

MULTICULTURAL SETTLER COLONIALISM AND  
INDIGENOUS STRUGGLE IN HAWAI'I:  
THE POLITICS OF ASTRONOMY  
ON MAUNA A WĀKEA

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*For my partner, Melisa Casumbal-Salazar, and my son, Jamien Koa Moea Salazar*

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation argues the struggle over Mauna Kea is emblematic of the larger struggle over Hawai‘i. This is not a struggle for equality, participation, money, or recognition, but is instead a struggle over meaning and its making. I argue that the latest push for another telescope takes place in the broader context of multicultural settler colonialism under U.S. occupation: realized through law and rationalized by science. The dissertation intervenes in conventional discourses, staging a different conversation about the issue; one that interrogates the collusion of science, capital, law, and the state and the processes by which the University of Hawai‘i becomes a steward of the land and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi become obstructions to progress. I argue science, capital, and law are mobilized in ways that vindicate astronomy expansion in a liberal multicultural vision of “coexistence” that maintains rather than challenges hegemonic relations of power. Through archival research, formal interviews, discourse analysis, and participant observation I examine the politics of telescopes on the sacred mountain of Mauna a Wākea, the namesake of our ancestor-akua to whom all Kanaka trace our genealogies. I show how the mountain is not only sacred because, as some suggest, it provides a means by which to advance political interests, but rather because the mountain is the embodiment of an ancestor in a land-based onto-genealogical relationship that informs contemporary articulations of aloha ‘āina, anti-colonial work, indigeneity, the natural, and the sacred. My thesis is that the forms of power operative in astronomy expansion and the call for a moratorium on new telescope development become intelligible when located in the broader context of indigenous struggle against settler colonialism and U.S. empire in Hawai‘i – when Kanaka ‘Ōiwi are respected and heard on our own terms.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

|        |   |  |
|--------|---|--|
| BLNR   | – | Board of Land and Natural Resources      |
| CCH    | – | Contested Case Hearing                   |
| CMP    | – | Comprehensive Management Plan            |
| DLNR   | – | Department of Land and Natural Resources |
| DHHL   | – | Department of Hawaiian Home Lands        |
| EIS    | – | Environmental Impact Statement           |
| EA     | – | Environmental Assessment                 |
| FEIS   | – | Final Environmental Statement            |
| HHCA   | – | Hawaiian Homes Commission Act            |
| IfA    | – | Institute for Astronomy                  |
| MKAH   | – | Mauna Kea Anaina Hou                     |
| MKMB   | – | Mauna Kea Mangement Board                |
| MKSR   | – | Mauna Kea Science Reserve                |
| MKSRMP | – | Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan    |
| KKM    | – | Kahu Kū Mauna                            |
| NSF    | – | National Science Foundation              |
| OHA    | – | Office of Hawaiian Affairs               |
| OMKM   | – | Office of Mauna Kea Management           |
| PKO    | – | Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana                |
| UHM    | – | University of Hawai‘i – Mānoa            |
| UHH    | – | University of Hawai‘i – Hilo             |
| TMT    | – | Thirty Meter Telescope                   |



Prelude:  
Kūnihi Ka Mauna

*It has nothing to do with astronomy. You could build anything up there. The problem is that you want to build anything up there.*

Abraham Kamakawiwo‘ole<sup>1</sup>

*You can just look at the scientific record of what has been accomplished with these telescopes. They have written the history of modern astronomy on Mauna Kea.*

Rolf-Peter Kruditski<sup>2</sup>

*It is a perfect example of clashing cosmologies, perfect.*

Manu Meyer<sup>3</sup>

*Ka Huaka‘i Mua: Ceremony and Warning Signs*

On the road to Mauna Kea,<sup>4</sup> we stop at Hale Pōhaku, the midlevel visitor center, to acclimatize before proceeding to the summit. If we don’t, altitude sickness is likely. There we find ourselves amidst American, Japanese, Chinese, and other tourists who – arriving nightly by chartered busses – congregate around telescopes to star gaze at the night’s sky, pointing lasers, chattering, and enjoying the immensity of stars – stars so close you can almost touch them. The strip of stars called Hōkūnohoaupuni, “a name for

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<sup>1</sup> Abraham Kamakawiwo‘ole, Native Hawaiian Hilo resident, quoted (emphasis added) from the documentary, Joan Lander and Puhipau (dirs./prods.), *Mauna Kea: Temple*

<sup>2</sup> Rolf-Peter Kruditski, Director of the University of Hawai‘i Institute for Astronomy (IfA), quoted in Lander and Puhipau, *Mauna Kea: Temple Under Siege* (2006).

<sup>3</sup> Manu Meyer, Associate Professor at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo Education Department, quoted in Lander and Puhipau, *Mauna Kea: Temple Under Siege* (2006).

<sup>4</sup> Throughout this dissertation, I use Mauna Kea and Mauna a Wākea interchangeably. Generally, neither is considered to be incorrect although some Hawaiians prefer one over the other. Later in the dissertation, I explain their differences in detail.

the Milky Way,” spreads itself across the dome above, from one horizon to the other.<sup>5</sup>

The view of the sky from the summit is not only massive, you actually feel as though you are somehow in space. Your lungs have trouble breathing at this altitude where oxygen and CO<sub>2</sub> is low and light-headedness is common. Your thinking may feel slowed and your body fatigued as a result. Some faint, others vomit, or worse. My stomach rumbled that morning while gas molecules expanded. Later, during our descent, I would experience an intense headache and dehydration. In addition to the beauty and majesty of this enormous mountain, these physical effects on the body must have contributed to Mauna Kea’s mysteries and its sanctity as perceived among earlier Kānaka ‘Ōiwi.

We have arrived in a caravan of three four-wheel drive vehicles, just under twenty in our group. My host, Kealoha Pisciotta – an ‘Ōiwi cultural practitioner, environmental activist, and former telescope operator on the James Clerk Maxwell Telescope – has invited me to join this group of Hawaiians and non-Hawaiian settlers for a spiritual trek they make four times a year. We traveled all night, departing from the Hawaiian Home Lands neighborhood of Keaukaha at 10 pm, stopping along the way to visit several culturally important sites – wahi pana (storied and legendary places) and ahu (stone altars) – where we leave ho‘okupu (offerings) and pule (prayers) before arriving at Hale Pōhaku at around 4 am. The sun rises at 6:20 am, so we time our hike to the summit peak of Kūkahau‘ula for around 5:45 am. In this hour at Hale Pōhaku, while we wait for our bodies to adjust, Pisciotta explains to me the significance of this journey to observe the rising sun on the autumnal equinox.

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<sup>5</sup> Hōkūnohoaupuni may be translated as “ruling star.” See Mary Kawena Pukui & Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, Rev. Ed., (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 76.

She tells me that polohiwa means “glistening black,” and refers to celestial phenomena relating to the sun’s transit between solstices. For example, ke ala polohiwa a Kāne (the black shining road of Kāne) is marked by the sun’s annual motion between the celestial equator and its northern limit, spanning from roughly late March to late September according to Western calendars. The southern guiding star, Newe, is out of view from Hawai‘i during ke ala polohiwa a Kāne. The other half of the year is that of ke ala polohiwa a Kanaloa (The Black Shining Road of Kanaloa); the passage and period in which the sun may be tracked from the celestial equator to its southern limit, at which point the North Star, Hōkūpa‘a, moves out of view. We have arrived on September 22<sup>nd</sup> to observe the vernal equinox when the sun begins its journey south along ke ala polohiwa a Kanaloa.<sup>6</sup>

Everything in this polohiwa ceremony was fascinating to me because, in its specificity, everything has meaning. The ceremony required that we position our bodies to be on the tallest peak in Oceania<sup>7</sup> – at a specific time of a particular day, and according to an annual cycle that has been observed by Kanaka for generations preceding our arrival – so that we may witness this specific rising sun at this distinct point along its ecliptic. The celestial equator, which splits the two polohiwa, is known as the Piko o

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<sup>6</sup> For more on Hawaiian star names and alignments, see Maud W. Makemson, “Hawaiian Astronomical Concepts II,” in *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1939); Rubellite K. Johnson, *The Kumulipo Mind: A Global Heritage in the Polynesian Creation Myth*, (Honolulu, Rubellite K. Johnson, 2000); Michael E. Chauvin, *Useful and Conceptual Astronomy in Ancient Hawaii* (Honolulu: Mauna Kea Books, 2000); Martha Warren Beckwith, ed. & trns., *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1951); and Rubellite K. Johnson, *The Kumulipo Mind: A Global Heritage in the Polynesian Creation Myth*, (Honolulu, Rubellite K. Johnson, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> I use the term, often in lieu of, but also interchangeably with the conventional “Pacific.”

Wākea, or ke alanui i ka Piko o Wākea (the path at the navel of Wākea,<sup>8</sup> also ke alanui a ke Ku‘uku‘u – the road of the Spider). The stars within ke alanui i ka Piko o Wākea were directly overhead on that night.<sup>9</sup> That this belt of stars, which is conceived of as dividing time and space, the northern and southern celestial hemispheres, is named after the deified ancestor, Wākea, is significant because the mountain itself is the namesake of Wākea as well, representing and renewing a bond between the stars overhead and the enormous mountain they touch. In the genealogical chant, the Kumulipo, Wākea is the “expanse of the sky,” and is known as “Sky Father.” The mountain is called Mauna Kea, or Mauna a Wākea, in part, for the akua (god) into whose realm the mountain rises.<sup>10</sup> In native cosmogonic genealogies, Hawai‘i Island is the first born, the hiapo, of the island children of Wākea and his partner, Papahānaumoku, and their daughter, Ho‘ohōkūkalani. In the 2006 Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina-produced documentary, *Mauna Kea: Temple Under Siege*, Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele describes the genealogy:

Mauna Kea is the first born to us. That’s where our roots start. That’s where our island begins. That’s where the first rain from Wākea hits, is our mountain. That’s where the first sunlight that rises every morning hits. That mountain is the first for everything that we have and so because Mauna Kea is the first born, we need to mālama Mauna Kea.

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<sup>8</sup> I prefer this translation as suggested by Noenoe Silva over Alexander’s, “the way to the navel of Wākea.” See W. D. Alexander, “Instructions in Ancient Hawaiian Astronomy as Taught by Kaneakahoowaha, One of the Counsellors of Kamehameha I., According to S. M. Kamakau,” in *Hawaiian Annual and Annual for 1891*, W. D. Alexander, ed. (Honolulu: Press Publishing Company, 1890), 142-143.

<sup>9</sup> Thrum, *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1891*, 142-2; Maud W. Makemson, “Hawaiian Astronomical Concepts II,” in *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Oct. – Dec., 1939), 589-596.

<sup>10</sup> I elaborate on the meanings associated with the naming of Mauna Kea in chapter three.

The mountain is the tallest point in the entire archipelago and is considered by many Hawaiians to be a sacred piko (naval cord, center) because it connects the first born child to the akua. In this way, ke alanui i ka Piko o Wākea and Mauna a Wākea represent the unreachable, though observable, home of these ancestral akua: a symbolic connection between the sky and the earth, the akua and their descendants – us. The mountain is the point that touches the unknown realm of Wākea and the relationship is written into the stories, genealogy, names, and language associated with this place and the night’s sky.

In examining the cultural significance of the mountain for many Hawaiians, it is important to understand this connection between the discursive and the ontological among them. Consider the term and suffix, wā, which itself refers to *both time and space*. As a period of time, wā can indicate an epoch or an era, yet it may also refer to a specific occasion or moment in time. Its spatial meaning might indicate the space between two objects and its temporal meaning, a space between moments. From this perspective, wā might be mapped simultaneously onto the stars, genealogies, and navigation practices of Hawaiians. Considering its multiple meanings, what sort of ontological orientation towards place, home, family, belonging, and the sacred is carried in the name or in the idea of Wākea?

While acclimatizing at Hale Pōhaku, I walked around the premises of the visitor’s center and came across a pellet-riddled sign that read, “PLEASE LEAVE THE LANDSCAPE AS YOU FOUND IT. DO NOT REARRANGE STONES, BUILD ROCK PILES, OR OTHERWISE DISTURB THE TERRAIN...” What an ironic warning, I thought. As a grad student and activist, though quite enchanted by the whole scene of my first visit to such a wondrous place, this sign pulled me out of it. “Who are



these rock-pilers who threaten to disturb Mauna a Wākea?” I thought. The sign and the passive authority and arrogance encoded therein reminded me of how contested meanings invoke, reproduce, and disrupt colonial antagonisms, not only in regards to Mauna Kea, but to Hawai‘i more broadly. Here is an assertion of power: to forbid, to permit, to regulate, and control. Here is an implied right carried in the State’s issuance of the warning. Yet, here is also counter hegemony in progress. Our presence as a small hui of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi – some of whom were cultural practitioners, some of whom were non-native settlers/allies – represented another assertion of power and an intervention in the colonality of industrial development on this sacred mountain. More than a harmless warning or a move towards protection, the sign embodied the politics of Mauna Kea astronomy.

Once acclimatized, we silently gathered everyone and together drove to the summit. We were told to enter that space with reverence and respect. Quietly, we filed into a line to begin the 20-minute hike to the top of Kūkahau‘ula (Kū of the red tinted snow),<sup>11</sup> the “true summit” of the mountain; a pu‘u (cinder cone) so named for its hue in the light of the rising and setting sun. Kūkahau‘ula was a lover of Poli‘ahu (cloaked bosom), the snow akua of the mountain. There on the top of the pu‘u is an ahu, a pile of stones, built into an altar for Hawaiians to return to, conduct ceremony, leave offerings, and to observe cultural practices such as our Polohiwa. We chanted *E Ala E*, an oli to “wake” the rising sun. It was a beautiful sight: pitch-blackness beyond and below gradually gave way to the view of a thick cloud layer covering all we could see, from Hāmākua to Puna.

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<sup>11</sup> Fred Stone told me of a type of red algae that grows on the snow of Mauna Kea, which may also have been one of the sources for this name. Personal email, September 11, 2014.

The light of the sun slowly changed the skies from black, to gray, to blue, and then a single shot of light pierced the horizon with a blinding, gently emerging white dot. The beauty of such a sight is ineffable. Chanting with the group I was moved nearly to tears. I turned to look down the line at everyone to my right and above me. All were smiling; some eyes wide and others with eyes closed; some with hands raised and others holding each other. I noticed the shadow Mauna Kea casts on the clouds behind in its image. An amazing inverted “v” miles away, an illusion of another peak floating in the sky. The scene was breathtaking. We came together and said some words. Kealoha Pisciotta and Kaliko Kanaele, a community leader, both offered pule and we closed by forming a circle.

On the ride down, we drove in silence; stopped for a moment at Hale Pōhaku, and then proceeded to Saddle Road, still in relative silence. It was a lot to take in. After a bit, another graduate student (from Harvard who had also joined the group for her research) and I had a great conversation. Kū Ching shared his mana‘o about the mountain and the movement to protect Mauna Kea. It was a fulfilling experience to be with so many people whose aloha for the mountain was manifest in such a beautiful and spiritual way.

This first visit to the summit was an experience of wonder, spirituality, and joy for me. Yet, in the warning sign posted by the State, the giant telescopes that are simply unavoidable when on the summit, and the tourists driving up and down the road and bouncing around the visitor’s center, my feelings of exhilaration were tempered by ambivalence. Here is a community that drives to the summit at least every three months for the solstices and equinoxes with an attitude of respect, a comportment of reverence. At least for the Kanaka, it is a spiritual journey. We exchange stories of the mountain, its

meanings, and our beliefs concerning the sacred from an articulated subjectivity and worldview I have come to learn in my research many others dismiss as irrational or fraudulent. Together, we stargazed from Hale Pōhaku identifying the constellations. Pisciotta named them in Hawaiian, translating for me into Greek! We picked the ‘ōhi‘a lehua, koa, palapalai, and other plants from the slopes of Kīlauea earlier in the day. We prepared the pū‘olo (bundles) for ho‘okupu (offerings), recited familiar pule (prayers), visited five ahu on our way to the summit in ceremony, and performed the protocols for healing ourselves and the mountain. The state warning sign about rock piling was conspicuous in contrast to our day leading up to that moment. The juxtaposition reminded me of the power of the state, capital, and science, against which Hawaiian indigeneity appears to pose the greatest threat. It reminded me of the history of U.S. imperialism and the reasons those cultural practices our group had observed would be dismissed by many as invented, contrived, or inauthentic. I became intent on forming an understanding of how non-Hawaiians have come to claim responsibility for caretaking Mauna a Wākea; how *their* meanings have become hegemonic. Here is a mountain so revered by so many Hawaiians throughout history that it escaped development for at least five centuries; those centuries preceding the blip on the timeline marked by U.S. occupation. It is a mountain considered by many Kanaka ‘Ōiwi today to be a sacred temple of the highest order: held up as the most sacred mountain in Hawai‘i. How then, did Kanaka ‘Ōiwi become estranged from it?

*Ka lua o nā huaka‘i*

My second visit to the summit almost a year later was quite a different experience. I accompanied a Native Hawaiian astronomer, Paul Coleman. We met in Hilo and drove up the mountain for a tour of the Keck Observatory he was to give to a group of O‘ahu boy scouts who we met at Hale Pōhaku around midday. I was thrilled to have a chance to spend the day with someone who I came to learn is quite responsive and accountable to at least two very different constituencies: Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and astronomers, both supporters and opponents of astronomy expansion. Riding along with Coleman, I used the time we had together to ask all sorts of questions. Several moments in our conversations that day stand out as resonating with the ways in which the political becomes evacuated in narrations of scientific necessity. As a researcher, I was still developing my own opinions about the politics of astronomy on Mauna Kea and, although I have long held leftist politics in general, I saw this occasion as an opportunity to gain understanding of a position that appears to contradict hardline environmentalist and indigenous sentiments towards development. I asked questions about astronomy on the mountain, its history and highlights, and the politics around the TMT. It was clear Coleman is passionate about his relationships with communities who have different interests in the mountain and his role as someone who others look to for insights about the controversy. Surprisingly, however, our conversation about politics allowed little room for the topic of colonialism. His thoughts on why and how astronomy on the mountain are important to him, other astronomers, Hawai‘i residents, and to the world in general are based on his education and his experiences of overcoming challenges in the field and having conducted research at some of the world’s most renowned observatories. In some ways, traveling with Coleman to the summit helped me to see another side of astronomy.

Despite my critique of development on contested lands, I developed a better understanding of the value of Mauna Kea to his constituents in the science community. Although I felt he could sense my skepticism about the push for the TMT and its promise of universal benefit, he and I were able to exchange ideas about the proposed telescope project in a productive way.

Coleman loves the mountain and loves his work. It is through this connection that his opinions about Mauna Kea astronomy are forged. He conveyed how fortunate he feels that, because of the Mauna Kea observatories, he is able to do astronomy in Hawai‘i, especially when most Hawai‘i-born astronomers must travel to distant countries to do their work. Unlike non-indigenous astronomers, he observes protocols he learned as a student of the revered kumu hula (master instructor of Hawaiian chant, song, and dance), John Lake. On our drive up the mountain, we stopped at the ahu located at the base of the summit road where we left small ho‘okupu (offerings) and oli (chants). Absorbing what I had previously assumed would have been contradictions reminded me that many Hawaiians do not see astronomy on Mauna Kea as a desecration or as part of a broader relationship of colonial power, but instead, as part of our heritage. Coleman is very likeable and tells amazing stories about many aspects of astronomy I had never before considered. He doesn’t take himself or the sciences so seriously that he isolates himself from challenge or cannot laugh at astronomy’s sense of self-importance, which I appreciated. It sometimes seems that so much of the Thirty Meter Telescope promotional discourses can be quite provincial and ethnocentric.

During Coleman’s tour, it became clear the boy scouts would be a mischievous and noisy bunch. All high school aged kids, they were a horrible audience. As we stood

along a ridge peering out over the summit in the afternoon sun, Coleman described the history of the telescopes, sharing anecdotes about their construction and the early development of the technologies involved, what these telescopes have contributed to the field as a whole and so on. “Where is the bathroom?!” one of the boys interrupts, spoiling the mood of Coleman’s storytelling.

Most of the kids weren’t paying attention and even the parent chaperones seemed as though they would rather be elsewhere. It was really chilly that day and several chaperones stayed in their cars the whole time, even while Coleman was conducting the tour. Only myself, one scout leader, and a nineteen year old who had “aged-out” of the boy scouts but still came for the tour seemed interested in the stories. One anecdote was troubling for me, however: a story about an event on the summit that posits Hawaiians as using culture politically, which I came to learn is a common challenge against activists.

The story was of Coleman’s “crazy uncle” who he explains walked all the way up to the summit of Pu‘u Wēkiu in nothing more than a malo (men’s loin cloth) on a winter day for a ceremony. It was chilly for us here in the first week of June and colder when it’s windy, but worse in January, which is when the ceremony occurred. Our group of parents and boy scouts laughed at the image of this tough and macho elderly man, wearing close to nothing despite the freezing cold, chanting songs. The story was meant to highlight the persistence of religious Hawaiians who oppose the summit’s use for astronomy, but it also indicated a common critique of activist Hawaiians regarding whose contemporary cultural practices are viewed with suspicion. The story created for a group of non-Hawaiians who might not appreciate the cultural nuances of the scene or the claims to the mountain that many Hawaiians continue to assert an image of cultural

construction that questions authenticity. Based on my assumptions of elders and traditionalists, I couldn't help but read against the image: I saw an old man who must have been practicing his particular truth – contradictions and all. Suspicion of contemporary indigenous cultural practices is often grounded in justified concerns over the legitimacy of truth claims and their invention as political tactic. However, without a more substantive unpacking of these issues as they play out in our communities and their implications, a hasty gloss on the level of aesthetics works to diminish the significance of cultural acts such as these. Such dismissals are common in the TMT debates. Where a fuller understanding of context and politics is needed, there is often the invocation of stereotypes. I suggest such an image of native performance might also be meaningfully understood as an expression of self-determination or cultural becoming: processes that, true, are complex and contradictory because they are always already entangled with prior *and* ongoing colonial conditions, but that also speak to valid cultural, racial, gender, and indigenous identity formations. This and similar stories motivated me to look further into this dynamic in the project.

A more difficult situation to witness, however, came when, after a nice conversation with the scout leader, he and I walked back to the group to find the boy scouts posing shirtless for selfies in front of Kūkahau'ula and the ahu lele, where I had just hiked to a year earlier for the Polohiwa. The kids were flexing their skinny arms, climbing on each other, laughing, and snapping photos with their parents watching with amusement. I was reminded of the gap between settler and indigenous valuations of this place.

On our drive back to Hilo, Coleman sort of summarized things for me. He conveyed how he believes the new management structure the University has implemented and the

TMT's stated commitment to contribute monetarily to the community and to hire and educate local residents to work at the observatory is unprecedented – a sign of genuine care and accountability. However, when we talked politics throughout the day our conversations seemed confined to issues in which the indigenous subject was irrelevant: issues confined to, for example, one telescope technology versus another or the amount of funding for U.S. defense versus science research and development. We had little engagement with the political in terms of dynamics of power, which reminded me of how, in this debate over the TMT, conceptions of the urgent, the political, and the universal are extremely divergent and polarizing. I offered a story towards the end of our drive home about Kanaka artists who had contracted to sell pieces and designs to the Disney resort, the Aulani, actions for which one of their peers, a renowned Kanaka artist, criticized the artists in her own art installation.<sup>12</sup> I saw this as something of a parallel in that it resembles critiques of Hawaiians who are said to have “sold-out” for supporting and participating in the development and expansion of Mauna Kea astronomy. I explained how one of the Aulani artists presented a more complex image of the native person who participates in colonial hegemony. This Hawaiian's narrative of his decision to contract with Disney reveals an awareness of the conditions that force artists to make difficult decisions, which some would see as compromise or problematic. Despite the seeming contradictions, Hawaiians who participate are not necessarily merely hoodwinked, malicious, or self-serving – though some can be. Coleman expressed a sense of resignation, “well, you can't please everybody.” It is true: some will always

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<sup>12</sup> The event was called “A Mini Retort” and was held in Honolulu at the ARTS at Mark's Garage.



criticize those who cooperate with colonizing practices, but I was grateful we were able to consider the contradictions and possibilities of agency within established institutions.

He conveyed dismay about the boy scouts taking those photos on the summit earlier in the day. I was relieved I wasn't the only one who had a problem with that. He was also frustrated that tourists continue to drive up to the summit in 2-wheel drive rentals, although they are supposed to take only 4-wheel drive vehicles. He reasoned, "if they get stuck, the burden falls on taxpayers to pay for their rescue. It's also a bad idea because they'll have to spend way more money to get a tow all the way up there."<sup>13</sup> He criticized those tourists who pile rocks in violation of state law and the shortcomings of law enforcement, which he said will soon be resolved now that the Office of Mauna Kea Management will be able to hire more rangers with the TMT's anticipated revenue stream. However, a major concern I have is how some critiques of the aspects of the TMT issue reduce the political to the trivial. In my thinking, the growing visitor numbers, transportation choices, and uncooperative tourists are far less threatening to cultural practice, the environment, and Kanaka 'Ōiwi communities than are the observatories themselves. The issues surrounding Mauna Kea deserve an analysis of power, contextualized in historical processes by which some communities benefit and others are dismissed, disavowed, and misrepresented. This is a difficult conversation to have, even in safe spaces.

This dissertation takes the stance that contemporary cultural praxis, articulations of Kanaka indigeneity, and Hawaiian subject formations should be understood as existing within broader dynamics of settler colonialism. In this way, the project seeks to stage a

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<sup>13</sup> This is paraphrased.

conversation that is not yet popular or prioritized. Compositions of the indigenous subject are not only political tactics or performance pieces; they may also be interpreted as responses, however intentional or otherwise, to a long history with American colonial settlement, military occupation, cultural appropriation, and displacement from sacred sites. They emerge as political because of context. I argue it is within such frames that we must analyze telescopes on Mauna a Wākea if we are to fully grasp the stakes involved in the debate over astronomy expansion on the mountain.

What are the implications for overcoming colonialism when discourses surrounding industrial development on sacred lands expunge the history of struggle and issue of contested land claims, which become marginal to more trivial concerns? What are the terms by which such divergent issues become topics of political concern? I raise this point about the discursive and epistemic delimitation of what constitutes the political in order to highlight the methods of and problems with its evacuation more generally from conventional discourses surrounding, not only Mauna Kea, but power in Hawai‘i. Too often, the colonial becomes trivialized or expelled, indicating a collapse of the political.

The history of violence by which the U.S. acquired Hawai‘i and continues to occupy the country is not part of most conversations about astronomy. In this dissertation, the unsettled historical claims to Hawai‘i cast a constant shadow on these discourses.

Likewise, the continued disavowal of a different vision of land use on the summit – as it could be according to a different way of being and an anti-colonial environmental ethic – presupposes the predominate narrative of the TMT. The ongoing dispossessions and desecrations resulting from rampant tourism and militarism appear only as minor difficulties if at all. The stories of struggle and resistance to U.S. empire in Hawai‘i are

absent. Yet, these comprise the context to which I argue we must turn our critical attention when talking about Mauna Kea astronomy.

### *My Intervention*

Thus, my dissertation stages a different conversation as a political intervention. It examines discourses surrounding the politics of telescopes on the sacred mountain of Mauna a Wākea<sup>14</sup> and analyzes the subjectivities, subjugations, and struggles that emerge in this contested site. My argument is that the forms of power operative in astronomy expansion on the mountain are emblematic of the broader context of settler colonialism in Hawai‘i; a context in which settlers, arrivants,<sup>15</sup> and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi compete over hegemonic meanings to be ascribed to a multivalued site and sacred ancestral land.

Methodologically speaking, I will certainly be challenged for favoring the category of the indigenous. I will undoubtedly be criticized for not subjecting the category of indigeneity to the same scrutiny that I do to other categories, particularly that of the settler. In this dissertation I have made the decision to compose an indigenous politics. Upon reflection of my data, I found there is no shortage of critiques of Kanaka indigeneity as illegitimate, inauthentic, and unreasonable or obsolete. The challenge is

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<sup>14</sup> Throughout the dissertation I use both Mauna Kea and Mauna a Wākea, sometimes interchangeably. Later, I will analyze the politics of contemporary uses of both.

<sup>15</sup> I have adopted the term “from African Caribbean poet Kamau Brathwaite,” via Jodi A. Byrd, who – in *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013) – describes arrivants as, “those people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe” (xix). In contrast to “settler,” which signifies those who settle in colonized territories either without regard for the indigenous people of those places or with the intention of colonizing their lands, “arrivants” distinguishes those who resist the historical and ongoing relations of force and power that define colonization. The limited scope of this dissertation, however, will not allow me to stage a fuller examination of the term.

that our culture is fabricated to meet political ends, our cultural practices contrived to satisfy a political movement, and etc. These critiques and dismissals of Kanaka as illegitimate are far too prevalent. Yet, there are few venues where it may be encouraged to move towards meaningful, mindful, and fuller understandings of Kanaka indigeneity on our own terms, that are accurate, and beyond racist and colonial prejudices.

Therefore, rather than interrogating the category of the indigenous, which is always already the convention, my project deconstructs critiques of indigeneity to demonstrate how these conventions serve to advance settler colonialism under U.S. occupation.

I therefore also make no claims to objectivity. Instead, I challenge the very notion. Every utterance on the topic of Mauna a Wākea is always already political; every iteration of the politics of telescopes is always already subjective and biased given the context of settler colonialism and the conditions under which legitimacies are distributed therein. In analyzing the data from my interviews, the contemporary discourses surrounding the TMT I document, and the history of Kanaka struggle against U.S. occupation, I have also found ample supply of privileged voices to speak on behalf of big science, capital, and the state. In listening to the voices of both our ancestors and those of many Kanaka ‘Ōiwi today whose articulations of aloha ‘āina denounce predominant land uses and representational practices we find not everyone suffers the pain of settler colonialism. In Hawai‘i, that is a distinction reserved for Kanaka ‘Ōiwi. In listening to these voices, I attempt to restore the legitimacy of indigenous difference. This project begins from the voices of those who have suffered the violence, dispossession, marginalization, and delegitimation within settler colonialism. From that position, I highlight articulations of aloha ‘āina (to love the land), kū‘ē (resistance, opposition), and

pono (proper, balance, harmony) among contemporary Kanaka as processes of *cultural becoming*; a dynamic that is, as with other cultures, including those of settlers, always already underway in everyday encounters. This is not only a story of the past – of a pure and authentic original culture or a colonial condition from out of which we have lifted ourselves –, it is a story about today’s colonialism and our participation in, resistance to, and ambivalence towards it.

In our interview, contested case petitioner, kumu hula, and educator, Pua Case, echoed Kamakawiwo‘ole (quoted above), explaining, “we’re not anti-science, we’re anti-another building. It could be a hospital up there: that’s not the point.”<sup>16</sup> She and her colleagues engaged in the legal battle over the current proposed telescope project, known as the Thirty Meter Telescope (or TMT), explaining to me, “we’re not anti-science, we’re anti-another building. It could be a hospital up there: that’s not the point.”<sup>17</sup> She and her colleagues engaged in the legal battle over the current proposed telescope project, known as the Thirty Meter Telescope (or, TMT), view any form of development on the summit to be a desecration, an act of violence against Kanaka ‘Ōiwi,<sup>18</sup> and a violation of an indigenous ethic of relationality and responsibility to the natural, what ‘Ōiwi understand as kuleana and aloha ‘āina.<sup>19</sup> I asked about the now popular claims made by many in public testimonies, promotional materials, and news media that Mauna Kea astronomy is

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<sup>16</sup> Pualani Case, interview by author, September 24, 2012, Waimea, digital recording.

<sup>17</sup> Case, September 24, 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Indigenous, N/native, and/or aboriginal Hawaiian(s). I will elaborate on my use of referents for Hawaiians and the politics surrounding them in subsequent chapters.

<sup>19</sup> Kuleana may be translated as responsibility, obligation, duty, and privilege. I discuss the concept further in chapters three and four. Aloha ‘āina may be translated as love for the land, or historically in law as “patriot,” but it connotes much more. I will elaborate on the concept further in chapter four.

in Hawaiians' collective interest. The contention is that if Hawaiians *really knew* their history they would understand the connections between “ancient Hawaiians” and “modern astronomers.” Hawaiians who challenge astronomy expansion are obstructing scientific advancement, economic security, and thus human progress: their lack of support is illogical and irrational. Because of the intimate knowledge Kanaka ‘Ōiwi have historically had of deep-sea voyaging and the oft-cited keen interest of 19<sup>th</sup> century mō‘ī<sup>20</sup> in Western science and technology, and had those earlier Hawaiians been faced with decisions over Mauna Kea’s future, so goes this line of thinking, Kanaka too would support the TMT. Therefore, it follows that because of these shared ambitions to explore the stars and the vast ocean, to expand scientific knowledge about our physical world, astronomy expansion is not only a shared cultural imperative, but is also actually very “Hawaiian,” perhaps more Hawaiian than to deny expansion of astronomy. Case explained how she responds to such arguments,

Y’know. No use our kupuna for your ends. Our kupuna would never destroy, in order to advance – destroy their environment like that... I think the parts that make me sad is when they say things about how they know the mountain is sacred to us, or important and significant – that they realize there is cultural significance and how much they *love* that mountain. And in the next breath, (they say) ‘but we’re still going to build on it...’<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Mō‘ī is, in Hawaiian, gender neutral. The term may be translated as queen, king, sovereign, or monarch and each of these will pertain in my usage throughout the dissertation unless otherwise indicated by a specific mō‘ī. Mō‘ī David Kāwika La‘amea Kalākaua, in particular, who is known for his support of then-contemporary sciences and technologies, is often used in just this way.

<sup>21</sup> Pualani Case, interview by author, September 24, 2012, Waimea, Hawai‘i Island.

Many Hawaiians and their non-native allies are appealing to the State and fighting the University of Hawai‘i over the future of the mountain. Mauna Kea is for them at once a wahi pana, a unique and fragile environment, a valued historic and cultural site, and a “sacred temple.” For them, the TMT represents just another violation; another item on a list of encroachments and insults already underway elsewhere, particularly those advanced by military, capitalist, and state interests.

In February 2011, Case and colleagues, in a party of six petitioners, entered into a contested case proceeding to challenge a Conservation District Use Permit granted a year prior to the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo (UHH) by the State of Hawai‘i’s Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) for the construction of the proposed TMT.<sup>22</sup> In the course of three years, I conducted over 50 interviews<sup>23</sup> with folks whose perspectives on the TMT and astronomy on Mauna Kea varied greatly, ranging from adamant support to staunch opposition. I spoke with all but one of the petitioners for this research and numerous others involved in earlier cases. I traveled to the summit on the two occasions described above. The diversity in thoughts and opinions I learned from these folks has helped to shape my own concerns for a meaningful future for the mountain summit and Hawaiians. Moreover, this process of coming to learn the politics of Mauna Kea astronomy has driven my critique of settler colonialism and power more broadly, while instilling renewed pride in being Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Maoli and commitment to the struggle for our ancestral lands and our lāhui.

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<sup>22</sup> Board of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai‘i, In re Petition requesting a Contested Case Hearing on Conservation District Use Permit (DCUP) HA-3568 for the Thirty Meter Telescope, Mauna Kea Science Reserve, Ka‘ohe Mauka, Hāmākua, Hawai‘i, TMK (3) 4-4-015:009 (2011).

<sup>23</sup> Only 30 were formal interviews and the rest were informal; 27 were recorded; and 16 of those recorded are cited here.

Chapter One  
Introduction: Settler Colonialism,  
Big Science, and Multiculturalism

*Contested Meanings, Contesting Power*

In a return to the political, my dissertation examines contested meanings associated with the mountain to interrogate prevailing discourses by which a body of practices and relations acquires meaning and becomes adopted by people in their work, ideological commitments, and everyday lives. The contemporary hegemony of settler colonialism in Hawai‘i has made some issues and particular contestations unspeakable, while others proliferate. My aim is to stage a different conversation, one that addresses hegemonic relations of power active in scientific, capitalist, and state alignments, which provide a context too frequently avoided when folks talk about Mauna Kea; an omission that helps sustain the U.S. empire’s reach across Hawai‘i.

A key objective of the dissertation is to analyze power’s multiplicity, repetition, reproduction, and distribution across settler colonialism and in the making and resistance to the making of Mauna Kea as a site of settler institutional privilege, Western astronomy, property of the State, and the management responsibility of the University of Hawai‘i. With the hegemony of liberal democracy, scientific rationality, racial multiculturalism, and neoliberal capitalism as established as they are in Hawai‘i, I might have chosen many other sites through which to analyze power at the intersection of science, capital, environmentalism, sovereignty, race, and indigeneity. However, I chose to research and write about this contested space because Mauna Kea is emblematic of the larger struggle over Hawai‘i: a struggle over meanings assigned to land and thus the struggle for control over space.



As I began to look more closely into the story of Mauna Kea, I was struck by the proliferation of superlatives used to describe the mountain and the science and technology of Western astronomy. The rhetoric by which its meanings are constructed, affirmed, and contested – by environmentalists, astronomers, politicians, cultural practitioners, activists, and residents alike – almost approaches excess. Indeed, Mauna Kea is not alone in representing the contemporary violence of continued colonialism, however, because of the mountain's symbolism – as the biggest, the first, the oldest, the tallest, the greatest, the most sacred, and so on – and because of the diversity and contradictions of the various people involved in the debate, Mauna Kea stands out as a strikingly useful site for analyzing power, discourse, and subjectivities. Moreover, because of its place in the mo'okū'auhau (genealogical successions) of Papahānaumoku, Ho'ohōkukalani, and Wākea – symbolizing a temporal, spatial, and genealogical origin –, Mauna Kea presents a distinct window into power's operations within historical, political, legal, and scientific discourses, each of which is paradigmatically also concerned with its own search for universal truths, origins, and existential answers. The symbolism animating what at times nears hyperbole about the mountain's physical attributes, its spiritual significance, its economic value, and its scientific necessity make it a particularly useful site of encounter – a confluence of competing ideologies each vying for hegemonic determinacy.

The mo'olelo (stories, histories) of Mauna Kea by which the mo'okū'auhau is passed onto each generation of Kanaka 'Ōiwi and its value as sacred are rich with imagery that, when juxtaposed against scientific, capitalist, and state imperatives currently driving

Mauna Kea development, exposes the violence that many experience as the push for astronomy expansion on the mountain increases.

### *Settler Colonialism*

The project analyzes Mauna Kea within the context of what, over the last five years, indigenous studies scholars have increasingly described as settler colonialism, which I interpret as a regime of hegemonic power whose influence runs throughout society, but is never guaranteed, entirely coherent, or wholly complete and without rupture or contradiction. My use of the concept of settler colonialism derives particularly from the work of indigenous scholars,<sup>1</sup> many of whom cite Patrick Wolfe's now familiar characterization of the phenomenon as "a structure rather than an event."<sup>2</sup> As its "dominant feature... (is) replacement," the "primary object of settler-colonization is the land itself."<sup>3</sup> It is an ongoing body of practices that signals both a "complex social formation" and "continuity through time" by which land is wrested from indigenous peoples and its attached meanings and cultural significance replace those of indigenous thought worlds.<sup>4</sup> Combined with simultaneous practices of containment, settler colonialism's "logic of elimination marks a return whereby the native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society," often through liberal inclusion. It is in this

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<sup>1</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask (1993), Moreton-Robinson (2008), Alfred (2009), Byrd (2013), Goodyear (2013), and Simpson (2014), among others.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," in *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387-409 (New York & London: Routledge, 2006), 390.

<sup>3</sup> Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London & New York: Cassell, 1999), 163.

<sup>4</sup> Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," (2006), 390.

hegemony of liberal inclusion and multicultural representation that my work seeks to intervene and to interrogate the limits of “coexistence” and of Kanaka agency vis-à-vis participation; whether it be through forms of opposition that rely on settler legal structures for rights and protections or support for astronomy expansion however mediated or conditioned as it often is on a degree of agency and input in decision making processes.

My use of the theory marks one point of departure from Wolfe, whose concern with the genocidal tendencies underpinning this logic of elimination, at times, returns to a totalizing frame that presents limits when applied to the case of Hawai‘i. I recognize a problem in that an overemphasis on genocide, in the case of Mauna Kea, necessarily removes the possibilities and contradictions of agency in Hawaiians’ participation that present a complex and generative tension my own research suggests should not be dismissed so much as analyzed. Yet, in other instances, too committed a marriage to this logic of elimination moves towards a nihilism I do not see many Kanaka ‘Ōiwi exhibiting. As a “structure,” I am also not convinced these processes of ongoing colonialism are “a thing” or a single unifying concept or logic. I want to be attentive of the consequences of overemphasizing the structure of settler colonialism – its practices of replacement and logic elimination – as it could cause a discursive representation of an impenetrable and inescapable form that I argue colonialism is not. This would undermine the analysis that settler colonialism’s ruptures are exploitable and in them are found existent and emergent opportunities for an anti-colonial politics and non-colonial (i.e., indigenous) conceptions of difference and being. I take such representational practices to

heart, even as I critique colonialism in its everyday operations within popular, legal, science, capitalist, and state discourses that reinforce their hegemonies.

As a constant, yet fundamentally incomplete regime of power and hegemonic order, settler colonialism invites forms of resistance that hold much potential to pry open its structure, even as those fissures so frequently collapse under the weight of multiculturalism. To make decolonial use of these ruptures, Teme-Augama Anishnabai political theorist Dale Turner suggests indigenous scholars must center our “intellectual life” around “indigenous voices,” however difficult and contradictory this may be; and therefore, to also “reflect on our indigenusness” – our “indigeneity” –, in the work we do to “defend our rights, sovereignty, and nationhood, and to show that colonialism is ‘a monstrous crime against humanity.’”<sup>5</sup> Turner recognizes, “Colonialism is not something that is deeply ‘intellectualized’ in indigenous communities; it is embedded in the everydayness of indigenous life.”<sup>6</sup> This project endeavors to create such a distance from this everydayness in order to draw attention to the hegemonies active in science, law, and the state.

I am also not interested in calling anyone out or identifying who is and isn’t a “settler.” The point is not to advocate for an inverted power scheme by which Hawaiians police non-Hawaiians, legally, morally, or otherwise. My project seeks instead to name a condition in which we live and a context in which astronomy expansion becomes, not only normalized, but viewed as auspicious or as subject to unqualified scrutiny by

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<sup>5</sup> Dale Turner, *This is Not a Peace Pipe: Towards a Critical Indigenous Philosophy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 105; Turner quotes Elizabeth Cook-Lyn, “Who Stole Native American Studies?” in *Wacazo Sa Review*, Fall, (1999).

<sup>6</sup> Turner, *This is Not a Peace Pipe* (2006), 105

irrational Hawaiians. Settler colonialism is concerned with collectives and systemic institutional phenomena, but not at the cost of the individual or the event. It is concerned with the sustained privilege afforded to non-native settler communities at the expense of indigenous communities and that is dependent on their continued dispossession and replacement. I am less interested in intentions than I am in the lack of critical self-reflection behind the dominant frames of analysis. When people neglect or deny their privilege and the historical conditions on which it is based and the means by which it continues, they may be sustaining colonialism. To argue the U.S. is colonizing Hawai‘i implies, perhaps, more purpose than what I see is at work. This does not mean that contemporary Hawai‘i is not colonial or that Hawai‘i is not being actively colonized. Instead, it means there are different ways of examining *the colonial*. For this reason, I choose to discuss conditions of possibility, states of being, and relations of power.

In my recognition of the implications these contradictions, this rhetoric, and this work carry, my project seeks to tease out those exceptions, ruptures, and openings within ongoing processes of colonization of Hawai‘i and Hawaiians to create space for new articulations of indigeneity, difference, meaning, and ways of being “in the everydayness of indigenous life.” My aim is, therefore, to locate power’s fractures and to mobilize these openings for future interventions and to imagine another use of the mountain and relationality to Kanaka ‘Ōiwi based on Kanaka relationships to the mountain and the content of indigenous Hawaiian difference rather than the demands of state, multicultural, capitalist, or scientific imperatives.

*The Summit Lands*

The University of Hawai‘i holds the lease to most of the summit lands for astronomy research and in exchange, the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) requires the University’s commitment to properly manage and protect the mountain’s cultural, natural, and environmental resources, despite its record of failure to do so.<sup>7</sup> If the DLNR’s permit is deemed legal,<sup>8</sup> the Thirty Meter Telescope will stand 18-stories high and occupy 8-acres of undeveloped land on the Waimea-facing (northwest) slope, just below the summit, where earlier struggles have made it extremely difficult for the University, the UH Institute for Astronomy (IfA), and TMT partners to justify another telescope.<sup>9</sup> A giant structure built in this location will be unavoidably visible from Hāmākua, to Kohala, and much of Kona. From the true summit of Kūkahau‘ula, the TMT will compromise the view of Haleakalā, Māui.

Summit lands fall within several protected legal categories. First, they are part of the lands that belonged to the Kingdom of Hawai‘i’s ali‘i (royal families) and government prior to the U.S. occupation, known as “Crown and Government Lands.”<sup>10</sup> Since the illegal annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States in 1898, these lands have been ambiguously designated “Ceded Lands,” as “Public Lands” since the 1959 Statehood Act, and are “held in trust” for Hawaiians and Hawai‘i citizens. Second, they are also one of the State’s Conservation Districts, which are lands managed by DLNR. Since the

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<sup>7</sup> I discuss the legal discourses surrounding these management failures in chapter six.

<sup>8</sup> It is currently being challenged in a second appeal in the state circuit court.

<sup>9</sup> The TMT Corporation, LLC consists of five partners described as “an international consortia” and comprised of national and private science and technology institutions from at least four countries including the U.S., India, Japan, and Canada.

<sup>10</sup> See Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai‘i?* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008); Beamer, “‘Ōiwi Agency,” (2008); Sai, “The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom,” (2008).

late seventies, when new conservation laws and environmental protections for Public Lands and Native Hawaiians were codified in a revised State constitution, the summit of Mauna Kea has been designated a “Resource Subzone” within this Conservation District; a designation that rationalized the telescopes built in that decade with retroactive permits and created a means by which to secure future developments despite (or perhaps because of) the language of conservation. Third, since the State extended its generous 65-year lease to the University, now 46 years ago, most of the summit lands have come to be known as the Mauna Kea Science Reserve (MKSR) and the road and lower level parcels collectively are called the “UH Management Areas.” These provisions that have grown alongside State conservation policy and Native Hawaiian traditional and customary rights have left the summit vulnerable to a variety of legal mechanisms – normalized legal exceptions – by which industrial development on the mountain has become, not only permissible, but nearly impossible to prohibit. Although Hawaiians arguably still hold legal and moral claims to the so-called Ceded Lands, these layered designations and the legal force of state power continue to perform settler replacements and deferrals of indigenous ownership over lands that, understood by many Kanaka, are an inheritance arrested in the colonial wake of the U.S. empire’s coming to Hawai‘i.

### *The Debate, The Stakes*

To describe the debates surrounding the proposed Thirty Meter Telescope and Mauna Kea astronomy as a contentious issue would be quite an understatement. Discussions about the politics surrounding the issue are likely to incite suspicion, frustration,

contempt, and paranoia. Yet, although the stakes for everyone involved are high, they can be vastly divergent.

For astronomers, the University of Hawai‘i, and the State, the stakes include the potential loss of control over the world’s leading ground-based observatory. The TMT promises economic rewards and prestige for the State and University through affiliation with cutting-edge research and development. Although, as argued by some,<sup>11</sup> the TMT will be smaller in scale, budget, and carbon footprint than other big science enterprises elsewhere, it provides the settler state,<sup>12</sup> its beneficiaries, and constituents access to the makings of Western modernity. This modernity is predicated on and underwrites the cultural, economic, and political authority of science, capital, and the state, each of which benefits from the other’s power of legitimacy. For the state, science offers its valorizing capacity as a voice of reason, in the impersonal, instrumentalist, and objective search for physical truths.<sup>13</sup> In return, as the scientific production of knowledge depends on access

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<sup>11</sup> This point was made by several astronomers and astronomy advocates I interviewed. It is true the TMT is relatively small compared to, say, the CERN Large Hydron Collider, which brought together thousands of scientists and engineers from over 100 countries to construct the 38,000-ton, 27km circular accelerator (Science & Technology Facilities Council, <http://www.stfc.ac.uk/>) or the U.S. Department of Defense whose annual budget was \$553 billion in 2012 and increases every year (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/factsheet\\_department\\_defense](http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/factsheet_department_defense)), for example. However, at \$1.4 billion, 8-acres, 18 stories tall, and purported to be the world’s largest telescope, the TMT is no tiny project.

<sup>12</sup> “The state” throughout this dissertation is used, as it is here and in various other iterations, in reference to the nexus of institutions and techniques of governance that comprise the liberal multicultural capitalist democratic state in general, but more specifically the State of Hawai‘i and may or may not necessarily include the United States.

<sup>13</sup> For an insightful discussion on the utility of science in legitimizing state power in the case of Robert Oppenheimer’s 1954 hearing, which brought to the fore issues surrounding the tensions between scientific expert authority within liberal democratic



to land and resources for its experiments and observations, scientific communities require the state's legal support, not only through permits and land leases, but especially through the veil of oversight provided by regulation. Modern telescopes also require big money, culled together from a range of public, federal, and private sources. Private funders like the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation have pitched in significantly to support the TMT's early design and development and both local and out of state contractors are likely to compete for the TMT's construction contracts. In early 2013, National Science Foundation monies were awarded to the project for developmental planning.<sup>14</sup> This nexus of labor, expenditures, international coordination, geographical space, and resource consumption comprises what science and technology studies and historians of science have long called big science.

However, for Kanaka 'Ōiwi, the struggle over Mauna Kea reflects the historical violence of settler colonial occupation. Mauna Kea to Hawaiians is more than an ideal place for observing the universe, it is a sacred place; an embodiment of an elder sibling and ancestor whose storied life and genealogy has elevated him to the status of akua (god). These differences in meanings attached to the mountain are brought into focus in a variety of ways that I address throughout the dissertation.<sup>15</sup>

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politics, see Charles Thorpe, "Disciplining Exerts: Scientific Authority and Liberal Democracy in the Oppenheimer Case," in *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Aug., 2002), 525-562.

<sup>14</sup> An annual \$25,000 grant for the next five years has been awarded to the TMT for planning that will address "science, education, and public outreach, instrumentation, and operation of the facility from the perspective of the U.S. astronomy community." Thirty Meter Telescope, "Engaging the U.S. Astronomy Community – NSF Awards Partnership-Planning Grant to TMT," Available online at: <http://www.tmt.org/news-center/engaging-us-astronomy-community-nsf-awards-partnership-planning-grant-tmt>.

<sup>15</sup> Particularly in chapter three.

My project is also concerned with the ways in which power operates through these debates over Mauna Kea's future, its purpose, utility, and ownership and within discourses that produce a specific Hawaiianness; not only by way of their dismissal, expulsion, silence, or neglect, but especially through an excess of representations, conscriptions, and appropriations of them. My work is, in this sense, Foucaultian and Gramscian. In these processes of absorption and inclusion, for example, Hawaiians have agency. This, however, is one of my greatest concerns. Through the work of hegemony, as Jacqui Alexander explains, "all spaces carry the potential for corruptibility."<sup>16</sup> In her discussion of the privileges of Empire, she unpacks hegemony as "the very knowledge frameworks we deploy and... the contradictory practices of living the oppositions we enforce."<sup>17</sup> If hegemony operates through the enlistment of people who carry out their own forms of subjugation on behalf of the state, capital, heteropatriarchy, and other knowledge/power regimes, then discursive and institutional inclusion of Hawaiians in the long game of settler consolidation of land and power in Hawai'i denotes hegemony's continued effects in our everyday lives. As my dissertation analyzes discursive formations of Mauna Kea as both an observatory and a sacred temple, it also interrogates the power relations by which particular subjectivities are foreclosed and others are privileged; how some discourses become hegemonic and others unspeakable, each inflected by the subjectivities to which we adhere or that we challenge.

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<sup>16</sup> M. Jacqui Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing: Meditations on Feminism, Sexual Politics, Memory, and The Sacred* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005), 20.

<sup>17</sup> Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing* (2005), 20.

The dissertation also draws on scholarship from postcolonial studies, indigenous studies, indigenous critical theory, cultural studies, and feminist theory, among others. In that indigenous critical theory and indigenous philosophical thought figure prominently in my writing, the dissertation is also an intervention in legal, popular, and scientific discourses surrounding Mauna Kea from an indigenous centered perspective. Therefore, it becomes necessary to briefly analyze, not only settler colonialism, but also power's operations within liberal and multicultural discourses, which rationalize science, capitalist, and state privilege and possessions in Hawai'i.

### *Big Science on the Big Mountain*

Big science refers to the convergence of Western scientific practices, ideologies, and industrialization; state defense and security interests; and capitalist investment. Peter Galison explains “the ‘big’ in big science,” particularly in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, has come to denote “expansion on many axes: geographic (in the occupation of science cities or regions), economic (in the sponsorship of major research endeavors now costing on the order of billions of dollars), multidisciplinary (in the necessary coordination of teams from previously distinct fields), multinational (in the coordination of groups with very different research styles and traditions).”<sup>18</sup> Big science fulfills for states supporting its ambitions a positive self-image, a rationalization of its role in continued forms of domination and exploitation, and access to the legitimacy of science

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<sup>18</sup> Peter Galison, “The Many Faces of Big Science,” in Peter Galison and Bruce Hevly, eds. *Big Science: The Growth of Large-Scale Research* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 2.

as a voice of reason and rational and objective decision-making. There is a long history to this relationship that precedes, but certainly implicates the State of Hawai‘i.

Scientific knowledge has always played a central role in providing wealth through labor, extracted minerals, or other resources to enrich the colonial centers of Europe and later the U.S., Australia, and Canada. Scientific and technological achievements served as a justification for and the means by which to advance native subjugation, removal, and genocide in the course of expanding early colonial empires. In *Machines as the Measure of Men*,<sup>19</sup> for example, Michael Adas explains how ideologies constructed around notions of “scientific and technological measures of human capacity”<sup>20</sup> strengthened Eurocentric self-conceptions of racial superiority and rationalized exploitation of indigenous peoples and expropriation of their lands, which were dependent on projections of non-Western moral, racial, and intellectual inferiority. Big science, as a product of Western modernity, is dependent on the inherited wealth, land, and resources secured by these earlier colonial practices. Subsequently, Adas adds, “America’s path to political stability and prosperity through the rational management of its resources, through the application of science and technology to mass production, and through efforts to adapt the principles of scientific investigation to the study of human behavior was increasingly held up as the route that ‘underdeveloped’ and unstable societies were destined to travel as they ‘entered the modern age.’”<sup>21</sup> This is unfortunately the condition under which most of the world’s indigenous peoples are living today within their respective contexts.

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<sup>19</sup> Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

<sup>20</sup> Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men* (1989), 7.

<sup>21</sup> Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men* (1989), 403.

Today, the State of Hawai‘i is one of the TMT’s greatest champions, often exhibiting an over-compensatory commitment to science and capital – i.e., modernity – that suggests a residual anxiety likely not unrelated to early 20th century American racism against the Territory of Hawai‘i’s predominantly Asian and non-white citizenry and governing and administrative population, which continues to the present.<sup>22</sup> The State of Hawai‘i – particularly its governors, legislators, and the University – now demonstrates its capacity for rational management of the summit, the conflicting interests of its “stakeholders,” and the mountain’s natural and cultural resources through its Department of Land and Natural Resources, yet also by emphasizing its commitment to big science in its other agencies and the executive office.

Big science generally denotes this increase in coordination among states, private capital, lofty scientific ambitions, and large-scale industry as a means by which to consolidate power and wealth and to which ends science and technology have continued to prove consistently advantageous. My use of the concept of big science is meant to give a name to the multiple, layered and, often contradictory hegemonic forces assembled to, not only answer what is often considered the most important existential questions facing all of humanity, but also to reinscribe white heteropatriarchal dominance.<sup>23</sup> To this

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<sup>22</sup> Willy Kauai, for example, has discussed the concerns recorded in Congressional debates at the turn of the century and through several attempts at securing statehood up to the ‘50s around that emerged around the question of Hawai‘i’s admission into the Union, which reflected racist American fears of a so-called “yellow-peril.” Forthcoming dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2014.

