
Educational Perspectives

Journal of the College of Education/University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

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Published twice each year by the College of Education,
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Subscription Rate: \$10 per year; individual copies \$5.

Address all communications regarding single copies, subscriptions, manuscripts and correspondence about editorial material to Editor, Educational Perspectives, College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Wist Annex 2 Room 131, 1776 University Avenue, Honolulu HI 96822

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This publication is available in microform from
Bell & Howell, 300 N. Zeeb Road,
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

International Standard Serial Number
(ISSN) 0013-1849

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Indigenous Education

Volume 37 ❖ Number 1 ❖ 2004

*Cover Art by Kimo Cashman
Cover Design by Mike Tamaru*

E Kua Takoto Te Mānuka Tūtahi: Indigenous Decolonization, Self-determination, and Education

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Introduction

Colonization and Cultural Despoliation

In the 1700s, British explorer James Cook invaded the Pacific. In his wake, came shiploads of newcomers—settlers, missionaries, anthropologists, and the like. They brought not only their new ways, but also their urgent need to make sense of the peoples already inhabiting the lands. Making sense meant the reconstruction of indigenous peoples' identities to fit the new world order (Smith, 1999). In his examination of the reconstruction of Māori identity through colonization, Mason Durie (1998) explains the process and the far reaching consequences:

The new constructions of a Māori identity were accompanied by the promotion of a range of stories, "legends," and traditions, based on various tribal accounts but amalgamated to form new pan-Māori versions which frequently also drew heavily on both European tradition and the Old Testament. It was part of the colonizing process which not only led to alienation of land and other resources but also brought Māori history and culture into a regimented framework so that it could readily be understood and controlled by the colonizers. In the process, new myths were created and a new type of Māori identity was forged. (p. 54)

Durie's commentary illustrates the dualistic nature of colonial intent—"cultural stripping" (Rosaldo, 1989) and "cultural (re)construction." Fanon (1963) clarifies:

Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. (p. 20)

The oppression of our indigenous peoples, then, involved the stripping away of the fundamental markers of

our identities—sovereignty, ancestral lands, language, and cultural knowledge. As these markers were stripped away, so too was our well-being. An essential determinant of the social and economic well-being of any group is its connectedness. When a group is connected, it flourishes. Conversely, when the shared meanings, values, and beliefs that identify group membership are broken down, so too does the group break down (Durie, 1997). In our dehumanization, we became objects of history and culture, and we were denied our capacities to be self-defining peoples creating our own cultures rich in the past, rich in the present, and rich in the future (Freire, 1970; Jackson, 1999).

These acts of cultural despoliation, coupled with the act of instilling in the colonized mind the fear of returning to supposedly primitive and barbaric lives should the newcomers leave, have been the hallmarks of European and American colonialism in the Pacific region. It is in this context that the central thrust of colonialism can best be understood—sending people of one state to settle permanently on the soil of another people relies on the possession, connection, and location of the newcomers and the dispossession, disconnection, and dislocation of the indigenous peoples (Fanon, 1963). With this as our common history, the indigenous peoples of the Pacific are in positions of serious social, economic, and political disadvantage in comparison with the dominant or power groups that have asserted themselves through the process of colonization.

Yet, amidst this devastation, comes a perception of the reality of oppression, not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but rather as a challenging situation that can be transformed (Freire, 1970). Each of the articles in this issue takes as its central thrust the theme of indigenous well-being through indigenous self-determination. This collective vision is reflected in the words of The Coolangatta statement on Indigenous people's rights in education (National Organizing Committee of the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education, 1993, Section III, Article 3.5):

We, the Indigenous peoples of the world, assert our inherent right to self-determination in all matters. Self-determination is about making informed choices and decisions and creating appropriate structures for the transmission of culture, knowledge and wisdom for the benefit of each of our respective cultures. Education for our communities and each individual is central to the preservation of our cultures and for the development of the skills and expertise we need in order to be a vital part of the twenty-first century.

Claiming Indigenous Identities

The old men told us, study your descent lines, as numerous as the hairs upon your head. When you have gathered them together as a treasure for your mind, you may wear the three plumes, “te iho makawerau,” “te pareraukura,” and “te raukura” on your head. The men of learning said, understand the learning of your ancestors, so you can talk in the gatherings of the people. Hold fast to the knowledge of your kinship, and unite in the knot of mankind. (Eruera Stirling as cited in W. Ihimaera, 1998, p. 296)

Notions of identity and the generational transfer of indigenous knowledge are central to the writings of many indigenous scholars. In her commentary on Hawaiian identity, Haunani Trask (1999) talks about connectedness to lands, family, and language. For her, bloodlines and birthplace tell of “being Hawaiian.” Mason Durie (1998) reiterates Trask’s view in his discussion of contemporary Māori values, identities, and aspirations. He describes cultural identity as “an amalgam of personal attitudes, cultural knowledge, and participation in Māori society” (p. 57). He draws particular attention to knowledge of ancestry, involvement with extended family, access to ancestral land, contacts with other Māori, use of the Māori language, and self-identification. Yupiaq scholar Oscar Kawagley (1995) talks about world view as the knowledge indigenous peoples acquire to make sense of their worlds. From legends, stories, family, community, and community leaders, the young learn cultural values, traditions, and practices that enable them to identify themselves as unique peoples.

But what happens when the act of colonization debilitates the process by which indigenous knowledge is passed from generation to generation?

My grandfather, Aritaku Maaka, died long before I was born. From my father, I learned that he was well-respected, that he was very knowledgeable about his culture, and that he was very spiritual. I also learned that his first language was Māori and that he spoke little English. It is, however, only recently, that I learned that he was actively involved in the fight for the retention of Māori lands and that he expressed his views through writing waiata.¹ In 1889, my grandfather wrote about the loss of Māori lands—the sustainer of the Māori people for generations—through confiscation and sale. His waiata not only laments this loss, it also chastises Māori for contributing to their dispossession by turning their backs on Māori ways (living off and caring for the land)² and embracing Pākehā ways (desiring money and drinking too much beer). The last two lines of his waiata predict the fate of Māori—to be left on the side of the road with nothing.

Haere rā Matahine, ē huna i a koe
Haere rā te whenua, te ora o te tangata
Haere rā te whenua, te pono o te tangata
ki ngā tira haere

Kauaka te mahara e rangirangi mai
He mea ka rōnaki ki te nui raorao
Nā te kapo o te ringa, nāna i whātoro
Tō te tangata hemonga, he moni ē

E tama mā ē, ka mahue i a koutou
Ngā kai a Toi, i waiho i muri rā
Te aruhe, te mamaku, te pono o te tangata ē
E hine mā, e aku ki waho rā
ki ngā kai o Kuini e kōhete mai nei
ki ōna tamariki

Tikina ake rā he tami rīwai
Pae ana te huka o te pia i te waha ē

Moumou hanga noa te taru nei te tikanga
Te whakatautia ki runga ki te whenua
Āpōpō koutou, e tama mā, pae noa ai i te rori ē

¹ I am grateful to my cousin Bradford Haami (1995) for the research he conducted in writing his book, *Dr Golan Maaka: Māori doctor. My grandfather's waiata* is cited on p. 59 of Haami's book.

² Eddie Durie (as cited in Mead, 2003, p. 273) describes the unique relationship of Māori to the land: “In the beginning land was not something that could be owned or traded. Maoris did not seek to own or possess anything, but to belong. One belonged to a family, that belonged to a hapu, that belonged to a tribe. One did not own the land. One belonged to the land.” In her discussion of the relationship of Native Hawaiians to the land, Kame‘eleihiwa (2000, p. 23) describes a similar sense of kinship “...we have an ancient duty to love, cherish and cultivate our beloved grandmother the land; that duty is called *malama 'aina*.”

But there is irony in my grandfather's prophetic writing. Although his legacy included our ancestral lands, it did not include our ancestral language and the knowledge contained therein. For whatever reason, my grandfather, a caring and loving father, felt that his ten children would fare better in their lives if they set aside the language of their ancestors and embraced the language of the Pākehā. The legacy of my grandfather became the legacy of his children. This loss, coupled with a national education system that had as its primary goal the assimilation of Māori into Pākehā culture, ensured that, within the span of two generations, much of the knowledge of a thousand years could be accessed only with difficulty and always through the hazy lens of colonization. One can only lament this loss—a fate that is endured by colonized indigenous peoples throughout the world.

Jon Osorio's article, *Gazing back: Communing with our ancestors*, is a poignant commentary on the connection of the Native Hawaiian people with the past, the present, and the future. But what does Osorio make of the impact of colonization on the transfer of Hawaiian knowledge from one generation to another? What lessons are to be learned from his thoughts on communing with his ancestors?

Perhaps the most powerful element of Osorio's writing is that he positions himself within the histories of his people. He talks about putting faces to his ancestors by linking them with the people of his day, and he talks about reconstructing the characters of the past through spoken tales and published accounts of their exploits. By visualizing his ancestors in this way, Osorio believes that he verifies, not only their identities, but also the identities of the generations that come after. His message has relevance for all indigenous peoples—ancestry is the root of indigenous knowledge and identity. This is what sustains our peoples, no matter how we have been transformed by the loss of our lives, by the loss of our lands, by the oppression of our cultures and our languages, and by the seductions of the western culture.

Osorio evokes the very stuff of life—the things that entrance, grasp, and shake our beings become the events that are remembered and memorialized in indigenous histories. That which has gone before is that which lies ahead. From the moment of his birth, Osorio's destiny was determined. In what seems like the blink of an eye, he has become the history of his people as told to him by those who have gone before and as told by him to those who come after. He is the

ancestral gaze—a keeper of the knowledge of the Native Hawaiian people.

Be still and listen. He has stories to tell you.

Claiming Indigenous Research

Who am I?

I remember standing on the doorstep of my Pākehā boyfriend's house. I was 16 years old and a little nervous. I was about to meet his parents for the first time. Pretty straight forward, I hoped—smile, be polite, make a good impression—after all, the proactive efforts of the people had produced the object of my affection! What was not to like?

The introductions began: "Margie., this is my mum and dad. Mum., Dad., this is Margie." As I reached out to grasp the father's hand (in the age old ritual of checking for weapons?), he met me, not with a warm gesture of welcome, but with a finger jabbed into the brown of my arm and the comment: "Are you a Māori or is THAT dirt?" More than thirty years later, I distinctly remember thinking: You asshole! But I said nothing. I was just a kid.

Margie wuz thea!

So, what has this anecdote got to do with indigenous research? Fast-forward to 1992 when I was preparing to submit my first research proposal to the American Educational Research Association (AERA)³ annual meeting. I was advised by AERA devotees that quantitative research was the order of the day. A display of statistical gymnastics would secure me a place at this prestigious gathering—and it did! In my research, I was the objective observer, neither participating in, nor, supposedly, influencing what I was studying. I was not situated anywhere in my research—no voice, no presence, no Margie. During this time, I was told that REAL researchers crunch numbers, all other researchers conduct case studies and write stories. From this experience, I learned an important lesson—whoever controls research methodology, controls knowledge (for similar perspectives, see Johnston, 1999; Mutu, 1999). To this day, departments

³ AERA is the largest of all educational conferences. It is an international organization with more than 22,000 members in disciplines that include education, psychology, statistics, sociology, history, economics, philosophy, anthropology, and political science. The goal of AERA is to improve educational processes by encouraging scholarly inquiry related to education.

in the College of Education are still identified as either quantitative or qualitative in their leanings. With this, can be heard whisperings about who does and who does not conduct REAL research.

But, real research must address real life needs. Given the multitude of questions to which indigenous peoples are seeking answers, it is very clear that one single approach will not suffice. We need multiple methodologies that are grounded in our indigenous traditions. As such, indigenous researchers have been engaged in a series of conversations about what constitutes indigenous research and who gets to conduct it. Te Ahukaramū Royal (1999) likens Māori research to an adventure: “there is a great big Māori adventure unfolding: it is being played out in the institutions of the iwi and in the hearts and minds of individual Māori” (p. 78). In short, Māori research methodology is created by Māori from a Māori worldview to explain Māori experiences. At the center of Māori research lies whakapapa or genealogy as a research methodology. According to Royal, genealogy is an analytical tool employed by Māori to understand the origin and nature of phenomena. Central to this methodology is storytelling.

Storytelling and oral histories are integral parts of indigenous research. Smith (1999, p. 144) explains: “Each individual story is powerful. But the point about the stories is not that they simply tell a story, or tell a story simply. These new stories contribute to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place.” On one level, my “meet the parents” story describes an isolated racist encounter between an older man and a young girl. But on another level, it represents the racist experiences suffered by many indigenous peoples. Stuart Rintoul (as cited in Smith, 1999, p. 144) calls oral histories “stories handed down in the homes of Black Australians, told to new generations, taught in explanation of racism and mistreatment, recited with rage and dignity and sorrow.” For many indigenous researchers, stories are the vehicle by which knowledge—accounts of love, death, sadness, revenge, family, childhood, work, laughter, oppression, and the like—is passed from one generation to another.

Kimo Cashman’s article, *Looking in the hole with my three pronged cocked*, is a collection of stories crafted in the tradition of indigenous research. At the start of each

section, Cashman asks, “Who am I?” From the stories he chooses to share, the answer is obvious—Kimo is Kimo. His stories are Kimo, his world view is Kimo, the language he speaks is Kimo.

Within each story, Cashman connects himself to the past, the present, and the future; and in doing so, becomes the conduit for the transfer of knowledge from one generation to another. His stories cry out to all indigenous peoples, not so much in that they detail the sufferings of peoples dispossessed, but because they talk of hope for the future and the journey that this will involve. As he contemplates this journey, Cashman seeks guidance from his ancestors for ways to keep the Native Hawaiian people warm and strong, to help them to overcome their fears, and to help them make good choices for their future.

Māori writer Witi Ihimaera (1998) ponders what accounts for indigenous peoples making sovereignty choices like Cashman’s—perhaps genealogy, belonging, upbringing, pride, politics, or downright stubbornness. For Ihimaera, growing up Māori means “growing up and across the fractures of time and space within our culture as well as finding oneself and one’s location in the pastiche that is the post-modern world” (p. 15). My many conversations with Native Hawaiians indicate that growing up Hawaiian has a similar provenance. Ihimaera continues:

The primary pattern of culture was created when Māori began to live with each other in Aotearoa, and traditions and histories were devised based on our tribal and family relationships. Then the Pākehā came and, increasingly, the tensions of maintaining that original pattern meant our ancestors had to weave more complicated designs over more empty spaces to ensure that the landscapes of the heart, if not the land, could be maintained. (p. 15)

It is fitting that in his final story, Cashman wonders whether he will use his grandfather’s pattern to make his new ‘upena or whether he will change it a little. Whatever his choice, we are left with the sense that, if woven wisely, his net will catch up a great bounty for the Hawaiian people. Cashman’s stories are research at its best.

Indeed, Kimo IZ HEA!

Claiming Indigenous Knowledge

Few people in the ethnographic record were more aggressive [than Māori]. The “welcome” dance⁴ they presented to visitors was a display of ferocious hostility, while their wood carving snarled and grimaced. All gargoyles without any redeeming pieties, it was the art of a violent and demon-haunted world. (Sandall, 2001, p. 114)

When I first contemplated writing this section, I struggled with the idea of including this quotation. The nature of my struggle had to do with exclusion on the grounds of ignorance, not on the grounds of race or ethnicity. I did not want to give credibility to poorly researched work by referencing it in my discussion. However, Sandall’s commentary serves to illustrate how uninformed “others” or “outsiders,” in their attempts to explain and control indigenous peoples, have created a massive body of inaccurate “knowledge.” Excavating the truth from this putrid morass is a monumental task faced by most colonized indigenous groups.

Sandall’s slanted reference to Māori culture announces his membership in a movement that critiques social theorists who forsake “civilized” western culture in favor of the “romantic virtues of primitive societies.” Similarly, in his book, *The killing of history*, Australian writer Keith Windschuttle (1996) references the “distasteful aspects of Maori culture” in his argument that literary and social theorists are imperiling traditional history. The element of greatest interest about both writers is not their stance on the portrayal of truth in the study of culture, history, and knowledge; rather, it is their association with a country that has one of the worst records of atrocities committed by “civilized” European colonizers on an indigenous people. Sandall and Windschuttle would be better occupied acknowledging, once and for all, this historical truth!

Nothing about the cultures of indigenous peoples is sacrosanct when it comes to research and the imposition of European consciousness. There are probably many reasons why outsiders want control over the knowledge of indigenous peoples. It could be because our cultures are richer and, therefore, more interesting to study than their own cultures, or it could be because we are the vehicles by which they establish their research reputations, or it could be because control of our knowledge by them means control of our peoples. Warner (1999) argues that the rhetoric of non-Hawaiians serves to legitimize and empower them in their

positions over the rights, responsibilities, and authority of Native Hawaiians.

Warner’s concern about the right of Native Hawaiians to speak for themselves and Sandall’s misinterpretation of the moko⁵ on Māori carvings are good lead-ins to Pi’ikea Clark’s article, *Hānau kahikikū me kahikimoe: A call for the development of a theory for Kanaka Maoli visual culture education*. Clark’s argument for a visual arts curriculum that is grounded in the perspective of Native Hawaiian culture is timely. As an artist and art educator, Clark carefully argues his position within the cultural and historical context of Hawai’i and the Hawaiian people. There are, however, challenges to indigenous proposals of this nature. In Aotearoa, a primary challenge for Māori artists and art educators is the dismantling of western consciousness:

To achieve ascendancy Maori artists have had to break the mould of that other false face of Maori art imposed by and established by the pakeha in place of the true face. They have had to battle and dismantle the entire pakeha construction of Maori art and culture, that false face which has always insisted that it knows better than Maori what Maori art is and how it should be portrayed (Jahnke & Ihimaera, 1996, p. 17).

In Hawai’i, there is a challenge of a different nature. It involves a battle that is as old as it is new—a battle to have a presence. In his writings from the 1800s, Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau (revised edition, 1992) states that many of the native arts known to the people of Hawai’i prior to contact with Europeans are lost. Over a hundred and fifty years later, Native Hawaiian knowledge and practices are still under attack. It may be argued that the virtual exclusion of Native Hawaiians from all mainstream institutions of art and art education has contributed to this situation.

Clark’s proposal for Native Hawaiians and Native Hawaiian knowledge and practices to be accorded their right-

⁴ The pōwhiri is a ceremony to welcome visitors and show hospitality. Salmond (1975, p. 115) explains that in “earlier times when warfare was endemic and strangers were probably enemies, these rituals were used as a finely-balanced mechanism to manage encounters of peace.” In the warmongering western world, the ritual of shaking hands on first encounters—that is, the revealing of sword hands sans swords—is a similar peace-ensuring mechanism. For a fuller description and explanation of the pōwhiri, see Mead (2003).

⁵ Rather than snarling, grimacing gargoyles (without any redeeming pieties), Māori carvings bear the indelible marks of genealogical affirmation, mana, and status (see Ihimaera, Adsett, & Whiting, 1996).

ful place in Hawai'i raises the question: What should be the nature of this presence? In terms of inclusion in western institutions, it is apparent that agitation will not come solely from within existing structures. Perhaps the solution is a multifaceted attack from within and from without to break down the hegemonic barriers that prevent inclusion. Or perhaps the solution is an institute for Native Hawaiian cultural knowledge and practices established by Native Hawaiians. And what about those cultural experts working outside of western institutions and in Hawaiian communities? What presence should they have?

Approaches to learning and teaching that successfully engage indigenous peoples in all arenas of education are desperately needed. During my years as an art teacher at Mount Maunganui College in Aotearoa, I noticed that Māori children would actively engage in the language of art because it was a medium through which expression came naturally; more naturally, that is, than through the language of English. A visual arts program that embraces and celebrates an indigenous worldview is an excellent concept. As Clark and fellow Native Hawaiian artists and art educators conceptualize, research, and implement this program, one thing is apparent—the need to prepare a new generation of Native Hawaiian leaders in the arts—leaders who are theorists, practitioners, educators, and activists, capable of demanding places for the Native Hawaiian art movement in Hawai'i and throughout the international arena.

Claiming Indigenous Language

A language is a dialect with an army and navy.⁶

This saying is well known to those in the field of linguistics. It originated in the context of a discussion on what constitutes an independent language and what constitutes a variant of a language. What draws my attention in this debate are the sociological and political dimensions of language; in particular, the issue of power as it relates to indigenous language education within a colonial context.

A discussion of the Hawaiian language and Hawaiian language education within the colonial context of Hawai'i necessitates a recap of one critical element in the history of the Native Hawaiian people. In 1893, the United States of America Minister Plenipotentiary, John L. Stevens, was part of a conspiracy to overthrow the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The success of this illegal act re-

lied on Stevens' causing troops from the U.S.S. Boston to be landed in Honolulu in support of the insurgents. In the years since this intervention by the United States military, the English language has grown vigorously in Hawai'i. Hawaiian, on the other hand, a once rich and thriving language, has fallen victim to this ethnic and cultural war. From this situation, it is clear that language is not a language if it does not have an army or a navy.

