in our physical and spiritual realms. The primary goals of this module, thus, is to cultivate understandings of our connections to places through our piko, and how these connections are shaped by our mo'okū'auhau to these piko. Understanding these connections intimately, in turn, informs how we conceptualize and express our kuleana to these places, through both creative and practical modes.

GOALS

- Cultivate understandings of connections to place
- Engage critical thinking about "genealogies" that shape our connections to place
- Introduce methods of inquiry for accessing knowledge of place
- Practice creative expression of connections to place

SUGGESTED READING

"Hānau ka Mauna" by No'eau Peralto, and the "Introduction" to *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land and Sovereignty*, or at least the excerpts included in the participant's workbook.

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

- Piko
- Mo'okū'auhau
- Kuleana

MELE & OLI

Excerpt from "Kānaenae no ka hānau 'ana o Kauikeaouli" in "Hānau ka Mauna."

"O Hānau ka Mauna Kea" chanted by Namakana Lim at 2006 Merrie Monarch Festival. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EOTw_oyCtKM)

"O Hānau ka Mauna a Kea" presented by Kumu Lanakila Mangauil at Honoka'a Community Meeting in response to Gov. Abercrombie's speech on the proposed TMT. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K197XWQuUKU)

"A Maunakea 'o Kalani" in "Hānau ka Mauna," with video of Hālau 'o Kamuela performance of mele at 2002 Merrie Monarch Festival. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qYQLL0A2GXY)

"Ku'u Home o Kahalu'u" by Olomana. (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vk6F4_hI4PA)

ACTIVITY ONE

Three Names

Share three names: the name you want people to call you, the name of an aina you feel is home or to which you are connected, the name of an ancestor you bring with you to this space.

MY NAME IS

THE NAME OF AN AINA I FEEL IS HOME OR TO WHICH I AM CONNECTED IS

THE NAME OF AN ANCESTOR I BRING WITH ME TO THIS SPACE IS

ACTIVITY TWO

Collective Agreements Worksheet

ACTIVITY THREE

Oli Ea

O nā kumu akua apau i hānau ʻia i ka pō i ka lā hiki kū
Kū! Ea mai ke kai mai!

ʻO nā kumu aliʻi apau i hānau ʻia i ka pō i ka lā hiki kū
Kū! Ea mai ke kai mai!

ʻO nā lālā aliʻi apau i hānau ʻia i ka pō i ka lā hiki kū
Kū! Ea mai ke kai mai!

ʻO nā wēlau aliʻi apau i hānau ʻia i ka pō i ka lā hiki kū
Kū! Ea mai ke kai mai!

ʻO nā pua aliʻi apau
E kū!
E ola a kau a kanikoʻo, pala lauhala, haumakaʻiole, kolopupū e

EXCERPT FROM

"Hānau ka Mauna, ʻŌpuʻu ka Mauna, He Makahiapo Kapu na Wākea: Reconnecting to the Piko of Our Ea"

By Leon Noʻeau Peralto

Illustration by Haley Kailiehu

O hanau ka Mauna a Wakea	Born is the Mauna a Wākea
O puu a'e ka mauna a Wakea	The mountain of Wākea buds forth
O Wakea ke kane, o Papa, o Walinuu ka wahine	Wākea is the male, Papa Walinuʻu is the female
Hanau Hoohoku, he wahine	Born is Hoʻohōkū, a female
Hanau Haloa he 'lii	Born is Hāloa, a chief
Hanau ka Mauna, he keiki mauna na Wakea	Born is the Mauna, a mountain-child of Wākea
Hanau ka Mauna, He makahiapo kapu na Wakea	Born is the Mauna, a sacred firstborn of Wākea
Oia ho—i, o ka Mauna, Hanau ka Mauna	So it is, the Mauna, born is the Mauna
O ka mauna la hoi auanei ka lalo nei	The mountain shall be below here
Owai la hoi auanei ko luna la?	Who shall be above?
Owai la? O ka La, A—ia! Aia hoi ha.	Who? The Sun, there! That is who.

- "He Kanaenae no ka hanau ana o Kauikeaouli," Ka Naʻi Aupuni, February 10, 1906.

THE LAST FIVE LINES of the kānaenae above remind us of the inherent sanctity that Mauna a Wākea (Maunakea) was imbued with at birth, as the sacred first-born of Wākea. Here, the Mauna is situated within the cosmos in a position subordinate only to the sun, the very source of energy that sustains all life on earth. As Hawai'i's most prominent peak, Mauna a Wākea is the piko that connects us to the heavens—it is the first to be touched by the rising sun's morning rays and the first to receive the highest clouds' life-giving waters. Upon its summit reside the akua water forms of Kāneikawaiola, Poliahu, Lilinoe, and Waiau, among others, who collectively form a predominant source of the island's fresh water aquifer. This important source of wai is perhaps alluded to in the name of the ahupua'a, Ka'ohe, defined as "the bamboo," another kino lau, or physical manifestation, of Kāne, which was utilized for holding and transporting ceremonial waters. As such, maintaining a pono relationship with the Mauna, and the akua of the Mauna, ensured continued waiwai for the 'āina as a whole.

In 1882, 'Emalani Kaleleonālani Naea Rooke, continuing in the traditions of her chiefly Hawai'i island lineage, embarked on a strenuous huaka'i for this very purpose. Ascending the steep Mauna trail to the "piko o Wākea," Kaleleonālani is said to have immersed herself completely in Waiau's sacred waters at the "hena o nā kuahiwi," perhaps conducting a hi'uwai, or bathing ceremony. In honor of the Mō'īwahine, a series of mele were composed to commemorate and chronicle this huaka'i. One such mele pi'i kuahiwi, "A Maunakea 'o Kalani," begins with four lines as follows:

A Maunakea o Kalani	The Queen was at Maunakea
Ike maka ia Waiau	To see Waiau
Kela wai kamahao	That remarkable body of water
I ka piko o ke kuahiwi	At the piko of the mountain

Like the piko on our own bodies, Mauna a Wākea represents our physical and spiritual connections to past, present and future generations. Waiau, in particular, where some 'ohana deposit the piko of newborn keiki, embodies this procreative continuum, as the convergence of akua, 'āina, and kānaka. "When Emma immersed herself in Waiau," argues 'Ōiwi scholars and kumu hula, Kīhei and Māpuana de Silva, "she entered the piko wai kamaha'o of her ancestor-gods, the wondrous liquid point of union from which all kānaka descend. She was reconnected; she was nourished; she was reborn." Hānau ka mauna. The Mauna, thus, gave birth to her.

In essence, Kaleleonālani's huaka'i of returning to the piko, Mauna a Wākea, was one of personal and conscious transformation, renewal, and rebirth in which the hi'uwai served a very specific purpose. "Hi'uwai," according to respected kumu hula and 'Ōiwi scholar, Dr. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele, "is the idea of returning back to the womb to again be innocent, without distractions. Therefore, the return to the fluid of the earth is the solvent to dissipate all negativity and distractions…before

approaching any kuleana of great importance." This "return to the womb" came at a critical time for Kaleleonālani, not long after the death of her kāne, Mōʻī Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), and her son, Albert Edward Kauikeaouli, during which her mana and kuleana to the ea of the Aupuni were being maligned by supporters of David Laʻamea Kalākaua. Kalākaua had been elected as Mōʻī over Kaleleonālani six years earlier, and had recently embarked on his own huakaʻi around the world. Many Kānaka, however, remained loyal to the Mōʻīwahine, despite Kalākaua's victory. As a staunch opponent to increasing American and missionary political influence in the islands, according to ʻŌiwi scholar Dr. Jonathan Osorio, Kaleleonālani was viewed by her supporters as "the more reliable champion of the kingdom's independence." Considering the vastly different destinations of each aliʻi's huakaʻi, it is quite clear that each envisioned a fairly different route for the lāhui's uncertain path ahead. As de Silva and de Silva simply put it, "Kalākaua went around the world; Emma countered by going to the piko of the Hawaiian world."

Huli hoi mai o Kalani	The Queen turned back
I ke ala kapekepeke	To the unsteady trail
A he ala nihinihi ia	It was a precarious trail
A hiki a i ke Mole	All the way to Kemole
Ui ae nei o Kalani	The Queen offered encouragement
E uleu mai oukou	"Be lively, all of you
He ihona loa ana ia	It will be a long descent
A hiki i Wahinekea	To reach Wahinekea"
Emalani no he inoa	For ʻEmalani, indeed, is this name chant
Ke ʼLii ae kuahiwi	The aliʻi who entered the mountain.

As portrayed in this, and other mele piʻi Maunakea like it, the huakaʻi of the "aliʻi ʻaʻe kuahiwi" to the piko and back to the mole along the "ala kāpekepeke" was fraught with challenge, both physical and spiritual. A verse from the mele "Hau kahiaka nui ʻo Kalani" further describes moments during this huakaʻi as being "huikau i ke anu," confused in the cold. This is a huakaʻi to which we, as ʻŌiwi today, can collectively relate. Our journey as a people to mālama our kuleana to Mauna a Wākea over the past two centuries has been one of great adversity, struggle, and, at times, uncertainty. Since the State of Hawaiʻi gained control of the ʻāina of Mauna a Wākea, over a dozen astronomical observatories have been constructed upon its piko, despite the steadfast opposition of many ʻŌiwi and others alike. To this day, our journey along this path continues, as yet another observatory, the Thirty-Meter Telescope (TMT), has been proposed for construction within the next decade. Projected to stand at 18-stories in height, TMT would become the tallest building to be constructed on Hawaiʻi island, imposing itself upon over eight acres of undisturbed ʻāina, and creating yet another permanent scar upon the mountain's sacred summit.

The generations before us who engaged tirelessly in this struggle have essentially led us to the edge of Waiau's sacred waters. As we gaze at our own reflection on her placid surface, just as Kaleleonālani did over a century ago, we are confronted with a timeless reminder of where we come from, who we are, and who our grandchildren will grow to become. Just as Kaleleonālani found herself huikau at times along the steep path back to the piko, we too, as a lāhui, may become huikau at times today. Collectively, however, we cannot forget our kuleana to many of the ancestors that surround us. We cannot forget our genealogies to place. We cannot forget our genealogies to the "makahiapo kapu," the sacred firstborn. Sacred places, like Mauna a Wākea, remind us of these genealogical relationships, and the kuleana that these relationships entail.

GLOSSARY

In light of the interpretive nature of translation, take each gloss as an opportunity to do further research and/or approach other Hawaiian language specialists to supplement these interpretations.

- **akua:** gods, spiritual beings, elements
- **aupuni:** government, kingdom
- **huikau:** mixed, confused, confusion
- **kānaenae:** chanted supplicating prayer; chant of praise
- **mana:** spiritual power, authority, privilege
- **mōʻī:** monarch, sovereign, supreme ruler
- **waiwai:** value, wealth; derived from wai, "to retain," and "water"

1. Kanahele et al., "Kukulu Ke Ea a Kanaloa," 97.
2. Maly and Maly, "Mauna Kea - Ka Piko Kaulana O Ka ʻĀina: A Collection of Native Traditions, Historic Accounts, and Oral History Interviews For: Mauna Kea, the Land of Kaʻohe, Humuʻula, and the ʻĀina Mauna on the Island of Hawaiʻi," 155.
3. "The navel of Wākea." A reference to the summit of Maunakea made in "Hau kahiaka nui ʻo Kalani." Nogelmeier, ed. He Lei No ʻEmalani: Chants for Queen Emma Kaleleonalani, 112.
4. "Mons pubis of the mountain." Ibid.
5. Kalani Kaʻapuni-Phillips, interviewed by Larry Kimura (Jan. 30, 1967), cited in Maly and Maly, "Mauna Kea - Ka Piko Kaulana O Ka ʻĀina," 161.
6. de Silva and de Silva, "A Maunakea ʻo Kalani.".
7. Kanakaʻole Kanahele, Ka Honua Ola, ʻEliʻeli Kau Mai: The Living Earth, Descend, Deepen the Revelation, 25.
8. de Silva and de Silva, "A Maunakea ʻo Kalani."; Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887, 151-57.
9. de Silva and de Silva, "A Maunakea ʻo Kalani."; Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui, 151-57.
10. Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui, 152.
11. de Silva and de Silva, "A Maunakea ʻo Kalani." Note 17.
12. Mole means taproot, ancestral root, foundation, source. Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary. Kemole, written "ke Mole" in the mele, is a puʻu on the northwestern slope of Maunakea.
13. Nogelmeier, ed. He Lei No ʻEmalani, 112.
14. In an article published in the West Hawaiʻi Today on April 1, 2012, Governor of the State of Hawaiʻi, Neil Abercrombie, is quoted as having boldly stated, "the Thirty Meter Telescope project atop Mauna Kea 'will move forward. There will be no more obstruction from someone who found their cultural roots six minutes ago.'" Flickinger, "A Measured Look at Gov. Abercrombie: Who Have We Got Here?," West Hawaiʻi Today April 1, 2012.
15. KAHEA:The Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, "Fact Sheet: New Massive 18-Story Telescope Complex Proposed for Mauna Kea".

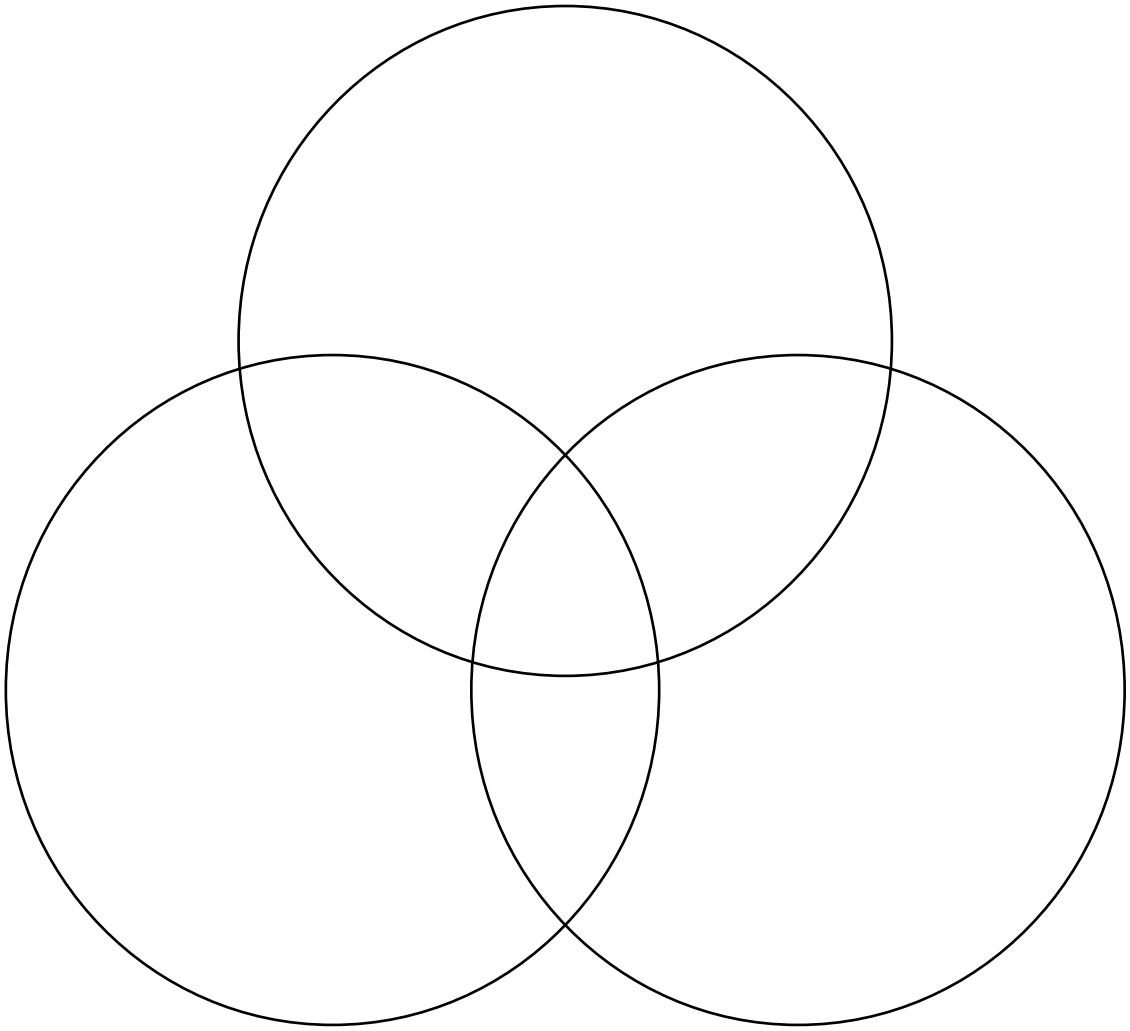
ACTIVITY FOUR

What is Piko?

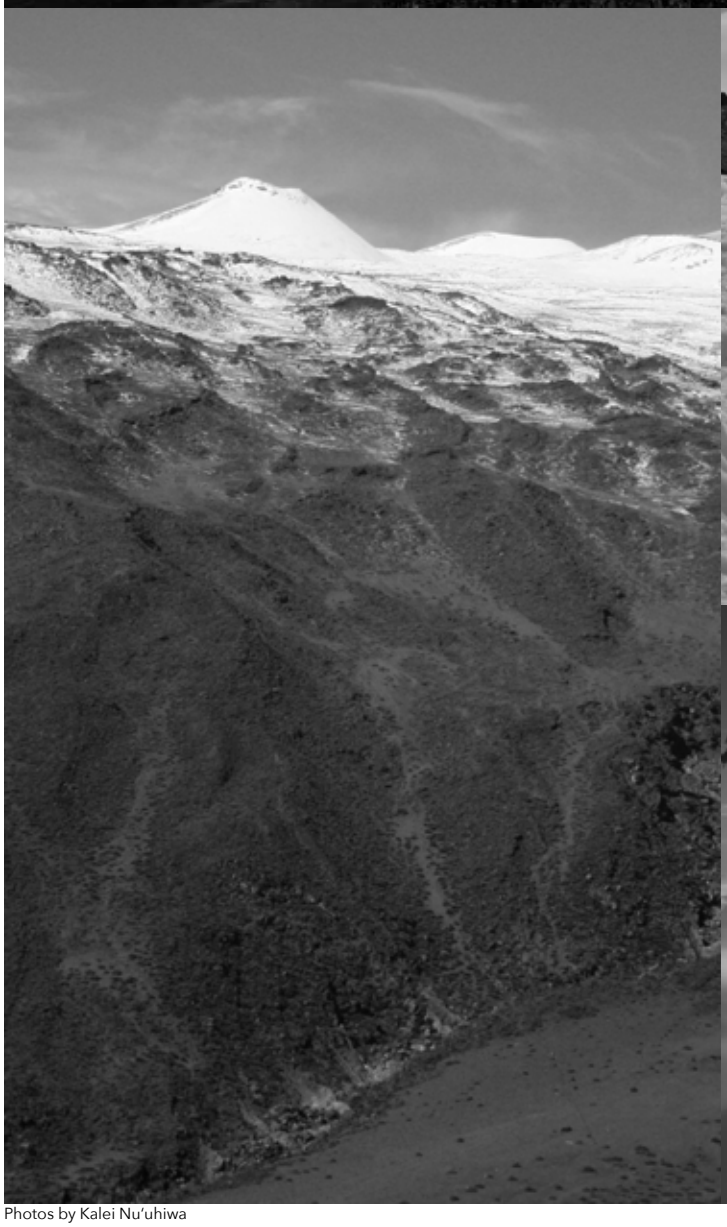
ACTIVITY FIVE

Where's Your Piko?