<sup>23</sup> My conception of white heteropatriarchy is informed by feminist and postcolonial theories, particularly Aileen Moreton-Robinson’s reading of “patriarchal white sovereignty” in Australia and M. Jacqui Alexander’s description of processes of white imperial heterosexualization and patriarchy operative within state apparatuses that characterize both the symbolic order and the political and economic materialities of

end, big science leans on colonial logics that animated earlier power regimes as well as today's cultural, political, and intellectual discourses. My project, and indigenous critical theory more broadly, interprets and reevaluates these discourses in an attempt to interrogate the continued violence of ongoing colonial forms of which Mauna Kea is emblematic. I will return to big science throughout the dissertation, but suffice to say here that Mauna Kea reflects the phenomenon.

### *The Big Science of Mauna Kea Astronomy*

Since 1968, the University of Hawai'i has leased three large areas on Mauna Kea's summit, totaling approximately 11,288<sup>24</sup> acres. Initially, leased lands consisted of all those above 9,200 feet, but today include everything above 11,500 feet. The largest of the three management areas is the MKSR, in which observatory development has currently been limited to a 525-acre parcel called the Astronomy Precinct. The UH also manages the Summit Access Road<sup>25</sup> that connects the Astronomy Precinct to the 19.3-

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"recolonization" of postcolonial Bahamian state vis-à-vis legal discourses. See, Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Writing off Indigenous sovereignty: The discourse of security and patriarchal white sovereignty," in Aileen Moreton-Robinson, ed. *Sovereign Subjects: Indigenous Sovereignty Matters* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2007), 86-104; and, M. Jacqui Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy as a Politics of Decolonization: An Anatomy of Feminist and State Practice in the Bahamas Tourist Economy," in M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty, eds. *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (New York & London: Routledge, 1997), 63-100.

<sup>24</sup> In 1998, 2,033 acres were removed and placed under the Mauna Kea Ika Age Natural Area Reserve (NAR). The original lease granted the University 13,321 acres. See The Draft Environmental Assessment for the Mauna Kea Comprehensive Management Plan, 2009, 1-1.

<sup>25</sup> The Mauna Kea Access Road cuts through portions of the lands within the jurisdiction of the Department of Hawaiian Homelands, but for which DHHL has never received consultation or compensation. See The Royal Order of Kamehameha I, Moku O

acre Hale Pōhaku. At 9,300 feet, Hale Pōkahu is a midlevel public rest facility where visitors spend up to an hour acclimatizing to the altitude before proceeding to the summit. Tour groups and amateur stargazers observe from this location most nights. The facilities here include the Onizuka Center for International Astronomy, the Visitor Information Station, and a gift shop. Originally built as a construction laborer camp and equipment staging site,<sup>26</sup> Hale Pōhaku also houses living quarters “reminiscent of a moderate-sized alpine hotel,”<sup>27</sup> where astronomers, technicians, and others stay for longer periods of time to avoid having to reacclimatize each day.

Mauna Kea is a dormant volcano in the northern region of Hawai‘i island: in the ahupua‘a<sup>28</sup> of Humu‘ula and Ka‘ohe in the mokuoloko of Hilo and Hāmākua, respectively.<sup>29</sup> The observatories sit mainly on the summit plateau in Ka‘ohe where it meets Humu‘ula, which runs east to southeast. It is the tallest mountain in all of Oceania,

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Mamalahoa-Heiau O Helu ‘Elua and Mauna Kea Anaina Hou, *Mauna Kea—The Temple: Protecting the Sacred Resource, A Report Submitted to the Department of Land and Natural Resources*. Used by permission of Mauna Kea Anaina Hou (2001), 12.

<sup>26</sup> The Royal Order of Kamehameha I, et. al. (2001).

<sup>27</sup> The Royal Order of Kamehameha I, et. al. (2001); In our interview, Sierra Club member, Nelson Ho, also described the dormitories as “Mauna Kea’s Swiss chalet,” with a sense of humor about the growth in development over the last four decades. Nelson Ho, interview by author, September 24, 2012, Hilo, digital recording.

<sup>28</sup> “Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (pua‘a), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief.” See Mary Kawena Pukui & Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, Rev. Ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 9.

<sup>29</sup> Mokuoloko can be translated as district or “interior island.” See Kepā Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update: Oral History and Consultation Study, and Archival Literature Research; Ahupua‘a of – Ka‘ohe (Hāmākua District) and Humu‘ula (Hilo District), Island of Hawai‘i (various TMK)* (Hilo: Kumu Pono Associates, 1999), 7.

the oldest of all five mountains on the island, the only tropical alpine desert in the world, and receives snowfalls almost every year. It is the site of Keanakāko‘i, the largest stone adze quarry in the Pacific, which dates back to at least the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Mauna Kea is home of the highest lake in Oceania, Lake Waiau.<sup>30</sup> It is also one of only two locations inhabited by the rare wēkiu bug, currently “a candidate for listing under the Endangered Species Act.”<sup>31</sup> Measured from the ocean floor, rising to 33,474 feet (9,750 meters),<sup>32</sup> it is the tallest mountain on Earth.

As “uniquely an ideal site for astronomy,”<sup>33</sup> lawyers, scientists, and TMT advocates have long cited the summit’s exceptional physical characteristics as justification for

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<sup>30</sup> Although commonly written as “Waiau,” Hawaiian Language oral histories show the name of the lake was traditionally pronounced with the ‘okina, or glottal stop: “Wai‘au.” See Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update*, A-2. Throughout the dissertation, I have written the name without the ‘okina as this is how it appears in most of the texts I reference.

<sup>31</sup> Jesse A. Eiben and Daniel Rubinoff, “Wekiū Bug,” Online at: [http://www.ctahr.hawaii.edu/rubinoffd/rubinoff\\_lab/projects/wekiū\\_bug/wekiū%20bug.htm](http://www.ctahr.hawaii.edu/rubinoffd/rubinoff_lab/projects/wekiū_bug/wekiū%20bug.htm). Accessed on October 18, 2012. I learned a great deal about the politics of University-funded research on Mauna Kea from entomologist Fred Stone, who had been part of the first research team to study the wēkiū, and horticulturalist Deborah Ward, a former UH faculty member of Natural Resources and Environmental Management and long-time environmental educator. According to Stone and Ward, because the University has assumed strict control of wēkiū habitat monitoring, it is now questionable whether it will receive federal protections anytime soon. Fred Stone and Deborah Ward, interview by author, June 8, 2013, ‘Ōla‘a, digital recording.

<sup>32</sup> *National Geographic*, “Mountain: Highest Points on Earth,” Online at: <http://science.nationalgeographic.com/science/earth/surface-of-the-earth/mountains-article/>. Accessed on October 18, 2012; “Almost Heaven: Landing the Thirty Meter Telescope Fortifies Mauna Kea’s Position as Earth’s Eye on the Sky,” *Scientific American*, August 21, 2009, Online at: <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/thirty-meter-telescope-mauna-kea/>. Measured from sea level, the mountain reaches 13,796 feet (4,205 meters) in elevation. Mauna Kea Comprehensive Management Plan, UH Management Areas, January 2009, 3-1.

<sup>33</sup> Tim Lui-Kwan, UH attorney, Closing arguments in the TMT contested case hearings. BLNR No. HA-11-05, Vol. VII, Sept. 30, 2011, p .19.



continued development. Its combination of low precipitation, low mean temperature, atmospheric stability, large number of clear nights, and high altitude are unmatched anywhere else on the planet. Mauna Kea rises “above close to 40% of the earth’s atmosphere”<sup>34</sup> and is surrounded by ocean, so air has miles of undisturbed travel before reaching Hawai‘i’s shores greatly reducing atmospheric turbulence and light distortions. The summit is also prized for the very low humidity required by today’s advanced telescopes. It receives very low levels of light interference because of county zoning ordinances and an effective University lobby. Mauna Kea is considered by astronomers to be one of the best ground-based observation sites in the world. It captures views of the northern sky, which telescopes on summits south of the equator simply cannot. Indicating the sense of urgency many scientists and telescope proponents share, the argument for Mauna Kea telescopes is generally existential: astronomers are discovering the “origin and nature of the universe.”<sup>35</sup>

The issue of rent is one of the greatest areas of concern for opponents of Mauna Kea astronomy. The State of Hawai‘i leases summit lands to the University for \$1.00 per year, which the University sub-leases for another \$1.00/year to each of the telescope partners, which are generally comprised of state agencies and private institutions from such countries as France, Canada, Britain, India, and Japan who build, maintain, and operate their individual observatories. The observatories rent “viewing time” to various other science and astronomy institutions from around the world. Big science on Mauna Kea is a sizeable chunk of investment, if not a lucrative business. In 2011, *The Honolulu*

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<sup>34</sup> Leslie Lang and David A. Byrne, *Mauna Kea: A Guide to Hawai‘i’s Sacred Mountain* (Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2005), 86.

<sup>35</sup> Lui-Kwan, Closing arguments, 19.

*Weekly* reported it found that “in the past, the W.M. Keck Observatory on Mauna Kea rented out viewing time at \$1 per second, which adds up to \$30,000 per night.”<sup>36</sup>

According to the *Seattle Times* in 2012, “One night’s use of a Keck telescope is valued at \$50,000,”<sup>37</sup> but *The Honolulu Star Advertiser* reported in 2009 that Yale University paid the California Institute of Technology \$12 million for an annual 15 nights of observing time on the Keck telescopes over the course of 10 years,” which totals \$80,000 per night.<sup>38</sup> Telescopes, appear to keep up with inflation. As of 2012, “the cost of one observing night on a Keck telescope is \$53.7 thousand dollars.”<sup>39</sup> The University of Hawai‘i generally does not charge rent, but instead, for providing the land, winning the required state permits on behalf of the telescope owners, and spending its own millions in legal fees to circumvent community opposition in the courts, UH receives what in most cases amounts to 10%-20% of viewing time from each of the telescopes for its own educational and research purposes.<sup>40</sup>

It is in this regard that Mauna Kea represents the model and historical trajectory of American-led big science as it has, using the language of Jodi Byrd, “transited U.S. Empire” to Hawai‘i’s sacred mountain.<sup>41</sup> The monetary relationship between the State,

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<sup>36</sup> *Honolulu Weekly*, September 14, 2011.

<sup>37</sup> *The Seattle Times*, September 14, 2012.

<sup>38</sup> *Honolulu Weekly*, September 14, 2011.

<sup>39</sup> See “Calculation of Time on Keck,” National Optical Astronomical Observatory, Online at <http://ast.noao.edu/system/tsip/more-info/time-calc-keck>. Accessed on 11/15/12; I learned through my interviews with UH IfA representatives that the monies accrued through observation rents return to cover regular expenses to keep each telescope operational, though I had no way of verifying this.

<sup>40</sup> The amount of viewing time varies from sublease to sublease.

<sup>41</sup> Jodi A. Byd, *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011).

the University, and the individual telescope partners is perhaps the most opaque aspect of the TMT and the business of Mauna Kea astronomy. In my research, I had great difficulty finding exactly what transactions take place, among whom, and in what amounts. However, I decided this was a marginal concern for the conversation I wanted to stage related to discourse and power. I suspect this secrecy, however, is not an accident.

It is still unclear why the University has not collected more revenue from the sub-letters or why the State has not required more than the nominal \$1.00 annual rent from the University. In a personal interview with Office of Mauna Kea Management (OMKM) director, Stephanie Nagata, I asked why sublease agreements afford the University only “viewing time” on the telescopes in exchange for acquiring necessary State permits rather than what the petitioners have called “fair market rent” from the developer/operators of those telescopes. This was of particular interest to opponents because the University spent millions of dollars to fight the legal challenges to State permits from 2010-2014. Since the University receives the majority of its funds from State allowances and student tuition, in a sense, State dollars were spent on defeating State environmental laws. Nagata suggested the telescope owners do not charge for viewing time because the goal is not to make a profit, but rather to pursue astronomy. She told me that because telescope and facilities construction costs, power expenses, and maintenance costs run in the millions, the grants and partner contributions go exclusively towards these and nothing else. Each consortium – the partnership of those institutions who own a given telescope – is responsible for the maintenance of its individual telescope under terms of that sublease with the University of Hawai‘i. Nagata suggested

that the University's relationship with the State "requires only a nominal monetary conveyance – the \$1.00 per year – because the agreement is a government-to-government lease."<sup>42</sup> Both being "State agencies" – the government on the one hand and the University Board of Regents on the other – the payment is symbolic, not substantive. Nagata says it is in the State's interests to support astronomy as a way to "diversify the economy... (Because) unlike tourism, it is something the State can control." The comment suggests the state's approach to governance of land and resource management is entangled with from revenue generation schemes for which big science research and development projects provide, not only ideological rationalization, but material legitimation.

According to reports in the *Honolulu Star Advertiser* and the *Honolulu Civil Beat*, between 2010-2011 the UH spent \$1.1 million on legal fees to secure its CDUP and to fight the challenges brought by a small group of concerned citizens and local organizations.<sup>43</sup> As the UH is a State institution funded mostly by tax dollars and was seeking an exception to DLNR's conservation district use policy through the legal process, the State was essentially spending millions of tax dollars to defeat its own laws in the name of scientific industrial development on conservation lands.<sup>44</sup> The University's spending on private legal help in the contested case process doubled during that year, actually marking a four-year spike in expenditures for outside legal counsel. The amount exceeded what was paid by most other state agencies combined over the

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<sup>42</sup> Stephanie Nagata, interview by author, June 13, 2013, Makiki, digital recording.

<sup>43</sup> Rob Perez, "Legal fees spike at UH," *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, 6/12/11.

<sup>44</sup> Nanea Kalani, "Civil Beat Shares University of Hawaii Salaries," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, 09/01/2010.

same period. Between May 2010 and March of 2011, UH spent \$2.23 million, roughly \$203,000/month, while in the proceeding 44-months, the University spent only \$3.8 million, or approximately \$86,000/month.<sup>45</sup> This spending hike was likely related to the legal challenges brought against the TMT permit. Interestingly, in the corresponding period of the spending increase in attorney expenses, the University's operating budget was \$1.1 billion, of which 60%, or \$670 million, was funded by the public through the general excise tax and personal income tax.<sup>46</sup> Essentially, taxpayers were financing UH circumvention of state laws meant to protect the environment. A year earlier, from 2009-2010, the University was busy increasing student admissions while laying-off 150 faculty and instructors and cutting the pay of most professors by 6.7%. These measures were a peculiar remedy to a \$155 million budget shortfall the school faced after the effects of the 2008 banking system collapse. The local news media reporting of this data suggests the University and the State hold considerable commitments to the economic and symbolic promise of big science on Mauna Kea.

### *The Players and The Thirty Meter Telescope*

While the UH Board of Regents is responsible for the general lease of the summit, the University of Hawai'i-Hilo spearheaded the legal battle for the TMT permit in 2010. The Institute for Astronomy (IfA) is responsible for conducting and coordinating astronomical research and submitting conservation district use applications on behalf of potential tenant observatories, but since 2000, has been relieved of management responsibilities

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<sup>45</sup> *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, 6/12/11.

<sup>46</sup> *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, 6/12/11.

and legal affairs. The Office of Mauna Kea Management (OMKM) is responsible for managing the University's Management Areas, which include the Mauna Kea Science Reserve, the Summit Road, and Hale Pōhaku and reports to the UHH Chancellor. OMKM oversees day-to-day management activities, but the overall management structure also includes two other bodies. The first is the volunteer-based Mauna Kea Management Board, which develops management policies, and, the second body is the Native Hawaiian Advisory Council, or Kahu Kū Mauna, which provides consultation about Native Hawaiian cultural values and community concerns, although, as I have been told, it does not have the power to influence final project decisions. As of 2005, the OMKM had a budget of \$1.7 million for non-astronomical research related management activities. The IfA, Senator Daniel Inouye, Governor Neil Abercrombie, and University of Hawai'i president M.R.C. Greenwood have each aggressively pushed for the TMT.

Proposed for 8 acres of the undeveloped land on the northern plateau of Mauna Kea, TMT construction would require the excavation of 64,000 cubic yards of earth and obstruction of the view of Haleakalā from Kūkahau'ula, the undeveloped pu'u (cinder cone, hill) on the east side of the Science Reserve and the "true summit"<sup>47</sup> of the mountain where Hawaiians conduct traditional religious ceremonies today. The TMT would stand 18-stories tall and its base would be buried 20 feet below ground.<sup>48</sup> The primary mirror would be 30 meters (98 feet) in diameter and made up of 492 individual segments – nearly four times the size of the two Keck observatories. If built, the TMT

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<sup>47</sup> It was speculated in my interviews with the petitioners that the pu'u on which the Keck Observatory now sits was the original summit, but was leveled in the '90s.

<sup>48</sup> See "8 Acres? 18 Stories? TMT? A'ole" (sic), KAHEA: The Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, Website/Blog, Available at: <http://kahea.org/blog/8-acre-18-story-development-in-mauna-kea-conservation-district-seeks-permit>, Accessed on 4/6/12.

promises to be “the most technically advanced telescope in the world with observational powers many times greater than any available today,”<sup>49</sup> although before it has even been approved, another telescope featuring a 39-meter primary mirror, dubbed the “European Extremely Large Telescope” (E-ELT), is currently under construction in England, which is billed as “the largest optical/near-infrared telescope in the world: ‘the world’s biggest eye on the sky’.”<sup>50</sup> Big science on Mauna Kea is an exercise in superlatives: telescope battles invite self-descriptions of the facilities and their work as the biggest, fastest, first, etc. in whatever the feature, technology, ambition, or accomplishment.

### *The TMT Contested Case*

Contested cases are “pseudo-judicial administrative hearings governed by Hawai‘i state law,” where citizens are given an opportunity to intervene in state agency decisions that affect their rights.<sup>51</sup> According to KAHEA: The Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, a non-profit native rights and environmental policy advocacy organization and one of the petitioners challenging the permit, a contested case hearing consists of three parts: 1) a *pre-hearing* in which the scope of the hearing is determined and the parties make their respective cases for standing of potential participants; 2) the *hearing* where witness testimonies are given and evidence is presented; and 3) a *post-hearing* in which “parties propose and advocate for a particular outcome.” It was in the pre-hearing when the

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<sup>49</sup> “Thirty Meter Telescope Hawai‘i Environmental Impact Statement Process,” TMT, Website, Available at: <http://www.tmt-hawaiiis.org/#1>, Accessed on 4/6/12.

<sup>50</sup> The European Southern Observatory, “The European Extremely Large Telescope,” Online at: <http://www.eso.org/public/teles-instr/e-elt.html>. Accessed on 10/2/12.

<sup>51</sup> KAHEA: The Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, “What is a Contested Case Hearing?” April 5, 2011, Available online at: <http://kahea.org/blog/what-is-a-contested-case-hearing>.

incommensurability between Western scientific and indigenous ontological imperatives became apparent. Differing views relating to the natural, the sacred, and to the significance of Mauna Kea were thrust into public view, indicating a chasm between settler urgencies, on the one hand, and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi<sup>52</sup> valuations of the mountain, on the other. The fulcrum in this tension was a woman lizard and guardian spirit of the summit’s Lake Waiau, Mo‘oinanea.

### *Mo‘oinanea and Incommensurability*

Pua Case and her partner Kalani Flores requested that Mo‘oinanea – a mo‘o wahine and kupua<sup>53</sup> who had appeared to their adolescent daughter, Kapulei, at a “rain rock” for which the family cares – be given standing to participate in the hearing. In her written testimony, Pua Case tells the story:

During one visit to Manaua, Kapulei informed me that Mo‘oinanea from Mauna a Wākea had come to visit Manaua and was sitting on a lower level of the rock.

She described her to me completely including the style and design on her kīkepa.<sup>54</sup> As we left, she paused asking me to wait. She listened and stated that Mo‘oinanea was asking if I could try one more time. When I asked her what she meant, she asked, “If I could try to stop the telescope from being built, but that if I

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<sup>52</sup> My use of this binary here is provisional, in recognition, as I discuss later in the dissertation, of the contradictions and complexities underpinning these subject positions. However, in the absence of evidence that the original settler/native distinction, so unavoidable to 18<sup>th</sup> century Kanaka, and its subsequent colonial relations of power have been fully resolved and rendered obsolete, I argue, the binary continues to hold some analytic relevance today, however contingent on further qualification it may be.

<sup>53</sup> Mo‘o wahine may be translated as woman reptile/dragon and is a guardian spirit

<sup>54</sup> A kapa worn over a woman’s shoulder and under the opposite arm, covering her torso.



could not, it was okay.” She was requesting something of me, but also as if reading my mind, was giving me a way out at the same time. This is the one of the primary reasons our family was prompted to proceed forward in this contested case hearing, because of that request (*sic*).<sup>55</sup>

Pua Case and Kalani Flores, were granted standing as “the Flores-Case ‘Ohana,” but Mo‘oinanea was not. The subsequent controversy over the disembodied spirit can be interpreted as signaling the limits of indigenous intelligibility before the law. The debate surrounding whether Mo‘oinanea should be given standing as a party to the contested case also opened a space through which to observe the limits of law’s ability to account for the indigenous on its own terms. While law’s authority depends on its capacity to determine truths, Mo‘oinanea and the push for recognition of, not only the kupua, but of an ontological difference, suggested settler colonial hegemony can be ruptured, however limited such an opening may be.

On February 23, 2011, the Flores-Case ‘Ohana filed their petition for the contested case on behalf of Mo‘oinanea contending that she “has a substantial interest in this matter, resides on the summit of Mauna a Wākea, and can demonstrate that she and others will be directly and immediately affected by the requested action” of receiving a permit.”<sup>56</sup> Two months later, the University’s Reply Brief stated its objection “to the inclusion of Mo‘oinanea as a party to the contested case proceedings on the grounds that, because the petition asserts Mo‘oinanea is not a human being, Mo‘oinanea does not

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<sup>55</sup> “Written Direct Testimony of B. Pualani Case,” Petitioners’ exhibit, G-02, WDT submitted to DLNR, (2011); Document emailed to the author and used by permission of B. Pualani Case.

<sup>56</sup> Exhibit A-318, Document received by the author from Pua Case.

qualify as a ‘person’ and so does not have standing in these proceedings under Haw. Admin. R. § 13-1-32.”<sup>57</sup> According to Hearing Officer Paul Aoki’s “Proposed Findings of Fact, and Conclusions of Law and Decision and Order,” the Land Board sided with the University’s assessment and that, because “Mo‘oinanea is a spirit, not a person,... (she) does not meet the requirements of Haw. Admin. R § 13-1-31 and 13-1-2 to be admitted as a party.” Aoki wrote:

After considering the issue, including the submission of the new written testimony from the Flores-Case ‘Ōhana, the BLNR voted unanimously to adopt the Hearing Officer’s recommendation to deny the petition submitted on behalf of Mo‘oinanea.<sup>58</sup>

The discourse was rich with irony as Mo‘oinanea’s subjectivity was effectively produced in law if not recognized by it. For the BLNR to make a determination of standing of someone considered “not a person” and “not a human being,” but as someone nevertheless – as someone who may be referenced, named, and invoked within the “pseudo-judicial space” of the state’s authority –, reveals an aspect of law’s contingency. Mo‘oinanea emerged as an absent other, both expendable yet necessary, not unlike Kanaka ‘Ōiwi more generally in such discourses requiring their presence insofar as their enlistment and appropriation affords the state, scientific, and capitalist imperatives varying degrees of legitimacy; yet, simultaneously requiring their disenfranchisement, silencing, and absence in order to continue the unethical displacements of settler

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<sup>57</sup> As quoted in, DLNR File No. HA-11-05, Hearing Officer’s Report, Board of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai‘i, (2012), 8.

<sup>58</sup> DLNR File No. HA-11-05, Hearing Officer’s Report, Board of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai‘i, (2012), 9.

colonialism. Through a series of follies and the discursive groping for her substantiation and disavowal, the process provided for her simultaneous emergence *and* disqualification. She was at once manifest and disallowed through rhetoric and debate surrounding, of all things, her financial situation!

In a May hearing, Mo‘oinanea was ultimately denied “the request... for waiver of the filing fee because no demonstration of financial hardship had been made. The Chairperson advised that failure to submit the filing fee might result in dismissal of the petition.”<sup>59</sup> In that meeting, Kalani Flores offered a second request “for a waiver of the filing fee for the Mo‘oinanea petition, asserting that Mo‘oinanea ‘is not employed’ and does not receive any revenues generated by activities on Mauna Kea.” In June, the BLNR sought an opinion of Mo‘oinanea’s standing by the DLNR’s Office of Conservation and Coastal Lands (OCCL) and after its review, the OCCL presented its recommendation to deny standing to Mo‘oinanea “for lack of standing and for failure to pay the filing fee.”<sup>60</sup> A brief media spectacle followed – further accentuating the limits of law’s power to contain Kanaka indigeneity – and even contributed to Mo‘oinanea’s invocation when, for example, the *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* published the headline “Official Says Spirit Can’t Testify.”<sup>61</sup> Staff writer, Peter Sur, reported, “Flores also argued that Mo‘oinanea is part human, has a genealogy, can manifest herself as a person or a mo‘o -- a giant reptile -- and cannot be seen by some because she ‘resonates at a different vibration.’” Sur reported on the University’s counsel, Tim Lui-Kwan’s

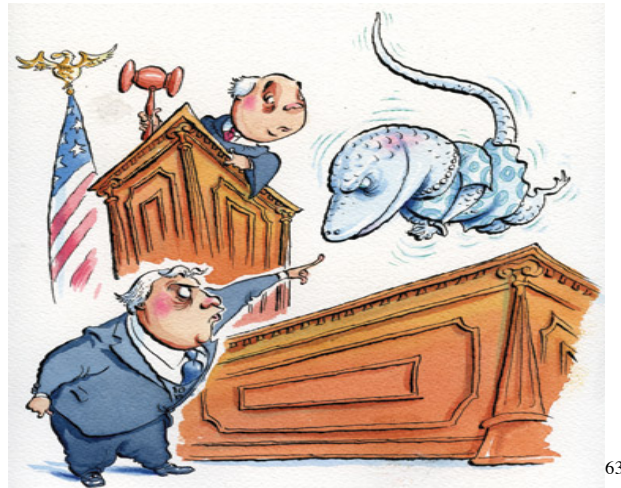
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<sup>59</sup> DLNR File No. HA-11-05, Hearing Officer’s Report, Board of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai‘i, (2012), 6.

<sup>60</sup> DLNR File No. HA-11-05, Hearing Officer’s Report, Board of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai‘i, (2012), 6.

<sup>61</sup> *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, June 20, 2011.

objection, quoting him wrestling with the language of whether a spiritual being can be a “living organism” or not. In January, *Honolulu Magazine* published its “Sour Poi Awards 2012: Celebrating the best of the worst of 2011– the strange, the stupid, and the scandalous” and recognized the absurd, though “spirited defense” for Mo‘oinanea, despite the petitioner’s ultimate inability to convince Hearing Officer Aoki.<sup>62</sup>



One thing this discourse on Mo‘oinanea demonstrates is that settler coloniality in Hawai‘i remains haunted by the specter of the indigenous whose prior existence, occupancy, meanings, and ontological frames challenge the self-evidence of Hawai‘i’s contemporary condition. Settler law remains vexed by its own limits to adequately absorb Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, whose otherness and distinct ontologies disrupt legal and scientific determinations that seek to contain indigenous differentiation. The Flores-Case ‘Ohana resists the state’s claim to hegemony by submitting their own claim to difference. This tension presented by Mo‘oinanea can be understood metaphorically as reflecting the

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<sup>62</sup> *Honolulu Magazine*, January 04, 2012, Available online at: [http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/January-2012/Sour-Poi-Awards-2012/index.php?cparticle=2&siarticle=1#.U6pd5I1dV\\_0](http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/January-2012/Sour-Poi-Awards-2012/index.php?cparticle=2&siarticle=1#.U6pd5I1dV_0).

<sup>63</sup> Figure 1.1. Illustration by Michael Witte, *Honolulu Magazine*, January 04, 2012

larger tensions at play over Mauna Kea astronomy expansion and settler colonialism even beyond that. These tensions show us the malleability of law, science, the state, and capital in conserving power. Their legitimacy must constantly be remade to secure the preferred hegemony for that conservation. Such indeterminations at the limits of political intelligibility are the subject of my intervention in conventional discourses surrounding astronomy expansion on Mauna a Wākea.

### *American and Asian Settler Colonialism and Narratives*

Scholars have described this hegemonic regime of colonial power in Hawai‘i as a distinctly *Asian* settler colonialism.<sup>64</sup> Analyzed in this context, narratives of nineteenth century Asian migrant labor exploitation within Hawai‘i’s sugar plantation economy and the subsequent triumph of these communities over racialized subordination to white elites function today to legitimize the power and privilege enjoyed by local Asians, particularly within political, economic, and cultural institutions. Narrative practices are key to rationalizing these contemporary social, political and economic hierarchies for they depend on the continued subjugation of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi on whose land Asian and U.S. settlement depends. Discourses surrounding immigrant labor oppression in particular, as well as WWII internment, scapegoating, and racism, function to provide these communities justification for contemporary upward mobility, but exaggerated forms also produce victimized narratives. The process masks the current power enjoyed by Asian

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<sup>64</sup> See articles in, Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Whose Vision?: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i* (Los Angeles, CA: Asian American Studies Center, 2000); Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008).

descendants and dissociates them from contemporary forms of colonial expropriation, misrepresentation, and oppression towards Hawaiians and minority groups.

Candace Fujikane contends, “Many historians employ a developmental narrative that begins with the colonization of Hawaiians and ends with multicultural democracy in Hawai‘i. The story of multiethnic diversity is thus cast as the triumphant ‘resolution’ to Hawai‘i’s colonial ‘past’.”<sup>65</sup> Despite the reality of today’s social stratification, however, Hawai‘i’s political economy requires a touristic and business friendly image of Hawai‘i that depicts Hawai‘i as a multicultural paradise, even if dependant on its permanent militarization. The problem with the image of Hawai‘i’s “harmonious multiculturalism,” however, is that it neglects Hawaiians’ continued struggle for self-determination, against which Asian settlers in State and County Government offices routinely thwart or support only nominally. Fujikane suggests Asian narratives provide a nostalgic look towards a history of struggle that validates a subsequent ascendancy of Asian settlers to reproduce settler privilege at the expense of Native Hawaiians, in particular. The narrative empowers communities who were historically marginalized – despite significant stratification among Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, and Samoan communities, for example – while simultaneously obscuring contemporary hierarchies wherein, particularly, Japanese, white, and Chinese communities currently occupy the majority of positions of influence and governing powery.<sup>66</sup> The goal of political academic critiques of Asian settler colonialism is to prompt “a methodological and epistemological shift away

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<sup>65</sup> Candace Fujikane, “Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i,” in Fujikane and Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism* (2008), 3.

<sup>66</sup> See also Jonathan Okamura, *Ethnic Inequality in Hawai‘i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008) for a detailed examination of ethnic and racial formations among Hawai‘i’s various ethnic communities.

from predominant accounts of Hawai‘i as a democratic, ‘multicultural,’ or ‘multiracial’ state by showing us instead the historical and political conditions of a white- and Asian-dominated U.S. settler colony.”<sup>67</sup> While scholars who recognize Asian settler colonialism’s “ideological narratives of immigration” indicate a substantive challenge to any notion of restorative justice for Hawaiians, their analyses indicate the limits of U.S. civil rights frameworks, which stand to benefit any other immigrant community in ways that are completely irrelevant and inapplicable to Native Hawaiians.

### *The Settler Coloniality of Multiculturalism*

Multiculturalism becomes an asset to the scientific settler state in numerous ways. In the Mauna Kea astronomy debates multiculturalism looms everywhere, as a malleable concept useful in the service of conserving state power, capital, and scientist privilege. Just as science may rationalize claims to universal knowledge, so is the rationalization of Mauna Kea astronomy expansion predicated on a multicultural logic of universal access to rights, distribution of resources, and supposed social equality. This conception of access in the Mauna Kea astronomy debate refers to jobs, education, scientific knowledge, land, and to prosperity, all of which the TMT promises. In chapter four, I elaborate on the representational techniques in my discussion of rhetoric positing Mauna Kea as a “gift.” My argument is that this universality is constructed around a disavowal of indigeneity and the refashioning of indigenous claims into excessive and unreasonable demands or special (that is, race-based) rights. The mountain is described as everyone’s mountain. By casting Mauna Kea as belonging to everybody, assertions of Kanaka

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<sup>67</sup> Fujikane, “Introduction” in Fujikane and Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism* (2008), 3-4.

meanings, values, and claims to a particular use of, right to, or relationship with the mountain, imply Hawaiians seek more than a fair share. The language of “stakeholders” assists in the slippage as well. Kealoha Pisciotta frequently reminds multicultural adherents who use such language that Kanaka are “indigenous land rights holders,” not “stakeholders.”<sup>68</sup>

The campaign for astronomy expansion benefits from multiculturalism’s ability to undermine indigenous claims to differentiation – particularly the difference of ancestral claims to land. Conversely, Hawaiians’ claims to an onto-genealogical land-based distinction – as rights holders, descendants, and heirs to the land – threatens the colonizing work of the multicultural state in its efforts to control and rationalize its control of the land. Because settler law and governance depend on, not genocide, but a particular restraint on and containment of Hawaiians, the state positions itself to have it both ways. For example, multiculturalism must level difference, expand access to land and resources, and universalize science. Likewise, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi must be appropriated and brought into these schemes as allies, beneficiaries, advocates, and even as scientists themselves if multiculturalism is to obscure colonialism and work in the settler state’s favor. In chapter five I elaborate on ways in which Hawaiians’ participation in astronomy expansion maintains this cover of colonialism under the mantle of multicultural inclusion. In chapter six I analyze the appropriation of our culture, language, discursive practices, and beliefs as an example of the multiculturalizing of Mauna Kea, which suppresses colonialism’s visibility. Here, I will outline the argument.

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<sup>68</sup> Kealoha Pisciotta, phone interview by author, September 15, 2012, digital recording.



The ambivalence and anxiety within the settler colonial state in its complicity with U.S. empire is laid bare in the insistence to have it both ways. On the one hand, the state and settler governance, the legal system, and the astronomy community must render the opposition to the TMT as irrational, the implication of which suggests science alone is modern and rational while those who oppose astronomy expansion (i.e., Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, activists, and environmentalists) are irrational and regressive. Kanaka are appropriated as antecedents of Mauna Kea astronomy; impressive for their “ancient” achievements, but pre-modern, obsolete, and provincial. This action effectively neutralizes contemporary demands for another vision for the mountain. To use Mauna Kea for Western science, to undermine indigenous claims and demands for the protection of the mountain, and to circumvent the increasingly popular call for a development-free mountain, the State and University must reproduce the binary of modern and rational Western astronomy vs. pre-modern and irrational indigenous resistance. However, on the other hand, if Kanaka are backwards and primitive, the State of Hawai‘i, its commitment to astronomy expansion, and the historical emergence of Mauna Kea telescopes are exposed as colonial, not multicultural – the façade crumbles. Therefore, paradoxically, if Kanaka are rendered irrational, the modernity/tradition binary also breaks down.

In many ways, the central threat of science is in this precarious position in which it places the state in its commitment to astronomy on Mauna Kea, which forces multicultural settler replacement to account for the indigenous. Attempts to resolve this precarity reveals an anxiety within the scientific settler state that can be observed in its often capricious rhetoric. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi are simultaneously non-colonial, in that we have our own histories and cultures of science and knowledge production, and anti-colonial, in

that our cultures of science and knowledges contradict settler coloniality. They are no less significant; they are just threatening to these relations of power and are therefore being replaced, marginalized, trivialized, provincialized, appropriated, misrepresented, and otherwise repressed.

In U.S. race discourses since the 1970s, critiques have deconstructed the ways in which multiculturalism diminishes the significance of race by obscuring the historical causes of contemporary social hierarchies, often within colorblind ideologies characteristic of the anti-affirmative action backlash wherein cultural, racial, and class differences are leveled according to the internalizing logics of equality and civil rights.<sup>69</sup> Critical race theory scholars later intervened to point out the limits of rights discourses in which a broader liberation that questions the very basis of state authority may be thwarted, while inherited power and wealth are conserved by whites.<sup>70</sup> For indigenous peoples, however, rights discourses are not only inadequate, they can be detrimental. Because rights always presuppose state legitimacy, rights discourses will invariably undermine any long-term decolonization objectives, whether initiated by indigenous peoples or their allies. For Hawaiians, this does not mean we do not or should not have rights, but rather that rights can never be an end – only a means. Therefore, we must also interrogate the discourses by which civil rights are thought to be universal aims.

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<sup>69</sup> See, Kimberle Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, “Introduction,” In Kimberle Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, eds., *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings That Formed the Movement* (New York: The New Press, 1995), xiii-xxxii.

<sup>70</sup> See, Kimberle Crenshaw, et. al. eds. *Critical Race Theory*; Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Ethnic Inequality in Hawai‘i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

In Hawai‘i, inherited power has been ethnically determined: since the U.S. occupation (or, illegal annexation) of Hawai‘i began in 1898, inherited power and wealth have disproportionately benefitted Asian settlers, particularly those of Japanese and Chinese descent.<sup>71</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask critiqued settler colonialism in her groundbreaking work, *From A Native Daughter*, arguing, “In settler societies the issue of civil rights is primarily an issue about how to protect settlers from each other and from the state. Injustices done against Native people—e.g., genocide, land dispossession, language extinction, family disintegration, cultural exploitation—are not part of this intra-settler discussion, and therefore not within the parameters of civil rights.”<sup>72</sup> Trask, like many critical indigenous studies scholars today, is calling for recognition that settlers benefit from colonial hegemony in ways that undermine indigenous genealogical land based claims and thereby condition ongoing colonial relations.

As already mentioned, one of my concerns with multiculturalism in the case of Mauna Kea centers on the practices by which science and astronomy expansion are legitimized by invocations of the multicultural promise of social equality and racial harmony, which consistently mask the violence of settlement processes. A secondary concern is with how even liberal critiques of multiculturalism’s operations risk collapsing indigeneity into race and ethnicity. Once the ontological distinction of Hawaiians and their genealogical land based claims are reconfigured as excessive according to conventional racial ideologies, this neutralization of indigenous difference affords the state, capital, and science to appropriate multiculturalism’s discursive tools. I will

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<sup>71</sup> Okamura (2008), Cooper & Daws (1985).

<sup>72</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism & Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 1993), 31.

examine this liberal challenge to multiculturalism, but first, let me turn to the crass multiculturalizing practice located in the rhetoric of coexistence.

### *The Multiculturalism of 'Imiloa Astronomy Center*

In the promotion of the Thirty Meter Telescope throughout the 2000s, the University and advocates had to represent themselves as reformed, for which accountability to *all of Hawai'i's people*, and not just astronomers (a point of previous criticism), would be necessary. Despite earlier failures to properly manage the “mountain’s resources,”<sup>73</sup> UH astronomers and administrators had to convince an increasingly dissatisfied public they had learned from their mistakes and had now implemented a new process of accountable land management, public inclusion, and consideration of Native Hawaiians. This transformation was mainly discursive, in that UH demonstrated its reform through the TMT’s Final Environmental Impact Statement and the Comprehensive Management Plan. The assertion was also manifest in occasional community meetings, presentations, and public outreach efforts meant to sway public opinion in favor of another telescope. For astronomy expansion advocates who realize their continued access to Mauna Kea depends on, not only community support, but also the community’s *embrace* of Mauna Kea astronomy, obtaining a permit became a numbers game to which multicultural rhetoric has proven essential.

An example of IfA’s and the University’s concern with reform is the ‘Imiloa Astronomy Center, which today stands as a symbol of the multicultural promise, universality, and ambition of Mauna Kea astronomy expansion. Opened in Hilo in 2006,

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<sup>73</sup> This was determined by the State Auditor in 1998.

‘Imiloa was intended to serve as “a gathering place that advances the integration of science and indigenous culture” and to bring “together members of the Hawaiian and astronomy communities to share a common vision for the future.”<sup>74</sup> To the point of overcompensation, the Center emphasizes Hawaiian culture and language throughout its exhibits, educational programs, architecture and gardens, special events, and regular guest speakers, all of which function to legitimate Western science in Hawai‘i, and thereby rationalize Mauna Kea astronomy. The ‘Imiloa website states the center is, an integral part of the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, and therefore committed to improving the quality of life of the people of Hawai‘i Island and state. Through strategic partnerships with programs of the University, Hawai‘i-based observatories, local businesses and schools, we create opportunities that strengthen career awareness and workforce development, and contribute to our community sustainability.<sup>75</sup>

As ‘Imiloa’s mission is to present “Hawaiian and scientific beliefs, theories and practices related to Maunakea, the stars, and the world around us,” within a coherent narrative and to demonstrate a unity, the practice also inscribes new meanings onto the historical relations between Hawaiians and settlers. Hawaiians and scientists both do science. They both love and use the mountain. The refrain echoed through the testimonies of TMT advocates is “can’t we coexist?” That “Hawaiian and scientific beliefs, theories, and practices” do not present themselves as innately aligned, coherent, or unified without such concerted interventions as ‘Imiloa’s suggests a historical,

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<sup>74</sup> ‘Imiloa website, <http://www.imiloahawaii.org/>.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Imiloa website, <http://www.imiloahawaii.org/>.

political, and cultural division that is currently under-examined, but nevertheless still present: the condition of colonial occupation. Indigenous genealogical and land based claims to Mauna Kea articulated with the political and the colonial foregrounded, are absent in ‘Imiloa exhibits and special events. Instead, taking priority is a trivial concern for “bringing communities together” and “getting local people involved.”<sup>76</sup> Yet, if the multicultural vision of Western scientific and Native Hawaiian conviviality must be self-consciously produced by expelling particular (i.e., indigenous/political) claims to the mountain and calls for a moratorium on development, how aligned are they on their own?

The language of coexistence is now ubiquitous among expansion advocates who frequently paint astronomy as an undeserving target of misdirected native resentment. In the name of the “aloha spirit,”<sup>77</sup> the rhetoric of coexistence suggests the TMT and the University, through its reformed management structure, might represent the possibility of a multiracial, if not a postracial, society. Astronomy expansionists have found it productive to borrow the multicultural language, as it has already proven effective in the tourism industry and elsewhere. By insisting on (an ambiguous) coexistence blind to the historical privilege of their own participation and benefits within state power, the University and science communities cast themselves as victims of irrational opposition. I ask, on whose terms shall this coexistence occur? Whose model of coexistence shall we all adopt? The answer is clear: it won’t be a Kanaka model of coexistence.

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<sup>76</sup> One such example was ‘Imiloa bringing “the chairman of the board and the president of Caltech University come and meet with various community stakeholders, in particularly those with adverse opinions towards astronomy development on Mauna Kea.” ‘Imiloa director, Ka‘iu Kimura, phone interview by author, June 17, 2013, digital recording.

<sup>77</sup> ‘Imiloa website, <http://www.imiloahawaii.org/>.

### *Liberal Multiculturalism in Hawai‘i*

Another concern is in liberal critiques of multiculturalism that may inadvertently reproduce the colonial underpinning multiculturalism in a settler context like U.S. occupied Hawai‘i. In the islands (as in other indigenous territories) the colonial in multiculturalism is subtle, but slippery. UH professor of Ethnic Studies, Jonathan Y. Okamura provides what continues to be one of the most cogent analyses of multiculturalism in Hawai‘i.<sup>78</sup> He explains how “glowing descriptions of race and ethnic relations in Hawai‘i,” since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, create an image of Hawai‘i as a “multicultural paradise,”<sup>79</sup> arguing how this characterization is not only false, but functions to obscure real ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic inequalities, which helps to maintain the status quo of social hierarchy he argues is organized around ethnic and class differences. Okamura argues that despite the material realities of continued ethnic and socioeconomic stratification, the myth of multiculturalism has cultivated a distorted view of Hawai‘i as a model of racial harmony. Hawai‘i is touted as having a more “tolerant and peaceful coexistence” among its “harmonious” racial and ethnic groups. Based on trivial and anecdotal evidence of Hawai‘i’s “relatively high rates of intermarriage” and a common perception of “shared ‘local’ culture and identity” among its residents – rather than built on empirical data reflecting employment, educational attainment, housing ownership, and other indicators of social wellbeing –, the misrepresentation of Hawai‘i

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<sup>78</sup> Jonathan Y. Okamura, “The Illusion of Paradise: Privileging Multiculturalism in Hawai‘i,” in D.C. Gladney, ed. *Making Majorities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

<sup>79</sup> Okamura, “The Illusion of Paradise,” p. 267.

advances conventional political economic interests. According to Okamura's analysis, the problem is how the illusion of multicultural accord and amity overlooks the prevalent socioeconomic disparities among social groups in Hawai'i.

Although we have critiques of multiculturalism from within postcolonial, ethnic, and critical race studies, the liberal multiculturalism affecting indigenous communities remains a blind spot. For example, in his examination of the "ways by which ethnic inequality and hierarchy are perpetuated in Hawai'i," I find a tension emergent in Okamura's critique of multiculturalism disconcerting precisely because, in his pursuit of ethnic identity over coloniality, he fails to adequately assess Kanaka indigeneity.

The tension is between two voices. On an immediate level, Okamura analyzes the identity formations among ethnic groups in Hawai'i and the social barriers historically constructed around ethnic identities and that continue to inform socioeconomic inequalities in Hawai'i today. He recognizes articulations of Native Hawaiian difference when he asserts, "it must be understood that their political movements are not concerned with a nostalgic return to a romanticized past but instead are very much focused on gaining greater power and control over their collective lives and lands in the present and immediate future."<sup>80</sup> He reminds readers, "Hawaiians are not merely residents of a state but a native people with a distinct culture, history, religion, language, and ancestral ties to Hawai'i." However, a specter of the native continues to haunt his framing at moments in which a commitment to constructivism contradicts his recognition of Hawaiians' indigenous difference and his interpretation of Kanaka political thought and actions.

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<sup>80</sup> Okamura, *Ethnic Inequality in Hawai'i* (2008), 100.



The second voice argues, “Some groups, particularly those that are politically or economically disadvantaged such as Native Hawaiians, create and articulate distinct identities for themselves in order to advance their political or economic interests.”<sup>81</sup> Based on these premises, he maintains, “In this sense, ethnic difference demarcates or frames inequality; that is, socioeconomic inequality in Hawai‘i is understood predominantly as ethnic inequality because ethnicity is the primary structural principle of social relations.” His emphasis on ethnic inequality comes at the expense of proper treatment of indigeneity or colonialism, let alone the genealogical land-based ontopolitics that drive many contemporary Kanaka movements. That overemphasis causes a collapse of Hawaiian indigeneity into ethnicity as an encompassing frame, thus substituting an analysis of colonization with one of ethnic competition among Hawai‘i’s “disadvantaged” minorities. Whereas Okamura’s stated objective is to critique multiculturalism’s ideological assumptions in a position of solidarity with disadvantaged groups, including Hawaiians, my difficulty is precisely in this inclusion. He argues that Hawai‘i’s multiculturalism “emphasizes the cultural contributions of Native Hawaiians and the immigrant plantation groups, such as food and games, but that omits the racism and discrimination that long excluded them from fully participating in society.”<sup>82</sup> To target racism and discrimination is a valid commitment, however, in that undertaking is an assumption that multicultural liberal democracy might undo itself – that multicultural liberal structures are somehow not productive of ongoing colonizing relations and practices. Multicultural liberalism paradoxically finds redemption in the limited scope of

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<sup>81</sup> Okamura, *Ethnic Inequality in Hawai‘i* (2008), 4-5.

<sup>82</sup> Okamura, *Ethnic Inequality in Hawai‘i* (2008), 16.

critique that restricts colonialism to the narrow and inadequate frames of “racism and discrimination.” These certainly continue to adversely affect Hawaiians, but not in ways we might adequately comprehend without attention to colonialism. An escape from multiculturalism’s hegemony appears more arduous when potential allies repeat liberalism’s assimilative logics and multiculturalism’s leveling of indigenous difference, even if only discursively. The word has that much power.

In *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism*, one of Jodi Byrd’s interventions is with “liberal multicultural settler colonialism,” wherein “the entanglement of colonization and racialization,” produced in the paradigmatic investment of liberalism in “transformative multiculturalism and postracial politics,” reinscribes originary colonial violences.<sup>83</sup> Okamura, though certainly not claiming a postracial politic, nevertheless discursively narrates a reversal “by turning indigeneity into a ‘racial’ category, a transformation that equates the distinctions of indigenous nations as sovereign and independent with that of every other racialized and diasporic arrival to be mediated within U.S. citizenry.”<sup>84</sup> The liberal investment in civil rights-styled equality collapses indigeneity into an ethnicity; the indigenous becomes a racial minority. The discursive tension in Okamura’s analysis appears most noticeably when he addresses “the construction of Native Hawaiian identity.”

When he contends, Native Hawaiians “have constructed and asserted a collective identity for themselves as the indigenous people of Hawai‘i,” he is expressing skepticism about the merit (perhaps authenticity?) of particular claims to Hawaiian indigeneity,

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<sup>83</sup> Byrd, *Transit of Empire* (2013), xvii-xxiii.

<sup>84</sup> Byrd, *Transit of Empire* (2013), 203.

especially in light of more than a century of intercultural exchange and blood mixing. For Okamura, it's not that Hawaiians *are* the indigenous people of Hawai'i. Rather, Native Hawaiians have "strategically constructed" indigenous identity around an ideology of ethnic difference as a means to achieve "political interests." Yet these political interests are not clearly defined or treated with adequate attention in his project. The preoccupation with the constructedness of Hawaiian ethnic identity within a rights frame, I argue, has the effect of reinscribing the very multicultural project analyzes. Such analyses not so much disrupt the racialization of Hawaiians as mirror the process.

A lost opportunity to engage indigenous Hawaiian epistemes on their own terms – i.e., beyond invention language or the dismissive rhetoric of 'construction', both of which connote inauthenticity –, the tension I read in Okamura's *Ethnic Inequality in Hawai'i* resonates throughout the Mauna Kea debates and liberal multicultural Hawai'i more broadly. The default challenge to the protectionist argument is to target the credibility of Kanaka 'Ōiwi and our claims to cultural practices and conceptions of the sacred, rather than targeting those structures (and their historical violence) by which we are today forced to defend our Hawaiianness, cultural practices, and demands for a moratorium.

What aspects of continued colonialism escape critique in those moments when the conversation devolves into matters of equal rights, participatory inclusion and social inequity within the liberal multicultural democratic (i.e., imperial) state? As many settlers, arrivants, and natives alike demand a model of coexistence on the mountain, on whose terms will such a convivial party take place? If the prevailing model of coexistence remains situated within liberal multicultural settler colonialism, these questions will be of continued importance to decolonial and indigenous projects.

## *The Chapters*

Chapter two provides a discussion of the broader context in which the contemporary opposition to astronomy expansion on Mauna a Wākea exists – that is, the context of struggle. The story of resistance to U.S. annexation in the 1890s, the Hawaiian Renaissance, and the political activism that sparked the cultural movement are moments and encounters that are too easily expunged from discourses on telescope development on Mauna Kea. This chapter restores that context in order to establish even a preliminary understanding why Hawaiians continue to oppose astronomy expansion. Moreover, the necessary an understanding of such political struggle and cultural difference comes only when we begin our inquiry from the perspectives of those who have suffered the brunt of colonialism’s force. For these reasons, I argue the context of power matters a great deal.

Chapter three offers an answer to what has become common in discourses on Mauna Kea astronomy, that is, a representation of astronomy expansion as socio-economic cure-all and aligned with indigenous values. The intervention is part literature review and part discourse analysis through which I examine several key concepts that constitute a possible frame within which Kanaka articulations of the sacred may become intelligible to skeptics. The narrative practices around mo‘okū‘auhau<sup>85</sup> in particular can aid in gaining an understanding of the Kanaka onto-genealogical land-based epistemology and ethics known as aloha ‘āina.

Chapter four analyzes settler society’s general relationship to land, place, and the mountain, against which several Kanaka articulations of difference and indigeneity

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<sup>85</sup> Mo‘okū‘auhau may be translated as genealogies or genealogical successions.

indicate settler colonial practices of replacement and disavowal. I use this juxtaposition to challenge the multicultural framing of Mauna a Wākea as a “resource,” a “gift,” or possession of “all the people of Hawai‘i,” while contemplating a theory of articulation that recognizes indigeneity as *composed* (unlike constructed) in the interstices of colonial order and resistance. Analysis of the contest over hegemony highlights the ruptures in settler colonialism forced open by indigenous *compositions* of kuleana, aloha ‘āina, and pono that are rooted in the language of land and people itself.

Chapter five examines the multiculturalism of settler colonialism – or the question of settler colonialism as multiculturalism. I analyze the rhetorical practices of three Kanaka leaders, each a public figure because of his cultural practice and support for the Thirty Meter Telescope. Their unique, but parallel experiences complicate the image of participation, appropriation, and conscription into state discourses, yet none questions the self-evidence or cultural authority of science, law, or the state. The analysis explains how telescope expansion advocacy may be rationalized through depoliticizing narrative practices by which historical colonial relations of power are evacuated, distorted, or trivialized.

Chapter six looks at the intersection of science, law, and the state, analyzing discursive practices within TMT promotional literature, legal documents, environmental studies, management plans, and transcripts of the TMT contested case hearing, each of which operationalizes and reproduces the logic of replacement that underpins settler colonialism. The chapter argues discourses in law and science function to fulfill the ambitions of settler replacement on the land through appropriation of Hawaiians – our culture, language, and history –, while at the same time disqualifying native claims to

land and difference. I argue that inclusive indigeneity amounts to displacement in the long-term. Analyzing rhetorical strategies, I also argue that large-scale industrial development is further rationalized through notions of kinship, linear temporalities, and imagined cultural affinity between “modern” (or, “Western”) astronomers and “ancient Hawaiians” that serve to entrench the cultural supremacy of science, law, and the state.

Finally, the conclusion considers the possibilities of a different indigenous / settler relationship, one that resists multicultural coloniality, or settler colonialism as multiculturalism. Methodologically, this discussion centers on two of my interviews: one with a long-time Kanaka activist, lawyer, and cultural practitioner and the other with a non-native, settler couple whose political commitments, while living in Hawai‘i, nevertheless undermines colonialism’s fulfillment and embodies a kuleana of solidarity with Kanaka. I highlight these two interviews as a decolonial praxis – to think, produce, and exist outside of imperialist imaginaries that justify the insatiable ambitions of U.S. empire and the settler colonial logic of replacement without accounting for settler colonialism’s ruptures, exceptions, and contradictions.

## Chapter Two

### The Context of Struggle and Resistance

#### *Introduction*

In this chapter I contextualize the struggle for Mauna Kea within a larger story of struggle and resistance to U.S. power in Hawai‘i by examining Kanaka responses to American cultural hegemony, capitalist development, and science institutional privilege – or, more broadly, settler colonialism. I contrast the official historical narrative with the historical memory of settlers and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi to map how Hawai‘i became a settler colony and how many Kānaka have responded. I then discuss the Hawaiian Renaissance and the importance of that period in the development of an indigenous political consciousness, which has informed subsequent Kanaka social movements including the struggle for Mauna a Wākea. First, however, I will provide a brief survey of emergence of Western astronomy on the mountain through a timeline of the telescope construction.

#### *The Telescopes*

Beginning with a single 12.5” telescope and dome used for testing the “seeing” potential of the site in June of 1964, and increasing each decade since, bigger and more expensive and technologically advanced telescopes have proliferated on the summit plateau of Mauna Kea. The idea for early telescope development on the mountain is credited to planetary scientist Gerard Kuiper, an astronomer originally from the Netherlands who helped set up the University of Arizona’s Lunar and Planetary

laboratory.<sup>86</sup> Kuiper had spent time in the early '60s scouting various isolated, high elevation sites, which generally offer the best conditions to clear seeing. He initially considered Haleakalā but because of frequent nighttime cloud cover, and noticing Mauna Kea consistently escaped this problem, Kuiper eventually considered Hawai'i Island. A full mile higher than Haleakalā, Mauna Kea was very clear, but extremely difficult to access. Kuiper's first site tests convinced him to seek funds to build a road and more permanent telescope structure. In 1964, Governor John A. Burns approved Kuiper's request for a State-financed six-mile road to the summit. In April, a small group of Hawai'i Island County employees,<sup>87</sup> several of their friends, Kuiper, and his assistant<sup>88</sup> began constructing a small telescope and housing structure, using "(w)ater from a lake near the summit, Lake Waiau...to make cement," for its foundations. Kuiper and his team received modest National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) funds for supplies and equipment, plus \$42,000 in State funds gifted from Hawai'i's first state governor, John A. Burns, for a gravel road and other construction costs. This first site-testing telescope was completed within 3 months. The initial observation tests made with the rather small, 0.3-meter (12.5-inch), telescope located atop Pu'u Poli'ahu, convinced

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<sup>86</sup> Barry Parker, *Stairway to the Stars: The Story of the World's Largest Observatory* (New York & London: Plenum Press, 1994).