In his article on the colonialism of the English-only movement in the United States, Macedo (2000) takes the stance that English is an ideologically coded language that engenders society's licentiousness towards racism. The notion of a "linguistic minority," for example, is a concept that arises as a result of the United States' obsessive drive for national cohesion and homogeneity—the dominance of the English language and its associated knowledge base is central to this drive. By validating and enforcing specific claims to knowing, the English-only movement negates the languages and knowledge of other cultures; this, in turn, negates the very essences of the peoples of these cultures (Foucault, 1980, Hawkins, 2004, Smith, 1999). In promulgating her theory of linguistic genocide, Skuttnabb-Kangas (2002) refers to English and other languages that oppress as "killer languages." She advocates that

Children should learn new languages, including the dominant languages that most minority children obviously want and need to learn, in addition to their own languages. Formal education that is subtractive, that is, that teaches children (something of) a dominant language at the cost of their first language, is genocidal and turns dominant languages, for instance, English, Chinese, Russian, Hindi, or Hausa, into killer languages. (p. 181)

The dominant role played by English as a killer language is a social construction that perpetuates oppressive practices in the education system in the United States. In Hawai'i, a place of many cultures, the English-only ideology is firmly entrenched in all levels of the education system. While it is no secret that discrimination in education is rife and takes many forms, it is interesting that discrimination on

⁶ There is an on-going debate over who originated this quote—whether it was scholar Max Weinreich; his son, Uriel Weinreich; or his student, Joshua Fishman. Of the three, only Fishman is alive and he is unsure who said it first.

the basis of language has received little attention in the field of educational research. At least, until now.

Laiana Wong's article, *He hāwa'e kai nui a kau ma kula*, calls attention to the practices, policies, and procedures at the University of Hawai'i that infringe on the rights of Native Hawaiians to utilize the Hawaiian language in learning and teaching, and in the conduct and dissemination of research. Addressing these infringements, however, appears more easily said than done. Wong's introductory paragraph predicts what lies ahead for those working on the revitalization of the Hawaiian language and culture. Fanon (1963) shares his sentiment: "National liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people, commonwealth: whatever may be the headings used or the new formulas introduced, decolonization is always a violent phenomenon." (p. 35)

Wong's article has a conscientizing mission—he informs us that social action through language use serves to develop us inside our cultures. It is through this process that we become conscious of our experiences as historically constructed within specific power relations (Shor, 1992). As we seek to reclaim our indigenous languages, especially within the colonial context, we must take into account a politics of location and enunciation. To enter the discourse, we must position ourselves somewhere. For colonized, indigenous peoples, regaining and developing our languages and our cultural knowledge must involve a constant struggle to dismantle colonial structures. With this comes opportunities to understand more fully the traditions and inheritances of cultural expression and creativity. And in this sense, the past becomes not only a position from which to speak, but also an absolutely necessary resource in constructing what we have to say (Hall, 1991) and where we have to say it—in Wong's case, at the University of Hawai'i.

One Wednesday afternoon in 2003 I sat in awe listening to No'eau Warner, Kekeha Solis, and Laiana Wong debate a Hawaiian language issue in Hawaiian. Their fast talk and use of unfamiliar words made it impossible for a neophyte Hawaiian language learner to keep up. The awe that I felt was not in response to their fluency or vocabulary use, it was in response to the passion with which they spoke. I realized that, for Hawaiians, their language is far more than an academic undertaking; rather, it is about the essence of being Hawaiian. For one selfish moment, I felt a sense of sadness that, as a non-Hawaiian Hawaiian language learner,

this passion would elude me. But in that same moment, I was reaffirmed in my belief that the revitalization of the Hawaiian language must necessarily be in the hands of those who love and cherish it most—Native Hawaiians.

Claiming Indigenous Schooling

I attended Te Hāroto Māori School, located in a small Māori community in rural Hawkes Bay, Aotearoa. On most days, attendance numbered around 30 children; on days of a tangi or other important event on the marae, attendance dropped to as low as three or four (mainly Pākehā kids). Every Wednesday afternoon for about an hour, Mrs. Johnson from the pā taught us Māori. But most of the time our regular teacher made us learn other stuff—songs (*The British Grenadiers*), poetry (*Ivanhoe and Ozymandius*), civics (the structure of the British parliament), and grammar (*Woe is It*). By the time my family moved to the city (a culture shock deserving of an article in itself), I was well prepared to succeed in school. But something was missing.

My schooling was designed to assimilate me into the dominant culture through the dominant language, English. It was a "civilizing" experience (Simon & Smith, 2001) and it was done at the expense of my Māori culture and language. Warner (1999) talks about similar experiences for Native Hawaiian children: "In fact, the ban on Hawaiian was extremely effective. Hawaiian children educated after 1900 were basically the last generation to speak Hawaiian as a native language outside of a small isolated community from the island of Ni'ihau." (p. 71)

What, then, are the outcomes of this civilizing mission? Native Hawaiian and Māori children as groups have rates of school absenteeism and referral for special education services that are far above average. Our teenagers are more likely to drop out of high school without qualifications and have the highest incidence of suicide. Our adults are overrepresented in prisons, have the poorest health records, and are underrepresented as students and faculty in higher education (Henare, 2000; Kame'eleihiwa, 2000). Thus, it appears that upward mobility through English language learning (at the expense of indigenous language learning) is a myth for the Māori and Native Hawaiian peoples.

In 1984, nearly a century after the illegal overthrow of the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom,

a movement to prevent the death of the Hawaiian language began with the opening of the first Pūnana Leo Hawaiian language immersion preschool. The Kula Kaiapuni program began in 1987. Warner (1999) explains the importance of Hawaiian immersion schooling:

The Hawaiian language should be perpetuated because it is part of Hawaiian heritage—what can help to make Hawaiians whole again as a people. Hawaiians need to learn and know their language, culture, stories, histories, and religion because they interrelate and are integrally linked to one another and to the people. Language—the words people use to describe the environment, thoughts, emotions—as an expression of worldview—is a medium through which people transmit culture and history. (p. 77)

Yet, in spite of this compelling argument and the commitment of many to the revitalization of the Hawaiian language through formal schooling, the movement has struggled long and arduously against the colonialism of the English-only movement in Hawai'i.

In his article, *Ua ahu ka alaala a pae ma kula: I aha auanei ke kula nui o Hawaii ma Manoa e pono ai na haumana kula nui e lilo ana i kumu kaiapuni olelo Hawaii*, Kalehua Krug engages in a frank conversation with No'eau Warner on issues of teacher preparation, teacher professional development, curriculum development, and kuleana as these relate to the strengthening of Hawaiian immersion schooling. Both Krug (a Hawaiian immersion teacher in the Hawai'i Department of Education [Hawai'i DOE]) and Warner (a Hawaiian language professor at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa) paint a picture of a movement with a need to reinvent itself—in particular, a movement with a need to self-determine in a political environment that is uncompromising in its promotion of western consciousness.

Today's (neo)conservative reformist educators, particularly those spawned by the Bush administration, with their prepackaged curricula, rigid adherence to standards and standardized tests, and voucher and school choice proposals, pose an enormous threat to the Hawaiian language immersion movement. For example, recently, the Hawai'i DOE hired an independent evaluator to assess the root causes for the failures of targeted schools to meet adequate yearly

progress under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.⁷ Three of these schools have Hawaiian Language Immersion programs and in each separate school, the immersion program was determined as one of the root causes for failure. More insidious, however, are the recommendations for school improvement. A general summary of the three reports offers up the following—the Hawai'i DOE should develop an action plan to support schools that have Hawaiian immersion programs. The action plan should include (a) communication to parents about the Hawai'i Content and Performance Standards⁸ (HCPS) and the need to introduce English earlier than fifth grade; (b) development of a standardized Hawaiian Language Immersion Program curriculum, aligned with the HCPS; (c) development of standardized Hawaiian Language Immersion Program assessment tools, aligned with the HCPS; and (d) opportunities for Hawaiian immersion teachers to attend professional development courses and collaborate with teachers at other immersion schools (presumably to accomplish the first three recommendations!). It is very clear that this "objective" evaluation was made in ignorance of the history behind and the ideology of the Hawaiian language immersion schooling movement. It now remains to be seen whether the Hawai'i DOE perpetuates this ignorance by acting on the recommendations.

Apple (1996, p. 22) argues that education is deeply implicated in the politics of culture. The curriculum is "never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a *selective tradition*, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize a people." For those working in indigenous language education, there exists a cultural imperative—to develop an understanding of the ways in which language functions in conflict. By grounding language policy and planning in political theory, immersion teachers, parents, students, administrators, teacher educators, and community members will be equipped with the

⁷ Information on the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 may be found at <http://www.ed.gov>.

⁸ The Hawai'i Content and Performance Standards are based on a western ideology with English language and literacy as the central element (<http://doe.k12.hi.us>). For information on the evaluative reports, key in—Operational Review and Improvement Study—on "Google".

knowledge, skills, and strategies necessary to counter the dominant attempt to impose English as the only educational practice. It appears, then, that the first step in the reinvention of Hawaiian immersion schooling is the development a pedagogy of hope that emerges from and affirms the cultural experiences of the Hawaiian people. Defending this at all cost is the second step.

Claiming Indigenous Systems

But when, on the contrary, there are no children to intelligently take the place of their fathers, history teaches us that the foreigner—at a time, not far distant—will push aside the feeble remnant of such a nation, and treating them as an inferior race, crush them out from their birth-rights with his unsympathizing policy.

(High Chief Mataio Kekuaanao, President of the Board of Education, Hawai'i, 1862)

A few years ago, I found myself sitting in a daylong College of Education revival meeting listening to a motivational facilitator trying to whip the faculty into a collective effort to repackage the status quo. During the morning, we focused on teaming and goal setting. We were on a roll in an atmosphere that was charged with enthusiasm; so much so, that I could feel a group hug coming on (I fortunately managed to resist the urge). Immediately after lunch, the facilitator asked us to share any comments made by “outsiders” about our work in teacher education and curriculum development.

To be honest, the whole morning bothered me. While I understood the reason for the rallying cry, I was acutely aware that the COE was long overdue for some serious conversations about the work that was being done and the work that needed to be done, especially in the area of indigenous education. So, when the microphone was dangled in my face, I took the opportunity to inform the congregation that all was not well, and that we needed to examine closely our responsibilities as educators.

Six or so years later, we have made scant progress. While we are able to boast that we have hired several Native Hawaiian faculty, our unsympathizing policies and procedures reflect an educational mindset that remains firmly committed to the perpetuation of western culture. Linda Smith (1992) argues that universities were established as an essential part of the colonizing process. In her

discussion, she draws on the work of Gramsci to support her argument that indigenous intellectuals are forced to work within institutions that are founded on the collective denial of indigenous existence. She adds that her university, which sits on lands confiscated from Māori, actively competes with her and her Māori colleagues and the worldviews they represent. The University of Auckland has much in common with the University of Hawai'i.

A case in point is the COE's involvement with the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). The notion of standards immediately begs the question, “Whose standards?” A perusal of the NCATE handbook (NCATE, 2002, p. 2) provides the answer; “Teaching children—to recognize letters, to read for the first time, to understand how a tree grows—is one of the most important jobs in America. The nation's future depends, in large part, on how well it is done.” There is a clear message here—part of the job of our NCATE accredited College of Education is to continue civilizing the natives by upholding the historical and moral processes of the United States of America (see Smith, 1992). A closer look at the NCATE unit standards reinforces my point:

Standard 1: Candidate Knowledge, Skills, and Dispositions.

Candidates preparing to work in schools as teachers or other professional school personnel know and demonstrate the content, pedagogical, and professional knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to help all students learn. Assessments indicate that candidates meet professional, state, and institutional standards. (p. 10)

Again, *Whose content? Whose pedagogy? Whose professional knowledge? Whose skills? And whose dispositions?* To unquestioningly embrace educational standards of this kind reinforces the belief that there is only one history, one way of knowing, one way of doing, one way of researching, one identity, and, as a result, one future of worth—western.

What, then, are the responsibilities of the indigenous academic? Smith (1992) argues that the struggle for indigenous academics is to work in ways to create spaces and conditions that enable the elaboration of more authentic forms of indigenous knowledge and indigenous intellectual traditions:

We must be engaged in making space through struggles over power, over what counts as knowledge and intellectual pursuit, over what is taught and how it is taught, over what is researched and how it is researched and how research is disseminated. We must also struggle to make space for students, space for them to be different, space to make choices, and space to develop their own ideas and academic work. All of this is a struggle for our future. (p. 5)

But how is this to be done? Graham Smith's article, *Mai i te maramatanga, ki te putanga mai o te tahuritanga*: From conscientization to transformation, takes the indigenous self-determination movement beyond the ideology and rhetoric of resistance to transformative action—that is, the getting-off-your-butt-and-doing-something-about-it imperative. Smith is well qualified to provide commentary on this part of the process—he has a long and successful history as a change agent for Māori in the New Zealand education system. Currently, he is working with First Nations people in Canada.

By providing an overview of the contexts, the struggles, the achievements, and future directions for Māori, Smith's article offers encouragement to colonized indigenous peoples around the globe to continue fighting for their political, social, economic, and cultural rights. Of particular interest is the set of transformative principles that Smith refers to as change factors and how powerful these are when embraced by indigenous peoples who understand the potential of education to serve their needs. These are the principles of (a) self-determination or relative autonomy, (b) validation and legitimization of cultural aspirations and identity, (c) incorporation of culturally preferred pedagogy, (d) mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties, (e) incorporation of cultural structures which emphasize the collective rather than the individual, and (f) shared and collective vision/philosophy.

I agree with Smith that indigenous peoples are in educational crisis and that the only way to address this is by the preparation of indigenous leaders to be change agents whose primary task is the transformation of undesirable circumstances. It makes sense for indigenous peoples to work together on this. The notion of an international network of support and encouragement

has taken hold as indigenous peoples seek out each other in arenas such as the American Educational Research Association and the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education. In addition, a fledgling initiative to establish and link indigenous research institutes that focus on local and international issues in education is part of this movement. The Ho'okulāiwi: International Research Institute for Native Hawaiian and Indigenous Education has as its mission the conduct and dissemination of research, scholarship, and debate that will make positive differences to the lives of Native Hawaiians and other indigenous peoples.

This issue of *Educational Perspectives* serves notice that indigenous peoples are uniting to address the multiple forms of oppression and exploitation that they are forced to endure in their own lands. Jon Osorio, Kimo Cashman, Pi'ikea Clark, Laiana Wong, Kalehua Krug, and Graham Smith are part of this collective movement and they are unstoppable! Smith ends his article with the image of indigenous peoples paddling our own canoes—it is clear that we will reach our destination swifter and safer if we all paddle together!

Turuki, Turuki! Paneke, Paneke!⁹

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⁹ White, 1887 (as cited in Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 412). <http://doe.k12.hi.us>

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Gazing Back: Communing with Our Ancestors

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Gazing Back: Communing with Our Ancestors

It's hard for me to believe, but it has been nearly nineteen years since I first sat in David Hanlon's World Civilization's course along with about 300 other undergraduates. It was a huge theatre, too large for just one haole professor with a quiet and untheatrical demeanor, who showed one film the whole semester and relied on an overhead projector to show his lecture outline as his only other visual aid. It was too large a room and too impersonal a setting and he was too unassuming a teacher to have had such a profound impact on my life.

I was not even middle-aged then, and I am elderly now. And it has been the blink of an eye.

In that blink I have become a historian myself, 'ae, but also a kumu, a teacher for my people, the 'Ōiwi, the Kanaka Maoli, the po'e Hawai'i. I have added three children in that time and have watched my firstborn reach adulthood, travel to university, return, and marry. I watched my mother battle cancer and succumb, and I imagine her present at every important function of my life, including the wedding of my son. And these are not just aimless images I am presenting to you now, but the very stuff of life, the things that entrance us, that grasp and shake us, these events we should remember and memorialize in our histories.

My mother links me to a lineage of Native ali'i and Kahuna, as well as Hakka immigrants from southern China and Americans of German ancestry, most recently from Dayton, Ohio. My father's mo'oku'auhau is simpler and more substantial to me since I met some of his relatives in Portugal over 30 years ago, and his mother, a full blooded 'Ōiwi woman of kaukau ali'i descent was such a presence in my childhood. As for my mother's non-native relatives—her American father arrived in Hawai'i determined to cut himself off from his family, while her memory of her Chinese grandfather was a faint and dream-like whisper of an old man and a cloud of opium smoke. They are present, these ancestors, but mostly in a limited version of my imagination. I cannot imagine what they sounded like, what they looked like. I cannot imagine what they would have thought of me.

But when I conjure up the presence of my Kupuna 'Ōiwi, I have much less trouble envisioning their relationship with me and hearing their opinions, approving and otherwise, about my children. I see them when I teach the history of the Hawaiian nation, the Lāhui. I see them working the earth and joyful in the sea. I see them in love, betrayal, and grief. I see them plant and build, and I see them prepare for war. Mostly, I see them gazing expectantly at me. And I gaze back.

Somewhere in the middle of seeing my mother's life weaken and my first book actually materialize I came to the realization that I had become a very odd sort of historian. I had come to believe that the stories and epics that I knew were important not because they represented people and events whose existence and occurrences could be verified, but because they were lessons to me, and to anyone who cared to listen, about who we are and how we should live our lives. I teach and I write mo'olelo—not history, perhaps as you all know it. I tell stories.

Some of the stories I tell are what you might expect from a historian. In a class called Post-contact chiefs of Hawai'i I spend three lectures on the life and times of Kamehameha Paiea, Ka Na'i Aupuni (the Conqueror). This is a fascinating story for Hawaiians, I find. It is not only a story of conquest and political strategy, not only an account of how European and American technologies and aims are enfolded in the fierce changes at the dawn of the nineteenth century, not just a history to inspire a sense of glory in our past. No, these are stories of real people acting in very understandable ways. These are families in love and intrigue with one another. They are stories about jealousy and honor, about suspicion and disdain, about ambition and loyalty, venality and vision. They are leadership stories and they are supremely important to my own people in our time and place.

I speak of these men and women in ways that I hope enable every Hawaiian in the audience to identify with them. I myself put faces on these men and women, these great chiefs who are still remembered with such aloha by the Kanaka Maoli, and they are the faces of people whom I knew in this life. I embellish by reconstructing their characters

with what has been recounted about these ali'i in spoken tales and published accounts—Kamehameha was a reluctant dictator, not at all eager to kill the cousin who stood in the way of his supremacy on Hawai'i island. I think he possessed an imagination capable of seeing a life of ease and laughter, and I believe he had more than a little resentment for the warrior chiefs like Ke'eaumoku, the disappointed and easily insulted Kona chief who pushed Kamehameha to adopt the discipline of war. I picture the conqueror as large and clear-eyed, very sharp but with an easy sense of humor and no particular axe to grind with anyone. I picture him late in life, almost bemused by what his work had wrought.

I believe that I can understand the motivations and behaviors of great chiefs like Kamehameha because I have seen such behavior and attitudes among the people who surrounded me in my youth; gentle, easy people for the most part, but tempered by an unyielding discipline, dignity, and self-respect. I always knew that such self-respect came out of a practice of respect for individuals who earned it, and for that reason, I always understood that our ancient deference to great chiefs, or Ali'i Nui as we reverently called them, was nested not in obsequiousness but in an unflagging pride, almost haughtiness, with which we carried ourselves.

Examples abound. Consider the warrior chiefs of the Kaua'i Ali'i Nui Kaneoneo who accompanied their Mō'i aboard the *Discovery* when it landed at Waimea Bay in 1778. When Captain Clerke, in all innocence, clapped the shoulder of the sacred Ali'i Nui, it took the restraint of the chief himself to prevent his warriors from killing Clerke then and there for his violation of the kapu. I also wonder what sort of expression Hawai'i island Mō'i Kalani'ōpu'u must have worn when James Cook returned his gift of his own magnificent 'ahu'ula—feathered cloak—with the cotton shirt he was wearing. What did Cook see in the aspect of this chief—was it incredulousness? Contempt? Whatever it was, the Mō'i's countenance must have communicated something across the cultural divide, for Cook reconsidered and added the gift of his sabre.

To visualize these ancestors is to verify not only their identities, but our own identities as well. Furthermore, portraying the behavior of these great chiefs in ways that are sensible to us, not only humanizes them, but humanizes history, as we start to understand that there are not really

mysterious forces behind historical events—history is simply the result of humans being themselves.

For Hawaiians, ancestry is the root of everything that we know and everything that is knowable about ourselves. There is probably not a person alive today who, with even a miniscule amount of Hawaiian blood, could not trace his or her descent to one or more of the great chiefly lineages that stretch back close to one hundred generations to Papahānaumoku and Wākea. These two ancestors are credited with having birthed Hawai'i Pae'āina: the islands, taro, and all human beings. No matter how we have been changed, transformed by conversion, dispossession, and even the seductions of modern society; no matter how shattering the great dying of our people at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth, even a drop of Hawaiian blood connects one to thousands of years of ancestors who populated these islands and those of the South Pacific.

Ancestry is what is left, after the loss of people and lands, after the seizure of our government, after the loss of language and the steady demoralization of our people young and old. We are still able to connect to the dizzyingly vibrant days when our chiefs numbered in the tens of thousands and our people were as numerous as the sand and stars. We do not connect with them in symbolic and imaginative ways only; through our mo'olelo and mo'okū'auhau, we may treasure our own lives as continuations of theirs and take pride in grafting our stories and our lineages onto the ones that they established.