MY PIKO IS



MY KULEANA TO THIS PIKO IS



Photos by Kalei Nu'uhiwa

ACTIVITY SIX

Re-Searching Moʻokūʻauhau of Place: Resources Guide

LOCATING PLACE

OHA Kīpuka Database
identify mokupuni (island), moku (district), ahupuaʻa, and ʻili (http://www.kipukadatabase.com)

OHA Papakilo Database
Search by location for mokupuni, moku, ahupuaʻa and ʻili (if available) Here you can find Mahele Awards and Royal Patents, and Native or Foreign Register Testimony (http://www.papakilodatabase.com/main/main.php)

Nupepa.org
Hawaiian newspapers are a great source, if you feel confident in your Hawaiian Language translation skills (http://nupepa.org)

Hawaii State Land Survey Office
Registered Map Index. Use the Map Index to find registered maps of ahupuaʻa. The index is organized by island, moku, and ahupuaʻa.
(http://ags.hawaii.gov/survey/map-search/)

Ulukau.org
provides details of Hawaii Place Names (http://ulukau.org)

Wehewehe.org
select Na Puke Wehewehe a Pau (All Dictionaries) :definitions of ʻāina names (http://wehewehe.org)

MOKUPUNI (ISLAND)

MOKU (DISTRICT)

AHUPUAʻA

ʻILIʻĀINA

OTHER PLACE NAMES

Where I'm From

A poem by George Ella Lyon

I am from clothespins,
from Clorox and carbon-tetrachloride.
I am from the dirt under the back porch.
(Black, glistening,
it tasted like beets.)
I am from the forsythia bush
the Dutch elm
whose long-gone limbs I remember
as if they were my own.
I'm from fudge and eyeglasses,
    from Imogene and Alafair.
I'm from the know-it-alls
    and the pass-it-ons,
from Perk up! and Pipe down!
I'm from He restoreth my soul
    with a cottonball lamb
    and ten verses I can say myself.

I'm from Artemus and Billie's Branch,
fried corn and strong coffee.
From the finger my grandfather lost
    to the auger,
the eye my father shut to keep his sight.
Under my bed was a dress box
spilling old pictures,
a sift of lost faces
to drift beneath my dreams.
I am from those moments —
snapped before I budded —
leaf-fall from the family tree.

Where I'm From

By Kaimalino Woo Andrade

I'm from waking up in the morning to the sound of the ocean,
I'm from living in a house that my dad built with his own hands,
I'm from having my closest neighbor living five miles away,
I'm from looking out my window
    and seeing a group of pigs just stroll on by,
I'm from walking around in the parture, playing with the horses,
I'm from growing my own veggies and fruit,
I'm from eating papayas and avacados as a meal,
I'm from running around naked on the beach,
I'm from running away from cows,
I'm from running away from my sister's killer pet geese,
I'm from running away from home, goin' two blocks, and comin' back,
I'm from playing monopoly alone (and I still cheat),
I'm from being teased because I look haole,
I'm from being teases because I'm Hawaiian,
Im from burning rubbish in the evenings,
I'm from stomping out flames with rubber slippers when my mom set
the pasture on fire,
I'm from making fire every night with my brother for a hot bath,
I'm from listening to my dad play slack key,
I'm from falling asleep to the sound of the ocean.

ACTIVITY SEVEN

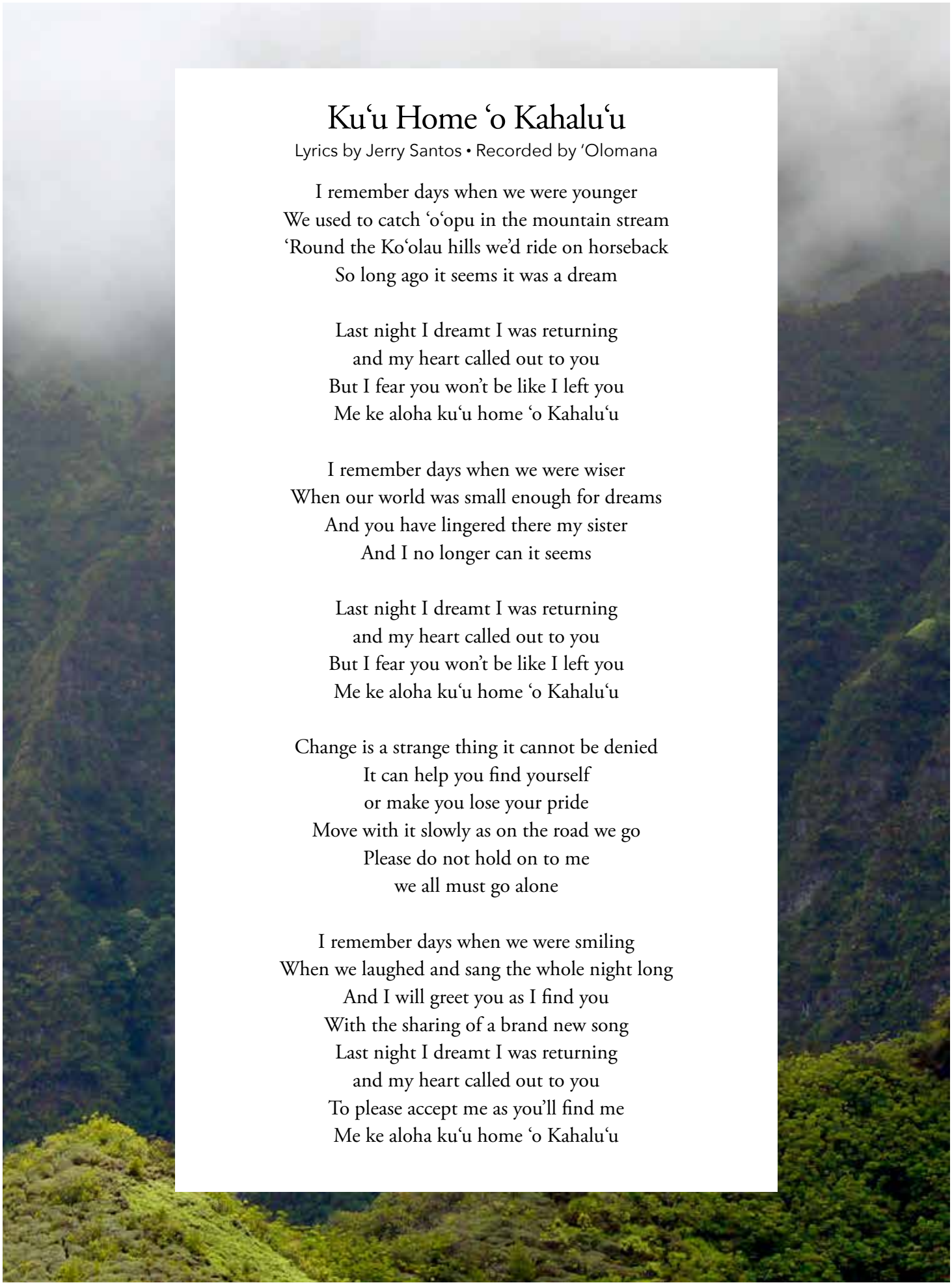
Re-Presenting Your Place

Compose a mele, oli, or poem that expresses your connection(s) to ʻāina, your piko, and your kuleana to them. Think about what knowledge you would want your grandchildren to know about this place, and include it in your composition.

A Maunakea ʻo Kalani

on page 16. The format would be:

A _____ ʻo _____
ʻIke maka iā/i _____
Kēlā _____
I ka piko o _____



Kuʻu Home ʻo Kahaluʻu

Lyrics by Jerry Santos • Recorded by ʻOlomana

I remember days when we were younger
We used to catch ʻoʻopu in the mountain stream
ʻRound the Koʻolau hills we'd ride on horseback
So long ago it seems it was a dream

Last night I dreamt I was returning
and my heart called out to you
But I fear you won't be like I left you
Me ke aloha kuʻu home ʻo Kahaluʻu

I remember days when we were wiser
When our world was small enough for dreams
And you have lingered there my sister
And I no longer can it seems

Last night I dreamt I was returning
and my heart called out to you
But I fear you won't be like I left you
Me ke aloha kuʻu home ʻo Kahaluʻu

Change is a strange thing it cannot be denied
It can help you find yourself
or make you lose your pride
Move with it slowly as on the road we go
Please do not hold on to me
we all must go alone

I remember days when we were smiling
When we laughed and sang the whole night long
And I will greet you as I find you
With the sharing of a brand new song
Last night I dreamt I was returning
and my heart called out to you
To please accept me as you'll find me
Me ke aloha kuʻu home ʻo Kahaluʻu

ACTIVITY EIGHT

What are obstructions to my/our piko?

EXCERPT FROM
THE INTRODUCTION TO

A Nation Rising

By Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua

EA: LIFE, BREATH, SOVEREIGNTY

The word "ea" has several meanings. As Hawaiian language and political scholar Leilani Basham argues, each utterance of the word carries all these meanings at once even when one meaning may be emphasized. Ea refers to political independence and is often translated as "sovereignty." It also carries the meanings "life" and "breath," among other things. A shared characteristic in each of these translations is that ea is an *active state* of being. Like breathing, ea cannot be achieved or possessed; it requires constant action day after day, generation after generation.

Unlike Euro-American philosophical notions of sovereignty, ea is based on the experiences of people on the land, relationships forged through the process of remembering and caring for wahi pana, storied places. In that vein, the essays in this book trace a genealogy of the contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty movement through the vigorous efforts of people trying to maintain or restore their relationships with specific lands.

Ea, in fact, extends back to the birth of the land itself. Basham writes, "'O ke ea nō ho'i ka hua 'ōlelo no ka puka 'ana mai o kekahi mea mai loko mai o ka moana, e la'a me ka mokupuni."[1] Indeed, ea is a word that describes *emergence*, such as volcanic islands from the depths of the ocean. In looking to mele Hawai'i—songs and poetry—Basham points out that the term ea is foregrounded within a prominent mele ko'ihonua, or creation and genealogical chant for Hawai'i: "Ea mai Hawaiinuiakea/Ea mai loko mai o ka po" (emphasis added). The islands emerge from the depths, from the darkness that precedes their birth. Basham argues that, similarly, political autonomy is a beginning of life.[1]

While "ea" has long referred to political independence as well as to life itself, the term first became associated with state-based forms of sovereignty in the 1840s following the promulgation of the first constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom. In an era of increasing European and American imperialism, nineteenth century Hawaiian leaders took domestic and diplomatic measures to stave off foreign encroachment by securing recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty under the dominant international system of nation-states, sometimes referred to as the Westphalian system. [3] After a rogue British captain claimed the islands for Great Britain in 1843, Hawaiian emissaries secured the restoration of sovereign government. King Kamehameha III famously proclaimed, "ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono." Roughly translated: "The sovereignty of the land continues through justice and proper acts."[4] Hawaiian language and politics scholars, such as Basham and Kaleikoa Ka'eo have called our attention to the fact that the king did not reaffirm the sovereignty of the government (ke ea o ke aupuni) but rather the sovereignty and life of the land itself (ke ea o ka 'āina), to which Kanaka are inextricably connected.[5]

Following this historic proclamation, the Hawaiian nation celebrated Ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea as a national holiday annually beginning July 31, 1843. The first celebration lasted over a week, honoring Hawaiian independence. That same year, British, French and United States governments became the first Western powers to formally recognize Hawai'i's independence, and numerous treaties between the Hawaiian Kingdom and other states followed.[6] While these historical events and legal documents plainly demonstrate the centrality of Western notions sovereignty to the changing definitions of ea, 19th century Hawaiian writers also emphasized that the meanings of ea exceeded Westphalian notions of the sovereignty of a government.

In 1871, the organizers of Ka Lā Ho'iho'i Ea turned toward educating a new generation about the meanings of ea and of this significant national holiday. In a public speech, Davida Kahalemaile asked, "Heaha la ke ano o

ia hopunaolelo, 'Ka la i hoihoiia mai ai ke Ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina?'" ("What is the meaning of this phrase, 'the day the ea of the Hawaiian archipelago was returned'?")[7] He answered this rhetorical question with the following list:

1. Ke ea o na i-a, he wai.
2. Ke ea o ke kanaka, he makani.
3. O ke ea o ka honua, he kanaka…
4. Ke ea o ka moku, he hoeuli…
5. Ke ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina…
   Oia no ka noho Aupuni ana.

1. The ea of fish is water.
2. The ea of humans is wind.
3. The ea of the earth is the people…
4. The ea of a boat is the steering blade…
5. The ea of the Hawaiian archipelago, it is the government.

The fullness of meaning in Kahalemaile's words cannot be captured in English, but we can begin to see some of the ideas he was suggesting to his audience. Ea referred to the environment that sustains life for creatures such as fish or humans. Water and air provide the media in which we absorb the oxygen that gives us life. Ea, then, is essential for survival. It is the environment in which we thrive. In exchange, people help to make the earth healthy and productive. In that sense, ea refers to the mutual interdependence of all life forms and forces. Additionally, Basham observes that Kahalemaile shows how ea is like the tool that allows us to navigate and guide ourselves—the large steering paddle of a canoe or the rudder of a boat. The list culminates with the statement that the ea of Hawai'i is its independent government. The holiday celebrates the return of life to that government in the wake of a threat to its very survival. In this list, then, Kahalemaile emphasizes that ea is necessary for life and that political independence is necessary for the wellbeing of the Hawaiian people. Yet he also shows how the meanings of ea surpass state-based forms of sovereignty.

The onset of prolonged US occupation beginning in 1893 brought an abrupt halt to the growth of Hawaiian national life. After a generation under the occupier's regime, the Hawaiian nationalist press was largely extinguished. Control of the national land base was wrested from the Hawaiian Kingdom. The Hawaiian language was banned. For most of the 20th century Hawai'i did not have a single school in the islands that made the Indigenous Hawaiian language or culture central to its curriculum. Stories of Hawaiian resistance to American takeover were hidden, overwritten by American historical narratives fabricated to make people believe there was a legal merger between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States.

But in the wake of the 1893 coup d'état by sugar businessmen backed by the US Marines, Kanaka Maoli contested US empire and called for the continuance of ea. In 1895, the Buke Mele Lāhui (book of Hawaiian national songs) was published shortly after a failed armed counter-revolution waged by Hawaiian loyalists against the white oligarchy that had claimed the government. One mele took the earlier proclamation by King Kamehameha III and framed it as a command: "E mau ke Ea o Hawaii i ka Pono."[8] The life and sovereignty of Hawai'i must continue in pono (justice, balance, goodness).

Almost five decades later, in 1941, Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs wrote a song that echoed the same sentiment. Like Kahalemauna's 1895 composition, "E mau" ("Let's strive" or "persevere") transforms Kauikeaouli's famous saying to future imperative tense.

E mau ko kākou lāhui, e hoʻomau
E mau ko kākou ʻōlelo, e hoʻomau
E mau ka hana pono o ka ʻāina
I mau ka ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono
I ka pono o ka ʻāina

Let's strive to keep our nation alive, let's strive
Let's strive to keep our language alive, let's strive
Let's strive to preserve the good of the islands
so that righteousness may continue to be with us
all that's good in the islands[9]

The song was a favorite of George Jarrett Helm, Jr., a Hawaiian musician, public intellectual and activist who became a leader of the movement to stop the US Navy's use of the island of Kahoʻolawe as a bombing target.

Helm—a child of Molokaʻi island who grew up on Hawaiian homestead land in Kalamaʻula—became a passionate community organizer in the mid-1970s, using his music as an organizing tool. Many elders first perceived him as "a radical," until they heard him sing and speak to them in person. An eloquent orator and writer, Helm often sang and quoted "E Mau" as he talked to others about the importance of aloha ʻāina, loving the land, and the need to defend Kahoʻolawe and Hawaiian culture against further destruction by the US military.[10] He and a handful of others from the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana put aloha ʻāina into living practice when they landed on the

island, placing their lives between the bombs and their ʻāina. These landings were acts of ea, and they are retold in this volume by Jonathan Osorio, another Hawaiian musician-scholar-leader.

Helm and other members of the PKO emphasized the need to make not only an anti-imperialist political stand but also to honor and use the places our kūpuna recognized as sacred and to protect a way of life based on sustenance from the land and ocean. During the fourth occupation of the island in January 1977, Helm wrote, "the breath in man is the breath of Papa (the earth). Man is merely the caretaker of the land that maintains his life and nourishes his soul."[11] Here ea, both breath and sovereignty, reflects not a supreme authority over territory, but a sacred connection to the land requiring dutiful, nurturing care. It was this connection that moved Helm and others to action. [12]

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[1] Leilani Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: He Mo'olelo, He ʻĀina, He Loina, a He Ea Kākou," Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being 6 (2010): 50.
[2] Ibid., 51.
[3] The Westphalian system of states is often traced to 1648, when the major European powers of the time signed a treaty called the Peace of Westphalia. The nation-state emerged as the primary political institution for negotiating international relations, with the idea that one state would not intervene in another's internal affairs and that the interests of the state supercede the interests of any individual citizen or group within that state. The notion of "Westphalian sovereignty" is marked by these ideas of exclusive, territorial integrity, the centrality of the state form, and the principle that states should recognize one another's autonomy.
[4] This translation disrupts the more popularly-known version, adopted as the state government's motto in 1959: "the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness." That translation empties out the historical context of Hawaiian Kingdom sovereignty and the longer lineage of ʻŌiwi autonomy in these islands.
[5] Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: He Mo'olelo, He ʻĀina, He Loina, a He Ea Kākou," 54.
[6] The Hawaiian Kingdom entered into international treaties with countries such as Belgium, Denmark, Russia, Samoa and Spain, as well as the US, France and the UK. For a fuller listing and discussion, see: David Keanu Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian State: A Century Unchecked," Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics 1 (2004): 46–81.
[7] D.K. Kahalemaile's speech was printed in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, August 12, 1871, p.2, and is quoted in Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: He Mo'olelo, He ʻĀina, He Loina, a He Ea Kākou," 60.
[8] Kahalemauna, "Mau Hawaii i ka lanakila" in Buke Mele Lahui, F.J Testa, ed. p15, 1895. Quoted in Leilani Basham, "Mele Lāhui: The Importance of Pono in Hawaiian Poetry," Te Kaharoa 1 (2008): 161.
[9] While we might translate the lyrics differently, we include here the translation as it appears in two sources: at Huapala, an online Hawaiian music and hula archive compiled by Kaiulani Kanoa Martin, URL: http://www.huapala.org/E/E_Mau.html (accessed June 10, 2011), and in Rodney Morales, ed., Ho'iho'i Hou: A Tribute to George Helm & Kimo Mitchell (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984).
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., 55.
[12] See, for example, Walter Ritte's description of the motivations behind the 1970s landings on Kahoolawe at http://moolelo.manainfo.com/2010/11/the-essence-was-aloha-aina/. In this interview he states that the essence of the whole movement was love for the land, aloha aina.