<sup>87</sup> Hawai'i Island chamber of Commerce executive secretary and friend, Howard Ellis, head of a Mauna Loa weather station

<sup>88</sup> Alike Herring was also from the University of Arizona and would stay on the summit for several weeks performing the first tests from the telescope building the data to prove Mauna Kea's atmospheric transparency made it a superior site. See Parker, *Stairway to the Stars* (1994), 29.



Kuiper of just how exceptional Mauna Kea is for nighttime seeing.<sup>89</sup> It would take time, however, to convince the rest of the astronomy community.

Following completion of this first telescope, “dirty politics” are said to have determined the winning proposal for the second telescope.<sup>90</sup> Over the next few years, Kuiper, representing the University of Arizona, began making plans to secure NASA funding and State approval for a 60-inch telescope. However, the University of Hawai‘i, led by Haleakalā Observatory director John Jeffries, negotiated a deal out from under Kuiper’s feet, obtaining the NASA funding, but for their own 88-inch (2.2-meter) telescope, which still stands on the summit today. As Barry Parker tells the story, once NASA selected the proposal for the UH 88-inch telescope and the State of Hawai‘i made its \$2.5 million contribution, “Kuiper couldn’t believe it; he was furious. After all he had put into the project, it was a serious blow, and he was bitter about it for years, telling friends and strangers alike that he had discovered Mauna Kea and it had been stolen from him.” The irony of such sentiments appears nowhere in Parker’s narration, but his is popular history more concerned with instrumental knowledge and technical information than power. However, I will reserve my own critique and digress for the moment.

The telescope was completed in 1967. Dedicated and opened in 1970, it was the first fully computer-automated, and eighth largest, telescope in the world. Kuiper’s original 12.5-inch telescope has since been replaced by a University of Hawai‘i-Hilo 0.9-meter telescope, which has fallen into disrepair in recent years. Ironically, Kuiper initially had

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<sup>89</sup> Michael J. West, *The Gentle Rain of Starlight: The Story of Astronomy on Mauna Kea* (Waipahu, Hawai‘i: Island Heritage Publishing), 2005.

<sup>90</sup> A letter to Kuiper by assistant, Alikea Herring, as quoted in Parker, *Stairway to the Stars* (1994), 35-38.

to convince the astronomy community that Mauna Kea was superior in atmospheric stability and seeing, while over the next few years, attitudes changed dramatically. Eventually, other countries became interested in building their own telescopes atop Mauna Kea.

Ground was broken in 1974 for a \$30 million, 3.6-meter, Canada-France-Hawaii (UH) telescope (CFH). Hale Pōhaku was built and the Institute for Astronomy, based in Hilo, was further developed during this period as well. Meanwhile, Jeffries and the UH Institute for Astronomy defeated the University of Arizona for another contract to build its 3-meter NASA infrared telescope. Not to miss out on the action, the British ultimately spent about \$5 million constructing their own 3.8-meter, United Kingdom infrared telescope (UKIT). All three telescopes were dedicated in 1979, while a deal was being negotiated between the Netherlands and Great Britain to build a \$9 million, 15-meter, James Clerk Maxwell Telescope (JCMT), which convinced the California Institute of Technology (Caltech) and National Science Foundation (NSF) that Mauna Kea must house their (84 hexagonal aluminum honeycomb-paneled) Sub-millimeter telescope (CSO). Once the JCMT and CSO, including its two smaller 24-inch telescopes, were finally completed in 1986 and dedicated in 1987, Mauna Kea could be viewed with eight large telescopes dotting the skyline above the summit from the more populated Hilo district. Throughout the 1990s development continued. Begun in 1986 and finished in 1993, the Very Long Baseline Array (VLBA), a radio-telescope antennae system spanning ten sites around the world, made Mauna Kea home to one its 25-meter dishes. Also in '93, Caltech and the University of California's (UC) W. M. Keck Observatory

(Keck I) “saw first light,” followed three years later by its “twin,” Keck II.<sup>91</sup> The Japanese completed the 8.3-meter Subaru Telescope, in 1999. That same year saw the dedication of the Gemini Northern Telescope, a partnership between the USA, UK, Canada, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, and Chile. Lastly, the Smithsonian Astrophysical Observatory in partnership with Taiwan, completed its Sub-Millimeter Array (SMA) in 2002, which is comprised of eight 6-meter dishes across the summit plateau. Although the Sub-millimeter Array consists of eight dishes, the University counts these mobile telescopes as a single “observatory,” reducing the official count recognized by the Board of Land and Natural Resources from 21 to 13.

There were no legal regulations placed on development or permitting processes for new telescope projects during the first decade of Mauna Kea astronomy. Although the conservation district had existed since 1961, its definition was vague. The political designation of lands the district would encompass appears to have been determined on an ad hoc basis until 1978, when more explicit rules were fleshed out and substantive divisions through a “subzone” system were created.<sup>92</sup> The first four telescopes, thus, were constructed under rather questionable circumstances as DLNR permits were issued retroactively, once the Hawai‘i Revised Statutes were created; this means Mauna Kea was designated a “resource subzone” within the conservation district because there were

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<sup>91</sup> The proposed Keck Outrigger Telescopes project, which consisted of four smaller telescopes designed to act in unison and described as a single telescope, was effectively stopped in 2006 when NASA withdrew its funding. Although accounts of the project’s demise are conflicting, without the opposition, there would today be four more Keck telescopes.

<sup>92</sup> Lea Hong, phone interview by author, March 12, 2014, digital recording. See, State of Hawai‘i, Department of Land and Natural Resources, Office of Conservation and Coastal Lands, Available online: <http://www6.hawaii.gov/dlnr/occl/conservation.php>.

already telescopes there. If the designation was this opaque, it is questionable whether measures were in place to guarantee the public was adequately included in decision-making processes. This question of due process in State land management practices appears to have become a consistent issue ever since. Because of such practices as retroactive law making and the lack of accountability and transparency, the public would eventually grow wary of Mauna Kea development.

### *Why Struggle and Resistance?*

In many ways popular dissent towards astronomy on Mauna Kea between the 1960s-‘70s was relatively smaller and less visible compared to the better-documented struggles of the same period or since.<sup>93</sup> For some, resistance was a rather obscure topic in Hawai‘i until the social and political activities of the Hawaiian Renaissance introduced another language of struggle and colonialism inspired by U.S. civil rights, antiwar, and women’s movements of the 1960s and the more radical international student, antiwar, anti-imperialist, and decolonial movements of that era. Students, academics, and historians eventually began drawing connections to 19<sup>th</sup> century Kanaka resistance to U.S. annexation and other attempts at securing foreign hegemony in the islands. Knowledge of people’s ancestors having actively resisted annexation in organized fashion encouraged many in the post-peak Hawaiian Renaissance 2000s to continue the nationalist fight against colonialism embodied in the State of Hawai‘i. The ever-increasing independence movement based on the illegality of U.S. jurisdiction in Hawai‘i

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<sup>93</sup> For a documented history of the last forty years of Kanaka struggle against dispossession, displacement, and disenfranchisement, visit the extensive film archive of Joan Landers and Puhipau of Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina online at: <http://www.namaka.com/>.

due to the absence of a treaty of annexation or other legal cession of Hawai‘i to the U.S. has informed contemporary forms of resistance as well.

Explicit opposition to the telescopes, however, increased only in the early to mid-1990s, compelling the State of Hawai‘i Legislature to conduct an official audit of the University of Hawai‘i in which it documented gross management failures and lease violations.<sup>94</sup> Although a common theme that emerged in my interviews suggests there was little known resistance to Mauna Kea astronomy in the 1960s, there were signs of concern by the mid-‘70s that led to open dissent in late ‘80s. Overt opposition would emerge only in the 2000s, while over the last decade the most organized response has been through legal challenges to individual telescope projects. The timing and scale of the opposition to Mauna Kea astronomy reflects the trajectory of local and indigenous activism in Hawai‘i more generally: Hawaiians are constantly putting out fires. The many forms of settler encroachment can be overwhelming, but this continual intention to stem rampant development is the core of indigenous Hawaiian struggle today, regardless of the different issues and strategies addressing them.

An analysis of the history of struggle and resistance also recognizes the agency Kanaka ‘Ōiwi have always had, but may easily be overlooked in efforts to describe power in Hawai‘i. Where as conventional narrations of Hawai‘i’s history suggest Kanaka merely stood by idly as their country was taken from them, the historiography is being revised to reveal Hawaiians have always insisted on their independence and resisted occupation and colonialism. In the spirit of struggle and resistance, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi today carry the responsibility to maintain knowledge of this struggle as but one

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<sup>94</sup> I discuss the 1998 and 2005 Legislative Audits of the University of Hawai‘i and the Keck Outrigger opposition in chapter six.

way to address ongoing dispossessions that continue today. The broader concern of the dissertation is to identify how liberal appropriations of the narrative of this renaissance shift that Kanaka agency in the service of multicultural ideology at play in the astronomy expansion discourses. It is in this context that Hawaiians have grown outraged about the use of Mauna Kea while others have sought a diplomatic compromise through participation in colonial hegemony.

By contextualizing the astronomy debates in a tradition of struggle, we find that Kanaka political thought and praxis remained consistently responsive to changing, yet ongoing colonial forms. I argue throughout the dissertation, the context of struggle also shows how in the decades since statehood, the Kanaka political consciousness that began in the nineteenth century, and likely long before, has grown alongside a massive cultural renewal, both of which drive the current struggle for a different relationality to Mauna a Wākea, outside of the industrial uses prevalent today.

For example, Kanaka grass roots demilitarization organizer and long-time peace activist, Terri Keko‘olani explains that the struggle to stop the bombing of Kaho‘olawe taught the Hawaiian leadership the need to base political opposition within indigenous conceptions of the sacred, to “let the culture lead and then frame your fight from that position. Not the opposite.”<sup>95</sup> This was the approach to struggle in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and one that underscores the contemporary struggle over Mauna Kea today. This is evident in the current opposition to the U.S. Interior Department’s islands-wide meetings to record public input regarding Federal Recognition and to ostensibly “re-establish a government-to-government relationship with the Native Hawaiian community” underway

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<sup>95</sup> Terri Keko‘olani, interview by author, April 17, 2014, Kaimukī, digital recording.

at this moment. This is a kū‘ē (objection, protest, resistance) that is rooted in a historical national consciousness, not a racialized “Native Hawaiian” strategy. This resistance mirrors those of the kupuna because of the political consciousness that their government was arrested when the independent state of the Hawaiian Kingdom was seized and remains occupied today. Thus, Kanaka claims are today as nationalist in tenor as those of our kupuna over a century ago. Those claims are not merely a politically motivated strategy; they are rooted in claims to land, governance, and self-determined autonomy.

Not every Hawaiian views their work as part of a broader struggle with settler colonialism or as resistance to American hegemony. Some Hawaiians are adamant not to have their cultural practices conflated with political work. In response to such diversity among Hawaiians, I recognize that resistance shouldn’t necessarily be conflated with opposition, since, as I argue, resistance cannot involve participation within liberal frames and spaces such as the courts, the contested case hearing, the legislature, the appeals court, or the like, lest the term lose any meaning. Likewise, I also have to acknowledge the limits of resistance as an analytic because it presumes a unity against which resistance is directed. The Mauna Kea issue presents no such unity. Kanaka are fighting on many fronts and the liberal space of the State of Hawai‘i courts and agency hearings constitute only one. Multicultural settler colonial ideologies proliferate in the social lives of everybody, taking many forms, and presenting a variety of ruptures. One goal of the dissertation is to identify and make productive these ruptures for a restorative justice and self-determination for Kanaka ‘Ōiwi. More generally, Hawaiians are engaged in a broad struggle over the future of Mauna Kea as well as the fate our entire archipelago. The

TMT represents only one part of this larger indigenous struggle within U.S. Empire and resistance requires many forms.

Now that I have explained my orientation of approach to this historical context of struggle and resistance to astronomy expansion on Mauna a Wākea, I will begin the chapter with a discussion on the story of early Kanaka resistance to annexation and the problem of conventional historiography as my lead into an examination of the Hawaiian Renaissance and its propulsion towards contemporary forms of political resistance.

### *Validation of Resistance: Story of Early Struggles*

Noenoe Silva explains, “historiography is one of the most powerful discourses that justifies the continued occupation of Hawai‘i by the United States today.”<sup>96</sup> Over the last hundred years of U.S. occupation, generations of Hawaiians received a colonial education that has taught them their ancestors, traditions, language, and culture were inferior to those of the West. Haunani-Kay Trask contends that when we read so-called histories that present Hawaiians as despotic, lazy, promiscuous, racist, or superstitious, we are actually “reading the West’s view of itself through the degradation of (our) own past.”<sup>97</sup> In this sense, colonialism might be understood as a pathology: the West knows itself through dehumanizing natives. Moreover, the effects that such historical narratives have had on each subsequent generation of Hawaiians who received that education have been profoundly damaging for young Kanaka. In writing about the colonial historiography

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<sup>96</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 9.

<sup>97</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism & Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 1993), 153.



and learning later in life about the great history of Hawaiians prior to U.S occupation, Trask writes,

There was nothing in my schooling that had told me of this, or hinted that somewhere there was a longer, older story of origins, of the flowing of songs out to a great but distant sea. Only my parents' voices, over and over, spoke to me of a Hawaiian world. While the books spoke from a different world, a Western world.<sup>98</sup>

Conventional accounts of Hawai'i's history have omitted these voices through practices that have served to erase an official record of resistance to occupation and colonial hegemony. In the absence of Kanaka perspectives in conventional historiography, even many Hawaiians did not know their ancestors opposed the political actions by which the U.S. came to acquire control over the islands. Those actions included the forced signing of the Bayonet Constitution in 1887,<sup>99</sup> the failure of which required the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani and coup that deposed the democratically-elected government in 1893,<sup>100</sup> and the subsequent U.S. military support of the illegitimate Republic of Hawai'i<sup>101</sup> who, in 1898, would transfer governance and seized lands to the U.S. in the illegal "annexation" of them Hawaiian Islands.<sup>102</sup> Until the 1990s

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<sup>98</sup> Trask, *From A Native Daughter* (1993), 154.

<sup>99</sup> Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

<sup>100</sup> Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990).

<sup>101</sup> Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The Story of America's annexation of the Nation of Hawai'i* (Kāne'ohe, Hawai'i: Epicenter, 1999).

<sup>102</sup> The scare quotes recognize that annexation was a legal impossibility as no treaty was ever ratified between the two states, which is a requirement of international law and the U.S. constitutional law of then and today. See, David Keanu Sai, "The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition from Occupied to Restored State," Ph.D. diss., (University of Hawai'i, 2008).

when scholarship began interrogating the racism of colonial historiography, many Americans assumed Hawaiians simply did not oppose the U.S. The work of ethnocentric, non-native historians followed conventions that reproduced the hegemony of the settler state and remained deaf to the stories of the people. As a result, stories of just how Kanaka vehemently protested annexation went underground. Many families shared these stories, but the official record and educational system chose to forget. Silva explains, “the myth of nonresistance was created in part because mainstream historians have studiously avoided the wealth of material written in Hawaiian,” which articulated the impossibility of a legal annexation.<sup>103</sup> Such discursive practices obscured stories of Kanaka agency and resistance. For this reason, when we analyze contemporary struggles where settler imperatives buttress against indigenous values, the historical context of those antagonisms is often absent. If earlier struggles are expunged from the historiography of Hawai‘i, today’s protests appear irrational or disingenuous.

Gavan Daws’ popular history, *Shoal of Time*, is exemplary of the conventional model of historical misrepresentation. In analyzing pre-statehood Hawai‘i politics he cited only the racially biased archive, drawing the final conclusion that Native Hawaiian political activity under Territorial control was “frivolous” and “worse than anyone thought it could be.”<sup>104</sup> Characteristic of the popular histories that cited only English language sources and the accounts of annexationists, his treatment of Hawaiians relegates native political

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<sup>103</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 2.

<sup>104</sup> Daws, *Shoal of Time* (1989), 294-5. The United States designated its colonial possession the “Territory of Hawai‘i” in 1900, just following its war with Spain in the Philippines and two years after “annexing” the islands to satisfy its logistical needs in the outset of that war.

thought to a sort of primitivism. Describing the injustice, but inevitability of annexation, Daws writes:

This was the ultimate dispossession. The Hawaiians had lost much of their reason for living long ago, when the kapu were abolished; since then a good many of them had lost their lives through disease; the survivors lost their land; they lost their leaders, because many of the chiefs withdrew from politics in favor of nostalgic self-indulgence; and now at last they lost their independence. Their resistance to all this was feeble. It was almost as if they believed what the white man said about them, that they had only half learned the lessons of civilization. Every so often a firebrand... would call them to arms, but the response was always a sorry one. They chose to operate within the conventions laid down by white men, and by doing so they put themselves at a disadvantage. They listened to political harangues and composed chants to fit the political occasion; they drew up petitions, and they read the stirring editorials in the Hawaiian language newspapers; but beyond that they did not go. And so they became Americans.<sup>105</sup>

In a liberal multicultural move, Daws appears to show sympathy for Hawaiians but paints them as a pathetically hopeless bunch. In his oversimplification, he does not merely report on the annexation and its causes. Instead, his narrative rationalizes them within a racialized moral economy that hinges on a colonial logic of native inferiority and white supremacy through invocations of “civilization.” Within such conventions of historiography, Hawaiians have agency only insofar as they were responsible for their

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<sup>105</sup> Daws, *Shoal of Time* (1989), 291. The ellipsis referenced Robert Wilcox whose unsuccessful counter-insurgency failed to restore the legitimate government and Queen Lili‘uokalani to power.

own colonization. They did not resist colonialism or annexation to the U.S., goes the narrative, because they naïvely put their faith in the ostensibly superior institutions and laws of the West. This perspective on Hawaiians and the misrecognition of their political activities – as an independent state, their acts of resistance during the years leading up to annexation, and their legacy of struggle within colonial Hawai‘i post-annexation – has become a pattern that continues today in the case of the TMT opposition. As I will discuss below, the opposition is sometimes viewed as too little, too late; the implication being Hawaiians screwed themselves.

However, unlike apologist historical narratives invested in perpetuating settler colonialism, histories that start from the lives of the dispossessed and subjugated reflect power. Histories from below are rooted differently, exposing the stakes involved for the powerful and the powerless. Stories of struggle allow us a out of reproducing conventional power structures, built as they generally are on the backs and land of indigenous peoples. Because the power held by states is often rooted in earlier acts of war and aggression, histories from below enable us to see the consequences of earlier struggles that bear on our lives today.

Such an example is Noenoe Silva’s *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*.<sup>106</sup> In her groundbreaking research, Silva uncovered the nearly forgotten anti-annexation petitions that were obscured in the U.S. Library of Congress until she sought them out in the nineties. Her analysis of these petitions reveals that Hawaiians – our ancestors – actively fought against U.S. imperialism. Debunking the official history and self-affirming settler narratives of ineffective, complaisant, ignorant,

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<sup>106</sup> Silva, (2004).

or beneficiary Hawaiians (i.e., inferior natives), she explains how Kanaka protests, letters, testimonies, statements, petitions, speeches, musical and artistic compositions, and even several failed acts of armed resistance reflect a history of resistance and political engagement of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi in the 19th century that was either glossed, misrepresented, or omitted from conventional historiography. To “the history of struggle suppressed by the forces of colonialism,” Silva analyzes the many forms of resistance conducted in the years following the illegitimate, forced signing of the Bayonet Constitution through the Organic Acts that rendered Hawai‘i a territory of the United States.

She explains how two Kanaka organizations, Hui Kālai‘āina and Hui Aloha ‘Āina, organized in response to the Bayonet Constitution and the overthrow of the Kingdom Government and Queen. The Bayonet Constitution, which severely diminished the civil rights of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and empowered white non-citizens with the right to vote when Kalākaua was forced to sign in 1887, was targeted with mass meetings, letters to government officials, statements published in the newspapers, and other discourses of dissent. Queen Lili‘uokalani was petitioned in 1892 to restore a legitimate and equitable constitution just prior to the overthrow. One of the most notable acts of resistance was what has been called “the Wilcox Rebellion,” but which was actually an armed attempt to restore the legitimate constitution by attacking the perpetrators of the Bayonet Constitution. The 1889 effort was effectively defeated.

Following the U.S.-backed coup that dethroned Liliuokalani and removed her cabinet, protests increased, though most remained non-violent. Petitions have long been a method of protest among Kanaka throughout the 19th century and increased after the queen was

deposed. Silva documents the two organizations' challenges to the Provisional Government who had sought a first treaty of annexation, which President Cleveland rejected in 1892. She tells of how Hui Aloha 'Āina organized and submitted testimonies to an investigator dispatched by Cleveland to ascertain the details of the overthrow and preceding events, which upon review Cleveland decried as an "act of war."<sup>107</sup>

Commissioner Blount received a copy of a pro-independence constitution that Hui Aloha 'Āina requested Lili'u to adopt in lieu of the illegitimate and flawed Bayonet Constitution. The organization also sent to Blount and the President a detailed explanation of the events that precipitated the overthrow, which placed the United States firmly in the middle of a conspiracy organized by white descendants of missionaries and wealthy businessmen, all of whom held foreign allegiances and no loyalty to the queen.

From 1893-1898 Hui Kālai'āina and Hui Aloha 'Āina organized actions to convince the U.S. Congress and Presidents to abide by the country's stated principles of justice, liberty, and freedom, and to restore the rightful government to power by removing the conspirators of the overthrow. Cleveland was routinely challenged by a conservative Congress who ignored his calls for political action in restoring Hawai'i's legitimate government. When McKinley, a staunch imperialist, replaced Cleveland in 1897, Kanaka demands for a restoration of their queen and legitimate government were also ignored.

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<sup>107</sup> See Coffman (1999), Silva (2004), and Sai (2008) for a closer examination of the events by which the U.S. ostensibly "annexed" Hawai'i in violation of its own laws and laws governing the international state system of the time. In a speech presented to Congress on December 18, 1893, then President Grover Cleveland stated the U.S. actions against the "people" of Hawai'i as "an act of war." See U.S. President Grover Cleveland's Message to the U.S. Congress of December 18, 1893 Concerning the Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation, Online at [Hawaiiankingdom.org](http://hawaiiankingdom.org), Available at: <http://hawaiiankingdom.org/clevelands-message.shtml>.

The efforts of the two hui (organizations) culminated in that same year when they organized mass petition drives that eventually rallied almost every Kanaka on all of the islands to sign their names to documents calling for Congress to reject the illegal governments' – the so-called “Republic of Hawaii's” – treaty of annexation. These petitions, on which over 38,000 signatures were inscribed, effectively blocked attempts to secure a *legal* annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States when Congress could not secure a credible ratification of and, therefore, a majority of Congressional support for, the treaty.

The defeat of the proposed treaty of annexation forced the U.S. to circumvent its own constitutional laws for the purpose of rationalizing its occupation of Hawai'i, which McKinley and his government felt was needed to conduct a successful war with Spain in the Philippines. Although the U.S. military remained, the legitimate government never reinstated, and the conspirators of the overthrow were never brought to justice, the fact that the treaty of annexation was stopped in Congress, nevertheless persists as wholly relevant to activists today and to any study of the contemporary Hawaiian movement.

It also pertains to the struggle for Mauna Kea because it is in this context of an occupied country and settler colonial hegemony that capitalist, scientific, and state ideologies are privileged. All of the TMT opponents I interviewed are aware to some degree of these protests, the absence of a treaty, and implications of this story for Kanaka 'Ōiwi today, even if there is little place for it in the official, legal battle over permits for astronomy expansion. The politics of occupation that has emerged from this story Kanaka resistance and the absence of a legal treaty of annexation bear significantly on all Hawaiians. You would be hard pressed to find a Kanaka today who knows nothing of this

story. Everyone has heard something about “occupation,” that there is “no treaty of annexation,” or the “illegal overthrow,” even if they have not a coherent narrative of what made it illegal or a cogent understanding of the events that comprise this history.

The principled stance for justice through struggle and resistance that effectively stopped a legal annexation – that led to armed insurgencies on two occasions, that encouraged Kanaka to compose protest music and art, and that inspired Hawaiians to write letters of protest to newspapers, statements of protest to Congress, and petitions for justice to the President and the U.S. Government – ultimately serve as validation of contemporary political action and activism today. This story of early resistance establishes the legacy of struggle against U.S. imperialism that persists to this moment.

According to Silva, the petitions “affirmed for (Hawaiians today) that their kūpuna had not stood by idly, apathetically, while their nation was taken from them. Instead, contrary to every history book on the shelf, they learned that their ancestors had...taken up the honorable field of struggle.”<sup>108</sup> That commitment to defend our country based on this history of struggle continues to influence Native Hawaiian politics, from grassroots activists, to graduate students scholarship on this history, to the petitioners in the TMT contested case with whom I had numerous conversations on the topic. This is part of the context in which the Mauna Kea debates are circulating.

Although Hawai‘i was recognized as an independent state since 1843, once the U.S. annexed the Kingdom in 1898, many went to great lengths to suppress stories of struggle. Despite the fact that the means by which the United States annexed Hawai‘i constituted a

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<sup>108</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed* (2004), 4.



legal impossibility,<sup>109</sup> the material reality has nevertheless been an effective procurement of Hawai‘i’s territory, seizure of political power, continued influence over local governance, and sustained military and socio-cultural occupation. Historian of Hawaiian Kingdom era churches, Ron Williams, has explained how 95% of today’s histories on Hawai‘i have been based on only 6% of the newspaper archive, the English language newspaper archive.<sup>110</sup> Silva argues, “The consent or opposition of the citizenry of Hawai‘i was insignificant in (conventional histories)... which aimed to present the annexation as a triumph of American political values, and thus as a good thing for Hawai‘i. In order to create such a narrative, however, it was necessary for (historians) to overlook and to smooth over, as much as possible, the opposition of the Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and their demands for a democratic decision-making process.”<sup>111</sup> Without the interest in or ability to read Hawaiian, most historians wrote biased narratives about the benefits of U.S. annexation, if not propaganda amounting to outright complicity in imperial myth making. For this reason, the complex story of Hawai‘i is still being written. The story of annexation, its resistance, and the defeat of the treaty have become a consistent, if

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<sup>109</sup> In 1898, a conflicted U.S. Congress defied its own constitution and outgoing president, Grover Cleveland, when it passed the domestic legislative action known as the Newlands Resolution, by a simple majority vote in the Senate, which ostensibly provided for annexing the Hawaiian Kingdom. It has been argued in recent scholarship [See above footnote, Sai (2008) that this joint resolution, a law internal to the United States, did not extend legal authority to the U.S. government to annex another independent state. Though unconstitutional, the joint resolution has been held up as the legal equivalent of a treaty of annexation used to justify U.S. sovereignty in Hawai‘i ever since. See also Sydney Lehea Iaukea (2008); Kamanamaikalani B. Beamer (2008); S. Kūhiō Vogeler (2009); Peter Kalawaia Moore (2010); Donovan Preza (2010); and Willy D.K. Kauai (2014).

<sup>110</sup> Ron Williams, “Claiming Christianity: The Struggle Over God and Nation in Hawai‘i, 1880-1900,” Dissertation defense and oral examination (Department of History, University of Hawai‘i-Mānoa, October 4, 2013).

<sup>111</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed* (2004), 124.

unrecognized, sources of tension that I suggest underscores contemporary social relations among those with competing ideologies about the use, protection, and development of land today.

The efforts of Hawaiians to retell Hawai‘i’s history represent a movement towards and assertion of self-determination through scholarship as activism. Such a practice also informs current work that draws connections between the historical power of U.S. imperialism in Hawai‘i and our contemporary condition. The production of counter narratives likewise empowers Kanaka to think the political; a trend that increased in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, shortly after statehood, and that has come to be known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. The period of our history provides further context for the subsequent social movements that coalesce on Mauna Kea today.

### *Hawaiian Renaissance and Kanakahele’s Narration*

Within the new cultural and political consciousness that emerged among Kanaka ‘Ōiwi from the 1960s-70s began with people looking critically at the loss of culture and traditional ways. Hawaiians reflected on the promise of statehood and compared the ideologies of liberty and equality with the social trajectory of their parents and grandparents, which raised questions about the crash of a once great and prestigious people and Hawaiian Kingdom. Things didn’t match up. They examined the gradual, but steady decline of their social condition and their economic problems, searching for solutions to the failed assimilation of the preceding generation. Their islands were being inundated with rampant development, American and foreign immigration, and the U.S. military. They witnessed the desecration of sacred places, discrimination in schools and

the workplace, obstacles to upward mobility, the loss their language, the concentration of political power among local Asian communities, and many other challenges that affected them uniquely as a native people whose homeland was no longer in their hands.

In May of 1979, Kanaka ʻŌiwi historian, George Huʻeu Sanford Kanahele, wrote an essay entitled “The Hawaiian Renaissance”<sup>112</sup> in which he reflected on the passing decade and the enormous changes Native Hawaiian society was witnessing. Although he identifies a collection of significant accomplishments, I suggest Kanahele paints too rosy a picture. He identifies the “spirit of defiance and rebelliousness” of the era and argues the late 1960s U.S. counterculture was rubbing off on Hawaiʻi. He conveys a sense of urgency with enduring optimism, suggesting Hawaiians “should all be elated that a once rich culture threatened with extinction has been able to survive and now appears to be thriving in spite of the odds against it.”

Kanahele offers a survey of the various forms of cultural revival, which included Hawaiian music, hula kahiko, chant, and men’s hula, the resurgence of which transgressed the “haolefication of hula” that had washed ashore in the burgeoning tourist industry. The reclamation offered hope, as it was something new: it was “all native, made in Hawaii, by, for and of Hawaiians.” Not much had been so since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. There were new Hawaiian foundations, institutions, clubs, and organizations that concerned themselves with educating young people, researching genealogies, reviving the visual, literary, and performance arts and sports like surfing and canoe

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<sup>112</sup> George S. Kanahele, “The Hawaiian Renaissance,” May 1979, Polynesian Voyaging Society Archives, The Kamehameha Schools Archives, Available online at: <http://kapalama.ksbe.edu/archives/pvsa/primary%202/Default.php>.

paddling. The resurgence of these practices was notable because they were not for sale, but were rooted instead in expressing a distinct “Hawaiian identity.”

In making “the case for the Hawaiian Renaissance,” Kanahele cites the ocean navigating canoe, Hōkūle‘a, whose voyage to Tahiti and back “is one of the most singular achievements to happen during the Hawaiian Renaissance.”<sup>113</sup> Unthinkable only a decade earlier was the revitalization of the Hawaiian language, the explosion of library titles about Hawai‘i or Hawaiians and by Kanaka authors, the increase of Hawaiian enrollment in higher education and completion of advanced degrees, or the creation of Hawaiian Studies “as a legitimate academic program.”

Until the mid-sixties, it was considered passé to act, think, speak, or be Hawaiian where tourist culture, American settler culture, and a rising Asian middle-class began shaping contemporary society across the islands, but particularly on O‘ahu.<sup>114</sup> Urban Kanaka, especially, from my grandmother’s generation were taught to be more American, or worse, to be ashamed of being Hawaiian. Kanahele captured the image of pressure and desires to assimilate that many Hawaiians experienced when explaining how earlier attempts to spark a cultural revival to prior to the 1970s. These were merely voices,

...in the wilderness that could not be heard above the din of oaths of allegiance to America. For the 1930s and ‘40s was a period of red-white-and-blue Americanization. Everyone tried to be good Americans which meant that you best submerge any feelings of being non- or un-American. The word “ethnicity” was

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<sup>113</sup> Kanahele, “The Hawaiian Renaissance,” (1979).

<sup>114</sup> Larry Kimura, interview by author, June 7, 2013, Hilo, digital recording.

unheard of. Being different, i.e., being Hawaiian or Japanese or Chinese and so on was not the in-thing to do.<sup>115</sup>

My tūtū has affirmed this in our many conversations in which she explained how, as a young girl growing up in Kalihi she was told to “act more haole,” “to talk good English,” and to not speak pidgin. She tells compares her privilege because of her fair skin to the routine punishment in school and discrimination her darker siblings experienced.

Discipline for speaking Hawaiian was common. Paul F. Nahoā Lucas, explains the “oppressive campaign against the use of Hawaiian,” which continued from the early to mid-1900s in the schools, workplace, and public spaces, forced the use of the language to “go underground.”<sup>116</sup>

Others I interviewed also shared similar recollections. However, it was within families that specific traditions were maintained.<sup>117</sup> Likewise, on the outer islands, hula, language, fashion, rural practices such as farming, ranching, and fishing, were all preserved, often in family settings, but also socially in ways not seen on O‘ahu.<sup>118</sup> The trend, however, is that culture went underground. With it went the practice of political forms like organized resistance.

The distinction between resistance and liberal participatory politics is absent in Kanahele’s reflections. The political, thus, drops out. At times, he actually depoliticizes

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<sup>115</sup> Kanahele, “The Hawaiian Renaissance,” (1979).

<sup>116</sup> Paul F. Nahoā Lucas, “E Ola Mau Kākou I Ka ‘Ōlelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy in Courts: The Arrival of the Written Word and the Prospects for a Bilingual Society,” in *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Vol. 34 (2000), 9-10.

<sup>117</sup> Terri Keko‘olani and Larry Kimura both stated as much.

<sup>118</sup> Kealoha Pisciotto, Pua Case, and Larry Kimura, conveyed these sentiments in our interviews. Kealoha Pisciotto, interview by author, September 24, 2012, Hilo, digital recording.

racial difference and native responses to the failed promises that predominated post-statehood euphoria. In his 1986, *Kū Kanaka*, Kanahele cautions against an overindulgent Renaissance writing, “What we must carefully guard against, however, is resorting to methods that in the end are self-defeating, such as the reverse racism which some young Hawaiians manifest today.”<sup>119</sup> Kanahele seems not to recognize that individual acts of racism and institutional racism are very different phenomena. Concerned mainly with history, but not politics, his work is highly political, inadvertently reproducing the logics of settler colonialism and white privilege.

In many ways, the 1978 passing of the “so-called ‘Hawaiian package’ of amendments” at the Constitutional Convention to the Hawaiian Renaissance as a victory. Kanahele argues the Renaissance “created the right climate” for a Hawaiian-led governmental agency that “shaped and strengthened” a new “Hawaiian consciousness” among Kanaka voters.<sup>120</sup> Kanahele was brimming with hope when considering how the Con Con’s most notable creation, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), was “clearly the most significant political legislation for Hawaiians since 1920.” He writes, “there will be for the first time in this century a way to identify a Hawaiian leadership... (elected trustees who) will very likely be regarded as representative leaders of the Hawaiian people,” which he anticipated would usher in “the political power that Hawaiians might one day enjoy.” It is in this regard I suggest Kanahele fails to identify the limits of participation within United States politics. In light of contemporary scholarship by Silva, Trask, Sai, and others, we now understand that, far from liberating Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, the

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<sup>119</sup> George Hu‘eu Sanford Kanahele, *Kū Kanaka—Stand Tall: A Search for Hawaiian Values* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 27.

<sup>120</sup> Kanahele, “The Hawaiian Renaissance,” 11.

United States was the source of Hawaiians' disenfranchisement. Could he have predicted that the Office of Hawaiian Affairs would just twenty years later lend qualified though official support for the Thirty Meter Telescope project and astronomy expansion on Mauna Kea?<sup>121</sup>

The “political power that Hawaiians” hope to “one day enjoy” that Kanahele highlights, I argue, lies not in a liberal democratic participation – not within that of the U.S. anyway. The problem of assimilation, which Kanahele calls Americanization, certainly called for a critical intervention, however, the main obstacles Kanaka faced in 1978 were not inclusion, equality, or citizenship, just as they are not today. Our beef is with land use and our lack of power to make decisions about land and society in Hawai‘i. For example, not every Hawaiian wanted to become American. My Aunty Ceci, for example, explained once to me how she chose not to participate in the fraudulent referendum for statehood in 1959, adamantly asserting, “I am not American! I have

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<sup>121</sup> Over the years, OHA has at times opposed and other times supported astronomy expansion. For example, in 2002, OHA sued NASA and won a U.S. District Court case regarding the inadequacy of a federal environmental assessment for the Keck Outrigger Project, the proposal for which was pulled three years later by NASA. Generally, however, OHA recommends considerations to be added to management plans, items for inclusion in the environmental impact statements, ceded land revenues to be paid according to State trust obligations, and other issues to be addressed rather than demanding a moratorium on new developments. Paul Coleman (interview by author, May 8, 2013, Mānoa, digital recording) argues OHA submitted a letter of support for the Thirty Meter Telescope to be located on Mauna Kea instead of in Chile, but I was unable to verify this. In fiscal year 2012, the Office of Mauna Kea Management paid OHA just under \$85,000. See for example, Transcript of Public Meeting on the Mauna Kea science Reserve Master Plan (1999); Rowena Akana, *Ka Wai Ola o OHA*, August 2009, Available online at: <http://www.rowenaakana.org/tag/thirty-meter-telescope-observatory-project/>; University of Hawai‘i Annual Report on Mauna Kea to the 2013 Legislature, HRS 304A-1905, November 2012, Available online at: [https://www.hawaii.edu/offices/eaurl/govrel/reports/2013/hrs304a-1905\\_2013\\_mauna-kea\\_annual-report.pdf](https://www.hawaii.edu/offices/eaurl/govrel/reports/2013/hrs304a-1905_2013_mauna-kea_annual-report.pdf).

never been American! I am Hawaiian! I didn't vote for statehood or for the Territory, because the vote was already fixed!"<sup>122</sup> Assimilation through "representative" governance could never result in the political power that *all* Hawaiians seek. Kanahele's new "Hawaiian consciousness" presents a paradox for Kanaka because the State has never shared our interests, although, for many, participation in some capacity is necessary "to stop the bleeding."<sup>123</sup>

Kanahele does not contemplate colonialism or decolonization. Occupation was certainly not a discourse in circulation yet. These discourses would come out of the intellectual Hawaiian scholarship years later. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs was still in its infancy and many had great hope that an entirely Hawaiian agency designed to govern Hawaiians would lift the community out of despair and into economic well being. It would not be until 2000 that Native Hawaiian entitlements within OHA would come under fire.<sup>124</sup> Two major Supreme Court decisions based on the liberal challenge to so-called "race-based entitlements" seriously undermined the notion of a Hawaiian-only institution, here conceived as discriminatory, which forced open OHA elections and seats within its board of trustees to non-Hawaiians and dashed hopes for truly progressive change. Kanahele's limited conception of the political, if understandable for 1979, was indeed insufficient in hindsight.

My other concern with Kanahele's framing is when, like in *Kū Kanaka*, he adopts a logic of multicultural replacement:

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<sup>122</sup> Cecilia Akim, interview by author, 1998, Punalu'u, O'ahu, tape recording.

<sup>123</sup> Terri Keko'olani describes such necessary episodes of participation as such. Interview by author, April 17, 2014, Kaimukī, digital recording.

<sup>124</sup> *Rice v. Cayetano* (2000) and *Arakaki v. Lingle* (2007).



Finally, there is a paradox about the Renaissance we need to understand. It is that the Renaissance does not only belong to Hawaiians. It belongs to non-ethnic Hawaiians, too... The plain fact is that historically non-Hawaiians have always played a large role in preserving and perpetuating Hawaiian culture and ideals... non-ethnic Hawaiians...who for one reason or another have come to identify themselves culturally, psychologically and spiritually with Hawaiianness. In the process, of course, some have become more Hawaiian than the Hawaiians, to the chagrin of the natives.

If an indigenous cultural revival does not belong to Hawaiians, how do we protect our land? How do we protect our interests? How do we protect our distinct consciousness that come with all of it? Kanahele's appeal for a liberal model of multiculturalism presents tensions left unresolved and that appear irresolvable through multiculturalism. At its core, his argument reduces the genealogical ontologies of Kanaka 'Ōiwi to mere performance of culture. In Kanahele's vision of this new Hawaiian consciousness and cultural awakening, Hawaiians cannot go at it alone; we must sometimes make room for the "Hawaiians-at-heart," who can sometimes be more authentic, more Hawaiian. As such, Hawaiians are figured as replaceable and petty should we take issue with settler replacement. That – after such a detailed accounting of the many accomplishments of Hawaiians in this great period of renewal and the great escape from extinction – Kanahele would turn around and suggest the Renaissance does not belong to Hawaiians is problematic.

Kanahele represents the complexities and contradictions of the settler colony that is contemporary Hawai'i. I explore the paradoxes of Kanaka subjectivities further in

chapter four, however the point here is that, in the absence of political analysis or the misrecognition of the political, it becomes difficult to locate power in our contemporary social order. Kanahele's vision of Hawai'i celebrates the cultural, but at the expense of the political, thereby reproducing the imperial logics of settler state power. Along with the exceptional resurgence of Hawaiian culture, language, and politics of the Renaissance, I recommend we temper our exultation of culture by thinking the political.

This tension that began with the Renaissance – a division between the kū'ē Hawaiians and the participant Hawaiians – is present in almost every setting in which talk of sovereignty, independence, and governance occurs among Kanaka today. For example, Mauna Kea astronomy expansion depends on the participation of Kanaka 'Ōiwi in legitimating the scientific settler state. While OHA demands revenue be set aside from the University for its use of Ceded Lands, it nevertheless extends tacit support of the University's continued control of the mountain and the State of Hawai'i's continued commitment to astronomy. The University and State's interests arguably are not aligned with those of all Kanaka. Had Kanahele witnessed and written about the other side of the so-called Hawaiian Renaissance – the story of Kanaka struggle in which this chapter contextualizes the Mauna Kea debates –, he may have recognized the contradictions and limits of liberal democratic participation, representative governance, and colorblind multiculturalism. This tradition of Hawaiian struggle is precisely the other side of the Renaissance that a movement for a decolonial future Hawai'i must take seriously and is the story to which I would like to turn.

*Distinguishing a Kanaka Political Consciousness: Kalama Valley*

The political activism surrounding the Kalama Valley evictions in 1971 is often cited as one of the earliest examples of the Kanaka-led struggle that characterized the political side of the Hawaiian Renaissance. Haunani-Kay Trask described the Kalama Valley struggle as “the birth of the contemporary Hawaiian movement” and explains how it ignited a political consciousness of the Hawaiian Renaissance.<sup>125</sup> While Kanahele located this political consciousness in civic participation and representative governance, I contend that Kanaka political consciousness begins from below and is in this sense far more revolutionary. What made Kalama Valley significant is that it introduced a model of overt resistance. It also demonstrated for future movements a need to recognize and articulate the distinct genealogical claims Kanaka have to Hawai‘i as ancestral homeland.

The struggle began in 1970, when Kalama Valley landowner, Bishop Estate, wanted to terminate leases and evict 64 Kanaka and local families in order to accommodate suburban developments consisting of tract homes and condominiums that those evicted families could not themselves afford. According to Neal Milner,

...Kalama reflected one of four major reconfigurations patterns: the conversion of agricultural land to suburban-type housing; the conversion of urban Honolulu from high density low-rise to high-rise condominiums; the enormous increase in the number of Waikiki hotels; and the evolution of public housing in the name of slum clearance.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O‘ahu,” in *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 21 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1987).

<sup>126</sup> Neal Milner, “Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in the Kalama Valley: Re-Imagining a Hawaiian Nation Through a Property Dispute,” in *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 40 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 152.

The late 1960s had created a sense of dispossession among local communities who saw their lifestyles being threatened by big money and foreign real estate investments. Images of these rural families and pig farmers and their pending removal evoked memories of earlier plantation labor struggles and the injustice of the overthrow. Trask described this as a struggle against an “onslaught of land development,” which instigated new conflicts and new identity formations.<sup>127</sup> The planned evictions also sparked protests and demonstrations in the valley, large rallies at the State capitol, and acts of civil disobedience in efforts to stop the bulldozing of homes. The media reported images of community activists and University students on rooftops in support of the movement. Dozens were eventually arrested and later tried for trespassing,

The backdrop for Kalama included student protests in the U.S. and Europe. There was also the anti-Vietnam war activism, the environmental movement was in the headlines, and the civil rights movement was fresh in popular memory, all of which inspired the organizers of the political actions.

In 1999, long time activist and community organizer, Soli Hanalei welokihei iakea‘eloa Niheu Jr. wrote an essay remembering the Kalama Valley struggle. He explains how his political thought was shaped while in college reading “Kanaka Maoli political thinkers such as Malo and Kamakau,” participating in civil rights marches, and learning from Martin Luther King and Gandhi, after which he realized he had to return home to fight for his own people.<sup>128</sup> He was also influenced by the American Indian Movement

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<sup>127</sup> Trask, “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement,” (1987), 127.

<sup>128</sup> Soli Kihei Niheu, “Huli: Community Struggles and Ethnic Studies,” in Ibrahim G. Aoude, ed. *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawai‘i: Social Process in Hawai‘i*, Volume 39, (Honolulu: Department of Sociology, UHM, 1999), 44.

(A.I.M.), the Black liberation movement, and the Chicano, women's, and labor movements, which he had personal exposure to while traveling during college. Niheu represents this transition from a local to a Native consciousness, what Milner calls Hawaiian nationalism.

Milner describes how, after a year and a half, the movement gradually evolved from a multiethnic, "local" struggle, to one identified increasingly as a Native Hawaiian issue. He argues,

In some ways the struggle mirrored typical eviction and dislocation controversies across the U.S., but it differed and became the spark for a movement toward a new vision of Hawaiian citizenship and nationhood.

Milner adds,

By the time the final evictions took place and the protestors had been arrested, it was clear that the public had become aware of these roots of Hawaiian nationalism."<sup>129</sup>

In the Kalama struggle, Niheu represented this Hawaiian nationalism as efforts were made to distinguish Kanaka from local claims. Hawaiians eventually separated themselves from haoles and locals, to the disapproval of many of their allies. At stake was initially the "loss of lifestyle," an ambiguously local lifestyle threatened by rampant urbanization with which outsiders, malihini, were identified.<sup>130</sup> Eventually, however, "the issue had become Hawaiian," meaning strategic necessity required Hawaiians to ask

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<sup>129</sup> Niheu, "Huli: Community Struggles and Ethnic Studies," (1999), 172.

<sup>130</sup> Keko'olani, interview by the author, April 17, 2014, Kaimukī; Niheu, "Huli: Community Struggles and Ethnic Studies," (1999), 48-52.

whites to stop participating in the protests.<sup>131</sup> Initially an inclusive movement, the color of the struggle presented problems, as Niheu explains:

One group, however – the Hawaiians – was rather hesitant to support us, because whenever the topic of Kalama Valley came up on the TV screen, too many *haole* [white people] were seen, especially the hippie types, carrying banners and stuff like that. It did not look like a Kanaka Maoli struggle.<sup>132</sup>

This immediate requirement would, however, give way to an underlying differentiation between haoles, locals, and Hawaiians; that is, the relationship of Hawaiians to the land, their ceremonial practices and cultural ideologies of the sacred, and the importance of genealogies to cultural differentiation and political praxis. However, it would take all of the next two decades for this distinction to culminate in the political struggles seen in the nineties and since.

Trask summarizes the significance of the Kalama struggle succinctly:

As the first prolonged resistance effort in the post-Statehood era, Kalama Valley undercut the euphoric characterizations of “The New Hawai‘i” as an enlightened post-plantation society governed by consensus politics where pluralism rather than oligarchy reigned. Capitalism in the form of the tourist industry had not brought a more equitable share of the pie but had, instead, resulted in rapid over-development, a severe housing shortage, rising underemployment, increasing racial tensions, and the

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<sup>131</sup> Milner, “Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in the Kalama Valley,” (2006), 167.

<sup>132</sup> Niheu, “Huli: Community Struggles and Ethnic Studies,” (1999), 46.

loss of prime agricultural land. The struggle at Kalama Valley gave eloquent voice to these issues and foretold a current of resistance for more than a decade to come.<sup>133</sup>

There were two significant developments to come out of the Kalama struggle that I suggest inform today's struggle over Mauna Kea. The first is that Kalama presented a tension between competing "ideologies over private property, progress, and the proper way to live." The lifestyles of pig farmers, poor and working class families, and rural Hawaiians were too messy, disorganized, and undermined a capitalist vision for a sanitized, modern, and progressive Hawai'i, which could reproduce capital and generate revenue. Conversely, locals and Hawaiians shared a different vision that consisted of a "moral relationship with the land," which directly undermined the dominant approach to land use and management in Hawai'i at the time.<sup>134</sup>

The second development Kalama indicated was how Kanaka 'Ōiwi have distinct interests in the land as homeland. These claims are distinct from those of locals because they are not only moral, they are ancestral. Kanaka have a genealogical relationship with the land, which informs ontological commitments to struggle. Kalama fostered for the protestors an ambivalent and contradictory, if "capacious" identity, which, as Milner argues, "was broad enough to include more than native people but at the same time recognized the special status of *Kanaka Maoli*."<sup>135</sup> It was inclusive to settlers, but also emphasized settler accountability to their indigenous counterparts. This struggle would

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<sup>133</sup> Trask, "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," (1987), 151.

<sup>134</sup> Milner, "Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in the Kalama Valley," (2006), 156-172.

<sup>135</sup> Milner, "Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in the Kalama Valley," (2006), 172.

thus present a model for future struggles in which shared political imaginaries presented new and constantly shifting limits that would define possible new relations of power.

These two trajectories are central to understanding the Mauna Kea debates as not only about Western telescopes, Hawaiian religion, and cultural differentiation, but also about visions of a future Hawai‘i. The Kalama struggle showed us the production of “progress” and the proper way to live as capitalist-centric, which these stories of struggle expose as always already aligned with the needs and norms of settler society and American cultural hegemony. Such points of departure for ‘Ōiwi embody the distinct claims of indigenous, genealogical, and land-based forms of belonging, which several years later would culminate in the Kaho‘olawe struggle and its centering of ceremonial praxis, the idea of the sacred, and the connections between the cultural and the political.

#### *Terri Keko‘olani and Kaho‘olawe*

Another long time peace activist and community organizer, Terri Keko‘olani, was in the middle of the Kalama struggle as a young Ethnic Studies major at the time. She explained to me some of the highlights of the political Hawaiian Renaissance in an interview I conducted at her office in Mānoa Valley. Keko‘olani was an activist from a very young age, protesting the Vietnam War throughout high school, even confessing to a Catholic schoolteacher as a 10<sup>th</sup> grader at Sacred Hearts Academy she thought she was an atheist. She participated in organizing around the Kalama evictions. She was close friends with George Helm in high school and took up the Kaho‘olawe struggle after his disappearance. She explained how activist colleagues with whom she regularly worked would return from America with notes they had taken while meeting with organizers of



the Wounded Knee occupation and members of the American Indian Movement. She consistently read books on Black liberation, world revolutions, Marxian thought, and other social movements. Keko‘olani has become a mentor of younger activists on campus and around the community and continues to organize and participate in political actions in Honolulu.

Speaking of the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana, or PKO, the organization that formed in opposition to the Navy bombing of the island, Keko‘olani argues “Kaho‘olawe was a beacon for Hawaiians,” bringing to the fore the importance of political struggle and the indispensability of cultural grounding in that struggle. She argues the two have to be connected. She also suggests Kaho‘olawe represented greatest disrespect, but also all of the other forms of violence Hawaiians face. Therefore, Kaho‘olawe “opened the doors for other sites of struggle.” However, some in the community were resistant to the idea of acknowledging the cultural is also political. She told a story of how in 1978, after the military bombing was stopped, the organizers of a gathering on Kaho‘olawe opened the ceremony up to everybody, not just the PKO members – inviting folks who supported PKO and were arrested in protests, like her. Keko‘olani said the organizers talked about two trajectories they had to maintain. Keko‘olani explains:

(First, there is) struggle, resistance, absolute necessity, right? And (second, there is) culture. And the guys that were rising up were the Hōkūle‘a guys. And some of them did not want to be associated with the struggle. And yet, *they had to*. If they wanted to do the Real McCoy – make the trek of voyaging – they had to go to where the voyaging was taught and it was taught on Kaho‘olawe, one of the places that it was taught. But a major place that it was taught was Kaho‘olawe. That’s what

Mau<sup>136</sup> talks about, and that's where this was this thing, this, this, this star reading ahu (altar), or thing on Kaho'olawe. And Mau said, this is actually a place where you had a stone canoe,<sup>137</sup> and this is how the navigators learned how to navigate, from this place, and the military was bombing it. They were using it for a target and it was the very thing used to read the stars. That's how hewa all of this shit is, right?

So Hōkūle'a guys saying, "that's not our battle, we're into culture (and not politics)." And yet, the contradiction is the very thing that we're trying to say is so important to our people was actually a target to be destroyed by this country called America! I think there was a lot more activism (than decades before), (now) it was OK. Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, they're doing political songs: "Hawai'i '78" comes out. It's OK to say you're for struggle, it's ok to say stand up and rise with the people.<sup>138</sup>

Terri Keko'olani explained to me how the sacred in Hawai'i is when nature is left alone. "The environment is our church: the sunrise, the pink clouds, the elements," she said, and Kaho'olawe represents a realization for many Kanaka 'Ōiwi that "once it's gone, it's gone." So, the sacred is worth protecting and the struggle begins with the sacred.

Only two years after the first large telescope was constructed on Mauna Kea, the Kalama Valley struggle demonstrated just how powerful the establishment truly is.

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<sup>136</sup> Mau Piailug was a Micronesian master navigator from Satawal in the Carolinian Islands who the first Hōkūle'a crew sought out to teach them lessons in the sciences of Oceanic voyaging; as there were no living Kanaka navigators who carried the Hawaiian traditions at that point.

<sup>137</sup> The site is known as Kamo'a'ula. When I visited Kaho'olawe, our hosts told us this site served as instrument for teaching methods for reading ocean currents, winds, clouds, stars, and other phenomena used to voyage the Pacific without modern instruments.

<sup>138</sup> Terri Keko'olani, interview by author, April 17, 2014, Kaimukī, digital recording.

Between the big money of investment and development firms bent on perpetual growth and a pandering capitalist state anxious to prove its right to govern and its place within the American union, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi had their work cut out for them. Kalama was a logical place to start because it acknowledged the distinct moral and lifestyle claims of locals and Hawaiians. The Naval bombing of Kaho‘olawe, all within eyesight and earshot of Māui residents, was just too glaring a violence to ignore. It also represented a direct affront to local residents, but was a spiritual, cultural, and genealogical-land-based hewa (wrong) that affected Kanaka differentially. It would take time before the lessons of the Hawaiian Renaissance, Kalama Valley, and Kaho‘olawe would culminate into a popular movement that eventually brought attention toward Mauna Kea astronomy.

Soon, activists, environmentalists, settler allies, scientists in solidarity, outer island communities, and Hawai‘i Island communities would realize the connections between these earlier struggles and their opposition to Mauna Kea astronomy. Before analyzing one example of resistance to Mauna Kea astronomy, I would like to first discuss the ways in which the voice of opposition to astronomy expansion emerged gradually and alongside of this broader story of struggle for self-determination and for Hawai‘i. In part, I find a need to respond to a popular sentiment that assumes contemporary forms of Hawaiian opposition to astronomy on Mauna Kea are disingenuous because that opposition appears to some as coming too late, years after the first telescopes emerged. I address this as well in chapter four, but here I would like to give some context, to examine the ways in which opposition appeared.