In 1999 a U.S. Supreme Court decision brought an end to nearly two decades of election practices through which 'Ōiwi had been able to select trustees to the state's Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). This practice was challenged by a haole rancher as discriminatory, which of course, it was. In response to the arguments posed by the state of Hawai'i that such discrimination was not based on race but ancestry, the Supreme Court chose not to make a distinction, and based on that blurring of distinctions, Harold Rice and his friends have spent the last few years suing the very existence of OHA, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, the Hawaiian preference admission policy of the Kamehameha Schools, and the tuition waivers that are occasionally granted to a few hundred Native Hawaiian students at the University of Hawai'i.

In our struggle to retain these small, yet very critical resources for our own people, we have been caught in a strange net of discourse over race, entitlement, and law that, of course, is woven into America's own terrible history of slavery and apartheid. While it appears that this struggle is defined in American legal and historical terms, the deeper and more critical issue is whether we may protect our ancestral connections and maintain them as meaningful legacies for our children and grandchildren. For of all of the cultural legacies we may still possess, the loss of this legitimacy of blood is a loss both of legal protection and our own sense of history.

When I began to research the dissertation that produced the book *Dismembering Lāhui*, I was primarily interested in examining law as a discursive power. I had no idea that immersing myself in legislative journals, constitutional convention minutes, and newspaper editorials would subject me to such an incredible array of individuals, Kanaka 'Ōiwi, who had never before been portrayed in anyone's history. I learned from their words and their struggles how complex an institution the Kingdom was; how systematically it betrayed the interests of the poor and powerless among our people in favor of the commerce and promise of sugar, and how, nevertheless, the Kingdom was beloved. I learned that our people appreciated the ironies of modern law, and understood quite clearly when it was used against them, but once having pledged to the law, they obeyed it unstintingly.

I saw them confront the waves of diseases that killed off their families and stunted new generations, while missionaries and businessmen, often one and the same, pronounced them unfit and predicted their annihilation. I saw them respond to those pronouncements with a grace and dignity that in these times especially, is unimaginable. There is no simple way to describe the predicament of our nineteenth century ancestors. Persuaded that law and democracy were more reliable protectors of the lāhui than the leadership of ali'i, they adapted and learned to accommodate the law and the strange people who brought the notions of law to our islands. They allowed the law to make fortunes for those strangers and clung to the belief that so long as they could maintain their kinship with one another, all would eventually be well.

They shared governance and citizenship with haole, and with Asians, and never once fashioned constitutions

that would discriminate against anyone because of their race or national origins. Yet they were, I think, unsurprised that haole made racist laws as soon as they succeeded in taking power. Our nineteenth century 'Ōiwi had heard over and over again about their inferiority and the inferiority of others to Europeans long enough, that in 1887, when the ancestors of Harold Rice forced King David Kalākaua to sign a constitution guaranteeing white rule in Hawai'i, while disenfranchising hundreds of Asian citizens, it must have seemed more banal than astonishing.

They had been warned, after all, not only by dozens of Kanaka statesmen who had pointed to the rising wealth and arrogance of Europeans and Americans in the islands as a danger to the Lāhui's existence, but also by those same Euro-American businessmen, church leaders, and writers who had, for decades assured the Kanaka Maoli that they were Godless, ignorant, incapable, and doomed. Yet these are not bitter observations only; I am also astonished that our people would bear the burden of these accusations of their inadequacy with such overwhelming decorum and forbearance. And most of all, I find it telling that faced with simply surrendering to the overwhelming American ideology that we are better off as citizens of their most powerful nation, we still prefer to be ourselves.

That is ancestry. One does not have to remember only the great warrior chiefs like Kamehameha to feel pride in our nation, we can but look back three or four generations to a people who had forsaken warfare, who were literate and landless, but intensely loyal to one another and fiercely loved their Queen. In some ways I do believe that the government seized by Americans in 1893 was an empty gourd; the real nation, the Lāhui, was intact and continued to live on homesteads, on beaches, in prisons, through music and hula, and because of families that continued the old values of cooperation, sharing, and even sacrifice. It was, after all, young men and women in my generation who defied the U.S. Navy and the federal government and embraced the island of Kaho'olawe as an ancestral sibling, facing arrest, or even dismemberment and death in order to bring an end to the destruction of that island and her return to our care.

Oh yes. These are the stories, the mo'olelo that we tell in our classrooms. These are the secrets that we share with our haumāna, our students. "'O 'oe ka Lāhui" "You are the nation." And with every story we tell that demonstrates our

ancestors living their lives, every splendid and petty pursuit, every gesture of magnanimity and reprisal, we draw closer to one another and celebrate our kinship.

In the end we will defeat every effort to make us disappear. Our memory of our ancestors who faced greater uncertainties than ours will sustain us. Ironically, it is the very antithesis of racism, our willingness—no, eagerness—to mate with every possible ethnicity that empowers our race. Harold Rice and Thurston Twigg-Smith ought to fear us, and not because of the piddling “entitlements” that they seek to end. They ought to fear that sooner or later, one of their children or grandchildren is going to fall in love with one of ours. Then they’ll have their hands full.

I began this essay with a tribute to a great teacher and would like to finish by gesturing back to David Hanlon again. I said he was an unassuming teacher. I cannot tell you how important I think that is. To teach without assuming that you are changing the world is to change the world, even if it’s the world of one person’s imagination. To tutor and correct without imposing oneself is not merely a generous act, it is for me and the way I approach history and teaching, the key to both enterprises.

When we tell these mo’olelo, we could whisper—E hāmau (be silent). This story is of someone you may know. Listen to their voices. Let them remind you of who you are. E hāmau a ho’olohe. Be silent and listen.

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Looking in the Hole with my Three-Pronged Cocked

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If I like know about my family
 My people
 And myself
 Then naturally I would go to a foreigner
 or a stranger for the answers?
 I've read things, I've met people, I've been to places
 I have been influenced tremendously
 By everything and everyone I have had contact with
 Everything here, is from everything around me,
 Guided by my Kupuna
 .always.

Kimo Cashman

Howzit?

I am in flight. I am on a journey and I find myself in a beautiful place. I am here. Where else can I be? I am home. Where else should I be? I know the journey is important. But still, I remind myself that it is. It is life itself. I am not sure where the winds will take me but I know that I am in flight. And I know why I am in flight. I know why I am on this journey. And I know who guides me on this journey. And You?

Who am I?

The other day I was in the park with my daughter. While she played, I sat like an old man on the bench waiting for her to finish. I saw, written onto the park bench, some graffiti. A couple of simple words that remain stuck in my head. Suppa stuck. It's more of a statement and one that I actually see written all over, not only on park benches. I've seen it on bathroom walls, on the sides of buildings, on the interiors of city buses, and on manapua trucks. I even caught a student of mine writing it on her desk one day in class. They are simple words that usually look as though they were quickly but carefully written. Maybe these words are a way for people to claim their place in this world? Maybe this is a way for them to say that they exist, that they matter, that they are impor-

tant too? Maybe it's an act of rebellion? Maybe it's a type of resistance? Resistance to what? It's also interesting to see that you can find these words, this statement, in many places in Hawai'i. Aside from the inclusion of the author's own name, the words are spelled the same way. And it's also a trip that I have been seeing this statement around since I was a small kid. The same words are being used but I wonder if for the same reasons? Imagine way back in the day, someone wrote a statement on the wall, for whatever reason, and someone else came along, and being so taken by it, decided to copy and adapt it to him/herself. Then another and another and another came along and did the same. It's such a simple but profound statement that has found its way. It has taken flight.

Kimo wuz hea!

James wuz hea!

Keem wuz hea!

Cash wuz hea!

I think of them writing in the past tense. As if they were already forecasting their departure. As if they were only temporarily here. As if they were constantly leaving. Never settling down. As if they were never "hea," but always "wuz hea." Where are they now? Where are the "wuz hea" people?

We are hea! We are still hea!
Through EVERYTHING and ANYTHING
Kimo IZ hea!
Kimo IZ HEA!
KIMO IZ HEA!
Hea I am because hea I wuz and hea I will stay.
And you?
What about you?
KIMO IZ HEA!
But who am I?

Who am I?

I remember seeing my grandpa with his “throw net” uniform on. He always wore an army green shirt, blue jeans, construction shoes (because of all the rocks), a black baseball cap, and his fisherman glasses. He would wrap the ‘upena around him and us kids thought he looked pretty tough.

We would follow Grandpa out to Hoku‘ula, and we would hide in the bushes out of sight, while Grandpa climbed his favorite tree to get a better look at where the pile of fish was. The hours spent waiting for Grandpa to throw his ‘upena were grueling.

Grandpa had all kind techniques to stalk the fish. Sometimes he would hide in the bushes with us till the fish came close to shore, then he would slowly make his way down to the water’s edge as the white-wash from the waves concealed his presence. He would hurl his net, which would always open, and we waited anxiously to see what he caught. Grandpa would jump in the water and we would watch a powerful man wrestle with the ocean. As he tried to get his footing, the waves would throw him back and forth. We would watch him do battle. It’s trippy to see your grandfather in such a situation because to us he was invincible. If you can imagine how us kids felt seeing him in the water—our emotions went crazy. We weren’t sure if we should cheer or scream. There were times when he would disappear under the water. We were kids. If he was in trouble, there was nothing we could have done. Grandpa would always emerge, though, with his net rolled in a ball and some fish that had no choice but to surrender.

Who am I?

I can tell when I’ve been working too hard. I can tell when I starting to lose touch with reality, when I concentrat-

ing too much on one thing, when I concentrating too much on the wrong thing. I start to turn WHITE. I do one quick test to check if I turning WHITE. I stand in front of the mirror with my shirt off and I take a few moments to admire the specimen in front of me. Awesome! Then I stand at attention with my arms hanging straight down on each side. If my body looks like an Oreo cookie with my arms as the chocolate cookie part and my ‘opu as the creamy WHITE filling, it’s a sign that something is wrong. It’s a sign that I need to get out and live. I need to re-group, darken up, and get real. It’s a sign that I’m getting too WHITE.

Who am I?

Daddy: E pule kākou.

Hī‘ilei (My daughter): I wanna say it Daddy.

Daddy: (pause)

Hī‘ilei: God is great, God is good, let us thank him for our food....and thank you Kupuna for making God.

Daddy: (with a smile).....Amen.

Who am I?

‘Ewa is home to me. ‘Ewa has a special place in my heart. One‘ula in particular is a very special place to me. It is one place in ‘Ewa that has been pretty much FOR the locals. It is a place where you could just hang out and cruise. It is a place to meet friends at night and enjoy life undisturbed. It’s a place where as kids, we would go exploring. As we got older, this was a place where we would go four-wheeling with my father’s two-wheel drive truck. My friend had one truck too, and we use to geev-um through the back-roads of One‘ula. This was a place where you could just get away and no one would bother you.

It was a good place to get parts for our trucks, too. Every so often, Santa Claus would leave a truck just like ours in One‘ula. And anything in One‘ula was fair game. So we use to go shopping.

We also used to surf here. And surf often. We always knew that this place was known for sharks and would hear stories of giant Tigers lurking in the murky waters. Whenever we went out, we had this in the back of our minds. I guess the Tiger’s knew we were from ‘Ewa and they never showed themselves. Only once did I actually see a shark while I was surfing. But it was only a reef shark. I guess the reason why I only saw one shark, is because I tried not to look for a shark.

When I think about One'ula, I think about the moving shore-line. The sands of One'ula move back and forth. Depending on the time of year, certain areas will be either sandy or rocky. The sands will move from area to area either covering the rugged coral shore or moving to expose it. The people, as well, move where the sands go. In a sense it's like One'ula is refreshing herself and telling us where she will allow us to be.

Right now, the surfing area known as John's is off limits. And the area we call Chicken Creeks is the best place for the kids to play. It's good to see my friends there with their kids playing and swimming. It's not the cleanest, or the nicest, or the sweetest smelling place, but that's good.

Soon, the construction of a Marina will begin that will meet the ocean at One'ula. The reef will be compromised and sea-walls will be built. But regardless, the sands of One'ula will continue to move.

Who am I?

"Once upon a today there is a good man. He is about 76 years old but works and "celebrates" like a man half his age. He was born and raised in this area and has much to share about this place and his life. His mind is as sharp as his wit and he is able to remember well, his childhood years. He is humble in his ways, generous with what he has, and mostly critical of himself.

The stories he shares are incredible. He speaks about his life growing up on a plantation, the things they used to eat, what games they use to play, their schooling and life in general. He shares his memories about the place itself, recalling with detail how places have transformed over the years: places like the site of the old Laundromat, the old School, and the old Hospital. The interesting thing about him sharing his stories is the fact that he is actually a very quiet man. He's not one to just sit down with somebody and start talking. The setting has to be just right. And it doesn't hurt if he has a certain beverage in hand.

He is a man who believes in working hard physically. He always says, "use it or lose it" in reference to his muscle and his work ethic. His ability to work all day in the garden is evidence that his motto has merit. He suggests that if you don't use what you have been given, the good lord will take it away. He also makes reference to knowledge in the same way. He feels knowledge is something that we need to use, or lose.

On any given day, he can be found in his garden. It's often difficult to see just where he is in his garden. The garden is lush and he seems to blend right into the foliage. He shares most of his experiences when he is in his garden. It's an environment where he seems to feel comfortable talking. It seems as though certain things in his garden remind him of different things in his life and he uses these things to take him from story to story, from year to year, from life experience to life experience. He is able to tell a story from anything in his garden.

From the Kalo

He doesn't seem to be concerned with knowing the different names of the varieties of Kalo that he has—he refers to them as the Chinese one, the purple one, the giant one, the poi one. But he does share how he got each one and how, as a child, he and his family use to raise Kalo among other things in their garden. He also shares how the plantation allowed his family to use the plot of land to garden. He emphasized that they were only allowed to use the land.

This would lead to stories about the camp he grew up in. He would talk about the types of houses they had in the camp and how they would hang a bucket for slop outside the kitchen window. He would talk about some of the people who helped to define the camp's personality and how he rode the truck to school, which was located on the military base. From the Kalo.

From the Flowers

He shared the name of the flower but I can't recall it. It is some kind of lily flower. It is white and it doesn't bloom too often. It is obvious though that these flowers receive special attention as there are no weeds in the area, and while some of the other plants in the garden (lettuce, eggplant, carrots) are alternated from time to time, these flowers remain. He shared how these flowers were his father's favorites and when they bloom, he takes them to his grave not far from his home. In addition to stories about his father, conversations about death and dying have resulted. He talks not as a man who feels as if he is near death, but as a man who is very far from it. He does, however, share what he would prefer his last years, way off in the future, to be like. From the Flowers.

From the Mulch

He aspires to acquire as much mulch as humanly possible. I often help him to haul the mulch to his garden. This is a story in itself. Although he is nearing 80 years old, he continues to haul mulch, plant fruit trees, and dream. He is always preparing for tomorrow. He is always glorifying yesterday. From the Mulch.

Who am I?

The other day my father and I walked into a store. It was a real fancy store with expensive stuff for sale. As we walked in, everyone stared at us. They continued to watch us as we made our way around the store. They would quickly turn away when our eyes caught theirs, but other than that, the eyes never left us. We stayed in there for a while, as we were quite fond of the attention we were getting. As we walked out, my father turned to me and said, "It's hard being this good looking."

Who am I?

When I go diving with my cousins, I know I'm not alone. Sometimes it can be real dangerous. We stay in the water for long periods of time and anything can happen out there. When we go diving, we stay together, work together, and return together. And in the water, we NO SHAME. If I'm tired, I tell them I'm tired. If I'm afraid, I tell them I'm afraid. If I can't handle, I NO SHAME, I tell them I can't handle. Even if I'm cold and need to go in, I NO SHAME. And there are no questions asked. I know they will help me. I know. There's an understanding. We NO SHAME. We've been diving together for a while so I kind of know that if I'm feeling a certain way, there's a good chance that they are feeling the same way, too. We are all looking for ways to keep ourselves warm, to keep ourselves strong, and to overcome our fears. This is the journey. If I find a way that might help us all, I not going keep em to myself. This is the journey.

We are all looking for ways to keep ourselves warm, to keep ourselves strong,
and to overcome our fears. This is the journey.
If I find a way that might help us all,
I not going keep em to myself.
Is this the journey?

GEEVUM!

You KNOW what's happening. There's too much of them. They come here to visit and they just don't leave. And they come with cash. Plenty cash. And they buying all the land. And they think they can tell us what to do and where we can go and when we can fish and how we should live. I don't think so. Uncle has the perfect response... "Hawaiians can go anywhere." They trying to tell us how to live. Who they think them?

When the guy moved in near the loko, he put up his fence, the barbed wire, the signs, the bushes. That's sick. In order to get to the point, what, we gotta walk around and go through the loko? But I no like! So I listen to the advice of Uncle and go anywhere. Night time, day time, anytime, and try my best to ignore the intrusion. It's easier to lay the net at night at the Makāhā. There's much less to see, but we, yes WE, lay em whenever and however we like. We go! We geevum!

'Upena

Kimo: So you going make one 'upena.

Keem: Yah.

Kimo: Shoots. (pause) For real kine?

Keem: Yah. For real kine.

Kimo: You right brah. (pause) You going use your grandfather's patterns?

Keem: I not sure. What you think?

Kimo: Yeah, make em huge. With choke pūmana.

I have learned a couple of different ways to make an 'upena. But I've only experimented with a few of these methods. For the 'upena I am making now, I am using a method taught to me by my grandfather. He was an expert 'upena maker and fisherman from Maui. I learned this 'upena method from him directly and by studying the nets he made throughout his life. I am trying to make this 'upena exactly like the 'upena I have of his that I currently use. The 'upena is twelve feet long with two and one-half inch eye. It is made of fifteen-pound mono-filament fishing line and I am using my grandfather's hi'a and his kā to make this 'upena. This kā is very special because he carved his initials onto it: LKN.

I started the 'upena with forty-six eyes hanging onto the piko of the 'upena. The first pūmana row came in after three

full rows were completed. Correct placement of the pūmana is critical. The pūmana is an extra loop or extra eye sewn into the 'upena. These extra loops or eyes allow for the expansion of the 'upena. Without them, the 'upena will not grow in diameter and will not open properly when thrown.

The pūmana in the 'upena, are like children in a family. They represent the next generation. The family and the 'upena grow because of them. There will be nine pūmana rows throughout this 'upena. The final row will therefore consist of four hundred and sixty eyes. Currently, I am completing the third pūmana row. At the forty-ninth row, I will begin the portion of the 'upena called the "bag." The bag of the 'upena is a double layered section where most of the fish will be caught.

I hope to finish this 'upena in about ten months. It is for my cousin.

A setting:

It's late at night and the house is quiet as my little princess is already fast asleep. The house is dark except for the one light I have on near the kitchen. This is where I sew the 'upena. I try to sew every night. Some nights, however, I'm just too exhausted and I fall asleep. When I sew, so many thoughts come to mind. This is a time when I can just settle down and relax, and focus on these thoughts. This is a time when I can just reflect on life itself: family, school, work, everything. Everything. It's a time when our Kupuna visit, too. I think about them and it feels like we are talking story sometimes. It's all good. I know they are helping us out. Sometimes, the most unreal ideas and revelations just pop up out of nowhere when I am sewing. These ideas are definitely gifts from them. Mahalo Nui. For me, the making of this 'upena is the most important part of this journey. It's when I feel closest to my ancestors. It's when we talk. Everything being done is merely a reflection of a conversation that took place while I was making the 'upena. They show me where to look, when to listen, and ways to respond. On this journey, I use stories, pule, poems, situations, conversations, etc. to help me think and work through things. I use whatever feels right. But, my ancestors guide me through the 'upena.

Thoughts flow
And HERE, they come out the way we want them to.
Thoughts flow
And HERE, they come out the way they have to.
HERE, I am the subject. HERE, I am the expert?
HERE, I am the voice. HERE it is.
Hawaiian.
Guided through the 'upena
And HERE, isn't life great?
Home

Mahalo
Logic?
If I like know about my family
My people
And myself
Then naturally I would go to a foreigner
or a stranger for the answers?
I've read things, I've met people, I've been to places
I have been influenced tremendously
By everything and everyone I have had contact with
Everything here, is from everything around me,
Guided by my Kupuna
.always.
at this moment,
through the 'upena

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Hānau Kahikikū me Kahikimoe: A Call for the Development of a Theory for Kanaka Maoli Visual Culture Education

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Introduction

Despite Hawai'i's location at the northern apex of Polynesia, visual arts education in Hawai'i is predominately west facing in its orientation. Defining visual arts solely along European/American conventions and history, arts education as practiced in Hawai'i does little to acknowledge and engage the diversity of cultural perspectives long represented in the islands. Of particular concern has been the exclusion of cultural perspectives of Kanaka Maoli, the indigenous people of Hawai'i, within both the curriculum for art education at the University of Hawai'i and the art curriculum of Hawai'i's public school system.