ACTIVITY NINE

What is Ea?

In 1871, Davida Kahalemaile gave a public speech in which he asked, "Heaha la ke ano o ia hopunaolelo, 'Ka la i hoihoiia mai ai ke Ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina?'" ("What is the meaning of this phrase, 'the day the ea of the Hawaiian archipelago was returned'?"). He answered with this list:

1. Ke ea o na i-a, he wai.
2. Ke ea o ke kanaka, he makani.
3. O ke ea o ka honua, he kanaka…
4. Ke ea o ka moku, he hoeuli…
5. Ke ea o ko Hawaii Pae Aina…
   Oia no ka noho Aupuni ana.

1. The ea of fish is water.
2. The ea of humans is wind.
3. The ea of the earth is the people…
4. The ea of a boat is the steering blade…
5. The ea of the Hawaiian archipelago, it is the government.

To Ea: In Response to David Kahalemaile, August 12, 1871

Ke ea o ka i'a, he wai
Lu'u a ea, lu'u a ea
Breathe deep, O breath-stealing ocean
You offer much but exact a toll as well
Our friends and our land swallowed by your hungering mouth
Too many mistake your surging power for invulnerability
And your injuries wash up broken and rotting upon our shores
Yet your tattooed knees show that you too have been ignored
Sides heaving, coral rib cage expanding, contracting
Breathing, an exertion made difficult in this age
This era of disrespect, of not honoring reciprocity
And those closest to you are those who suffer
Until we rise again from your depths
Yearning, reaching, crying for ea

Ke ea o ke kanaka, he makani
Hali mai ka makani i ka hanu ea o ka honua
Wind called from our lungs
'Anae leaping from the pali, two minutes at a time
Some lifted on the shoulders of the wind
Others clawing for breath as they fall
We are taught never to call them back
The wind returns, but they do not
Mouths stretched open until jaws crack
Used as fishhooks, drawing forth our connections from the sea
Circular and round, soft and untenable
Wind sweeps infinitely into night

'O ke ea o ka honua, he kanaka
'O au nō na'e kāu kauwāln your presence, I count by fours
Carrying a breath in each space between my fingers
Each palm drawn toward the ground
Called close by your fertility
Our noses touch
Nothing but the ea held in our manawa
Cartilage, skin, and bone connecting to rock, earth
And young, smooth stone
The hā of genealogical age passes between us
And I know the weight, the measure, the depth
Of my connection to you

Ke ea o ka moku, he hoeuli'
O ka hōkū ho'okele wa'a ke a'ā nei i ka lani
Familiar stars and swells etch a map in our aching bones
Remembered pain is how we find our way to you
Frenzied waves whip the ocean to a bitter froth
But we've never forgotten how to navigate
How to draw our fingers across the face of a passing wave
The sun strains as our sail, while birds lift our hulls
Koa has always grown on this sea, in our masts, our hulls, our hearts
Leaving only the question of crew
We accept only those who will step bravely into darkness
For we have the generations to light our way

Ke ea o ko Hawai'i Pae 'āina, 'o ia nō ka noho Aupuni 'ana
E ka lāhui ē, 'o kāu hana nui, e ui ē
They tell us that they have seen the wonders of Mānā
But it is only heat rippling on sand
And we are angry that they are pushing a mirage
There is no fucking bucket—
But we have always been crabs
Pai'ea, Kapāpa'iaheahe, Ka'a'amakualenalena
Holding fast to the stones, fighting against crashing waves
Each struggling breath between sets reaffirms our ea
And what they refuse to recognize
Is that when we yell, when we shout
We do it not in anger
But to reassure our ancestors
That we are still here

ACTIVITY EIGHT

Mele ʻAi Pohaku

Kaulana na pua ao Hawaii	Famous are the children of Hawaii
Kupaa ma hope o ka aina	Ever loyal to the land
Hiki mai ka elele o ka loko ino	When the evil-hearted messenger comes
Palapala anunu me ka pakaha	With his greedy document of extortion
Pane mai Hawaii moku o Keawe	Hawaii, land of Keawe answers
Kokua na Hono ao Piilani	Piilani's bays help
Kakoo mai Kauai o Mano	Mano's Kauai lends support
Paapu me ke one Kakuhihewa	And so do the sands of Kakuhihewa
Aole ae kau i ka pulima	No one will fix a signature
Ma luna o ka pepa o ka enemi	To the paper of the enemy
Hoohui aina kuai hewa	With its sin of annexation
I ka pono sivila ao ke kanaka	And sale of native civil rights
Aole makou ae minamina	We do not value
I ka puu kala o ke aupuni	The government's sums of money
Ua lawa makou i ka pohaku	We are satisfied with the stones
I ka ai kamahao o ka aina	Astonishing food of the land
Ma hope makou o Liliulani	We back Liliulani
A loaa e ka pono o ka aina	Who has won the rights of the land
**(A kau hou ia e ke kalaunu)*	*(She will be crowned again)
Haina ia mai ana ka puana	Tell the story
Ka poe i aloha i ka aina	Of the people who love their land

**Alternate Stanza*

Written by Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergast in February 1893 for the members of the Bana Lāhui Hawai'i (Hawaiian national band) who refused to sign an oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government. This band was directed by Jose Libornio. This band was directed by Manila-born Hawaiian Kingdom citizen Jose Libornio, who composed the music and approached Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalini Prendergast to write the lyrics.

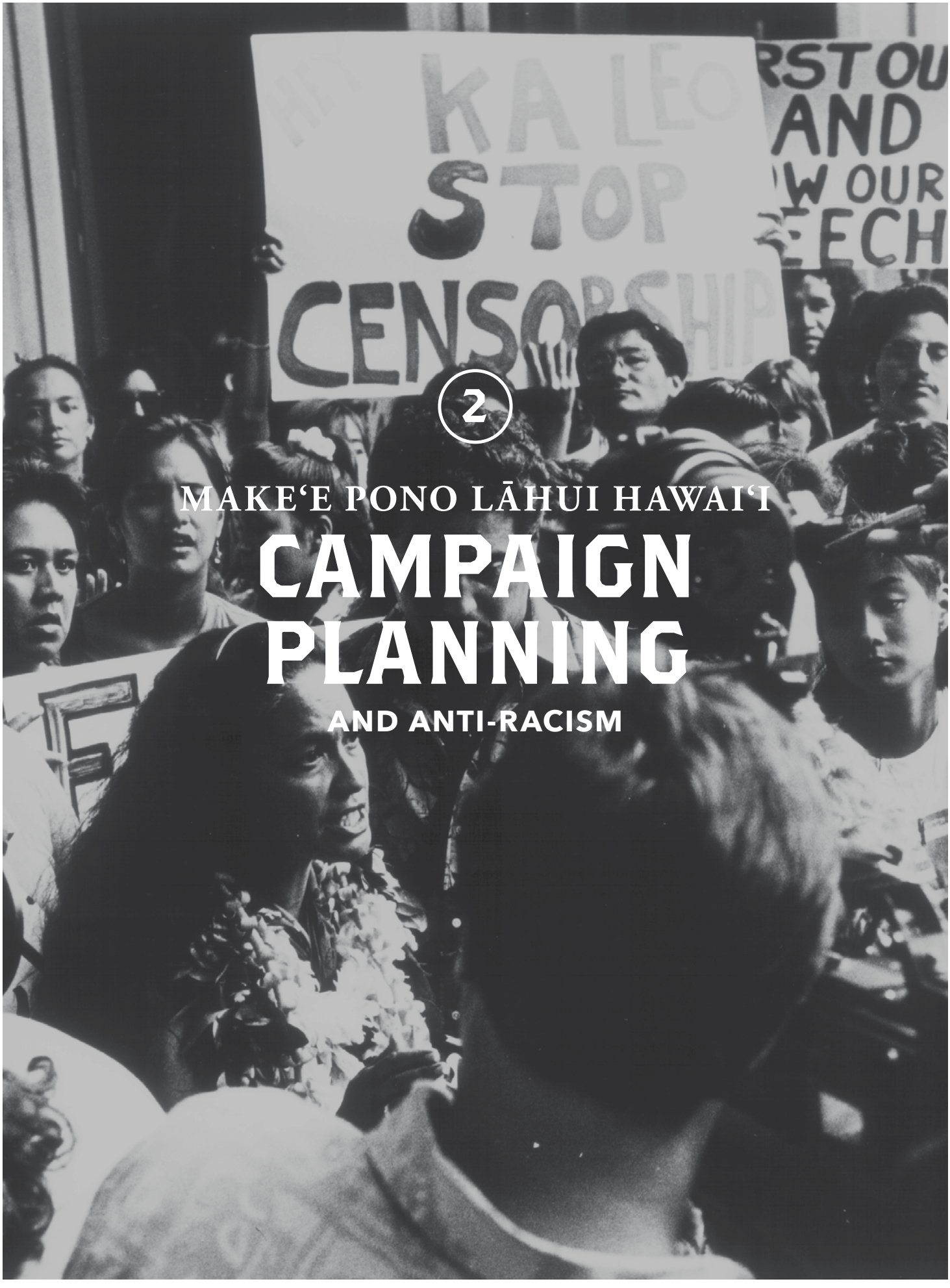
Band members were dubbed "na keiki ai pohaku o ka Bana Lahui."

First published under the title "He Inoa No Na Keiki O Ka Bana Lahui" (A Namesong for the Children of the National Band) in Hawaii Holomua on March 25, 1893.

Reprinted by popular demand in the newspaper Ka Leo o Ka Lahui on May 10, 1893, under the title "He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina" (A Wreath for the Aloha Aina People)

Republished two days later, May 12, 1893 with a corrected order of the lines and stanzas, with the following explanation: "Mamuli o ka nui o na noi ia makou e hoopuka hou ia aku ke mele o ka poe Aloha Aina, ke hooko ia aku nei ko oukou makemake; a o keia ana ke kope pololei loa o keia Mele i loaa mai ka Lede nana i haku keia mele. (In view of the large amount of requests to us to republish the song of the Aloha Aina people, your desires are now fulfilled; this is the correct copy of this song, obtained from the lady by whom this song was composed.)

Published in the 1895 Buke Mele Lāhui under the title "Mele Aloha Aina (Ai-Pohaku)"



2

MAKE‘E PONO LĀHUI HAWAI‘I

CAMPAIGN PLANNING

AND ANTI-RACISM

2

MAKE'E PONO LĀHUI HAWAI'I

CAMPAIGN PLANNING

AND ANTI-RACISM

This wokshop session builds on the essay by Kekailoa Perry, "Make'e Pono Lāhui Hawai'i: A Student Liberation Moment." Make'e Pono Lāhui Hawai'i was a Hawaiian student organization that developed at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the early 1990s. Perry, who was a Make'e Pono member, explains the first quote above about awakening critical consciousness:

> *The first line of 'Alohilani Roger's 'ōlelo no'eau cautions that the era of US occupation that enabled the perpetuation of myths depicting Hawaiian people and culture as ill-suited to live in a modern, civil society has no place in this present space. The second line reflects hope and resilience for a restored Hawaiian nation. This line also calls on us to kū'ē (stand against) against US imperialism. It can be read as a pointed gesture for all Hawaiians to "wake up" to their humanity, embrace their national identity and courageously carry the enormous weight of the nation on their backs. In fact, the 'ōlelo is all of the above.*

The big goal and vision for the young people who formed Make'e Pono was Hawaiian independence. They saw connections between individual actions in their own lives and school community and the larger movement for Hawaiian sovereignty. For example, the group took seriously the 'ōlelo no'eau (proverb or wise saying): I ka 'ōlelo nō ke ola; I ka 'ōlelo nō ka make. In language is life; in language is death. Make'e Pono members realized that language is political. They made commitments to use Hawaiian language in their daily lives, and they organized around making sure that the Hawaiian language and people have a place at UH. In this workshop session, we focus on two main issues: Hawaiian language revitalization and challenging institutional racism. Both of these issues are crucial to nurturing justice in Hawai'i.

OVERVIEW OF MPLH

Make'e Pono Lāhui Hawai'i (Make'e), or the Hawaiian Student Liberation Union (HSLU), held a nationalistic political agenda influenced by Native Hawaiian organizations such as the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific-Hawai'i, Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, Hui Mālama i nā Kūpuna o Hawai'i Nei and Hawaiians United for Liberation and Independence. Make'e was also strongly influenced by fighters for justice and liberation, such as Malcolm X, Franz Fanon, Quame Ture, and the Black Panther Party. Make'e's story is one of an organic student awakening and activism. They also found guidance from former student activists, turned professional organizers. Through those relationships the fire of a previous generation became a vital part of the Make'e identity.

The founding members of Make'e Pono are (in alphabetical order): Makahiapo Cashman, Kaleimomi'olani Decker, Kaheleonalani Dukelow, Miki Eff, Konia Freitas, Kaleikoa Kaeo, Momi Kamahele, 'Alohilani Kuala, Renee Lewis, Nahua Patrinos, Kekailoa Perry, Nohealani Wallace, and Terry Kanalu Young

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GOALS

- Analyzing racism
- Campaign-building

Brainstorming tactics or activities that allow people to participate in large and small ways

SUGGESTED READING

"Make'e Pono Lāhui Hawai'i: A Student Liberation Moment" by Kekailoa Perry, (chapter 12 in *A Nation Rising*), or at least the excerpt included in the participant's workbook

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

- Strategy
- Tactics
- Campaign
- Racism
- White Supremacy

MELE & OLI

- "E hiu a wela" by Kamuela Yim

EXCERPT FROM

"Makeʻe Pono Lāhui Hawaiʻi: A Student Liberation Moment"

By Kekailoa Perry

"The aim of the Hawaiian Student Liberation Union is to eliminate from the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa any and all forms of colonialism and vestiges of oppression and exploitation being suffered by all native Hawaiian students."

– Structure of the Hawaiian Student Liberation Union, December 18, 1990

This is a short moʻolelo of the origins of Makeʻe Pono Lāhui Hawaiʻi (Makeʻe) or the Hawaiian StudentLiberation Union (HSLU) and the deeds and actions of its collective membership.

UNITING UNDER THE BANNER FOR RESISTANCE

The HSLU was an organization whose lofty goals were motivated by a nationalist agenda that gained momentum in the mid-1980s. The decade of 1980 – 1990 saw tremendous political action and might even be considered a logical result of the cultural renaissance of the late 1970's in Hawaiʻi. In 1990 the HSLU formally organized by adopting our "structural" document or manifesto for action at the University of Hawaiʻi. The HSLU gave itself a Hawaiian name, Makeʻe Pono Lāhui Hawaiʻi which, when loosely translated, means the yearning for a balanced continuum for the Hawaiian nation. For a few short years, Makeʻe became synonymous with a series of student led boycotts, campus wide "soap box forums" and involvement in community actions or programs for social justice…

Makeʻe declared several purposes in our guiding document or manifesto that addressed issues in the University and Hawaiian community. The language was abrasive, direct and purposely challenged people to oppose the racist and oppressive structures of colonialism at the University and in Hawaiʻi's larger community. Our opposition was manifest in an educational strategy that was activist in nature.

Borrowing from Malcolm X's now infamous resistance phrase, Makeʻe members resolved to oppose all functions of US colonialism "by any means necessary." And, we meant it…

Makeʻe helped to organize protests on various hot issues impacting the Hawaiian community including the State's abuses of Hawaiian Home Lands, the development of golf courses on Molokaʻi, the printing of Hawaiian language in the daily newspapers, challenging the Global Congress of Heritage Interpretation International, and

generally advocating for greater rights for under-represented minorities. [1]

Make'e also made efforts to infiltrate institutional bodies through the introduction of resolutions in the State Legislature and Association of Students at the University of Hawai'i, running Hawaiian nationalist slates for student elections at the University (and winning), running weekly columns in the student newspaper Ka Leo o Hawai'i, hosting a weekly Hawaiian talk radio program on 90.3 FM KTUH, and composing songs recorded and played on local radio stations with large listening audiences.

FINDING A SPACE

In 1989 UH administrator Amy Agbayani prepared a report entitled "Teaching and Learning" for the Office of Faculty Development and Academic Support at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. In the study, Agbayani found that 70% of the tenured faculty at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa were Caucasian (a majority of which were identified as men). People of color made up only 26% of the tenured faculty. Hawaiian tenured faculty made up only 1.5% of the 26% minority tenured positions. By contrast, the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa student body had a minority, student of color population of 67.5% demonstrating a marked difference between those who held teaching powers in the University and the students being mentored by them…

The Center for Hawaiian Studies was created as a direct response to the disparity of the times. The professors and administrators found that the creation of a Center focusing on the study of all things Hawaiian would be the catalyst for positive changes to the University's poor record supporting Hawaiians and minorities on campus. Kekuni Blaisdell became the Center for Hawaiian Studies' first director followed by Haunani-Kay Trask…

The creation of the Center for Hawaiian Studies was followed by a new Hawaiian student services center. In 1988 the newly created Hawaiian student services program hired 'Ekela Kanī'aupi'o to be its director, tasked with increasing Hawaiian student admissions and retention at UH, and creating post-graduation opportunities. Kanī'aupi'o's remarkable skill and charisma helped build strong student awareness and brought them together as they struggled with the UH's institutional racism…

By September 1990 students were pushed into action when Professor Trask responded to a haole student in an op-ed piece in the Ka Leo O Hawai'i newspaper. UH philosophy student Joey Carter bemoaned the fact that, as a haole in Hawai'i, he was the member of a minority group subjected to "local" racism. Carter argued that what he experienced from "locals" amounted to unjustified racism brought about by a historical distrust of haole during the early 19th century in Hawai'i. In essence, Carter was saying that it was not his fault for the actions of haole and the US government for the historic wrongs committed against Hawaiians.[2]

Trask responded that US white privilege could not be sidestepped or disavowed with the passing of time. White privilege and settler notions of equality to land and capital in Hawai'i comes at an expense to the native population she said. More directly, Trask used Carter's editorial to illustrate the practice of political and social amnesia that relieves US settlers from recognizing their role in the destruction of the present Hawaiian nation. In the end, Trask told Carter (and all those who subscribed to his amnesia politics) to leave Hawai'i.