*Not a Peep of Dissent: Signs of Dissent*

In 2001, the *LA Times* published an article suggesting there was no resistance to telescopes in the early years. The journalist, Usha Lee McFarling, wrote, “When the first telescopes rose from the mountain... there was not a peep of dissent from Hawaiians.”<sup>139</sup> This was a common perspective shared among those I interviewed. Nainoa Thompson was quoted saying, “Native Hawaiian self-esteem was so low (up to the 1970s) they didn’t know how to argue. They didn’t know how to object.”<sup>140</sup> Although this was true in some ways, I learned through my interviews and according to several recorded accounts that there is evidence of, what began as concern, eventually gave way to dissent, and finally resulted in explicit opposition and acts of resistance. Despite popular sentiment and seemingly harmless assumptions about the absence of opposition to astronomy, representations of history that suggest Hawaiians did not care much about the telescopes until only recently function to the impact and to delegitimize the contemporary opposition today. Although the history is under researched, there were signs of dissent early on.

The series of dedications through the 1970s would by 1980 be described by concerned residents as a “flurry” of new telescope developments.<sup>141</sup> By most accounts, the public was rather caught off guard by the rapid succession of Mauna Kea astronomy in those years. The issue had not yet inspired the community protests, demonstrations,

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<sup>139</sup> “Science, Culture Clash Over Sacred Mountain,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 18, 2001.

<sup>140</sup> *LA Times*, March 18, 2001.

<sup>141</sup> *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, January 27, 1980, quoted in Kepā Maly and Onaona Maly, “Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka ‘Āina” (*Mauna Kea-The Famous Summit of the Land*): A Collection of Native Traditions, Historical Accounts, and Oral History Interviews for: Mauna Kea, the Lands of Ka‘ohe, Humu‘ula and the ‘Āina Mauna on the Island of Hawai‘i, Prepared for The Office of Mauna Kea Management (Hilo: University of Hawaii-Hilo, 2005), 632.

marches and rallies, or acts of civil disobedience that became options political issues elsewhere in subsequent years. However, it would be a mistake to conflate this seeming slow start of explicit resistance with tacit public consent or indifference, which is implied when reflecting on the speculation that Hawaiians in the '80s were perhaps “more pro-development” than in recent times or somehow complaisant as was often implied in my interviews and in statements by prominent public figures, the State Governor included.

Moreover, there are actually indications that people registered their dissent as early as 1974. This came through letters to the editors of local newspapers,<sup>142</sup> oral and written testimonies at public hearings,<sup>143</sup> letters to the Department of Land and Natural Resources and the Governor's office,<sup>144</sup> as well as scientific studies and cultural assessments reporting the potential impacts of continued industrial growth on the mountain lands, forests, insects, plants, animals, archeological resources, burial and historic cultural sites, and traditional practices.<sup>145</sup> As mentioned earlier, for those not living on Hawai'i Island, Mauna Kea was rather out of sight and out of mind. However, if Mauna Kea astronomy escaped mass public scrutiny for practical reasons, Kanaka 'Ōiwi who live and work on

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<sup>142</sup> This was conveyed to me by Nelson Ho, interview by author, September 24, 2012, Hilo, digital recording, and; Deborah Ward and Fred Stone, interview by author, June 8, 2013, 'Ōla'a, digital recording.

<sup>143</sup> For example, in the Transcript of Public Meeting on the Mauna Kea science Reserve Master Plan (1999), we find many accounts of residents reminding the Mauna Kea Advisory Committee that they have been vocal for years, but the University of Hawai'i and the State continue with developments regardless of their dissent.

<sup>144</sup> Such letters and testimonies were described to me by Lea Hong and are housed at the Department of Land and Natural Resources. Lea Hong, phone interview by author, March 12, 2014, digital recording.

<sup>145</sup> See for example, Ross Cordy, (1994); Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele & Edward L.H. Kanahele, (1997); Charles Langlas, et. al., (1997); Patrick McCoy, (1977); Patrick McCoy, (1981); Patrick McCoy & Richard A. Gould, (1977), 234-243; H. McEldowney & P. McCoy, (1982). I discuss more of this in chapter four as well.

the mountain's lower plains – from Kohala to Hāmākua and Hilo – observed the gradual increase of astronomy with great concern that soon gave way to dissent, and outrage.

Although there was little in the form of organized popular movement against Mauna Kea astronomy until the nineties, there were other signs of dissent over the rapid development, increased traffic, pollution, and desecration of the summit. Many were concerned early on about burial remains, or iwi kupuna, which are said to be hidden in unknown locations around the summit.<sup>146</sup> There were calls for an adequate management plan consisting of comprehensive studies to identify potentially threatened resources, aquifers, cultural and historic sites, and rare plants, insects, and animals. At the early hearings on the various telescope subleases, members of the public came out to voice their concerns that the telescopes would compromise their cultural practices and family connections to the mountain.<sup>147</sup> They expressed concern that astronomy was becoming too big and growing out of control.

Non-Hawaiians were also suspicious of the rapid growth of astronomy and the University's management practices. For example, according to environmental activist and former Sierra Club chair, Nelson Ho, the public had reason for concern about the

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<sup>146</sup> See Kepā Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update: Oral History and Consultation Study, and Archival Literature Research, Ahupua'a of – Ka'ohe (Hāmākua District) and Humu'ula (Hilo District), Island of Hawai'i (various TMK)*, Prepared for Group 70 Intl. (1999), particularly the interview with Sonny Alohalani Kaniho and Daniel Kaniho Sr. 150-182. According to the TMT EIS, there have only been two confirmed burial locations on the summit and four other likely burial spots. See University of Hawai'i at Hilo, *Final Environmental Impact Statement, Vol. 1: Thirty Meter Telescope Project, Island of Hawai'i* (May 8, 2010), P-2. However, although some accounts of burials appear to be speculation, the possibility of burials anywhere would be hard to determine and locations unknown because of cultural protocols, which strictly prohibit disclosure of such information.

<sup>147</sup> Lea Hong, phone interview by author, March 12, 2014, digital recording.

health of the summit lands. When he visited Mauna Kea in the early 1990s, he was surprised to observe wind-strewn rubbish from the construction sites littering the area. In our interview, Ho told me of an experiment he conducted to raise public awareness of the problem of telescope construction-derived pollution.<sup>148</sup> He and a colleague traveled to the summit, set a bearing, and traversed a mile out from the top in a straight line, collecting all the rubbish in their path. They wanted to take samples to demonstrate there was urgency for formal regulation policy. So much debris was being discarded that Ho had completely filled several huge bags. Near the summit and the mid-level rest area, there was a lot of discarded trash left by the hundreds of tourists who visited every week. There were McDonald's containers, food wrappers, and tourist maps. Recording every bit they collected, Ho noted that the further away from the summit they travelled, the more their samples became industrial waste. Contrary to claims made at the time by the University's Institute for Astronomy, 55-gallon drums of hydrocarbon fuel and 4'x8' sheets of pulverized insulation were clearly not rubbish brought up by tourists or recreational users. He said the Hawai'i County Mayor refused to handle the issue of industrial waste, so Ho eventually held a press conference in which he brandished a backpack full of trash with scraps bearing the names of the various telescopes from which they came.<sup>149</sup>

Efforts like this reflect the shared valuation of land in Hawai'i among environmentalist oriented locals and Kanaka 'Ōiwi. Such push back and demands for accountability eventually resulted in the aforementioned legislative audit, which should

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<sup>148</sup> Nelson Ho, interview by author, September 24, 2012, Hilo, digital recording.

<sup>149</sup> Nelson Ho, interview by author, September 24, 2012, Hilo, digital recording.

be understood as an intervention that was forced by the community of concerned residents, both local and Kanaka, but mainly centering on the logic of protection and good stewardship. Submitted in 1998, the Auditor's Report alerted the public of the mountain's condition and the University's gross failures to properly manage, protect, and care for the land. Change would soon come.

Although the protection of Mauna Kea did not keep pace with its development through the '90s, community concerns did not go unaddressed. For example, when then Governor George Ariyoshi began receiving letters from citizens disturbed by the telescopes, he was forced to act. A *Hawai'i Tribune-Herald* special edition from 1980 entitled "Mauna Kea (Past, Present and Future)," published a memorandum penned by Ariyoshi in 1974, which advised the BLNR chairman, Sunao Kido, to promptly draft a master plan.<sup>150</sup> It read in part:

I am concerned that social pressures for more intensive uses of Mauna Kea for scientific, recreational and other purposes pose a threat to the priceless qualities of that mountain...

To assure that full consideration is given to all aspects of permitted, controlled and prohibited uses, you are hereby directed to develop and promulgate, as expeditiously as possible, a Master Plan for all of Mauna Kea above the Saddle Road.

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<sup>150</sup> *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, January 27, 1980, quoted in Maly and Maly, "Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka 'Āina," (*Mauna Kea-The Famous Summit of the Land*) (2005), 631-637.



Finally, the promulgation of the Master Plan should include its adoption by the Board of Land and Natural Resources following public hearings, and should provide for both the enforcement of the Plan and procedures for its amendment.<sup>151</sup>

Ariyoshi's directive forced the Land Board to develop the Mauna Kea Plan in 1977, which became the Mauna Kea Complex Development Plan, adopted by UH in 1982.<sup>152</sup> In 1981, the Governor then "designated certain sections of Mauna Kea to be the Mauna Kea Ice Age Natural Reserve Area," which delegated control of specific areas to the Natural Area Reserves System Commission, an administrative entity within the Board of Land and Natural Resources.<sup>153</sup> Far from evidence of complaisance or tacit consent to Mauna Kea astronomy, the pressure applied to Ariyoshi as well as the Governor's subsequent response, represent early examples of dissent and opposition.

These concerns of the local community, environmentalist researchers, recreational users, local hunters, and Kanaka cultural practitioners, which forced an official response to the conventional management failures, do not parallel the more obvious forms of resistance that took place throughout the late '70s and '80s, but Mauna Kea was a unique case. Unlike the struggles discussed previously, there were no bombs dropped on the mountain, no evictions of Hawaiians or local people of color, and no mediated spectacle through which to appeal to a broader public conscience and sense of justice. Such a visible display of ethical violations might help the public to make connections between

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<sup>151</sup> Ariyoshi to Kido, November 1, 1974, as quoted in *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, January 27, 1980, quoted in Maly and Maly, (2005).

<sup>152</sup> The Auditor, State of Hawai'i, *Audit of the Management of Mauna Kea and the Mauna Kea Science Reserve*, A Report to the Governor and the Legislature of the State of Hawai'i, Report No. 98-6, February 1998, 4.

<sup>153</sup> The Auditor, State of Hawai'i, *Audit of the Management of Mauna Kea and the Mauna Kea Science Reserve* (1998), 6.

Mauna Kea and Kalama Valley, Kaho‘olawe, or the other struggles. Framing Mauna Kea as a part of a longer tradition of struggle against the many forms of encroachment, displacement, and capitalist or scientific ideologies has proven difficult in legal settings. This is because the courts, as state apparatuses function as its agents to reproduce the state. As such, law determines that very specific boundaries be placed on the types of questions that are to be ruled on. By narrowing the terms of discourse as courts necessarily do, only a very limited range of questions comes under scrutiny. The broader questions of reparative justice or the origins of the State’s legal authority, for instance, are never open for discussion or subject to debate.

By most accounts, throughout the first 30 years of Mauna Kea astronomy, the mountain was somewhat out of sight, out of mind and many Hawaiians did not know what was happening up there. As mentioned previously, Hawaiians were occupied contesting issues on innumerable other fronts during that same period. It would take several decades for younger people to realize what was happening on Mauna Kea and as they did, this next generation of activists would draw connections from earlier struggles to the displacements, desecrations, and destruction going on elsewhere. The present generation of Hawaiians has carried on the tradition, not only of legal opposition, but also practices of resistance through community activism. I now turn to their work.

#### *Mauna a Wākea Mural and Student Protest*

In October, 2013, three Kanaka ‘Ōiwi UH-Mānoa graduate students continued this tradition of resistance and protest when an opportunity arose to paint a mural on University of Hawai‘i-Mānoa (UHM) campus and to protest the Thirty Meter Telescope.

The UHM organization Ka Leo o Hawai‘i made space available around campus for students to paint temporary murals as part of the annual “Ka Leo Arts Fest.” The student activists decided to present a Kanaka vision of Mauna Kea through this mural. They also decided to include a message of protest to the University for its support of the TMT, which sparked a media discourse that raised public awareness of the University’s opposition to Kanaka who seek a moratorium on new telescope development.

At that time, two significant legal issues were also taking place: The first was a pending decision in the State Court of Appeals regarding the Land Board’s granting of a permit to the University for the TMT.<sup>154</sup> The second issue was a proposed lease renewal, which it was anticipated would be submitted to the Board of Land and Natural Resources the Friday immediately after the day students were painting their murals. UH’s 65-year lease is set to expire in 2033, making the lease renewal a key issue for the TMT partners and the projects’ major funders. I interviewed artist Haley Kaili‘ehu (a Ph.D. student in the Education Department), her partner, No‘eau Peralto (a Ph.D. student in the Political Science Department) and their close friend, ‘Ilima Long (a Masters candidate in Hawaiian Studies and head of the campus student organization hauMANA<sup>155</sup>) about the protest and the struggle for Mauna Kea.

From the start, the hui had several intentions. First, they saw the mural as an opportunity to raise awareness about the issue on the UHM campus. Long suggested the

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<sup>154</sup> I examine the contested case in chapter six.

<sup>155</sup> MANA stands for Movement for Aloha no ka ‘Āina. The student group hauMĀNA became a part of the broader movement through partnerships among the groups’ members and their commitments to demilitarization, independence, and solidarity across Oceania. See, <http://www.manainfo.com/>.

mural hui<sup>156</sup> recognized that the telescope issue receives more attention on Hawai‘i Island, for obvious reasons, and that many O‘ahu residents, if not Kanaka, think little about the issue at all. As mentioned above, for communities on neighboring islands, the mountain is simply “out of sight and out of mind.”

They also wanted to show the petitioners in the contested case – now appellants in the appeals case – that Kanaka O‘ahu (Hawaiians on O‘ahu) were standing with them in solidarity. Recognizing the toll such a battle can take on those engaged in the legal dispute against whom the odds are disproportionately stacked, the mural hui also recognized the power differential embodied within the actual space of the struggle, the courts. The petitioners are ordinary people; none of them are lawyers or independently wealthy. They have all made enormous sacrifices by missing work, sleep, and family and other personal obligations to focus on the case. Such work is a full-time commitment. Conversely, the University spares no expense in the legal battle.<sup>157</sup> They wanted to bring the issue back into the public eye; to show solidarity with the petitioners; to remind people how the mountain is sacred; and to bring the community together creatively and for the protection of Mauna Kea.

Long described the TMT issue as becoming “territorialized... in the courts,” which caused people to lose interest. She argues the courts,

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<sup>156</sup> In this section I describe the organizers simply as the mural group, or “mural hui.”

<sup>157</sup> For example, in the year (2010-2011) leading up to the contested case alone, the University spent \$1.1 million on outside legal expenditures. They also spent more than double each month for outside legal counsel in that same year than it had in each of the previous 44 months. See Rob Perez, “Legal fees spike at UH,” *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, June 12, 2011; Nanea Kalani, “Civil Beat Shares University of Hawaii Salaries,” *Honolulu Civil Beat*, September 1, 2010.

are not a place that you (Kanaka ‘Ōiwi) can access. It’s draining when all of our participation is called by “show up to this testimony, show up to this court date, show up to this whatever,” and it’s just like, you cannot sustain a movement like that. It just sucks the life out of it.<sup>158</sup>

Indeed, at most State agency and Land Board meetings in which the public is invited to give “input,” each speaker is provided only 2-3 minutes to give oral testimony.

Participants are generally put in front of a microphone, seated alone across from a panel of lawmakers, Board members, or other officials. Testifiers are ordinary people. They have to take time off of work to participate because hearings are held on weekdays.

Legal cases, in particular, can take anywhere from 6-8 hours a day and often span weeks or months before concluding. Therefore, the structure affects working people differently.

On the other side, however, the University has teams of lawyers who do this for a living. They are familiar with the protocols of these spaces, speak the appropriate language, and often know the officials personally. Thus, these institutional spaces reproduce preexisting hierarchies by substituting a redistribution of power for participation. While citizens are encouraged to participate by bringing grievances before the law, because law is fixed within established structures of settler colonialism, they cannot redistribute relations to provide a genuine, or radical, model of power-sharing. Instead, they affirm established functions of power. The whole scene – the physical venue of the court, the space of the hearing, the public meeting, and so on – is extremely intimidating and alienating for the non-lawyer, the average citizen, and the working class Kanaka who wants to defend sacred places, but nevertheless wishes to abide the law.

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<sup>158</sup> ‘Ilima Long, interview by author, April 4, 2014, Kaimukī, digital recording.

Going into the event, the artists framed their actions as not simply an opposition to telescopes or the astronomy community.<sup>159</sup> Instead they framed their demonstration as being in defense of the mountain. Long explained the motivation was the group's aloha (love) for Mauna a Wākea. She explained, they recognized their authority – as Hawaiians – derives not from State or Federal rights or participatory inclusion, but instead “comes from our genealogical connection to that mountain.”<sup>160</sup> Although these Kanaka believe the court is not a venue in which they can take up the struggle, they stand in solidarity with everyone committed to protecting Mauna Kea, including the petitioners.

The hui called for support from UHM students and the local community to come out on a Saturday to paint the mural and between 80-100 people showed up throughout the day, some painting and others stopping in just to wala‘au (talk story). They handed out pamphlets and talked about the issue with students and the community who were on campus for several other major events going on the same weekend. This alone had fulfilled their objectives to raise public awareness about Mauna Kea.

Influenced by conversations with No‘eau Peralto who had written an essay on the sacred value of Mauna a Wākea, Kaili‘ehu designed an image portraying a scene from a beloved origin story familiar to most Kanaka. The mural depicts the mountain silhouetted against a starry night sky, the crescent shape of the moon to the right. In the foreground, there are three akua, the deified progenitor kūpuna (ancestors) of the Hawaiian people: Wākea (Sky Father, the expanse of the sky), Papahānaumoku (Earth

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<sup>159</sup> This position parallels the stance of those engaged in the legal struggle within the courts who argue they are not opposed to astronomy or science, but are instead opposed to further development on the mountain.

<sup>160</sup> ‘Ilima Long, interview, April 4, 2014.

Mother, Papa who births islands), and their daughter Ho‘ohōkūkalani (the starrng of the heavens).<sup>161</sup> Wākea and Papa are embraced in honi,<sup>162</sup> Lake Waiau and its healing waters are represented as a pool collected in a cup-shaped kalo leaf gently running off to anoint the akua. They are accompanied by Ho‘ohōkūkalani carrying her child, Hāloa, and they are flanked by rows of kalo, which are represented also as kanaka (people), on either side. This symbolizes the descendants of Wākea, Papa, and Ho‘ohōkūkalani: the lāhui (nation, people). The lau (leaves) of these many kalo/kanaka are held up by outstretched arms and their huli (stalks) are represented as the torso of these kanaka, the corm (the kalo’s bulbous root) are their pā‘ū (skirts), and the roots are their legs. Peralto explains the image symbolizes Hāmākua, the district along Hawai‘i’s northeastern coast on Mauna Kea’s lowlands where he was born and raised. Hāmākua is a joining of “hā,” the stalk, and “mākua,” meaning the parents. The image represents both the many hā of the kalo as people, who are born of the original mākua, Papa, Wākea, and Ho‘ohōkūkalani. I elaborate on the meanings associated with this mo‘olelo and Mauna a Wākea in chapter three, but the point here is that the artists depicted the connection to the sacred ancestors within ‘Ōiwi cosmogonic genealogies – presenting a different vision of and relationality to the mountain. This vision appears no place else on campus, or within the courts. By bringing the image into the space of the University campus, placed its unequivocal support for the TMT into radical question.

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<sup>161</sup> I describe the genealogy and stories of this deified ancestor couple in chapter three.

<sup>162</sup> A honi is the touching of foreheads and noses in a mutual inhalation in a sign of affection, greeting, or farewell.



Manifestations of this value differential is at the core of my dissertation's intervention in Mauna Kea discourses. It also reflects a parallel power differential that characterizes settler coloniality, which was temporarily inverted on the day of painting when it was noticed that a haole artist painting the wall directly adjacent to them was creating a mural of the telescopes fronting the Milky Way. It remains unknown whether this student had been recruited to paint this mural, however, as someone clearly made the decision to place these two murals side by side, it was unlikely a coincidence. The hui chose not to think of it as a provocation because they did not want their group to scrutinize the student for his praise of the telescopes and to, therefore, feel bullied. After all, the hui had organized the community into a daylong painting activity for families, friends, and non-students to participate. The juxtaposition could hardly have been starker. Here were over 80 people throughout the course of an 8-hour day, many of whom were Kanaka, from

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<sup>163</sup> Figure 2.1. Illustration by Haley Kailiehu, Available online at: <https://www.facebook.com/haley.kailiehu>. Accessed on April 22, 2014.



keiki to kupuna, painting together an image that tells of the origins and values of a people while highlighting the desecration of a sacred mountain by telescopes. While all day long, the haole artist painted, by himself, an image that glorified astronomy. Kaili‘ehu said, he worked “alone, like the astronomers in their telescopes,” looking into space, trying not to notice the people who feel violated and are registering their dissent.<sup>164</sup>

The Kanaka muralists had planned to include a message in their piece, although they did not know exactly what it would be until the day of the painting. It read:

UH CANNOT BE A HAWAIIAN PLACE OF LEARNING WHILE LEDING THE  
DESECRATION OF MAUNA A WĀKEA. HEY UH... BE ACCOUNTABLE. BE  
A HAWAIIAN PLACE OF LEARNING... STAND WITH THE PEOPLE... STOP  
THE DESECRATION... STOP THE THIRTY METER TELESCOPE!



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<sup>164</sup> Haley Kaili‘ehu, interview by author, April 29, 2014, Mānoa, digital recording.

<sup>165</sup> Figure 2.2. Photos by Haley Kailiehu, Available online at: <https://www.facebook.com/haley.kailiehu>. Accessed on April 22, 2014.

This challenge addressed the contradiction of the University's backing of astronomy expansion, on a sacred place, while their mission statement claims UH is to "be a Hawaiian place of learning." The message created backlash on Sunday when the hui was told to remove it because the text was not pre-approved by Ka Leo o Hawai'i. Although nobody in UHM administration had expressed disapproval, several employees of Ka Leo took it upon themselves to denounce the message. The hui refused to remove the message and suggested Ka Leo just let the issue go, arguing that if the University objects, let them address the matter directly with the artists. The hui actually did want UH to confront them in order to draw more attention to Mauna Kea through the issue of the mural. However, responding to a final warning that Ka Leo would be forced to remove the message if the students did not, the hui returned with their own warning to organize Hawaiian students in protest should they deface the mural. With the argument left unresolved, the following day the students returned to find the message was indeed painted over with a hash tag advertising "#Ka Leo Arts Fest."

The action provided a reason for the artists to propel the issue into public view, which produced the effect of broader local exposure and effectively placed Mauna Kea "back on everybody's radar."<sup>166</sup> The artists organized a rally and protest that evening. Phone calls, Facebook announcements, and email blasts went out on Monday. Word spread quickly and by Tuesday morning, hundreds of students had showed up to hear the organizers speak about the issue of the mural's censorship from a paint bucket and megaphone.

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<sup>166</sup> Long, interview, April 4, 2014.



The organizers explained they were uncertain in the beginning, but eventually found that connecting the mural to Mauna Kea felt natural: the link was a common silencing of dissent. On campus, Kanaka students were being blocked from registering their protest through an act of representing Mauna Kea from an indigenous perspective, while in the courts and before the law, Kanaka voices expressing a genealogical and cultural ethic and valuation of Mauna Kea were also being silenced.<sup>167</sup> Both reflect the broader repression of a Kanaka vision of Hawai‘i that stands against the predominate state and capitalist relationship towards land and resources as commodities to be traded and developed.

<sup>167</sup> Figure 2.3. Photo by Jessica Homrich, *Ka Leo o Hawai‘i*, October 16, 2013. Available online at: [http://www.kaleo.org/news/protesters-fight-for-free-speech-native-land-use/article\\_a23bdd64-3615-11e3-be41-0019bb30f31a.html](http://www.kaleo.org/news/protesters-fight-for-free-speech-native-land-use/article_a23bdd64-3615-11e3-be41-0019bb30f31a.html). Accessed on April 22, 2014.

<sup>168</sup> For example, the issue was not coded within a Kanaka worldview – as a matter of whether the mountain is sacred –, but instead, the contested case and the appeal were both concerned with whether the UH has adequately followed the conservation district use rules and relevant environmental law by which they would be entitled to a permit. I follow this power differential up in chapter six.

The march began at the mural and ended at the Ka Leo offices where the artists submitted a list of demands. By the end of the event, Peralto and Kaili‘ehu estimated at least 400 people stopped by to observe or participate in the rally. Local news media covered the event and interviewed the organizers. What began as a relatively inconsequential protest against University policy likely to draw little if any attention had now become a news spectacle. That evening, KITV News reported:

The battle lines have been drawn at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Then painted over. A mural expected to promote art, instead inspires a protest after a cover-up is discovered on campus.<sup>169</sup>

The play on the phrase “cover-up” is particularly suggestive of a scandal, encouraging an already circulating suspicion that State government, University administration, and big science are more closely associated than is in the public’s interests. One student was quoted saying she “felt like an act of vandalism had occurred.” KITV reported they were told “the murals were supposed to be about art, not about protest.” However, that art is imagined somehow separate from politics is itself a political process reminiscent of similar imaginings of Hawaiian cultural praxis as ever outside of the political. Kaili‘ehu was quoted, “Art provides that space where people can talk about issues and bring them to the forefront.” Students are now talking about not only Mauna Kea, but also the policing of artists who attempt to speak against power regarding Mauna Kea. ‘Ilima Long was quoted saying, “I’m really questioning what the university culture is here. Is it one that encourages dialogue over controversial issues, even some that may even have to

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<sup>169</sup> “‘Cover-up’ on University of Hawaii campus at Manoa: Protest planned after art mural painted over,” KITV4, October 14, 2013, Transcript available online at: <http://www.kitv.com/news/hawaii/cover-up-on-university-of-hawaii-campus/22438612>.

do with the university?”<sup>170</sup> The answer is clearly “no,” particularly when such dialogue threatens investment, future science funding, or the University’s reputation as liaison between big science and the State.

The hasty decision of a non-administrative, campus publications program to censor student dissent had inadvertently blown up in their face, seriously undermining another aspect of the University’s reputation as, not only a steward of Mauna Kea, but a champion of free speech. In their list of demands, the mural hui asked for a signed letter of apology to the artists and provided options for Ka Leo to remedy their offense against the students. Among them was to repaint the original message they had covered up. The artists felt Ka Leo should participate in the process of ho‘oponopono.<sup>171</sup> Three days later, both the University Board of Publications,<sup>172</sup> who oversees Ka Leo, and the Office of Student Life & Development, the governing office that investigated the events surrounding the mural, sent the hui apology letters. Bonnyjean Manini, the interim director of the Office of Student Life & Development wrote:

I apologize

- that we did not provide more detailed, written guidelines for the artists to follow;
- for a decision that led to the painting over of a part of the Mauna a Wākea mural; and

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<sup>170</sup> “‘Cover-up’,” KITV4, October 14, 2013.

<sup>171</sup> To put things right, to correct, to rectify.

<sup>172</sup> Letter to Haley Kaili‘ehu, ‘Ilima Long, and the student members of hauMĀNA signed Rebekah Carroll, Chair Signing on behalf of the Board of Publications, A Chartered Student Organization, University of Hawai‘i-Mānoa, October 18, 2013, scanned copy of this letter is available on Haley Kaili‘ehu’s Facebook page, Accessed, April 2, 2014.

- that this decision and subsequent actions contributed to a campus environment where student artists, hauMĀNA and allies felt silenced...<sup>173</sup>

Manini also stated that she and both the Chair of the Board of Publications and the Chair of the Campus Center Board agreed to “support the request of hauMĀNA to restore the Mauna a Wākea mural to the condition it was in prior to it being partially painted over.”

The University administration itself never formally responded to the protests, however there are signs they were aware of the media coverage. For example, the University was expected to submit its request for a lease renewal to the Board of Land and Natural Resources at a meeting scheduled for the following Friday. The day after the march and rally, this meeting was suddenly cancelled. Over two months later, when that Land Board meeting finally was held, the University announced it would delay its submission while it conducted an environmental impact statement (EIS), estimated to take another 1-3 years. The *Hawaii Tribune Herald* quoted Jerry Chang, director of university relations with the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, saying, “the study will hopefully prevent any legal challenges to a new lease, assuming one is granted.”<sup>174</sup>

With the University’s lease set to expire in 2033, the TMT Corporation and the project’s international consortium of investors are probably watching the issue closely. And with the student protests making local news, the delay hardly seems coincidental. Moreover, with a \$1.4 billion price tag and hundreds of millions spent already in design and legal fees, the TMT partners surely expect the University to guarantee its lease is renewed, and to squash student protests. If the long-term delay of the lease proposal was

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<sup>173</sup> Letter signed by Bonnyjean Manini, Interim Director, Student Life & Development, University of Hawai‘i-Mānoa, October 18, 2013, scanned copy of letter available on Haley Kaili‘ehu’s Facebook page, Accessed, April 2, 2014.

<sup>174</sup> *Hawaii Tribune Herald*, December 22, 2013.

not a response to the negative publicity the student protests had prompted, the delay of the meeting to develop such a strategy perhaps was. Arguably, the University has no control over whether the Land Board holds, reschedules, or cancels meeting, but the timing raises questions about those decisions.

Another sign of possible anxiety over the University's bad press also came two months later when major newspapers reported the UH Board of Regents (BOR) had approved a sublease for the TMT. This created some confusion: now there was not only a "delayed lease," but an "approved lease" – two very different leases whose conflation worked in the University's favor. From a pessimistic late December headline reading, "New Mauna Kea lease faces delay,"<sup>175</sup> to a hopeful February headline that read, "University approves lease for largest telescope,"<sup>176</sup> the bad news was spun good. The shift deflected public attention away from UH's withdrawal of its proposed lease for the summit lands and redirected it towards a relatively marginal issue of the TMT sublease. I suggest the UH Regents' sublease approval for the TMT may be read as a cover, a signal to the TMT partners that everything is under control despite student dissent. After all, since 2009 the University had already spent tens of millions of dollars<sup>177</sup> in legal expenses, much of which in fighting Kanaka 'Ōiwi and environmentalists over a State conservation district use permit. So, the BOR's acceptance of the sublease was hardly big news. A rejection of this sublease for a \$1.4 billion dollar project and to which the University had already been long committed was never a real possibility, but this subtle distinction was not readily visible to the public. In such a context, the sublease approval

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<sup>175</sup> *Hawaii Tribune Herald*, December 22, 2013.

<sup>176</sup> *West Hawaii Today*, February 21, 2014.

<sup>177</sup> I elaborate on this argument in chapter six.

may be interpreted as an attempt to minimize the impact of dissenting voices, and evidence that, however seemingly insignificant at first glance, the acts of resistance embodied in the student protests were effective.

The timing of the University's delay of its lease renewal proposal raises several unanswered questions. If this billion-dollar TMT project is to be the world's greatest telescope, we would expect it to have longer than a 19-year life span, which is all that is guaranteed in the near expiring lease. Shouldn't the University's lease, therefore, be secured before construction of such an enormous project begins? Moreover, if the EIS was a concern all along, why did the University not begin the review process prior to applying for a use permit? Likewise, if not for the headlines,<sup>178</sup> it is questionable why the UH Board of Regents would need to announce its passage of the sublease proposal. I claim the BOR's announcement of its sublease approval for the TMT was a reassertion of authority that had waned in light of the student protests. The announcement had no substantive impact on the more relevant and pressing issue regarding a summit lease renewal upon which everything on the mountain depends, including UH subleases. Instead, the announcement served as a signal to the TMT investors – and the public whose popular support is key – that the project would not be delayed by student protestors or a three-year delay in the summit lease renewal due to expectations to

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<sup>178</sup> A month after the mural protest, the Associated Students of the University of Hawai'i's (ASUH) 101<sup>st</sup> Senate – the undergraduate student government representing over 14,000 undergraduate students – passed and submitted to the UH Administration and the State of Hawai'i Legislature a resolution opposing the UH lease renewal. However, by January, ASUH had reversed its resolution because, as they claim, the University had promised to conduct an EIS for the lease renewal. See *Ka Leo O Hawai'i*, January 29, 2014, Available online at: [http://www.kaleo.org/news/uh-to-conduct-mauna-kea-environmental-impact-study/article\\_ed367fe2-889d-11e3-a19d-001a4bcf6878.html](http://www.kaleo.org/news/uh-to-conduct-mauna-kea-environmental-impact-study/article_ed367fe2-889d-11e3-a19d-001a4bcf6878.html).



conduct an EIS.<sup>179</sup> In consideration of these politics, I suggest we read the announcement of the sublease approval also as a sign of anxiety over the unexpected variable presented by dissenting Kanaka.

In these ways, the strategy to take the Mauna Kea struggle out of the courts – out of the domain of state authority – constituted a re-territorialization of the political. The new space carved out by the student protests challenged the University's support of a project that violates, not only a Hawaiian ecological ethos, a Kanaka conception of the sacred, and a progressive multicultural environmentalist ethic, but it also interrogated the academy's ostensible commitment to intellectual freedoms, the open exchange of critical ideas, and social change. Both moves, arguably, are not possible in the sanctioned spaces of the official State hearing, the court proceeding, the contested case, the appeals court, or the public meeting, where a strict adherence to a delimited set of criteria under question is required, while all other factors are, by necessity, expelled from consideration. Such is the similar functions of Western law and Western science, wherein the scientific experiment requires unruly variables be removed in order to isolate the desired data sets. In this sense, just as in the knowledge production of scientific and legal truths require filtering relevant from irrelevant information, so too does the official production of right, that is, the lawful determination of permission for scientific industrial development.

### *Conclusion*

On the evening of the last day of painting, before the mural was defaced, the hui closed their work in a circle and a pule (prayer). Pua Case, one of the petitioners in the

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<sup>179</sup> The Office of Hawaiian Affairs has been identified as demanding the UH complete an EIS prior to approval of a lease renewal. *Hawaii Tribune Herald*, December 22, 2013.

contested case, had contacted the hui and said that she and members of her hālau and ‘ohana would share the closing with them by traveling to the summit at that same time, at sunset. This assured the students that those involved in the legal struggle recognized and appreciated their act of solidarity. Once most everyone had left and only a few of the students remained, a deluge of rain covered Mānoa bringing lightening and thunder coming from the back of valley and drenching them. The hui saw this as a hō‘ailona, or a sign, an omen. Hō‘ailona work in such ways, denoting both the struggle and the triumph ahead. There was much to celebrate and much learned about how to represent struggle.

The alienating space of official sites of engagement – the hearing, the public or agency meeting, the appeals court, the contested case, and other such venues – represents the structured power of state authority. These spaces mobilize state power to determine the limits of self-representation, while nevertheless integrating it in parts in an official capacity. While hard-won participation may force delays, the possibility of an adequate, long term, or sustained redistribution of social relations within sanctioned spaces of political encounter is foreclosed. Arguably, political activism through such demonstrations as the mural, the march, and the rally do little more, but they connect to the public in important ways that support the legal. While both possibly may achieve only delays, those I’ve interviewed agree that at least there also is no construction, and therefore no desecration. Moreover, some legal battles have actually been won. The NASA Keck Outrigger project was one such victory, in which case the termination of that development was due to NASA’s internal funding issues likely caused because of vehement challenges from both the community and legal angles. In contrast to the official legal space of the state, however, the mural protest was a form of resistance that

exceeds opposition in that civil disobedience is always an option. Similarly, explicit retaliation or force must be recognized as possibilities, however improbable they are. Acts of resistance from within the community operate in an affective register and thus fashion a different use of power to which the state actually has limited access. This is power from below.

The political encounter also indicated a reclamation of the ‘political’ that brought the academy’s relationship with the scientific and capitalist settler state into view. By relocating the debate, for however short a time, the move provided space to question violations of native and progressive environmentalist ethics – a space to question the relationship of the academy, to science, to capital, and to the state. No longer in a position of authority to determine the exclusive mode of political engagement, the University’s anxiety was exposed through juxtaposition of its bullying student protestors against its media damage control and subsequent apologies. However fleeting the influence of this act of resistance may be, it nevertheless demonstrates how the academy, science, capital, and the state volley power in preservation of established hierarchies. These social relations allow for the perpetuation of settler colonialism, in which every piece of the struggle against them provides an intervention and suggests the demand for their redistribution.

According to No‘eau Peralto, one original objective of the mural also to create “a way to bring forth the mo‘olelo. To bring it back to the source... reconnecting the people to that piko<sup>180</sup> of Mauna a Wākea” and to do this “through representing our mo‘okū‘auhau,

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<sup>180</sup> Mauna a Wākea has historically been described as a piko. I describe this concept further in chapter three, but suffice to say here, the term refers to an umbilical cord, used symbolically to denote a connection between an entity and its source, such as a

our genealogy.”<sup>181</sup> Haley Kaili‘ehu articulates the concept of a mural as a catalyst of for community and she envisioned the mural as a way to bring people together for the protection of Mauna a Wākea; to bring Mauna a Wākea to O‘ahu. By drawing attention back to Mauna Kea and then returning the focus of critique towards the University, both goals promoted a radically different conception of the political that reclaimed the terms of the debate and thus carried the tradition of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi struggle that was meaningful and successful for the kupuna who fought annexation, statehood, and the rampant development of Hawai‘i throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> and into the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries.

As ‘Ilima stated in our interview, this was an opportunity “to take the issue out of the courts and bring it back into the community,” to produce a counter narrative of Mauna a Wākea.<sup>182</sup> I suggest this counter narrative carries with it a demand for the redistribution of social relations through a challenge to conventional domains of power. Many Kanaka ‘Ōiwi do not want just freedom of speech, participation in legal processes, or opportunities to give “input,” but instead radical change – to determine the future of their homeland, Hawai‘i.

Finally, the hui also viewed their kuleana in recognition of the tradition of Kanaka struggle. In this chapter I have attempted to map the Mauna Kea struggle onto a longer genealogy of struggle that includes the Anti-annexation Kū‘ē Petition movement,

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child to its mother, a younger to an elder sibling, or the earth to the heavens. On the human body, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi recognize three piko: the po‘o, or top of the head; the na‘au, or stomach; and the ma‘i, or the genitals. See Mary Kawena Pukui, E.W. Haertig, & Catherine A. Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu (Look To The Source)*, Vol. I (Honolulu: Hui Hānai; An Auxiliary of the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, 1972), 182-188.

<sup>181</sup> No‘eau Peralto, interviewed by author, April 29, 2014, Mānoa, digital recording.

<sup>182</sup> Long, interview, April 4, 2014.

Kaho‘olawe, Soli Niheu and Kalama Valley, Terri Keko‘olani and her work to demilitarize Hawai‘i, and others too many to name. The hui learned from these mākuā that activism should “hit people in the gut...to tip people over the edge.”<sup>183</sup> This centering of affective reason within counter narrative is key to resisting settler colonial power in the struggle for Mauna Kea as it was for earlier struggles.

Among the group’s achievements, Long was proud of the connections made between the elder and the younger activists. For example, Terri Keko‘olani had been present throughout the community paint day, the march, and the rally. As a member of MANA, the Movement for Aloha No ka ‘Āina, a grassroots, independence-healing oriented ‘Ōiwi community organization, Keko‘olani had taken ‘Ilima Long “under her wing,” as a haumana (student), which is the idea behind the student organization’s name (hauMANA) and mission as well – making generational and community connections. The two hui became affiliated a few years prior and began participating in and organizing demonstrations together since. The younger hauMANA would learn from the elder MANA whose members – including Jon Osorio, Terri Keko‘olani, Kyle Kajihiro, Dexter Ka‘iama, Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, Andre Perez, and others – have organized for years and are all recognized leaders in the community. The kaikua‘ana-kaikaina, or elder-younger sibling, relationship among Kanaka is an important one. Other kaikua‘ana came out to help the hui with planning strategy for this and subsequent actions. Ka Papa Lo‘i o Kānewai Native Hawaiian Cultural Gardens director, Hiapo Cashman, shared with Long how he and his classmates protested “in the day” using just a megaphone and paint bucket-soap box, which proved adequate for the mural rally. Andre

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<sup>183</sup> Long, interview, April 4, 2014.

Perez, another community organizer and Kanaka farmer and artist, taught Long that political activism is a way of “teasing out the violence of the state,” through strategic provocation. Sometimes it only takes a subtle nudge, and those with power show their true colors, affording the struggle new allies. Long said that after the rally was pau and once the apologies were issued, she and Keko‘olani enjoyed this small success. Together they danced.

In the struggle against settler colonialism and U.S. imperialism in Hawai‘i, practices of resistance, opposition, dissent, and social activism were grounded in Kanaka values that combined our genealogical connections to the land with the kuleana, a commitment, to protect it. This environmental ethic persists today as aloha ‘āina and its function as an articulation of cultural becoming embodies contemporary Kanaka indigeneity and indigenous politics. This is why struggle and resistance are very much alive in Hawai‘i in 2014. In the next chapter, I turn to these stories of genealogical rootedness in ancestral lands; the ways in which Mauna Kea is sacred.

Chapter Three  
Ka Piko Kaulana o Ka ‘Āina:  
Mauna a Wākea and The Sacred<sup>184</sup>

*Introduction*

As my dissertation stages a different conversation about Mauna Kea astronomy and the TMT struggle, a conversation that resists collapsing Kanaka articulations of indigenous difference and cultural practice into cultural invention or mere political strategy, this chapter provides an account of the sacred by listening to Kanaka on their own terms and their articulations by which indigeneity for many today acquires meaning. To this end, the chapter is concerned with mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogical successions) as a method for shaping an understanding of the sacred. I prioritize the mo‘okū‘auhau because they explain how Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and Mauna a Wākea share the same genealogical line. The mountain is sacred because of this familial connection. That Kanaka today have an attachment to Mauna a Wākea is not simply a “construction of indigeneity” by which to obtain a political end.<sup>185</sup> The mo‘okū‘auhau articulate an historical attachment to the land, to these islands, and to the natural world that were central to Hawaiians as told through mele, mo‘olelo, and mo‘okū‘auhau. These mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies) form the basis of Kanaka indigeneity then and today and were never constructed as a strategy to secure contemporary political gains or, as some might suggest in the context of “Native Hawaiian ethnic formations,” fashioned “in order

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<sup>184</sup> One translation of the phrase is, “the famous piko (figuratively, “summit”) of the land.”

<sup>185</sup> Graham Harvey, “Environmentalism in the Construction of Indigeneity,” in *Ecotheology* 8.2 (2003), 206-223.

to advance their political or economic interests.”<sup>186</sup> The implication that Hawaiians perform indigeneity as a political practice casts Hawaiians as deviant and dishonest. I argue indigeneity, like any other identity, is always already engaged in processes of becoming. These articulations of Kanaka indigeneity through mo‘okū‘auhau are political because of occupation, not because Hawaiians are conniving. This attachment to the environment was not contrived as a political strategy and it was not conjured today in reaction to political crises, as strategy to assert prior ownership or a claim to legitimacy. The prior claims to land and attachment to the natural simply exist, and they exist because the mo‘okū‘auhau demonstrates that material reality. In other words, mo‘okū‘auhau cannot be reduced to construction.

The point of this chapter, then, is to illustrate how Kanaka attachment to the natural and to Mauna a Wākea represents a distinct indigenous ontology towards place and ‘āina. That attachment is documented through a cultural practice of composition and mele. The examples I provide here will establish a point of reference with which to contrast a hegemonic settler and colonizing relationality to Hawaiian lands, on the one hand, and a hegemonic indigenous relationality to ‘āina. One forged through the dispossessions, disqualifications, removals, and disavowals of Hawaiians that characterize much of Western modernity on Kanaka homelands, the other rooted in mo‘okū‘auhau.

The goal here is not to idealize Hawaiians as “pre-colonial ethnographic purveyors of cultural authenticity,” or to articulate a comprehensive body of the many ways Mauna a Wākea is understood as a sacred place, but instead to recognize a need to frame Hawaiian conceptions of the sacred on its own terms, as responsive, and always already

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<sup>186</sup> Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Ethnic Inequality in Hawai‘i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 4.



becoming.<sup>187</sup> The goal, then, is to articulate “the local specificities, histories, and geographies that inform the concept of indigeneity,” among many concerned Kanaka today, in a way that is consistent with a critique of ongoing settler colonial hegemony. For part of this cultural becoming is the fact that Kanaka indigeneity is political because of U.S. occupation and colonialism, not because we are strategists. For these reasons, the chapter examines the mo‘okū‘auhau by which we learn the mountain is sacred.

As I will discuss in chapter six, various strategies of appropriation have become common in popular and legal discourses pertaining to astronomy expansion. Although misrepresentations of Hawaiian thought and practices are often subtle, if not nuanced, many settler critics continue to trivialize indigenous claims to culture and place, particularly by distorting assertions of spirituality, traditional practice, and customs among contemporary Hawaiians as constructed/invented, irrational, or unreasonable. Even when representations do not appropriate the language or culture, they can still exhibit an ethnocentrism that implies indigenous inferiority or that Hawaiian differentiation is false, insignificant, or contrived. This ethnocentrism emerges in representations of the indigenous that appear in the management plans, environmental assessments, public statements, newsletters, and other documents distributed by the University in efforts to account for Kanaka ‘Ōiwi while also promoting astronomy expansion. In this chapter, I offer a brief examination of an archive that demonstrates how the sacred of Mauna Kea has been composed within the worlds of earlier Kanaka

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<sup>187</sup> As is likely clear by now, my work is influenced by Jodi Byrd, whose model of an indigenous studies project that wrestles with writing a critical engagement with indigenous thought and practices outside of invention language or idealizing rhetoric has been enlightening for my own intellectual growth. See, Jodi A. Byrd, *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), xxix.

‘Ōiwi that inform contemporary articulations of the sacred and indigeneity today. To grasp the contemporary telescope debates in the context of multicultural settler coloniality, we must strive toward understanding of how Mauna a Wākea is composed as a sacred place yesterday and still today. Therefore, let us consider historical articulations of the ethics surrounding land management, social accountability, and meaning making of the mountain that underpin Hawaiian indigeneity.

Articulations of the sacred have been passed through the generations within the mo‘okū‘auhau all Hawaiians are known to share. These are primarily recounted in the forms of mele and mo‘olelo. This chapter looks at some of them to engage the psychological, ideological, and spiritual connection to ‘āina, kupuna, and akua that ‘Ōiwi documented in this archive. The analysis will address indigenous understandings of the material and symbolic relationships that inextricably connect Kanaka to our land and to the natural – a distinct indigeneity shaped through recomposition. I will examine how those linkages and relationships are expressed and passed on to younger generations by way of mo‘okū‘auhau, which impart an ethical responsibility and commitment, rooted in the concept of kuleana (responsibility), aloha ‘āina (love for the land), mālama ‘āina (care for the land), and pono (balance). I will conclude by arguing that decolonial self-determination, solidarity, and listening can advance a radical understanding and respect for the desire for an undeveloped mountain and summit, for which many Kānaka ‘Ōiwi are fighting today. Such conditions may also advance for settler communities a better relationship with indigenous communities and respect for indigenous thought and relationality towards the sacred and the mountain. An agreement like this would benefit both settler and Hawaiian communities. Yet, ‘Ōiwi claims to Mauna a Wākea and

approaches to care for this place can only become intelligible to astronomy expansionists through a commitment to hear Kanaka perspectives on their own terms.

*“Mauna a Wākea” and “The Typography of Colonization”*

Over the last two decades, Hawaiians involved in the legal battles against telescope expansion have registered their kū‘ē<sup>188</sup> in a number of ways. The issue of (re)naming Mauna Kea has introduced one such contest. Influenced by the Hawaiian language revitalization movement of the 1970s, ongoing efforts to return to traditional place names have become important markers of Kanaka indigeneity and political autonomy. Today, the practice of recalling traditional place names and the mo‘olelo that describe them can be seen as epistemological components of the broader contest over Hawai‘i itself. The stakes in language disputes are linked to the discursive formations by which power is affirmed, contested, and distributed; the material consequences of which help shape sanctioned and subjugated indigenous knowledges. This is to say, power underpins the debate and the authority to determine, not only rhetorical practices, but also spelling of place names. In recent years, “Mauna a Wākea” has emerged among Thirty Meter Telescope and astronomy expansion opponents, replacing the more conventional spelling of the mountain as “Mauna Kea.” The discursive reclamation is an indication of just how contested the physical space and the symbolic meanings of the mountain are; meanings that may be traced to the Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogies which point to the familial connection between the Kanaka and ‘āina. Moreover, these meanings invoked today highlight the mo‘okū‘auhau, kuleana, and aloha ‘āina of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi toward Mauna a

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<sup>188</sup> Objection, protest, resistance.

Wākea drawing further connections between past and present that reflect a politics and ethic of becoming through self-determination.

Kalani Flores suggests it is called Mauna a Wākea because, unlike any other mountains in the Pacific, it reaches into “the realm of Wākea...pierc(ing) above the clouds in(to) the realm of Wākea.”<sup>189</sup> Recall, the mountain is above 40% of the earth’s atmosphere, a general region known to practitioners, kumu, and kahu<sup>190</sup> as wao akua, or the realm of the akua. This was the realm of the gods because it was clear to Kanaka that people do not naturally belong up there. The altitude can induce headaches, vomiting, nausea, or death. There is so little oxygen that it becomes difficult to breathe. It is extremely cold and the journey to the summit before the road was constructed was grueling. This was no place for Kanaka; it is the realm of the gods.<sup>191</sup>

Contrary to frequent translations of Mauna Kea, as “the white mountain” in astronomy-related discourses, the name signifies much more. In particular, it’s meaning also relates to the mountain’s genealogical descent from Papa and Wākea. In a basic translation “kea” certainly does signify the color of the snowcaps. However, as Kealoha Pisciotto notes, when analyzed in the context of kaona, or veiled or hidden meanings, “kea” may also refer to the male’s semen, or “seed” – that is, “the seed of Wākea.”<sup>192</sup> As a reference to the first-born mountain on the first-born island child of Papa and Wākea,

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<sup>189</sup> E. Kalani Flores, TMT Contested Case Hearing, Oral testimony, September 26, 2011, 22.

<sup>190</sup> Regent, caretaker, minister.

<sup>191</sup> A sentiment regarding the material mystery of the summit on the body that was conveyed to me in an interview with Auntie Pualani Kanaka’ole Kanahele. Pualani Kanaka’ole Kanahele, interview by author, December 14, 2013, Hilo, digital recording.

<sup>192</sup> Kealoha Pisciotto, email message to author, September 13, 2012.

Mauna a Wākea is also described as “the ‘*aha ho‘owili mo‘o* (the genealogical cord) that ties earth to the heavens.”<sup>193</sup> This is the reason for the saying, *ka piko kaulana o ka ‘āina*, the famous piko of the land. I explain the significance and philosophy of the piko (umbilical cord/spiritual center) and the *hiapo* (first born) in greater detail below.

In common usage the two terms “mauna” and “kea,” have been separated indicating the mountain “of” or “belonging to” “Kea,” a shortened version of Wākea. A third variation is, thus, “Mauna a Kea,” the mountain belonging to Wākea.” However, about a decade ago, the University of Hawai‘i began shifting the discourse in preparation for its Conservation District Use Application to secure the TMT, opting for a fourth variant, the single-word spelling, “Maunakea.” In the University’s Final EIS for the TMT project, a footnote in the preface explains the decision for this new spelling, citing the Office of Hawaiian Affairs’ monthly *Ka Wai Ola*:

Maunakea is spelled as one word in this document because it is considered the traditional Hawaiian spelling (Ka Wai Ola, Vos. 25 No. 11) (*sic.*). Maunakea is a proper noun, therefore spelled as one word in Hawaiian. This spelling is found in original Hawaiian language newspapers dating back to the late 1800s when the Hawaiian language was the medium of communication. In more recent years Maunakea has been spelled as two words, which literally mean “white mountain.”

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<sup>193</sup> Kepā Maly suggests, “Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa are both considered to be kupuna; the first born, and are held in high esteem.” Oral comments recorded by Kepā Maly, given by panel participants Emma Kauhi, Leina‘ala Teves, Pua Kanahele, and Larry Kimura at UH-Hilo on December 1, 1998. See, Kepā Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update: Oral History and Consultation Study, and Archival Literature Research; Ahupua‘a of – Ka‘ohe (Hāmākua District) and Humu‘ula (Hilo District), Island of Hawai‘i*, A Report Prepared for Group 70 International (Honolulu: Kumu Pono Associates, 1999) Appendix B, B-14.

Spelled as two words it is a common noun that could refer to any white mountain verses the proper name of this particular mountain on Hawai‘i Island. The common “Mauna Kea” spelling is only used in this document where Mauna Kea is used in a proper name, such as the “Mauna Kea Science Reserve.”<sup>194</sup>

In an email correspondence with Kealoha Pisciotta, one of the six petitioners in the DLNR Conservation District Use Permit contested case, I was challenged for using this spelling myself, which I just assumed would be most appropriate in light of this explanation. She argued that despite the seeming trivial point of the mountain’s spelling, it is hugely significant because it embodies the politics of authority over decision making, which is at the core of the Mauna Kea astronomy debate itself. She explained, “we have not adopted the UH convention because we consider that if the spelling of our sacred mauna (Mauna Kea) was good enough for the Queen, we should like to honor it.”<sup>195</sup> The reason for this decision was based on recognition of the power in naming. She suggests the dispute represents “what can best be described as the ‘typography’ of colonization and domination.” She argues these discursive practices appear elsewhere in the context of the Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in which nation-states have challenged the language of “peoples,” which also functions to “set limits on indigenous rights.” Pisciotta explained how, in the midst of earlier court battles, the spelling of “Maunakea showed up in” the University’s documents, particularly the Comprehensive Management Plan. “UH invented a new spelling of the... sacred mauna” to assert legitimacy (a discursive project that I deconstruct in chapter six). However, the

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<sup>194</sup> University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, *Final Environmental Impact Statement, Vol. 1: Thirty Meter Telescope Project, Island of Hawai‘i* (May 8, 2010), P-1, n.1.

<sup>195</sup> Kealoha Pisciotta, email message to author, September 13, 2012.

“traditional spelling of Mauna Kea,” is what Queen Lili‘uokalani used in her autobiography, *Hawai‘i’s Story by Hawai‘i’s Queen*. Pisciotta explained, “The term Mauna a Wākea is okay too as it is a another way to describe who (which akua) the mauna is overseen and protected by.”<sup>196</sup> The point is not trivial, for the discursive politics inform and reflect concrete relations:

It demonstrates how far some will go... even attempting to use spelling and letters to obscure the truth, to de-humanize... Renaming of place names has been a big problem in the Mauna Kea case and continues to be a big problem all over Hawai‘i—if a practitioner can’t find a place they cannot continue the practice or validate the mo‘olelo. Kepa Maly [*sic*.] testified to the seriousness of this problem in our early Mauna Kea cases.<sup>197</sup>

The contest is a battle over, not just the spelling of a place name, but the meaning associated with the place, the prevailing discursive imaginary assigned to this contested space, and therefore the authority to make decisions. Accordingly, the contest represents the broader struggle over land and self-determination. The mo‘olelo by which Wākea becomes the mountain’s namesake convey a sacred meaning that is also told in the mo‘okū‘auhau of the Papa and Wākea.

#### *Mele and Mo‘okū‘auhau*

To understand why so many Kānaka ‘Ōiwi today claim Mauna Kea is a sacred place and that the TMT threatens to further profane the mountain, we must understand the

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<sup>196</sup> Kealoha Pisciotta, email message to author, September 13, 2012.

<sup>197</sup> Kealoha Pisciotta, email message to author, September 13, 2012.

importance of and interconnections among several concepts in Hawaiian thought. The scope of this project allows me only to comment on a short list, which includes mele, mo‘olelo, mo‘okū‘auhau, pono, and kuelana. Leilani Basham describes the significance of mele in Kanaka interpretations of the natural and the self,

Mele, which are poetry, music, chants, and songs, have been a foundational part of the histories and lives of the Kānaka Maoli of Hawai‘i. We have used mele to record and recount our histories and stories, as well as our ideas about the lives of our people and our land. Mele have been a vital part of our cultural belief systems and practices, our connection to our ‘āina, our land base, as well as our formal religious practices and our informal daily practices. Mele have also been vital to our political theories, ideas, and practices.<sup>198</sup>

In her essay, “Mele Lāhui: The Importance of Pono in Hawaiian Poetry,” Basham analyzes “mele written in honour of the lāhui, the Hawaiian people and nation,” to argue that pono<sup>199</sup> was a foundational concept in the formation of a Hawaiian identity as a unified lāhui and to Hawaiian genealogical and land-based value systems long before the first foreigners arrived. Mele lāhui offer an important window into that worlds and value systems of our kupuna and continues to inform indigenous political thought today.