Owing its existence historically to the works of American and European artists, teachers, and theorists, the field of visual arts education cannot help but reflect the cultural perspectives and values of its founders. For this reason, visual arts education could be forgiven its enthusiastic claim for higher learning through engagement with the visual arts. As an example, the United States National Standards for Arts Education (Consortium of National Arts Education Associations, 1994) describes its objectives in this way:

Fine arts cultivate the direct experience of the senses, they trust the unmediated flash of insight as a legitimate source of knowledge. Their goal is to connect person and experience directly, to build the bridge between verbal and nonverbal, between the strictly logical and emotional. (p. 1)

This belief in the positive effect of visual arts study has been particularly cogent in Hawai'i where national developments and projects have been welcomed and adopted in school curriculum and teacher education processes.

Juxtaposed against a history of American colonialism in Hawai'i, the affirmative and beneficial intent of visual arts education practice takes on a less than admirable character.

Despite claims of multicultural representation, visual arts education in Hawai'i has been comprehensively captured within the language, values, and cultural viewpoint of mainstream America. The rich and diverse array of aesthetic objects from Kanaka Maoli and other Pacific societies, produced for spiritual, social, or utilitarian purposes, have been colonized into categories defined by American art perspectives which disregard their original intent and cultural context. With no Kanaka Maoli culture-based curriculum to introduce and engage an indigenous way of knowing and seeing, Hawai'i's teachers and students of art are trained to perceive and represent the world through an introduced colonial lens. Like a cultural Trojan horse, visual arts education in Hawai'i is a subtle yet potent vehicle of assimilation through which the values and aesthetics of the dominant American society are transmitted.

To be relevant and viable in the 21st century, visual arts education in Hawai'i needs to expand beyond its western cultural bias to reflect a more representative sampling of the island's geographic, historic, and cultural realities. As a first step in specifying arts education practices for Hawai'i, students and teachers alike need a process of study that enables authentic engagement with Kanaka Maoli culture while acknowledging the ramifications of colonialism in Hawai'i. What is needed in Hawai'i is an arts policy that acknowledges indigenous visual culture in its social context as much as the introduced heritage of western and American art.

In this paper, I argue for the development of a visual arts curriculum that is grounded in the cultural perspective of Kanaka Maoli. I do this in response to the Hawai'i Department of Education's (1999) western-oriented visual arts curriculum document, *Fine art content standards*. My intention is to promote the expansion of the knowledge foundation for the study of art/visual culture generally and, more specifically, to promote the broader development of a comprehensive theory for Kanaka Maoli education.

Culture and History

From the Kanaka Maoli view, the islands of Hawai'i are the living offspring of the most ancient of gods/ancestors. For example, the islands of Hawai'i, Maui, and Kaua'i were each born from the sexual union of Papahānaumoku—the female manifestation of earth, and her male partner Wākea, the sky. Several other islands in the Hawaiian Island group were conceived through dalliances that Papahānaumoku and Wākea each had with other lovers. The account of the birthing of the Hawaiian Islands reflects both the Kanaka Maoli belief in the humanness of their gods as well as a deep sense of familial connection to their island home.

The creation of the Kanaka Maoli world is described within the *Kumulipo*, a complex 2000 line genealogical chant that identifies and categorizes all known life in Hawai'i. Composed several centuries ago, the *Kumulipo* connects all living things; from the simple coral polyp to sacred highborn chiefs, through a complex evolutionary progression of kinship. Alongside these creation narratives, Kanaka Maoli have retained numerous accounts of great ancestors who navigated vast stretches of the Pacific to find and settle Hawai'i. Navigators like Laka, Moikeha, and Paoa established the Polynesian cultural seed in Hawai'i from the distant island groups of Tahiti, Ra'iatea, Rarotonga, and Samoa.

At its height, Kanaka Maoli civilization supported an estimated population of nearly 800,000 people (Stannard, 1989). Ocean and land resources, while extensively developed, were carefully monitored to assure consistent and sustainable yields. Social structure, determined by inheritance as well as merit, was rigidly hierarchical. Specialized professions, such as the priesthood and artisan classes, were sustained within the many layers of Kanaka Maoli society. Held together by a comprehensive and integrated belief system of mana and kapu, Kanaka Maoli society was one of the most developed and sophisticated in Polynesia.

The fields of archaeology, anthropology, and art history have been the filters through which Euro-American scholarship constructed its view of much of the non-western world. As a means of determining the maturity and development of a culture, anthropologists, archaeologists, and art historians have often classified selected examples of the aesthetic production from non-western societies as art. Societies whose carving, weaving, personal adornment, or ceramics demonstrated sophisticated and refined formal qualities, as

determined by western values and aesthetics, were equated as being more developed than those whose objects evidenced less facility or detail. It is interesting to note that while classified as art by western standards, non-western visual culture has generally been relegated to the margins of a hierarchy that has favored the artistic expression of European males over everyone else.

Despite the highly metaphorical nature of its oral literature, intense attention to material, technique, and form in visual objects, and the complexity of its dance and music, Kanaka Maoli culture did not produce "art" as defined by the post-Renaissance western world. Prior to European intervention, the Kanaka Maoli culture and language had no equivalent term or practice for the western cultural construction "art." While aesthetics are a vital concern in objects produced by Kanaka Maoli, visual, dance, and musical expressions were specifically designed and produced to meet a function within a social, political, economic, and spiritual context. Unlike western art practices, Kanaka Maoli aesthetic objects were never commodified as rarified trade objects, nor did Kanaka Maoli society ever find the necessity to individually valorize those artists who demonstrated genius through their craft.

By virtue of its interrelated functionality within a socio/political context, the aesthetic production of Kanaka Maoli society would be more accurately described as visual culture than as art. The 'ahu'ula or feather cape, worn by Kanaka Maoli chiefs as part of their regalia, provides an excellent example of Kanaka Maoli visual culture. Sewn from the selected feathers of thousands of native birds, the 'ahu'ula was one of the highest material achievements of Kanaka Maoli society. By virtue of its elegant design, its meticulous construction, and the preciousness of its medium, the 'ahu'ula could easily sit within the definition generally attributed to a work of art. Like some of the greatest examples of artwork of the western world, the 'ahu'ula was more than just an object for aesthetic engagement or commodified trade. The 'ahu'ula functioned as a symbol of the sacredness of the chief who wore it, as well as of the collective identity and mana of the community to which he was responsible. On its own, the 'ahu'ula stands as an exceptionally crafted object of clothing made from rare bird feathers. Within the context of the complexity of a Kanaka Maoli cultural framework, however, the 'ahu'ula signified the godliness of the chief, who stood as

a living conduit through which the sacred converged with the secular. In contrast to its place as an art object in western culture, the 'ahu'ula was an edifying component within the system of sign/objects that is Kanaka Maoli culture.

The English explorer James Cook chanced upon Hawai'i in 1778 while searching for a sea route that would link the northern Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The decades that followed saw not only the death of Cook, but catastrophically, the eradication of well over 90% of Kanaka Maoli due to introduced foreign disease (Stannard, 1989). The massive death rate in this oral-based society resulted in near cultural collapse and loss of indigenous knowledge. Survivors fell prey to the conversion campaigns of Christian zealots and assimilationist education policies and practices of the colonial government.

The concept of a centralized state, an idea less consolidated in most parts of the Pacific, had taken form in Hawai'i well before contact with Europeans. By the early 1800's, the Kingdom of Hawai'i had established treaty relationships with the United States, as well as several European governments, in an attempt to maintain its sovereignty against the rising tide of western colonialism in the Pacific. This period in Pacific history witnessed an aggressive island grab by European and American interests hungry for resources as well as political and commercial expansion. England and France, the most active of Pacific colonizers, recognized the sovereignty of the Hawaiian kingdom after their forceful attempts to subjugate it. The United States of America, the youngest of the western colonial powers, did not.

In 1893, a small group of non-Hawaiian residents of the sovereign and independent Kingdom of Hawai'i, including citizens of the United States, conspired with John L. Stevens, the United States Minister assigned to the Kingdom, to overthrow the indigenous and lawful government of Hawai'i. In the Apology Resolution (United States Congress, Public Law 103-150, 1993), President Clinton acknowledged that without the active support and intervention of the United States diplomatic and military representatives, the insurrection would have failed for lack of popular support and insufficient arms. The Apology Resolution also acknowledged that Kanaka Maoli "never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States,

either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum." When Hawai'i was annexed to the United States of America in 1898, it was done so against the will of the Kanaka Maoli people (Silva, 1998). International law was again sidestepped when Hawai'i was finally made the 50th of the American union of states in 1959 (Coffman, 1998). Under American rule, Kanaka Maoli were forced to accept United States citizenship while relinquishing their national identity.

Throughout the last century, Kanaka Maoli endured political and educational policies determined to suppress their culture and assimilate them into mainstream America. The Kanaka Maoli language, as an example, was prohibited from use in schools as well as in all legal and official governmental documentation following the overthrow of the Kingdom. Coupled with the dramatic decline in population due to introduced disease, many feared the complete loss of the Kanaka Maoli language, culture, and people. Symptoms of the cultural and spiritual decline of Kanaka Maoli could be seen in government statistics taken at various times throughout the last century. These records indicate that Kanaka Maoli experienced the highest rates in Hawai'i for suicide, prison incarceration, mental illness, poverty, unemployment, domestic violence, alcoholism, drug abuse, and generational reliance on government welfare assistance (United States Department of the Interior, 1983). Little has changed in the first few years of the 21st century.

In the 1960's, Kanaka Maoli began movements to confront the unresolved issues of social justice and political autonomy brought about through the American colonization of Hawai'i. In line with these movements, a renaissance of Kanaka Maoli language and cultural practices began which reawakened a strong sense of the aspirations of Kanaka Maoli. Even hula and music, art forms long co-opted to support the interests of the tourist industry in Hawai'i, provided strong vehicles for Kanaka Maoli national expression. Sadly, the contribution of visual artists during this period of cultural resurgence was less evident. Despite earnest attempts by native art organizations to develop a presence in society, Kanaka Maoli visual culture found few avenues of access to museums and galleries, the primary venues of visual arts practice in Hawai'i. (K. DeSilva, personal communication, 2001)

The visual arts establishment in Hawai'i could be seen as a citadel of mainstream American cultural values posi-

tioned on top of the multicultural and multiethnic setting of the islands' diverse population. Introduced to Hawai'i by missionaries, merchants, and colonial administrators and educators as a symbol of western/American intellectual superiority and cultural sophistication, the institution of visual arts (i.e., artists, museums, galleries, collectors, and critics) gained international attention with romanticized depictions of Hawai'i's lush landscape and exotic natives. When challenged, the art establishment appeared less than enthusiastic about sharing with Kanaka Maoli, the group that it had long made subject, its privileged position of cultural arbiter. An example of this exclusionary practice can be seen in *Artists of Hawai'i* (Haar & Neogy, 1974; Haar, 1977) and *Artists/Hawai'i* (Clarke, 1996), publications associated with the principal art museum in Honolulu. Published each decade since the 1970's, these volumes were written to recognize and acknowledge Hawai'i's finest artists. In all three, the featured artists are primarily migrants to Hawai'i. None of the artists selected for inclusion are Kanaka Maoli (Kosasa, 1993–1994). Although this paper is intended as a call for the development of Kanaka Maoli visual culture pedagogy, I relate this brief history to reveal the intentional omission of Kanaka Maoli culture from the practice of visual arts in Hawai'i.

Education

According to Michael Apple (1996, p. 22), "Education is deeply implicated in the politics of culture. The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a *selective tradition*, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize a people." Prominent Maori educator Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) expands this idea to include former colony societies like New Zealand and Hawai'i where school curriculum and teaching approaches have preserved dominant colonial interests while serving to domesticate the indigenous peoples.

The University of Hawai'i is the foremost institution of higher learning in Hawai'i. Art education through the Department of Art and the College of Education was established early in the history of the university. These two programs have educated a significant percentage of the artists, designers, and art educators in Hawai'i. Despite its

location within one of the most multicultural populations in the world, the study of art at the university has historically maintained an exclusively eurocentric focus.

One consequence of the privileging of eurocentric art perspectives is that students and teachers produce and discuss art exclusively from the perspective of western art history and aesthetics. For many Kanaka Maoli students interested in embarking on journeys of self-understanding through indigenous visual culture, the university offers few opportunities for such research and study. Kanaka Maoli students who undertake art study at the university are compelled to put aside their indigenous cultural perspectives in order to successfully complete their courses of study (Kosasa, 1998). The recent hiring of a prominent Kanaka Maoli artist in the Department of Art was thought by many to mark the beginning of a new era of cultural inclusiveness within the department. However, the deferment of an initiative to introduce a Kanaka Maoli visual arts program into the department has tempered any optimism and hope for change. This situation illustrates how the imbalance of power at the university threatens to contain and tokenize Kanaka Maoli knowledge while continuing the oppression of indigenous culture in Hawai'i.

Reflecting the west-facing orientation of the University of Hawai'i, the Hawai'i Department of Education, which oversees instruction and administration of all public schools, excludes Kanaka Maoli knowledge and cultural perspectives from the content standards of its art education curriculum (Hawai'i Department of Education, 1999). Kanaka Maoli visual aesthetics and ways of knowing—a knowledge base that extends over a period of nearly two thousand years of cultural development—have become invisible within the curriculum of public schools of Hawai'i. As a result of this exclusion, students of Hawai'i, whether from indigenous or immigrant backgrounds, are denied the opportunity to adopt a cultural perspective and knowledge base that has been shaped by the natural and social environment of Hawai'i.

The exclusion of Kanaka Maoli knowledge and cultural perspectives from the curriculum of public schools also contradicts a body of educational research that encourages the development of culturally relevant curricula and pedagogy to meet the special learning needs of indigenous and multi-ethnic communities (McFarlane, 2004; L. Smith, 1999). This is particularly true in the case of

various indigenous and multi-ethnic groups like Kanaka Maoli, who have consistently been disinterested in and unengaged by mainstream educational offerings. As an example, in its study of Native Hawaiian education, Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate (1983) concluded that Native Hawaiian students were disadvantaged by mainstream approaches to education. Like Kaupapa Maori theory of Aotearoa/New Zealand (G. Smith, 1997), studies in Kanaka Maoli education have since encouraged the development of a culturally relevant school curriculum designed to support the special learning needs of Kanaka Maoli students (Benham & Heck, 1998; Clark, 2003). Despite a growing amount of statistical evidence attesting to the failure of mainstream education to meet the learning needs of Kanaka Maoli, the Hawai'i Department of Education appears unable or unwilling to shift from its preference for mainstream mono-cultural perspectives and approaches for visual arts education.

The privileging of one race or culture is antithetical to the principles of any democratic, pluralistic society. When considering the place of race and culture in democratic societies, it must be acknowledged that democratic principles are a western cultural construction that favors majority interests in society. Infused throughout western legal, political, commercial, and educational institutions, western cultural values shape the foundations of all democratic societies. So pervasive are these values that they have become normalized and are accepted uncritically as the representative view of democracy. The irony is that democracy cannot avoid discriminating against minority cultures by virtue of its foundation in those western values that privilege the majority. In the United States, the Equal Rights Amendment (Huckabee, 1996) and affirmative action laws (United States Department of Labor, revised January, 2002) contradict the lofty democratic principles of the United States Constitution and attest to the practice of elevating one particular group over others.

In 2000, the Hawai'i State Constitutional Convention led to the amendment of Article 10, Section 4 that now reads *"The State shall provide for a Hawaiian education program consisting of language, culture and history in the public schools."* The existence of this amendment establishes a legal obligation on the part of the state

of Hawai'i to provide Kanaka Maoli with a Hawaiian education program. While the case appears clear for the establishment in Hawai'i of a Kanaka Maoli culture-based visual arts curriculum for public education, pending actions in the U.S. Congress and federal courts could jeopardize any initiative for indigenous education nationally. I acknowledge the need for further research into the legal implications of the Constitutional amendment as it pertains to Kanaka Maoli visual arts education.

Although U.S. government policy recognizes and protects individual rights of U.S. citizens, it does little to protect the collective rights of Kanaka Maoli as an indigenous people. Today, the United States Federal Government and the state of Hawai'i Government are considering their obligations, in the light of pending court and legislative decisions, to support Kanaka Maoli educational initiatives. Conservative voices claim such support would violate federal and state laws that were established to ensure equal treatment to all citizens despite race. Thus the irony of the U.S. Government is revealed—a government that has not only violated its own Constitution by illegally seizing the territory of the independent nation of Hawai'i, but that also hides behind the clauses of that same document when seeking to circumvent any obligation to the indigenous people it has held captive.

With little government support, indigenous education in Hawai'i has progressed and receded with the tide of American politics. In spite of this general lack of government support, Kanaka Maoli have managed to extract a number of favorable legislative concessions over the years which have supported various initiatives for Kanaka Maoli educational initiatives in Hawai'i. Many of these initiatives have benefited both indigenous and immigrant communities in Hawai'i. Today, with comprehensive control of the courts, Congress, and administration in the sway of decision makers uninformed about indigenous issues, all Kanaka Maoli educational initiatives are threatened by an unrelenting onslaught of legal and legislative attacks. Disguised as a campaign to comprehensively end policies of racial preferences in America, these legislative and legal attacks may result in a comprehensive "normalizing" of western cultural views through the complete elimination of ethnic difference in education policy and planning.

Art Education

Art education, like art, is a western cultural construction. Its aim, according to researcher and author R. A. Smith (1987), is the development of a disposition to appreciate the excellence of art. While noble in aspiration, Smith's stance must be carefully measured in contrast to the social conditions in which they are applied. "Excellence" is a term that is relative to the values and perspectives of the dominant society. Revealed subtly within Smith's statement is the underlying function of art education as a transmission instrument of the political and economic values of the establishment.

Art and Art Education as Political Instruments

The foundation of western civilization can be traced to ancient Greek philosophy. Both Plato and Aristotle, philosophers whose writings have been among the most influential in shaping western civilization and democracy, wrote authoritatively about the subject of art. Their ideas focused not on art's aesthetic qualities but instead on its impact as a vehicle for social and cultural continuance. Believing the state to be the ultimate medium of social order, Plato (as cited in Cooper & Hutchinson, 1997) considered logic and emotional control the primary mediums by which humans attain true happiness. Plato understood art to be a socially constructed phenomenon with its own politics, economics, and culture. By virtue of its ability to inspire and incite emotion, important elements of social control, Plato and Socrates (as cited in Efland, 1990) both viewed art and art education processes with suspicion.

Unlike Plato and Socrates, Aristotle (as cited in Efland, 1990) valued art as a source of imitation and representation of nature. Aristotle believed the strong emotional responses in people that art inspired was a benefit rather than a threat to social order. To Aristotle, the arts provided an appropriate setting through which to purge and eliminate emotions that could prove damaging if, unrestrained, they were allowed to manifest themselves within society. Regardless of their differences of opinion, however, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle each appeared to recognize the role of art in helping powerful groups to maintain social order and political control. From the 15th century Papal commissions of Michelangelo's works, to the public spectacles of the Nazi party in the 1930's, the practice of harnessing art and art

education as a means of social control appears a consistent theme in the history of western civilization.

Art and Art Education as Economic Instrument

The historical progression of scientific and technical developments brought about by the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century dramatically altered the course of western society. By transforming material production, the factory supplanted the artisan's workshop as the primary site of product manufacture. Through industrial processes, laborers with few skills or training could produce far more than those skilled artisans who trained for years to master a craft. The result of this increase in industrial production was a far greater distribution of goods throughout society than was ever previously experienced. Yet, in spite of the efficiencies of mechanized production, mass produced goods often lacked quality, as they often sacrificed aesthetic quality to functionality. Ironically, this criticism was made of English products exhibited and promoted during the Great Crystal Palace Exposition of 1851 (Efland, 1990). English products of industry, though produced by the most advanced manufacturing technology in the world, were judged inferior in design and aesthetics to the products of French and German manufacture. Poor design and characterless aesthetic considerations resulted in English industry losing its share of the increasingly competitive global market of the 19th century. Acting quickly to protect their interests, governments and industry throughout Western Europe, recognizing art and design as vital to the commercial interests of industry, quickly established national schools for art and design studies. Distinguished from the study of fine arts, schools of art and design offered vocationally-oriented classes that trained students to produce art/design for commercial purposes and applications. This goal of making art education relevant to industry had a large impact on the arts curricula for schools in the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, art education today, has inherited from the Industrial Revolution, the idea of art as an economic instrument and the idea that works of art and art teaching processes should support the commercial and industrial interests of society.

Art Education as an Instrument of Indigenous Culture?

German essayist and critic Walter Benjamin (1973) described the place of art in primitive (non-western) societies as providing the primary elements, by way of ritual and

ceremony, which affirmed for individuals, a recognition of communal or tribal membership. Benjamin's insightful description contrasts markedly with the place of art in contemporary western society, in which art is detached from the creation of social meaning and connection among communities of people. The separation of ritual and art instigated by the rise of technology introduced the idea of art as a commodity. Within this context, the practice of art education furthered the separation of art from the process of constructing cultural meaning within societies, tribes, and nations. Thus, art education, within the context of mainstream education, lost its potential to be an instrument of cultural transmission and cultural creation.