In one fell swoop the decades long slumber of racism in the islands burst into the University scene with a zealous fever pitch of emotions and actions. Trask was accused of using her power as a professor to intimidate Carter. In response, students and faculty argued that Carter's editorial and Trask's response letter was conducted in a public forum—the UHM newspaper—which was an appropriate venue to debate political and social issues. Numerous professors attacked Trask, calling for her resignation or termination. The fact that many of her detractors were among the 70% of tenured faculty that were Caucasian brought the statistical evidence in Agbayani's study into full relief.

Worse was the non-response of other faculty and staff... To be on Trask's side meant a greater chance of experiencing the same vile and racially motivated hate both in and outside the University community. Though many came forth to openly support Trask the level of negativity was overwhelming even for the bravest faculty member.

Student mobilization in support of Trask and against the larger institutional racism of the University was swift and in many ways organic. The result was a series of impromptu demonstrations throughout the University campus beginning with a large anti-racism and counter anti-Hawaiian demonstration.

[1] The first stand-alone article in Hawaiian language was printed by Ka Leo o Hawai'i student newspaper at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa in 1991.
[2] For more on this incident, see Trask, From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i; Rohrer, Haoles in Hawai'i, 60–61.

Make'e members Hiapo Cashman and Kaleikoa Ka'eo recall the gravity and potential life threatening situation that they and Trask were in. Cashman recalls,

> *It was serious. Once we got to Sakamaki, Haunani-Kay was surrounded by supporters and haters. There had to be over 1000 people outside and on the streets many of them angry with HK and yelling at her. She was strong and defiant but the security and cops had no way of managing the crowd. So we made sure we were there with her.*

Ka'eo further explained, "we realized at that moment that we had to protect Haunani and ourselves and formed a wall between her and the larger crowd. We were ready to go." For Make'e, the rally at Sakamaki was our initiation into direct action.

In essence, students are the principal stakeholders in the university and carry tremendous power due to their educational privilege in society and economic investment in the institution. As a result, Hawaiian students armed with Trask's anti-colonialism and critical analysis organized to address the racism at the University as well as the broader colonial system that had a strangle hold on the islands.

By December 1990, Make'e determined that a home base was needed on the UH campus. The rationale was simple: land is a determining factor for the exercise of sovereignty. Therefore, Make'e made it a goal to establish pu'uhonua, or native sanctuaries, in the University. Make'e believed that by creating safe places to gather, Hawaiians would be able to build a stronger foothold in the University and ultimately reorganize the structure for the benefit of Hawaiian decolonization and independence.

Again, Make'e drew on their experiences and developed an ideological framework to empower the Hawaiian place on campus. The manifesto was our guidepost and constitution for action and the UH became our land base. We proposed systematically taking over the lands of the UH through various forms of occupation and claimed "ownership" of the entire UH campus. The motto "keep Hawaiian lands in Hawaiian hands" was a mainstay and our presence in and around campus was meant to do just that.

I KA 'ŌLELO NO KE OLA

Hawaiian language advocacy became one of Make'e's more focused campaigns. All of the students in our organization enrolled in Hawaiian language and maintained a strong relationship to the Hawaiian language community…

Make'e emphasized 'ōlelo in our functions and pushed for stronger language revitalization efforts at the University. Make'e's language campaign started with the University's student run newspaper, Ka Leo O Hawai'i. The goal was simple: provide a venue for the weekly use and exploration of ideas in Hawaiian through heavily-accessed print media. Make'e believed language revitalization required normalized use in everyday social settings like the newspaper. Exposing language enthusiasts and non-speakers to the written word would create awareness and generate curiosity to pursue Hawaiian language. The public printing and display of Hawaiian would also provide a more functional space for its use and practice. Such an arena would help release the Hawaiian language from its less active classroom role and eliminate the stigma that Hawaiian is a novel, cute yet dying language.

Make'e's strategy was a basic negotiated approach with an activist twist. The first step was to develop a platform for the campaign. Make'e demanded that Ka Leo print Hawaiian language stand-alone articles as part of their regular weekly publication. We based the demands on Make'e's nationalist agenda and the legal principles of the Hawai'i State Constitution, establishing Hawaiian language as an "official" State language.[3]

We then generated a list of all Ka Leo funders and advertisers. We developed important fact-finding methods including identifying the Ka Leo's distribution/delivery locations, and identifying the printing process and equipment suppliers needed for daily operations. We coordinated a phone and mail list to all student, faculty and community resources associated with the Ka Leo's operations.

Initially, the Ka Leo editorial board denied Make'e's demand to print the Hawaiian language arguing that Hawaiian is a foreign language and Ka Leo is an English medium paper. Make'e reiterated the legal status of the Hawaiian language and pointed out the obvious flaw in the editorial board's argument: the newspaper name is Hawaiian.

Ka Leo editors raised concerns that privileging Hawaiian language would discriminate against others. This rationale was equally flawed, as Make'e did not object to other languages being printed. Instead, the key issue was that privileging English over Hawaiian language was discriminatory and unconstitutional under state law. Though our intentions were nationalistic, we asserted that the use of Hawaiian language was constitutionally protected

[3] Haw. Const. art. XV, §4 [Add Const. Con. 1978 and election Nov. 7, 1978]. The article states that, "English and Hawaiian shall be the official languages of Hawaii, except that Hawaiian shall be required for public acts and transactions only as provided by law."

MAKE'E'S STRATEGY WAS A BASIC NEGOTIATED APPROACH WITH AN ACTIVIST TWIST.

regardless of race. Arguments became circular with Ka Leo staff balking at any real effort to resolve the issue in favor of printing in Hawaiian.

In the second stage of the campaign, Make'e began a series of "soap box forums" near or around the Ka Leo offices calling student and community attention to three issues: 1) the State constitution identifies Hawaiian language as an official language of the state; 2) the Hawaiian language is a living language; and 3) Ka Leo editors' refusal to print Hawaiian language in the paper was unjustified and represented a form of institutional racism applied under the direction of a misinformed or malicious editorial board.

Frustrated by the forums, Ka Leo writers and publishers countered with negative articles reporting on our actions. Ka Leo published unflattering and awkward pictures of Make'e members as a tool of repression. Ka Leo's strategy backfired as public support waned due to the irrational and vengeful acts of the editorial staff. Make'e used Ka Leo's knee jerk responses to show the how institutional power can become structural forms of discrimination against Hawaiians.

In phase three we allied with the UH community and the rank and file of the paper. The pressure to print stand-alone Hawaiian articles from within the Ka Leo and larger UH communities mounted. Ka Leo showed some initial signs of concession when they proposed that the Hawaiian article be printed side by side with an English translation. This compromise, from the editors' point of view, was considerable because it provided two times the amount of column space in their publication. However, it also meant that the goal of a stand-alone Hawaiian language article would not occur.

Make'e ramped up the political pressure by organizing a "blockade" that would impact the Ka Leo's distribution operations. Make'e tracked the Ka Leo distribution trucks, removed all of the newspapers from the stands and left notes that said the Ka Leo would not be delivered due to its discriminatory practices against Hawaiians. A demonstration followed the blockade at the UH campus center. Ka Leo newspapers were placed in trash bags and piled on the campus center steps. Students were informed of the issues and encouraged to take the bagged Ka Leo papers and dump them in the metaphorical trash bin that printed them, the Ka Leo offices. By the end of the demonstration, the Ka Leo office entrance was blocked shut with newspapers and no deliveries were made for that week.

Ka Leo editors then offered to print stand-alone Hawaiian language articles provided that a "synopsis" in English ran along side the article. Make'e responded, "no".

Make'e initiated phase four of the campaign with an advertiser boycott. Letters were mass distributed to all the Ka Leo advertisers. The following week, Make'e members posted notices at the front door of each major business advertising in the Ka Leo. The notices warned that their business would be the subject of a student boycott if they continued to support Ka Leo's policy that restricted the printing of a stand-alone Hawaiian language article in the paper.

Response letters from the businesses came with mixed reviews. Some businesses threatened to sue Make'e. Others made shallow assurances that they did not advertise for any political reasons. The fact that many businesses felt compelled to respond at all signaled that Make'e generated leverage in our boycott.

Several larger demonstrations were held at the Ka Leo offices. The demonstrations and continued push for a boycott provided considerable negotiating pressure but the Ka Leo would not move from its original position. Make'e members then made one final push and moved the negotiations into the community.

Specifically, members tracked the location of the Ka Leo editor-in-chief, interrupted his daily routine and demanded a favorable negotiated settlement. The UH administration was also being pressured by Make'e through their various allies in the faculty and administration. Seven months into the campaign, several West coast newspapers picked up the story and ran the news. It appeared that the news of the struggle to save and perpetuate the native language was getting attention in other parts of the US. While it was not completely clear then, the pressure to concede was mounting for the Ka Leo editors.

In the end, the editors and Make'e agreed to two major points. First, the Hawaiian language would be printed in the Ka Leo beginning with a permanent weekly column. The column was named "Ka Leo 'Ōiwi" and its first editor was 'Alohilani Kuala. As a concession, Make'e agreed to have an English synopsis "available upon request." The author would provide a hard copy of the English synopsis for Ka Leo editors but it would not be a part of the publication.

Second, an unrelated English column would also be published weekly. The English column would address the major political issues that impact the Hawaiian community. The column was a more direct, political commentary on Hawaiian nationalist issues. The column was named "Kūho'one'enu'u. The editors writing for the English column were Nahua Patrinos, 'Olani Decker and myself. Every member of the community played a role in writing articles and developing the ideas for the columns. It was, at all times, a group effort and the column provided a significant forum for ideas to be shared and reviewed by peers in the UH community.

The Hawaiian language campaign lasted for about one year and was the longest, most successful of Make'e's student-initiated actions. Hawaiian language and politics finally became a regular part of the Ka Leo O Hawai'i student newspaper. Later, Make'e worked with Hawaiian language advocates to successfully encourage the Honolulu Advertiser, a daily statewide newspaper, to incorporate Hawaiian standardized diacritical markers in their text.

The issue of Hawaiian language normalization and revitalization continues to gain tremendous momentum in the UH and broader community. Today, the Honolulu Star Bulletin prints a regular weekly, stand-alone column called "Kauakukalahale." The inaugural printing occurred in October 2002, and its readership remains consistent and strong. Editors Laiana Wong and Kekaha Solis continue to push the envelop with the daily paper by introducing critical pieces, all in Hawaiian, challenging (and encouraging) many to learn and, more importantly, use the language. Though Make'e had folded by the time Kauakukalahale was born, many in the organization feel encouraged that they had a small role in the growing genealogy of Hawaiian advocates who make culture a "real" part of the modern Hawaiian world.

ACTIVITY ONE

Chanting our Theories of Change

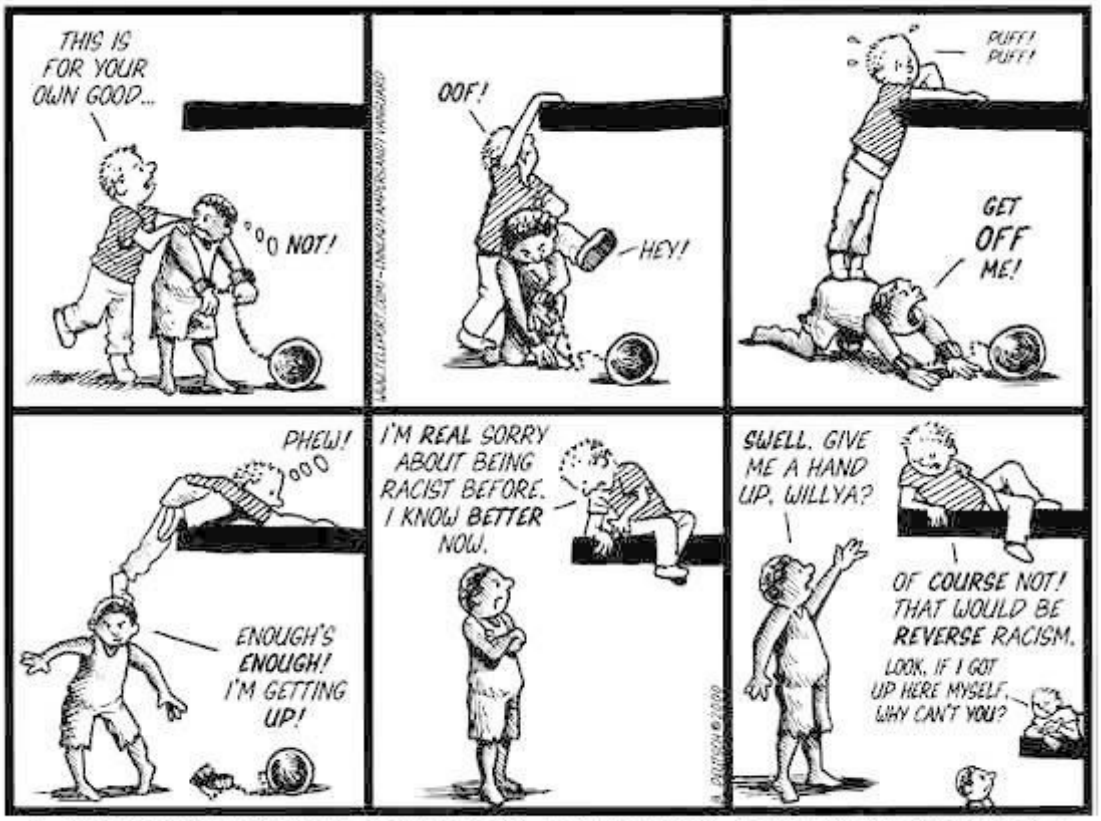
"Ua pau ke ao i hala,
'O kēia ke ao e ala"

-'Alohilani Kuala Rogers, Make'e Pono organizer

"Recognize. Analyze.
Organize. Exercise!"

–Kaleikoa Ka'eo, Make'e Pono organizer

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AND WHITE SUPREMACY



WHAT IS RACISM?

Racism is a historically-created system of power in which one group dominates others for the benefit of the dominating group. Racism is not the same thing as prejudice. Racism is not an individual feeling or action. While personal beliefs or acts of prejudice may be condemnable, racism is distinct because it indicates a larger social and historical pattern of oppression, exploitation and violence. Some say: Prejudice + Power = Racism

People can support systems of racism without being conscious that they are participating.

HOW DOES RACISM MANIFEST? WHERE CAN WE SEE IT?

- Within individuals, including ourselves (in personal beliefs or doubts, in individual decisions or actions, etc.)
- In the institutions around us (schools, laws, government, businesses, etc.)
- In popular culture (movies, music, social media, radio, etc.)

PERRY'S ARTICLE ON MAKE'E PONO PROVIDES SOME EXAMPLES:

- **PERSONAL:** Ka Leo Hawai'i editors refused to publish a Hawaiian language column.
- **INSTITUTIONAL:** At the time, in the UH faculty, Caucasians outnumbered people of color three-to-one. Native Hawaiians made up about 1% of the tenured faculty. In contrast, students of color made us 67.5% of the UH student body.
- **POPULAR CULTURE:** Make'e Pono members (who were Hawaiian) were represented in an unflattering light in the newspaper.

FOR DISCUSSION

- Give an example of prejudice that is not an example of racism.
- What examples of racism do you see in each of the three categories above?
- Is "reverse racism" possible? Is "anti-haole" prejudice racism?

WHAT IS WHITE PRIVILEGE?

"Whiteness" is not a biological fact, or just a skin color. It is a system of privilege, a boundary that shifts over time to mark some as entitled to certain privileges and others whose exploitation and oppression is justified by their "non-white"-ness. White privilege means a variety of cultural, economic, political benefits.

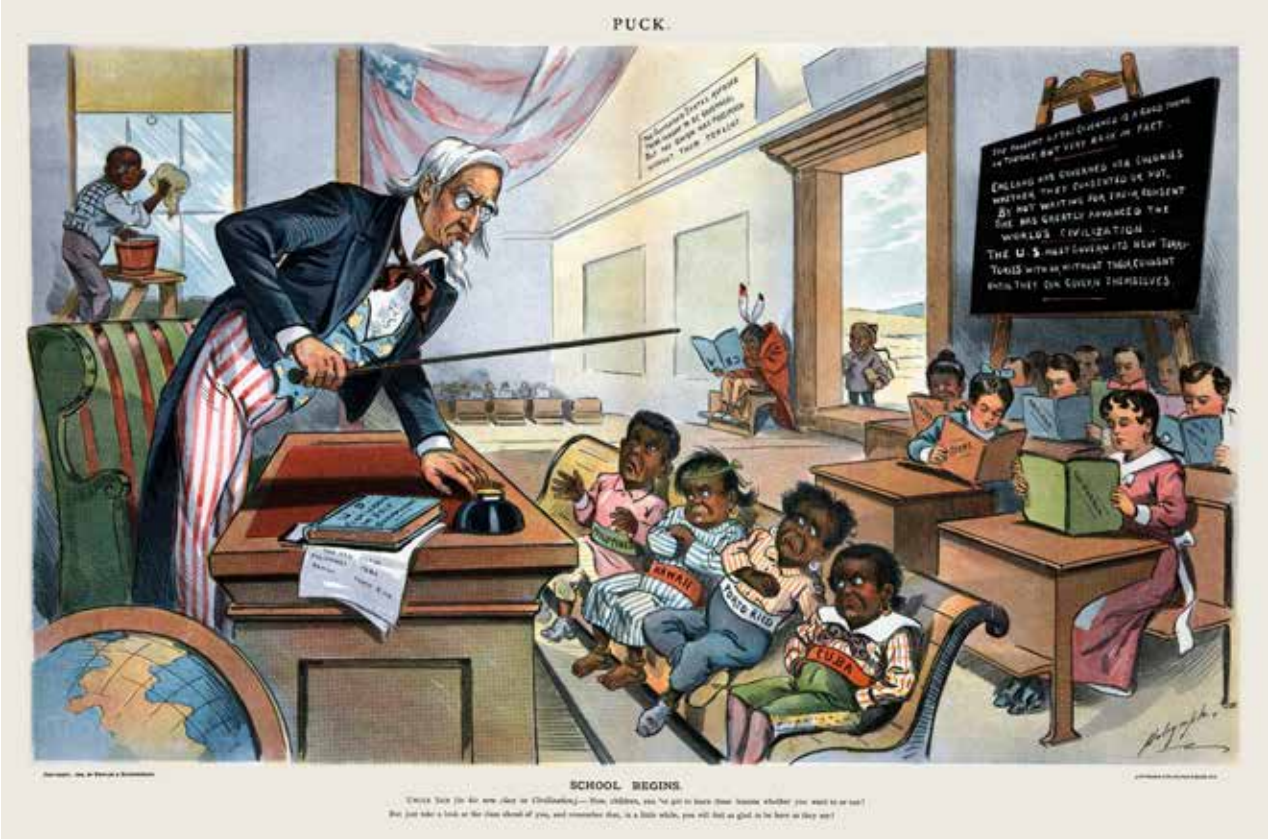
People who benefit from white privilege are often unaware or unconscious of their privilege and of the ways that those who are marked "non-white" are structurally disadvantaged and impoverished. **That lack of awareness is part of the privilege—the privilege of not seeing that a system of power exists and that others suffer from it.**

WHAT IS WHITE SUPREMACY?