Some mele carry origin stories and are told through mo‘okū‘auhau. These can perform multiple functions at once. Some of the earliest mele recalled places, people, and relationships along the way, often featuring distinct mnemonic devices while also

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<sup>198</sup> Leilani Basham, “Mele Lāhui: The Importance of Pono in Hawaiian Poetry,” in *Te Kaharoa*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2008), 152; See also, Leilani Basham, “Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i: He Mo‘olelo, He ‘Āina, He Loina, a He Ea Kākou,” in *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, Vol. 6 (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 2010).

<sup>199</sup> That which is proper, righteous, and balanced.



recounting mo‘okū‘auhau. Mele inoa, for example, were composed in honor of a person or a name, such as that of a mō‘ī. The mele might also honor the mō‘ī by citing her/his right to rule and drawing connections through specific names within the mo‘okū‘auhau. Some mele were written for wahi pana, or “historically and culturally-significant places,” and others, mele aloha for example, were written to simply convey the great aloha and affection felt by a composer for people, places, or events.<sup>200</sup>

In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Hawaiian language newspapers, many mo‘okū‘auhau provided a means by which to indicate connections between past and present, collective experiences and historical events; illustrating political analogies and emphasizing the merits of leaders. For example, mo‘okū‘auhau might serve as a basis to challenge or assert the genealogical descent of a mō‘ī within a royal lineage, to settle a dispute, or to remind readers of enmities and alliances. Long before the modern state, however, mo‘okū‘auhau operated as a means by which descendants of the highest ranking ancestors would claim their legitimacy to govern. Supporters would also express their aloha and recognition of their ali‘i through mele published in these papers.

### *The Genealogy of Kauikeaouli*

Such was the case of the mele hānau (birth chant) composed for the new born son of Kamehameha I, Kauikeaouli (1813-1854) entitled, “No Kalani ‘Kauikeaouli Kamehameha III’,” also known as “Hānau a Hua Ka Lani”<sup>201</sup> and “Mele Hānau no

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<sup>200</sup> Basham, “Mele Lāhui,” (2008).

<sup>201</sup> Noenoe Silva cites Joseph Poepoe’s analysis of this mele under the latter title. Unpublished draft of a chapter from Noenoe Silva’s forthcoming book. Shared and cited by permission of the author.

Kauikeaouli.”<sup>202</sup> This mele, tells of Kauikeaouli’s chiefly descent from Papa and Wākea. The poem begins, “O hānau a hua Kalani,” “The chiefess gave birth,” to “Kalani,” “the chief.” In seven versus, the poem describes how all things, including the night, earth, clouds, sky, and the mountain “belongs to” or was “born to” Papa and Wākea. There are plays on Kauikeaouli’s name (“place in the dark sky”). The mele reads, “O ke keiki pō lani keia a Kea i hānau” (“This is the royal offspring of night borne by Kea”) and “O hānau ke ao, o hiki a’e” (“The cloud was born, it rose and appeared”).<sup>203</sup>

First performed at the ceremonies during the birth of Kauikeaouli in 1813, at Keauhou, Kona, Hawai‘i, the mele was printed around the time of his birthday in the newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, on March 24, 1866 – twelve years after his passing.<sup>204</sup> The mele affirms Kauikeaouli’s sacred rights as Mō‘ī of the Hawaiian Kingdom by way of his genealogy, which links him to the progenitor akua, Papa and Wākea and the royal children Ho‘ohōkūkalani<sup>205</sup> and Hāloa.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui & Alfons L. Korn, trns. and eds. *The Echo of Our Song* (Honolulu: The University of Hawai‘i Press, 1973), 12-28.

<sup>203</sup> Pukui & Korn, *The Echo of Our Song*.

<sup>204</sup> See, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land, Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 31; Kepā and Onaona Maly, “Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka ‘Āina” (*Mauna Kea-The Famous Summit of the Land*): A Collection of Native Traditions, Historical Accounts, and Oral History Interviews for: Mauna Kea, the Lands of Ka‘ohe, Humu‘ula and the ‘Āina Mauna on the Island of Hawai‘i, Prepared for The Office of Mauna Kea Management (Hilo: University of Hawaii-Hilo, 2005), 8-9.

<sup>205</sup> In Malo’s *Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, (1992, 242) Emerson notes that Ho‘ohōkūkalani “means to bestud the heavens with stars, the starry sky, the stars of heaven.” Kikiloi translates the name as, “the starring of the heaven,” while Kame‘eleihiwa translates it as, “to generate stars in the sky.” See Kekuēwa Kikiloi, “Rebirth of an Archipelago: Sustaining a Hawaiian Cultural Identity for People and Homeland,” in *Hūlili Journal*, Vol. 6, (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2010), 83; David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities: Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, Special Publication 2, Second Edition, translated by

The mele also refers to the near-death complication in the infant's birth in which the high priest, Kamalo'ihi, "prayed into life" and reviving to consciousness the stillborn chief.<sup>207</sup> This precarious beginning would be interpreted as prophecy of the mō'i's achievements to come. Kauikeaouli, at the age of seven, would live through the overturning of the 'aikapu system and govern during the pivotal transformation of Hawai'i into a Western-modeled state, recognized as the independent Kingdom of Hawai'i through dozens of international treaties with other states. This was a time in which maka'āinana would be empowered by rights that were codified in law and enfranchised with the right to democratically elect their leaders, petition their government, publish their dissent, protest in mass meetings, and participate in decision-making processes in ways unheard of under the 'aikapu.

Sections in the mele riff on meaning elements of the name, Kauikeaouli, seemingly describing natural phenomena – the clouds, the "sky, light, day, daylight, and dawn" –, yet which, as Pukui explains, "can refer to the regaining of consciousness, and to achieving mental enlightenment," with which his reign had historically been associated. This dawning indicates the emergence of the new order. Pukui adds:

So in this single nuclear element of Kau-i-ke-ao-uli's sacred name are clustered and concentrated the seeds of some of the major symbols and sweeping cosmological conceptions found in the language of this old noble poem.<sup>208</sup>

The mele hānau begins with Keōpūolani's long and difficult labor:

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Nathaniel B. Emerson (1893) (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1997); Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land, Foreign Desires* (1992), 23.

<sup>206</sup> Hāloa may be translated as "long breath."

<sup>207</sup> Pukui and Korn, *The Echo of Our Song* (1973), 13.

<sup>208</sup> Pukui and Korn, *The Echo of Our Song* (1973), 14.

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| O ho‘onā a ka ‘īloli,          | This was a month of travail,            |
| O ho‘owiliwili e hānau Kalani. | Of gasping labor, a writhing to deliver |
|                                | the chief.                              |

‘O ia ho‘i, ‘o Kalani, hānau Kalani.      He is this chief, born of a chiefess.<sup>209</sup>

The mele continues with descriptions of Papa and Wākea’s offspring, the final verse noting the birth of Mauna Kea and Hāloa, from whom the chiefly line descends.

This connection of Kauikeaouli to Wākea and the pair to the mountain is made in the fifth and final verse. By associating Kauikeaouli to the Wākea’s namesake, Mauna a Kea, the mō‘ī is identified with, not only the mountain’s physical beauty, height, and prominence, which signifies his high rank, but also the genealogy of the mountain as a child of Papa and Wākea and thus sibling and ancestor to him and to all Kanaka ‘Ōiwi.

The following segment from Pukui and Korn’s version of “No Kalani ‘Kauikeaouli Kamehameha III”<sup>210</sup> traces this mo‘okū‘auhau very briefly and describes the mountain as Papa and Wākea’s hiapo, or first born. Ho‘ohōkūkalani is the second born, mother, and half-sister of Hāloa. Hāloa is the first ali‘i, born to Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani. I discuss these relations in detail below. The mele’s narrative establishes the birth order of the sacred sibling relationship; here it introduces Papa, Wākea, Ho‘ohōkūkalani, Hāloa, and the mauna as the ancestors of Kauikeaouli:

|                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| O hānau ka mauna a Kea,    | Born of Kea, was the mountain, |
| ‘Ōpu‘u a‘e ka mauna a Kea. | The mountain of Kea budded     |
|                            | forth.                         |

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<sup>209</sup> Pukui and Korn, *The Echo of Our Song* (1973), 14 & 20.

<sup>210</sup> Pukui and Korn, *The Echo of Our Song* (1973).

|  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| ‘O Wākea ke kāne, ‘o Papa,               | Wākea was the husband, Papa    |
| ‘o Walinu‘u ka wahine.                   | Walinu‘u was the wife.         |
| Hānau Ho‘ohoku he wahine,                | Born was Ho‘ohoku, a daughter, |
| Hānau Hāloa he ali‘i,                    | Born was Hāloa, a chief,       |
| Hānau ka mauna, he keiki mauna nā Kea... | Born was the mountain, a       |
| mountain-                                | son of Kea... <sup>211</sup>   |

Many Kanaka today assert the mountain is an elder sibling and an ancestor and cite this and other mele as the basis of that knowledge. Part of the claim that the mountain is family – perhaps more than simply a native “possession” – comes from this idea of ancestral descent from something that is at once a place, an ancestor, and a sibling: ‘ohana. Hawai‘i Island the first born of the archipelago; Ho‘okōkū is the first born daughter; Hāloa is the first born chief; Mauna a Wākea is the first born mountain. The mountain is written into our genealogy.

### *The Mo‘okū‘auhau of Papa and Wākea*

The mo‘olelo of Papa and Wākea – or, Papanuihānaumoku (also Papahānaumoku, “Papa who gives birth to islands,” or commonly, “Earth Mother”) and Wākea (Wākea, “the expanse of the sky,” and “Sky Father”) – is among the foremost of our cosmogonic genealogies. Papahānaumoku first gave birth to the two island children of Hawai‘i and Māui, followed by a daughter, the first human child, Ho‘ohōkūkalani. There are multiple and opposing accounts of these origins, but none is false.

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<sup>211</sup> Pukui and Korn, *The Echo of Our Song* (1973), 17 & 23.

Another account of Papa and Wākea, first translated into English and published in 1893 by Nathaniel B. Emerson, comes from the celebrated Kanaka historian, Davida Malo. Emerson follows the research Malo compiled over his life from the time of his studies at Lahainaluna Seminary in the 1830s, later translated and published in the 1850s and '60s under the title *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*. In it, Malo cites the Kumulipo, an evolutionary cosmogonic mele that was recited on Captain Cook's first voyage to Hawai'i, as introducing La'ila'i, said also to be the first human, another progenitor ancestor.<sup>212</sup> She was the grandmother of Wākea. With unknown parentage but said to be "from the heavens,"<sup>213</sup> the akua Keali'iwahilani (the king who opens heaven) was the kāne from whom La'ila'i birthed "a human being... the first native Hawaiian... a man named Kahiko."<sup>214</sup> Kahiko<sup>215</sup> is said to be the father of Wākea, Kupulanakehau his mother, and Lihau'ula his elder brother.<sup>216</sup>

In several other accounts of the mo'okū'auhau of Papa and Wākea, renowned mid-19<sup>th</sup> century kū'auhau (genealogist) and historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, explains that mo'olelo of Hawaiian origins were not well kept and often contradictory, but he also affirms that Kahiko, also called Kahikoluamea, was Wākea's father and Kupulanakehau his mother. In *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old*, Kamakau states that

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<sup>212</sup> Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1997), 3-5.

<sup>213</sup> Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 4; Beckwith suggests "from the heavens" means lands.

<sup>214</sup> Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 4; See also Martha Warren Beckwith, ed. & trns., *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1951), 94-106.

<sup>215</sup> Also, Kahikoluamea. See, Rubellite K. Johnson, *The Kumulipo Mind: A Global Heritage in the Polynesian Creation Myth* (Honolulu, Rubellite K. Johnson, 2000), 160.

<sup>216</sup> Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1997), 238-9.

Hulihonua and his partner Keakahulilani were the first man and first woman and that it was 28 generations from them to Wākea.<sup>217</sup> In *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko*, however, Kamahau suggests, in “the beginning of the world,” Kumuhonua “reduced heaven and earth to fire,” later remade them “by the breath of his mouth,” and with his partner, Hālōiho, turned a gourd calabash into the earth, sky, clouds, sun, moon, planets, and stars.<sup>218</sup> The pair then “appointed Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa as chief spirits, *ali‘i ‘uhane*,”<sup>219</sup> the first three of whom “made” the “first man,” Welaahilanui, and from his body “tore” a piece to create the first woman, ‘Owē.<sup>220</sup> To them was born Kahikoluamea, or Kahiko, the father of Wākea. Ironically, Kamakau’s accounts have been noted as themselves contradictory and his inconsistencies as a source of confusion among scholars. Dorothy B. Barrère, explains that over the years “he repeated and embellished—and occasionally changes—some of his accounts.”<sup>221</sup> However, the point is that it seems origin stories proliferated among nineteenth century Hawaiians and that such pluralism was not viewed as threatening, but rather was accepted as a part of indigenous epistemologies and Kanaka ontologies.

### *Kumulipo*

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<sup>217</sup> Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old*, translated by Mary Kawena Pukui and edited by Dorothy B. Barrère (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), 3.

<sup>218</sup> Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko*, Translated by Mary Kawena Pukui and edited by Dorothy B. Barrère (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), 32.

<sup>219</sup> Kamakau, 32.

<sup>220</sup> Kamakau, 34.

<sup>221</sup> Kamakau, x.

Noenoe Silva discusses Wākea's genealogy by way of the Kumulipo in her analysis of, respected early 20<sup>th</sup> century historian, Joseph Poepoe's accounts published in his newspaper *Ka Na'i Aupuni* Noenoe from 1905-1906.<sup>222</sup> She explains that Poepoe understood the Kumulipo as a theory of Hawaiian origins that, when remembered and retold, undermines Christian doctrine in its account of Kanaka origins as transition from pō (night, darkness), to ao (time of light), and to the mo'okū'auhau of Papa and Wākea. Silva argues that Poepoe's reading of the Kumulipo and the mo'okū'auhau of Papa and Wākea were, not only "ingeniously crafted metaphors," but models of *how* to read mo'okū'auhau, in general, as carriers of mo'olelo, or history, within. In this way, Poepoe was engaged in the "preservation of ancient texts."

From Malo, to Kamakau, to Poepoe and then to contemporary scholars that include Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Noenoe Silva, Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale, Rubelitte Johnson, and ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui among others, the sacredness of Papa and Wākea and the island archipelago derive from their divine union. The mo'okū'auhau of Papa and Wākea has emerged as one of the most influential accounts of Hawaiian origins because of the ways it has informed the contemporary Hawaiian movement. Silva argues most 'Ōiwi in ancient times understood the pair as ancestors and akua, but also metaphorically as embodiments of the natural elements, or the "creative forces of nature."<sup>223</sup> Especially

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<sup>222</sup> This is an early draft of Noenoe Silva's chapter from a forthcoming book, yet unpublished. Shared and cited by permission of the author.

<sup>223</sup> Silva, unpublished paper. This phrase is borrowed from Kepā Maly and Onaona Maly, "*Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka 'Āina*" (*Mauna Kea-The Famous Summit of the Land*): A Collection of Native Traditions, Historical Accounts, and Oral History Interviews for: Mauna Kea, the Lands of Ka'ohe, Humu'ula and the 'Āina Mauna on the Island of Hawai'i, Prepared for The Office of Mauna Kea Management (Hilo: University of Hawaii-Hilo, 2005), 8.



notable is their establishment of the social order, or the ‘aikapu system, which lasted for more than six hundred years.<sup>224</sup>

The procreative qualities of the Papa and Wākea mo‘olelo are recorded in mele ko‘ihonua, or “chants describing the forming of the earth.”<sup>225</sup> Kamakau describes these chants as “composed in the style...(of) ‘ano,” wherein the kapu mating of a royal pair and their genealogies are commemorated:

|                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| ‘O Wākea Kahikoluamea e a,          | Wākea the son of Kahikoluamea,                     |
| ‘O Papa, Papa-nui-hānau-moku        | Papa, Papa-nui-hānau-moku the wife;                |
| ka wahine;                          |  |
| Hānau Kahiki-kū, Kahiki-moe,        | Kahiki-kū and Kahiki-moe were born, <sup>226</sup> |
| Hānau ke ‘āpāpanu‘u,                | The upper stratum was born,                        |
| Hānau ke ‘āpapalani,                | The uppermost stratum was born,                    |
| Hānau Hawai‘i, i ka moku makahiapo, | Hawai‘i was born, the first-born of the            |

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<sup>224</sup> The temporal approximation was Mō‘ī Kalākaua’s. See, His Hawaiian Majesty King David Kalākaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii: The Fables and Folk-Lore of a Strange People*, Edited by R. M. Daggett, (Rutland & Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company 1972), 22.

<sup>225</sup> Kepā Maly and Onaona Maly, “Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka ‘Āina” (*Mauna Kea-The Famous Summit of the Land*): A Collection of Native Traditions, Historical Accounts, and Oral History Interviews for: Mauna Kea, the Lands of Ka‘ohe, Humu‘ula and the ‘Āina Mauna on the Island of Hawai‘i, Prepared for The Office of Mauna Kea Management (Hilo: University of Hawaii-Hilo, 2005), 7.

<sup>226</sup> Kanahale and Kanahale translate the pair as “upper horizon” and “lower horizon.” See Kanaka‘ole-Kanahale, Pualani & Edward L.H. Kanahale, *A Social Impact Assessment–Indigenous Hawaiian Cultural Values of the Proposed Saddle Road Alignments*, Project A-AD-6 (1), Hilo, 1997; as cited in Kepā Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update: Oral History and Consultation Study, and Archival Literature Research: Ahupua‘a of Kā‘ohe (Hāmākua District) and Humu‘ula (Hilo District), Island of Hawai‘i (various TMK)*, Appendix D, Prepared for Group 70 International by Kumu Pono Associates. Hilo, Hawai‘i. 1999, D-20.

islands,

Ke keiki makahiapo a laua...

The first-born child of the two...<sup>227</sup>

This mele tells us that Hawai‘i was the first of the island chain born to Papa and Wākea; it is the hiapo. For this reason, according to Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele and her husband Edward L.H. Kanahele, the hiapo philosophy places us, Kanaka, in a direct relationship of responsibility to the first-born, dependent on natural life cycles, connected through the sacred waters of Mauna a Wākea. Simply because the mountain is an inanimate entity, this responsibility towards an elder sibling was no less significant. In a cultural assessment study written for the proposed Saddle Road realignment in 1997, Kanahele and Kanahele wrote, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi,

recognized and practice(d) respect for hierarchy or *hiapo* for man and land alike.

The mountain is sacred because it is the sacred child of Wākea. It is also the nourishment source for our land. The mountains and land were genealogically connected to (Kanaka) through the original ancestor(s), Wākea and Papa.<sup>228</sup>

Kanahele and Kanahele also connect the symbolic to the material, adding, “Wākea, Sky Father and Papa, Earth Mother. Between the two all things were born.” According to Kame‘eleihiwa, the hiapo philosophy requires of Hawaiians to treat the natural as sacred, that is, to treat the natural with reverence as one does an elder sibling, but also as one does for that which gives us nourishment. This is the kuleana of all Kanaka ‘Ōiwi – to care for the land as a sacred member of the ‘ohana and likewise, symbolically and literally, as a life-giving force.

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<sup>227</sup> Kamakau, *Tales and Traditions*, 126.

<sup>228</sup> Kanahele and Kanahele (1997), 16.

### *A Unified Hawaiian Consciousness*

The mo‘olelo of Papa and Wākea introduces us to another way of being, an indigeneity rooted in the land and the kuleana to care for it. Kekuewa Kikiloi explains that as a metaphor, this “birthing” of the Hawaiian Islands denotes a radical shift “in Hawaiian history when the sovereignty, as well as control over the islands, is lost by the descendants of the oppressive senior line of the Kumu-honua genealogy.”<sup>229</sup> As noted by he and others, the social stratification among ali‘i (chiefs), kahuna (priests), maka‘āinana (commoners), and kauwā (royal servants) are formed in this period of progressive social change, when “the island names are reconstituted and a new archipelago is ‘birthed.’” Although there are discrepancies among the mo‘olelo of Kanaka origins, there is agreement that the connection of ‘Ōiwi to place, to these islands, is not ambiguous, nor is the assertion of the contemporary relevance of that relationship to today’s practices of resistance to displacement simply reactionary. Emphasizing the historicity of the connection between the lāhui and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, Kikiloi writes,

The union of this couple (Papa and Wākea) results in not just the ‘birthing’ of the archipelago but also the ‘birthing of a unified Hawaiian consciousness—a common ancestral lineage that forges links between the genealogies of both land and people. Since that point on in our history, this archipelago and its people

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<sup>229</sup> Kekuewa Kikiloi, “Rebirth of an Archipelago: Sustaining a Hawaiian Cultural Identity for People and Homeland,” in *Hūlili Journal*, Vol. 6, (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2010), 81.

became inseparable, as the well-being of one becomes invariably connected to the well-being of the other.<sup>230</sup>

This unified Hawaiian consciousness is an important idea when considering how Mauna Kea today is defended as a member of our family, the younger brother to Hāloa who is fed by the mountain's waters. Thus, 'Ōiwi are younger siblings as well, with our own responsibilities. The unifying logic that informs the opposition to astronomy expansion today is rooted in those familial connections and kuleana to aloha 'āina within the sacred hiapo relationship.

For early Kanaka 'Ōiwi, all aspects of the natural environment were embodiments of the akua. The mo'okū'auhau may be understood as a cartographic practice. For example, according to the Kumulipo, Papa and Wākea are simultaneously divine elements of nature, gods, and human ancestors whose genealogies map the kuleana of society towards the life-giving natural relations. In their kapu mating, Papa and Wākea first created two islands, Hawai'i and Maui, then a daughter, Ho'ohōkūkālani.<sup>231</sup> Kame'eleihiwa's account of this mo'olelo, and reading of the Kumulipo therein, has become one of the most influential among scholars of Hawaiian history and those involved in the Hawaiian sovereignty and independence movements today. I will discuss the birth order below, but here we may consider these akua/kupuna as the story is retold

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<sup>230</sup> Kikiloi, "Rebirth of an Archipelago," (2010), 76.

<sup>231</sup> Some accounts have it that the mythical first ocean navigator, Hawai'i Loa – also known as Hawai'i Nui and Hawai'iniuiakea – who journeyed from the southern Tahitian group named these islands after his children, which are those names in use to today. See Kepā Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update: Oral History and consultation Study, and Archival Literature Research*, Appendix E: Limited Overview of the Hawai'i Loa Traditions (Honolulu: Prepared for Group 70 International, 1999), E1-E5.

through reference to the Kumulipo. Kame‘eleihiwa tells of Wākea “seducing” his daughter, to whom a son, a premature still born, named, Hāloanaka (quivering long stalk), was borne.<sup>232</sup> From his buried remains, grew a taro plant, the staple indigenous first-food: the kalo. Ho‘ohōkūkalani and Wākea had a second son also named Hāloa, who is considered the first chief, or ali‘i nui, and the first Kanaka. As mentioned already, it is of Hāloa that all ‘Ōiwi are said to be descendants. Because kalo represents the historically and culturally important staple food that society depended, its function in the mo‘olelo is to express a link between the people and the food, the significance of which is embodied in aloha ‘āina among many today. Of kuleana and the hiapo philosophy, Kame‘eleihiwa writes,

In traditional Hawaiian society, as in the rest of Polynesia, it is the duty of younger siblings and junior lineages to love, honor, and serve their elders. This is the pattern that defines the Hawaiian relationship to the ‘Āina and the *kalo* that together feed *Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i*. Thus, the ‘modern’ concepts of *aloha ‘Āina*, or love of the Land, and *Mālama ‘Āina*, or serving and caring for the Land, stem from the traditional model established at the time of Wākea.”<sup>233</sup>

This reverence for the senior line and familial relations continues to be practiced among Kanaka still today. The young are expected to adopt and behave with respect for their elders. Elders pass, are buried, and decompose to become ‘āina. ‘Āina is also therefore, symbolically and materially, our ancestor. This is interpreted by Kame‘eleihiwa as

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<sup>232</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land, Foreign Desires* (1992), 24. According to Malo, the kalo leaf that sprouted was named laukapalili, or “quivering leaf.” Hāloanaka is also known as Hāloanakalaukapalili. See, Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 244.

<sup>233</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land, Foreign Desires*, 25.

defining our kuleana to care for, or mālama, ‘āina like we do our kupuna. According to this value system and mo‘okū‘auhau, Hāloanaka and his kinolau (plant form), the kalo, are also to be cherished. Today, the many lo‘i kalo (taro patch) restoration and revitalization projects spreading across the islands demonstrate that this valuation of ‘āina is still very relevant to Hawaiians. It also informs resistance to Western cultural hegemony: as long as ‘Ōiwi maintain our cultural food production practices, are willing to defend the health of our land and waters as our ‘ohana, our practices cannot be reduced to political maneuvering, but may be understood as perpetuating a better way of doing and being. In many ways, this poses a serious threat to multicultural settler colonialism – which cannot fully absorb, remove, or replace the indigenous.

The cultural value conveyed in the mo‘olelo of Papa and Wākea is the mandate to protect the ‘āina because ‘āina provides sustenance for the continuation of the lāhui. The philosophies of aloha ‘āina (to love the land) and mālama ‘āina (to care for the land) have become driving forces of the contemporary independence and anti-colonial movements, at the center of which is the land itself. Aloha ‘āina and mālama ‘āina may, thus, be understood as practices of decolonization, assertions of autonomy, and articulations of self-determination. To perpetuate the wellbeing of the lāhui through a cartography of blood and soil is to undermine the settler colonial and its effects on our everyday lives.

### *Birth Order and ‘Aikapu*

From the mele, ‘O Wākea noho iā Papahānaumoku, we learn the birth order of the islands and that Ho‘ohōkūkalani was also a progenitor ancestor/akua and the daughter of

and punalua<sup>234</sup> to Papa. The mele also conveys that Papa and Wākea eventually partnered to birth the remaining five islands. Emerson's translation is as follows:

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| O Wakea noho ia Papahanaumoku, | Wakea lived with Papa, begetter of islands, |
| Hanau o Hawaii, he moku,       | Begotten was Hawai'i, an island,            |
| Hanau o Maui, he moku.         | Begotten was Maui, an island.               |
| Hoi hou o Wakea noho ia        | Wakea made a new departure and lived        |
| Hoohokukalani                  | with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani                       |
| Hanau o Molokai, he moku,      | Begotten was Molokai, an island,            |
| Hanau o Lanai ka ula, he moku. | Begotten was red Lanai, an island.          |
| Liliopunualua o Papa ia        | The womb of Papa became jealous at its      |
| Hoohokukalani.                 | partnership with Hoo-hoku-ka-lani.          |
| Hoi hou Papa noho ia Wākea.    | Papa returned and lived with Wakea.         |
| Hanau o Oahu, he moku,         | Begotten was Oahu, an island,               |
| Hanau o Kauai, he moku,        | Begotten was Kauai, an island,              |
| Hanau o Niihau, he moku,       | Begotten was Niihau, an island,             |
| He ula o Kahoolawe.            | A red rock was Kahoolawe. <sup>235</sup>    |

Kame'eleihiwa and Malo<sup>236</sup> tell of the 'aikapu system being devised so that Wākea might distance himself enough from his wife and to sleep with Ho'ohōkūkālani without

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<sup>234</sup> An example of a punalua relationship is one in which two women both share a husband or two men share a wife, each in a long-term partnership with the other enjoying privileges and responsibilities. Each spouse was a punalua to the other through the common spouse.

<sup>235</sup> Malo, *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, 243.

<sup>236</sup> In Eloise Christian's Preface to Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities*, (1951, xix) she explains how W.D. Alexander's, "occasional notes throughout the book," often appeared indistinguishable from Malo's own. She writes, "It is not clear just how much

Papa's suspicion.<sup>237</sup> Although Malo admits that it was unclear whether the 'aikapu was established by Wākea or another, it was indeed an ancient kapu, one that lasted until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, seven years after Kauikeaouli's birth in 1813. Kame'eleihiwa analyzed the ancient religion of 'aikapu in her groundbreaking text, *Native Land, Foreign Desires*, in which she argues the social order upheld the governing structures and produced a necessary separation between the ruling, priestly, and labor classes. During that time, the 'aikapu was a new and far-reaching social order that required the observance of gendered and spousal kapu (restrictions) on specific moons that affected eating and sleeping habits. The kapu, however, touched more than just individuals or the immediate family; it shaped people's everyday lives, impacting the such practices as fishing, farming, manufacture, travel, religious ceremony, rites, and others.

Kame'eleihiwa suggests the 'aikapu should also be read metaphorically as linked to the concept of pono. The goal of 'aikapu, she argues, was to maintain pono in all aspects of life, particularly within the social structure, among the akua (gods), the ali'i (chiefs), and the maka'āinana (commoners). 'Aikapu instilled the value system around land and resource management that centered on environmental awareness and practices of conservation. One lesson of the 'aikapu is the environmental ethic intended to sustain 'ohana for generations into the future. Through this kuleana, Kame'eleihiwa suggests, pono was achieved. Although the 'aikapu was overturned in the early nineteenth century, the kuleana remains important to many Kanaka today.

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Alexander did. For that matter, it is hard to tell where Malo leaves off and Emerson takes over, or how much of the parenthetical material in the actual text is Emerson's." Troubling indeed for scholars of early Kanaka histories.

<sup>237</sup> Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land*, 23-24; Malo, *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, 28-29; Alexander and/or Emerson pass judgment on p. 242.



Papa and Wākea’s genealogy and Kanaka philosophies around land and resource management introduce several key concepts that encourage a way of being in the world better suited for our present lives and the lives of future generations. What we can discern from these mele and the mo‘okū‘auhau is an archive of ontological lessons – a body of knowledge that provides a foundation for contemporary ideas concerning anti-colonial politics, land management, and social relations. What Kikiloi has called a “unified Hawaiian consciousness,” I interpret as a way of being human and being Hawaiian that instills in each of us a genealogical land-based ethic towards the natural – a meaningful understanding of aloha ‘āina.

### *The Piko*

The genealogical relationship is also mapped onto Mauna a Wākea through the concept of the piko. In Hawaiian, piko may be translated as “navel, navel string, (or) umbilical cord,” as well as “blood relations,” and the human body is said to have at least three piko, including the “genitals... (and) crown of the head.”<sup>238</sup> The term “piko” is also another name for a summit, which is why Mauna Kea is also known as “ka piko kaulana o ka ‘āina,” or “the famous piko of the land.”<sup>239</sup> Mauna a Wākea is also described as a piko that connects the island to the akua. According to the philosophy and metaphor of the piko, the three ‘centers’ of the body are also manifest in the geography and landscape

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<sup>238</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, 328.

<sup>239</sup> This is according to the Lindsey family of Waimea as recorded by Kepā Maly. See Kepā Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update: Oral History and consultation Study, and Archival Literature Research, Appendix E: Limited Overview of the Hawai‘i Loa Traditions* (Honolulu: Prepared for Group 70 International, 1999), B-14.

of Mauna Kea. For example, the mountain is a primary aquifer and source of the island's fresh water, which feeds the many rivers, streams, and communities below. This is a procreative piko. Mauna a Wākea also embodies the mana (spiritual or divine power) of Wākea and Papahānaumoku as well as the regenerative mana of Lake Waiau, whose waters are considered to be of the purest.

In 1881, Queen Emma Rooke traveled to the summit to visit the piko of Wākea, the waters of Lake Waiau, as a symbolic cleansing and affirmation of her descent from the senior line of Papa and Wākea. The journey is said to have been, at least in part, a spiritual pilgrimage to a source, a center. It has also been said that her visit to Mauna a Wākea was a political response to the mō'ī, Kalākaua, to whom she lost the 1874 election. A heated genealogical contest lasted for years after Kalākaua's victory as staunch Emma supporters claimed his lineage was not high enough.<sup>240</sup> Kīhei and Māpuana de Silva write,

When Kalākaua embarked on his world tour in January 1881, Emma countered with this journey to the top of the world, to Maunakea. When Kalākaua sought recognition in foreign lands, Emma gained the approval of Wākea himself; she experienced firsthand the sacred piko at which father and mother, sky and land, conjoin.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> For an account of this election, see Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). See also, George Kanahale, *Emma: Hawai'i's Remarkable Queen* (Honolulu: Queen Emma Foundation & University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

<sup>241</sup> Kīhei and Māpuana de Silva provide a useful analysis of over two dozen mele associated with ka Moku o Keawe, or Hawai'i Island, that appear online at Kamehameha Schools' Ka'iwakīloumoku Hawaiian Cultural Center's literary archive, Kaleinamanu. See particularly, "E Ho'i ka Nani i Mānā," at *Kaleinamanu: Literary Archive*, Available online at: <http://apps.ksbe.edu/kaiwakiloumoku/kaleinamanu/he->

The piko of Wākea in this instance served as the Queen’s symbolic return to her genealogical origins, affirming her connection to the akua, descent through the senior line, and therefore her rightful place as mō‘ī. Although she was never to rule the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, it is no accident that the story of her journey to the summit is remembered over a century later. Her act was political and poetic, illustrating the mana of Waiau, the importance of mo‘okū‘auhau, and the significance of the piko.

Pua Kanaka‘ole Kanahele explains that one “must look beyond the summit,” when thinking of why the mountain is special. “Mauna Kea *is* Hawai‘i—there would be no Hawai‘i had Mauna Kea not first risen. What occurs on the summit of Mauna Kea, filters down to, and has an impact on what is below.”<sup>242</sup> In his many interviews with families from the Waiaka-Waimea areas of Hawai‘i Island, Kepā Maly gathered stories of “a unique custom” of taking the piko of infants to Waiau; a spiritual practice that constitutes the “strong connection between the native families of Waimea and Mauna Kea” that remains to this day.<sup>243</sup>

Historically, it was customary for families to take the piko of their newborn children to Mauna a Wākea where it would be hidden under a rock or deposited in Lake Waiau. In our interview, UH-Hilo professor of Hawaiian language and ethnographer Larry Kimura explained how growing up in Waimea, it was just a practice he heard of, but

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aloha-moku-o-keawe/hoi\_ka\_nani, Accessed on March 10, 2014. For more information about Queen Emma and the mele composed to commemorate her journey to the summit, see Puakea Nogelmeier, *He Lei no ‘Emalani: Chants for Queen Emma Kaleleonalani* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press & Queen Emma Foundation, 2001).

<sup>242</sup> Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update* (1999), B-15. Emphasis added.

<sup>243</sup> Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update* (1999), B-19. Barbara Robertson quoted from a testimony given at a Mauna Kea Advisory Council community hearing in Hilo, on December 22, 1998.

didn't really pay much attention to. He said his mother kept an empty mayonnaise jar in which to collect the piko of the babies born in the family and when someone was going up, she would ask them to take the jar with them. The journey to the summit was always difficult, so it wasn't for everybody. Kimura's great grandfather, William Seymour Lindsey, was Queen Emma's guide on her two-day journey to the summit. He taught the trails to Kimura's granduncle, who kept the knowledge and would lead special visitors for many years after. Kimura said he was not certain the old timers really knew why such traditions as that for the piko were maintained, but when he asked his grandmother, he told me she said, "every family has their own place. This is our family's sacred place."<sup>244</sup> His family knew they had their own "piko rock," there on the summit, which the family guide would be able to locate and where the piko and 'iewe (afterbirth, placenta) would be hidden and buried. According to lore, it is said that the piko and 'iewe are buried in such obscure places as a way to protect the child. The belief is should the piko be discovered and eaten by a rodent, bad luck would certainly befall the child. Kimura said that if there is a deeper reason for hiding the piko, the elders would generally not say. Perhaps the connection between piko and the summit is just too sacred to speak.<sup>245</sup>

*Thoughts on the Sacred: Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele*

In our interview, Pua Kanaka'ole Kanahele said the building of telescopes on the mountain is sacrilege because it diminishes the elevated value of the mountain. It drops its status to "a very mundane category," it reduces its elevated status. So, she challenged me to think further, to ask: what do you mean when you say that place is sacred? "What

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<sup>244</sup> Larry Kimura, interview by author, June 7, 2013, Hilo, digital recording.

<sup>245</sup> Larry Kimura, interview by author, June 7, 2013, Hilo, digital recording.

do you mean by ‘sacred?’”<sup>246</sup> In other conversations with Kanahele, it became a mandate that I answer this question. I began understanding the sacred of Mauna a Wākea through the above stories and beliefs, but also through Kanahele’s insights.

She illustrated for me how the mountain is sacred by way of juxtaposition. On one side, she posits “that which has been made by humans” and on the other “that which is made by nature, or that which will exist regardless of humans, human intervention, or consciousness.” For example, luakini are sacred, ki‘i are sacred, and wahi pana are sacred, but not in the same way as Mauna Kea.<sup>247</sup> There is a “hierarchy” of sacredness. These things are made by humans, not by nature:

The tops of the mountain have never belonged to man. In the mind of the intelligent Hawaiians, it’s never belonged to man. The luakini and the ki‘i is that they put on the luakini, are shaped by man. So, part of their knowledge of what is sacred, they help shape it, man helps shape it. The mountain doesn’t have any of that. It’s not touched by that. And so that’s the different hierarchy in sacredness. So there’s that sacredness that is totally natural, that totally belongs to the elements and our elemental deities. We have nothing to do with shaping it. And we have nothing to do with it being a benefit to us. But *it is beneficial* for us. We have nothing to do with the snow that falls up there and the water that it gathers. So, it’s out of man’s realm. That’s the whole idea to me of the sacredness of Mauna Kea.

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<sup>246</sup> Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, interview by author, December 14, 2013, Hilo, digital recording.

<sup>247</sup> A luakini is a type of temple. A ki‘i is an image of an akua, generally in a special wood. A wahi pana is a storied or legendary place.

The desecration for her, in part, consists of “exposing” the mountain to the everyday business of “man.” Mauna Kea “belongs to the gods” and should not be defiled by or reduced to the needs of people. The anguish she and many others feel about the development of Mauna Kea is in knowing that its natural state has been permanently altered and its sanctity continues to be violated.

However, Kanahele suggests the word sacred is “used so much that it doesn’t really mean anything anymore.” She explained how she has observed that many people simply cannot understand what it means to Hawaiians that natural phenomena or a physical feature of the land could be intimately understood as sacred for no other reason than because of their natural qualities that occur or exist entirely outside of human influence. To illustrate this, Kanahele gave the example of the mountain’s effects on the human body. Because the air is so thin, the body reacts. Your thinking slows, your body slows, because your blood slows. People often vomit, experience stomach pains, or faint. Reactions can be severe and many have died from altitude sickness. This, she says, is evidence that the mountain “doesn’t belong to man... it’s the land of Lono and Kāne.”

Here, she illustrated what it means to be in the realm of Lono and Kāne, and in explaining this she connects genealogy to the land. She began by explaining the meaning of the name, Ka’ohe, which is a huge ahupua’a that circles the top of Mauna Kea stretching from the northeast coast of Hāmākua to the top of Mauna Loa. The ahupua’a of Ka’ohe and Humu’ula, both share the summit of Mauna Kea, with Humu’ula reaching only to 9,000 feet elevation.<sup>248</sup> Ka’ohe means “the bamboo,” and is a reference to the bamboo plant’s ability to capture water. The water caught from nodes of bamboo does

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<sup>248</sup> Maly and Maly, “*Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka ‘Āina*” (2005), 10.

not touch the ground and is thought to be purest for that reason. As such, the pure waters of the bamboo are considered sacred. The analogy suggests that, because the mountain “feeds” people and “all living things” within the ahupua‘a, “our erudite Hawaiians... knowing “that water eventually makes its way down to our sea shore or to our springs or (everywhere) it exits,” they also “had the idea or the conviction that Mauna Kea and the mountain systems, did exactly that: they captured the water in the nodes.”<sup>249</sup> The mindful Kānaka ‘Ōiwi who named Ka‘ohe, knew this mountain sustains life on Hawai‘i Island. Without the natural water systems of which Mauna Kea is key, “we will cease to exist... and it’s a direct benefit to us, (as well as) indirect because it comes in a cycle.” This system that gives life, but that is entirely out of the control of humans, was observed by the kupuna and Kanahele notes how this understanding was honored in the very naming of the ahupua‘a, Ka‘ohe.

Because the cycle itself is the work of “our elemental gods,” she suggests we are being “godlike” when we go mauka (to the mountains), pick from the forest, give birth, and engage with natural earth-human processes in this cycle of life. “(W)e are being godlike because we are actually continuing this cycle... So, to understand the mountain, you gotta understand all of that – that whole process.” This engagement with the natural, she explains, is part of the process called makawalu.

It is logical, but is a godlike process because it allows life to flourish, to be maintained. So, they would name a place according to what that particular place is producing. And so they have an idea of what it’s producing and so (it is known that) the top of the mountain is where the water for Wailuku River comes from

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<sup>249</sup> Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, interview by author, December 14, 2013, Hilo, digital recording.

and all of our little outlets that come down here, (are) also from the top of the mountains because they are all outlets from Wailuku, Waialama stream, Wailoa, etc.

“So, it really is not just a symbolic desecration?” I asked. She adamantly replied, “No, it isn’t.” She reminded me that something becomes sacred symbolically because, originally, the symbolic “was the maoli, it was true, it was genuine, and so it becomes symbolic. And, so, the symbol doesn’t last if there is no more truth to it.” I interpret these things as an assertion of how the materiality of desecration affects our emotions, our psyche, and our well-being. The effects of the observatory on the soil, the insects, the subsurface water, the mountain’s water table, watershed, and everything interacting with each other and within the whole mountain can never be adequately measured by Western sciences and technologies, but are experienced by many Kanaka who have internalized these mo‘olelo, continue these practices, and descend from these mo‘okū‘auhau.

In reflecting on Kanahale’s mana‘o, I thought of Lake Waiau, the only alpine lake in the Pacific, which it was reported recently has shrunk to about 2% of its normal size – from a standard 1.2-1.7 acres, nearly disappearing to 0.03 acres.<sup>250</sup> Its depth was about 3 yards in 2010, and is now at an unprecedented low of less than 1 foot. Waiau’s floor is made of “an impermeable substrate of silty clay and interbedded with ash layers.”<sup>251</sup> In my research I have been unable to find record of scientific studies affirmatively answering the question of whether or not permafrost lies beneath the surface, perhaps

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<sup>250</sup> “Hawai‘i’s only alpine lake is shrinking fast,” in *Hawaii Tribune Herald*, November 10, 2013; Catherine E. Toth, “Hawai‘i’s only alpine lake is shrinking fast with no end in sight,” in *Hawaii Magazine*, November 20, 2013.

<sup>251</sup> Toth, “Hawai‘i’s only alpine lake,” in *Hawaii Magazine*, November 20, 2013.



very deep inside of the mountain. However, it seems possible that a prolonged drought is to blame, but some speculate human activity and construction on the summit that cracked the deeper base rock.<sup>252</sup>

I asked Kanahele if she supports the protection of Mauna Kea. Her answer was provocative. She responded by admitting she does not know what “protection” is. “I don’t know what that *means*. No building on Mauna Kea: that’s what I support. I think of all of the sacred places on all of the islands, Mauna Kea is at the top.” What would it mean to protect Mauna Kea? How do people protect an alpine lake or a mountain for that matter? How do people protect a natural water system so deep inside of a mountain? Protection is often the chosen framing of an environmentalist agenda and is central to policy rhetoric, but protection is a peculiar way of thinking about human interactions with our environments. The idea that nature exists *only outside of* human conceptions of it and, conversely, an opposing idea that nature exists *only by way of* human constructions of it, are two extremes that are bound to disappoint, making the notion of a human-protected nature an elusive possibility.<sup>253</sup>

Concerning the naming of the ahupua‘a, then, I asked, “why Mauna a Wākea?” “Because the broad expanse of the mountain,” she explained. “It does exist in the space of Wākea. The lewa.” Lewa is translated by Pukui as “sky, atmosphere, space, air, upper

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<sup>252</sup> In our interviews, several of the petitioners noted their concerns about this possibility as well.

<sup>253</sup> French anthropologist, Philippe Descola, provides an insightful explanation of the intellectual genealogy of such questions regarding the dualism of nature and culture and their epistemological implications in *The Ecology of Others*, translated by Genevieve Godbout and Benjamin P. Luley, (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2013).

heavens.”<sup>254</sup> Strata in the sky, as on land and the ocean, were named and distinguished according to variations in color and the living and non-living features that were observed, memorized, and passed through oral pedagogies, forming an astute epistemology of the natural within traditional ‘Ōiwi knowledge.

### *Conclusion*

Kanahele also mentioned the idea in the other meaning of “kea,” which is translatable as “semen.” She suggests it alludes to a sacred relationship, a “male-female kind of idea of Wākea and Papa,” whose sacred union gave birth to the islands and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi. The sky and earth present a fertile relationship from which life grows. This, for Kanahele is always part of her everyday interpretation of things. She explained how “All our names go back to the land.” She listed them: the fire names, the water names, the place names, “they all go back to the land. It’s our genealogy,” she says. “So, there is a real exchange between the land and the earthly atmosphere. It’s kind of all one and the same.” One of the most important lessons I received from this day with Kanahele is the importance of presence in being Hawaiian. She explained this by understanding Hawaiinness isn’t some historical thing that we look at as an ancient thing; though it can be that also, but it is not only that.

So when we talk about Haumea as Mother Earth, it’s not just a symbol, its literal. She is Mother Earth. She is our Mother. She does belong to our genealogy, and we belong to her genealogy. And so we have that ...our DNA gives us the benefit of the connection to our land. And so, we have to own it. So, when we do these

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<sup>254</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, 204.

kinds of testimonies, we have to own that we belong to the land. We cannot just talk about it as a separate entity. “What the Hawaiians used to do.” Or as part of culture. No! It’s part of me.

Such a way of understanding of the significance and meaning of Mauna a Wākea exists not only as a way of distinguishing ourselves as Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, but because it is true and honest to many of us Hawaiians. It is true and honest because it comes through our mo‘okū‘auhau. We are the products of these genealogies and the cultural forms of recalling those relations are what drive the political. It isn’t the other way around. Sure, Kanaka are political, but much of the reason is because Hawaiians have historically been politicized for being Hawaiian; our indigeneity has been disqualified, determined for us, restricted, and appropriated. Today, so many social spaces, public spaces, non-native institutions, and this Western modernity do not allow Kanaka to self-determine what it means to be Hawaiian.

Yet, it seems to me that political encounters with the settler state beginning from an understanding of difference as articulated through the stories of the genealogies and through the lessons they carry will help to ground our engagements in a way that is true and honest. There is no room for invention language in this process. It is just simply unproductive. If the goal is to move towards understanding, we must listen to the indigenous people of Hawai‘i on their own terms. Through such a commitment, the sacred emerges, not merely as a political construction, but as an aspect of a worldview that can offer another possibility in relating to the natural and to difference that does not reproduce the colonial violence contemporary settler Hawai‘i. Mauna a Wākea is sacred because it is a kupuna of all Kanaka ‘Ōiwi.

Chapter Four  
Articulations of Difference:  
From Gift to Aloha ‘Āina

*Introduction: The Gift of Mauna Kea*

In January, Hawai‘i State Governor Neal Abercrombie commented on the proposed Thirty Meter Telescope project in his State of the State address. He repeated the opinion that Mauna Kea is “the best place on the planet to observe the universe” and “provides an unparalleled opportunity to advance our knowledge of our universe.”<sup>1</sup> Sharing another popular sentiment among telescope supporters, he added, “Mauna Kea is Hawai‘i’s gift to the world.” Two years prior, former UH President M.R.C. Greenwood, in a monthly online news update, expressed the University’s commitment to the TMT by also commenting on how it sees Mauna Kea as a “gift.” She wrote:

The university is keenly aware of its obligation to be a responsible and thoughtful caretaker of the land that has been entrusted to our care on Mauna Kea. The mountain is a gift to all the people of Hawai‘i, and we recognize our responsibility and kuleana to it. We deeply appreciate all of the work that has been done by the community to ensure that the TMT is done in the right way for the benefit of the people of Hawai‘i.<sup>2</sup>

Abercrombie and Greenwood’s statements both perform the colonial in multiculturalism, typical of a rhetorical practice that functions to rationalize settlement and mask the

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<sup>1</sup> Neal Abercrombie, 2014 State of the State Address, Available at: The <http://governor.hawaii.gov/blog/2014-state-of-the-state-address/>.

<sup>2</sup> “UH Update: Monthly Report from President M.R.C. Greenwood, UH System News,” March 2011, The University of Hawai‘i System website, Available at: <http://www.hawaii.edu/offices/op/reports/march2011.php?item=4>.

historical theft and continued power relations that comprise settler colonialism. Underpinned by a logic of replacement characteristic of settler colonialism, such frames reimagine Kanaka ʻŌiwi as a “host culture” ostensibly offering up ancestral lands for the development and economic interests of *all* Hawaiʻi residents. Bereft of historicity, the rhetoric of *caretaking the land* and *hosting the world* serves to legitimize an otherwise precarious authority over Mauna Kea that is dependent on U.S. imperialism. Where no such invitation to Americans has been extended and no endowment of this land issued by Hawaiians,<sup>3</sup> these assertions of “responsibility” to “care take” and so on function to mask the multiple forms of dislocation and alienation that continue in the islands today. Under the auspices of providing resources for “all of the people of Hawaiʻi,” the gift is a stand-in for loot. To those with a politics of colonialism, the gift appears to be a way of sealing relations between accomplices; a sadistic distribution of plunder – the spoils of occupation. Even if made only as a passive rhetorical gesture, the idea of Mauna Kea as a gift represents what has become a habit of vacating any discourse on the violence of imperial occupation experienced by Hawaiians; a depoliticization achieved through misrepresentations and appropriations of our image, our language, and our traditional environmental ethos that centers around protection and care for the natural out of generational self-preservation. The visceral experience of sustained colonial violence, particularly the egregious representation of colonial repression as hospitality, in part,

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<sup>3</sup> Although there are no polls and only a great deal of speculation as to whether the majority of Hawaiʻi citizens are for or against astronomy expansion, there is much evidence that many in Big Island communities, since the 1980s, have been opposed to or concerned about more telescopes and its impacts on Hawaiians and the natural environment. See, for example, Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, “Transcript of Public Meeting on the Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan, held at University of Hawaiʻi – Hilo, May 27, 1999,” (Nā ʻālehu, Hawaiʻi: Nā Maka o ka ʻĀina, 1999).

explains why Hawaiians are so passionate in their opposition to telescope expansion today and committed to a model of relationality centered on healing the mountain, maintaining traditional spiritual practices, and defending its natural integrity.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first will analyze through juxtaposition several appropriations and misrepresentations that are emblematic of popular discourses circulating among those who defend continued astronomy expansion. These practices reflect the settler multiculturalism that minimizes important cultural differences and reproduces settler privilege. The analysis will address the incommensurability between astronomy expansionists and protectionists regarding the ways in which each interprets and relates to the ‘natural’ and the ‘sacred’, two central concepts around which law, science, and the state exercise power. Whereas Mauna a Wākea becomes a gift to astronomers, *all* of Hawai‘i, and the world through simultaneous (though contradictory) praise and dismissal of indigenous frames of sanctity and the scientific, to many Kānaka, enough is enough. The call for a moratorium is consistent. To counter dominant representational practices and to move towards an understanding of the ontological distinction many Kānaka contend informs our traditions, the second half of the chapter will examine several key concepts that these Kānaka ‘Ōiwi have inherited and are revitalizing as expressions of contemporary aloha ‘āina. This orientation to kuleana – unlike Greenwood’s appropriation of the concept – animates today’s resurgence of Hawaiian culture, political activity, and interest in the Mauna Kea struggle. A grouping of several concepts – mo‘okū‘auhau, lāhui, ‘ōiwi, kuleana, and pono, among them – will provide a vehicle by which I engage salient themes that many Hawaiians identify as that which distinguishes indigenous thought worlds, an approach that I theorize as a

compositionist method of articulating indigeneity – one that does not devolve into impossible identity claims prevalent in authenticity discourses. Those themes help to explain why cultural differentiation continues to hold relevance to many Kanaka ‘Ōiwi today. This chapter will thus take up Stuart Hall’s articulation theory to analyze this cultural difference and Bruno Latour’s theory of compositionism to contemplate other possibilities for imagining an environmental ethic that thinks beyond Western modernity’s conception of “sustainability” and that serves as intervention in settler privilege . Let me begin by discussing the multiculturalism in Hawai‘i by which settler scientific, capitalist, and state institutions emerge as the new caretakers of Hawai‘i.

#### Part I: A Juxtaposition of Valuations and Articulations of Difference

##### *Multicultural Privilege, Framing a Binary, and Cultural Differentiation*

The multiculturalism advanced in several forms of astronomy advocacy is about the broader replacement of Hawaiians in multiple sites and ways and, thus, encourages, at best, only a superficial understanding of Kanaka perspectives and values regarding the sacred and the natural. Worst, it may devolve into crass appropriations. For example, a discursive replacement is active in Greenwood’s declaration that the University has a “kuleana” to Mauna Kea. The Hawaiian concept of kuleana is often translated as “responsibility,” “right,” and/or “privilege.”<sup>4</sup> Her statement may be interpreted according to the suggested meaning of responsibility, duty, and obligation, however another way of reading this is through the term’s meaning cluster that centers on the ideas of privilege, jurisdiction, authority, and claim, which in this context, I argue, serves to rationalize

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<sup>4</sup> Pukui, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, 179.

multicultural settler privilege. Ultimately, the University has demonstrated that they understand their “kuleana” is not simply to protect and preserve Mauna Kea, but to protect and preserve Mauna Kea in order to perpetuate and grow its astronomy franchise on the summit lands. Consultation with Hawaiian communities, adoption of Hawaiian ideas in the management plans, and the collection of archival literature and oral histories regarding the cultural significance of Mauna Kea have historically never been a means by which to evaluate the merit of Mauna Kea astronomy expansion or to perpetuate traditional Hawaiian practices, but rather a means by which to secure future astronomy expansion and to neutralize indigenous resistance. Greenwood’s suggestion that the University seeks “to ensure that the TMT is done *in the right way*,” has little to do with what is right for or desired by Hawaiians, though many Kanaka certainly do share her logic here.

Such appropriations of Hawaiian language also represent how multicultural settler coloniality confronts ‘Ōiwi narrations of the sacred through an assumption that Hawaiian language or concepts, when borrowed effectively, might afford settler society a degree of legitimacy that is otherwise elusive. This is something akin to what Phillip J. Deloria has called “playing Indian” where legitimacy is sought through donning a disguise, where authenticity can be approximated vis-à-vis “the figure of an Other” through representation and mimic practices.<sup>5</sup> The University of Hawai‘i and the State, like many American settlers more broadly, are “increasingly tied to a search for an authentic social identity, one that (has) real meaning in the face of the anxious displacements of modernity” and colonial privilege.

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<sup>5</sup> Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998), 101.



Practices of reductionism present another challenge to Hawaiians who seek to protect Mauna Kea from further development. For example, when a complex legal battle is reduced to one of science versus religion, assertions of the mountain's sanctity become trivialized, making it difficult to adequately defend the call for protection on the grounds of Hawaiian spirituality. Although science and religion are central to the debate, the legal arguments that pose the greatest obstacle to the TMT are often glossed over. Moreover, in any competition between science and religion, it is quite obvious who is to be vilified or honored. The binary is an effective rhetorical strategy in these debates, mainly for their affective results.

For example, in his closing arguments to the contested case regarding the BLNR's permitting of the TMT project, UH attorney, Tim Lui-Kwan, advised the audience not to think of the case as "yet another clash between science and religion – astronomy versus culture."<sup>6</sup> No, he insisted, "the opposite is true, as astronomy and religion have been intertwined from nearly the beginning of human civilization." However, Lui-Kwan then proceeds to construct the binary according to the shifting needs of the University, which at times, reserves for the University and the science community rationality while the native opposition are irrational obstructionists. Yet in other times, ancient Hawaiians are rendered scientific, or at least proto-scientific, in the representational strategy of drawing useful linkages between modern astronomy on Mauna Kea and the early Hawaiian kahu, navigators, and astrologers. Thus, the image of the rational, scientific subject shifts according to changing demands.