It is here that a curriculum for Kanaka Maoli visual culture can make a significant contribution to the learning experiences of students in Hawai'i, both indigenous people and settlers alike. Prior to western colonization, objects of visual culture served as instruments of Kanaka Maoli values and communal identity. Whether for the purposes of ritual, signification, or utility, Kanaka Maoli visual culture was created over the centuries as a response to a variety of environmental, socio-political, religious/spiritual, or economic conditions. The evolving forms of objects or images produced provided for Kanaka Maoli a visual connection to their cultural past—to genealogy, cultural narratives, and values which sustained and supported their sense of national identity. Kanaka Maoli visual culture today maintains its function of linking contemporary society with the ancestral realm. While it is imperative that indigenous students in Hawai'i are provided with learning experiences that recognize and reflect their cultural perspectives and histories, it is also true that non-indigenous students should be offered opportunities to engage authentically with Kanaka Maoli culture and ways of knowing. It is only through experiencing educational opportunities designed from a Kanaka Maoli perspective that a genuine foundation for cross cultural understandings in Hawai'i can occur. An 'ōlelo no'eau (Pukui, 1983, p. 24) or Kanaka Maoli proverb best summarizes the need for inclusion of knowledge from a diversity of sources and cultures in order to enhance learning and teaching within an increasingly globalized context.

'A'ohe pau ka 'ike i ka hālau ho'okāhi.

Conclusion

Decisions about curriculum content and design for visual arts education in Hawai'i ultimately rest with the state government. While the current practice of visual arts education in Hawai'i aligns well with state and national policies and standards, it does little to recognize teaching and learning from a specifically Hawaiian perspective; particularly that of the indigenous Kanaka Maoli culture.

Approaches to learning and teaching imported from the United States have generally been unsuccessful in effectively engaging Kanaka Maoli students, as evidenced by their consistently poor performance in Hawai'i's schools. To improve this difficult situation, teachers and student educators in Hawai'i need educational strategies and policies that embrace and celebrate a Kanaka Maoli world view. By making curricular knowledge relevant to their cultural outlook, Kanaka Maoli students will more than likely improve their educational performance and involvement in schools (Benham & Heck, 1998; Clark, 2003). Additionally, by infusing culturally-appropriate learning and teaching processes with courses at the University of Hawai'i, College of Education, student teachers will be equipped to develop and apply strategies that encourage Kanaka Maoli learning.

The proposal to develop a theory for Kanaka Maoli visual culture studies provides one such opportunity to expand the knowledge base by contributing to the broader development of a comprehensive theory for Kanaka Maoli and indigenous education. A curriculum for Kanaka Maoli visual culture education cannot help but invite further questions about the future of Kanaka Maoli education generally. What is the aim of Kanaka Maoli education, and who is its intended beneficiary? Is the current Hawai'i public school system the most appropriate vehicle and environment for Kanaka Maoli knowledge? With curriculum development and teacher education processes so strongly associated with national standards, will space be allotted in public education in Hawai'i for Kanaka Maoli knowledge? If allotted space within mainstream curricula, will Kanaka Maoli knowledge be marginalized within an education culture that privileges western knowledge? If mainstream education is not the best vehicle for the learning of Kanaka Maoli knowledge, what structure best suits the teaching and learning needs of Kanaka Maoli education? These are some of the myriad of questions raised by the proposal

to introduce a Kanaka Maoli theory for visual culture education.

For the past 30 years, New Zealand has developed a range of models from Maori education that can be drawn upon to inform the development of Kanaka Maoli visual culture education for schools and teacher education. From the separatist project of Maori culture-centered institutions such as the Kura Kaupapa and Wananga to the socially integrated bi-cultural provision of the national school curriculum, Maori art/visual culture enjoys multiple academic venues through which it can be explored and expressed. Sadly, far fewer options for Kanaka Maoli education appear to be available. Because of this, research is needed to develop curriculum and pedagogy for Kanaka Maoli visual culture education to support a more appropriate array of educational options and venues that will impart indigenous knowledge and aid in the revitalization of the Hawaiian culture.

It is my hope that art education practices in Hawai'i can expand beyond the limitations and biases of the present curriculum document and position Kanaka Maoli cultural perspectives in equal standing to those of the west. By doing so, Hawai'i will shape an educational process through arts education that genuinely reflects its unique history and identity as the homeland of the Kanaka Maoli.

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He Hāwa‘e Kai Nui a Kau ma Kula

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Introduction

Dogs are barking, birds are squawking, insects are scurrying for safety. A low rumbling sound that has been building over the past two decades is now accompanied by a noticeable tremor rippling through the foundation of the earth. The impending crescendo forewarns the Hawaiian community of massive upheaval in the sociolinguistic status quo. No one will be excluded from the experience. The consequences will be monumental, and the ramifications for the status quo will be devastating. As we stand on the brink of change, a magnificent panorama unfolds before us. It beckons us to take the plunge and maximize the experience through involvement in this movement. But, alas! A white cloud appears, obscuring the view. An omen, perhaps?

The geological metaphor employed here to represent social change serves as a reminder that such change does not occur over night. Like geological change, social change takes ages. Its progress is hindered by obstinate and persistent conservative forces that work to maintain the status quo. It is often not realized within the lifetime of its agents.

The Hawaiian language revitalization movement can trace its origin to a general Hawaiian cultural revolution that began in the late 1960's (Warner, 2001). However, the renaissance of the language really began in the early 1980's when a group of educators established the Hawaiian language immersion pre-schools known as Pūnana Leo (Kapono, 1994; Warner, 2001; Wilson & Kamanā, 2001). The primary goal of the Pūnana Leo is to produce a new generation of Hawaiian language speakers, by using Hawaiian language as an educational medium. The inspiration for this endeavor was derived from the analogous efforts already underway in Aotearoa to revitalize the Maori language. Although the Hawaiian movement involved participants from many segments of the wider community, its epicenter can be traced to the efforts of several Hawaiian language professors at the University of Hawai‘i who provided the initial tremors that eventually rippled outward affecting the entire community. While some members of the academy have spurred the

movement to revitalize the Hawaiian language, the academy, itself, has been one of the most obstinate and persistent impediments to progress.

The ecology of the Hawaiian language has always been the focal point of this movement and serves as the primary focus of this article. Constant struggle has accompanied efforts to find a permanent home for Hawaiian at the University of Hawai‘i and the various domains encompassed by it. Moreover, the success of the movement is not necessarily achieved by the mere attainment of space in which Hawaiian might reside; such space must be recognized as equally valuable and of equal status to that of English. Over the years, the academy has been very reluctant to surrender such space to Hawaiian. In general, no space is ever surrendered without struggle, and the minimal space that has been gained by Hawaiian in the academy is space that is perceived to be of little or no cost to the ecology of English. In many of the examples I will be citing in this article, the space that has been yielded is still occupied by English and not solely available to Hawaiian. The surrender of space to Hawaiian has never been unconditional. It has always been handed over under the academy's terms and at considerable compromise on the part of advocates for Hawaiian.

Official Languages of the State

The Hawai‘i State Constitutional Convention of 1978 culminated, in part, with the inclusion of an amendment to the state constitution designating Hawaiian and English as the two official languages of the state. The official status that has been accorded the Hawaiian language has been invoked on numerous occasions to support arguments for the expansion of domains of use available to it. What is often excluded from such discourse is the codicil to the amendment that protects the hegemonic relationship that obtains between English and Hawaiian, insuring that any counter hegemonic movement can be stifled before gaining any real momentum. The codicil states, "Whenever there is found to exist any radical and irreconcilable difference

between the English and Hawaiian versions of any of the laws of the State, the English version shall be held binding.” (Hawai’i State Constitution, 1978). Many people intimately involved in the movement to revitalize the Hawaiian language are completely unaware of this fact. They do not realize that the state, by creating this escape clause, manages to appear to be a benevolent supporter of linguistic human rights at one level, while reserving, at another level, the right to escape any burdensome, language-related responsibility to the indigenous segment of the community.

Linguistic Human Rights

In many ways, this half-hearted *de jure* support of the Hawaiian language in the state constitution is symbolic of a bigger phenomenon. On December 18, 1992, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. Article 4 of the declaration includes several sections that guide the policies of its member states with regard to minority languages:

- 4.2. States shall take measures to create favorable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where specific practices are in violation of national and contrary to international standards.
- 4.3. States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, persons belonging to minorities have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.
- 4.4. States should, where appropriate, take measures in the field of education, in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities existing within their territory. Persons belonging to minorities should have adequate opportunities to gain knowledge of the society as a whole (United Nations General Assembly, 1992).

The wording in these sections of Article 4 is clearly riddled with opportunities for the various member states to escape their responsibilities to their minority citizenry.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995) raise several questions about the meanings of certain phrases such as “appropriate measures” and “adequate opportunities;” and about who determines what is “possible.” They also point out the ambiguity inherent in the phrasing concerning “instruction in the mother tongue” (i.e., whether this means that the mother tongue is to be the medium or the subject of instruction). Similar questions can be raised about the language in 4.2 and 4.4. But it is not surprising that the language is so loosely constructed. After all, how many of the representatives at the United Nations are members of minority groups of the states they represent? The only question here is whether the noncommittal nature of the wording derives from economic or logistic concerns, or from a hegemonic ideology that veils an underlying current of linguicism¹ (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990).

Linguicism, Discrimination, and Merit

Skutnabb-Kangas (1990) suggests that ethnicism and linguicism are the new more subtle forms of racism that pervade society today. She defines these as “ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups defined on the basis of race/ethnicity/language” (p. 77). With race no longer a tenable or viable criterion on which to base discriminatory practices, ethnicity and language have replaced it as more legitimate avenues for maintaining imbalances in the distribution of power and resources. These new avenues allow for the maintenance of the ideology of English with relative impunity. Dorian (1998) suggests something more than the mere dominance of English:

Europeans who came from polities with a history of standardizing and promoting just one high-prestige speech form carried their “ideology of contempt” for subordinate languages with them when they conquered far-flung territories, to the serious detriment of indigenous languages. (p. 9)

The use of language as a means to discriminate against certain groups of people is insidiously clever in that it is

¹ Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) argues that racism is being replaced by a more sophisticated form of discrimination, linguicism. This uses the languages of different groups as defining criteria for hierarchization.

clouded by so many other issues that the immorality of it is completely obscured. It is not, a priori, considered inappropriate to use language as a criterion for awarding people with the perquisites and benefits available to the members of society. In fact, the ability to use a certain type of linguistic code is viewed as a completely acceptable criterion for determining who should and should not receive such awards. It is deemed acceptable for the simple fact that linguistic ability is one of the prime determinants of merit, and merit has always been acceptable as a reason for awarding some and not others. Merit, insofar as language is concerned, is related to issues of relative ability and the effort expended in order to acquire that ability. A person who has acquired the ability to use a particular form of language proficiently is considered to be deserving of award based on merit. The insidious part of this practice is that the particular form of language that serves as the target of acquisition efforts is promoted by the dominant group to a position of superiority over all other languages in society. Not surprisingly, that form of language and the language used by the dominant group are one and the same. The dominant group is in the best position to promote its own language as superior to all other competing languages. In Wong (1999), I made a similar argument for the promotion of a particular version of a language as being superior to others based on authenticity.

The predisposition of the Hawaiian community (as well as many others) to accept binary standards as legitimate, has made it possible for the promoters with the greatest economic and political means to establish positions of authority from which to define authenticity and use that definition to promote their versions of language to be more authentic and therefore superior to others. The dominance of the promoter, therefore, is perpetuated, along with the authority to define his or her own superiority.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995) describe a new form of social Darwinism that predicts the survival of the fittest languages. This suggests that any language that can survive over time must have been able to do so because of some inherent fitness that protects it from obsolescence. A language lost is viewed as having been too weak to resist the natural process that ultimately leads to obsolescence. Thus, there is no one to blame for the demise of such languages. They simply succumb to this natural process. But Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995, p. 104) point out that the

process is supported by the "hegemony of the dominant group" that deprives minority languages of "resources and a fair chance to survive." The demise of minority languages under these conditions is thus a matter of course and the prophecy is fulfilled by the acts of the prophet. The various member states of the United Nations can claim to be supportive of linguistic human rights without actually providing real support.

Thus racism is succeeded by ethnicism and linguisticism, and the perpetuation of these, in turn, is rationalized as being part of the natural order that governs the ecology of "living" things. A language that is unable to maintain or attract users is viewed as weak and, therefore, deserving of its ultimate fate (i.e., being abandoned by its speakers in favor of a language that is perceived to offer more opportunities for a better life). Is there a place to cast blame here? Does non-support of minority languages constitute an act of racism? Is it linguisticism? A rationale for legitimate forms of discrimination can be constructed on the basis of merit and supported by policies that create a semblance of altruistic motives with regard to the recognition and acceptance of the linguistic human rights of minority groups. These strategies are designed to maintain the status quo, which clearly features the hierarchical organization of ethnic groups and, by the principle of transitivity, their languages. Complementing such strategies is the ruse of conceding a minimal amount of space here and there which is designed not so much to reconcile injustice, but to appease the marginalized group. Such concessions are perceived to be major victories by the marginalized groups but generally come at minimal cost to the dominant group.

Arguments in support of linguistic human rights are most compelling in situations involving indigenous minority languages. Devastated by colonialism, indigenous languages such as Hawaiian desperately seek any reprieve from annihilation. The Hawaiian language has no other homeland to which its speakers might return in search of their roots. Hawaiians cry out, thirsting for restitution, but are at the mercy of the dominant group; a direct descendant of their colonizer. Restitution, however, is doled out one drop at a time while Hawaiian throats grow increasingly parched, unable to produce indigenous sounds. Relief is nowhere in sight; even at a time that is labeled "post-colonial." Smith (1999) points out that the label "post-colonial" is often misused to characterize a situation involving an ongoing process of decolonization.

The term “post-colonial” suggests that the colonizer has packed up and gone, or is no longer in control. This is clearly not the case in Hawai‘i. Efforts to decolonize are continuous and progress is slow:

Decolonization, once viewed as the formal process of handing over the instruments of government, is now recognized as a long-term process involving the bureaucratic, cultural, linguistic and psychological divesting of colonial power. (p. 98)

Power, however, is not the kind of thing that is given up willingly. It does not have to be. Those who hold power determine what has to be.

The Institution as Contested Ground

The apparent advances the Hawaiian language has made into the domain of higher education have occurred only because they have been allowed to occur. Not unlike the United Nations Declaration and the Hawai‘i state statute concerning official languages, language that guides policy at the level of the academy has been crafted loosely with the possibility of wide latitude in interpretation. Could this be a case of racism, ethnicism, and/or linguicism? What is the intent behind the noncommittal stance at this level? Although the academy as an institution cannot be thought of as having its own intention, it does, however, have a mission, along with objectives and goals. These are programmed into the system by its constituent faculty, which is a collection of individuals, each of whom comes equipped with intent. At the University of Hawai‘i, Hawaiians are glaringly underrepresented in that collection of individuals and, as such, have little input with regard to programming the system and influencing the direction its mission shall take. Moreover, where there is no specific written policy that guides decisions on issues such as the use of Hawaiian, individual members of the collective are imbued with ample latitude within which to interpret the mission of the institution as they see fit.² Administrative duties are often handled on a rotating basis, and depending on the individual currently occupying a particular decision making position, a wide ranging continuum of support and opposition can result. The fact that Hawaiians have been traditionally excluded from these positions magnifies the difficulty of the struggle over space for Hawaiian language in the academy. It is important to recognize that, while the system has no intent, it also has no compassion or fear. To point

an accusatory finger at the institution accomplishes little, as there is no way to condemn something that has no soul. It is the individual responsible for making certain decisions on and interpretations of institutional policy who has the intent and, presumably, the soul. It is also the individual who uses the soulless institution as a shield that provides immunity from accountability. It is the individual who must be held accountable. It is the individual who fears condemnation; assuming there is a soul to condemn.

Sites of Language Struggle in the Institution

The University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Strategic Plan

One of the more recent sites of struggle has been the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa’s strategic plan (University of Hawai‘i, 2002a), *Defining Our Destiny*. This plan was formulated to provide general guidance in all aspects and activities of the Mānoa campus. To some extent it reflects the University of Hawai‘i System Strategic Plan (University of Hawai‘i, 2002b), *Entering the University’s Second Century*, that extends beyond the Mānoa campus to encompass the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo and numerous community colleges throughout the state. The system-wide strategic plan includes language that is very supportive of Hawaiian language and Hawaiian cultural values.

The Mānoa strategic plan (University of Hawai‘i, 2002a) begins with the promise of similar support. The vision statement represents the “hopes and dreams of many of us at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa” (p. 2):

Mānoa is a leading research institution whose scholars are leaders in their disciplines and whose students are prepared for leadership roles in society. Mānoa strives for excellence in teaching, research, and public service. Mānoa is an innovative institution comfortable with change. Mānoa celebrates its diversity and uniqueness as a Hawaiian center of learning. We build on our strengths including our unparalleled natural environment and tradition of outstanding Asia-Pacific scholarship. (p. 3)

But this is where the similarity ends. In contrast to the system-wide strategic plan, the Mānoa plan, as it initially

² I am grateful to Michael L. Forman (Professor, Linguistics Department, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa) for pointing this out to me.

appeared in draft form, was virtually devoid of language celebrating the uniqueness of the Mānoa campus as a Hawaiian center of learning. Realizing the importance of including similar language in the Mānoa strategic plan before it was ever fleshed out, several members of the Hawaiian language faculty attended a session at which input from various segments of the campus community was solicited on significant issues; the assumption being that this input would be included in the final version of the strategic plan. A multitude of Hawaiian-related issues was raised at the time, but months later, when the revised version of the plan was sent to the Hawaiian language department with a request that it be translated into Hawaiian, there was nothing in the document calling for support of Hawaiian language. There was only one bullet relating to Hawaiian culture. It was contained in the section on culture, making it a strategic imperative of the University to “Celebrate the renaissance of Hawaiian culture” (p. 11). Apparently, the intention of having the document translated into Hawaiian was supposed to be part of the “celebration.” The real question is whether or not such an act constitutes real support.

In a meeting between Hawaiian language faculty members and Chancellor Peter Englert, the issue was raised concerning the divergence of the Mānoa plan from the system-wide plan with regard to support for Hawaiian language and culture. Chancellor Englert agreed that a couple of bullets could be added to the Mānoa strategic plan to reconcile it with the system-wide plan. The Hawaiian Language faculty was asked to create the new bullets and submit them to the office of the Vice Chancellor which had been charged with overseeing the project. We, of course, viewed this as an opportunity to craft powerful wording in support of our own perceived mission, and thus proceeded to take some latitude of our own by creating three bullets comprised of long sentences with everything we could think of to include. Not surprisingly, a counter proposal was returned to us in which our language had been pared down to the bone, leaving just two short sentences. They were as follows:

“Promote the study of Hawaiian language and culture.”

“Support advanced research and scholarship on Hawaiian language and culture.”³

It was, needless to say, disappointing to see our issues

reduced to such minimal coverage that might easily be lost in the larger document. This type of coverage was, however, in keeping with the rest of the document in that no other area had any more specific language attached to it. Understanding this, our only remaining major concern was with the exclusion of wording in support of Hawaiian education. After another round of negotiation, however, the word “education” was included in the first bullet to read “Promote the study of Hawaiian language, culture, and education.” Despite our request that the same adjustment be made to the second bullet, it remained unchanged (University of Hawai‘i, 2002a).⁴

Even though most of our issues were subsumed under these two bullets we remained concerned with the degree of latitude available for non-performance on the part of officials so inclined. Our initial petition stressed support for the use of Hawaiian throughout the campus and across the wider community. The language in the bullets falls short of this important category of support. It makes the Hawaiian language a topic for study and research only and not a medium within which study and research can be conducted. Also absent from these bullets is any support for the use of Hawaiian in domains outside the subjects of study and research.

To be fair, the Mānoa strategic plan is very new and is intended to be a living document that can be adapted easily to change in its environment. The fact that its vision includes a commitment to making the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa “a Hawaiian center of learning” (University of Hawai‘i, 2002a, p. 3) is encouraging. The celebration of Hawaiian knowledge at Mānoa was never part of the administration’s discourse before the arrival of President Evan Dobbelle and Chancellor Englert; the very first chancellor ever appointed specifically to manage the Mānoa campus. One very noticeable result of this appointment is that, for the first time, a line of communication has been opened between Hawaiian entities on the Mānoa campus and the University administration. Under this type of leadership, there is new hope that Hawaiians will finally have a voice in defining our own destiny. In reality, however, the actual commitment that the institution makes to Hawaiian language, culture, and education remains to be seen. The institution is a classic bureaucracy consisting of many individuals each holding

³ This was received in an email from the office of the Vice Chancellor on October 29, 2002.

⁴ This information can be accessed at www.uhm.hawaii.edu/vision.

reign over a small domain. The efforts of a few highly ranked individuals to effect change, as in this new commitment to Hawaiian interests, can be stymied by an old guard that is loath to recognize the rights of the indigenous people of Hawai'i.

In hindsight, it appears that the specific language we had hoped to include in the bullets would have called too much attention to this radical change to the culture of the university. Those factions who do not support Hawaiian issues might have chosen to put up opposition to such change. It could be argued that the decision to submit language that promotes Hawaiian concerns in a more general way turns out to be astute, considering the wording encountered no opposition and is now a part of the document. Although the inherent latitude in the wording of the Mānoa strategic plan leaves open the possibility for non-support, it also opens an avenue for support that did not previously exist. Proponents of Hawaiian-related issues are able to invoke the vision statement and the strategic imperatives as mandates for support that have been validated by the university community as defining our destiny.