White supremacy is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent; for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power and privilege. (from ywcamadison.org)

In a white supremacy system, white privilege and racial oppression are two sides of the same coin. "White peoples were exempt from slavery, land grab and genocide, the first forms of white privilege (in the future US)."

(Virginia Harris and Trinity Ordoña, "Developing Unity among Women of Color: Crossing the Barriers of Internalized Racism and Cross Racial Hostility," in Making Face, Making Soul: Hacienda Caras. Edited by Gloria Anzaldúa. SF: Aunt Lute Press, 1990. p. 310).



HOW CAN WE FIGHT RACISM OR WHITE SUPREMACY?

Racism and white supremacy are the products of a capitalist system invested in keeping wealth and resources within the hands of the few. We have already discussed the definitions of racism, white privilege, white supremacy, power, colonialism and settler colonialism. In order for us to truly dismantle these tools of oppression, we must understand how they work together and we must fight them simultaneously.

HOW CAN WE ORGANIZE AGAINST OUR OWN OPPRESSION WITHOUT PARTICIPATING IN THE OPPRESSION OF OTHERS?

What groups do you think in Hawai'i? As "disappearing"? As "threatening Others"?
How does this benefit whiteness?

Do you see additional, or forms of, racism operating in Hawai'i?
For instance, do you see different groups being marked or stereotyped in different ways?

PRACTICE SCENARIOS

Talk about each of the following scenarios. In what ways are people supporting or complicit in the oppression of another group? How could the group think or organize with an awareness of the oppression of others?

SCENARIO #1: At one time in Hawai'i's history, Japanese people were treated as a permanent threat to American society in the islands because of international tensions between the US and Japan for power in the Pacific and Asia. You are a group of Japanese residents of Hawai'i who are fighting for equal rights as American citizens. You are demanding to be given equal representation in the government because you are Americans.

SCENARIO #2: You are a group of Native Hawaiians who are pushing for state recognition of the special political status of Kanaka Maoli. The state constitution says that it has an obligation to promote "the betterment of native Hawaiians." In a discussion about more state funding for Native Hawaiian health care, several members of the group begin to talk about how the influx of Micronesians is causing competition for limited state funds. "Why don't they just go back to where they came from?" someone says.

SCENARIO #3: You are a group of first and second-generation Filipino/as in Hawai'i. Your parents came here in hopes to achieve the "American dream." You are working to organize Filipino/a workers in the hotel industry, and you are considering whether to support a new Hilton hotel to be built on a burial site that is sacred to Hawaiians in your community. People need jobs so that they can pay to give their kids better education.

SCENARIO #4: In a discussion about racism in Hawai'i, people begin to argue that Native Hawaiians do not suffer from racism because they have "special benefits," like the Kamehameha Schools and Hawaiian Homelands. They instead say that often Hawaiians and other "locals" target haole tourists and residents.

SCENARIO #5: You are members of a coalition fighting the spread of GMO crops in Hawai'i. In several hearings, employees who work in the fields of these companies have come to testify in support of continued GMO cultivation. As you plan for your next action to confront corporations who are spraying pesticides all over the fields, some of your group starts to bad-mouth those "damn immigrants" who work in the fields.

NOTES

Excerpt from

Keawe ʻaimoku Kaholokula's Essay on Health and Inequality

"An event at the checkout counter of the Ala Moana Long's Drugs store has stuck with me for life. I was nine years old, standing with my mom as the cashier rang up the total for the woman in front of us. The woman wrote out her check. The clerk took it and handed the woman her bags. Although it was common practice at Long's in those days, the clerk did not verify the check against her I.D.

"Have a nice day," the clerk said, as the woman walked away. Our turn at the checkout wasn't so easy. Presented with her total, my mother too wrote a check, but this time the clerk stopped and called the store manager to verify it. I asked my mom, "Why she called the manager for your check and not the other lady's?" My mother, frustrated, replied, "Because we Hawaiian, that's why!"…

Looking back on my childhood, I recall many situations where my parents felt discriminated against or where there was ethnic tension between people in my lower Makiki neighborhood. Some were subtle, like that day at Long's. Some were blatant, like when our neighbor, an older Japanese woman, called my dad the terrible "n" word. A backdrop to all of this interpersonal tension was the poor economic conditions we all, regardless of ethnicity, lived with and endured in our neighborhood. I can recount the many times we were on the verge of applying for welfare. Instead, my parents often opted to work more than one job each to make ends-meet. Now, as a health professional and behavioral scientist, I realize the toll these socioeconomic conditions were having on the health of my parents, my siblings, and me, and how social inequities and health inequities go hand-in-hand in society."

From, "Achieving Social and Health Equity in Hawai'i: Mental Health" in *The Value of Hawai'i 2: Ancestral Roots, Oceanic Visions*. Honolulu: UH Press, 2014. p.242-243.

ACTIVITY FOUR

I Remember...

PART 1

Tell a story, a memory from your own our your family's experience, about racism. Choose a specific moment and take your audience there. Use any form—poem, prose, song, drawing, or whatever feels right—to explain and to express your feelings or thoughts. Use the examples below to give you some inspiration.

SELECTED POEMS BY KATHY JETNIL-KIJINER

- "History Project" at URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DIIrrPyK0eU
- "Lessons from Hawaii" at URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3sbtpazYra0
- "Tell Them" at URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w9D88ST9qbw

PART 2

If we think of racism as a conveyor belt, an escalator, or a pipeline, we can see it as a structure set up to channel resources or people in one direction and away from another. One has to consciously get off and walk in the other direction.

Write about a memory of a time when you saw someone "get off" the conveyor belt and actively work in an anti-racist direction. What did it take? How did you feel?

ACTIVITY FIVE

Chant: “E hiu a wela”

E hiu a wela, e hiu!

E lawe a lilo, e hiu!

E hui i nā moku

E pūpūkahi ko Hawai‘i hui ‘ia

E hiu!

ACTIVITY SIX

Strategy or Tactic?

STRATEGY IS

- Your big vision for change
- Attentive to your environment and resources
- Best when it builds power
- Consistent but flexible; you should adapt as the political landscape shifts

A TACTIC IS A PURPOSEFUL ACTION. SOME EXAMPLES OF TACTICS INCLUDE:

- Creating activist art, such as public murals or street theater
- Holding vigils or ceremonies
- Teach-ins or community education workshops
- Creating PSAs and other media
- Petitioning
- Concerts
- Boycotts, targeting companies, products, etc.
- Rallies and marches
- Occupations
- Peoples tribunals or embassies
- Walking tours
- Blockades
- Hunger strikes, labor strikes, etc

A campaign is an organized course of action to achieve a particular goal. **What makes a good tactical campaign?**

- It fits your strategy.
- It builds leaders by giving people practice in organizing.
- It draws people in, and thus builds power.
- It is creative and fun.
- There is a possibility of winning!

For further reference, please read 198 Methods of Non-violent Action found in volume two of The Politics of Nonviolent Action by Gene Sharp

Some metaphors to help you think about the difference between strategies and tactics:

- In a game of konane or chess, strategy is your approach to the game and your overall plan. Tactics are moves, or short series of moves.
- In love, strategy is your style of loving, and tactics are each expression.
- In war, strategy is the long-range plan to use limited resources in achieving victory. Tactics are the specific battles or maneuvers.
- Tactics are the tools; targets are the nails; and strategy is the carpentry. Your goal is the finished building.

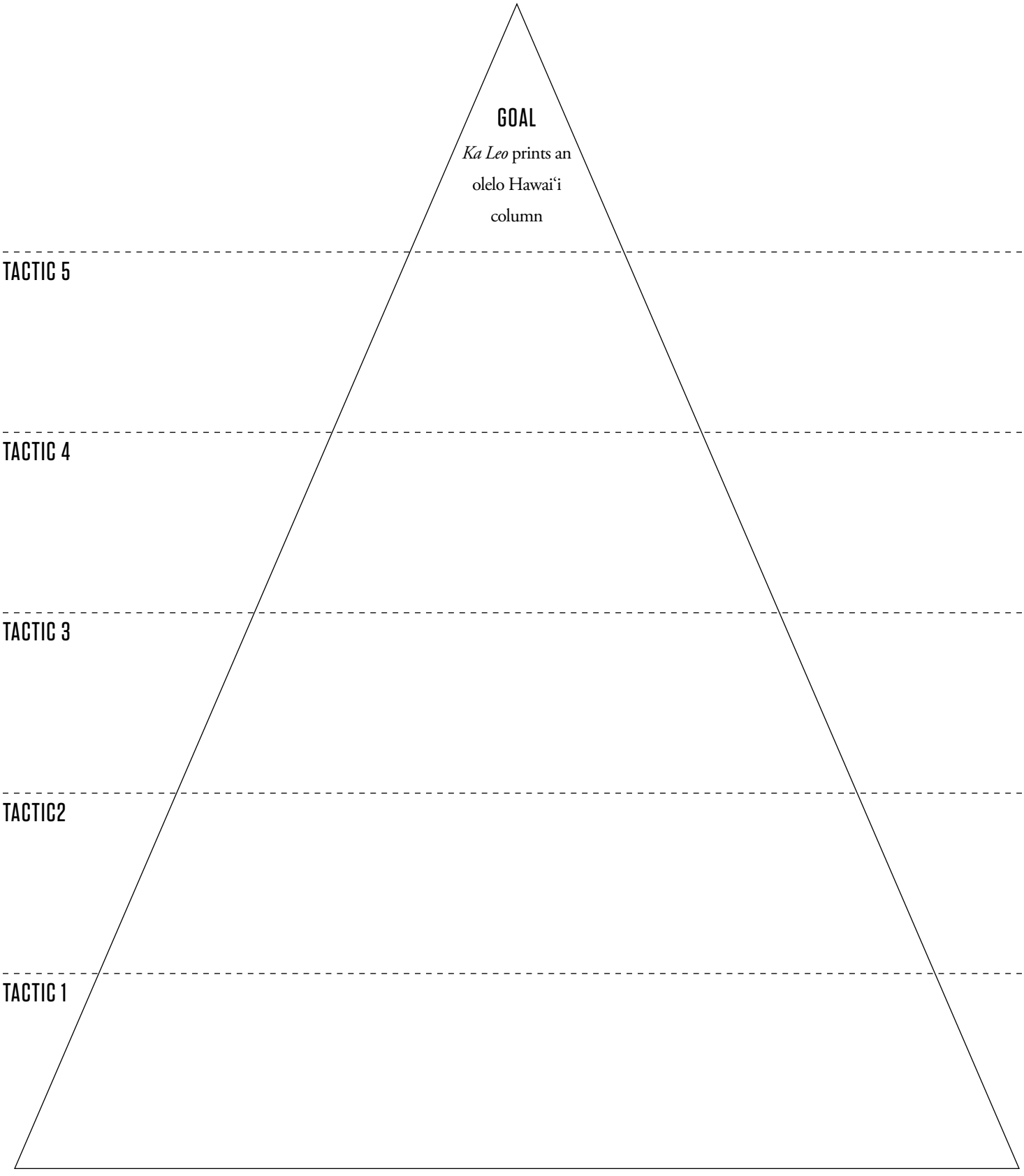
STRATEGY OR TACTIC?

1. In the aftermath of a zombie apocalypse, a group of survivors decides to occupy a prison because its walls and fences provide them a level of protection. Strategy or Tactic?
2. When an outbreak of illness hits, the council decides to send a small group from the prison to search for antibiotics or other medications that could help. Strategy or Tactic?
3. The group begins planting vegetables so that they don't have to be totally dependent on scavenging for food. Strategy or Tactic?

ACTIVITY SEVEN

Understanding Campaign-Design

Read the "I ka ʻōlelo no ke ola" section of Perry's essay on Makeʻe Pono. Using his story, diagram the phases of Makeʻe's campaign to get the UH student-run newspaper, *Ka Leo o Hawaiʻi*, to include a Hawaiian language column in its regular issues.



ACTIVITY EIGHT

Practicing Campaign-Design

For each of the strategic visions below, think of a possible target and at least two tactics (one initial and one escalated).

VISION 1

You are a group of local residents that wants to protect your families from potential poisoning by pesticides being used on large-scale ag farms on your island. Your vision is twofold: 1) community members no longer have to rely on jobs from the agricultural corporations using these lands, and 2) the government will more effectively regulate the use of harmful pesticides on valuable agricultural land and near residential areas.

TARGET	INITIAL TACTIC (THE FIRST STEP)	ESCALATED TACTIC (IF TARGET DOES NOT RESPOND)

VISION 2

You are a group of farmers who have noticed less and less water in the stream that feeds your loʻi kalo and māla. Upon investigation, you find that the owners of a former plantation are diverting water from further upstream. You want the water restored for three reasons: 1) to support small-scale, local taro farms; 2) to provide a healthy stream ecosystem for native streamlife, such as ʻoʻopu; and 3) so that kids in your community have a healthy stream to play in.

TARGET	INITIAL TACTIC (THE FIRST STEP)	ESCALATED TACTIC (IF TARGET DOES NOT RESPOND)

BRAINSTORM YOUR OWN CAMPAIGN

TARGET	INITIAL TACTIC (THE FIRST STEP)	ESCALATED TACTIC (IF TARGET DOES NOT RESPOND)

ACTIVITY NINE

"2000" BY KAPALI KEAHI

Recorded by Lahaina Grown on the album Lahaina Grown

I call the people to come and help fix up our tomorrow
Because our past calls for a brighter day
So let the sun shine down upon your face
Revealing all the beauty of this place
Sweet Hawai'i nei

2000 years of history
comin from these islands
in the middle of the deep blue sea
I think of the days when we were fighters, warriors
It was about 200 years ago
Just when all of the walls had seemed to be
Tumbling down
Well, then the strangers invaded our home
And then grief invaded our souls

HUI:
Its been a long time coming
Long time comin for me and you
I've got to be with you, a little bit closer
Oh yeah, a little more closer
We pule it over
Doing it right
I'll do it with music
You've got to use it
It's I who love music
Mmmmm….hmmmmm….hmmmm
Shoo-bop-shoo-bop-shoo-be-doo
Shoo be da be doop shoo be do
Shoo-bop-shoo-bop-shoo-be-doo
Shoo be da be doop shoo be do
Shoo-bop-shoo-bop-shoo-be

And they stab us in the back
I say, down Big Five
but they stab us in the back
They took all of our land
Now we won't watch and sit back cuz

Clouds coverin the mountaintop
The wind keeps stirrin and the river won't stop
Clouds coverin the mountaintop

The rain and the river won't stop

Free the waters and the lands you stole from me
Cuz I don't wanna wait for anotha' minamina century

Because you owe it all
from the mountains to the reef
We're gonna carry on
'Till our liberty
A share for you and me, yeah
Sweet sovereignty
Yeah, sweet sovereignty

HUI

Stick to your culture, you know that, know that
Protect your culture, you know that, know that
Control your future, you know that, know that

"ALL HAWAI'I, STAND TOGETHER" BY LIKO MARTIN

As I travel from place to place
some familiar and some strange
to hear the ancient chanting of our home
as I listen to the stories
my eyes have seen the glory
so let use raise our voice
in song to save our land

HUI:
All Hawai'i, stand together
it is now and forever
to raise our voices
and hold our banners high.
We shall stand as a nation
to guide our destiny of our generation
to sing and praise the glories of our land.

Within stone walls
and cities of refuge
we learned the sacred ways
upon Waipi'o's valley floor,
the ancient battles raged
from the barren slopes of Kaho'olawe
to the shores of Kahana bay
we shall claim our lands
from the Barking Sands to the valleys of Hanalei

HUI

From the fiery pits of Tūtū Pele
I hear my mothers call
oh Tūtū kane, Maunakea,
send his love to all
To stand as one beneath the sun
blessings from Haleakalā
oh our sweet Ka'ala and Wai'ale'ale
where the greatest waters fall

Hawai'i loa kūlike kākou
kūpa'a me ka lōkahi ē
kūkala me ka wiwo'ole
'onipa'a kākou, 'onipa'a kākou
a lanakila nā kini
e ola, e ola, e ola, nā kini ē (repeat 3x)

3

THE PROTECT KAHOʻOLAWE ʻOHANA

TAKING CONTROL OF THE STORY

3

THE PROTECT KAHOʻOLAWE ʻOHANA

TAKING CONTROL OF THE STORY

"If the Dick and Jane books not going to make you proud of who you are, Kahoʻolawe is going to."

– George Jarret Helm Jr.

"Dirt is not dirty, it's just brown."

– Walter Ritte

This workshop session builds on the essay by Jonathan Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio, "Hawaiian souls: The movement to stop the US military bombing of Kahoʻolawe", which examines the work of the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana in the early and formative phases of struggle to stop the bombing of Kahoʻolawe. The Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana was led by young Hawaiians who were transformed by the island as they struggled to protect it.

These young Hawaiians, with the support of kūpuna, called for the Navy to stop the bombing of Kahoʻolawe and led a series of "landings" and subsequent occupations on Kahoʻolawe, risking their lives as they put themselves between the island and the bombs. The PKO was up against a powerful US Navy who worked to present the PKO as irrational, trouble-makers and appealed the publics value of economic security and national security in order to justify the bombing and solidify public and political support for it.

As Kahoʻolawe raised the consciousness of the PKO, the PKO utilized religion, mele, imagery, education, the media and culture to challenge the Navy with a powerful message of Aloha ʻĀina and worked hard to reach as many Hawaiians and other people in the community with their message of love for the land.

In this workshop session, we focus on how Aloha ʻĀina, as a consciousness of sacred kinship to land, shaped a powerful counter narrative to the US Navy's claims that using Kahoʻolawe for live fire training was critical to the well being of Hawaiʻi and the US. The actions and messages of Aloha ʻĀina eventually brought them to a place of victory in getting the US Navy to cease all bombing of the island. This workshop will include video footage from the PKO struggle, photographs and story-telling.

GOALS

- Recognizing the power of narrative in political struggle
- Identifying dominant and counter narratives
- Write a counter narrative
- Create a meme

SUGGESTED READING

"Hawaiian souls: The movement to stop the US military bombing of Kahoʻolawe" by Jonathan Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio, (chapter 6 in *A Nation Rising*), or at least the excerpt included in the participant's workbook

"Hoihoi Hou: a Tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell" by Rodney Morales

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

- Aloha ʻĀina
- Dominant and counter narrative
- Control Myth
- Meme

MELE & OLI

"Mele o Kahoolawe" by Harry Kunihi Mitchell

EXCERPT FROM

Hawaiian souls: The movement to stop the US military bombing of Kahoʻolawe

(Chapter 6 in *A Nation Rising*)

By Jonathan Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio

HOʻOMAKA

The controversy over Kahoʻolawe has no definite beginning. My grandmother, a pure Native Hawaiian who considered herself a patriotic and God-fearing American told me that the Navy's bombardment of the island was pohō (wasteful) when I was still in elementary school back in the early 1960s. It would be difficult to ascertain precisely what the Hawaiian attitudes toward the Navy's use of the island was before 1969. With the exception of a few letters to the editors of the Honolulu dailies, there is not much public attention paid to Kahoʻolawe until increased military use of the island during the Vietnam War began to alarm citizens and officials on the neighboring island of Maui.