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<sup>6</sup> Board of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai'i, DLNR No. HA-11-05, Volume VII, Contested Case Hearing, 16-17.

Recasting the issue as one of science against religion is key because in such a contest science often prevails; yet to paint Western astronomers as the logical heirs to the mountain, ‘Ōiwi must also be rational. Science has historically achieved its cultural privilege on this assumption of its dominion over rational thought, to which the settler state today has access through commitments to scientific research and development. Religion, on the other hand, has historically been considered science’s adversary, at times its persecutor.<sup>7</sup> While science is associated with facts – e.g., timeless, universal, and material truths –, religion is provincial, superstitious, and centers on beliefs and myths. One key objective in these cases has been to distinguish the rational early Hawaiian scientist from the contemporary irrational, and radical, anti-science activist – those who contest the TMT.

While ostensibly challenging the idea of the dichotomy between science and religion, Lui-Kwan presents a juxtaposition by way of an account of the testimony given by a scientist expert witness during the contested case proceedings in 2011. He follows that account by what he calls a “traditional saying” in Hawaiian language – an affective contrast forges an association between Mauna Kea astronomy and indigenous spirituality, without undermining the necessary distance between the two for justifying the new project. In his testimony, the scientist, Lui-Kwan states, “described astronomy as one of the oldest of the sciences that has made immeasurable contributions to mankind, including the timekeeping, navigation and the development of nearly every major principal in the law of physics.” He emphasizes a dichotomy between Western and

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<sup>7</sup> Consider, for example, conventional narratives of Galileo’s self-censorship regarding the then subversive heliocentric theory, which he denounced to avoid torture and death. Scientists were victimized, Christianity vilified.

Hawaiian sciences in his description of this “oldest of sciences” by positing a poetical saying against it, set-up in his “traditional (read, Hawaiian) saying,” which he offers in Hawaiian language. This move reproduces a particular binary between astronomy and culture, Western and Hawaiian, just as he claims it does not exist. It’s not so much that this binary does not exist, however the point is that in this illustration, the binary is hierarchical. The juxtaposition assumes culture is Hawaiian, as if science is culture-less, and therefore simply neutral, indifferent, apolitical. Culture is religion and, through implication vis-à-vis an established social stereotype, religion is archaic, old-fashioned. So the logic proceeds, culture, and more specifically Hawaiian culture, is regressive. Here, Lui-Kwan’s reference to “the laws of physics,” the “oldest of sciences,” and “contributions to mankind” performs a nuanced balance between praise and dismissal. These tropes imply the presumed universality of Western sciences and astronomy while also suggesting that both Hawaiian and Western traditions are somehow seamlessly connected or “intertwined.” Yet, “mankind” and “the sciences” perform a rhetorical universalizing move and leveling of difference that privileges Western sciences over indigenous sciences or religion. His his claim of a shared historical trajectory and complementarity of interests is, thus, mainly rhetorical and there is an ambivalence here. On the one hand, Kanaka must be represented as rational scientific actors in order for the colonial multiculturalism to work – this leveling of difference such that Hawaiians too were scientists, which justifies today’s science on the mountain. Yet, on the other hand, as contemporary Kanaka spirituality as practiced by those who oppose the TMT stands in the way of the project, its contrast with Western rationality must also be emphasized, but only the extent that activist spirituality may be distinguished from obsolete, though

idealized, ancient spirituality. A delicate operation, indeed, yet one that produces the necessary results: the obstacle of Hawaiian activism may be neutralized and made into a resource through a sustained representational politics centered on the rational. Overseen by an obliging legal structure and the state, science deflects the cultural strength of indigenous religion by its invocation of rationality as the conditions require. Lui-Kwan's statements throughout the contested case and especially in his closing arguments well-illustrate this flexibility.

The so-called "traditional saying" Lui-Kwan offered as a counterpoint also multiculturalizes science and indigeneity to the University's advantage. Against the scientist's testimony, the saying presumably comes from a non-scientist; one may assume a cultural (or religious?) expert, though none is cited. The saying, Lui-Kwan claims, is "'Ka Honua Nei, Ka Honua Lewa, Ka Lani Iluna' which," he says, "loosely translated means the planet on which we stand, the planets in the solar system, in the heavens above." He argues the saying "demonstrates that our Hawaiian ancestors were not merely concerned with our lives here on earth, but reflected a knowledge and understanding of life in our solar system." He does several things in this rhetoric. First, he invokes his personal identity as a Kanaka 'Ōiwi by using the communal and legitimating 'we,' as in "our Hawaiian ancestors."<sup>8</sup> As a strategy, a Kanaka lawyer is smart because it complicates things. Any presumed distinction the public is likely to make between rights holders and stakeholders is undermined when the sides are not so

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<sup>8</sup> To many, Lui-Kwan was an unsurprising attorney of choice considering the University's defense of the TMT permit essentially posited a settler vs. indigenous vision of the mountain. Although this was an issue, the petitioners also maintained the issue was not about religion versus science, because their challenge targeted State law regarding industrial development in a conservation district.

easily delineated according to race, ethnicity, or nationality.<sup>9</sup> A Hawaiian attorney offers the University greater credibility and undermines the possibility that these debates would be viewed in the broader context of U.S. empire.

Like Greenwood, Lui-Kwan's use of the Hawaiian language also asserts legitimacy, though it is questionable from where such a "traditional saying" actually comes. Many traditional sayings can be found in the very popular collection of traditional sayings by the late Mary Kawena Pukui entitled, *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings*. Yet, no such saying exists in this text. The few ʻōlelo noʻeau that resemble Lui-Kwan's say nothing about "space" (or outer space) or the "solar system." Combing Pukui's collection and the Hawaiian language dictionary, the idea of "planets in the solar system" does not appear to be captured in the phrase "ka honua lewa." Here it seems a serious engagement with Kanaka ʻŌiwi conceptualizations of our cosmogonic genealogies is averted by instead stretching a (questionable) saying by way of a shady translation that privileges the objects of telescopic observation.

One ʻōlelo noʻeau, however, does address ka honua (the earth) and ka lani (the heavens), but it reads, "He lani i luna, he honua i lalo," or "Heaven above, earth beneath."<sup>10</sup> Pukui explains this would be "said of a person who owns his own property,

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<sup>9</sup> Kealoha Pisciotto is always sure to remind inquisitors that Kanaka ʻŌiwi are not "stakeholders" in decisions concerning Mauna Kea, which is the term consistently used by TMT advocates and the University of Hawai'i in arguments for a model of "coexistence." This, Pisciotto argues, levels the claims between both groups when Native Hawaiians' claims are distinct. Hawaiians still have claims to the Crown and Government Lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom that were seized at the time of the alleged annexation in 1898, of which Mauna Kea is a part. By diminishing that distinction, the UH frames Hawaiians' demands as unreasonable and astronomers as victims. Such an inversion is the settler colonial multicultural model of coexistence.

<sup>10</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui, *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 79.

or of one who is sure of his security. The sky above him and the earth beneath his feet are his.” Although it is likely the kaona was lost on him, it is actually rather appropriate that Lui-Kwan would use this ‘ōlelo no‘eau considering the University and the State both perceive Mauna Kea as their property, a gift for them to share with the world and other settlers. Ironically, however, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi might also appropriately adopt such an ‘ōlelo no‘eau considering they are indeed rights holders and are comforted in the security afforded to them by their sacred mo‘okū‘auhau that connects them to the ‘āina of Mauna a Wākea. Astronomy, on the other hand, exists only as a condition of ongoing colonialism and the anxiety of its precarious authority, rooted as it is on U.S. empire, can hardly provide any genuine security. Where exactly this “traditional saying” is recorded is certainly unclear, but the effort appears more about strategy than accuracy.

Throughout the rest of Lui-Kwan’s closing arguments, he continues to build upon the binary that he suggests should not cloud our judgment of the permit or project, a framing that, in the last instance, privileges Western astronomy over Hawaiian genealogical cosmogony.

Cultural differentiation remains important to many Hawaiians because simply being Hawaiian – doing things recognizably ‘Hawaiian’, things related to indigenous land-based practices – can be understood as political acts. However, cultural differentiation also remains important to Kanaka because it is the single greatest mechanism by which indigenous legitimacy, claims, and grievances are affirmed. It attends to the continued representational practices and construction of the self for Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, which comes through articulations, often in Hawaiian language (see below). Attention to cultural differences also encourages attention to the historical relationship of the U.S. to Hawai‘i

and settlers to Kanaka because they often expose the practices of replacement underpinning settler-native relationships and histories as well as the question of U.S. sovereignty over Hawai‘i. However, settler multiculturalism is a powerful counter mechanism to cultural differentiation because it is aligned with liberal idealism and encourages historical amnesia; parsing recognitions and legitimacies of its own. Some work for Kanaka and many others do not. The much larger population of settlers in Hawai‘i and the greater capital backing those communities can often drown indigenous voices. When the terms of the Mauna Kea astronomy debate are clouded by appropriations, distortions, and misrepresentations, one question that bears heavily on how cultural differentiation may be used for or against a Kanaka indigeneity or an articulation of a distinct indigenous self is how we come to know what is meant when we say that Mauna a Wākea is sacred.

### *Cacophony and (Mis)representations*

As Lui-Kwan’s statements demonstrate, the opposition to the TMT is commonly represented in popular discourses as based primarily on a defense of the sacred or as solely a religious issue, even as many Kanaka actively seek to mount a more nuanced challenge. Although a defense of Hawaiian traditional cultural practice is indeed a key part of the legal opposition, arguments made in the courts are also based on State law; points including practices and policy on land use, resource management, development regulations, and the question of fair market rent for the exclusive astronomical use of Mauna Kea. Yet, these arguments are generally glossed. In one exemplary article published during the appeal of the Land Board’s TMT permit, Mauna Kea is described as

“a place of profound religious sanctity,” and the opposition is addressed only insofar as some believe the TMT would violate Native Hawaiians’ “constitutional right to practice their religion.”<sup>11</sup> This is certainly true, but is only one of several arguments the appellants made in their challenge of the legality of the conservation district use permit. There is no explication of the ways Native Hawaiian cultural practices are supposedly protected by the State constitution, which themselves are derived from the historical relationship the United States and the State of Hawai‘i have with Native Hawaiians. No mention is made of Mauna Kea’s designation as a resource subzone in the conservation district – a classification by which astronomy has been afforded special privileges, particularly to develop the mountain. Nevertheless, the majority of the article concerns itself with “the world’s sharpest galactic eye” and describes the “sophisticated technologies” of the TMT. While no detail is offered of just what “profound religious sanctity” means to Kānaka ‘Ōiwi themselves, the technological achievements of the TMT encourages readers to sympathize with the University and astronomy communities, under the fire of angry Hawaiians. Read against the detailed concern for astronomy’s modern technologies, indigenous religion appears atavistic and irrational.

Opponents of astronomy expansion argue for many things outside of the binary, particularly for protection of the summit’s fragile ecosystem, rare plant and animal species that are threatened by the TMT, and the health of numerous surrounding aquifers and watersheds that are supplied by Mauna Kea. They voice concerns about the conflict of interest in the University’s role as a research institution expected to perform land and resource management duties over public lands and a conservation district, which past

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<sup>11</sup> *Big Island Weekly*, June 26, 2013.



events have proven are not the University's strong suit. The University also assumes the role of sub-lessor and intermediary as the conservation district use permit applicant. This was a significant concern because it transfers the risk of environmental damage by an out-of-state, third party developer and international consortium of private funders onto the University, a public State institution funded in large by tax dollars and student tuition. Other issues include the inadequacy of the University's Comprehensive Management Plan, omissions and misrepresentations found in the TMT's Final Environmental Impact Statement, and the Land Board's interpretation of laws, statutes, and rules, which appears overly sympathetic to expansionist interests. They are concerned about the potential for ecological damage during the ten years of construction of the proposed telescope, the anticipated pollution to follow, and the lack of clear implementation procedures for decommissioning, concrete transport, or the likely occurrence of oil or chemical spills.<sup>12</sup> Despite the passive reference that religious practice is threatened, these points escape popular media while any detail of exactly what "sacred" means to Hawaiians themselves is consistently absent, truncated, or overshadowed by a narrow instrumentalist preoccupation with the technological promise of the TMT.

The ambiguity concerning how Hawaiians understand the sacred, thus allows the University and the State to cast the opposition as short-sighted, irrational, manipulative, and petty, while assuming rational stewardship, policy, and investment for themselves. The opposition is also rejected through claims that it was slow to act and is therefore insincere, conniving, or political rather than legal, a sentiment that Governor Neil Abercrombie has publicly conveyed on several occasions: most notably when, in 2009 –

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<sup>12</sup> Deborah Ward and Fred Stone, interview by author, June 8, 2013, 'Ōla'a, digital recording.

as mentioned earlier – he stated that the TMT would not be obstructed “from someone who found their cultural roots six minutes ago.”<sup>13</sup> The terms of the TMT debate are firmly aligned with the presumed universality of Western law and the seeming cultural neutrality of science and conception of science as a value-independent system, both of which operate to rationalize the demand for another telescope as apolitical.

As the ethical, environmental, and legal details at the core of the TMT opposition and the contested case regarding the permit issue are minimized, however, a binary of modernity and tradition emerges and is at times reified and, in others, undermined depending on the shifting needs of the University’s legal defense. The effect is a trivialization of whatever may be associated with the religious, the sacred, or the spiritual; an operation that sometimes slips into appropriation as well. As a resource for TMT proponents, part of the strategy is to multiculturalize religion and spirituality. Just as Hawaiians were once scientists in their ancient cultures of star knowledge, today’s astronomers are also protectors of that sacred practice in updated form. These are subtle, but remarkably disarming as making the sacred and the scientific multicultural allows for contingency, which is one way multiculturalism can be understood as colonialism within a contemporary postcolonial or settler colonial context. Multiculturalism diminishes the relevance of colonialism such that its power may proceed unabated, rendering it potentially that much more effective than any explicitly cliché colonial action.

How do we make sense of the Mauna Kea debates when the University and the State control the terms of the conversation? How do we make intelligible indigenous assertions of the mountain as a sacred place when they are so easily trivialized and

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<sup>13</sup> *West Hawai‘i Today*, April 1, 2012. I offer an analysis of this comment in chapter six.

frequently misunderstood, appropriated, or misrepresented? I return to the suggestion that indigenous voices must be central to answering that question.

In *Transit of Empire*, Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd uses the concept of cacophony to describe the “discordant and competing representations of diasporic arrivals and native lived experiences...that vie for hegemony within the discursive, cultural, and political processes of representation and identity that form the basis for...states of injury...and biopolitics.”<sup>14</sup> Contemporary settler and Hawaiian subjectivities may both emerge from out of the conditions of multicultural settler colonialism, but they do so unevenly. This is to say that privileges and recognitions are dispensed unevenly. Whereas for scientists, the University, and the State of Hawai‘i Mauna Kea becomes a gift that keeps on giving, to Kānaka ‘Ōiwi the alleged bestowal of ‘āina actually marks the distribution of plunder among benefactor (the U.S.) and beneficiaries (settlers). For this reason, I suggest sifting through the cacophony of competing hegemonies by starting off an inquiry of the sacred from the voices and lives of people in communities that are absent from the design of mainstream policy and who bear the impact of colonial dislocations – historically and in the present context. Such an approach has both epistemic and political implications. To imagine a different relationality towards the mountain may inform a different representational praxis that extends beyond a sacred vs. scientific or tradition vs. modernity binary or an appropriation of the indigenous subject. With these commitments in mind, let us engage ‘Ōiwi articulations of the natural and the sacred on their own terms, as they represent an intervention in the cacophony of Mauna Kea debates. As Byrd suggests, beginning an inquiry through the “elisions, erasures, enjambments, and

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<sup>14</sup> Jodi A. Byrd, *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), xiii.

repetitions of (native-ness)...one might see the stakes in decolonial, restorative justice tied to land, life, and grievability.”<sup>15</sup> The distance between opposing valuations of Mauna Kea also outlines the shape of coloniality in Hawai‘i today. In this value divide, to borrow ideas of Stuart Hall and Bruno Latour, we find articulations of nature that are composed *well* and others that are composed *badly*.<sup>16</sup>

Kanaka ‘Ōiwi articulations of the sacred and compositions of nature offer insight into indigenous ways of being that are rooted in balance and respect, genealogical cosmogonies, and ancestral land. The only way to understand the Mauna Kea debates in a full and robust way is to also listen to ‘Ōiwi articulations of difference and indigeneity. To do so, we may begin to see the incommensurability in the ways through which the sacred and the mountain are conceived and valued. How do ‘Ōiwi express their notions of protection, conservation, and the sacred? I have already explained how our mo‘okū‘auhau places Mauna a Wākea as an akua and kupuna to all Kanaka and thus renders this a sacred mountain, but in the second half of this chapter I will also engage several additional concepts that were significant to Hawaiians of generations past and continue into the present to serve as a vehicle for this cultural differentiation. Before I do, however, allow me to examine the concept of articulation as a way to introduce those contemporary framings used by Kanaka ‘Ōiwi in relating to the natural, the sacred, and to Mauna a Wākea.

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<sup>15</sup> Byrd, *Transit*, xiii.

<sup>16</sup> Lawrence Grossberg, ed. “On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall,” in *Journal of Communication Inquiry* (June, 1986); Bruno Latour, “An Attempt at a ‘Compositionist Manifesto,’” in *New Literary History*, 41 (2010), 471-490.

### *Articulation as Interruption in the Cacophony*

Determining whether Hawaiian spirituality today is authentic or constructed is a marginal debate that generates counterproductive antagonisms rather than any truth. It is more interesting to ask how Hawaiian spirituality is both authentic and constructed; to ask how indigenous culture is always becoming and always hybrid and how spirituality and culture can be simultaneously contingent within colonial conditions as well as constituted in ancient traditions that precede contemporary agency. I am more interested in interrogating the operations of power that fix astronomy on the mountain, normalize the expansion of astronomy, and generate the popular support behind it. Running through this orientation is a recognition that Hawai‘i is an occupied country with an unresolved politico-legal relationship with its occupying force, the United States. Also present is the hegemony of American democracy, which protects and facilitates settler colonialism in Hawai‘i and of which the Mauna Kea struggle and scientific privilege is a part. Within these operations of power we also find a hegemonic desire among many Kānaka ‘Ōiwi to be “modern,” progressive, relevant, and participants in global systems, sometimes to the extent idealized within Western capitalist democratic society, but not always. Many are wary of a modernity that would come at the expense of our ancestral lands or the most cherished of sacred places, such as Mauna a Wākea. It is in this context of ambivalence that Kānaka ‘Ōiwi articulate our identities, our dissent, and our desires. In the interstices of colonial determinacy and irresolution there is deep ambivalence that emerges through narrative.

Stuart Hall’s theory of articulation is useful in explaining the formation of indigenous identities within multicultural settler colonialism. According to Hall, articulations are

informed by connections between social forces, practices, or elements within a variety of ideologies. Articulations make a “unity” of different and “distinct elements, under certain conditions,” linkages that are “not necessary, determined, absolute...(or) essential for all time” and may “be rearticulated in different ways” under different circumstances. The emphasis is on contingency: the non-necessary connection of articulated discourses is key to this unity. Hall states:

(A) theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects...(put another way: the theory of articulation asks how an ideology discovers its subject rather than how the subject thinks the necessary and inevitable thoughts which belong to it; it enables us to think how an ideology empowers people, enabling them to begin to make some sense or intelligibility of their historical situation, without reducing those forms of intelligibility to their socio-economic or class location or social position.<sup>17</sup>

What ideological elements and social forces cohere to render an indigenous subjectivity relevant, intelligible, or unrecognizable in the context of Mauna Kea’s contested future? Under what conditions do indigenous environmental ideologies and politico-social movements begin to make sense of, articulate, and interrupt the cacophony of perspectives regarding astronomy expansion? In many ways, Kānaka ‘Ōiwi have interrupted the dissonance by simply adhering to traditional lessons and articulating their commitments accordingly.

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<sup>17</sup> Grossberg, ed. “On Postmodernism and Articulation: An Interview with Stuart Hall,” 53.

There is certainly no permanence to Hawaiian indigeneity or the subjectivities Kanaka ʻŌiwi occupy, contest, and seek, though they are often expressed as such in a variety of contexts by both Kanaka and non-Hawaiians. Many elements that inform contemporary linkages within Hawaiian communities encompass very old practices, beliefs, and concepts that are being recovered, remade, and rearticulated everyday according to evolving needs and social conditions, however, to simply think of them as cultural production fails to account for generational continuity and contingencies that have always been at work. Without romanticizing a timeless connection to an ancient purity of the past, can we answer the question: what has been carried through a distinctly indigenous Hawaiian culture? Rather than dismissing articulations of indigenous subjectivities and indigenous intellectual traditions and cultural practices regarding the sacred as superstitious, political, obsolete, inauthentic, or irrational, I suggest we hear them in terms of their broader context within settler colonial and state occupation; as articulations and possibilities emergent in relation to imperial power and as an interruption to the cacophony colonialism brings.

### *The Call for a Moratorium*

That for many Mauna a Wākea is the most sacred mountain – for others, the most sacred place – in all of Hawaiʻi, astronomy expansion may be understood as a supreme violence, the full extent of which can only become intelligible when one commits to learning exactly how it is that the mountain is considered to be sacred by them; to filter the noise and listen to what Hawaiians are truly demanding – contradictions and all. The value that Mauna Kea is thought to provide for the economy, astronomers, the University,

or the advancement of science and Western knowledge is ontologically incommensurable to the value these Hawaiians have assigned to the mountain. Ours is a valuation and conception of the sacred that has been carried through mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies) in the form of mele (songs, chants) and mo‘olelo (stories, histories) – conduits of indigenous knowledge that posit Mauna a Wākea, not as a “gift” to be exploited or developed, but to be revered and respected as one does one’s elders, parents, kūpuna, siblings, or god(s). The incommensurability in valuations of the mauna explains why people continue to oppose astronomy expansion on Mauna Kea and why expansionists have difficulty accepting the merit of this opposition.

A dismissal of such perspectives fuels the public relations battle over the TMT and astronomy expansion. Instead of glossing over ‘Ōiwi claims to traditional spiritual practices, values, knowledges, and philosophies, however, the dominant representations of indigenous assertions about the sanctity of Mauna a Wākea tend to misrepresent or trivialize them. As mentioned above, those traditions are often appropriated and this incorporation within the University’s “comprehensive” management plans and research studies of mountain “resources” are then used for promoting new telescope campaigns, rather than for cultivating indigenous Kanaka ethics, value systems, or environmental and relationship practices. I discuss this in greater depth in chapter six. However, despite the assertion of cultural sensitivity and the invitation for Hawaiians to give input on management plans or new telescope proposals, the development continues on the mountain regardless. Some question “what good is input when decisions are already



made?”<sup>18</sup> Cultural practitioner and kumu hula, Pua Case conveyed her frustration with how the opposition is being framed in the media and the rhetoric that appears in the courts. One of six petitioners challenging state permits in the TMT contested case, she reminded me that the issue does not center on the spiritual arguments alone, particularly when the spiritual is posited in contrast to the scientific. She contends, “We’re not anti-science, we’re anti-another building.”<sup>19</sup> In our interview, she expressed the pain they experienced in the contested case hearing when the University invoked the sacred through such a binary, feigned recognition, and ultimate disavowal, which animates her call for a moratorium:

I think the parts that make me sad is when they say things about how they know the mountain is sacred to us, or important and significant. That they realize there is cultural significance and how much they love that mountain. And in the next breath (they say), “but we’re still going to build on it.” When you talk to two sides like that, that makes me sad because it’s then I know that we still have a long way to go. Because usually, if you gonna say all that, you gonna follow that with, “so therefore you’re right, we cannot do that. Because it is a temple. It is sacred.” A lot of them will say this. It’s in their brochures. But when you say all that and in the next breath, you say, “ooh, but on top of that place, we still gonna do this (build the Thirty Meter Telescope).” That makes me know that we are still going to be going on for the long haul.

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<sup>18</sup> Jill Nunokawa made such a comment at the Hilo public hearings regarding the Mauna Kea Management Plan. See Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, “Transcript of Public Meeting on the Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan, held at University of Hawai‘i – Hilo, May 27, 1999,” (Nā‘ālehu, Hawai‘i: Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, 1999), 47.

<sup>19</sup> Pua Case, interview by author on September 22, 2012, Waimea, digital recording.

While over the years, some Kānaka have expressed that they have tolerated enough development on the mountain already, the University and astronomy community consistently ask for more. Many Hawaiians believe that such a commitment to coexistence, respect, and cooperation with the community would require, not more of the same, but instead a moratorium on new development and recycling the old telescopes.

For example, by 1999, a year after a harsh legislative audit found the University's management of the summit was "inadequate to ensure the protection of natural resources"<sup>20</sup> and the same year a third telescope went up on a now permanently leveled pu'u (cinder cone, or hill) on the summit, Hawaiians were becoming increasingly vocal.

When the University held three public hearings in three Hawai'i Island districts as a means for collecting public input on its then newly conceived "Mauna Kea Complex Development Plan," residents came out en masse. They offered testimonies, demanded answers for the presumed "need" to build more telescopes, asked for change, and expressed their frustration concerning the poor track record of management. Such public meetings represent one of few venues available to the community to make their voices heard. Although everyone agreed the three-minute time limit to testify was hardly enough to convey their thoughts, concerns, and frustrations, the people came out in large numbers. Many expressed distrust in the whole process or whether it could be considered a sincere commitment to listening to the community at all. The theme at these meetings was a moratorium on new telescope development. University of Hawai'i-Hilo professor, Manu Aluli Meyer, articulated a common sentiment:

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<sup>20</sup> The Auditor, State of Hawai'i, "*Audit of the Management of Mauna Kea and the Mauna Kea Science Reserve*," Summary Report No. 98-6 (1998), Available at: <http://www.state.hi.us/auditor/Overviews/1998/98-6.htm>.

But we will fight this (expansion). We will do so in our spiritual acts, in our prayers, because of the nature of what has gone wrong in the past, and that is a misrepresentation, a misunderstanding of the needs of culture and the development of our people and the people of Hawai‘i beyond the science.

We are asking for simply a moratorium so that we can work together. And working together for science, for culture, for harmony, this will not need to be a major misunderstanding. It doesn’t need to be. But currently I have watched this for years.<sup>21</sup>

Then-telescope operator for the James Clerk Maxwell Submillimeter Radio Telescope and cultural practitioner, Kealoha Pisciotto, echoed the call for a moratorium:

I really want to talk about the fact that the last public hearing, the consensus was overwhelming: ‘*a’ole*, no. The Hawaiian people said no, we’ve had enough. Enough is enough. We’ve given already, we’ve shared and we want it to stop now because we don’t want any more...<sup>22</sup>

Hilo resident, Moses Kealamakia, who “was born and raised in the shadow of Mauna Kea in Waimea,” also requested an end to expansion by arguing the University and astronomers are asking for too much:

By the end of the 1970s, more structures were on the summit. Now, the people were silent, but they tolerated the structures... By the 1990s...the summit was littered with massive structures. Pu‘u Poli‘ahu was bulldozed... the telescopes became larger

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<sup>21</sup> Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, “Transcript of Public Meeting on the Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan, held at University of Hawai‘i – Hilo, May 27, 1999,” (Nā‘ālehu, Hawai‘i: Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, 1999), 17.

<sup>22</sup> Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, “Transcript” (1999), 17.

and larger and there more of them... My feelings are there should be a moratorium on any further construction.<sup>23</sup>

Though many believe a prohibition is an impossible goal, the commitment to understanding Hawaiian perspectives on the sacred nature of Mauna Kea may compel some to consider limits to Mauna Kea astronomy as a practice of respect to achieve a genuine coexistence with Hawaiians. The demand for a moratorium on new telescope development remains a central objective in the present Mauna Kea struggle. However, there are also efforts to express a Hawaiian value system regarding the land and natural environment, which the TMT is believed to undermine. Moreover, this value system exhibits an orientation to the natural that is common in explanations Hawaiians give for their consideration of the mountain as a sacred place, one that should be protected from development. These valuations of Mauna Kea are emblematic of the broader decolonial project within the contemporary Hawaiian movement that says enough is enough.

## Part II: Framing the Difference and ‘Ōiwi Frames

### *Aloha ‘Āina and Kuleana*

The nexus of knowledges and beliefs concerning the land, the ocean, human and non-human life, the animate and inanimate environment, for many ‘Ōiwi Hawai‘i, marks a collective memory and materiality that roots Hawaiians in these islands. At the center of this worldview is aloha ‘āina – an ontological commitment, an ecological ethos, and a cultural-enviro-spiritual way of being on the land of our ancestors. Aloha ‘āina is an indigenous Hawaiian relationality to the natural. It is well known for folks in Hawai‘i

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<sup>23</sup> Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, “Transcript” (1999), 54-55.

that aloha ‘āina is a fundamental concept in a traditional Hawaiian worldview because it presented a commitment to may described today as “sustainable land use” and “resource management.” It represents a value system, a cultural practice, and a set of ethics that encompasses much of how Hawaiians consider our natural environment to be a part of our being – as an ancestor, as family, and, therefore, as sacred. As a political philosophy, aloha ‘āina grounds the contemporary Hawaiian movement – be it centered on a negotiated sovereignty or more progressive independence – and fuels the legal battles in which ‘Ōiwi fight for protections and limits. It is also a source of motivation for the many restoration and revitalization projects such as lo‘i kalo (taro cultivation systems) and loko i‘a (rock-walled, shoreline fish ponds) around the islands.

Hawaiians, in earlier times and still today, practice and understand aloha ‘āina as a kuleana. Kuleana is often used as a simple translation for “responsibility,” but in the context of land issues, kuleana may be understood as an ethic of respect and responsibility towards the natural environment; a means by which to obtain a long, happy, and fulfilling life; a way of being accountable to the natural and to each other. Kuleana was also a legal concept used in the nineteenth century land tenure system of the Hawaiian Kingdom, which connected the native tenants to inalienable land rights. These were lands granted to maka‘āinana, but that these commoners productively cultivated for generations. Hawaiian articulations of their connection to the natural environment encompass symbolic and material dimensions that augment the idea of kuleana to include the spiritual and familial responsibilities and privilege of this work. Our mo‘okū‘auhau tell us these lands are our ‘ohana, our kupuna. There is also a prescription within the idea of aloha ‘āina to keep the land healthy: a mandate to tread lightly, take only what is

needed, enter natural spaces with reverence and humility, and to reciprocate through caring for the land. This is but one kuleana within aloha ‘āina.

Aloha ‘āina may be translated as “love for the land or for one’s country.” It was used in the nineteenth century and by contemporary scholars of the Hawaiian state as a translation for “patriotism” and “patriot.”<sup>24</sup> Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua explains that aloha ‘āina “has been a root of Hawaiian resistance to imperialism for over one hundred years.”<sup>25</sup> Examining the 19<sup>th</sup> century usage of the term, Noenoe Silva, suggests:

Aloha ‘āina...was the cornerstone of resistance in this era. It expressed the desire... for self-rule as opposed to rule by the colonial oligarchy of settlers or the military rule of the United States... (A)loha ‘āina encompasses more than nationalism and is not an exact fit with the English word ‘patriotism,’ the usual translation.

*Where nationalism and patriotism tend to exalt the virtues of a people or a race, aloha ‘āina exalts the land...* The Kanaka Maoli have a genealogical, familial relationship to the land.<sup>26</sup>

If aloha ‘āina “encompasses more than nationalism,” what is the excess? As discussed in chapter three, genealogical accounts associate “god-beings” to “creative forces of nature,” which are said to have given “birth to the islands” and to all other Kanaka ‘Ōiwi.<sup>27</sup> According to cultural historians Kepā and Onaona Maly, “It was in this context

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<sup>24</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui & Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, Rev. Ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 21.

<sup>25</sup> Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 31.

<sup>26</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 11.

<sup>27</sup> Kepā Maly and Onaona Maly, “*Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka ‘Āina*” (*Mauna Kea-The Famous Summit of the Land*): *A Collection of Native Traditions, Historical*

of kinship,” that...Hawaiians addressed their environment, and it is the basis of the Hawaiian system of land use. Importantly, in these genealogical accounts, we find too, that Mauna Kea is referred to as ‘*Ka Mauna a Kea*’ (Wākea’s Mountain), and it is likened to the first-born of the island of Hawai‘i.”<sup>28</sup> The name Mauna a Wākea represents this genealogical connection to the mountain and to ‘āina in general, which Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua and Silva both suggest embodies the motivation, honor, and pride many ‘Ōiwi today feel in their commitment to resistance as kuleana. In ‘Ōiwi articulations of the natural, the excess of aloha ‘āina, then, I might suggest is comprised of a bond through blood and soil, kinship, and kuleana.

#### *Articulations of the Natural*

Esteemed scholar, ethnographer, composer, researcher, and archivist Mary Kawena Pukui’s articulation of Hawaiian thought surrounding the relationship of the people to their natural environment, offers a view of the difference among opposing valuations of Mauna a Wākea. Writing in the 1950s about a relatively isolated community of “country Hawaiians” who lived in the southern district of Ka‘ū on Hawai‘i Island, Pukui theorized the Hawaiian concept of aloha ‘āina and the cultural traditions that were rapidly changing in the urban areas, she explains:

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*Accounts, and Oral History Interviews for: Mauna Kea, the Lands of Ka‘ohe, Humu‘ula and the ‘Āina Mauna on the Island of Hawai‘i*, Prepared for The Office of Mauna Kea Management (Hilo: University of Hawaii-Hilo, 2005), 8.

<sup>28</sup> Maly and Maly, “*Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka ‘Āina*” (2005), 8. I will discuss the naming of the mountain and the significance of its connection to Wākea in the following chapter.

It is hard for the modern intellectually rigid (*sic*) and extroverted mind to sense the subjective relationship of genuine Hawaiians to Nature, visible and invisible. But without in some degree *sensing the feeling* that underlies this quality of consciousness in those who live intimately in a condition of primary awareness and sensitivity on the plane of subjective identification with Nature, coupled with perceptions and concepts arising therefrom—without some comprehension of this quality of spontaneous *being-one-with-natural-phenomena which are persons, not things*, it is impossible for (the) foreigner... to understand a true country-Hawaiian's sense of dependence and obligation, his "values," his discrimination of the real, the good, the beautiful and the true, his feeling of organic and spiritual identification with the 'aina (homeland) and 'ohana (kin).<sup>29</sup>

Many Kānaka 'Ōiwi today also view the natural environment, the living and nonliving realms, in a familial cosmology with intellectual, emotional, and spiritual relationships. This is no accident, nor a simple political strategy, but is instead rooted in the lessons gleaned from mele, mo'olelo, and the kupuna. Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele describes mo'okū'auhau as "the genealogical starting point of all things Hawaiian."<sup>30</sup> To understand ourselves and our world, we must begin with the stories of who we are. Jon Osorio has asked, "is there anything more definitive than our genealogies?"<sup>31</sup>

Metaphorically and materially, the lives of the people and the land are woven together in

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<sup>29</sup> E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'ū, Hawai'i* (Rutland, VT: C. E. Tuttle Co., 1998), 28. Emphasis in original.

<sup>30</sup> Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele, *Ka Honua Ola, 'Eli'eli Kau Mai: The Living Earth Descend, Deepen The Revelation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2011), xiv.

<sup>31</sup> He said this in a graduate course I took with him around 2007-08 called "Indigenous Methodologies" in which he analyzed the politics of U.S. Federal Recognition versus restoration of Hawaiian Kingdom's independence.



shared origins that travel across the generations through mo‘olelo about these islands and our ourselves. ‘Ōiwi archeologist Kekuewa Kikiloi writes, “At the core of this profound connection is the deep and enduring sentiment of aloha ‘āina, or love for the land. Aloha ‘āina represents our most basic and fundamental expression of the Hawaiian experience.”<sup>32</sup> Carrying this ecological ethic into the contemporary society in which ‘Ōiwi live is not necessarily the greatest challenge we face, although it alters its meaning.

Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua elaborates on the familial aspect with a realist materialism when she argues, “Kānaka also recognize our connection to ‘āina as genealogical because we are composed of ‘āina; the organic material of which we are made literally comes from the earth and is constantly returning to it.”<sup>33</sup> The aloha that Kanaka feel for ‘āina, particularly sacred places like Mauna Kea, is certainly a symbolic affinity, but is not some romantic hippy sentiment. Instead, it is a rational comprehension of the material reality of nature. It accepts scientific explanations of our existence, but not at the expense of our sacred places, ancestral lands, and kuleana to them.

For many Kānaka ‘Ōiwi, nature is immanent, not transcendent. We understand that we are “constructing” our realities, but we also recognize that so does everyone else, including science, government, and business communities: those settler communities who desire more land, more resources, and more than what ‘Ōiwi already feel is enough. We also recognize that our kupuna are buried in these islands, the soil of these islands grow the food that nourishes our bodies, and that we are a part of this cosmos. Therefore, ‘āina is an integral part of the ways in which we articulate ourselves into being.

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<sup>32</sup> Kikiloi, “Rebirth of an Archipelago,” p. 75.

<sup>33</sup> Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, *The Seeds We Planted*, 33.

This process does not necessarily rely on constructing an authentic or inauthentic Other against which Hawaiians *become*. The Self of Hawaiian indigeneity is less dependent on negating an Other, than it is on this nexus of ‘āina, kuleana, and mo‘okū‘auhau, which extends into the future. ‘Ōiwi are not irrational for these beliefs, but rather are sentient in their concern with *composing* a frame of that material cycle that instills humility, respect, and responsibility. This is captured in the concept of pono, which can mean proper, righteous, and balance, or harmony. It is virtue that is also elemental to aloha ‘āina. Indeed, we understand that our constructions of the natural and the sacred are also prescriptions for a desired behavior towards the physical world in order to achieve preferred material outcomes. There is as much a methodological ethic in this construction as an interpretation of the sacred and instruction for living pono.

#### *A Composition of ‘Ōiwi, Lāhui, and ‘Āina*

Several parts of Bruno Latour’s idea of compositionism have informed my thinking around Kanaka articulations of the natural.<sup>34</sup> To think critically of nature as a human construction or Nature as a human-independent ‘thing’ outside of its naming as such, Latour theorizes both the creative practice of composition because “it underlines that things have to be put together...while retaining their heterogeneity.” He describes connotations of the term linked through its etymology, highlighting its contingency. He makes a case for composition because it “draws attention away from the irrelevant difference between what is constructed and what is not constructed, toward the crucial difference between what is *well* or *badly* constructed, *well* or *badly* composed. What is to

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<sup>34</sup> Bruno Latour, “An Attempt at a ‘Compositionist’ Manifesto,” in *New Literary History*, 41 (2010), 471-490.

be composed may, at any point, be *decomposed*.” Latour offers composition as an intervention in two processes that have been historically entwined: critique and nature.

Both critique and nature presume a truth awaiting discovery behind a supposed false consciousness and Science is the discoverer of that truth.

(C)ritique relies on a rear world of the beyond, that is, on a transcendence that is no less transcendent for being fully secular. With critique, you may debunk, reveal, unveil, but only as long as you establish, through this process of creative destruction, a privileged access to the world of reality behind the veils of appearances. Critique, in other words, has all the limits of utopia: it relies on the certainty of the world *beyond* this world. By contrast, for compositionism, there is no world of beyond. It is all about *immanence*.<sup>35</sup>

Latour argues that critique produces a void, because behind the presumed wall of delusion it seeks to reveal that there is nothing more real or true than what is felt or constructed. Whereas critique is “creative destruction,” composition is more circular: what is decomposed may be recomposed and so on. There is room for error, diplomacy, and negotiation in this concept, yet, according to Latour, at the end of critique is nihilism. Once the critical impulse, as “a *resource*,” is suspended and reimagined as “a *topic* to be carefully studied,” we can apply the action to nature.

Like critique, the Western idea of nature is dependent on “the discovery, revelation, and unveiling of what lay behind the subjective fog of appearances,” to which Science has been directed.<sup>36</sup> This Science (capital “S” to question and therefore challenge its

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<sup>35</sup> Latour, “‘Compositionist’ Manifesto” (2010), 475.

<sup>36</sup> Latour, “‘Compositionist’ Manifesto” (2010), 476.

reification) presumes nature speaks for itself without the mediation of scientists, thus producing (capital “N”) Nature. This Nature renders Science a police as an epistemological authority. In revealing the ultimate reality, however, Science determines, not only what was beyond disputability, but what is beyond discussion. Latour argues, “Nature is not a thing, a domain, a realm, an ontological territory... (but) is... a way of organizing the division between appearances and reality, subjectivity and objectivity, history and immutability.” The utility in compositionism is that it recognizes the relationship between science and the political. It recognizes the organizing power of Nature, to which Science and Reason (another product of Western imperial arrogance) at different historical moments were afforded the exclusive right of access. He suggests we suspend the “critical gesture” and do away with bifurcations that would distribute power among those who are allowed to speak and those who are to remain silent – we abandon Science, Reason, and Nature.

We compositionists want immanence *and* truth together... we want *matters of concern*, not only *matters of fact*. For a compositionist, nothing is beyond dispute. And yet, closure has to be achieved. But it is achieved only by the slow process of composition and compromise, not by the revelation of the world beyond.

These “matters of concern” acknowledge the politics of science and nature, not to dismiss science, but to recognize its privilege and relation to power; e.g., its utility to biotechnologies, corporate industry, and the like. Nature does not exist out there awaiting scientific discovery, identification, or nomenclature; it is composed. Latour’s compositionism, thus, posits nature as always already composed and, thus, always the political, if not permanent or beyond disputability. That said, he argues for composing

nature through the disjointed and discontinuous pieces – the animate and inanimate, the human and non-human, “all agents in space and time” – in order to capture the “diversity of agencies,” which thus increases “the disputability” of ideas about nature and “proliferates scientific controversies,” each of which will push us to take seriously “the political task of establishing the continuity of all entities that make up the common world.”<sup>37</sup> Yet, nature should not be thought of through an exclusively anthropocentric frame either. Accepting the two premises without careening off into extremes is the point of compositionism.

I would argue ‘Ōiwi articulations of nature and the sacred are neither disingenuous nor delusional, neither authentic nor invented, but are indeed each of these. Nature within ‘Ōiwi frames are certainly composed, yet I argue they are composed with respect, reverence, and responsibility as they address, not matters of fact, but matters of concern. Accepting Latour’s theory, when thinking of Hawaiian articulations of the natural or the sacred, I too want to emphasize “the slight cultural difference between what is *well* and what is *badly* constructed (or composed).”<sup>38</sup> In accord with a compositionist method, I want to emphasize the quality and objectives of Hawaiian constructions of the natural. This is not a relativist proposal, but rather one that encourages bridging gaps, recognizing the larger historical context and imposed hierarchies to police how the natural is to be conceived. This view considers the composition of nature beyond truth claims or authenticity language, which are often mobilized to undermine Kanaka articulations of

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<sup>37</sup> Latour, “‘Compositionist’ Manifesto” (2010), 484.

<sup>38</sup> Latour, “‘Compositionist’ Manifesto” (2010), 478.

cultural difference meant to counter the appropriations, misrepresentations, and enlistments.

Which constructions of nature are productive and which are destructive? Which vision of nature requires a perpetuation of settler colonialism and which exhibits a politics to solidarity and respect for Kanaka cultural and ontological difference? I want to apply this compositionist theory to a discursive analysis of Hawaiian articulations of the natural, in which nature is arguably composed well; anchored in a value system and ecological worldview that is pono, respectful, and balanced.

### *Composition of Nature and Composing the People*

One example of compositionism might be interpreted in Ty Kāwika Tengan's analysis of the term, 'Ōiwi, which illustrates the rootedness of the people in the land, the blood and soil so prominent among Hawaiians in the Mauna Kea debates. Although used in nineteenth century Hawaiian language newspapers alongside other common referents for aboriginal Hawaiians, such as "kanaka," "kanaka Hawaii," "po'e Hawaii," "kanaka maoli," "lahui Hawaii," and "lahui kanaka," etc., Tengan explains 'Ōiwi, "means 'indigenous/native' and literally roots indigeneity in the iwi (bones) by identifying the people with the kulāiwi ('bone plain' or native land) where they bury the iwi of their ancestors, the same land that feeds their families and waits for their bones to be replanted by their descendants."<sup>39</sup> There is a recognition of multiple agencies in this description of the life cycle that informs Kanaka indigeneity. The iwi of our people eventually decompose to become the 'āina itself, and Tengan composes the linkage of 'āina and

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<sup>39</sup> Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2008), 25.

Kanaka ‘Ōiwi; a return of the natural and cultural, which itself is a political gesture. Tengan’s deconstruction of the term and subsequent preference choices throughout his work indicate the symbolic and physical significance of iwi and ‘Ōiwi in a Kanaka worldview. I argue, in contrast to expressions of Mauna Kea as “a gift,” this is an example of composing nature, and Hawaiians, *well*. The perpetuation of the term ‘Ōiwi can be viewed as a political construction of Hawaiians, but it is not only political. Contemporary usage of ‘Ōiwi also acknowledges that the human is part of *real* life cycle. Thus, it also composes an ethic around those cycles, negotiating a particular view of and relationship to the natural. These cycles shape imaginations around ‘āina, nature, and ancestral homeland reinforcing traditional values of respect and responsibility. As the actual iwi *decompose*, the ‘āina in which they are buried *recomposes* that matter, which humans consume in the form of plants foods. The intellectual comprehension of such basic cycles and patterns render the continued use of terms like ‘Ōiwi part of the broader project of *composing* realities and the meanings, shaping our contemporary worlds, figuratively and substantively as a practice of self-determination.

Articulations of ‘āina represent another example of the ways in which ‘Ōiwi compose nature. Kame‘eleihiwa translates ‘āina as “that from which one eats” as a modification of the ‘ai, meaning to eat, to feed, and food. With an emphasis on its function, Maly and Maly translate ‘āina as, “that which sustains the people.”<sup>40</sup> ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui

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<sup>40</sup> Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 9; Kepā Maly and Onaona Maly, “Mauna Kea-Ka Piko Kaulana o ka ‘Āina” (*Mauna Kea-The Famous Summit of the Land*): A Collection of Native Traditions, Historical Accounts, and Oral History Interviews for: Mauna Kea, the Lands of Ka‘ohe, Humu‘ula and the ‘Āina Mauna on the Island of Hawai‘i, Prepared for The Office of Mauna Kea Management (Hilo: University of Hawaii-Hilo, 2005), 10.

describes the linkage between land, sustenance of the lāhui,<sup>41</sup> and its perpetuation for future generations. Referencing Handy, Handy, and Pukui, she elaborates on the oft-cited conjunction of ‘ai and na – a common nominalizer, which changes a verb into a noun – to signify “that which feeds.”<sup>42</sup> Comparing the connotation of feeding a people to the Western value of land as possession and commodity, ho‘omanawanui suggests Kanaka ‘Ōiwi consider nurturing all life in the ways one does a family member as a fundamental Kanaka value. She adds, “For Kānaka Maoli, the value of the ‘āina is not monetary; it is familial.” She deconstructs (*decomposes*?) different terms for types of people, which also use ‘āina or other terms for land, demonstrating “the close relationship between the two in our culture.” Terms for the autochthonous people of Hawai‘i include kua‘āina, maka‘āinana, kama‘āina, kupa ‘āina, and others.

Davianna McGregor described her ethnographic research among the kua‘āina of Ke‘anae-Wailuanui, Maui, explaining kua‘āina were those Kanaka who withdrew from mainstream society to live a simple, rural lifestyle.<sup>43</sup> Kua‘āina continued to speak Hawaiian through the rapid social changes and urbanization in other parts of Hawai‘i.

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<sup>41</sup> Leilani Basham, “Mele Lāhui: The Importance of Pono in Hawaiian Poetry,” in *Te Kaharoa*, Vol. 1, No. 1, (2008). In 19<sup>th</sup> century newspapers and recorded mele, lāhui was used to describe ‘the people’ through invoking such concepts as nation, race and people simultaneously and not one over the other. The term became relevant only at mid-century when distinction between ‘Ōiwi and foreigners became necessary within institutions, government, and social interactions.

<sup>42</sup> See ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, ““This Land Is Your Land, This Land Was My Land”: Kanaka Maoli versus Settler Representations of ‘Āina in Contemporary Literature of Hawai‘i,” in Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 124-5. Mahalo also to Noenoe Silva for this insight on the function of “na,” personal communication with the author.

<sup>43</sup> Davianna McGregor, *Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007).



They did back-breaking labor, maintained traditional farming and fishing practices, retained the akua (gods) of earlier generations and constructed altars and made offerings for them, observed the myriad of kapu (restrictions) on various hunting and fishing practices to assure recovery of populations, and “held that which is precious and sacred in the culture in their care” – i.e., cultivating Kanaka ‘Ōiwi life ways, thought worlds, and the connections between the people and the land.<sup>44</sup> For such reasons, the term kua‘āina is made up of two words, kua, or back, and ‘āina, or land, etc., which suggests something like the English term, “back country,” or, as McGregor suggests, “the backbone of the land.” The cycle of life, death, and recomposition are also embedded in the concept of kuleana, which stands in contrast to trivial appropriations of the term for purposes of undermining the value systems that would prohibit desecration of sacred lands and mismanagement of resources.

### *Kuleana and Pono*

Kuleana is the responsibility of the people to care for ‘āina, which assures the lāhui that the ‘āina will nourish our bodies, our descendants, and culture in return. This reciprocity is part of the kuleana of aloha ‘āina. McGregor translates kuleana as “ancestral lands,” because the kua‘āina today work and live as extended and immediate family units in isolated areas that are described as cultural kīpuka. Kīpuka are those pockets of pristine old growth forest that have remained untouched by lava flows over the years, which effectively preserved them; isolated from cross pollination, development, and other factors, sometimes for many miles. Metaphorically, cultural kīpuka are those

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<sup>44</sup> McGregor, *Nā Kua‘āina* (2007), 4.

places left intact despite the societal transformations, particularly after the alleged annexation of 1898. For generations, the ancestors of today's kua'āina carried out the same practices as their ancestors through the conservation and perpetuation of local and ancestral knowledges untouched from mainstream settler society. The term kua'āina reminds us of those who remain firm in the traditions of the kupuna, a kuleana many 'Ōiwi today embrace completely.

As mentioned above, kuleana is often translated as responsibility, obligation, duty, and privilege, but most commonly today the term is used as a simple translation for "responsibility," having its other etymological dimensions removed. For example, the idea that one's responsibilities are also a privilege speaks to the ethical significance placed on the term's pedagogical potential. The privilege of kuleana, however, is not like multicultural or settler colonial privilege: a kuleana in which the element of responsibility may be overshadowed by a privilege to do as one wills. In traditional times, it was important to instruct each new generation of the virtue that a life closely connected to the natural world possessed and from which biological life itself, if not pleasure and happiness, is derived. Kuleana connects to the land, because the greatest kuleana connects to the responsibilities individuals have to kupuna and to place. Ultimately, adherence to one's kuleana to aloha 'āina is believed to bring balance, harmony, and what is right, or pono.

Pono encompass multiple ideas at once, each relating to what is good and proper. In Pukui's *Hawaiian Dictionary*, among the translations of pono are, "Goodness, uprightness, morality, moral qualities, correct or proper procedure, excellence, wellbeing,

prosperity, welfare, benefit, behalf, and equity.”<sup>45</sup> Two applications in particular illustrate the quality of pono as something that is “in perfect order” and “a true condition of nature.” Kapali Lyon analyzed 19<sup>th</sup> century educator, advisor to chiefs and foreigners, and kū‘auhau (traditional historian), David Malo’s ethnography, *Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, and Nathaniel B. Emerson’s translations of the work on ancient Hawai‘i that resulted in his own, *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Lyon found in his near decade of editing Malo’s own manuscript, that Emerson’s handling of Malo’s “carefully organized treatment of socially approved and disapproved behaviors as understood in pre-Christian Hawai‘i,” which specified an important distinction between a Hawaiian duality of hewa and pono and the Western, Christian binary of good and evil, frequently obscured, misrepresented, or just ignored other relevant, important, or likely possible meanings embedded in Malo’s original work “proved alarming.”<sup>46</sup> For example, he analyzes Malo’s figure of pono as a social virtue that bears great significance through its emphasis on, not only individual behaviors, but those among collectives, which, according to Malo, promoted the fundamental value of accountability of humans in the eyes of others. Moreover, Lyons argues, Emerson ultimately, “dismissed Malo as cultural expert... substituted himself,” and intentionally manipulated Malo’s ethnography to impart a Christian morality where

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<sup>45</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1957), 340.

<sup>46</sup> Jeffrey (Kapali) Lyon, “Davida Malo, Nathaniel Emerson, and the ‘Sins’ of Hawaiians: An Analysis of Emerson’s *Hawaiian Antiquities* as a Guide to Malo’s *Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, in *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, Vol. 7, (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2011), 92.

none was intended, thus, “confounding...(h)ere, as elsewhere...Hawaiian and western values.”<sup>47</sup>

Pukui’s translation included the more ethical sentiment of, “Right... (and) concern,” but also its nineteenth century legal aspect as, “title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure...(and) province.”<sup>48</sup>

The connotation of family or ancestral land in McGregor’s notion of kuleana has historical context.

The recent dissertation by ‘Umi Perkins examined the legal dimensions of kuleana explaining how; translated as “native tenant rights,” its nineteenth century application affirmed “both a right to, and responsibility over, land for Hawaiians.”<sup>49</sup> It was also meant to preserve the moral aspects present in its etymology that, although establishing a system of private ownership of land that foreigners also enjoyed, would also protect the rights of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi through vested rights in all lands of the Kingdom. Much of the confusion among twentieth century scholars who misconstrued the 1850 Kuleana Act, an extension of the 1848 Māhele, as a colonial instrument of dispossession through Western privatization law actually stems from a “radical forgetting of place.”

The Māhele and Kuleana Act were not the travesties that contemporary scholars would have us think, nor an example of unmitigated agency on the part of Hawaiians. By the standards of the time, they created a broad ownership of land, but did not prevent alienation. Despite aspects of the process that preserved Hawaiian and

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<sup>47</sup> Lyon, “Davida Malo, Nathaniel Emerson, and the ‘Sins’ of Hawaiians” (2011), 123.

<sup>48</sup> Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, 179.

<sup>49</sup> Mark ‘Umi Perkins, “Kuleana: A Genealogy of Naive Tenant Rights,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Hawi‘i, 2013), vi.

Indigenous understandings of land, it was the economics of their situation and the processes of erasure and forgetting that led to alienation, rather than the design of the Māhele process itself. A clearer understanding of this design would allow for a reframing of the narrative of Hawaiian land distribution and later alienation.<sup>50</sup>

Ultimately, those “processes of erasure and forgetting that led to alienation” hinged on a subtle, but enormously significant, redefinition of a proviso that figured onto every Royal Patent, or original land title, issued through the Kuleana Act: “koe nae na kuleana o na kanaka ma loko,” which is generally translated as “reserving the rights of the native tenants.”<sup>51</sup> This phrase provides for the foundational principle of kuleana, or “native tenant rights.” Here, Perkins argues, the phrase “ma loko” (“inside”) is not considered in translations, but is assigned to gathering rights exclusively – as in the right to enjoy *access* on private property – rather than to its intended guarantee of the universal “vested rights” of all Kanaka to all lands in the Kingdom. He argues for a reading of “the term ‘kuleana’ (as) used in Kingdom law in the Lockean sense of having property *in* land,” thus, “koe nae na kuleana o na kanaka ma loko” will be read as “reserving the property rights of the kanaka *within* a given parcel of land.”<sup>52</sup> This vested interest in the land was embedded in the system by design, but expunged through “financial, procedural, bureaucratic and even discursive practices,” that amounted to the paradoxical “theft” of Hawaiian lands; or more accurately, the illegal transfer from Hawaiians to non-Hawaiians. Whereas historians have miscomprehended the legal structure of the Māhele system and the transition of land tenure as a method of alienating native land rights,

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<sup>50</sup> Perkins, “Kuleana,” (2013), 6-7.

<sup>51</sup> Perkins, “Kuleana,” (2013), 157, my emphasis.

<sup>52</sup> Perkins, “Kuleana,” (2013), 160-161.