The University of Hawai'i Style Guide

In the struggle to gain space for Hawaiian, some sites are more strategically valuable than others. In recent years, the University of Hawai'i has adopted policy encouraging the correct spelling of Hawaiian words appearing in University documents. The University of Hawai'i Style Guide (University of Hawai'i, 2002c) has deemed that "correct spelling" requires the inclusion of the symbols for glottal stops ('okina) and macrons (kahakō). Whether or not the inclusion of these marks is universally accepted in the Hawaiian speaking community as correct is debatable. Some people feel that the inclusion of these marks actually denigrates the "traditional" orthography and is anything but "correct." Although it is tempting to explore this line of thought, it is better left to another discussion. For now, it should suffice to say that this "space" that has been gained, although ostensibly supportive of Hawaiian language, is not a highly contested piece of ground that one would exert maximum effort to attain.

In what is shaping up to be the modus operandi of policy makers in the public arena, an escape clause has been attached to this policy as well. It states, "However, it is better to omit glottals and macrons than to sprinkle them like so

much salt and pepper in your publication" (p. 13). I take this to mean that an author is advised to use the marks consistently or not use them at all. Interestingly enough, the word kahakō is spelled without the macron (i.e., kahako) in the style guide, while the word 'okina is spelled with the glottal stop. While the use of Hawaiian orthography is "encouraged," this inconsistency would appear to violate the policy as written. This instantiation is symbolic of the superficial nature of support for Hawaiian in the institution.

The Diplomacy of Diplomas

By the time spring commencement of the class of 1995 rolled around, another concession had been made allowing students the option of receiving their diplomas either in Hawaiian or English, or one of each. This privilege was not a simple matter of choice. An unforeseen problem had arisen on at least two occasions when students wished to opt solely for the Hawaiian version. It is not clear whether this was driven by political, social, or economic reasons, but it resulted in the establishment of an extra document⁵ that would accompany the application for diploma. This document, which has been used since then, is in essence a waiver releasing the University of Hawaii at Manoa Admissions and Records Office⁶ from the responsibility of verifying the language in the Hawaiian document. Obviously, no reciprocal waiver was required of students who wished to opt only for the English version. The ostensive rationale for this requirement was that the Hawaiian version of the diploma might not be honored at face value by potential employers. Moreover, the office staff would not be able to support the graduate by verifying his or her claim vis-à-vis the actual degree that had been conferred.

It would seem that any doubts as to the veracity of such a claim could have easily been resolved by a quick check of the student's file. The waiver solution does nothing to support the student, nor does it support Hawaiian language in any way. Other, more supportive, solutions were not considered. For example, a list of translations could be kept on file for the purposes of verification. It would also be possible to hire someone with proficiency in the Hawaiian language to serve on the staff. This particular scenario illustrates another

⁵ The form is called: "Statement to be Signed by Students Who Request Hawaiian Language Only Version of the Diploma" (University of Hawai'i).

⁶ In omitting the diacritical marks on the words "Hawaii" and "Manoa" in their official waiver release form, the Admissions and Records Office has apparently chosen to abstain from both salt and pepper.

form of challenge within the institution. On one level, the Hawaiian language is supported by the mere fact that the option is available. At the level of implementation, however, there are a range of possible courses of action to take and, to date, the most non-supportive of these choices has been executed.

Research Languages

There is one particular domain of the university from which Hawaiian is clearly excluded—the academic. For example, one of the requirements for attaining a doctoral degree in Linguistics is that each candidate must “demonstrate competence” in two languages other than his or her native language. One of these languages must be in the “research-tool” category. According to the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Catalog (University of Hawai‘i, 2002d):

A “research-tool language” should be one of the major languages of the world in which there is ample published material on linguistic topics; Chinese, English, French, German, Japanese, Russian, or Spanish. Students should demonstrate their ability to read linguistic materials in one of these languages. (p. 137)

The policy, as written, clearly indicates this to be a closed list and, despite being the indigenous language of Hawai‘i and one of the state’s two official languages, Hawaiian does not make the list. It would be ironic if the ambiguity of the language in this policy were to benefit proponents of Hawaiian in this particular context. It is not clear, for example, what is meant by “major languages of the world.” Another point of contention centers around what can be considered as “linguistic topics,” and whether or not these are “ample.” It would be interesting to find out who took the time to read the plethora of materials written in Hawaiian to determine that not enough of these could be considered to cover “linguistic topics.”

Style & Policy Manual for Theses and Dissertations

Another policy illustrative of the superficial nature of the support offered to Hawaiian can be found in the Style & Policy Manual for Theses and Dissertations (University of Hawai‘i, 2002e) put out by the University of Hawai‘i Graduate Division. Section 1.2 under Procedures reads as follows:

The thesis or dissertation must be written in English or in Hawaiian. All Graduate Division requirements must be met. The thesis or dissertation must be read and approved by the committee. If the paper is written in Hawaiian, an abstract in English must also be provided. (p. 1)

Here again, what appears on the surface to be a policy that is highly supportive of the use of Hawaiian language at the academy, under closer examination, reveals that support to be vacuous and its enforcement escapable. The fact that so few tenured faculty at the University of Hawai‘i are able to read Hawaiian, even at an elementary level, can preclude a masters or doctoral candidate from writing a thesis or dissertation in Hawaiian for the obvious reason that he or she would be unable to field a committee capable of providing such support. Most departments have very specific requirements describing how a committee can be constituted. One member who is unable to read the Hawaiian could force the abandonment of any such project. Furthermore, and perhaps more revealing, this practice is evidence of the insidious forces that work to maintain the hegemony of English. The requirement of an abstract written in English to accompany the Hawaiian thesis or dissertation suggests symbolically that Hawaiian is not legitimate, unless it is connected to English in some way. As in the case of the diploma written in Hawaiian, there is no reciprocal requirement stating that a thesis or dissertation written in English be accompanied by an abstract written in Hawaiian.

Personnel Policies and Procedures

There are many other examples of superficial support for Hawaiian language, many of which deal more with Hawaiian “ways of speaking”⁷ than with the part of Hawaiian language that is recognized by vocabulary and grammatical rules. Rules for academic writing in English that hold writing styles that employ redundancy and extensive use of passive to be inappropriate or problematic, do not accord with Hawaiian ways of using language. The expectation that individuals promote themselves and their work in order to gain promotion or to obtain funding also violates Hawai-

⁷ Hymes (1996, p. 33) speaks of the “repertoire” of a group as comprising a set of “ways of speaking.” Ways of speaking, in turn, comprise speech styles, on the one hand, and contexts of discourse, on the other, together with relations of appropriateness obtaining between styles and contexts.”

ian ways of using language. For this reason, Hawaiians tend to have difficulties achieving success within the institution even when vying for positions to teach their own heritage language. For example, during a hiring procedure, it is considered discriminatory to invoke the phrase “native speaker” to highlight language competence. This practice serves to maintain the hegemony of English.⁸

The School Newspaper: *Ka Leo o Hawai‘i*

There is one final site of language struggle centrally related to this discussion. It involves the publication of Hawaiian language articles in the school newspaper, *Ka Leo o Hawai‘i*. This name is translated as “The Voice of Hawai‘i.” The primary issue germane to this discussion relates to the struggle over whether or not a translation must be provided along with an article written in Hawaiian. Again, and quite predictably, no reciprocal requirement has ever been discussed for articles written in English. The nature of the school paper is such that the longevity of its staff corresponds to the tenure of students at the university. The editor serves for a term of only one year before being replaced. Policies are not set with regard to the Hawaiian language issue but are decided on an ad hoc basis by the editor. In the struggle over this particular site, proponents of Hawaiian language have encountered a range of attitudes, from outright refusal to print articles written in Hawaiian, to various levels of acceptance of Hawaiian based on how much English is required to accompany it, to acceptance of articles written solely in Hawaiian. The current editor, for example, has been encouraging students to send in articles and letters written in Hawaiian without requiring translations. This most recent scenario promotes a certain amount of optimism for those who are pro-Hawaiian; at least until next year.

Conclusion

It should be noted that there is a consistency in the theme that connects the examples discussed. That is, policies ostensibly supportive of Hawaiian language and its inclusion in various domains of use at the academy are, in fact, superficial and in some cases, vacuous. Because they are loosely worded and ambiguous, they allow for wide latitude in interpretation and offer every opportunity for the evasion of support. Although these policies appear to make room for the inclusion of Hawaiian at the academy, Hawaiian is clearly

not accorded parity with English. Indeed, more insidiously, the collective membership of the academy can appear to be sensitive to, and supportive of, the right of the indigenous people of Hawai‘i to use and learn their language, while leaving ample room to evade the issue and retreat from any real support. Nonetheless, these policies are “on the books” and time will tell the amount of true support that can be derived from their existence. In English it is said that the proof is in the pudding. In Hawaiian, we say, “Hō a‘e ka ‘ike he‘enalu i ka hokua o ka ‘ale.”⁹ [Sorry, no translation available.]

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⁸ These examples, although supportive of the present discussion and deserving of elaboration, will simply be noted here as such in the interest of brevity.

⁹ This is an ‘ōlelo no‘eau, or proverbial saying (see Pukui, 1983, p. 108).

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Ua Ahu Ka Alaala A Pae Ma Kula: I Aha Auanei Ke Kula Nui O Hawaii Ma Manoa E Pono Ai Na Haumana Kula Nui E Lilo Ana I Kumu Kaiapuni Olelo Hawaii.

G. Kalehua Krug, M.Ed.

College of Education, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2004

Olelo Mua

Hui! He aloha no a he aloha e na makamaka mai ka paepae kapu o Umi a i ka paepae kapu o Hiiaka, aloha hoi e na kanu o ka aina. He mea e no hoi ke aloha o kahi mea kakau no ka pono o keia paeaina aloha o kakou. He nani ia, o nei pae kuu kulaiwi, he hu pu no ke aloha no na mamoo o keia aina, o ia hoi, na kamalii. Ma loko no o ke kino nui o keia pepa nei e ike ai kakou, e na hoa heluhelu, i ke ano kupilikii o ka kakou poe kamalii e waiho nei ma na kula aupuni o keia au. Kaino ma o ke Kula Kaiapuni Olelo Hawaii e hoala ae ai kakou i ua mea o ka naauao Hawaii i mea hoi e ola ai na iwi. Eia ka ke pau nei ke akamai o ua poe kamalii nei i ka moloa o kakou. I loko no o ko kakou hooikaika ana ma ke kula, o ia mau pilikia no. Oiai he kumuhana nui keia o ka hoaloalo ia ana maila e Polopeka ma a pela hoi me na kumu e kai nei, aole no o keia kahi e mikolohua ai ka olelo a nanea ai hoi ka noonoo. No laila, aia ke kele pono o ko kakou waa a hookele ia mai keia moana nui akea me ke kuupau hoi ma na ale o ke kai hohonu.

He aha la hoi ke kumu e pilikia nei na haumana Hawaii ma na kula aupuni a me na kula kaiapuni hoi? No ke aha e pilikia nei na kula e ku nei ma na aina hoopulapula Hawaii? O ia mea hookahi ka mea i noii ia aku nei ma neia pepa. Ma ka ili e lana ai kekahi olelo hoahewa e laha mai nei, o ia hoi, o na kumu no ke kumu e pilikia nei na keiki ma na kula. O na ohana Hawaii kekahi mea e ae e hoahewa ia nei. Eia no nae ke Kula Nui ke mau maila ma ke kulana hemolele, kina ole. Palanaio! I pilikia na kula i na kumu e ku nei, o wai la hoi ha na mea nana lakou i ao mai? Ma laila no au i hoomaka ai i ko'u imi noii ana. Nana aku nei hoi i na polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu ma ke Kula Nui o Hawaii ma Manoa. Niele aku nei au i kekahi polopeka i hana akula ma kekahi polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu Kaiapuni Olelo Hawaii a hoomanao aela au i ko'u wa i ia polokalamu hookahi. I mea wale no keia e ike ai i ka pono a me ka ole o na polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu ma ke

Kula Nui o Hawaii ma Manoa nana e hoomakaukau i na kumu kula kaiapuni.

O S. Noeau Warner, Ph.D., ka polopeka i niele ia ma o na ninau, a o au ka haumana Kula Nui i komo kona mau manao i keia pepa. Komo aku nei au i ka polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu kaiapuni olelo Hawaii ma ke Kula Nui ma Manoa. O ka huina no ia o ke Kula Nui a me ke Kula Kaiapuni o Anuenue. Koho ia aku nei o Noeau ma muli o kona makaukau ma ka ike hoonaaauao a me ka olelo Hawaii. Aole i hiki i na alakai elua o makou ke olelo Hawaii, o ia no ke kumu i koho ole ia ai.

E hoike ia ana ma lalo iho nei ka olelo a kekahi mau kanaka e pa-u mau nei i loko o ia hana nui, o ia hoi, ka hapai ana i ka olelo makua, ka olelo kanaka o keia pae aina o Hawaii, a pela me ka naauao e ku ana i ke ano o ka wa ma mua. Ninau ia aku nei hoi kekahi mau ninau i pili no ka hoonaaauao ana i na haumana ma ke Kula Nui i ike ai kakou, e na mea heluhelu, i na mea i hana ia aku nei a me na mea e mau nei no ma ke Kula Nui i keia manawa e nee nei. E waiho no kakou i keia mahele hoolauna a hookele pu mai i loko o ia kai hohonu a ka waa e kele nei.

Ka Ninau Ana

He aha na lahui ou?

Noeau: He hapa Hawaii, he hapa haole, he hapa Pake a he hapa Kepani.

Kalehua: He Hawaii, he Pukiki a kekahi mau ano haole e ae.

O ka lahui hea oe e pili loa ai?

Noeau: Ka Hawaii. Ma ko'u wa liilii ua manao makou ohana he Hawaii makou.

Kalehua: O ka Hawaii wale no ka'u mea i ike ai. Ua hala ka hapa nui o ko'u ohana ma ka aoao Pukiki ma mua o ko'u oo ana, no laila, o ka Hawaii ka'u e pili loa nei.

He aha kou manaʻo no ke ao kula ana a me kou manaʻo i ia mea he kumu kaiapuni makaukau?

Noeau: Okoa kekahi aoao a okoa kekahi aoao. Iaʻu e noho haumana ana, o kaʻu papa ekahi, o ia kela manawa a maua o Kalani Wise i koho ai i ka papa, hoomaopopo au e nana ana maua i ka papainoa o na kumu, a aelike maua e komo i kekahi papa e ao ia e ka Hawaii. E imi ana maua i na inoa Hawaii ma kela papa. Aohe wahi inoa Hawaii. Aka nui na inoa haole. Loaa mai kekahi inoa o Wahilani. O Pikake Wahilani ia i kela manawa a ua lilo o Pikake o ia kaʻu kumu mua. O ka mea hoihoi o kona ao ana mai ia makou, o ia ke ano o kona ao ana mai. O ke ano o kona aloha ana mai ia makou i kela me keia la, aole i like me na kumu e ae i kamaaina iaʻu. O ia ka mea i pa ai koʻu naau, a manaʻo ihola au he mea ano hoihoi keia. Noʻu iho, aole au i ike i keia ano kumu ma mua. Ua hoomau aku au i ke ao i ka olelo Hawaii ma muli o kona ano. A ma hope o ia wa, ua hoomau au, aole me ka manaʻo e lilo i kumu, aka me ka manaʻo e ao mai i keia mea he olelo Hawaii. No ke ao ana aku ma ke ano he kumu kula, o ka pilikia nui, he nui hewahewa na mea i koi ia e ao aku ai i na keiki. A aole nui ka manawa no laila hoahu ia a nui na haawina ma luna o na haumana. Noʻu iho, ina noonoo oe ma ke ano he haumana, a hele mai kekahi kanaka a kau keia paila nui ma luna ou aole paha oe e hauoli ana. O ka pilikia nui o keia poe kumu, ina paha lakou e manaʻo ma ka paila ana e ko ai ke ao. Manaʻo au ina no e noonoo lakou ma ke ano he haumana, ma laila e loaa ai kahi haina. O koʻu manaʻo, ke ao au e like me ke ano aʻu e makemake ai, o ka mea nui, oia ka hooihoihoi ana i ka haawina, o kekahi hoi e ao mau i na haawina like ole i loko o kekahi poaiapili i maopopo a kamaaina i na haumana. Pela lakou e hoihoi ai i ka ike ma loko mai o kela mea. Ina aole no kamaaina ka hana e hana ai, he hana nui no lakou. Makemake au e hana ia ka mea e kamaaina ia lakou, a pela e ao ai. O ia paha kahi mea nui noʻu.

Kalehua: O koʻu manaʻo no ke ao ana. Hu, he paakiki. O na manaʻo mua oʻu, o ia na manaʻo e ku ana i ka haole. Ke hoomaka wale nei no au i ka ike ana i ka hoonaaauo o na kupuna. Ua okoa. Aole hiki ia kakou ke hoopili a like loa aka he kupono ka nana nui ana i ka lakou mea i hana ai i mea hoi e kokua ai i na keiki. Aia no ko kakou holomua

a nana pono kakou i na mea Hawaii io e ku ahuwale nei i mua o kakou, o na mea hoi ia a lakou kupuna i waiho maila na kakou..... O ke akamai o ke keiki, aole lakou nana i kau olelo, nana lakou ia oe i kau hana. Aole e hiki ke hoopunipuni ia lakou. O keia koʻu manaʻo nui, ua akamai mua na keiki a pau a na na kumu e hoopau i ia akamai. Aole o lakou pilikia i ka lawa ole o ka haawina, pilikia i na ano haawina. Noho, hoolohe, makaala, haawina pepa wale no e like loa me ka ka haole e olelo ai i ka lumi. Ahea e ao maoli ai? Aia no ia i ke kumu. Pehea lakou e ao ai maia oe mai ina aole lakou hoihoi ia oe a i kau mau haawina? O ia no koʻu manaʻo. Hoomanao au i na keiki, he ano Hawaii ko lakou, he ano kanaka kupono ko lakou, a laila, na haawina. O na pepa hoomaamaa a me na hana manaka e ae, o ia ka mea hope loa e ao ai. Aia no ko lakou aapo ana i ka makou haawina a aloha makou kekahi i kekahi a ike lakou i na kuleana. O ke aloha kekahi mea e koe maoli nei mai ka wa ma mua loa mai a keia manawa. He kuleana ke aloha. A ike na keiki i ia mea, no laila, aole e hiki ke hoopunipuni.

He aha ke ano o na polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu au i pili ai ma mua a i aha auanei ke ano kula nui e pono ai na haumana o ia mau polokalamu?

Noeau: Maopopo ia oe ua hana makou, kakou, i keia mea he immersion cohort, he hoomaka wale no ia, aka, o ka oiaio, aia au i loko o laila me kekahi poe o ke kula hoonaaauo nana i kokua i kela ano papa keia ano papa. No laila o ia mau no kona ano he kula haole. O kaʻu mea e hoihoi nei, e hoomaka i papahana hou aka aole me kela poe a makou i hana mua ai. Manaʻo au e hana me kekahi poe e ae e oi aku ka pili o ka manaʻo a pahuho pu paha. Noʻu iho kekahi, o kaʻu hana e hana nei he pili i ka hoololi ana i ke ano o ka hoonaaauo ana. Ma laila koʻu hoihoi loa. Makemake au e ao i na papa pili loa i kela. Ma kekahi aoao, pono e loaa ka ike, no ka manawa, o ka poe akamai loa o ke kula hoonaaauo, hoomaka ma laila ma na mea haole a i loko no o ka hana pu ana o kakou, makemake au na kakou ka poe i ike i ka olelo Hawaii e hoomaka ma kona wahi a kukulu i ike hou. He mea pono ka noii ana i mea e hana ai i ike hou a i papahana hou paha. Pela paha e hiki ai ke hooikaika loa ia. Na kakou e hoomaka e hana i na haawina hou, a hookomo ia lakou i loko o na kula. A laila, e nana a ike i ka holomua

a me ka ole. E like me ka'ū i olelo ai, o ka mea nui o kela mau theory, hiki ke hoonaauao ia na keiki a pau ma o na olelo like ole la o ka honua nei. Aole wale no ma ka olelo haole. Ma mua, e kaena ana ka poe Palani, o ka olelo Palani wale no ka olelo nui koikoi o ka honua nei. Auhea lakou i keia manawa? Hiki no ke hana ia ma o na olelo a pau, aka, o ka pilikia, aole lawa ke kakoo a me ke kala e hana ai i na haawina a me ka noii ana no ka olelo Hawaii. Nui ke kala ma ka haole, a he pineki wale no ma ka Hawaii. A hiki i keia minuke, aole au ike i ka papa haawina (curriculum hoi) o ka papa malaao. He mau haawina ma o ma anei, aka, aohe curriculum. No'ū, ua hiki no ke hoomaikai ia keia polokalamu a hana a ikaika loa, aka, aia ke kala i ka lima o hai.