Maui's mayor in the late 1960s was Elmer Cravalho, one of the first officials to publicly pursue the end of naval jurisdiction over the island. His antagonism to the Navy,

exacerbated by the discovery of an unexploded 500 pound bomb on his property in September of 1969 was primarily based on economic concerns.

> *On a visit to Maui, (Rear Admiral) Bakutis was confronted by Elmer Cravalho who brought up the possibility of discontinuing the Naval bombardments altogether. Cravalho was holding considerable acreage under lease on lands adjacent to the target island and, not too surprisingly, his half of the conversation centered on the subject of distant financial opportunities.*[1]

Cravalho's public opposition to the military use of Kaho'olawe was ultimately ineffectual, even when he was joined by US Senatator Daniel Inouye.

The Navy employed several tactics to reduce public pressure to relinquish the island. One was an appeal to American patriotism, arguing that Kaho'olawe's use was essential to national security. Another argument was that the island was unrecoverable due to the sheer amount of unexploded ordnance scattered over the island. Neither argument convinced state officials. Inouye and others challenged both arguments, citing the provisions of the 1953 Executive Order giving the Navy possession. The order stipulated the Navy's responsibility for controlling erosion and assumed eventual return of the island. Inouye accused the Navy of a "deliberate lack of candor" with its insistence that only 70% of Kaho'olawe could be made safe for habitation and industry. [2]

> *It would appear that the Navy continues to insist that no rehabilitation is possible and further—or perhaps therefore—there is no need to determine the cost of feasibility because the Navy has no intent to ever return Kaho'olawe to the State of Hawaii even if the Navy's need should diminish.*[3]

The Navy responded to the senator's criticism by maintaining the crucial nature of the Kaho'olawe exercises tying them to the military presence in the Hawaiian Islands. Even if Inouye found the Navy's threat to transfer large numbers of personnel to Guam and Micronesia amusing, organizations like the Chamber of Commerce did not. Indeed, the Navy's contention that the loss of Kaho'olawe could mean a transfer of men and material elsewhere set off alarms in the working community as well as the business community.

> *This argument found widespread adherents in civilian employees (as well as their friends and relatives) of the military. It affected them at a basic level; the threat of unemployment for the sake of an uninhabited island which many viewed in the popular stereotype of the "barren rock" was hardly conceivable, much less supportable.*[4]

The origins of the Kaho'olawe protest are firmly rooted in ordinary economics and politics. For Cravalho and the Maui County Council, the bombardment of Kaho'olawe in 1969 threatened the planned resort and residential development of Kīhei. For Senator Inouye, it was perhaps, a political opportunity enabling him to maintain solidarity with the local Democrats—of whom Cravalho was among the most powerful—and take a shot at the military, which had become an increasingly popular target for Democratic politicians as the war escalated under the Republican administration.[5]

For a variety of reasons the campaign for the return of Kaho'olawe in 1969 was not successful. The United States was at war. This made the Navy quite adamant and their case for needing the island more convincing than it would be a decade later. Furthermore, the issue appeared to be severely localized. Outside of a few Maui residents and a former resident of Kaho'olawe, there was little public pressure on State officials to seek the return of the island.[6] Kaho'olawe did not become an issue for the peace movement in Hawai'i. It is possible that Kaho'olawe was beneath public notice and that peace activists, if they considered the island at all, may have seen it as a barren and deserted place that could not possible arouse public sympathy. It is also true that the peace movement in Hawai'i was relatively minor compared to the social movements, particularly those dealing with land and land use, that erupted in the islands throughout the 1970s.[7]

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[1] MacDonald, "Fixed in Time, A Brief History of Kaho'olawe", 78
[2] Ibid, p. 79. MacDonald cites an article in the Honolulu Advertiser, January 7, 1970, A:4, "Dan Raps Navy on Kaho'olawe"
[3] Ibid. 83
[4] Myra Tuggle, The Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana; Cultural Revitalization in a Contemporary Hawaiian Movement, 98.
[5] This may appear to be an overly cynical evaluation of the senator's motives. Yet how else can one explain his public determination to secure Kaho'olawe for the state during the Nixon administration and his almost total abstention from the issue when it was raised during the Carter presidency?
[6] MacDonald, 80.
[7] Protests of the war were minor only in a relative sense. Between 1968 and 1969 there were several dramatic and well publicized incidents including the burning of the R.O.T.C. building on the Manoa campus, the occupation of the university's Bachman Hall and a number of public draft-card burnings.

ACTIVITY ONE

Oli & Mele Review

"Mele ʻAi Pohaku"
page 31

"E hiu a wela"
page 50

"2000" by Lahaina Grown
page 55

"All Hawaiʻi, Stand Together"
page 55

ACTIVITY TWO

Aloha Kuʻu Moku ʻo Kahoʻolawe: Getting to Know Kahoʻolawe

ACTIVITY THREE

Aloha ʻĀina Narratives: What's the story?

Write down points, perspectives, arguments, justifications, values and any other components of these people's speeches that support their positions on Kahoʻolawe. Write words, phrases, or sentences at most!

GEORGE HELM AND LORETTA RITTE
OF THE PROTECT KAHOOLAWE ASSOCIATION

UNITED STATES NAVY REPRESENTATIVES

ACTIVITY FOUR

Aloha ʻĀina: Consciousness

Playing music (mele, concerts).

Speaking to a class (education and outreach)

PKO court day (imagery)

Kawaipuna Prejean speaks to media (media).

Malcom X: the greatest mistake of the movement has been trying to organize a sleeping people aournd specfic goals. You have to wake the people up first, then you'll get action.
Marlene Nadle (reporter): Wake them up to their exploitation?
Malcom X: No, to their humanity, to their own worth, and to their heritage.

ACTIVITY FIVE

Story back!: Op-eds and Memes

ACTIVITY SIX

Mele

E MAU

E mau ko kākou lāhui e hoʻomau	Let's strive to keep our nation alive, let's strive
E mau ko kākou ʻōlelo e hoʻomau	Let's strive to keep our language alive, let's strive
E mau ka hana pono o ka ʻāina	Let's strive to preserve the good of the islands
I mau ka ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono	So that righteousness may continue to be with us
I ka pono o ka ʻāina	All that's good in the islands

Hoʻoulu ka pono o ka ʻāina e hoʻoulu	Build the greatness of Hawai'i, build them
Hoʻōla ka nani o ka ʻāina e hoʻōla	Restore the goodness of the islands, restore them
Hoʻōla āâ hoʻoulu lā a hoʻolaha	Restore, build, and sustain them throughout the world
I mau ka ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono	So that righteousness will fill the land once again
I ka pono o ka ʻāina	Every good in the island

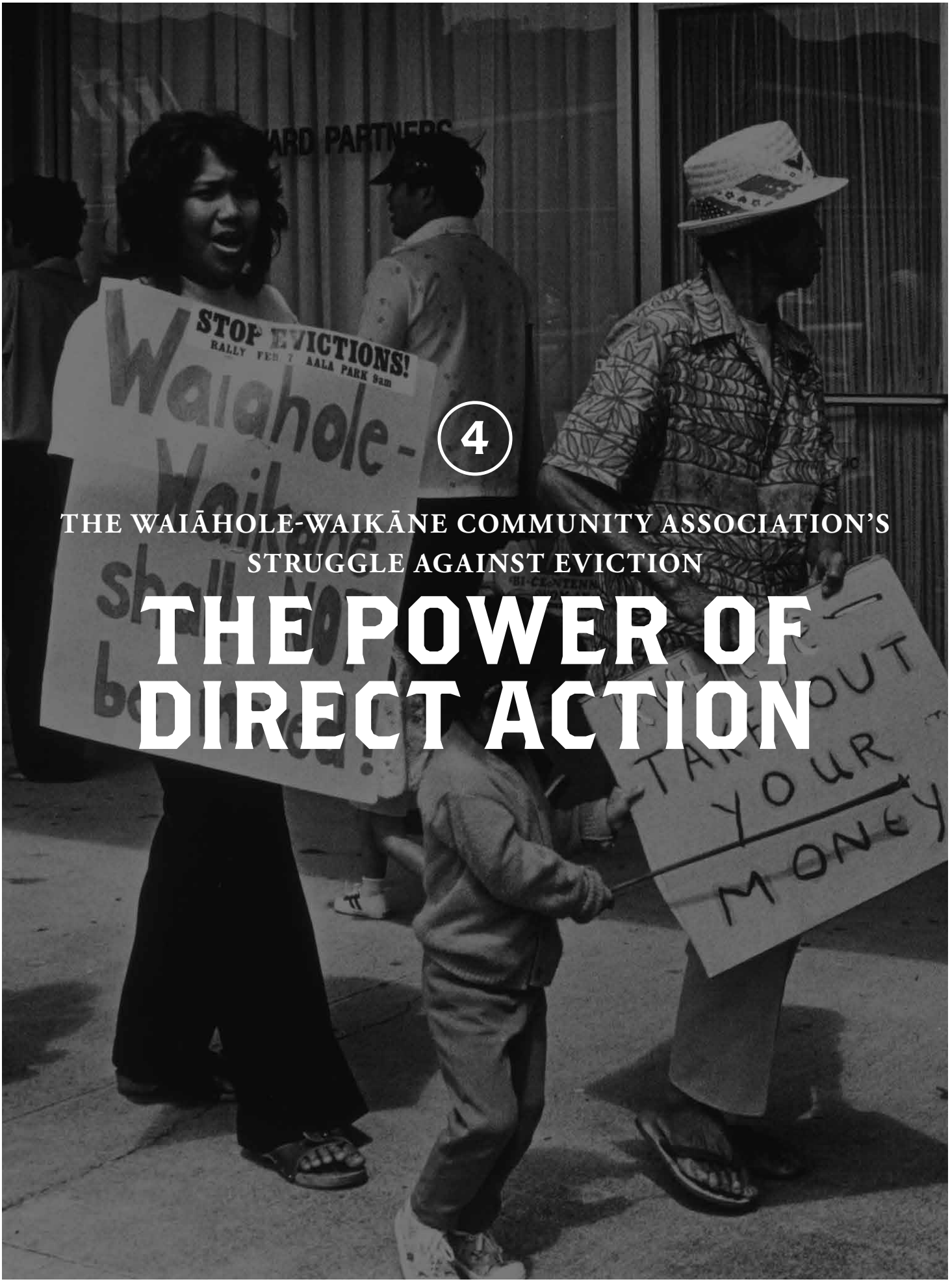
MELE O KAHOʻOLAWE

Harry Kunihi Mitchell

Aloha kuʻu moku o Kahoʻolawe	I love my island of Kaho'olawe
Mai kinohi kou inoa ʻo Kanaloa	Your original name was Kanaloa
Kohemālamalama	You are the southern beacon
Lau kanaka ʻole	Barren and without a population
Hiki mai nā pua	Until the landing of nine young men
E hoʻomalu mai	Who granted you peace

Alu like kākou Lāhui Hawaiʻi	Let us band together the Hawaiian Nation
Mai ka lā hiki mai i ka lā kau aʻe	From sun up to sun down
Kū paʻa a hahai hoʻikaika nā kānaka	Stand together and follow, be strong young people
Kau liʻi mākou nui	We are but a few in numbers
Ke aloha no ka ʻāina	But our love for the land is unlimited

Hanohano na pua o Hawaiʻi nei	Popular are the young people of Hawai'i nei
No ke kaua kauholo me	For the civil strife they cause against the
Ka aupuni	Government
Paʻa pū ka manaʻo o no ka pono	Together in one thought to bring prosperity
O ka ʻāina	to the Land
Imua nā pua	Forward young people and bring
Lanakila Kahoʻolawe	Salvation to Kaho'olawe



4

THE WAIĀHOLE-WAIKĀNE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION'S STRUGGLE AGAINST EVICTION

THE POWER OF DIRECT ACTION

4

THE WAIĀHOLE-WAIKĀNE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION'S STRUGGLE AGAINST EVICTION

THE POWER OF DIRECT ACTION

This workshop session builds on the essay, "Waiāhole-Waikāne," which describes both the anti-eviction and water struggles in these two Windward Oʻahu valleys. The struggles are important for thinking about community activism in Hawai'i and beyond. As the author, Jacqueline Lasky, argues:

> *Both the land and water struggles of Waiāhole-Waikāne…were one of the first, largest and most sustained community-based movements to garner widespread public and political support and effectively challenge the islands' prevailing land and water oligarchy. In the anti-eviction struggle, diverse 'working-class' people with little power or legal standing effectively shifted the issue from a singular private property dispute to broader matters of public land-use policies and disenfranchised citizenship rights. Drawing upon this success, in the water struggle, multiethnic taro farmers rooted in Hawaiian tradition and culture effectively re-inserted Native customary laws combined with America's public trust doctrine into Hawai'i's constitution and political practices.*

Since the water struggle became embroiled in a legal battle that lasted three decades, this workshop session is more focused on the direct action strategies of the anti-eviction struggle. Both the anti-eviction and water struggles were also waged by multiethnic coalitions who had (and continue to have) a strong commitment to Native Hawaiian culture and health. Therefore, in this unit, participants will also be asked to explore questions of kuleana, a Hawaiian form of reciprocal obligation and relation.

By considering the meanings of kuleana, participants will explore the ways this concept provides an alternative to: 1) a "politics of demand," in which groups seek to "take power" from institutional authorities instead of recognizing the power or kuleana they already have; and 2) individualistic private property frameworks. The case of the Waiāhole-Waikāne Community Associations struggle can also be used to explore various issues, such as:

- the ways multiethnic communities can make Hawaiian culture foundational to their organizing,
- how to shift from a "taking power" approach to a "making power" approach,
- the different kuleana that people of various positionalities can have within a community struggle, and
- the considerations groups should make when planning for direct action that will likely include civil disobedience and confrontation with police forces.

GOALS

- Considering "what is my kuleana?"
- Direct action planning: roles, risks and contingencies

SUGGESTED READING

"Waiāhole-Waikāne" by Jaqueline Lasky (chapter in *A Nation Rising*), or at least the excerpt included in the participant workbook

CRITICAL VOCABULARY

- Kuleana
- Private property
- Direct action
- Politics of demand
- "Making power" vs "taking power"

MELE & OLI

"He ʻaʻalii kū makani mai au; ʻaʻohe makani nāna e kulaʻi ē!"
"I am a wind-resting ʻaʻaliʻi; no gale can push me over!" One interpretation: "I can hold my own even in the face of difficulties. In the face of strong winds, the ʻaʻaliʻi plant twists and bends but seldom breaks or falls down uprooted.

EXCERPT FROM

"Waiāhole-Waikāne"

By Jaqueline Lasky

"Da night was still, da moon was by da mountain. It was like a little cloudy over da moon but it's still there, it's shining brightly. Da night is still. When dat horn wen blow, people wen know already 'It's time; they coming in.'"[1]

– Pat Royos

When the people of Waiāhole and Waikāne heard the warning horn blowing from a treetop on the night of January 4, 1977, they knew that it signaled the police were coming to enforce their evictions. Hundreds of supporters from all over the Hawaiian Islands were camped out to "occupy" and "defend" the valleys. The residents had fought their evictions in the courthouse, at the state capital, in the media, in front of business and labor offices, at neighborhood and church meetings, and in alliance with other communities facing similar evictions during the turbulent decade. This night was the culmination of three years of struggle to stay in their rural homes and fend off the encroachment of suburban and tourism development.

A vehicular and human barricade was formed across one mile of the two-lane Kamehameha Highway on windward O'ahu. Island-wide supporters converged on the valleys, and traffic was effectively stopped for hours on the only road along the thirty-mile coastline. Only a handful of police officers arrived on the scene, and it was unclear if there was sufficient "backup" waiting to come in and enforce the eviction decrees. Members of the Waiāhole-Waikāne Community Association (WWCA) were canvassing the waiting cars, handing out information pamphlets and explaining the reasons for the roadblock with mostly sympathetic drivers and passengers. The police appeared uncertain of how to proceed. An officer threatened to arrest Bobby Fernandez, the president of WWCA, who describes the scene:

> *Dat's why I'm suppose to tell you, officer, dis is my attorney right here. I'm standing on private property. I didn't park any of dese cars, but, you know, I'm in charge of da people who did.*
>
> *What you like me do, call da mayor?!*
>
> *Yeah, dat's exactly what I want you to do!*

The mayor of Honolulu was called. The governor of Hawai'i was called. Ultimately, the chief of the Honolulu Police Department gave his personal assurance that there would be no evictions that night and promised to notify WWCA in advance of any future actions. Thus ended the historic roadblock. A few days later the governor announced a deal with the large landowner, McCandless heir Elizabeth Loy Marks, in which the State would purchase six hundred acres of Waiāhole Valley and issue long-term leases at fair and reasonable rents to all the valleys' tenants. The anti-eviction struggle was a resounding success.

Nearly two decades later, another historic blockade was staged in Waiāhole Valley. In mid 1995, valley residents, farmers, and allies converged on the road leading to the Waiāhole Ditch irrigation system at the privately owned gate by Amfac JMB (Waiāhole Irrigation Company). For over seven decades, tens of millions of gallons of water each day had been diverted from the lush windward valleys to the dry leeward plains in service of the thirsty sugar plantations. With the closure of the last sugar plantation on O'ahu in the early 1990s, Waiāhole taro farmers and allies sought to have the long-diverted waters returned to windward streams. This resulted in the decade-long Waiāhole Ditch Combined Contested Case at the State Commission of Water Resource Management, with the Waiāhole-taro farmers as one of the primary petitioners. In 1994 it was discovered that Amfac was dumping unused diverted water. A public outcry spurred by the taro farmers and allies forced the temporary return of the dumped water to remain in the windward streams. However, Amfac was dissatisfied and threatened to reclaim the water. In resistance, the Waiāhole-Waikāne community and allies mobilized and staged the blockade, effectively dissuading Amfac from re-taking the stream waters. Rather than a culmination, this was only the beginning of the Waiāhole taro farmers' water struggle, which was rooted in the earlier anti-eviction struggle.

The farmers and activists themselves best describe this dynamic:

Like the original struggle against evictions, [the water struggle] was supported by a broad group of people all around the island and the islands in general. And one of the things that came out of the fight over water…was an attempt to help people get back to growing taro. In general, there was a revived interest in growing taro.

– Liko Hoe

Our first thought was we need more water for our taro. But as we got more into the issue, we began to realize that the issue was bigger than just water for our taro. The issue was if you want to revive taro planting, you need lots of water in the streams, and then stream life itself needs water to support stream life, particularly things like endemic [species]… Then at the same time, the water flowing to the ocean was important to the health of the estuary. … So it became a real broad issue that kind of encompassed all the issues of development, population growth, water conservation, reuse of sewage… We were well aware [of these issues before], overdevelopment and that kind of thing, but we didn't put it together as a strategy to fight for water.