Perkins argues, “(o)n the contrary, they *embedded* maka‘āinana rights to land and provided for unencumbered ownership.”<sup>53</sup> This was a revolutionary idea considering it protected both Hawaiians and (native and non-native) private landowners’ rights simultaneously, although foreigners “held land only as proprietary interests, and did not hold vested rights in the dominion of the Kingdom.”<sup>54</sup>

### *Towards An Indigenous Ecological Ethos*

I have suggested aloha ‘āina might be thought of as an ecological ethos. It consists of a mandate to treat the earth with reverence and use its resources for human benefit, but not at the expense of their continued benefit to future generations. The ethic of care for the natural, so instrumental to Hawaiian indigeneity, encourages a relationship to ‘āina, to these islands, and our natural environment that is pono. Such a conception of pono also requires specific human behavior to guarantee that we meet our kuleana and avoid irreparable damage.

Though with a very different etymology, culture, and set of connotations, a similar nexus of ideas has been expressed in Western conservationist discourses as “sustainability.” The idea of sustainability is shared among many different peoples of the world and state governments and is nothing exceptional or exclusive to Hawaiians or even indigenous peoples. However, although there are possibilities for achieving pono in the ambiguity of such a concept, the popular use of sustainability as a blanket term for everything from “a sustainable environment” to “sustainable development,” “sustainable

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<sup>53</sup> Perkins, “Kuleana,” (2013), 203.

<sup>54</sup> Perkins, “Kuleana,” (2013), 172.

military installations,” “sustainable economies,” to “sustainable profits,” renders the concept almost meaningless. However, in the ambiguity of the term, sustainability has managed to mobilize huge collectives of people in recent decades. By contrast, although aloha ‘āina like sustainability also emphasizes protection, conservation, preservation, and ecological accountability and interconnectedness, it does not carry the baggage of tolerance, which is why sustainability has become so ubiquitous. Aloha ‘āina does not accept degrees of damage or degrees of significant, substantial, and adverse impacts that will be made tolerable. There are no mitigative measures within the logic of aloha ‘āina. In learning to live aloha ‘āina and interrogating conventional relations society has to ‘āina, it is also not uncommon that terms like “resources,” “conservation,” and “management” begin to lose traction and relevance. To achieve pono within this ethic of aloha ‘āina, to relate to the natural with balance and respect, one cannot pay to pollute or bribe affected communities with money and proceed to damage their environment or desecrate their sacred places anyway. In contrast to sustainability or conventional models of human interaction with the natural, aloha ‘āina is far less anthropocentric, but perhaps less idealistic as well because of its embodiment of the material.

The composition of nature within the logic of aloha ‘āina is thus political because it offers the possibility of a common world that does not reduce important cultural differences to an idealized multiculturalism that sustains inherited, systemic, and institutional power. It also does not render the sacred space of Mauna Kea the gift it is said to be by the beneficiaries of U.S. imperialism, occupation, and settler colonialism. Such a common world will have to listen to Kanaka ‘Ōiwi on their own terms when they express how they view Mauna Kea to be a sacred piko connecting the gods and the

people, the heavens and earth, and the past and present: as a member of the collective family of which all Hawaiians are a part. Aloha ‘āina offers a practical view of the material world that recognizes the immanence of nature, but in so doing it produces a way of relating to the natural world informed by a kuleana to care and love the non-human, the inanimate, the Other. To examine the ways in which aloha ‘āina connects Kanaka ‘Ōiwi to notions of the sacred, we have looked at a nexus of mo‘okū‘auhau, kuleana, and pono. Next, I will examine the complex and contradictory articulations of liberal multiculturalism common among reluctant advocates of the Thirty Meter Telescope.



Chapter Five  
Kanakanaka 'Ōiwi and TMT Advocacy:  
Subjectivities at the Limits of Political Intelligibility

*(W)e must conceive discourse as a series of discontinuous segments whose tactical function is neither uniform nor stable. To be more precise, we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies.<sup>1</sup>*

*Introduction*

This chapter examines my interviews with two Kanaka 'Ōiwi and the discursive practices of a third. Each is a public figure and community leader; all support the Thirty Meter Telescope. One is an astronomer, the second is a Hawaiian language specialist, and the third is a master navigator of traditional ocean voyaging canoes. My analysis of the opinions of these three Kanaka interprets discursive practices within a larger historical context, as embedded within discourses by which knowledge and power have historically been distributed, delimited, and modified in patterns that shape, open up, and foreclose possible futures other than continuation of colonial logic. From these interviews, I learned that, often, seemingly fixed and distinct positions of advocacy and opposition to astronomy expansion become muddled upon closer inspection. There is no “sell out,” but rather a more dynamic process by which Hawaiians choose to participate within settler institutions. These complicating perspectives reveal practices of depoliticization and

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 100.

representations of historical relations that obscure possibilities for a critical analysis of ongoing colonialism, despite the presence of critical agency therein. Following Foucault, I analyzed this data by looking for the “discursive elements” that reveal unexpected hegemonies at work; they present contradictions that complicate a hasty assumption that power is synonymous with subjugation or domination. I interpret power as functioning through imbrications, entanglements, and contradictory effects of power. Present in these narratives is a discursive absenting and (re)presenting of the indigenous subject whose position within contemporary relations of power is generative of a tension disruptive of colonizing practices. The rhetoric and underlying logic animating these discursive formations were often paradoxical and always provocative. For example, it would seem counter intuitive to expect a Hawaiian to promote another observatory on a mountain considered sacred to many other Hawaiians, yet, this is frequently the case. Likewise, not every Kanaka experiences the pain of colonial hegemony the same way, let alone has the inclination to recognize its presence. Support, however, is generally conditioned on the guarantee of specific benefits and accommodations to be made for local communities; what the University of Hawai‘i terms “mitigation measures.” I questioned the representation of this support as majority consent and found broad diversity of ideological commitments across advocates and opponents of the TMT.

Rather than mapping these relations of power, I narrowed my research question, asking: How does power and its ruptures shape the ideologies and inflect the subjectivities of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, particularly those who support the TMT? How do the paradoxes of agency and contradiction inform processes by which astronomy expansion finds increasing support? How are complex identity formations emergent at the limits of

political intelligibility where popular assumptions about historical antagonisms are no longer reliable and seemingly antithetical discourses become entangled and productive? To what larger relations of power are these forms of agency, emergent identities, and ideological contradictions made to work? This chapter illustrates how settler colonialism is a constant, but always-incomplete process that is made anew in hegemonic discourses.

My goal in examining these discourses has been to look for ‘the political’ in our conversations and to locate the native. In working with ‘the native’ as a political subject – or, the indigenous subject –, I would identify presences and absences, the subject’s soundings and silences, visibility and invisibility. In responses to the question of TMT advocacy I present here is evidence that discourses operate as both “an instrument and an effect of power.” As Foucault suggests, discourse “transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.”<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, although indigenous agency and resistance display settler colonialism’s unfulfilled ambitions, I argue that advocacy discourses on the Thirty Meter Telescope do less to interrogate patterns of conventional or historical power relations – to expose scientific or capitalist privilege or the geopolitical within settlement practices and empire’s mobility, for example – as they do to affirm and reproduce them.

My first observation is that the political becomes removed in these discourses. In some of my interviews, positions of support for astronomy expansion revealed a narrative practice in which the political drops out, creating a void where multicultural narrations of liberal inclusion supplant indigenous claims to genealogical based land claims and cultural differentiation. Interviewees echoed the coopting rhetorical practices of the

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<sup>2</sup> Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (1978), 101.

University and the State that affirm settler absorption and re-presentation of Kanaka indigeneity as imagined, constructed, and political, yet essential to overcoming social antagonisms. Absorption is a process that, according to Omi and Winant, reveals a “recognition that movement demands...(are)...often greater threats as rallying cries for minority opposition than they (are) after they (have) been adopted in suitably moderate form.”<sup>3</sup> The liberal model of inclusion envelops indigenous assertions of difference to delimit a redistribution of power, the foreclosure of which restricts the possible futurity of Mauna Kea and social relations. As a form of self-legitimation, rhetoric of accountability to Hawaiians and reformed stewardship practices have become popular, but are now cited by Hawaiians as well who appear convinced by promises rather than precedence. The giant telescope proposal and astronomy expansion can only be figured as benign, universally imperative, and inevitable when the political is externalized and distorted.

My second observation is that native participation in Mauna Kea astronomy is rationalized through discursive practices that reflect power’s movement. Hawaiians are imagined as a “stakeholders” in the mountain’s “resources,” rather than as indigenous rights holders to ancestral and occupied territories. Hawaiians who advocate for the TMT discursively advance a multicultural logic of contemporary social harmony through inclusion that avoids difficult questions of knowledge and power or historical context. I found in my interviews that astronomy expansion advocacy appears less problematic when people are relieved of the burden of having to account for Hawaiians’ historical struggle with settlement, encroachment, and desecration. It becomes easier to swallow when advocacy is couched within liberal historical terms of “coexistence.”

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<sup>3</sup> Michael Omi & Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States, From the 1960s to the 1990s*, Second Ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 106.

A third trend I have observed is that astronomy expansionists tend to read science and Western scientific priorities as self-evident and politically neutral, indifferent. Even if there is some expressed criticism, science's claims to disinterested neutrality and objective knowledge production are often treated as unproblematic. This is particularly so for the field of astronomy in which scientists pride themselves on practicing a comparatively non-violent form of science in merely *observing* celestial phenomena. The knowledge produced by astronomers is also viewed, not as a distinctly Western knowledge – i.e., knowledge produced within a certain historical trajectory with its specific relations of power and its framework of established (if culturally provincial) assumptions about the world –, but instead, like one astronomer told me, as “basic human knowledge” everyone should know, like one's anatomy. In other words, the West is universalized. Also taken for granted are the universality of “scientific methods,” the cultural (and capitalist) imperative of “discovery,” and the compulsion to search for “truth” in nature and the universe. These endeavors are thought of as essential to the wellbeing of all humans in very paternalistic terms strikingly similar to earlier logics that were instrumental in civilizational and missionary discourses that rationalized colonial occupations and westward expansion across Turtle Island.

Foucault describes a method for reading discourses as a means with which to identify, not, “what strategy they derive from, or what moral divisions they accompany, or what ideology–dominant or dominated–they represent the political,” but instead, to render intelligible, “their tactical productivity (what reciprocal effects of power and knowledge they ensure) and their strategical integration (what conjunction and what force relationship make their utilization necessary in a given episode of the various

confrontations that occur).”<sup>4</sup> In reading the responses of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi who make a strong case for astronomy expansion, however conditioned this advocacy is, my analysis is less concerned with the intentions of these men, than with highlighting, “the headquarters that presides over (their) rationality.”<sup>5</sup> For each of these Hawaiians are both subjects and objects of power, reflecting as much as (re)producing that which constitutes the rational and the political.

### *Getting Past Colonialism*

Paul Coleman, a University of Hawai‘i Institute for Astronomy (IfA) professor of astrophysics, occupies a unique position as both a Hawaiian *and* an astronomer – a subjectivity that has exposed him to scrutiny and resentment. His thoughts on astronomy, the TMT and its opposition, the Hawaiian cultural revival of the last four decades, and colonialism in general are insightful for understanding the complicated choices many of us are required to make within a settler colonial context.<sup>6</sup> His sentiments around the latter, in particular, demonstrated skepticism around contemporary Hawaiian cultural practices and political movements. However, as a scientist, his skepticism of unverifiable phenomena is not surprising.

Coleman described experiencing racial prejudice from both white colleagues and other Kanaka over the years. Among astronomers he was occasionally treated as a token native and a cultural informant. Once he witnessed racist jokes told casually without

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<sup>4</sup> Omi & Winant, *Racial Formation* (1994), 102.

<sup>5</sup> Omi & Winant, *Racial Formation* (1994), 95.

<sup>6</sup> Paul Coleman, interview by author, May 8, 2013, Mānoa, digital recording. An informal interview was conducted on June 6, 2013 during the course of a day traveling from Hilo to the summit of Mauna Kea and back.

regard for his presence. At a court hearing, his haole colleagues laughed about “those guys in the capes,” referring to members of a Native Hawaiian civic club. He told me he “had to play the police,” and snapped at them, saying, “look, it’s my culture. You guys are a guest here. You need to deal with it. You need to deal with it in a respectful way.”

However, Coleman suggested he has received more disrespect from other Hawaiians over the years than from astronomers. He has been called a “sell-out” and a “coconut,” for his support of astronomy, which he thought was “a particularly haole insult. For a Hawaiian to say that, is kind of stupid,” since, “the coconut was one of our most cherished plants.” About these Hawaiians too quick to judge, he said, “you guys are so stupid you don’t even know your own culture.” He tries to approach the insults with humility and understanding, even though some Hawaiians “are part of this game to keep their name in the highlight (*sic*) or to get their job paid for.” He said he tries to “educate them,” but “after you have the same conversation with the same person eight times over the last ten years and it’s always the same questions and you always explain it and they always think they got it and they forget it ten seconds later,” he realizes there will always be “a small percentage of people” who just disagree with astronomy; i.e. for the sake of rejecting whatever they perceive as not “Hawaiian”:

So people used to tell me, “Eh, what are you. You call yourself a Kanaka Maoli, but you believe these things?!” I say, no I call myself a Kanaka *Mākua*. A *mākua* meaning *adult*, and sometimes as an adult, you have to realize that there are some choices you’re going to make, that are going to be hard for some people. But you make the choices that are the best for the majority of the people.

Coleman expressed frustration, a resolve to ignore antagonists. When negotiations fail, he suggests,

If you're too strict one way or another, then what it's going to tell me is that no matter how much I discuss with you, you're never going to change your mind.

Then, I guess, we're just going to have to leave them behind.

This is a common perspective: some will always present an unreasonable, hasty, or thoughtless opposition based on sentiment rather than serious contemplation – this is to be expected. The point is to push through despite the opinions of stubborn people who appear to oppose merely for the sake of opposition.

Indeed, Coleman has formed a unique perspective on the question of astronomy expansion. Yet, while he complicates popular notions of Kanaka-settler antagonisms surrounding the debate, some comments reflect adherence to neoliberalism and confidence in Western modernity. For example, the conventional frame suggests the technological potential of the TMT and its promise of scientific discovery and economic stimulus may be justifiable through a multicultural rhetoric of coexistence among astronomers and Hawaiians. Yet, this coexistence presupposes a Western imperative and defends the West's monopoly on reason and rational thought. The terms of this coexistence are posited as universal and never called into question. This frame of coexistence does not require equal distribution or consensus. Western conceptions of progress and modernity also proliferate in conventional discourses.

I commented that many TMT opponents understand the TMT proposal in symbolic terms, arguing that if further development on Mauna Kea is allowed, no place is entirely safe from development – nothing can be off limits. He contended,



But that is true anywhere. And this isn't development in the way most people talk about development. Most people talk about development as the condominium or the hotel or whatever. This doesn't add people to the square footage of the mountain. Well, ok 10-20 more people than are already there. But I think what they are afraid of is that after the TMT goes up there will have to be the giant hotel next to it to keep the world's wealthiest happy, y'know? I don't think that's the correct way to think about it. I think the correct way to think about it is that the only reason Mauna Kea is a prime site is because there is no development on it. You develop it more, you develop it right out of being a worthwhile place to do astronomy.

It is only by evacuating the political that the TMT may appear benign. Notions of development and detriment are often narrowly conceived, reducible to unsubstantive comparisons and unnuanced critiques of the tourist industry as an isolated phenomenon, the sole transgression deserving of critical attention. Several operations are active here. First, there is an assumption that the mountain is *not* yet overdeveloped. Second, there is an implication that because the northern plain is undeveloped, one project is harmless. The necessity of its development thus becomes obvious. In order to appreciate the TMT, one must dissociate it from other offenses, such as tourism and militarism rendered more insidious than scientific development. However, I would contend that tourism and militarism are not uniquely problematic or unrelated to scientific development on Mauna Kea, but instead provide the context. They appear as a prop by which giant telescopes may be imagined as harmless or less damaging. Thus, by delinking astronomy from seemingly worse or more adverse forms, the TMT is detached from the political.

Worry about the expected adverse impacts of the TMT may be curtailed through comparison to other excesses:

What a lot of people don't realize is that science is really a very small part of the budget of any country. Look at the United States' budget. It's something like \$.52 out of every dollar goes to military. Twenty something cents goes to health. Science is something like, nothing: point zero zero zero zero zero... pennies. It's that people like to think, "Awe those rich astronomers," or y'know, "that's a rich project." But, it may be a billion-dollar project but it's *our only* billion-dollar project... Now if you can prove that it (the TMT) had military applications, you could build it right away, because, of course, the military has all the money. And they have all the money everywhere.

TMT advocates often resist ruminating on power. Astronomy's condition of possibility in Hawai'i is precisely the U.S. military. It owes a debt to imperialism in the Pacific. Astronomy in this frame may also be indebted to the recent vilification of the tourism, which has come under harsh scrutiny as a hyper-consumptive industry indicative of capitalism's worst excesses. For the logic of comparisons to exonerate astronomy as not derivative of colonial processes – as a lesser offense – various other points must be expunged. For example, the politics of post-statehood tourism and the military-driven economy of Hawai'i must be removed. The Hawaiian movement, narratives of struggle, and resistance, and the historical relations of power indexed by other local perspectives must be removed for such comparisons to function. Moreover, to accept the argument of scale through a comparison of astronomy to military spending is to also accept the self-

evidence of militarism and the settler state. During the interview, a critique of these relations was absent. Conflating big science to “learning” is also problematic:

Is it (the TMT) worth the investment of money? So, my perspective has always been, no matter what, learning more about things is always better than not... you know, we say we’re such a rich nation and all that. So we should be able to keep doing science, but you need to be realistic, and you need to be part of the world and understand that many people in parts of the world are suffering. Are you taking away from possible things that can help them? Well, I feel that as long as there’s a \$50 billion-dollar budget that goes to military, I don’t care because we can keep going if they’re willing to.

Big science and spending on astronomy expansion becomes defensible in the absence of politics. The reasoning suggests the military should not be *the only* institution to enjoy the benefits of America’s wealth and security. Yet, the source of such affluence and power is hardly considered. Astronomers should get a cut as well. According to the logic, to be realistic means one should expect casualties as a normal consequence of life. The conventions of our global order are not to be inspected. Casualties indicate a properly functioning system, however difficult it is for some to understand. The limits of this reasoning are profound. Such reckoning asks only: How bad is it, compared to something worse? The absence of Hawaiians in the rationalization (of astronomy) through comparison (to a greater excess) is accompanied by an absencing of violence. By invoking a cliché dichotomy – of science vs. military – science appears victimized, unfairly short-changed by national defense priorities. Yet, U.S. militarism is relieved of

accounting for its historical and continued privilege; the continued aggressions of empire. The military becomes a prop for astronomy's exoneration.

Phrases like, "the correct way of seeing things" or "the correct way of thinking about it" came up occasionally in our conversation. In discussing the new telescope proposal, Coleman says he believes people should not look at the TMT or astronomy expansion as "an annoying thing," but instead "with pride," as something that will "help the local condition" and as something Mauna Kea and local communities need; as something Hawaiians deserve. For him, because the Thirty Meter Telescope is anticipated to be the best in the world and because Mauna Kea is considered the best place in the world for astronomy, the TMT deserves Mauna Kea. Not only does it belong, Coleman argues that obstruction to the telescope is tantamount to driving Hawaiian scientists away from their home.

When you're teaching your kids in the eighth grade about biology in New England and you're teaching them about weather systems somewhere else, and you're not teaching them about volcanology, and you're not teaching them about oceanography, and not teaching them about astronomy, then you are teaching your children to go away. Right? So what you need is a change in perspectives so that you start teaching your kids to fill the jobs that are gonna become available here. And there will be a couple thousand jobs, in and around astronomy – not necessarily astronomers, because – oh, yeah, there will be some of those – but most of the jobs, three-fourths of the jobs associated with this effort will be other things. So why can't every single one of those positions be filled by someone

from here – and from the Hawaiian perspective, someone who is a Hawaiian kid, y’know? Why not?

This subtle reframing of a common criticism about standardized curricula, here works to distinguish and, therefore, validate astronomy again, because astronomy can now be re-imagined as an ostensibly “Hawaiian” curriculum, but one that is denied to Hawaiians. Grouping astronomy with ocean, volcanological, or geological sciences – each of which is arguably no more indigenous than astronomy, despite the implication – again posits astronomy as attacked, and by further implication vilifies any opposition. Moreover, to deny astronomy is to deny education and employment for, not only “our kids,” but for all Hawaiians. Thus, the TMT is figured as a generous contribution to the community. Yet, even the limits of these jobs escapes scrutiny. It is known that once the TMT has been built, the majority of jobs will cease. Likewise, remaining jobs will require unskilled labor. Some will require training, but there are no promises that they will afford any specific privilege to local residents or Hawaiians. With multiculturalism threatened and local people and Hawaiians both standing to lose if the TMT is rejected, capitalism – vis-à-vis big science, employment, future contracts, and the promise of economic prosperity – emerges distressed and defensible.

Although Coleman did not avoid discussing politics in our conversation, colonialism was narrowly conceived. He seemed to use the term as if it is synonymous with force. Colonialism was thereby reduced to a forlorn, archaic, and irrelevant aberration of history – its invocation today simply a trend.

Unfortunately there’s this whole colonialism thing going on, and so, you have to, somehow, get past that. It’s kind of easy for us (astronomers) to get past that

because I don't feel like a colonial person... I feel like I'm one of the slaves! Ha-ha! But it's not like... it's not like I feel like I'm going to *dominate* anybody, y'know? "You are going to do this!" Y'know? "Here, I offer you a \$100,000 a year job! You will take it!" Nah, but... So I think from the astronomy perspective it's less of a big leap to get over that ...

As Coleman weighs the promise of jobs and community payouts against a suspect colonialism, he implied that an analysis of colonialism and a politics of history might be distractions – that to address historical relations might be little more than *just* a political tactic. While Mauna Kea astronomy does not exist under conditions of ongoing colonialism, astronomy expansion is depoliticized.

When I asked about his thoughts on which of the petitioners' arguments in the TMT contested case were least convincing, he started with a point made about view planes. The petitioners argue that culturally relevant view planes would be threatened by obstruction should the TMT be built. Coleman suggests that because their demand was only for a moratorium on new development and not a complete removal of everything from the summit, he views the petitioners' demands as selective and, therefore, disingenuous – a ploy for public or judicial sympathy. Anything short of a firm demand for the complete decommissioning of all observatories and removal of the road is a sign of political maneuvering, insincerity, and obstructionism. If the protestors are going to call foul by invoking cultural practices on the mountain, they have to commit:

So, are they willing to walk the two and a half to three-day journey for those views? If they are, then I feel much better about their argument. I feel then, ok, they seriously mean this. But if they just want to get rid of the telescopes, but

they still want to use the road that was put there for astronomy, then they haven't really thought it through. You can't pick and choose which things you want or don't want. I mean, I guess you can, but to me it means that you're not... you don't have an integrated point of view, (or) perspective. You're just taking the best, y'know? If they had taken the totality of the perspective, then I agree with that. To me that is much more interesting... but, yeah, I, the perspectives on the mountain, I would believe it more, I would believe that it's something they are firmly entrenched in if their whole perspective also included removing the roads.

The challenge appears almost to center on a sense of resentment concerning a perceived deception – a pretense of injury. There is a dismissal of the contemporary practice of culture, reducible to an insistence on saving “views,” which thereby trivializes the opposition's concern over irreparable damage and harm to the environment, culture, and landscape as well as the indigenous community through subsequent legal implications. This is followed by a dismissal of concerns regarding the telescope's expected size and a reframing of those concerns as merely obstructionist politics. The argument of threatened cultural practices is thereby diminished as well as those very practices themselves. A gender analysis is relevant here. In framing the concern for view planes as a distraction or as deceitful, there is also a presumption of knowing the petitioners, understanding of their intentions, and an identification of tactics. According to the logic, the cultural practitioners who are fighting the TMT in the courts do not, but should, realize they are indebted to astronomy: How else would they have access to the summit if not for the roads that were built for access to the observatory? Similarly, an all-or-nothing challenge such as this resonates with a feminist critique of dominant forms of

competition that have been identified as characteristic of conventional (Western) masculinities. While the challenge also presumes to identify a fickle opposition, in mainstream imaginaries such indecision is gendered feminine and associated with weakness. The preoccupation with “truths” behind appearances likewise may be linked to masculine assertions of omniscience – the capacity to adequately identify deceptive claims and the courage to interrogate the motivations of the TMT opposition. The model of challenge also implies there is some purity or fast rule to environmental or indigenous activism and legal engagements when they are actually always, necessarily diverse, tactical, and fluid, however contradictory they may be. Contradiction is a product of settler coloniality. Moreover, it should not go without saying that many TMT opponents *do* want the road removed as well as the telescopes.

The multiple concerns of the petitioners are not so much irrational as they are potentially threatening to the TMT and this aspect presents the greatest concern for astronomy expansion advocates. I would suggest that what constitutes the political is not in the supposed insincerity or alibi of view plane obstruction, but is instead in the dismissal of that concern itself, which I interpret has an effect of depoliticizing the expansion debate. When Coleman argues, “You can’t just pick and choose which things you want or don’t want,” he implies the giant structure of the proposed telescope (expected to be visible from Waimea to Hāmākua) and the road (which is not visible from below) are *equally* offensive or threatening to Hawaiians and cultural practice. To



argue for the removal of one but not the other is somehow seen as haughty, capricious, or unreasonable – traits associated in Western conventions with women and natives.<sup>7</sup>

As mentioned above, reconciling an identity as an astronomer, on the one hand, and a Hawaiian, on the other, presents unique challenges. Coleman told a story of returning to Hawai‘i for a new job after years of living abroad. One of the first things he did upon his return was attend one of the Keck Outrigger contested case meetings and observed “a hundred people going against astronomy and maybe” two or three astronomers being scorned and shamed by the majority. He explains asking himself why he returned:

...well, look I was in a great job (before moving home), I was, y’know, tenure track, y’know. Why did I come back for this? They (Hawaiians) don’t want astronomers here. So, I can continue doing my astronomy from all over the world. I don’t need this kind of grief. But then I realized that because of who I am, by this unique, well not unique, but ah, strange – having been born an astronomer... uh, born a Native Hawaiian, I can talk to people, I can use their language, I know what they’re talking about. So, yeah, I, actually, after two years, we, I had just started doing this – mostly talking to people and going to OHA and going to y’know, all the contested case meetings and all the hearings and talking to Hawaiian groups, and.... And just fortunately my life just became much easier when Richard Ha and that group of Big Island folks joined on and got real excited (about the TMT)...

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<sup>7</sup> Such an analysis has been offered by Catherine V. Scott, “Tradition and Gender in Modernization Theory,” in *The Postcolonial Science and Technology Studies Reader*, Sandra Harding, ed. (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2011), 290-309.

Coleman's experience with the tension between his chosen career path and his precarious relationship with Hawaiian activist communities represents the need for a more nuanced analysis of Mauna Kea astronomy than what is readily available at the moment. This is not solely a tension between astronomers and Hawaiians, but is instead much larger, institutional, and rooted in colonial relations of power within which we are all implicated. He explained how he gradually came to embrace his position as a Native Hawaiian advocate for what he believes in. He also embraced the idea of this last telescope considering the requirements of his discipline – but so long as this is *the last*. Coleman believes that with the TMT, no other telescope will be proposed, approved, or built on the summit because the only possible next best thing would be actually viewing the universe from orbit. He suggested that the TMT will be the last observatory on Mauna Kea. He also sees himself as bridging communities and hopes people may develop a fuller understanding of astronomy and how it is in the interests of Hawaiians to give astronomy a chance.

I think that in a sense, with astronomy you can, y'know, not to make it anymore important, self-important than it already is, but in a sense we're doing one of the best things that humans can do. We're just here to find answers. We're not killing anybody. We're not going to sell our things on the side. We're trying to advance our knowledge, maybe for the betterment of people, who knows, maybe just because they want to know, because it's curiosity.

There is a tension between, on the one hand, a science committed to the universal benefit humans and, on the other, a science for science's sake. I am also struck by the connection between notions of Western and scientific exceptionalism. That is,

astronomy's insistence on value-neutrality and claims that astronomers can provide answers to existential questions about Earth's origins resemble ethnocentric assertions of exceptionalism animating Western society more generally. This is how astronomy asserts itself as a benign and universal science, despite the contradiction of requiring contested space; and in the case of the TMT, another portion of Mauna Kea. Scientific exceptionalism might be understood as a mapping of a Western ontology over a prior, indigenous ontology. In this sense, discourses of astronomy's benignancy and benevolence also suggest Mauna Kea is not only about land and resources, but also about being and belonging. Astronomers belong to Mauna Kea and the mountain to astronomers.

Coleman shared his views that astronomy is aligned with Hawaiian traditions of stargazing and navigation. He equates scientists with kahu, a term that may be translated as priest or guardian, regent, caretaker, or minister.

...since Hawaiians have always been so intimately connected with astronomy, I think doing astronomy on one of the best mountains in the world for it and as guests of the host culture, that's, I think is a great thing. And I think it fits in with the Hawaiian perspective of kahuna and a normal person, the maka'āinana, because a kahuna is a guy who learned a lot of science and his craft and he is an expert. And so you leave those things for the experts and the rest of normal mortals we do the things that normal mortals do.

Coleman explained this notion of belonging, reasoning that because historically only skilled kahu with extensive training and expert knowledge about the stars and heavens were permitted to travel to the summit (which is itself a questionable claim), it is only

reasonable that Mauna Kea remains a restricted site and exclusive to astronomers today. Exemplary of the contradictions, enlistments, and ruptures of settler coloniality, this narrative indicates an adoption of conventional thinking about the primacy of Western knowledge and signifies the settler logic of replacement. In some instances, I felt it was easy to identify with the opinion that astronomy is essential for human knowledge about our place in the universe, but at other moments the assumption seems to collapse difference in ways that uphold rather than question Western cultural imperatives and supremacy. This collapse of cultural difference into an enveloping human imperative functions to reproduce the violence of colonial representation. Some articulations of power leave little room for consideration of the possibility that colonialism today is real, continues in myriad forms, effects our daily lives, and is often hidden in plain sight.

Coleman suggested that TMT opponents believe astronomers are just “dominators up there showing us (Hawaiians) what we have to do or what’s good for us.” He said that unless people begin seeing themselves as part of astronomy – see their uncles or cousins working in astronomy or “studying to become astronomers,” then activities on the summit will always remain alien or threatening to the community. He also suggested that some people get on board the opposition frenzy without fully thinking it through.

It’s (like) a knee-jerk reaction and a lot of... (the) reaction (of the community) was, oh, it’s like, it’s Hawaiians against someone else. So they just go on the Hawaiian side. We see this all the time. Whereas if they stop and thought and heard all of the arguments, they might not agree with that Hawaiian perspective. He is saying everyday people tend to fall back on a default sympathy for impassioned activists whose emotive responses can be persuasive, if not unreasonable. At times,

Coleman identifies with Hawaiians who emphasize cultural differentiation, but in other moments, he is also suspicious of what he perceives as exaggerated displays of cultural identity. Although he points out contradictions on both sides of the debate, his responses in our interviews consistently demonstrated a resolve to accept the prevailing usage of Mauna Kea for astronomy and its current expansion. Like many expansion advocates, he is unconcerned with colonialism and it is in the absence that astronomy expansion becomes depoliticized.

In our interviews, I found it difficult to accept the evacuation of the political or to identify with the cultural authority from which astronomy speaks. However, I was also challenged to move towards a particular difference, to self-reflect, and to try to understand political views radically divergent from my own. What if coexistence meant an active commitment to dismantling settler colonialism? Is it possible to have a TMT project and to undermine the legacy of dispossession by which the first telescopes emerged in the late sixties? These considerations resulted in my opposition to the frame of coexistence despite my respect for those who desire it within a narrow vision, reminding me of the complexities of this debate and why it is such a volatile issue. Here is someone who undercuts the model of a rigid settler-native binary, who embodies an active agency within settler colonialism and with unselfish intentions. Yet some comments affirm colonial rationale, such as through the suggestion that colonialism is illusory or exists only through overt dominations. In restricting what constitutes a reasonable and, thus, legitimate politics regarding Mauna Kea astronomy, the position confines Kanaka to an indigeneity that is not self-determined, but is instead assigned according to a Western intellectual, institutional, and cultural authority. Moreover, that

this determination of legitimate political praxis comes not just from settler communities but also from Hawaiians, it speaks to the complex nature of settler coloniality in Hawai‘i more broadly. Despite colonialism’s ruptures and the agency of Hawaiians within its institutions, conventional relations of power remain inadequately questioned.

### *An Impossible World*

In our interview, UH-Hilo assistant professor of Hawaiian language and cultural researcher, Larry Kimura, also shared thoughts on issues surrounding Mauna Kea, its religious and cultural value, the historical context of Mauna Kea astronomy, the Hawaiian Renaissance, and his familial connections to the mountain. One such family story was the famous episode in history of Queen Emma’s journey to the summit in 1880, an expedition led by Kimura’s great grandfather who, as a paniolo, was a kama‘āina of the area.<sup>8</sup>

Kimura is a prominent figure in the Hawaiian community, renowned for establishing Punana Leo Hawaiian Language Immersion Schools as well as well-respected for his scholarship and teaching of the language at UH Hilo and for the hundreds of oral history interviews he conducted in Hawaiian throughout the 1970s and ‘80s with some of the last manaleo, or native speakers. The recordings he collected remain a treasured archive that researchers and educators continue to use today.

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<sup>8</sup> A paniolo is a cowboy and a kama‘āina is often translated as “one born of a place.” See Pukui & Elbert, *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, (1986).

Larry Kimura is currently Hawaiian Cultural Planner and Interpreter for the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo’s ‘Imiloa Astronomy Center.<sup>9</sup> Since 2000, he has volunteered on Kahu Kū Mauna (KKM), an appointed council that advises the Mauna Kea Management Board, the Office of Mauna Kea Management (OMKM), and the UH Hilo Chancellor on matters concerning Hawaiian culture within the University’s Management Areas.<sup>10</sup>

Kimura defies a stereotypical image of the anti-establishment Native Hawaiian, accepting instead a Western frame of modernity and progress. He is critical of those who cling to a romanticized picture of a utopic indigenous past and recognizes the hybridity of contemporary Hawai‘i society and the contradictions and ambivalence it invites to our communities. My interest in Kimura’s relationship to Mauna Kea mainly concerned his unique subject position as a Kanaka ‘Ōiwi known to work closely with and at times on behalf of the University in matters relating to astronomy. In the course of our two-hour interview, I learned that he neither condemns nor adamantly defends Mauna Kea astronomy, but has consented to this expansion providing specific limits are observed.<sup>11</sup> He advocates for mainstream participation, which I interpret as an approach to diplomacy that favors liberal ideologies and instrumentalist pragmatism over anti-colonial dissent. As with Paul Coleman, I found his narration of differences between American and

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<sup>9</sup> ‘Imiloa is a “\$28 million, NASA-sponsored, UH-Hilo-operated venture” whose mission is to “to honor Maunakea by” weaving “astronomy and Hawaiian culture into a compelling story of human exploration and voyaging.” See, ‘Imiloa website, Available at: <http://www.imiloahawaii.org/>. Accessed on May 13, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> “Kahu Kū Mauna,” Office of Mauna Kea Management website, Available at: <http://www.malamamaunakea.org/management/kahu-ku-mauna>. Accessed on May 13, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Larry Kimura, Interview by the author, June 7, 2013.

Kanaka worldviews as being both complex and contradictory, reflecting the tone of ambiguity in articulations of contemporary indigeneity when detached from a politics of colonialism.

Larry Kimura has been criticized over the years for his work with the University, which he described with some ambivalence. When asked to co-chair the Mauna Kea Advisory Committee in 1999, a group tasked with gathering public input on the proposed UH Mauna Kea Science Reserve Management Plan, he described his invitation by the University as “typical,” noting an institutional trend of dispatching Hawaiians to gauge the climate of opinion among other Hawaiians, which often places the individual representative in a precarious position. From the “hot plate” and into the “frying pan,” as he put it, the committee recorded many hours of public testimony that were largely critical of the University and astronomy expansion. The work of facing public opposition and administering these meetings in many ways relieved the University of the burden of accountability to the community. This is the institution identified with the desecration, pollution, and damage of Mauna Kea, yet the University’s Board of Regents or Chancellors did not themselves conduct the meetings.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The overwhelming public sentiment in the transcripts of the three 1999 Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan public meetings (Waimea, Kailua-Kona, and Hilo) was opposition to the plan and outrage about astronomy expansion. See, for example, Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, “Transcript of Public Meeting on the Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan,” May 24-27, 1999, Transcribed from video recorded by Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, (Nā‘ālehu: Hawai‘i 2005). In chapter six, I explain how the data gathered, in part, from these public meetings was eventually deposited in the UH’s Comprehensive Management Plan and the TMT Environmental Impact Statement. These two documents were used to persuade the public and the State of the University’s reformation and newfound “cultural sensitivity” towards the “host culture.” Also in chapter six, I discuss the 1998 legislative audit that found UH management of the summit to be deficient.



Although Kimura at times represents UH and, thus, may be associated with a position of some authority and privilege, he has not been tricked or coerced; he has agency in these roles and he articulated a critical self-reflection about such participation. For me, his story complicates the idea of liberal inclusion within settler institutions because his notion of “mainstream participation” speaks to Foucault’s conception of power’s productive qualities. As “relations of power are not in a position of exteriority with respect to other types of relationships (economic processes, knowledge relationships...), ... but are immanent in” them,<sup>13</sup> I find Kimura’s position within the University and stance on the TMT, astronomy expansion, and indigenous resistance reflective of “the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibriums which occur in” the more general relations of power characteristic of Hawai‘i’s settler colonialism. Agency and participation constitute hegemony, which frame and limits the outcomes of inclusion. However, Kimura’s responses also forced my critical re-examination of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi enlistments into and adoptions of settler colonial forms because, power is “everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere.”<sup>14</sup> If “resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power,”<sup>15</sup> even Kimura’s seeming consent to astronomy expansion, I suggest, instead presents a paradox of contradiction and indeterminacy that may often affirm, but also frequently cuts across established power relations. The paradoxical function of the interstitial space, however, tends less to question or halt than advance the end logic of replacement. Conventional power relations are reproduced in the nuance of contradiction and agency.

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<sup>13</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality* (1978), 94.

<sup>14</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality* (1978), 94.

<sup>15</sup> Foucault, *History of Sexuality* (1978), 95.

Our conversation presented two important themes: participation and evolution. First, Kimura makes a strong case for why Hawaiians should not divest from conventional discourses and institutions entirely, but to instead participate in them as a way of achieving immediate and material change.<sup>16</sup> He explained the benefits of a strategy of participation, but without identifying mainstream institutions as existing within or because of colonial processes or power relations. Secondly, he argues that working with the University and the astronomy community is necessary for Hawaiians to “evolve,” suggesting that without evolution, Hawaiians will become stagnant and therefore remain ineffective, stranded in a self-imposed repression. Initially, I found Kimura’s responses to be cryptic and non-committal to any particular politics, but eventually I began interpreting this as a politics of liberal diplomacy. His subject position is, in my opinion, paradoxical: at times, he appears highly critical of the power animating the State and University, yet, at other times he trivializes resistance and the TMT opposition. The established ideological order is, thus, left intact. His thinking, thus, provoked new questions about methods for navigating settler colonialism and hegemony – the affirming roles Hawaiians play – in contemporary Hawai‘i.

In reference to the politics and activism of the post-statehood years, I asked what the resistance to astronomy looked like back in the ‘70s. He told me, “this thing called astronomy wasn’t something easily comprehended. I don’t even know if it’s even comprehended so much today.” I asked if he recalls *any* opposition to astronomy in those early days, and he simply stated, “No,”

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<sup>16</sup> Kimura never used this term, but this is my interpretation of the benefits he described such participation may yield.

...and this is why astronomers ask us, as Hawaiians or local people, “where were Hawaiians back then? Why is only now (the protests)?” That’s a good question. And I think because Hawaiians were not really Hawaiians yet... the Hawaiian Renaissance was in the beginning of ‘69. So this is after the first telescopes were just going up. So, an awareness of what’s happening to the indigenous people, happened like, you could say, that so-called Renaissance phase, was ten years – if it’s ‘69, that’s ten years after statehood – ‘makes sense. Because the push to become a state was very strong, from Hawaiians or whatever ethnic group you’re talking about. And so once that was accomplished, then there was time to kind of look around and see what’s happening.

Kimura confirms the 1970s, for Hawaiians, was a period of *becoming* and transition. He explained how elders in those days were skeptical of the language and cultural revival because they were taught it was “unfashionable” to act Hawaiian. However, he demonstrated a similar contempt towards some of today’s cultural practitioners, particularly activists who challenge development on religious grounds, naming some of them, “Hollywood Hawaiians” for performing culture to achieve political legitimacy and to bolster legal or land claims. Part of his critique relates to those who argue the mountain is sacred, but fail to articulate exactly what the sacred means. This, he argues, has the effect of undermining the credibility of Hawaiian cultural claims in general.

Challenging the notion of the sacred, he argues, “We have to define what *is sacred*.” He suggests it benefits nobody to reject every proposed use of the mountain based on arguments of its sanctity. If our kupuna also used its resources, he reasons, why should

today's astronomers not use them as well? He challenges what he sees as a presumption that *Hawaiianness* means we must behave like *ancients*:

...now Hawaiian again, has to be determined. *What is Hawaiian* – wearing a malo? Or wearing my jeans, y'know? That kind of extreme evolvement of what is the Hawaiian today. Where we have left off this ah... this point, departure from what was more solidly understood (in earlier times), more commonly, more normally understood... as *Hawaiian* – and so it's a growing at the same time. And so, it's kind of a nebulous place to be, in a sense though, thank goodness we still have many (Hawaiian) things we can depend on. And we still have to depend on our solid foundations, that, whatever we have of it, left.

I read this sentiment as Kimura making a case for Hawaiians to be traditional *and* modern, a notion that presupposes a neutral and apolitical Western modernity and a conception of cultural difference that fails to recognize a context of power. Evolution in this frame approaches analogy with colonizing notions like “progress.” Throughout the interview, such moments indicated an irresolvable tension posited in hasty framings of modernity versus tradition, which presupposes a binary, and thus a hierarchy, between the two. What if wearing a malo is modern? What if industrial development is primitive? Kimura left the binary intact.

Like Paul Coleman, Larry Kimura seems to suggest that Hawaiians and scientists are more alike than different as they both use the mountain's resources. While I appreciate how Kimura seeks to interrogate thoughtless dismissals, the collapse of difference is problematic. Questioning Mauna Kea as an exclusively Hawaiian place, he points out what he sees as contradictions in the claims of activists, who, he argues, use culture

politically. He challenges the notion that “sanctity” in earlier times meant *leaving Mauna Kea alone*. He illustrates his critique by drawing a connection between earlier adze production and astronomy. He asks if it’s likely Hawaiians were completely resistant to modern tools:

Of course, they (Hawaiians) didn’t go up there with bulldozers and dynamite, because they didn’t have those things. If they had it, would they use it? Well, I mean sitting there in the cold, freezing your ‘okole (butt) off, and just using one hammer stone... trying to break this rock? If they had dynamite you think you would use it? I think that they would. Humans are humans. So, what is this *Hawaiian thing*?

The point he makes is that Hawaiians and settlers both use available resources and technologies, both are pragmatists; yet Hawaiian activists today deny the fact. If our ancestors had access to better gear, power tools, and paved roads, isn’t it simply logical that they too would use them in their work on the summit? However, in the context of TMT advocacy, this move presumes that production of adzes and industrial development are equivalent in scale. In speaking for a voiceless figure of the past, the rhetorical gesture does not explicate the thought and actions of earlier Hawaiians so much as it rationalizes today’s conventions. More significantly, however it collapses time, differing social orders, and divergent technologies by positing analogic abstractions and re-presenting the modernity versus tradition binary within which indigenous methods are always already obsolete.

Around questions of strategy for protection, Kimura sees the courts as simply not working and suggests that legal challenges to the TMT are always going to be ineffective

because established power is impenetrable. However, by conceding to the state's authority, he suggests participation holds a potential to use legal and management structures for modest social change. Thus, participation is thought of as the best strategy for change. The point for Kimura is to remain relevant to established power in order to achieve the necessary growth, or evolution, he envisions: "I think that is the only way to move and to evolve as a Hawaiian. You can't just evolve falling off into the sky," he argues. Paradoxically, the struggle for Mauna Kea, he says, "kicks us in the 'okole to get back to our roots." He adds,

That's what these issues do, hopefully, come to our foundations. From there, try to see how we can become, without the real authority, to become a little bit more responsible in making decisions that can make some difference in some authoritative manner.

Hawaiians should create a space within dominant structures in order to claim some degree of agency in matters concerning land and resources. He seems to suggest that Hawaiians can be both differentiated from Western culture *and* aligned with the objectives of Western science and state apparatuses, thereby making Mauna Kea astronomy somehow "more Hawaiian" or refashioned through Hawaiian intervention. Representing Kahu Kū Mauna and referring to what he called "extremists," or those who "don't want any telescopes up there," Kimura argues:

...we are saying the same thing, except that (the question remains) – how do we do it? How do you get to that point? Because, if we kept yelling and yelling and going to court, I mean the louder we yell the more we go to court, the more we stand finding funds to pay for lawyers [*sic*]. (This) is one way, certainly people

are trying to do that. However, if there are other ways, certainly there are people doing in other ways too. And we are not objecting to other ways. Because, as I said, Kahu Kū Mauna's objective is, first step, is that no new telescopes should be on the very top area, on the very summit area, which is about a 500 acre precinct. Therefore, when this idea of a new telescope came up, (KKM said) "no, you just cannot." "Ok, well, then how about over here (referring to the mountain's northern plateau)?"

Although he suggests he wants the same thing as "extremists," he never recommended a moratorium or the complete removal of all structures from the summit. With both off the table, Kimura accepts astronomy expansion so long as Hawaiians at least have a say in how decisions are made, such as the TMT's location and whether the community and OHA will receive monies from it. His tone throughout the conversation was one of resolve: he accepts the argument that Mauna Kea astronomy is inevitable, ultimately benign, perhaps even universally beneficial, and therefore compromises must be made. The end of this logic: why fight? Let's, instead, get on board to effect outcomes.

Concerning the legal opposition to the TMT, which cites the 1998 State Auditor's findings of the University's management failures as justification for contesting the TMT, Kimura suggests Hawaiians are,

...more reactive than active, unfortunately. But that's better than *not* doing anything, I guess. So, it's OK. But we have to become a little more proactive, which I think is a different level of consciousness and being comfortable feeling natural in it. A lot of reaction is to discomfort and not being a part of the bigger picture.

The “bigger picture” is, here, unproblematic. He argues exclusion from decision-making processes is the greatest problem. Reflecting on my other interviews, however, none of the petitioners expressed a problem with exclusion or that they felt their actions were ever *not* a form of participation. Participation was, in fact, what they were doing by bringing their grievances to the Land Board and the courts. How reactionary is it to concede to state authority for redress through appeals to its laws, but not foundational legitimacies? More to the point, is such a response any more or less counter productive for Hawaiians than activity on a council or advisory board? My concern is that “reactionary,” here, is conflated with impulsive, emotional, and irrational, characteristics coded as feminine and primitive within the gendered and colonial tradition versus modernity binary. The idea clings to a conventional assumption that those who refuse to adopt scientific capitalist ideologies are simply irrational. Reason and rationality, thus, remain exclusive to Western state apparatuses, ideologies, and practices.

Kimura admitted that KKM has no final authority in decisions about the direction of future developments, which thus raises the question of the utility in this form of participation beyond a sense of effectiveness. As an advisory entity, he says they have very little influence in what ultimately happens to the mountain. Yet, he defends his decision to participate in the advising process despite the council’s limits because participation,

... is a means to leverage, to move in a new direction for the mountain. And getting to that new direction is going to be – is hard not to put your finger on it [*sic*], but I think with Kahu Kū Mauna there, it can help. ‘Not saying it will make a difference, but you have to have faith that it can make a difference and help to



move it into a quote-unquote, “Hawaiian,” more of a “Hawaiian way” of managing what’s there and what’s not going to be there. What should be there and what’s not going to be there – whether Hawaiians should be a part of astronomy, science or not – in this physical location, in Hawai‘i on Mauna Kea, in a way that is positive or negative or not, for the Hawaiian people, the people of, first of indigenous people and then people of Hawai‘i, and if we can make a contribution in that way to the rest of the world, identify it as Hawaiian.

Again, the ambiguity of Kimura’s politics suggests the complex and contradictory qualities of both contemporary articulations of cultural differentiation and settler coloniality itself. Kimura suggests it is Hawaiians who must become a part of astronomy; not that astronomers, the University, or the State, should assimilate to Hawaiian ways of being. I question how “new” this direction is. Many Hawaiians believe they have very few other options but to participate, yet while Kanaka participation within conventional systems, including courts, presupposes the cultural authority of the state, I argue liberal models of inclusion can not resolve the contradictions or tensions of competing ideologies and their material relations so much as they sustain them. In such a frame of participation, I argue Hawaiians will remain confined to the role of the unreasonable, the obsolete, the extreme, and the stubborn. Kimura argues participation in the Mauna Kea management process allows Hawaiians to “make a difference,” however, even he suggests this new and positive direction hinges on “faith.” What sort of difference beind made is this? Is it enough to move the TMT 20 yards one way or the other? Is it adequate to make the TMT hang Native Hawaiian art in its lobby, to pay large sums for astronomy education, or to cover it in reflective metallic

paint as camouflage? My concern is that such participation within state-sponsored scientific and capitalist ideologies will legitimate astronomy expansion, and thus continued colonial relations of power, under the banner of inclusion, coexistence, and participation, while nothing has changed. What good is faith at the moment we most need to recognize our role in scientific and capitalist hegemonies is precisely that which maintains the conventional relations of power instead of redistributing, dismantling, and reshaping them? I suggest it is precisely such discourses – these myths of change through liberal inclusion – that allows conservative ideologies and discourses of truth to reproduce and to which we should direct our critical attention.

It remains questionable whether this “contribution” to the rest of the world through astronomy is genuinely Hawaiian or merely an appropriation of Hawaiians – a reconstitution of astronomy in the image of Hawaiians. However, TMT opponents would argue they have never sought to make astronomy on Mauna Kea more Hawaiian so much as they are calling for a moratorium on new development. Recognizing this, the University and astronomy community are going to great lengths to re-present themselves as more “culturally sensitive,” as mentioned above.<sup>17</sup> Because astronomy expansion is only justifiable by acquiring the consent of (at least some) Hawaiians, it is essential that their conscription appears to distribute shares in astronomy’s promise. Whether this is the case is also contestable. The decision to participate was a difficult one to make and Kimura experienced backlash for it, but he stands by that choice:

It is better to be trying to effect change for Hawaiian concerns by participating in a way that can, that is, um, how should I say – people would say, you know, oh,

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<sup>17</sup> And again, I address such appropriations in chapter six.

we (KKM) are just rubber-stamping and mainstreaming – that’s the way we are participating. And I think that, in a way, is true – the mainstreaming part – only because there is so much controversy about it. So the University who is in this major role of authority here, is not making any major *movements*, we *cannot move* because of courts. Until that is cleared, it’s hard to make major movements. So, ok, maybe that process has to be encountered. And then after that, hopefully, (it will be) more Hawaiian...

Here, Kimura argues the criticism over such participation is only a result of the controversy surrounding the issue, but not the result of the University’s management failures or the desecration that some attribute to astronomy. Again, he also advocates for “mainstreaming” because the possibility of a moratorium seems unlikely while the University is in “the role of authority.” Yet, this authority remains intact so long as it is presumed impenetrable, permanent, and its historical origins never open for critique. He rejects the suggestion that “mainstreaming” is synonymous with “rubber-stamping,” by asserting it is a way to make astronomy “more Hawaiian.” It seems Kimura proposes that Hawaiians who challenge the TMT in court are stalling a movement to make astronomy “more Hawaiian.” Yet, the petitioners and most opponents have never claimed such an objective. His frustration that the political opposition to the TMT is holding things up in the court, in the end, indicates his position on the new proposed telescope.

My attempts to seek clarity about his stance on the TMT here seemed to become an irritant. Seeking to understand what exactly he envisioned for this new relationship, I asked what he sees could be an ideal compromise made between TMT advocates and opponents. He said,

So I am not taking up all of your time right now to list all of the so-called positive things that TMT is setting precedence for – in funding and paying and things like that –, because you can get that, I hope, hopefully, well, from the legal documents or just straight from the mouths of other people. Now, what is TMT doing that other observatories *are not* doing for the populace of Hawai‘i, just say the population of Hawai‘i, the citizens of Hawai‘i, not just, not just indigenous people, and you could do a list of those things, and so, anyway...

There was an awkward silence, then I decided to ask for further clarification, wondering if he was confident that the accommodations made by the TMT – which the community and Kahu Kū Mauna had demanded during the TMT planning process – were enough? The University uses the term “mitigation measures” to describe these “so-called positive things.”<sup>18</sup> Were those proposed mitigation measures meant to offset anticipated adverse impacts to the summit enough to convince him that the University had listened to the community and had changed? Is the management plan and those efforts adequate?<sup>19</sup> He responded,

I don’t think it’s adequate. I don’t think anything is going to be a hundred percent perfect. So adequate to me sounds like it’s almost perfect. But, not, it’s never enough. But it’s a beginning, it’s something, it’s, I guess, very minutely, to me,

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<sup>18</sup> These mitigation measures range from trivial to substantive, including, as mentioned above, “camouflaging” the TMT with special paint to reflect the sky, hanging Native Hawaiian art in the facility, training astronomers and operators about the cultural history of Mauna Kea, building the TMT on the northern plateau rather than the summit, and paying “the community” a \$1 million annual sum to be spent on astronomy-related educational purposes in what is called the “Community Benefits Package,” among others. I question whether such measures do not represent a bribe that moves people to suspend an environmental or cultural morality.

<sup>19</sup> I discuss the Comprehensive Management Plan in detail in chapter six.

moving in a certain direction that appears good. And that's about all, you know at this point in time, that I can say, because I don't know if I'm going to be around to see the real major changes. As I said, because of all this litigation, progress has been very slow in the area of Hawaiian – quote unquote – development.

However, it is, I guess, potent for that. I think if more Hawaiian people can participate in it, you know – I guess we're not supposed to be radical, we're not supposed to be normal [*sic*] –, but I think *it is radical* to participate in a so-called, umm, I don't know what you want to use, a “colonized world” or “haole world” or whatever you call it, you know, “not Hawaiian,” or you know, “impossible” or whatever.

The idea of participating in Mauna Kea development actually could be radical, I agree, but only if the field of meaning underlying those processes of participation are completely detached from their historical context. However, this does not seem to be the case. When the terms of engagement preclude a redistribution of power relations, what sets the idea of changing the system from within apart from an appropriation of Hawaiian culture? What I learned here is that, if coloniality is removed from the equation – if it is reduced, diminished, or trivialized –, then participation may be conceived as a *radical* form of diplomacy, one that recodes power's effects as a positive for the dispossessed. I believe diplomacy is crucial and radical interventions are necessary, but I am not convinced that this form of participation gets at the underlying relations of power that condition astronomy's possibility. If the best Hawaiians and environmentalists might hope to achieve through such participation is that astronomy *accommodates* some of their concerns, while astronomy maintains its cultural privilege to continue expansion, then I

question the terms on which such a diplomacy is achieved. I am also skeptical that this path and the characterization of it as radical when the University and the Land Board retain power through their authority to make determinations effecting land use on the mountain and the degree to which power is shared with Hawaiians or environmentalists. In my thinking, ‘radical’ is actually questioning imperial state apparatuses – i.e., capitalist, scientific, and settler privilege and the insatiable need for land and resources they embody. The logic of this participation substitutes an instrumentalist pragmatism for a principled opposition to established social hierarchies and relations of power derived from colonial oppressions.