(No ke kula hoonaauao o ke kula nui) Aloha no! O ka oiaio aole hiki ia lakou ke hana i na hana e pono ai. Hiki ia lakou ke haawi mai i ka ike i loa ia lakou no na mea haole. Aka, ina makemake lakou e kakoo nui, ho mai kela kula hookolohua ia makou. O ia kekahi mea nui. A kakoo i ke komo ana o na kanaka maoli i loko o ke kula nui e ao. O oe ana kekahi. Makaukau oe ma ka olelo. He mea nui kela. Ina he hana kope wale ana no i ka ka poe Amelika, he hoopili wale aku ana no i na mea o ke kula haole, ma loko nae o na kula Hawaii. O ia ka mea e hana ia nei i keia manawa. O ia ke kumu e awelike mai nei na keiki ma ke kula. Hemahema ka hopena o keia ano hana. Ina nana oe i ke kula haole, he haneli makahiki keia, a aole no i ao ia a paa pono ia mea he standard English i na keiki a hiki i keia manawa. No ke aha la? Hupo ka kakou poe keiki? O ia ka olelo a kekahi o lakou. O ko'ū manao, o lakou la, aole lakou ike i ke ao i ka olelo. No ke ao ana i ka olelo haole, aole maopopo ia lakou. No ke ao ana i ka olelo Hawaii, aole maopopo ia lakou. O ko'ū manao, hiki ia lakou ke hana aku e like me ka lakou e hana nei aka ina makemake lakou i ka pono, e aho e loa ke kanaka ike i ka aoao haole a me ka aoao Hawaii. Ina hoo hui ia ka ike no ka olelo a me ke ano o ka Hawaii, pela e hoololi ia ai a loa ai ka pono. Loa na mea waiwai i loko o ka naauao haole, aka pono e hoololi ia—hoo hawaii ia hoi. Ina waiho wale ia no e like me ia e ku nei (ku i ka haole), aole hiki ia lakou ke kokua. He liilii wale no ke kokua. Aka, o ka mea maoli, pono na kakou. Aole na kakou ma muli wale no o ke koko. Na kakou no ka ike i loa ia kakou a me ke ano o kakou a

me ka hilineai hoi i ka pono o na pahu hopu, e ola io no ka olelo, ke ano Hawaii a me ka naauao ma loko o na keiki a kakou.

Kalehua: Elua makahiki ko'ū noho ana ma ke kula a'ū i ao ai i ke kumu ana me ka manao, aole o keia ke ano kula kupono no ka Hawaii. He hoao. Ma ia kula mau no ke ano haole e like me ka ke Kula Nui e kakoo ana. Ao lakou e like me na kula e ae a pau a pela ka'ū i ao ai. Ao au i na mea like. Aole na lakou a pau i hana. Aia na kekahi mau kumu e kupaa ana ma ke ano he Hawaii, a he hoao no ia, maopopo ia'ū, aka aole o ia ke ano kula kupono. Like no ma ke kula a'ū e ao nei. Pilikia makou a pau i ka palale o ka olelo, ka ike ole i na mea pili Hawaii maoli, ka noonoo kekahi. Nui na mea e hooponopono ai. Ina aole hiki ia kakou ke hoomaka i ke kukulu hou ana i kahua ma ke Kula Nui e pilikia mau ana no ka mea ke lilo na haumana i kumu aia no ka Hawaii State Teachers Association a pela aku e kakoo ana i ka moloa. Hauoli ka hapanui o na kumu kula kaiapuni a'ū i ike ai i ko lakou poopoo ma ke kula me ka holomua ole ma ke ano he Hawaii. Aole makou e ike ana, ke hana ino nei kakou ia kakou iho. O ia ka makemake o ka haole a me ke Kula Nui, me he mea la ua okoa laua, i like a like kakou me ko lakou manao he pono. Paipai na polopeka, na polopeka Hawaii kekahi, o ke Kula Nui ia makou e hana i keia mau mea haole me he mea la o ia no ke kupono no kakou oiwi. Pehea la! I loko no o na kula kaiapuni, ike au i na pilikia e ahu nei. No Child Left Behind Act, na ana mokuaina, pehea la e pakele ai? Pehea la e ola ai? Ina aole kakou e eu i keia manawa, e pau ana paha na Hawaii. Kau ka weli.....

(No ke kokua o ke Kula Nui) Hiki ia lakou ke noi kokua i na Hawaii e ae o ke Kula Nui, a ina aole e lawa ma laila, imi hou i kokua no ka mea aole e hiki ia lakou ke kokua. Aole hiki ke hoonaauao ia na keiki ina me keia ke ano o na kula o keia au. Oia i ua ao wale no kakou kumu i ke ano haole ma ke Kula Nui aole e hiki ana ia kakou ke holomua me ka imi ole ana i haina hou, i haina Hawaii. Ina makemake ke Kula Nui e kokua i na Hawaii, aole paha, aka ina makemake lakou hiki no ia lakou ke hookaa i ke kuleana hoonaauao haumana kaiapuni i na kanaka no loko o ia polokalamu no ka mea aole maopopo i na kanaka o ke Kula Nui ke ano o ke kaiapuni, ua okoa. Aole maopopo i na kumu kaiapuni

kekahi, a o ia ke kumu e hoololi ai. Na ka Hawaii e alakai. Kokua kakou ia kakou iho.

I kou manao, he aha ka pilina o ke ea o ka aina me ka polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu e ku nei?

Noeau: No'u iho, na ka lahui oiwi wale no e malama i kona pono pono. Aole hiki na hai ia e malama. No ka mea, ina e lilo na ko waho ka malama ana i na mea a pau no ka pono a me ka ole o ka lahui oiwi, o ka mea wale no e ike mau ia, o ia hoi, na ko waho e malama i ka pono o ko waho, a o ka ole wale no ke loa mai i ka lahui oiwi. Pela i hana ai ko waho i na lahui oiwi no na kenekulia loihi a puni ka honua. Ua kaulana keia ano hana ma ka inoa he hookolonaio. A pela i hana ia ai ka lahui kanaka o ka pae aina nei o Hawaii. Ua hookolonaio ia kakou a ua lilo na hai ka malama ana i ko kakou pono. A hiki i keia manawa ano, ke hookolonaio ia nei kakou.

A no laila, ina paha e mau io no ke ea o keia aina i ka pono i kekahi la aku, he hookahi no alaha e pono ai, o ia hoi, e hoihoi ia mai no ke ea i na kanaka maoli. E hoihoi ia mai ke ea i lilo na ka oiwi Hawaii e malama i ko kakou poe kula, i lilo na ka oiwi wale no e malama i ko kakou poe aina (aole paha na aina a pau o Hawaii nei. Aohe keia e koikoi nei e kipaku ku ia ko waho kanaka—ke koikoi wale nei no e hoihoi ia mai kekahi o ko kakou mau aina i ka lima o na oiwi na kakou e malama a e hoohana e like me ko kakou manao he pono), i hiki na ka oiwi e hooholo i ka hoohana ia ana o ko kakou mau kai, wai a waiwai no hoi no ka pono o ko kakou poe kanaka a keiki hoi a me ka pono o na pua o keia hope aku. Aia no ka pono o ka hookele ana o kakou i ko kakou waa pono. A he pili loa keia i ko kakou olelo a me ko kakou ano a meheuheu hoi. I mea e o ai ka olelo a me ke ano o ko kakou lahui, he mea pono na kakou ka hookele ana i ko kakou mau kula. No ka mea, no na makahiki 100 a oi, ua lilo ka hoonaauao ia ana o ka kakou poe kamaiki i ka lima o hai. A na hai hoi i hooholo i ka ike e manao ia he waiwai, a me na haawina e ao ia ma na kula kamalii, kula haahaa, kula waena, kula kiekie, a Kula Nui no hoi. Na hai hoi i hooholo i ka olelo e ao ia i ka kakou poe kamaiki, a na wai no hoi lakou e ao? A he aha la ka hua o keia hoonaauao ia ana mai o ka kakou poe keiki na hai? Ua lilo ka kakou poe keiki o lakou ka oi ma na oihana kiekie i mahalo nui ia a puni ka aina? O ka kakou

poe keiki na mea i lilo o lakou na luna kanawai, na kauka lapaau, a na polopeka Kula Nui paha? Aole ka. He emi loa ka pakeneka o na Hawaii i loko o ia auna. O na pakeneka nui o ka Hawaii, o ia na mea i paa i ka hale paahao, na mea nele i ka hana ole, na mea nele i ka hale ole, na mea i mai a make e ma mua o ka wa kupono, ke hoohalike ia aku me ko na lahui e. A ma na kula, kaina paha e paa ka namu Pelekania i ka aapo ia e ka kakou poe keiki, ina e hoopoina ia ka kakou olelo oiwi, i holo mua na kamaiki Hawaii ma na Kula Nui a ma na oihana like ole a lakou e manao ai? Aole ka! Ua hala he 100 makahiki o ke ao ia ana i ka namu Pelekania a eia no ke koe iho nei ka ninau hookahi: Ua holo mua anei kakou Hawaii? O kakou makua o keia au na kamaiki o kela au i hala? He aha ka hua o ka loa ana mai? He ahu ka alaala.

A no laila, o ka mea nui e pono ai, na ka oiwi ka malama ana i na mea a pau no ka pono o ka oiwi, ina ma Hawaii a ma na wahi e aku a puni ka honua. O ia ko'u manao. Eia nae, mai no hoi a kuhihewa ke lilo na kuleana ma ka lima o ka mea koko Hawaii, ua pono kakou. E like me ia i ike ia ma na aina e aku o ka honua nei, e like hoi me ka Ngugi i ike ai ma kona home kulaiwi aloha ma Apelika, he mea pinepine a he mea maamau ka hookolonaio ana o ka oiwi i ka lakou poe iho. A penei no. Ina paha e haalele ka poe e me ka manao io e waiho na ka oiwi e hookele ko lakou aupuni, na kula, na aha hookolokolo, a pela wale aku, o ka mea maamau, aole e hookumu hou ia ke ano a me na kulana hana o ia aupuni, kula, a aha hookolokolo paha. A no laila, na na oiwi wale no e pani i na kulana hana o ia mau hale i hookumu ia e ko na aina e poe. A o wai la o ka poe oiwi ke koho ia (ma muli o ko lakou ano makaukau) i pani ma ia mau kulana hana e waiho hakahaka ana i ka haalele ana iho o na kanake e? O ka poe oiwi hoi i noho hana ma lalo o ua mau luna akahi a haalele. He mau hope paha lakou i ao ia e na mea e akahi a haalele iho nei. O ka mea apiki hoi, ma muli o ko lakou ao ia ana e ka poe e, ua hele a ane like ko lakou (oiwi) manao me ko ka poe e. A no laila, ia lakou o ka lawelawe ana i keia mau hana, he ane like hoi a like ka lakou hana me ka hana a ka poe e i haalele iho nei i ia hana. Aia wale no a naauao io nei mau oiwi i noho ma ke ano he hope ma lalo o na mea e, a ike lakou i ka pono ole o ka lakou mau hana i hana ai, a laila, e ike ia paha ka pono.

I mea e pono ai ka oiwi, he mea pono, e oiwi io ka oiwi, aole wale no ma ka mookuauhau, aka ma ka naau a ma ka hana. Aole he pono iki o ka poe hoopilimeai, o ka poe puni hanohano, a o ka poe uhai wale aku i ka meheu wawae o ka poe e. Aole ma ka lehelehe e ike ia ai ke ano Hawaii o ke kanaka. He hookahi wale no alaha e maopopo ai ke ano o ka oiwi, o ia hoi, ma kana hana. Ina he like aku ka hana a ka oiwi me ka hana a ko waho e hana ai, no waho no ke ano o ia oiwi. A ina pela, he oia mau no o ka alaala o ia hana.

He ninau koikoi loa keia no ka mea i loko no o ko kakou ano he Hawaii, ua hanai ia kakou Hawaii ma loko o ka poholima o Amelika Huipuia. A no laila, ma kekahi aoao, oiai kakou e noho kupilikii ana ma lalo o Amelika i loko o na makahiki he 100 a oi i kaahope aku, e emi liilii ana no ko kakou pili i ka ike a me ka naauao o ko kakou poe kupuna, a pela e emi liilii ana ko kakou ano Hawaii i ka hala ana o kela me keia hanauna. A ma kekahi aoao ae hoi, e pii ana ke ano haole i loko o na kamaiki o kela me keia hanauna hou o kakou, ma muli o ko lakou hanai ia ana ma lalo o Amelika, a e hoonaauao ia ana ma na kula Pelekania o ke Keena Hoonaauao o ka Panalaa ma mua a me ka Mokuaina o Hawaii i keia wa. Ua hele paha a alolua (a lololua no ka hoi paha) ko kakou ano. O kekahi, he Hawaii. O kekahi aku hoi, he Amelika. A o ka nui hou ae hoi paha, he kapa kakou ia kakou iho he Hawaii, aka, he uhai wale aku no i ke meheu wawae o ka Amelika ma ka nui o na hana a me na mana. A no laila, he mea koikoi ia kakou ke kaa ana o na kula a kakou i loko o ka lima o na oiwi oiwi o ka naau, i ao ka kakou poe kamaiki i ka ike e pono ai a e kanaka maoli ai lakou i koho lakou e hoomau i kakou olelo, ko kakou ike, a me ke ano o ko kakou poe kupuna i loko o lakou a i loko hoi o ka lakou mau pua ma keia hope aku.

A o kahi mea minamina, o ka nui o na poe no lakou ke kuleana o ka hookele ana i ka kakou poe kula kaiapuni, ke uhai wale aku nei no i ka meheu wawae o na poe e. O ka ike a me ka naauao o na kula hoonaauao o na Kula Nui, he ike a he naauao ia na ka poe haole o Amelika. O ke ano o ka lakou hoomakaukau ana i na kumu na lakou e ao i ka kakou poe kamalii, he ku i ka haole a me ka olelo Pelekania. A he pilikia io no kela. Eia nae kekahi pilikia hou ae. O ia hoi, o kekahi poe nona ke kuleana o ka hoomakaukau ana i na kumu a me

na haawina no na kula kaiapuni, ke kapa nei lakou ia lakou iho he Hawaii, a ke kapa nei lakou i ka lakou ano hana he Hawaii, eia ka, ke nana pono ia, he ku wale no ka lakou i ka haole. Aole no i okoa iki, a koe wale no he hoohana lakou i mau pupu ma kahi o na olopi haole, a he hoao lakou e hoikeike i ko lakou ano Hawaii ma na mea i kaulana ai kakou Hawaii, he hula, he oli, he mele. Aka, o ka oiaio, aohe okoa o ka lakou hana i ka ka poe e e hana nei.

A o keia ke kumu e laha nei he olelo hou mai Hawaii a Kauai ma loko no o na kula kamalii he Punana Leo a me na Kula Kaiapuni hoi. Hookahi kenekulia aku nei, na na keiki kuloko o Hawaii nei (na Hawaii, Kepani, Pake, Pukiki, a pela aku) i haku a hoolaha aku i kekahi ano olelo Pelekania hou i ike ole ia ma mua ma Hawaii a puni. A ua lilo ua olelo ala i olelo kamaaina no kakou i keia wa. He kapa ia o ia he olelo pai ai haole, o ia hoi, he Pidgin English a i ole he Hawaii Creole English wahi a na kalaiolelo. A ma muli keia o ke kupono ole o ke ao ana ma na kula. I loko no o ke kaena nui ana a ka poe e i ko lakou makaukau a ike ma ke ao i ia mea he olelo Pelekania a me na haawina o ke kula, he aha ka hua i loa mai ia kakou kanaka maoli? Ua ahu ka alaala. Ua hemahema ka kakou mau keiki i ka aapo i ka olelo Pelekania a me ka ike i koikoi ia ma ia mau kula olelo Pelekania. A aohe olelo kanaka a na kanaka maoli. No laila, he mea pono ko kakou uhai ana aku i keia poe kaena wale? Wahi a kahiko, kolea ke kolea i kona inoa iho. E makaala i ka hana a ke kolea.

A he hookahi haneli makahiki ma hope mai, eia kakou ke ike aku nei i mua o ko kakou alo, he olelo Hawaii hou e laha loa ae nei mai Hawaii a Kauai. He olelo ia i ike ole ia ma mua ma Hawaii nei. He ano olelo keia i haku ia e ka kakou poe kamaiki pono no. He ano Creole Hawaiian nae ia, ma muli no o ke kupono ole o ke ano ao ana a haawina hoi ma na kula. A i loko no o ke kaena nui ana o kekahi poe i ko lakou ano Hawaii, i ko lakou makaukau a ike hoi i ke ao i ia mea he olelo Hawaii, mai no a kuhihewa a puni wale i ka olelo a lakou. Mai poina. Ma ka hana ka ike. Ina he hemahema na keiki, he hemahema ka hana. Ua aapo ka kakou mau keiki i ka olelo Hawaii? Aole. Ua hapa mai. O ka oiaio, aia no na keiki o keia wa e haku nei i keia olelo Hawaii hou a lakou e like me kela poe keiki kuloko i hana ai he

100 makahiki aku nei i hala. A e like me ia i kela wa i hala, he mau kolea ko keia wa. Aia no ke kolea nei ma na polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu a haawina hoi. E makaala.

Kalehua: O ke ea o ka aina ka'u e kali nei. Hawanawana hoi i na manawa a pau e ho mai ka ikaika e lawa ai kanaka, i pakele ka aina mai kela kepalu nui o amelika. E olelo nui ana na kanaka Hawaii o keia au, na niu hoi. "Aole au makemake e loli ko'u nohona, maa au i keia nohona." He nawaliwali a he olelo hoaloalo. Na kakou i alakai ia kakou iho ma na makahiki he elua kaukani, a nalowale. No ke aha la e hiki ole ai ia kakou ke hana hou i keia manawa? Makau hoi ha? Ua lanakila paha ka haole. Makau kakou ia kakou iho. "Mai malama i na Akua Hawaii, weliweli." "Mai no a haalele kakou ia amelika, ke malama pono ia nei kakou." O ia ka? Ina pela, no ke aha kakou e pilikia mau nei? Ua pilikia kakou Hawaii i ka mana ole. Aia no ia ma mua o kakou, i ka wa e ola ana na kupuna, na kupuna i ike ole i ka haole. Aia i laila ka mana. Aohe o kakou mana i keia au, aka e manao ana he mana no hoi ko kakou. E ala e! Aia ka mana i ko haole lima. He palamaunu wale no ka kakou e maona ai ka opu. He ma-u no paha ia i ka ole? Aole. A ma ke kula kekahi, aole hiki ia kakou ke hana e like me ko kakou manao he pono no ka mea kauoha ia e hana e like me ke kuhi a na ana o ke keena hoonaaauo. He hale paahao kela mau ana, e like me ka Halealii o Iolani, kahi hoi i wailana ia ai o Liliuokalani e ka haole i ka wa ana i manao ai e kokua i kana poe makaaianana ma o ka haku hoi i kumukanawai hou no ke aupuni o Hawaii. Penei ko'u manao, hoomaka e loa hou ke ea i loko o ko kakou ola. Ma ka hale a ma ka ohana. Hana kakou e like me kou manao he pono, me he Hawaii la. Ina hiki ia kakou ke hana pela, e ono ana ko kakou mau waha i ke ea o ke aupuni Hawaii, no ka aina. A laila e hiki maoli ai ka holomua. A ina haule pahu paha kekahi hana, no kakou ka hewa, aole hiki ke hoahewa aku ia hai. Houluulu i ka kakou mau mea i hiolo a hoomaka hou. No kakou ia kuleana. Ke hana nei ka haole me ka holomua ole o kakou. Ua hoea mai paha ka wa e hoao ai kakou Hawaii. Ua lawa paha ko lakou ku ana i ka moku, o kakou na kahu o ka aina. O ia no ka mea nui, e ku ma luna o ko kakou aina pono. Pela pu ma ke Kula Nui. Ku ma luna, me ka manao e ko ke kuleana, ma o na polokalamu

hoomakaukau kumu. A na ka ike o ka wa i kaahope akula a me ka ike o kakou Hawaii e ola nei, na ia mea e alakai ia kakou i ke ao ana i na haumana o ke Kula Nui. He ea ia.

Panina

Aia ma ka nohona Hawaii na haina a kakou e imi nei. Eia kahi ninau e nune ai, he aha maila ka olelo i hoike ia ma loko o keia pepa nei? O na Hawaii keia ke kukala maila i na manao. Aia no ko kakou pono a ike ia ke ano pilikia o kakou. Na kakou no e hana e like me ko kakou manao he pono, a e hana pu me ka ike. Aole wale no e pono hana, me ka noonoo ole. E hana me ka ike o ka haole a me ka ike kuuna o ka poe kahiko. Ma ka huina o keia mau mea ka pono.

He aina aloha keia no kakou Hawaii. Pela pu ke aloha i na kupu o ka aina, o ia hoi na Hawaii. Ma ka wa i kunewa aku nei, he mea maamau ke kahu ia ana o ka aina o ko kakou mau hulu kahiko. Aka, i keia mau la aole ka malama ia o ko kakou mau kuleana e like me ia wa. Ma laila e hoomaka ai. Ma ke Kula Nui, e aho na na kanaka Hawaii e malama i na kuleana Hawaii. E aho hoi na na Hawaii e alakai i na polokalamu hoomakaukau kumu, no ka mea, o ke kuleana ia mai kahiko mai no a hiki i o kakou la. Aole e hiki ana i ko waho ke hoomaopopo i ka nui aloha o kakou mamu no keia aina. Aia na akua, na aumakua, na iewe a me na iwi o kakou ma anei. Aia ko kakou poe kupuna ma anei no na makahiki he eha lau a oi paha. Eia ka olelo e puka nei ma ka waha mai o ka Hawaii. Na kakou e alakai i ka kakou mau mea pono. E kaupale aku ia Mahaoi ma, no ka mea, nui ko ia ala iini e kokua mai. Aohe pono o ia ano kokua. Na ke kolea, ka manu kapalulu, i kani nui mai i ia mau makahiki i hala akula. E oo kakou i keia manawa i ala na kahu o ka aina. Aloha nui.