– Calvin Hoe

Just being in the Waiāhole-Waikāne [anti-eviction] struggle and rooting ourselves in the community, it became natural to go with the kalo [taro] fight. … In this modern time, the struggle for the water became representative of that issue that resonates with people, like how the development issue in Waiāhole was at one time.

– Gwen Kim

[1] All the community members and activists quoted in this chapter were interviewed by the author during the years 2003-2007.

ACTIVITY ONE

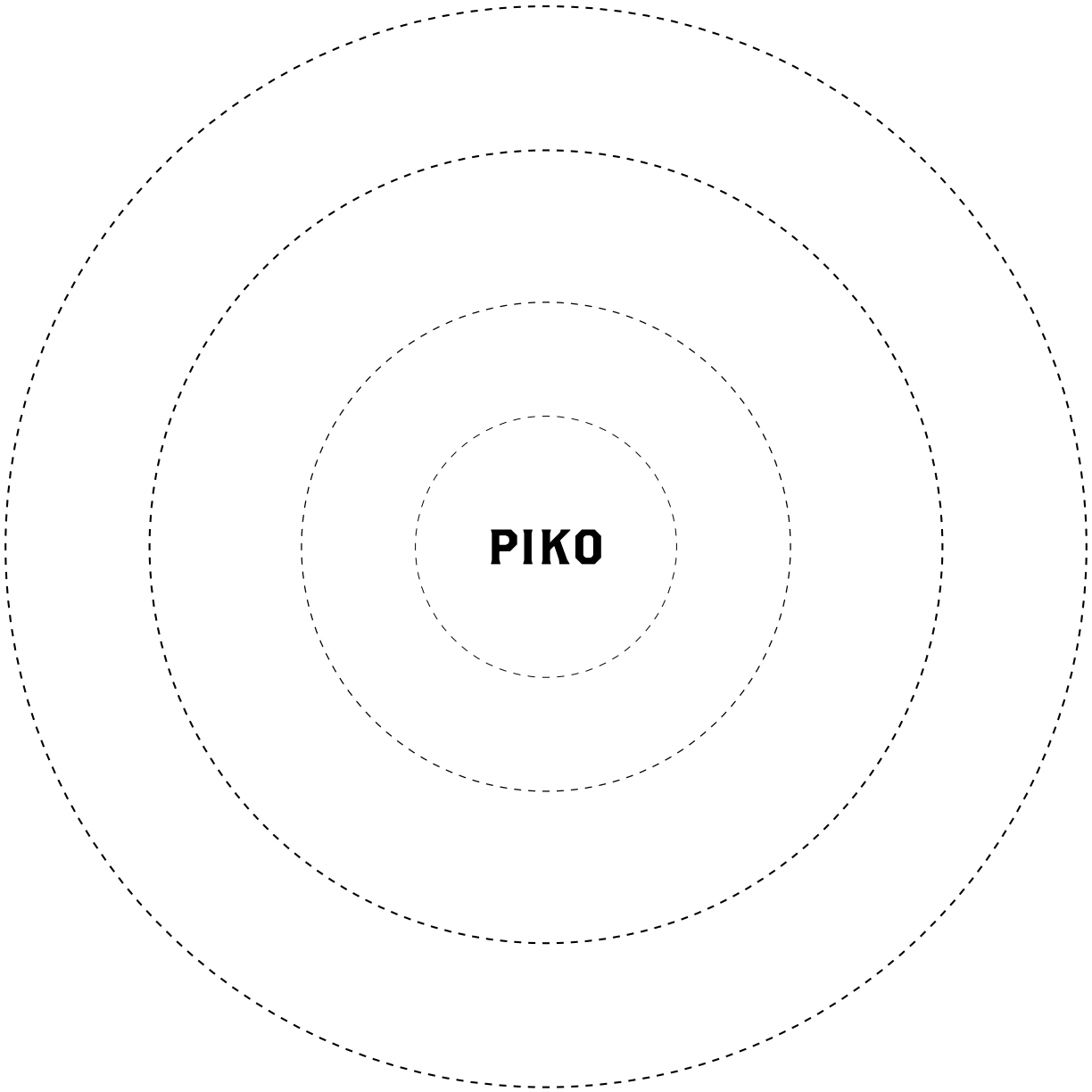
Oli Practice: "We Shall Not Be Moved!"

He ʻaʻalii kū makani mai au;
ʻaʻohe makani nāna e kulaʻi ē!

I am a wind-resting ʻaʻaliʻi;
no gale can push me over!

ACTIVITY TWO

Kuleana Circle



"My family has a genealogical connection to _____."

"I have lived in _____ for the majority of my life."

"I am intimately familiar with the place names, traditional stories and/or natural resources and rhythms of _____ , such as the water resources, winds, rains, etc.

"I have committed a significant amount of time and energy to working for the betterment/protection of _____."

"I have received clear affirmation from community members and/or spiritual elements that I indeed have a kuleana to care for_____."

WHAT IS MY KULEANA?

KULEANA
a notion of responsibilities, authority and rights that are tied to one's relationship to place, genealogy, and commitment and effort put forth toward a community and landbase.

Land and genealogy are crucial to Hawaiian understandings of kuleana. Often translated to English by combining words like "rights" or "responsibilities," the ʻŌiwi concept of kuleana fundamentally implies ancestry and place. Over centuries of living in a place, one's ʻohana (extended family) becomes genealogically tied to the land. Mountains, winds, rocks and other non-human beings are recognized as family members and ancestors, and people are obligated to care for their ʻohana. To use the term "kuleana" without understanding the importance of land and genealogy is to alter this important cultural concept. Instead, ask in every new context: "what is my kuleana here?"

For the purposes of this workshop, we will think about kuleana connections to land as based on a combination of factors, including:

1. knowing and honoring genealogy;
2. a family's or individual's residence in a place over time;
3. developing familiarity with and knowledge about a place over time, even over generations;
4. demonstrating commitment and stewardship of a community, including the natural & social resources; and
5. affirmation from the community, including spiritual forces, of one's kuleana.

WHAT IS NOT MY KULEANA?
Respected Hawaiian educator and Niʻihau native, Ilei Beniamina, explained that knowing what is not one's kuleana is the equally important, corresponding side of being clear about what is one's kuleana:

There is always kuleana attached to learning: sometimes one needs to know when to step back. If it is not your ahupuaʻa (land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea), not your ʻili (subdivision of an ahupuaʻa), not your moku (district), it is not even your mokupuni (island), don't maha ʻoi. You need to respect the kuleana enough to leave it be.

She focuses on connection to place. How do you know when someplace is "yours"? How do you know when to step back, step up, or step out altogether?

FOR DISCUSSION
- Think about a mentor or family member who has been influential to you. How did his/her work, purpose, or way of living impact what you see as your kuleana?
- Some people have experienced forced disconnection from the place(s) they call home. Have you or your family experienced this? How does it impact your kuleana?
- Has there ever been a time when you thought something was your kuleana, but someone else interrupted you and expressed that this was not actually your kuleana? How did you or would you handle such a situation?
- Given my relationship to history, to this ʻāina, and to the other people who exist here, what is my kuleana? What is not my kuleana?

LAND: WHOSE KULEANA?

For hundreds of generations in these islands, decisions about usage of the resources lay with those who cared for, used, and had kuleana connections to those elements. Hawaiian understandings of kuleana and land use respect that people have shared interests. For instance, the process known as the Māhele (which means to divide or to share) was premised on an understanding that Kānaka of all classes had undivided interests in all the lands of the archipelago. These varied kuleana were layered in the land and in society.

PRIVATE PROPERTY
Get your own piece of the pie

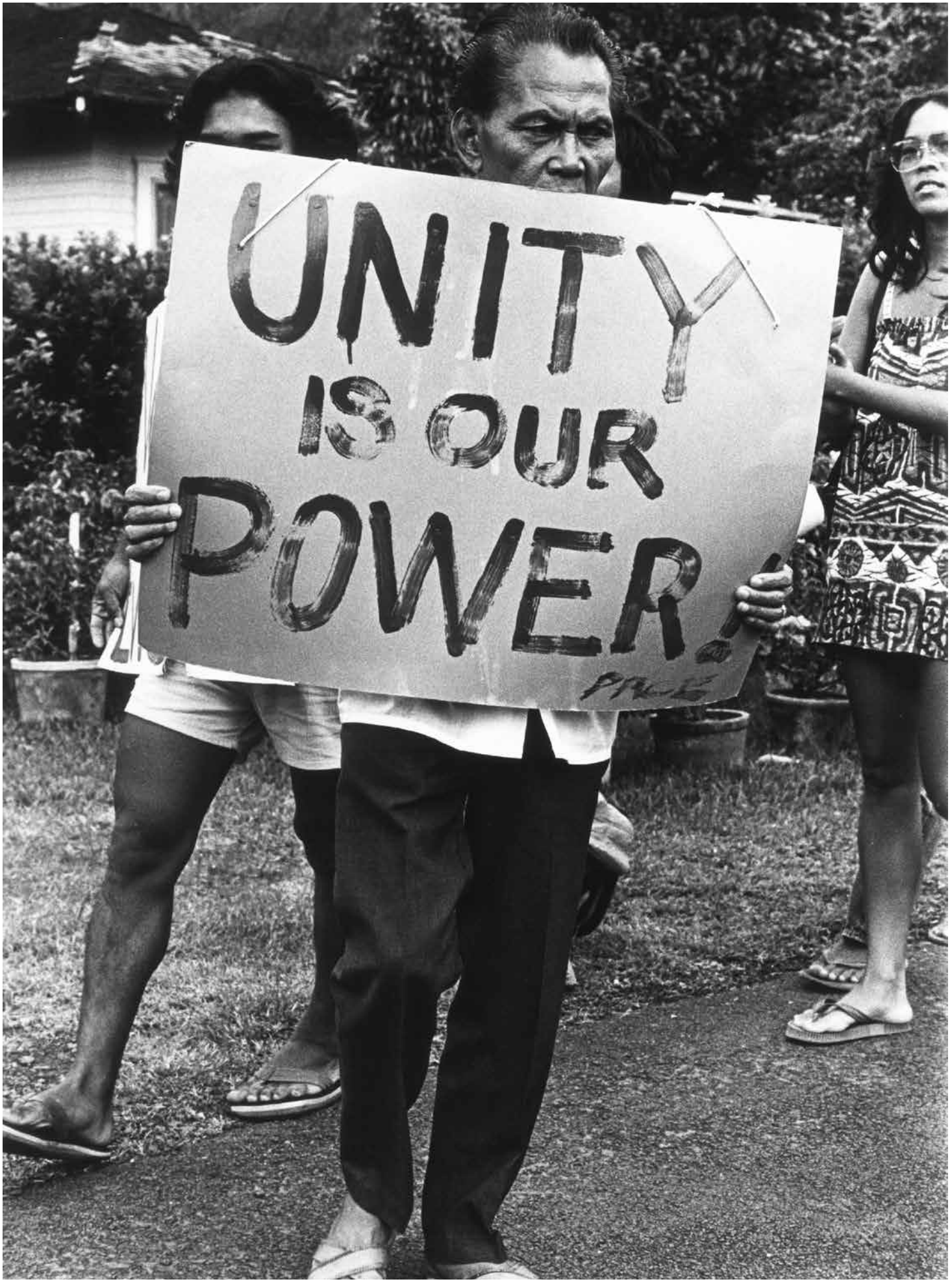
KULEANA
It's complicated, but the layers make it more 'ono

The term "kuleana" allows us to see how different people can maintain different kinds of connections to lands. These different interests are layered in the 'āina, like a layer cake. This way of relating to land and to others provides an alternative to private property frameworks. The capitalist principle of private property is individualistic and ultimately based on exclusion. Everyone is out to get their own piece of the pie.

Many land struggles in Hawai'i have been based on this idea that it is not just the land owner who should have decision-making power over what happens on a particular piece of land. Particularly when there are so many land owners who are simply investors with no genealogical, residential, or knowledge-based connection to the "property" they own, 'Ōiwi and multiethnic communities in Hawai'i have asserted that those who live on, work on, worship or care for the 'āina have more kuleana (authority and responsibility) than the owner.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES AND READINGS ON KULEANA:

- Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991);
- Sam L. No'eau Warner, "Kuleana: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Cultural Revitalization," Anthropology and Education Quarterly 30, no. 1 (1999): 68–93;
- Kanalu Young, "Kuleana: Toward a Historiography of Hawaiian National Consciousness, 1780-2001," Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics 2 (2006): 1–33.


UNITY
IS OUR
POWER!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JSING
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HOM

ACTIVITY THREE

Making Power vs. Taking Power: What is Direct Action?

In simplest terms, direct action is when the people who experience and recognize a problem take action to solve it.

Rather than asking institutional authorities for authorization or permission, people recognize power in themselves to take action. Direct actions can be nonviolent or violent. Direct action can be as simple as continuing to reside on the land of one's ancestors or to engage in cultural practices that are being threatened. People also think about using direct action as a way to pressure individuals or organizations who hold some kind of decision-making power (i.e. government officials, corporate executives, a university's president and chancellor, etc).

Direct action is fundamentally different from other forms of political action, like advocacy or service, which are both done on other people's behalf. Instead, direct action is about building people's understanding of their own collective power to make the changes in society that together they determine are most needed. Direct actions are typically aimed at winning concrete improvements in the life of lands and communities.

EXAMPLES OF NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTIONS: strikes, sit-ins, occupations, street theater.

EXAMPLES OF VIOLENT DIRECT ACTIONS: sabotage, vandalism, assault, armed insurrection.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY THAT IS NOT DIRECT ACTION: electoral politics, diplomacy, class action lawsuits.

IN HAWAIʻI, DIRECT ACTIONS HAVE BEEN USED TO:

- Oppose and avert evictions of Kanaka Maoli and working class locals for upscale "developments"
- Stop military test bombing
- Register opposition to US wars (ex. Vietnam, Iraq, etc.)
- Halt or attempt to halt destruction of burials and other sacred sites, such as in Honokahua, Maui; Naue, Kauaʻi; and Halawa Oʻahu
- Restore loʻi and other subsistence farming to feed communities

EXAMPLES OF DIRECT ACTION ORGANIZING IN VARIOUS INDIGENOUS NATIONS:

- Between Oct 2014 - June 2015, kānaka aloha ʻāina (people who love the land) blocked the road upon which construction vehicles were attempting to ascend Mauna a Wākea—the highest mountain in the Hawaiian islands and a sacred piko for the lāhui Hawaiʻi. Dozens were arrested in April and June 2015, before the project was paused as legal battles continued.
- In October 2014, thirty-one Pacific Islanders paddled canoes into Newcastle harbor, blocking the largest coal shipping port in Australia. The network of islanders from 15 different Pacific Island nations included those like Tuvalu, facing immediate inundation of their homelands by rising seas due to climate change. "We are not drowning. We are fighting!" they cried as they entered on vessels built through cultural traditions passed from elders to a new generation.
- In Sept 2013, two boats evaded the Indonesian navy to bring Indigenous elders from Australia and West Papua together. They met for a ceremonial reconnection of their cultures, which included bringing sacred water from Lake Eyre and ashes from the Aboriginal Tent Embassy to West Papuan leaders as a symbol of solidarity for the West Papuans ongoing struggle for freedom from Indonesian military occupation.
- The Sacred Stones Camp, Red Warrior Camp, and the Oceti Sakowin Camp resist the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline, which threatens traditional and treaty-guaranteed Great Sioux Nation territory. The potentially 1,200-mile pipeline would transport hydraulically fractured (fracked) crude oil from the Bakken Oil Fields in North Dakota, passing immediately above the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation and several important bodies of water. This localized struggle received global support in 2016.
- Restoration of ancestral and subsistence agricultural and aquacultural systems sustains communities and makes them less dependent upon exploitative global food systems.

"TAKING POWER" VS "MAKING POWER"

We can dig deeper into direct action approaches by differentiating between "taking power" and "making power." Native feminist and anti-violence organizer, Andrea Smith, writes that "making power" is about building organizations and relationships that "model the world we are trying to create." Making power can include the creation of autonomous zones in which people work together to provide for their collective needs. The key is to proliferate and network these zones, so as to make oppressive systems obsolete and to reduce people's dependency on harmful systems and relationship. Affinity across diversity is preferred over unity that demands hierarchy and exclusion. According to Smith, in the process of making power "there may be skirmishes with the state, but conflict is not the primary work of these groups."

TAKING POWER	MAKING POWER
• "politics of demand" • assumes institutional authorities (state officials, land owners, corporate executives, etc.) are the primary holders of power • action is oriented to demanding the state take action or grant "gifts" of recognition, integration or compensation • relies on "experts" such as attorneys or highly-skilled specialists, such that people feel distanced, disconnected or uninvited to the struggle • often centralized, so that a group can negotiate with the state or corporate power	• "politics of kuleana" • recognizes the power and authority that everyday people (workers, residents, students, youth, etc.) can wield • action is oriented toward building networks, organizations and relationships that nurture the world that the group envisions together • invites people in to participate in big & small ways, according to their abilities and sense of kuleana; builds empowerment and new leadership • proliferates and networks autonomous zones in which people provide for their collective needs • may include skirmishes with the state but conflict is not the primary work

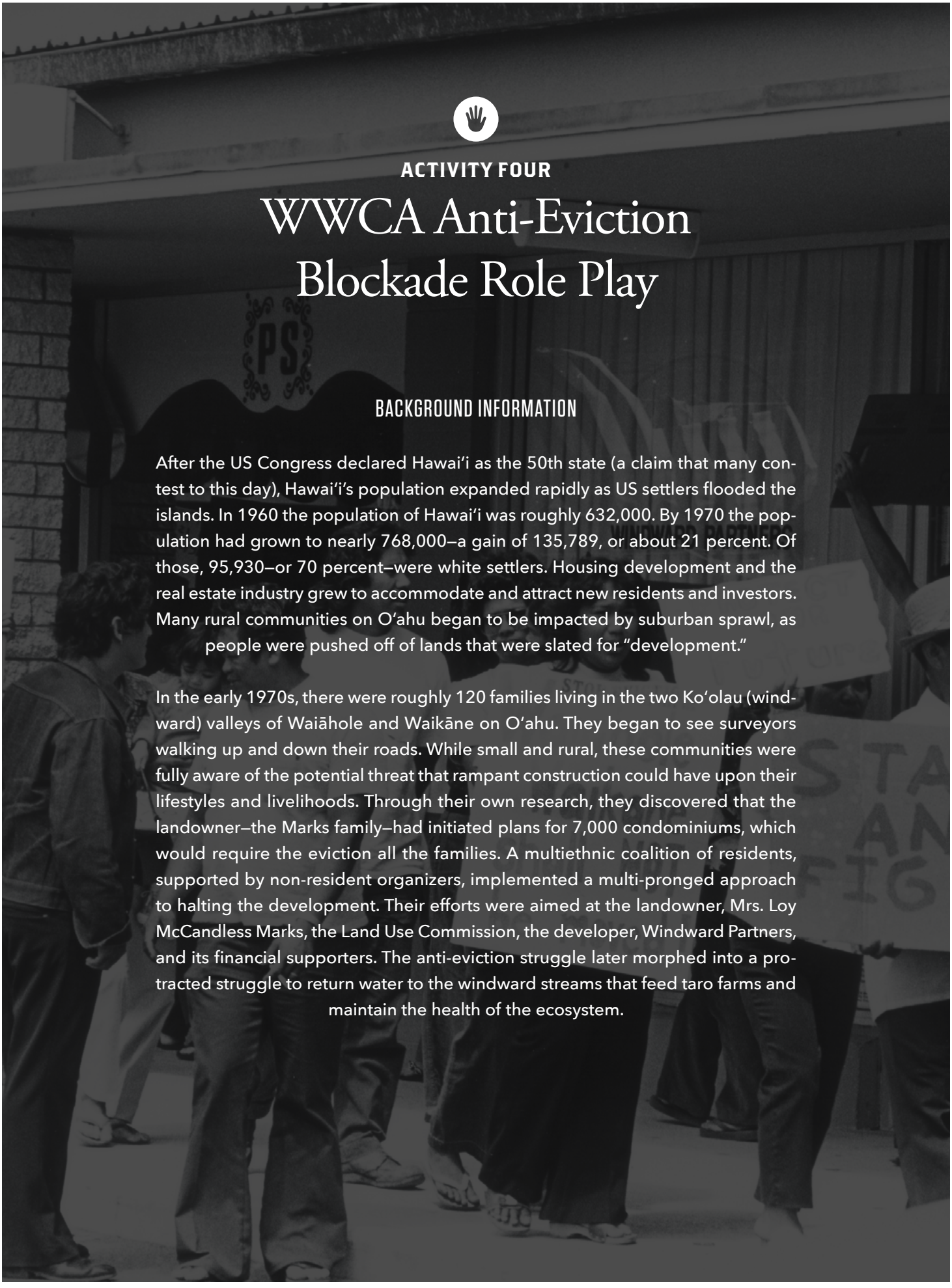
(Draws on the work of Andrea Smith, Taiaiake Alfred, Raul Zibechi, Richard Day and others)

"Taking power" is built on "politics of demand." In this mode of politics, the state or corporate authorities are assumed to be the center of political life. People seek sanction, compensation, rights, or recognition within an assimilative, disempowering and unequal framework. Rather than seeing such institutional authorities as the primary and only legitimate holders of power, a "making power" approach shifts from a *"politics of demand"* to a *"politics of kuleana."*

"MAKING POWER" BUILDS NEW LEADERSHIP

MAKING POWER

TAKING POWER



ACTIVITY FOUR

WWCA Anti-Eviction Blockade Role Play

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

After the US Congress declared Hawai'i as the 50th state (a claim that many contest to this day), Hawai'i's population expanded rapidly as US settlers flooded the islands. In 1960 the population of Hawai'i was roughly 632,000. By 1970 the population had grown to nearly 768,000—a gain of 135,789, or about 21 percent. Of those, 95,930—or 70 percent—were white settlers. Housing development and the real estate industry grew to accommodate and attract new residents and investors. Many rural communities on O'ahu began to be impacted by suburban sprawl, as people were pushed off of lands that were slated for "development."

In the early 1970s, there were roughly 120 families living in the two Ko'olau (windward) valleys of Waiāhole and Waikāne on O'ahu. They began to see surveyors walking up and down their roads. While small and rural, these communities were fully aware of the potential threat that rampant construction could have upon their lifestyles and livelihoods. Through their own research, they discovered that the landowner—the Marks family—had initiated plans for 7,000 condominiums, which would require the eviction all the families. A multiethnic coalition of residents, supported by non-resident organizers, implemented a multi-pronged approach to halting the development. Their efforts were aimed at the landowner, Mrs. Loy McCandless Marks, the Land Use Commission, the developer, Windward Partners, and its financial supporters. The anti-eviction struggle later morphed into a protracted struggle to return water to the windward streams that feed taro farms and maintain the health of the ecosystem.

THE ROLE PLAY

It is 1977. Resistance to the proposed development and the evictions hanging over Waiāhole and Waikāne families' heads has been ongoing for a few years. Signs declaring opposition to the eviction line Kamehameha Highway. Demonstrations have been held at the State Capitol and City Hall, as well as the Joe Pao's office and the Marks' estate. Though victories have been won to delay the construction, Marks (the landowner), Pao and the Windward Partners (the developers) have not ended their drive to cash-in on Waiāhole-Waikāne. The development had the support of numerous power players, including judges, labor leaders, and legislators. Marks has publicly stated that evictions will be enforced in Waiāhole Valley on January 3rd.

In this role play, you are a part of the anti-eviction struggle and will be planning with your group to assure that the evictions do not happen. Each group represents a different segment of the movement, with different positions in relation to the valleys. Some of you are community residents; others are outside allies who have become active in the struggle. The Waiāhole and Waikāne community includes men and women, young and elderly, landowners and month-to-month tenants. Some are knowledgeable in Hawaiian cultural practices. Residents have formed a security force called "Up in Arms," made up mostly of women. There are also many university students involved in taking the struggle to a wider audience. You all share the immediate goal of preventing the evictions. The long-term objective is to block the development plans permanently and to ensure that the residents are able to stay in Waiāhole & Waikāne for good.

As the eviction date looms, you know that radical action will be necessary, and you are tasked to craft a plan to mobilize a blockade in order to prevent the evictions.

For the activist groups (students, residents and experienced organizers), your primary goal is to **devise a plan that will effectively block police access to the valleys.** People will lose their homes if you are not successful. In order to carry this out blockade successfully, you need to coordinate several tasks:

1. Consider **logistics** for the estimated five-hundred people who are camping out in the valley throughout New Year's weekend to support the defense effort;
2. Plan for an **effective confrontation** with the police, while making the safety of community members and allies a top priority and taking into account the likelihood that some people may be arrested;
3. Consider **public messaging** for the media, for non-participants passing by (such as people stuck in their cars during the blockade), and even for the law enforcement officers who did not make the decision to evict but are the ones tasked with enforcing the decision;
4. Plan for **internal communication**. You want leaders and participants to stay motivated, on the same page, and prepared to respond to the different possible ways that this stand-off could come down.

The HPD group will have its own planning session, apart from the other three groups. Your primary goal is to break up the blockade and evict those who have been previously served with their notices.

TODAY'S ROLE PLAY WILL PROCEED LIKE THIS:

1. Meet with the small hui of people who share your position. In your small hui, look at the list of four areas above and decide what you think is within your kuleana to contribute to this effort. Also be clear about what is not your kuleana and consider who you think should carry that kuleana instead. The residents, students, and experienced organizers groups will each thoose one or two spokespeople to present your plan to the large blockade planning group.
2. The residents, students, or experienced organizers will then join as one large group. This meeting will be facilitated by a WWCA member. Each hui will report their proposed plan to contribute to the blockade. This larger group will need to collectively agree upon a plan that addresses the four aspects listed above, as well as anything else folks think is necessary to successfully resist the eviction.
3. In the meantime, the HPD group is ironing out its plans to complete the eviction.

**In real life, the WWCA's stand against evictions was successful. Late on January 4, 1977, a network of CB radio operators alerted the WWCA that the police were on their way to the valley. The blockade (and all the actions leading up to it) resulted in the state agreeing to purchase the land from the Marks family in order to avert further conflict. In April 1977, the Hawaii Housing Authority commissioners approved the purchase, and in November 1977, the state acquired 600 acres of land from Elizabeth Marks.*

MY ROLE GROUP FOR THIS ROLE PLAY IS

OUR GROUPS GOAL IN THIS ACTION IS

MY INDIVIDUAL ROLE FOR THIS ROLE PLAY IS

MY PRIMARY KULEANA IN THIS ACTION IS

LOGISTICS	SAFETY AND EFFECTIVE CONFRONTATION
PUBLIC MESSAGING	INTERNAL COMMUNICATION

FOR REFLECTION

THE EXPERIENCE

- What are your immediate feelings and thoughts about the experience of the planning and the blockade itself?
- What did it feel like to play the part that you played? What were you thinking as the role play was happening?

WORKING IN COALITION

- What did you feel was your character's or your group's kuleana going into the blockade?
- How did the experience of the roleplay change or deepen what you were thinking about your kuleana, or about why you were there?
- What was it like to work with other groups? Did the different reasons why you were each there become apparent?
- What got in the way of working together more effectively?

LEADERSHIP

- How were decisions made? Were some more people influential than others?
- Did anyone emerge as a leader? What did they do that was effective?
- How was leadership shared? Could it have been better shared?

DIRECT ACTION AND CONFRONTATION

- What did you learn about possible confrontations with law enforcement in Hawai'i? Are there things you did not consider at first that you would in the future?
- How did you handle it when some members wanted to push confrontation further and others wanted to step back or step out?
- What logistics are important to be considered in planning actions like this?
- What conversations are important to have before actions like this?

PERSONAL AND GROUP REFLECTION

- What did you learn about yourself? About any of your other colleagues?
- How can you take these insights into your future organizing work?
- What kinds of training or practice would you need in order to be more prepared to effectively execute actions in which civil disobedience and/or engagement with law enforcement may come into play?

ACTIVITY FIVE

Planning Your Own Direct Action

ACTIVITY SIX

Closing Mele: Hawai‘i Aloha

By Lorenzo Lyons (aka Laiana)

E Hawai‘i, e ku‘u one hanau ē
Ku‘u home kulāiwi nei
‘Oli nō au i nā pono lani ou
E Hawai‘i aloha ē

HUI:
E hau‘oli, e nā ‘ōpio o Hawai‘i nei
‘Oli e! ‘Oli e!
Mai nā aheahe makani e pā mai nei
Mau ke aloha no Hawai‘i

VERSE 2:
E ha‘i mai kou mau kini lani ē
Kou mau kupa aloha, e Hawai‘i
Nā mea ‘ōlino kamaha‘o no luna mai
E Hawai‘i aloha ē

Repeat HUI

VERSE 3:
Na ke Akua e mālama mai iā ‘oe
Kou mau kualono aloha nei
Kou mau kahawai ‘ōlinolino mau
Kou mau māla pua nani ē

Repeat HUI

ACTIVITY SEVEN

Mahalo Circle and Kuleana Commitments

I AM THANKFUL FOR...

I HONOR...

I COMMIT TO...

PAPA WEHE ʻŌLELO

MODULE 1

AKUA: gods, spiritual beings

AUPUNI: government, kingdom

HUIKAU: mixed, confused, confusion

KĀNAENAE: chanted supplicating prayer; chant of praise

MANA: spiritual power, authority, privilege

MŌʻĪ: monarch, sovereign, supreme ruler

WAIWAI: value, wealth; derived from wai, "to retain," and "water"

EA:

1. n. Sovereignty, rule, independence. Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea, Restoration Day. Hoʻihoʻi i ke ea o Hawaiʻi, restore the sovereignty of Hawaiʻi.
2. n. Life, air, breath, respiration, vapor, gas; fumes, as of tobacco; breeze, spirit (Isa. 42.5). This ea, as well as ea 1, 3, 4, is sometimes pronounced or sung ʻea. Cf. eamāmā, eaolamāmā. Kaha ea, to deprive of rights of livelihood. Wai ea, aerated waters. Hoʻopuka ea, exhaust fumes. Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono (motto of Hawaiʻi), the life of the land is preserved in righteousness. He palupalu lākou, he ea hele wale aku (Hal. 78.39), they were flesh, a wind that passes away. Kāʻili ʻia aku ke ea o ʻAberahama (Kin. 25.8), Abraham gave up the ghost; lit., the breath of life was snatched away.
3. vi. To rise, go up, raise, become erect. Cf. aea, eʻea, hōʻea. Kai ea (Kep. 183), rising sea. Ua ea kona poʻo, his head was raised. Ke ea ʻana o ka ʻai, ka iʻa (Kep. 97), the obtaining of poi, fish.. ʻAʻole hoʻi au e ea maluna o koʻu wahi moe (Hal. 132.3), I will not go up into my bed. (PPN eʻa.)

MOʻOKŪʻAUHAU: Genealogy. Dic., sp. var. Moʻolelo moʻokūʻauhau. Genealogical story

MOKUPUNI: island

MOKU: n. District, island, islet, section, forest, grove, clump, severed portion, fragment, cut, laceration, scene in a play. Cf. mokupuni, momoku. Moku lehua, lehua forest. hoʻo.moku To place one over a moku, district. (For. 6:377.) (PPN motu.) (wehewehe.org)

AHUPUAʻA: Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (puaʻa), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief. The landlord or owner of an ahupuaʻa might be a konohiki. (wehewehe.org)

ʻILIʻĀINA: subdivision of land within ahupuaʻa

PIKO:

1. Navel, navel string, umbilical cord. Fig., blood relative, genitals. Cf. piko pau ʻiole, waiʻolu. Mō ka piko, moku ka piko, wehe i ka piko, the navel cord is cut [friendship between related persons is broken; a relative is cast out of a family]. Pehea kō piko? How is your navel [a facetious greeting avoided by some because of the double meaning]? (PPN pito.)
2. Summit or top of a hill or mountain; crest; crown of the head; crown of the hat made on a frame (pāpale pahu); tip of the ear; end of a rope; border of a land; center, as of a fishpond wall or kōnane board; place where a stem is attached to the leaf, as of taro.(definition from wehewehe.org)

KULEANA: nvt. Right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure, affair, province; reason, cause, function, justification; small piece of property, as within an ahupuaʻa; blood relative through whom a relationship to less close relatives is traced, as to in-laws. Cf. ʻākuleana. Kuleana lako, supplies, equipment. Kuleana pule, necessary prayers, prayer responsibilities. Ke kuleana o ke kanaka, man's rights and privileges, human rights. Kuleana wai, water rights. Ka hoʻolimalima kuleana kūʻai, rental with the right to buy. Kō haʻi kuleana, other person's' affairs or business. Kuleana ala hele e hiki aku ai, right of way of access. Make wale nō lākou me ka hewa ʻole, a me ke kuleana ʻole no ka make (Kep. 147), they were killed without having done wrong, and without justification for death. ʻO Hina kō mākou kuleana, ʻaʻole ʻo ke kāne, we are related through Hina, not through the husband. Kuleana hapakolu o ka wahine kāne make, dower right of widow to a third of an estate. Kuleana o ke kāne male, estate by courtesy, of a husband's right in the estate of his wife. ʻElua loʻi ʻai, ua kuleana ʻia e aʻu, two taro patches claimed as kuleana by me [will]. hoʻo.kuleana To entitle, give right to possess; to give a responsibility. Palapala hoʻokuleana, patent, copyright. (definition from wehewehe.org)

ʻŌIWI:

1. nvs. Native, native son. Cf. iwi, bone; kulāiwi. Hui ʻōiwi, society of native sons. ho.ʻō.iwi To pass oneself off as a native son; like a native son. (PCP kooiwi.)
2. nvi. Physique, appearance; to appear. Lamalama ka ʻōiwi, a physique glowing with health. Maikaʻi hoʻi kō ia ala ʻōiwi kino, he certainly has a fine physique. Nani ka ʻōiwi o Hilo i ka lehua (chant, For. 5:305), Hilo appears beautiful with lehua. (definition from wehewehe.org)

COLONIALISM: historically rooted system in which one nation exercises military, political, and economic control over another.

EXTRACTIVE COLONIALISM: a type of colonialism whose aim is to extract and exploit resources and labor of the native population.

SETTLER COLONIALISM: a distinct type of colonialism that functions through the replacement of indigenous populations with an invasive settler society that, over time, develops a distinctive identity and sovereignty. (definition from globalsocialtheory.org)

POWER: the ability or right to control people and events, or to influence the way people act or think in important ways (dictionary.cambridge.org) Mana, lima ikaika. Supernatural power, mana. Guardian power, mana kia'i, Power to fly, kino lele. The power of the press, ka mana o ka papa pa'i. Power of attorney, palapala ho'āmana. Under control of a supernatural power, kalakupua. Great power, 'āina nui (nation).

MODULE 2:

STRATEGY: 1. Big vision for change 2. Attentive to your environment and resources 3. Best when it builds power 4.Consistent but flexible; you should adapt as the political landscape shifts

TACTICS: purposeful action

CAMPAIGN: an organized course of action to achieve a particular goal

RACISM: historically- created system of power in which one group dominates others for the benefit of the dominating group. Not an individual feeling or action, but rather the indicator of a larger social and historical pattern of oppression, exploitation and violence.

WHITE SUPREMACY: White supremacy is an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations and peoples of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent; for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power and privilege. (from ywcamadison.org)

MODULE 3:

ALOHA 'ĀINA: n.v. Love of the land or of one's country, patriotism; the name of a Hawaiian-language newspaper published 1893–1920; aloha'āina is a very old concept, to judge from the many sayings (perhaps thousands) illustrating deep love of the land. (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini 268–9.) Cf. the song Kaulana nā Pua (Elbert and Mahoe 62–4). (wehewehe.org)

DOMINANT NARRATIVE: The accepted story that reflects those with power. There is a popular and accepted course through life with minor deviations. It includes family structure, schooling, job types, friendships, belief systems, behavior, etc. Again, this narrative reflects the culture of those with the most power.

COUNTER NARRATIVE: Resistance and alternative to the dominant narrative.

CONTROL MYTH: These are the stories that are deeply embedded in culture and society and manifest in individual behaviors, societal policies, and popular culture that uphold existing structures of power. (storybasedsstrategy.org)

MEME: an element of a culture or system of behavior that may be considered to be passed from one individual to another by nongenetic means, especially imitation.

MODULE 4:

PRIVATE PROPERTY: a individualistic relationship to land based on the capitalist principle of exclusionary private ownership, in which the owner believes he has decision-making authority over the treatment of the land, regardless of their connection to that land. This is the opposite of a kuleana relationship to land in which communities have genealogical and knowledge- based connections to the land in which they care for, live, work and worship. This relationship is rooted in a sense of responsibility to the land and respect shared interests.

DIRECT ACTION: Building people's understanding of their own collective power to make the changes in society that they determine are most needed together. Aimed at winning concrete improvements in the life of the land and community.

POLITICS OF DEMAND: State or corporate authorities are assumed to be center of political life. People seek sanction, compensation, rights or recognition within an assimilative, disempowering and unequal framework.

"MAKING POWER": 1. "politics of kuleana" 2. recognizes the power and authority that everyday people (workers, residents, students, youth, etc.) can wield 3. Action is oriented toward building networks, organizations and relationships that nurture the world that the group envisions together 4. invites people to participate in big & small ways, according to their abilities and sense of kuleana; builds empowerment and new leadership 5. proliferates and networks autonomous zones in which people provide for their collective needs 6. May include skirmishes with the state but conflict is not primary work

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