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Mai i te Maramatanga, ki te Putanga Mai o te Tahuritanga: From Conscientization to Transformation

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Introduction¹

Education is considered a crucial site of struggle for the redevelopment of Maori in the face of widespread high and disproportionate levels of socio-economic disadvantage. For the most part, such disadvantage has been both produced and reproduced within the social context by unequal power relations between dominant Pakeha (non-Maori, mainly European New Zealanders) and subordinated Maori. This paper reflects on innovative responses within Maori education in Aotearoa/New Zealand since the 1980s; in particular, it describes some of the critical circumstances that have led Maori to develop their own theorizing related to education. This particular indigenous theorizing has been labeled Kaupapa Maori theory (G. Smith, 1988; L. Smith, 1999).

It is important to understand the evolution of Kaupapa Maori theory within a process of praxis. Kaupapa Maori as an educational resistance strategy has grown out of an ongoing struggle that occurred within both Maori communities and Pakeha dominant institutional contexts. The notion of struggle is important in the overall development of Kaupapa Maori theory in that it connotes the thinking, commitment, and political conscientization of Maori with regard to the critical issues and understandings that needed to occur in order to make the theoretical components both robust and effective. This formative process of critical reflection and (re)development is very apparent within the research work of Maori scholars from the University of Auckland. More recently there has been a burgeoning of both literature and practical activity based on Kaupapa Maori theory from other University sites, Maori researchers, and community interest groups across New Zealand.

Before proceeding with this discussion on conscientization and transformative action within a Maori educational context, it must be clarified that the intent is not to uncritically export the Kaupapa Maori theory to other indigenous communities and contexts. One of the important principles argued around Kaupapa Maori theory is that the context in which it is being used is important; that is,

theorizing needs to evolve from and interrelate with the specific cultural context within which it is to be applied. What may be useful for other indigenous communities and groups, however, are insights into the processes, experiences, and understandings related to Maori developing indigenous theorizing as an instrument for conscientization, resistance, and transformation.

A primary emphasis in this paper is placed on developing an understanding of the process of transformation itself. Thus in order for change to occur and to be effective, there is a need to know more precisely the key transformative elements within a given strategy. We ought to know more accurately (a) how and why communities buy in to a transformative process, (b) what counts as transformation, (c) how we know that transformation has actually taken place, and (d) whether or not the transformation is truly beneficial. Thus, the significant need here is to move beyond conscientization to change through transformative praxis.

The Maori Context

The Maori are a minority population within the very land of which they are the original inhabitants. They make up approximately 15% of a total New Zealand population of around four million. Despite efforts to resist the erosion of their knowledge, language, and culture, Maori have been significantly colonized and assimilated by the dominant Pakeha society. Within education, Maori continue to experience high and disproportionate levels of crises and disadvantage. For example in 1996, 42.6% of Maori males and 35.3% of Maori females left school with no formal qualifications. This is compared with 16.9% of non-Maori males and 12.2% of non-Maori females. Furthermore, since 1992, the gap in educational success between Maori and non-Maori has been widening.

¹ At the 2002 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, the Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific Special Interest Group invited Graham Smith to present his research on the transformation of Maori education. This is his entire presentation.

The New Zealand context is made more interesting by the fact that in the 1980s the government launched headlong into neo-liberal economic reform. Many of these free market reforms were embedded within education structures and have arguably made Maori even more vulnerable to the colonizing imperatives within the education system. Although I do not wish to go into depth on this point, there is a strong correlation between the worsening statistics related to Maori performance in education and the insertion and impact of the neo-liberal education reforms. Some of the free-market reforms have proven to be extremely problematic for Maori and have been critically described as representing “new formations of colonization” (Smith, G. H. 1997). In this view, it is argued that the economic reforms have enhanced the intersection of economic exploitation and cultural oppression.

For those unfamiliar with New Zealand, the following list of demographic features will give a quick overview of the Maori situation:

- ❖ The New Zealand population is currently about 4 million people.
- ❖ Maori people make up 15% of the total New Zealand population.
- ❖ Maori were the first people to systematically inhabit the islands of New Zealand.
- ❖ It is popularly espoused that the first European explorers to “discover” New Zealand were Abel Tasman (1642) and James Cook (1769).
- ❖ The British began to settle in New Zealand around the 1800s.
- ❖ In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi between the Crown of England and Maori tribes of New Zealand was signed and formally establish British colonial presence in New Zealand.
- ❖ Historically, Maori have been colonized and assimilated into European culture.
- ❖ The church and the education system have been significant agencies for cultural assimilation.
- ❖ Maori, as a group, have the worst crisis statistics in most social indices, including health, education, imprisonment, wealth, and the like.

The Economic Context

In coming to understand the rise of Maori political consciousness and critical developments in education, it is important to appreciate the economic context that stimulated both resistance and transformative action. In particular, it is necessary to understand the history of economic reform in New Zealand since the 1980s. This reform has been generalized as “neo-liberal” economic restructuring and is also referred to as free-market reform. This restructuring of the New Zealand economy is very significant as it marked a shift from a “welfare state” to a “free market” orientation. More ominously perhaps, New Zealand, once regarded as one of the leading examples of a successful welfare state economy, was moving to reposition itself as a champion of the neo-liberal approach. This economic redirection was aided by a number of factors. Firstly, New Zealand is a relatively small-scale economy; it is an island state and is consequently geographically isolated with clearly defined ocean borders. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, New Zealand had a new Labor (ostensibly socialist-oriented) government that was willing to implement the radical reforms necessary.

The Maori population of New Zealand provides a particularly interesting case study in which to observe and understand the development of a theoretically informed resistance to the new formations of colonization embedded in the neo-liberal restructuring of education. For example, a key strategy was the constructing of new hegemonies around the market notions such as “freedom of the individual,” “consumer choice,” “the autonomous chooser,” “user pays,” “increased competition,” “accountability,” “standards,” “horizontal equity,” “meritocracy,” “co-opted democracy,” and “economic management” (rather than economic policy). The implicit values embedded within this form of restructuring did not simply reinforce and support dominant Pakeha values, behaviors, and thinking. They went further—they provided impetus to marginalize, demean, derogate, and subjugate Maori people and their cultural preferences. Thus, Maori cultural values, which emphasize collective responsibility (rather than individual), choice, rights, ownership, wealth, and economics were constructed as the “other,” “oppositional,” and “contradictory.” Elsewhere it has been argued that this culturally captured form of economics, with its emphasis on processes of commodification and privatization, can be interpreted as new formations of colonization (Smith, 1997).

The Rise of Alternative Forms of Maori Education

The indigenous population of New Zealand has developed some innovative educational intervention strategies following the implementation of its pre-school immersion model (Te Kohanga Reo) in 1982. The growth of the Maori education resistance initiatives since the 1980s represents a revolution within Maori education. These resistance initiatives respond to the new economic formations of colonization in that they are counter-hegemonic and are responsive to the commodification impetus of the neo-liberal economic context.

The essence of the revolution of 1982 is summarized in the following comments:

- ❖ In the 1980s, Maori took more control over the key decision-making and organization of their own education through various alternative education initiatives.
 - ❖ During this time, Maori, themselves, became increasingly proactive in taking action against educational and language crises.
 - ❖ These actions resulted in increased numbers of Maori becoming politically conscientized and involved in political action.
 - ❖ Maori developed a vision and plan of action related to language recovery and revitalization that resulted in significant support from large sections of the Maori community.
 - ❖ During the struggle for Maori language revitalization many Maori developed critique and critical analysis of the shortcomings of the existing system, and the prevailing social context maintained by dominant Pakeha power relations.
 - ❖ Maori individuals and groups developed a theoretical dimension to the struggle to reclaim language and schooling, called "Kaupapa Maori."
 - ❖ This reclamation led to many Maori going outside of the existing schooling structures to have their educational needs met.
 - ❖ This search for alternative schooling caused a legitimacy crisis for state schooling that eventually led to a "settlement," with the state incorporating and funding the new Maori schools.
- ❖ There are now more than seventy state funded Kura Kaupapa Maori primary schools in New Zealand that teach through the medium of Maori language.
 - ❖ The Kaupapa Maori methodology and theory is now being used to bring about changes for Maori in other sectors.

Since the 1982, Maori have been engaged in a number of educational interventions that attempt, firstly, to revitalize Maori language, knowledge, and culture; and secondly, to overcome a number of social crises related to educational underachievement. As a consequence of the negative, mono-cultural experiences endured by many Maori in and through schooling, Maori communities have developed a series of Maori immersion schooling initiatives. These have been implemented at the pre-school (Te Kohanga Reo), the primary school (Kura Kaupapa Maori), the secondary school (Te Kura Tuarua) and the tertiary levels (Waananga) in an attempt to respond to the twin concerns outlined above. These resistance initiatives grew out of many years of struggle and frustration as increased numbers of Maori withdrew from the mainstream, state schooling options. These initiatives were heavily politicized and often became embroiled in charges from disaffected Pakeha as being "separatist" and "cultural retrenchment" movements. A major development at this time was that Maori communities formed a substantial critique (in that they became politically conscientized) of the continued failure of the existing system, despite, ostensibly well-intended policy reform over the years, to change these negative outcomes for Maori. Furthermore, Maori parents became increasingly conscientized about some of the structural impediments to their education aspirations. That is, they began to penetrate the hegemonies that held dominant, Pakeha state education in place. For example, Maori critically engaged the government over such issues as control of funding and resources, manipulation of democratic processes, and mono-cultural management and administrative structures. In this process of engagement, Maori parents became more critically aware of some of the structural barriers and constraints that underpinned the system's inability and reluctance to deliver on their aspirations. These critical penetrations of prevailing hegemony gave impetus to education resistance

initiatives taken up by Maori. Paulo Freire's (1970) notion that "the oppressed must also free themselves and that the oppressor alone can not free the oppressed" has meaning here. My doctoral dissertation research on Kaupapa Maori theory and practice analyzes and discusses some of the fundamental intervention elements that are embedded across all of these Maori resistance initiatives (Smith, 1997).

Thus the new formations of colonization that are forged at the interface of cultural oppression and economic exploitation required new resistance strategies. In this sense the real revolution of the 1980s was not so much the language revitalization programs (although these are important in their own right), but the revolution in Maori critical thinking and the realization by Maori that they could make change themselves. This has been generally referred to as the "Kaupapa Maori Revolution," but more recently (in recognition of its powerful ability to mobilize Maori community resistance and to develop transformation) it has been more definitively described as "Kaupapa Maori theory" and "Transformative praxis."

Kaupapa Maori Theory

In this next section, I examine the set of transformative elements that are common to Maori alternative education initiatives, from pre-school (Te Kohanga Reo) to tertiary institutions (Waananga), identifying them as a core set of change factors. It is hoped that in identifying these common intervention elements that we are then able to make some informed generalizations about developing successful transformative action that has the potential to be applied in other societal contexts and indigenous situations.

One of the critical elements that ought to be understood relates to the renewed commitment of Maori adults and parents to realizing the potential of education. This shift in attitude towards schooling is a major turn around for many Maori who endured considerable suffering during their own personal experiences in the dominant state schooling system. Gradually, the misgivings, fears, and resistance of Maori towards education have been replaced by an understanding that education can be changed to serve their needs.

The following six principles are considered to be the crucial change factors in Kaupapa Maori praxis².

❖ The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy

The perceived need by Maori to have increased control over their own lives and cultural well-being has made gains within the kaupapa of Maori schools given that they have been organized by Maori decision-makers, many of whom are teachers. Greater autonomy over key decision-making in schooling has been attained in areas such as administration, curriculum, pedagogy, and Maori cultural aspirations. Because Maori people have assumed leadership roles in education, they have made choices and decisions that reflect *their* cultural, political, economic, and social preferences. Furthermore, when Maori make decisions for themselves, the commitment by Maori participants to making the ideas work is more certain and solid.

❖ The principle of validating and legitimating cultural aspirations and identity

In Kura Kaupapa Maori, "to be Maori" is taken for granted, so there is little need to justify one's identity, as is the case in most mainstream educational settings. In Kaupapa Maori educational settings, Maori language, knowledge, culture, and values are validated and legitimated—this is a "given," a "taken for granted" base in these schools. Maori cultural aspirations are more assured in these settings, particularly in light of the wider societal context of the struggle for Maori language and cultural survival. One of the common faults of previous schooling interventions has been the inadequate attention paid to this aspect of supporting the maintenance of Maori culture and distinctive cultural identity. By incorporating these elements, a strong emotional and spiritual factor is introduced to Kaupapa Maori settings, which gains the support and commitment of Maori. In particular, many Maori adults are now convinced that schooling—that is, Kaupapa Maori schooling, has relevance.

❖ The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy

Kaupapa Maori teaching and learning settings and prac-

² They are variously referred to in the literature as "Kaupapa Maori" (Maori philosophy, world-view and cultural principles), Kaupapa Maori praxis, Kaupapa Maori theory.

tices closely and effectively connect with the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances of Maori communities—that is, teaching and learning choices are selected as being culturally preferred. But the movement is also inclusive in that other pedagogy are also utilised, including those borrowed from general Pakeha schooling methods and from other Pacific/Asian cultures. The latter is a logical development given close cultural similarities, and given the shared commonalties of the Austronesian group of languages.

❖ **The principle of mediating socio-economic and home difficulties**

Through its ngakau (emotional) and wairua (spiritual) elements, the kaupapa (philosophy) of Kura Kaupapa Maori is such a powerful and all-embracing force, that it commits Maori communities to take the schooling enterprise seriously. It not only impacts schooling at the ideological level, and assists in mediating a societal context of unequal power relations; it also makes schooling a priority consideration despite debilitating social and economic circumstances. Within the collective cultural structures and practices of whanau (extended family) some alleviation of the impact of debilitating socio-economic circumstances can be obtained.

❖ **The principle of incorporating cultural structures which emphasize the collective rather than the individual**

The extended family structure underscores the relationship between social factors and Maori family life. This collective provides a shared support structure to alleviate and mediate social and economic difficulties, parenting difficulties, health difficulties, and others. Such difficulties are not located in individual homes but in the total whanau (extended family structures and networks)—the whanau takes collective responsibility to assist and intervene. While the whanau structure implies a support network for individual members there is also a reciprocal obligation on individual members to invest in the whanau group. In this way, parents are culturally “contracted” to support and assist in the education of all children in the whanau. Perhaps the most significant aspect of whanau administration and management is

that it brings back into the schooling setting many parents who were once extremely hostile to education given their own unhappy schooling experiences. This is a major feature of Kura Kaupapa Maori schooling intervention—it has committed parents who have reinvested in education for their children.

❖ **The principle of a shared and collective vision/philosophy**

Kura Kaupapa Maori schooling has a collective vision, which is written into a formal charter entitled *Te Aho Matua*. This vision provides the guidelines for excellence in Maori education. It also acknowledges Pakeha culture and skills required by Maori children to participate fully and at every level in modern New Zealand society. *Te Aho Matua* builds on the kaupapa of Te Kohanga Reo, and provides the parameters for the uniqueness that is Kura Kaupapa Maori. Its power is in its ability to articulate and connect with Maori aspirations—political, social, economic, and cultural.

Lessons in Transformative Praxis

Underpinning the Maori intervention elements are important understandings about transformative praxis and, by extension, critical pedagogy. The intervention strategies applied by Maori in New Zealand are complex and respond simultaneously to multiple formations of oppression and exploitation. The Kaupapa Maori educational interventions represent the evolving of a more sophisticated response by Maori to freeing themselves from these multiple forms of oppression and exploitation. The very emergence of Kaupapa Maori as an intervention strategy reconstitutes the Western dominant resistance notions of conscientization, resistance, and transformative praxis. In particular, Maori cultural ideology rejects the notion that each of these concepts stand individually; or that they are necessarily to be interpreted as being a lineal progression from conscientization, to resistance, to praxis. That is, one state is not necessarily a prerequisite to, or contingent on, the other states. Thus the popular representation of transformative action shown in Figure 1 (based on a predominantly Western type of thinking) needs to be critically engaged.



Figure 1.

The position implicit within the new formations of Maori intervention, and which may have wider significance for other indigenous populations, is that *all* of the above components are important; *all* need to be held simultaneously; and *all* stand in equal relation to each other. This representation might best be understood as a cycle.

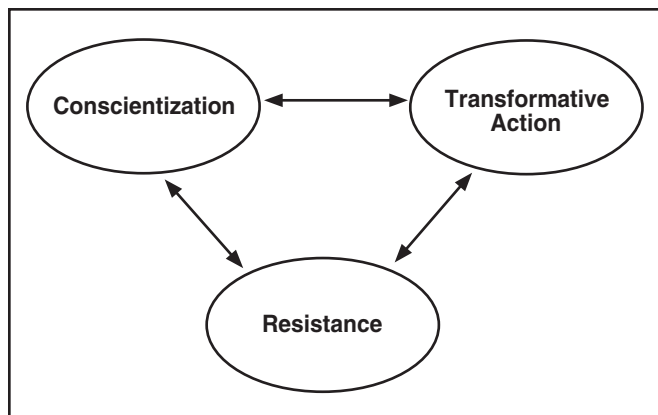


Figure 2.

A further point here is that individuals and groups enter the cycle from any position and do not necessarily (in reflecting on Maori experience within Kaupapa Maori interventions) have to start at the point of conscientization. In other words, individuals have been caught up in transformative praxis (e.g., taking their children to Kohanga Reo), and this has led to conscientization and participation in resistance. This is a significant critique of much of the writing on these concepts that tend to portray a lineal progression of conscientization, resistance, and transformative action. Maori experience tends to suggest that these elements may occur in any order and indeed may all occur simultaneously. It is important to note as well that the arrows in the diagram go in both directions, which reinforces the idea of simultaneous engagement with more than one element.

One of the most exciting developments with respect to the organic resistance initiatives of Maori in the 1980s and 1990s has been the discernible shift and maturing in the way resistance activities are being understood and practised. Now, a greater emphasis is placed on attempting to take account of structural concerns (i.e., economic, ideological, and power structures) as well as cultural concerns, in particular, those related to agency. Some of the important factors with which Maori resistance initiatives attempt to engage relate to economic, ideological, and power dimensions that are derived from a nexus of state, dominant, Pakeha cultural interests.

Where indigenous peoples are in educational crises, indigenous educators must be trained to be change agents whose primary task is the transformation of undesirable circumstances. They must develop radical pedagogy that is informed by their cultural preferences and by their own critical circumstances. They must be taught about the importance of reflecting on and questioning their work: What, for example, is transformative practice? How can it be achieved? Do indigenous people's needs and aspirations require different schooling approaches? Who benefits? Such critical questions must not only lie at the heart of indigenous teacher education approaches, they must ensure "buy in" from the communities that are purported to be served.

The Real Revolution of the 1980s

The revolution of Maori education in the 1980s was not simply about an innovative educational approach towards language revitalization and intervention in educational underachievement. The revolution was also about the development of new transformative strategies that developed both culturalist and structuralist emphases. It was also about

- ❖ Maori being proactive in transforming education, that is, not waiting for Pakeha to make the changes, but doing it themselves.
- ❖ Maori developing critical theory on how knowledge is socially constructed within educational settings, and formulating approaches to transformative action.
- ❖ Maori developing critical theory on economic conditions, including scientific/technical rationality, and formulating approaches to transformative action.
- ❖ Maori coming to understandings about critical theories

of education; about their social construction, and about their usefulness when applied by Maori in their own interests.

- ❖ Maori recognizing the need to undo Pakeha hegemony and to decolonize themselves.
- ❖ Maori understanding that given multiple sites of oppression, there must also be multiple sites of struggle and multiple strategies for change. In short, complex colonization requires complex responses (c. f. Gramsci's notion of war of position in Hoare, Q. & Nowell-Smith, G., 1971 as discussed by Smith, 1997).

Finally, my paper attempts to move beyond critical analysis to transformative praxis. It is argued that indigenous peoples need to more fully understand how change is developed and actually achieved. There is a need to move beyond mere description of problems and issues to making sure that change does in fact occur. The status quo for most Maori is problematic and there is an urgent need for change. In the words of Tuki Nepe (personal communication, 1988):

We are paddling our own canoe and we are heading in this direction [alternative schooling]. You [Ministry of Education officials] can either get on board and come with us or you can stay here and drown. We are going to go anyway—with or without you!

This shift in focus beyond political consciousness-raising to actually taking transformative action is encapsulated in the Nepe's quote and is the essence of the revolution which has occurred in New Zealand since the 1980s. It has been this movement beyond the ideology and rhetoric of resistance that is an important and critical learning, not just for Maori, but also for other indigenous groups.

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