I’ve been intrigued by the notion of “coexistence” that astronomers and supporters are so fond of. With this in mind, I asked Kimura what he feels a mutually beneficial compromise might look like. Once more, I may have pushed a bit too hard, as he took issue with the term “compromise,” reading it in the sense of *compromising one’s values*, rather than as a form of negotiation or peacemaking, though he appears to value such concepts. Although I intended the former connotation, he responded like this:

Well I don’t know what the word “compromise” can mean, but I guess it’s in the dictionary; it’s an English word. But participating is, in whatever fashion – whether you’re gon’ do this extreme thing, “This is Mauna a Wākea. It’s sacred, get off of it! Get off of our mountain!” Or, we want to be, um, I guess, ah, participating in a bigger picture, where you don’t have the authority to tell them, “get off the mountain.” You can *say it*, you can *scream it*, you can bulldoze it, or whatever it means, but that doesn’t mean you have the ultimate say. So how do you get to that point? If you call it “compromise,” well that’s *your* opinion. But if

you *participate* – in trying to be *less* reactionary, reactive – but, at the same time you are being reactive – but participating in a way that you can make differences that haven't been thought of before, then I think that's a bit more proactive.

Rather than critically analyzing the claim that opponents are powerless, or the social order itself, Kimura's suggestion that when Kanaka 'Ōiwi do not have power, any degree of influence is better than nothing, already presupposes conventional relations of power. I pushed this notion of agency within this "colonized world" a bit further, stating, "In some ways, it sounds like you're resolved to accept a degree of participation because anything other than that is unrealistic, or unlikely to..." He interrupted,

It's almost like asking, "Well, what would *you* say would make it Hawaiian?"

One answer would be remove everything completely and that would make, not astronomy Hawaiian, but keep the Hawaiianess of Mauna Kea. But you know that's only one use of the mountain. We have Hawaiian homesteading going on, not on the summit, but on the slopes of Mauna Kea. We have forestry, just whatever, we have all kinds of concerns going on, on Mauna Kea. It's not just the summit. So, what's the Hawaiianess if you were to remove all the telescopes?

What? I think the telescopes, in one positive way, kicks us in our 'okole *to make us be more Hawaiian*. So, you know Hawaiian homes, and forestry, and the watershed, and invasive species and everything else – and if Pele is to erupt on Mauna Kea, all of that is going to keep us Hawaiian, not just waaaaay back when the adze makers went up there and left it how it was, we're not like that anymore. We don't live in that world any more. But we respect that. So how? You can take a horse to water, but *you can't* make it drink. So you can tell the astronomers

“this is how you should believe, you don’t believe this way, and I think you should believe in this way.” But you can’t make them believe as a Hawaiian. You can make them do certain things, yeah, pay so much money, do certain things, yeah? Build your road in a certain way or consider taking them off because they are too old – and who’s paying for it because they set up a fund. Don’t tax the citizens of Hawai‘i for that – why should the university go to the Legislature to ask them to pay for that? These people should pay for these things. And if we’re gonna consider renewing this lease, I’m always saying “if” – then it’s an opportunity, look at it as an opportunity – we cannot get 100%, but let’s look at the best we can get out of it.

Kimura conflates the protection of Mauna Kea against industrial development with a romanticized conception of Mauna Kea as untouched, pristine nature. In my interviews, I did not experience any TMT opponents who imagined absolute rejection of all forms of development as authentic or truly “Hawaiian,” but there was recognition that current practices of development and land use, and resource management decisions are never controlled by Hawaiians. Again, I question whether participation gets at this problem. I question whether it is possible, let alone desirable, or even a goal to “make Western astronomy Hawaiian.” As I interviewed people, nobody seemed to long for a Hawaiian astronomy on the mountain or to make the telescopes “more Hawaiian.” However, on the other side of the spectrum, I don’t think it is productive for us to characterize Hawaiians who oppose expansion as advocating we live like “ancients” either. If the issue was only about the degree to which we have a say in astronomy expansion, while astronomy expansion always remains inevitable, then what is the point of participation? If



astronomy's prohibition or a moratorium on new development is never imagined possible, then I argue what is at stake is *a way of being*: a way of being in Hawai'i, a way of *being Hawaiian*, a way of being in power and knowledge.

What does it mean that, "we cannot get 100%?" The resolve towards pacified consent was striking. I can't help but wonder, why settle? My concern is that, if we preclude the possibility of an indigenous authority to decide the fate of Hawai'i – these lands, these resources, and what may or may not be prohibited –, then we are precluding Hawaiian self-determination. Our agency becomes reduced to participation in the constant industrial development of Hawai'i and the continued loss of cultural sites and practices. Is agency in and of itself our ambition? Moreover, the resolve to accept inclusion as *the best possible option* for Hawaiians, nevertheless leaves in place the structured relations of power by which the long slow dispossession vis-à-vis settler colonialism has established itself as normal and even beneficial. That even many Kanaka deny the possibility of colonialism suggests just how entangled we are in its web.

Rather than forcing open those ruptures within settler coloniality, these commitments – to Western conceptions of modernity, progress, the inevitable, science and technology, land use, and governance – serves to patch them up. Liberal models of inclusion reinforce an accommodation of difference that sanitizes the political and replaces the subversive capacity of cultural difference with an instrumentalist pragmatism.

No form of inclusion is without its contradictions, including the hardline telescope opponents who nevertheless seek redress within the legal spaces of the State Land Board, the Court of Appeals, or the State Constitution. My intervention here is to render these contradictions intelligible for the sake of imagining something beyond tolerance and

short term strategies for slowing colonialism's advance. In naming the colonial, we restore the political and undermine the self-evidence of scientific and state imperatives.

### *Another Level of Desecration*

Chad Kālepa Baybayan was nineteen years old when he got involved with the Polynesian Voyaging Society in the 1970s.<sup>20</sup> Recognized for his accomplishments in contemporary wayfinding, he has served as captain, navigator, and crewmember of the deep-sea voyaging canoes (or, wa'a) Hōkūle'a, Hawai'iloa and Hōkūalaka'i on crossings to Tahiti, Nuku Hiva, Marquesas, Pitcairn, Mangareva, Rapanui, and Japan, among other places. Over the years, Baybayan has become a public figure and a leader both on the wa'a and in the community. As a carrier of traditional knowledge of this beloved cultural practice, Baybayan has shared his expertise and experiences with audiences around the islands and the world.<sup>21</sup> Today, Baybayan is Navigator in Residence at the 'Imiloa Astronomy Center, is fluent in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language),<sup>22</sup> and currently active with the Hōkūle'a's Worldwide Voyage. With Kimura, he also sits on the volunteer-based council, Kahu Kū Mauna ("Guardian of the Mountain"), a branch of the Office of Mauna Kea Management responsible for offering input to the University on

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<sup>20</sup> "Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions," *Polynesian Voyaging Society*, Available online at: [http://pvs.kcc.hawaii.edu/index/founder\\_and\\_teachers/chad\\_baybayan.html](http://pvs.kcc.hawaii.edu/index/founder_and_teachers/chad_baybayan.html), Accessed on July 17, 2013.

<sup>21</sup> One example was his October 13, 2013 presentation at TEDx Mānoa, entitled "He lani ko luna, a sky above" in which he told of the revitalization of early voyaging traditions and the accomplishments of those activities. Chad Kālepa Baybayan, "He lani ko luna, a sky above: Kalepa Baybayan at TEDxManoa," TEDx Talks, November 25, 2013, Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nd-A9qJz3Vc>.

<sup>22</sup> "Our Resident Navigator – Chad Kālepa Baybayan," *'Imiloa*, Available online at: <http://blog.imiloahawaii.org/our-resident-navigator-kalepa-baybayan/>. Accessed on February 15, 2014.

matters relating to Hawaiian culture and the UH Management Areas. Baybayan is also a vocal advocate of the Thirty Meter Telescope and has published, spoken, and given legal testimony regarding his perspective on the connections he observes between the practice of non-instrument navigation and Western astronomy, particularly on Mauna Kea.

The link is based on the early Kanaka voyagers who traveled across the Pacific in search for new lands, which Baybayan identifies as a shared ambition that also motivates the astronomer's quest for knowledge about the universe today. Like Paul Coleman and Larry Kimura, Chad Baybayan occupies a relatively uncommon position as a Native Hawaiian, a practitioner of a highly respected cultural knowledge/tradition, *and* a proponent of the Thirty Meter Telescope project; a seeming paradox that originally sparked my interest in his perspectives.

Also, as with Coleman and Kimura, the ways Baybayan articulates his politics are complex, reflecting a common thread that runs through pro-TMT Kanaka narrations about the project and astronomy expansion in general. This theme is a rhetorical practice that depoliticizes historical relations of power where the political is trivialized, dismissed, or neglected altogether. Baybayan is a Kanaka who practices the once nearly extinct art of non-instrument ocean navigation – or, “wayfinding” – yet he also argues that if not for Western astronomy, the revival of this practice of wayfinding would not have been possible.

In several instances, Baybayan has told the story of Nainoa Thompson's work in the 1970s of combining the lessons in Western astronomy shared with him by Wil Kysleka (a geologist and former Bishop Museum planetarium manager) and the Carolinian navigating traditions taught by Mau Pialug (master navigator from the Micronesian island

of Satawal and senior mentor of the early Hōkūle‘a crews).<sup>23</sup> As the carriers of the Hawaiian navigation traditions died without passing their knowledge on to the younger generations, the combination of Western and Satawalese systems enabled Thompson to construct a method for the non-instrument navigation system in use on the wa‘a today. The result was not a return to a pure original practice, but instead, as Baybayan describes it, a “re-engineering of the art” of wayfinding.<sup>24</sup> The idea of hybridity in Nainoa’s story reflects Baybayan’s openness towards maximizing available knowledges, regardless of their origins, in order to create the best practices for the benefit the broader community. In his 2011 DLNR Contested Case testimony, Baybayan described that view in this way:

Today wayfinding exist (*sic*) as an example of restored practice that has emerged from the synergy of culture and astronomy, of indigenous knowledge and scientific paradigm, and the ability of different perspectives to work together and create a healthy, dynamic, and viable cultural practice.<sup>25</sup>

Because contemporary navigation practices bring together Pacific Island and Western traditions, Baybayan views conventional usage of the mountain and its future potential in similar ways. For example, that notion of “synergy” has inspired his adoption of the rhetoric of “consistency,” which has become a standard for measuring the legality, if not ethics, underlying contested forms of contemporary land uses. For example, if a contemporary land use is determined to be “consistent” with historical, common, or existing land uses on the same piece of land or similar lands, that usage might be

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<sup>23</sup> Chad Kālepa Baybayan, Direct Testimony and Cross-examination, DLNR No. HA-11-05, TMT Contested Case Hearing, August 18, 2011, McManus Court Reporters.

<sup>24</sup> Baybayan, Direct Testimony, DLNR No. HA-11-05, 2011, 165.

<sup>25</sup> Baybayan, Direct Testimony, DLNR No. HA-11-05, 2011, 166.

permitted by the State. This was precisely the case when the State Board of Land and Natural Resources' permitted the TMT – the project was determined consistent with the conventional use of Mauna Kea's summit for astronomy purposes. However, consistence is a slippery concept. Today's astronomy on Mauna Kea may now be described as “consistent” with traditional indigenous values by way of that slippage.

Baybayan makes this argument, in part, through reference to the use of Mauna Kea by navigators in locating land from distant locations at sea because Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa collect large cloud formations as well as bend sunlight in distinct ways; phenomena that are visible from afar while at sea, like a beacon pointing them toward land. He states that his, “relationship with Mauna Kea is grounded in the many occasions that Mauna Kea has been used as the primary target for finding the Hawaiian Islands upon return from the South Pacific destinations.”<sup>26</sup>

He also makes a case for the idea of consistency between earlier Hawaiian society and contemporary astronomy through reference to the adze quarry and stone tool production known to have occurred at Keanakāko‘i, just below the mountain's summit. As Baybayan understands it, while Kanaka also used the mountain for its “resources” – rare stone materials – for the benefit of “their communities,” astronomers are essentially doing the same thing. The ambiguity of these terms, however, and in the idea of consistency serve to obscure the function of this parallel. Baybayan explains the logic in his oral testimony:

Then my idea on Mauna Kea as a resource (*sic*). I believe that Mauna Kea adze quarry is the largest in the world, offers conclusive evidence that the ancients

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<sup>26</sup> DLNR No. HA-11-05, TMT Contested Case Hearing, Aug. 18, 2011, 166-167.

recognized the importance of Mauna Kea's rich resources and its ability to serve its community by producing the tools to sustain daily life.

They ventured to Mauna kea (*sic*), reshaped the environment by quarrying rock and left behind evidence of their work, and took materials off the mountain to serve their communities. And they did this with the full consent and in the presence of their gods.

Using the resources on Mauna Kea, I believe, such as the adze quarry, as a tool to serve and benefit the community, as in the case of the practice of astronomy, it's consistent with the example of this past land use. And I would say consistent in the way Hawaiian trusts use their land asset to the benefit of beneficiaries (*sic*).<sup>27</sup>

There seems to be little concern here for what distinguishes original occupants from the rest of Hawai'i's settlers in this rhetoric of "community." In the rhetorical move made here, past and present practices are conflated, Kanaka indigeneity is multiculturalized, and the history of imperialism is lost. In other words, the ambiguity of the analogy functions to evacuate the political – there appears to be no historical relations of power that have rendered astronomers the new occupants of the mountain and Hawaiian activists an irritant to astronomy expansion advocates. Whereas much of what Baybayan claims is true – that stones were quarried to make adzes, that this use of the mountain did not leave the landscape unaltered, and that these materials gathered proved beneficial to communities – the juxtaposition glosses key differences and elides any context of power, imperialism, and colonial hegemony whereby settler astronomy on Mauna Kea itself has

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<sup>27</sup> Baybayan, Direct Testimony, DLNR No. HA-11-05, 2011, 169.

emerged as the privileged “beneficiary.” What is the difference between “communities” – between historical communities and those communities who benefit from astronomy today? Are all forms of “reshaping” the environment the same? Is daily life among “the ancients” identical to daily life among “the moderns?” Kanaka ‘Ōiwi allowed the mountain to remain pristine and undeveloped for two thousand years. They went to the summit for a single resource and did not leave permanent damage. Do these differences not matter?

The logic in the rhetoric of consistency, thus, presents several problems. First, quarrying adzes did not involve the large-scale industrial earth-moving practices that are required for construction of giant telescopes today. To conflate the two is misleading and reveals an ideological commitment to the TMT project rather than a hermeneutic comparison. Second, the rhetoric of consistence presumes a natural evolution from the so-called “ancients” to “astronomers,” where the relationship is instead more of hegemonic transition and resistance entangled in the structures of settler colonialism. Third, this idea of Mauna Kea as a “resource” renders the mountain a commodity to be exploited. It diminishes the mountain’s valuation and status as a sacred place among Kānaka in earlier times and those who still view it in this way. It also removes the sacred relationship of Kanaka to the mountain, which is forged in the mo‘okū‘auhau. We know the mo‘okū‘auhau connects the lāhui to the mountain through an onto-genealogical bond that imparts a kuleana to mālama Mauna a Wākea. Casting Mauna a Wākea as a “resource,” thus, transforms this ontological relationship of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi to ‘āina, replacing the ethic of aloha ‘āina with a relationship that serves the interests of capital, big science, and the settler state. Finally, the claim that the TMT is consistent “in the

way Hawaiian trusts use their land asset to the benefit of beneficiaries” is simply false. Hawaiian trusts benefit Hawaiians as prior occupants of the land – not as depoliticized multicultural subjects or ambiguous “communities.” The TMT benefits settler society, international and non-native institutions, and astronomers first. The claim that Kanaka ‘Ōiwi are “beneficiaries” of astronomy, when the socio-economic, political, and physical condition of Hawaiians since the nineteenth century to the present suggests we are casualties of U.S. empire, is precisely what sustains astronomy on Mauna Kea. In other words, these are myths. Yet, unlike Hawaiian trusts, the “benefits” extended to Hawaiians, as we may glean from precedence, have been more like concessions made as damage control than as a commitment to restorative justice.

Baybayan also suggests Hawaiians might lead this project. He states:

As a Hawaiian, I recognize I am a descendant of some of the best naked-eye astronomers the world has known. It is culturally consistent to advocate for Hawaiian participation in a field of science that continues to enable that tradition and a field in which we ought to lead.<sup>28</sup>

It is difficult to imagine how Hawaiians might lead a field like astronomy or the construction of a giant telescope when we can hardly obtain affordable housing, employment, education, health care, or political autonomy, let alone stop commercial, settler, and industrial developments. It is also difficult to defend the claim that astronomy “enables” the tradition of “naked-eye” astronomy. Under cross-examination, petitioner to the state’s TMT permit Kalani Flores asked Baybayan if he needs “an observatory on

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<sup>28</sup> Baybayan, Direct Testimony, DLNR No. HA-11-05, 2011, 170.



Mauna Kea to learn” the “traditional-based knowledge of navigation.”<sup>29</sup> Baybayan admitted, “I’ve never used an observatory to facilitate my learning.” This raises the question: what does naked-eye navigation have to do with industrial development for astronomy on Mauna Kea? The cultural practice of navigation would not be adversely impacted by the TMT if built, but neither would it benefit directly. It is also the case that nothing done to the mountain would affect cultural practices relating to the ocean much at all. Nevertheless, Baybayan’s public support for the TMT has had the effect of influencing other Hawaiians who look to prominent Kanaka leaders in the community as reference points in making up their own minds on the matter of astronomy expansion.

Baybayan also reframes the political to undermine the TMT petitioners in the assertion that the mountain’s place within our mo‘okū‘auhau is not the only way in which Mauna Kea is sacred. Baybayan argues for another conception:

I know there have been assertions that a change to the natural landscape is a desecration of the land and its beholden spirituality. I disagree with that opinion, and offer that another level of desecration rests in actions that deny opportunity and choices for the kind of future our youth can aspire to.<sup>30</sup>

The sacred is certainly political in this frame, but in its appropriation, its moral weight is inverted, the petitioners are posited against children, and the effect is a loosening of its affective traction. The sacred, here, itself becomes a resource – one for casting astronomers and “our youth” as victims, denied the opportunity to enjoy the benign science (read: the spoils of settler colonialism under U.S. occupation). The political not

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<sup>29</sup> Kalani Flores, DLNR No. HA-11-05, TMT Contested Case Hearing, August 18, 2011, McManus Court Reporters, 172.

<sup>30</sup> Baybayan, Direct Testimony, DLNR No. HA-11-05, 2011, 170.

only drops out, but is first distorted to reclaim the language of sanctity that has so far proven useful for the TMT opposition. However, Baybayan's conception of the sacred differs greatly from those compiled in chapter three. When he suggests the denial of the TMT amounts to the "highest level of desecration," a harm committed foremost against children, he is suggesting the TMT's promised benefits are as special, valued, or endowed with spiritual meaning as the natural character of this wahi pana (storied, legendary place). It is likely Baybayan is referring here to the so-called Community Benefits Package, an amount totaling \$1 million a year, which has proven persuasive for many including Kahu Kū Mauna. The idea is that these monies represent a new paradigm of accountability to local communities that is unprecedented compared with older observatories. However, another way of looking at this Community Benefits Package is as a response to increasing political awareness, legal mobilization, and community activism against further desecration – the protection of those other conceptions of the sacred. Those promised funds would go towards astronomy education for local schools, college scholarships and grants for students in the sciences, and Hawaiian studies education for TMT operators. In other words, it is an investment in the future of Mauna Kea astronomy, not in indigenous communities or indigenous thought, practice, or system. It seems Baybayan's claim – that removal of this opportunity to seize \$1 million a year for further astronomy expansion through education amounts to desecration – was an attempt to appropriate and subvert the petitioners' discourses on the sacred. Perhaps inadvertently, however, that claim also implies that these monies are themselves actually sacred. Are they more sacred than the mountain or the genealogical

relationship of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi to this ‘āina? What does it mean for Hawaiians that some believe money, jobs, and Western science and technologies are sacred?

Flores pushed the point Baybayan made about the “consent of the gods.” He asked Baybayan, “Have you ever received full consent from the ancestral akua connected to Mauna Kea to support construction of this TMT observatory?”<sup>31</sup> Baybayan responded with irritation.

A I’m not the person constructing the telescope, so I don’t see the need for me to go seek consent of your perceived akua.

Q But I’m going to go back to your statement that you said with full consent in the presence of their gods.

So the gods that you refer to, have you received consent for you to support this particular TMT project?

A Let me be real clear. My support, as I stated in the testimony, and as a navigator, comes from me as an individual. I do not think that I need the support of someone else’s deity to forward this opinion.

Q I understand.

A I’m saying to you that I did not solicit and I have no intention of ever soliciting your perceived deity for permission to act in any type of action that I think is appropriate for myself.

Q I understand.

How exactly “the gods” had given their “full consent” to “the ancients” for their adze production let alone, as implied here, to investors, astronomers, and the TMT partners for

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<sup>31</sup> Flores, DLNR No. HA-11-05, 173.

the project was left unanswered. How one can speak for “gods” or “ancients” was also left ambiguous. Perhaps, the ambiguity is precisely what makes some invocations of the sacred so powerful and matters of rhetorical persuasion rather than substance.

### *Conclusion*

The indeterminacy of power – its multiplicity and flux – is observable in settler colonialism’s effects and failures. And settler colonial power’s entrenchments, ruptures, and contradictions emerge through articulated subjectivities as we have seen here. In this chapter I have analyzed three Hawaiians whose narratives give evidence of some of the ways in which Kanaka articulations of TMT advocacy complicate and bolster settler colonialism’s encompassing work, revealing power’s fragmentations and imbrications.

That Kanaka continue to, not only survive but also, resist settler colonial power calls to our attention how settler colonialism remains itself an incomplete project, one that must remake itself and does so through conscriptions, appropriation, and participation. Somewhere between false consciousness and individual agency, indigenous subject formations at the edge of political intelligibility are complex and contradictory, but speak to the political ordering of Hawai‘i already underway. Whereas opposition to the Thirty Meter Telescope and astronomy expansion may puncture settler colonialism’s enveloping logic of extermination, TMT advocacy discourses are quick to patch up the holes, rationalizing new forms of settler replacement, advancing discursive elements that reproduce notions of Western cultural superiority.

Settler colonialism’s discursive affirmations, in particular, employ strategies that, rather than merely contest, absorb indigenous difference within hegemonic forms of

representation. Hawaiians advance these strategies as much as do non-Hawaiians. As I have shown in this chapter, although each asserts a degree of agency, Paul Coleman, Larry Kimura, and Chad Baybayan each participate in conventional discourses of meaning and its making that strengthen the relations of power on which scientific, legal, and capitalist institutions are predicated. I argue that discursive techniques – based on containment, disqualification, and incorporation of indigenous difference – function to depoliticize historical relations of power and thus reify them. Within these practices, the history of imperial power must be expelled; the native must disappear or be shaped as an ancient or proto-astronomer, a forebear, and a beneficiary. Yet, without a politics of imperialism and colonialism it is difficult to grasp the trajectory of violence to which these discourses lend their weight.

Finally, the narratives of these three Kanaka also complicate any hasty assumption of what Hawaiians collectively think about Mauna Kea or the debate. There is no monolith in this case. These three reveal familiar tensions with new entanglements. Each of these men has made the decision to support the TMT after long and thoughtful consideration. However, the agency asserted at moments of liberal participation or in the embrace of hegemonic multiculturalism, remains haunted by the historical relations of power that preceded the TMT and helped establish Hawai‘i’s settler colonialism. Agency narratives are fixed within a colonial archive built on a binary between Western modernity and indigenous obsolescence that self-affirms scientific privilege, global capital, and the colonial state. I argue these examples of Kanaka support for the TMT are indicative of discursive embodiments and mobilizations of power that benefit rather than disrupt settler colonial hegemony.

## Chapter Six

### A Fictive Kinship: Ancient Hawaiians and Modern Astronomy

In this chapter I examine the ways in which power is mobilized through science, capital, and law in processes that rationalize continued astronomy expansion on Mauna a Wākea while generating new methods for displacing the cultural legitimacy of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi as stewards of the land. As they are brought into the folds of legal and scientific discourses that function as instruments of capital and the state, Hawaiians simultaneously assert and are denied varying degrees of agency. Looking at University of Hawai‘i and Office of Mauna Kea Management literature and the politics surrounding the contested case regarding the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) permit, I provide a cultural analysis of social and legal discourses around questions of authenticity, appropriation, and replacement.

#### *On cultural, scientific, and legal authorities*

One of the questions this dissertation has sought to answer by looking at the politics of Mauna Kea is how contemporary settler and indigenous subjectivities emerge, presenting new relations of power and new contradictions as well. It asks: How did astronomers become stewards of Mauna Kea and protectors of “natural and cultural resources?” How did the state become agents of scientific industrial development, while ostensibly protecting both the public interest and Native Hawaiian rights? How did Hawaiians become an obstruction to scientific exploration, economic growth, and the production of universal knowledge? This chapter suggests that science, law, and capital function to reproduce power and knowledge – what I contend is settler colonialism –

within the purview of the state. For example, astronomy is generally perceived within settler society as a benign science<sup>32</sup> whose findings and data are universally beneficial to all of human kind. Its military applications, for instance, are not as obvious as those of nuclear or particle physics, thus it cannot be as directly linked to systems of violence or imperialism. The reputation as benign, however, serves the interests of established regimes of knowledge/power. For example, astronomy provides the state the image of objectivity and reason by lending its scientific authority when called upon, while the state offers astronomy permits, access to land, and low rent in return. When these connections are functioning properly, capital continues to flow in conventional patterns that equally benefit the state and scientists. However, as Hawaiians are perceived as culturally environmental – i.e., Hawai‘i’s first environmentalists, etc. –, they present potential checks on the state in terms of the forms and scale of development that may be permitted, legally and morally, in fragile ecosystems, public lands, Crown and Kingdom Government Lands, and sacred sites. Thus, the cultural authority of both science and law depend on established hierarchies made possible because of the continued occupation of Hawai‘i by the United States and those conventional notions of modernity, tradition, and rationality they offer in order to circumvent the obstacle of the native.

Western science has claimed as its territory rational inquiry and objectivity through its emphasis on instrumentalist pragmatism, a presumed indifference and value-free approach to inquiry and experimentation, and detached observations of the natural world.

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<sup>32</sup> One astronomer I interviewed defended astronomy based on its comparatively modest carbon footprint, smaller budgets, smaller scale experiments, and relatively low environmental impact. Although each of these arguments are subject quite contestable, he also reminded me of that fact that the classic image of the sole astronomer looking through a telescope in the darkness and in isolation – which continues to populate mainstream imaginations – is hardly the case today.

The presumption is that these qualities allow scientists to name and explain the physical world as it exists in reality and independent of human influence. When the State of Hawai‘i supports astronomy – either economically through its overly generous lease agreement or legally through administrative, legislative, and juridical means –, the state is essentially buying a share in the cultural legitimacy of science and borrowing its *voice of reason*. Political theorist, Yaron Ezrahi has argued that the expansion of 20<sup>th</sup> century liberal democratic political culture was achieved by,

...the utilization of science and technology as political and ideological resources for casting and presenting the actions of the chief executive as impersonal, nonarbitrary, and publicly accountable measures to enhance the public good.<sup>33</sup>

Charles Thorpe examined a parallel case of legitimation in his analysis of the state’s dependence on the scientist expert witness, explaining, “Appropriation of the image of scientific objectivity and impersonality allow(s) governmental power to be presented as merely a tool of the public will.”<sup>34</sup> In such a system of reciprocity, law has operated to fulfill the state’s commitments to neoliberal governance, capital, and science.

My concern is that both science and law mobilize power through identification with the rational and the objective within their respective domains. Each is then allowed to rely on the other in times of need. Astronomy acquires official legitimacy and sustained access to the mountain through State permits and the University’s legal team, which is waging the battle against environmentalists and Hawaiians in the courts on behalf of the

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<sup>33</sup> Yaron Ezrahi, *The Descent of Icarus: Science and the Transformation of Contemporary Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 32.

<sup>34</sup> Charles Thorpe, “Disciplining Exerts: Scientific Authority and Liberal Democracy in the Oppenheimer Case,” in *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Aug., 2002), 529.



TMT partners. Meanwhile, through its commitments to astronomy, the State procures access to rationality and the virtues of scientific reason, detachment, and objectivity – qualities essential to State legitimacy in decision-making and public policy. As each is identified with a foundational ambition to determine truths and to distinguish facts from appearances through instrumentalist procedure – one within the ‘laboratory’ and the other in the courts –, I suggest science and law operationalize the state whose governance may be interpreted as likewise impartial and neutral. In these ways, science becomes a tool for the State: to present itself as adequately modern and rational; to ward off attempts to redistribute social relations and obstruct developments; and as a means to reinforce the merit of Hawai‘i’s membership in the American Union. These commitments may be observed in the anxious representations made by science communities, the University, and government who must constantly reassert claims to legitimacy where its own legitimacy – let alone U.S. sovereignty over Hawai‘i – is a precarious condition. My entry into these politics is the Thirty Meter Telescope contested case.

This chapter examines the discursive practices that invoke colonial binaries of modernity versus tradition, that simultaneously appropriate and disqualify Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, and that reproduce hierarchizing legal structures that authorize Mauna Kea astronomy. I analyze several examples of the simultaneous appropriation and disqualification of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, which I suggest can be read as evidence of sustained colonial hegemonies and its openings. Before examining the ways in which colonial temporalities and imagined settler-native affinities reproduce and rupture colonial hegemonies, I will begin by contextualizing them in the analytic of settler colonialism.

### *Settler Colonialism and its Replacements*

The gap between, on the one hand, scientific, capitalist, and state valuations of land and those of indigenous peoples, on the other, present an incommensurability that settler law has proven incapable of resolving in ways that do not reproduce colonial violence or injustice. Attempts to settle competing interests may be understood as evidence of the coordination of big science and neoliberal environmental governance that function to preserve established forms of power.

Settler colonialism is a useful frame through which to analyze some of the conventions at work in these relations. It operates as an ongoing colonial hegemony and social condition that, for many, is hidden in plain sight. As hegemonic, it conscripts Hawaiians to participate in its privileges and hierarchies. There is no ‘post’ to settler colonialism; no demarcation when a colonizing force transitioned to an agent or proxy. However, like power’s transit across social relations, settler colonialism is never fully complete or without exception.

As discussed in the introduction, Patrick Wolfe contends the “primary object of settler-colonization is the land itself.”<sup>35</sup> Under settler colonialism, “(t)he colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event.”<sup>36</sup> Its underlying logic is that of extermination and its “dominant feature is...replacement.”<sup>37</sup> One particular method through which this replacement is practiced involves trivializing indigeneity and

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<sup>35</sup> Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London & New York: Cassell, 1999), 163.

<sup>36</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism* (1999), 2.

<sup>37</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism* (1999), 163.

indigenous legal opposition through control of the criteria for that which qualifies as legitimate cultural or political activity.

We see this especially when discordant cultural practices threaten billion dollar development projects on what some consider to be “underused land,” such as the northern plateau of Mauna Kea where the Thirty Meter Telescope is planned for construction.<sup>38</sup> One such example of the practice of replacement appeared in the speech cited earlier by Governor Neil Abercrombie.<sup>39</sup> Despite a historically liberal record, in 2011, Abercrombie addressed his pro-business, anti-union, anti-activist audience at the Kona-Kohala Chamber of Commerce somewhat out of character, as a “red tape-cutting kind of guy.”<sup>40</sup> Dismissing public opposition to the State’s permit for a new giant telescope on Mauna Kea, Abercrombie targeted the Native Hawaiian opposition stating, the TMT project “will move forward. There will be no more obstruction from someone who found their cultural roots six minutes ago.” The comment suggests Hawaiians fabricate traditions, contrive novel cultural practices, and falsely recast them as “traditional” in order to satisfy political (trivial) objectives. Those who share this perspective believe that efforts to limit telescopes on Mauna Kea through invoking tradition indicate a false claim to authenticity and idyllic perspective on the past. At worse, it implies Hawaiians are conniving, unreasonable, and antithetical to progress.

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<sup>38</sup> The language of “underuse” has been used in popular news reporting on the PLDC. Act 55 describes with urgency, “The purpose of this chapter is to create a vehicle and process to make optimal use of public land for the economic, environmental, and social benefit of the people of Hawaii. See SB No. 1555, Online at: [http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/session2011/bills/SB1555\\_CD1\\_.htm](http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/session2011/bills/SB1555_CD1_.htm).

<sup>39</sup> See chapter five.

<sup>40</sup> *West Hawai‘i Today*, April 1, 2012.

Abercrombie's comment resembles his stance towards critics of the pro-development "Act 55," which in 2011 created the Public Lands Development Corporation (or PLDC). In both instances, through Abercrombie, the State's relationship to the land is to serve the interests of capital and industry over Hawaiians. A land grab strategy, the PLDC was criticized for its broad exemptions from established zoning and environmental laws and because it threatened to fast-track corporate development projects by way of its over-reaching authority to sell public lands through a bond system, which has become popular in recent "public-private partnerships."<sup>41</sup> Act 55 embodied the State's move towards a neoliberalization of governmental policy around land management and development where public lands and natural resources are treated as commodities to be traded in new markets attractive to transnational corporations in such areas as agribusiness, energy, and other high tech industries.<sup>42</sup> The public was outraged over the creation of the PLDC. Public meetings around the islands and at the State's Department of Land and Natural Resources brought vehement testimonies from Kanaka and non-natives alike. Abercrombie dismissed the PLDC community opposition as comprised of "the usual suspects," indicating a popular belief among many in government that Hawaiians who confront policy that accommodates corporate and development interests are merely agitators: obstinate, ignorant, or disingenuous. Abercrombie's perspective reflects the intent to structure land management governance according to the condition Robert Fletcher describes as "neoliberal environmentality." It instantiates the logic of

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<sup>41</sup> See SB 1555, Available at:  
[http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/session2011/bills/SB1555\\_CD1\\_.htm](http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/session2011/bills/SB1555_CD1_.htm).

<sup>42</sup> Robert Fletcher explains this process in his article "Neoliberal Environmentality: Towards a Poststructuralist Political Ecology of the Conservation Debate," in *Conservation and Society*, 8(3), (2010), 171-181.

replacement embedded within governing practices that secure the conditions necessary for settler colonial development and privilege to advance.<sup>43</sup>

Despite language of stewardship, the prevailing relationship the State of Hawai‘i has to land under its control is one of balancing profits with responsibility, but evidence suggests the two are incommensurable objectives. In the context of Mauna Kea, the State has accommodated the interests of big science over the rights of Native Hawaiians for the last 45 years. The relationship between big science and government suggests the debates surrounding astronomy on Mauna Kea have the distinct capacity to expose the structures that provide for dispossession as rights, which I argue constitutes the logic of containment of Hawaiians within settler colonialism under U.S. occupation. Big science in Hawai‘i should, thus, be read as a practice of settler colonialism, while law orchestrates contemporary forms of privilege.

This arrangement reflects a regime of knowledge/power that suggests a need to examine the ways in which law and science are equally constituted in historical relations of power within U.S. imperialism. To return to the question of settler colonial reversals and replacements, I would like begin with an analysis of how the University found itself having to defend its right to control the summit and did so by representing itself as a

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<sup>43</sup> Ironically, just as quietly as the PLDC passed into law, two years later an embarrassed Abercrombie was forced to sign HB1133 repealing the law and terminating the agency because of widespread protests and an informed, articulate community opposition. “Governor signs repeal of Public Land Development Corp.” *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, April 22, 2013, Online at: [http://www.staradvertiser.com/news/breaking/20130422\\_Governor\\_signs\\_repeal\\_of\\_Public\\_Land\\_Development\\_Corp.html](http://www.staradvertiser.com/news/breaking/20130422_Governor_signs_repeal_of_Public_Land_Development_Corp.html). It seems even the power underwriting neoliberal land policy is not without resistance. However, some contend that although Act 55 and the PLDC have been repealed, the law’s key functions have been distributed within other laws, effectively achieving the PLDC’s effects while circumventing public scrutiny. More research needs to be done on this topic.

caretaker of Mauna Kea through appropriation. Its promise of protection of the mountain's unique resources, despite a less-than-stellar track record, supplanted Kanaka desires to leave the mountain alone. The University was able to do this through abiding the fine details of law and expectations of the BLNR, raising questions about the pretenses of legal discourse itself.

### *Auditing the University, Managing the Mountain, and a Tanking Reputation*

Since 1968 and every decade since, the University has continued to grow its astronomy franchise on the mountain. In the 1970s, four successive telescopes were built with little public consultation, no clear management process, and little governmental oversight.<sup>44</sup> In the 1980s, State legislators and the Governor's office began receiving complaints from communities familiar with the summit before the large white domes, increased tourist traffic, and constantly running generators. As development was consistent through the '90s, there were still no plans for cultural preservation, decommissioning, burial treatment,<sup>45</sup> critical habitat protections, or mechanisms for enforcement of lease responsibilities. In 1983, the University produced its first management plan, which initially consented to public pressure by agreeing to build only

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<sup>44</sup> As described in chapter two, this was a period of growth for the Hawaiian Renaissance movement and Kanaka would not turn their organized activism towards the issue of Mauna Kea astronomy until the nineties.

<sup>45</sup> Hawai'i is included in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and its five Island Burial Councils provide for a series of protections including preservation or relocation of found remains at construction sites, inventory and identification of burial sites, and recommendations for appropriate treatment of iwi. See Natasha Baldauf and Malia Akutagawa, *Ho'i Hou I Ka Iwikuamo'o: A Legal Primer for the Protection of Iwi Kūpuna in Hawai'i Nei* (Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2013).

eleven telescopes up to the year 2000. There were public meetings and increasing public concern about the rapidly growing number of telescopes, but no project has ever been stopped for reasons directly attributable to public opposition, although the NASA Keck Outrigger Project was retracted due to “funding reasons” by NASA after a long court battle in the early to mid-2000s. Today there are 22 telescopes, however, as mentioned earlier, the University counts both the giant twin Kecks (I & II) and the mobile 8-telescope, Sub-Millimeter Array as single “observatories,” reducing the count to 13.<sup>46</sup>

Reports of industrial waste from telescope construction sites – scattered across the summit, chemical spills, and the unlined septic tanks appeared in the media. Until 2003, no Federal EIS had been conducted for the cumulative impacts of all observatories on the summit and the first was completed only after an organized community opposition had formed and brought the issue to court.<sup>47</sup>

Finally by 1998, the State Legislature was prodded into conducting an official audit “of the Management of Mauna Kea and the Mauna Kea Science Reserve,” that is, an audit of the University of Hawai‘i and the Department of Land and Natural Resources.

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<sup>46</sup> According to Mauna Kea Anaina Hou and the Royal Order of Kamehameha, as of 2000, when counting the “observatories, antennas, mirrors or light collecting surfaces,” there are over 25 telescopes. “This number does not include the ‘foundations’ or ‘pads’ and support structures of the ‘interferometer’s’ or ‘Astronomical Arrays’.” (Emphasis in original) They argue that if those were included the number of “telescopes” would exceed fifty. See Kealoha Pisciotto, “Why Mauna Kea Should Be Preserved and Protected,” (1999) in *Mauna Kea – The Temple: Protecting the Sacred Resource*, a report submitted by The Royal Order of Kamehameha I and Mauna Kea Anaina Hou to be included in the Board of Land and Natural Resources review of the University of Hawai‘i’s 2000 Mauna Kea Master Plan, 34. Unpublished report submitted to DLNR in the Keck Outrigger contested case. Used by permission of the author. The Keck Outrigger would have increased the number of 13 to 19 telescopes according to the University’s calculation.

<sup>47</sup> University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, *Final Environmental Impact Statement, Vol. 2: Thirty Meter Telescope Project, Island of Hawai‘i* (May 8, 2010), 392.

They found that the University had failed to meet its lease obligations and that DLNR's oversight was significantly flawed. The auditor's executive summary stated that the University of Hawai'i's management was "inadequate to ensure the protection of natural resources," controls were "late and weakly implemented," historic preservation was "neglected," and the "cultural value of Mauna Kea was largely unrecognized."<sup>48</sup>

In response to the audit, the University updated its Management Plan in 2000, but the document was rejected by the Land Board<sup>49</sup> because it was not "comprehensive." The University's reputation was tanking and they had to redefine themselves.

All of this raised concerns among local communities who questioned whether astronomy expansion benefits anyone other than astronomers. As the mountain saw five new observatories constructed through 2002, legal cases were eventually brought to the Land Board, the U.S. District Court, and the State's Third Circuit Court of Appeals. In these disputes, telescope opponents experienced only moderate success and several defeats primarily because the opposition was comprised of ordinary citizens with little to no legal expertise – while the University had teams of attorneys and much deeper pockets. Moreover, the State was deeply invested in modern science and technology for status, economic, social, and political reasons. Perhaps this is why the Land Board has consistently been sympathetic to astronomy.

Through the 2000s, NASA's Keck Outrigger project provoked increased public opposition. NASA had its Environmental Assessment shot down in Federal court,

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<sup>48</sup> Office of the Auditor, State of Hawai'i, "Audit of the Management of Mauna Kea and the Mauna Kea Science Reserve," Summary Report No. 98-6 (1998), Available at: <http://www.state.hi.us/auditor/Overviews/1998/98-6.htm>.

<sup>49</sup> I use "Board of Land and Natural Resources" interchangeably with "Land Board" and "BLNR."



promised to produce an EIS, won a State permit in a contested case despite never completing a comprehensive management plan, and then had this permit decision reversed on appeal due to the absence of that plan.<sup>50</sup> NASA eventually gave up because of its cost, but the damage to the University's reputation had been done.

The next big project proposal was the Thirty Meter Telescope. Determined to avoid another debacle like the Keck Outrigger, UH revised its strategy, producing the most comprehensive management plan in its 47 years of leasing the summit and arguably surpassing the auditor's recommendations. They also resolved problems affecting the Outrigger by producing a full EIS as well. To emphasize its image of renewed accountability, an eager University of Hawai'i even imaginatively entitled its comprehensive management plan "The Comprehensive Management Plan" (CMP). The Land Board accepted both and, in 2011, granted the Conservation District Use Permit allowing for construction of the TMT.

In no small part, the auditor's reports, public outcry, and the Outrigger collapse provided UH with, not only new motivation to satisfy State and Federal requirements, but also a virtual blueprint for creating a permit-ready management structure and telescope proposal. Once produced, the CMP and EIS would all but guarantee the success of future permit applications. In its reform, the UH arguably learned from its mistakes. From another perspective, however, the reform indicates a lesson learned: that is, to anticipate legal challenges and circumvent future obstacles. Meeting all legal criteria, and promising a million dollar annual donation through a "Community Benefits Package," the

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<sup>50</sup> The Keck Outrigger project proposed increasing the total of 13 to 19 telescopes when it was defeated on appeal.

University persuaded the Board of Land and Natural Resources who would now be left with little choice *but* to permit the TMT, which it did promptly.

A small group of citizens initiated a contested case to challenge that permit. The legal battle was long and emotionally exhausting for everyone, yet it was in this context that I interviewed all but one of the petitioners in that case. At its close in early 2013, the final decision to uphold the permit was justified by a Land Board who argued, “The purpose of the conservation district rules is not to prohibit land uses.”<sup>51</sup> With prohibition off the table, the BLNR’s conservation rules serve to facilitate industrial land uses.

I suggest the problem was not only that the Land Board issued a permit but that permits are almost guaranteed, even if conditional. Whereas a regulated system of permitting creates impediments for developers, they do not establish criteria for impeding specific development projects, bringing the very function of a Department of Land and Natural Resources into question. Despite the history of failed management of the summit, the Land Board asked only that the University create a “comprehensive” management plan; the criteria for which would be left to the discretion of a Land Board who had demonstrated earlier sympathies towards the UH and astronomy. Moreover, according to entomologist Fred Stone, former Sierra Club director Nelson Ho, and biologist Deborah Ward, among others I interviewed, the evidentiary parameters for “comprehensive” were stretched as the document failed to meet the promise of its name.

The BLNR decision raises two important questions. First, why does the fate of such precious lands as Mauna Kea depend on the State’s delegation of management

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<sup>51</sup> State of Hawai‘i, Department of Land and Natural Resources, DLNR File No. HA-11-05, “Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law and Decision and Order,” p. 92. Internal quote is from Haw. Rev. Stat. § 183C-1.

responsibilities to an institution unproven in the field of land management and carrying a record of failure on that particular site? Second, if the BLNR is given the mandate to resolve land use issues, does it have the legal capacity to prohibit land use outright? As the Board of Land and Natural Resources' contested case process is described as a "quasi-judicial" space,<sup>52</sup> it is striking that the Land Board has no judges, its members are not lawyers, and their decisions are subject to the juridical branch of State government. BLNR is afforded a great deal of power to make decisions on land use and exceptions to conservation rules, yet its own authority to determine policy is never open for debate. Its authority is simply the *a priori* condition within which land decisions are made. In this way, questions of right, ethics, and indigenous value are reduced to instrumentalist procedure within a State agency.

I argue such ambiguities in law effectively help it to operationalize the continued privilege of science because, while the cultural authority to make decisions is delegated, every decision in the end comes back to a state agency, an administrative rule, the court, or a legislative process. Yet, law is never called to account for itself. In terms of providing enumerable and varied methods for neutralizing indigenous dissent and other visions Mauna Kea's futurity, the distribution of power across science, law, and the state presents a mutually beneficial and effective system that fulfills the needs of each. Whereas it seems to be simply a matter of issuing a permit, my concern is that the power enacted by law is in its ability to escape interrogation of its own legitimacy, which could likewise require a defense of Western science's cultural privilege on sacred Hawaiian

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<sup>52</sup> KAHEA: The Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, "OHA backs down from contesting the TMT sublease," Available online at: <http://kahea.org/press-room/press-clips/oha-backs-down-from-contesting-the-tmt-sublease>. Accessed on September 16, 2014.

lands. When it comes to interrogating the origins of its authority more broadly, settler colonial law and science appear to be off the table. This is the political in settler colonial law and science. Although announcement of the Board's decision incited public protests on Hawai'i Island, the management plan has convinced many residents, including many Native Hawaiians, that the TMT project would be more beneficial to the local economy than it would be harmful to the summit ecosystem, native cultural practices, or public health. Here, I turn to the public relations campaign that won this broader support for continued astronomy expansion, but which relied upon a racialized absorption, sanitation, and representation of indigenous difference to do so.

### *“Cultural Sensitivity” and Constructing Modernity*

The University's effort to remake itself required new replacements and representational practices. As part of this new management process included discursive strategies to sway public opinion that the University had listened to the community, learned from Hawaiians, and is now “culturally sensitive,” the University's public image slowly improved and popular support for the new telescope gradually increased. In the development of its current management structure, the University and TMT partners<sup>53</sup> began representing astronomers and Kanaka ʻŌiwi as having, not only a shared interest in observing the stars, but a deeper cultural affinity through a parallel commitment to scientific knowledge. An imagined evolution from “ancient Hawaiians” to “modern

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<sup>53</sup> The international consortia called the TMT Observatory Corporation consists of five partners including the California Institute of Technology (Caltech), the University of California (UC), the Association of Canadian Universities for Research in Astronomy (ACURA), the Department of Science and Technology of India, the National Astronomical Observatories of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and the National Astronomical Observatory of Japan.

astronomers” is now quite popular in discourses where it is noted that traditional navigators sailed by the stars in search of new lands much like today’s astronomers search the cosmos for new planets and answers to existential questions. Such discourses effectively function as checks on actual or more progressive forms of alterity, substituting for radical change trivial opportunities for inclusion or regulated degrees of participation. They can also result in the enlistment of Hawaiians or their replacement. Cultural practices and historical achievements may be reconstituted within the state as evidence of a progressive shift towards liberal multicultural inclusion where the benefits of astronomy, science, and modernity are presumed self-evident and universal, even threatened and in need of protections.

For example, constructing such an affinity, former Keck Observatory Director, Fredrick Chaffee, was quoted in an early Mauna Kea Master Plan Summary, stating:

After all, the ancient Hawaiians were among the first great astronomers, using the stars to guide them among the islands in the vast Pacific, centuries before anyone else had developed such skill. Long before Europeans and mainlanders, Hawaiian astronomers were studying the heavens with awe and wonder, the same feelings that draw modern astronomers to study the heavens. At this very deep level, I feel we are brothers and sisters.<sup>54</sup>

Such a comment envisions a familial relationship between Kanaka and settlers whereas reality suggests a more uneven power differential. According to his rhetoric, the mountain and stars are an inheritance bequeathed to astronomer-heirs by their supposed

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<sup>54</sup> Fredric Chaffee, quoted in University of Hawai‘i, “Voices and Visions of Mauna Kea,” Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan and Implementation Process Summary (2000).

ancient Hawaiian predecessors. Reminiscent of the “host culture” rhetoric common to “visitor industry” discourses that imply Kanaka agency in post-statehood tourism was unmediated, unproblematic, or even unanimous, Chaffee’s constructed family serves to further dislocate ‘Ōiwi through an appropriation of those ancestors unable to speak for themselves. Hawaiians and astronomers are now remade into siblings.

However, this kinship reproduces established hierarchies that are mapped onto a temporal imaginary, what Sandra Harding describes as the tradition versus modernity binary – a scale on which primitive natives and Western scientists occupy opposite ends.<sup>55</sup> In the modernity vs. tradition binary, “the specters of the feminine and the primitive” continue to haunt Western discourses. To maintain its position as modern, the rational state must distance itself from anything it would cast off as regressive, backward, traditional, or pre-modern – the categories historically associated with women and native peoples. Whereas Chaffee’s statement appears to recognize Hawaiian technological and intellectual accomplishments, in this linear model of time, Hawaiians are always locked in a primitive, feminized past as outmoded and obsolete, while the West is exactly the opposite: technologically advanced, rational, forward-thinking, and scientific. It also assumes progress follows a single, universal trajectory with the West at its helm. Hawaiians and other indigenous peoples can only strive towards the impossible achievement of catching up. As a redemptive and idealist vision of history, such invocations of the binary do less to explain Mauna Kea astronomy than they do to rationalize the dispossession behind it.

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<sup>55</sup> Sandra Harding, *Sciences From Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities, and Modernities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

Another example of appropriation meant to convey this sense of cultural affinity between “ancient Hawaiians” and “modern astronomers” appears in the same 2000 UH Master Plan summary. Therein is a quote by Mō‘ī David La‘amea Kalākaua addressing a British expedition of astronomers dispatched to the Kingdom of Hawai‘i to observe the rare transit of Venus in 1874. The Master Plan summary gives the impression that Kalākaua’s support for the transit expedition indicates support for current Mauna Kea astronomy. In the document entitled, “Voices and Visions of Mauna Kea,” the quote reads:

It will afford me unfeigned satisfaction if my kingdom can add its quota toward the successful accomplishment of the most important astronomical observation of the present century and assist, however humbly, the enlightened nations of the earth in these costly enterprises...<sup>56</sup>

Recasting Kalākaua as an advocate of contemporary astronomy development on Mauna Kea today is a novel idea, but misleading. So, what was the goal of this 19<sup>th</sup> century endeavor? It was one of five British expeditions sent to different locations to observe the transit of Venus across our view of the sun, the data from which would assist in the development of a more precise measurement of the scale of our solar system. Published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1874, the Kalākaua quote is from a letter in which he welcomed the expedition, indicated genuine appreciation for their work, and offered the Kingdom’s logistical support. However, this context is entirely absent from the Master Plan. Kalākaua was encouraging, not the industrial development

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<sup>56</sup> Mō‘ī David Kāwika La‘amea Kalākaua, quoted in University of Hawai‘i, “Voices and Visions of Mauna Kea,” Mauna Kea Science Reserve Master Plan and Implementation Process Summary (2000).

of Mauna Kea, but a support for – in his words – the “costly enterprises to establish the basis of astronomical distances.”<sup>57</sup> Then, why omit any reference to the transit of Venus? As Noenoe Silva has argued, “Colonial historiography...does not simply rationalize the past and suppress the knowledge of the oppressed,”<sup>58</sup> it recasts that knowledge with ellipses, transpositions, and recontextualizations to suit the historical narrative that affirms settler colonial hegemony. Deployments of history used to draw connections between events is not in and of itself a colonial or violent activity, but when the implication is made that today’s monumental science on Mauna Kea would be supported by historical figures unable to speak for themselves, the move represents a practice characteristic of the broader replacement of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi as a cultural and moral measure.

With the new Comprehensive Management Plan and EIS, the University presents a structure for Mauna Kea’s management that appears steeped in Hawaiian culture and is now responsive to the community. For example, ostensible demonstrations of cultural sensitivity also appear in the collected body and arrangement of information presented in the two documents. Both place sections eloquently written by or “citing” Hawaiian cultural practitioners from native perspectives alongside sections composed by other, often unnamed, authors representing a range of other fields in the natural sciences.<sup>59</sup> In

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<sup>57</sup> *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 19, 1874, quoted in Michael Chauvin, *Hōkūloa: The British 1874 Transit of Venus Expedition to Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2004), 198-99.

<sup>58</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 9.

<sup>59</sup> The authors are employed by the University of Hawai‘i and one of the several consulting firms contracted by UH to produce the CMP, its four sub-plans, and the



the opening pages of the two documents are descriptions of Hawaiian cultural and religious practices, values, rituals, protocols, and beliefs as well as mo‘olelo outlining the importance of the natural world and Mauna Kea to Hawaiians, which establishes their bonds to the land. At first glance, this is an amazing addition to a non-native institution’s management place. However, I argue they are crass appropriations.

First, these are frequently located in the documents as introductions to the science narrative, thus privileging the latter. Second, these sections are presented as “ancient history,” and “Cultural Anchor.”<sup>60</sup> The effect relegates traditional knowledge temporally by arrangement in the overall text as prior to science; thus, prior to modernity and conceptually as outside of science proper. Traditional knowledge – i.e., stories, legends, and myths useful for setting the stage – works primarily as a preface to the real business of scientific analysis. In this presentation of indigenous knowledge, it appears as merely quaint and provincial information, thereby undermining its legitimacy.<sup>61</sup> The term “anchor” also connotes a weight that inhibits mobility, transformation, and progress – that which is denied to Hawaiians. As a weight connotes a burden, the anchor metaphor implies a need for shedding, something that has been overcome, and a thing of the past. Transitions within the two documents present a Hawaiian voice in one section that invariably is supplanted by a subsequent section featuring the voice of science and

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EIS. The others include Sustainable Resources Group Intn’l, Inc., Pacific Consulting Services, Inc., and Parsons Brinckerhoff.

<sup>60</sup> A piece composed by the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation by this title precedes the executive summary and table of contents in the CMP.

<sup>61</sup> Several other sections of the CMP feature similar narrations, but they appear as digressions. Their juxtapositions are also similarly disparate and the primary voice of the document returns to one rooted in the authority of a Western scientific perspective.

technology. The final purpose of the document is to rationalize astronomy expansion, leaving readers to wonder why the cultural ever appeared at all, if not to legitimate UH.

However, whereas the arrangement and the anchor metaphor are certainly open to interpretations as trivial points of contention, the prefaces in the CMP (entitled, “Cultural Anchor”) and the EIS present problematic de-contextualizations that reflect the fraudulent representational practices this chapter has sought to reveal. The entire CMP preface was actually lifted (i.e., improperly cited) from an earlier cultural study submitted, not for the CMP, but as part of the Big Island’s Saddle Road expansion project in 1997, which was authored by Edward L.H. Kanahele and Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele.<sup>62</sup> In my interview with Auntie Pua about the appearance of this narrative in the CMP, she told me she had no idea it was used for this purpose. Asking her about the original context of that document, she said it was to register in the official record, from a Kanaka perspective, the sacred value of Mauna Kea in a Hawaiian worldview, with the objective to influence the design of the Saddle Road realignment project. The CMP, however, is a document designed to convey the University’s plan for stewardship and, as I argue, is a document that serves to rationalize its continued control to secure astronomy expansion.

The other instance of decontextualization is an appropriation of a quote in the EIS, also by Auntie Pua, that comes from an interview she gave to Kepā Maly, a cultural researcher who has done numerous researches, oral history studies, and archival literature

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<sup>62</sup> P.K. Kanahele and E.L. Kanahele, “A Social Impact Assessment – Indigenous Hawaiian Cultural Values of the Proposed Saddle Road Alignments,” Project A-AD-6 (1), Hilo, Hawai‘i (1997).

collection for the Office of Mauna Kea Management.<sup>63</sup> The quote is from a moment in which she discusses the importance of the piko metaphor. In the original, she discusses the importance of the mountain for burial of iwi and cremated remains in the context of challenging astronomy on the sacred mountain.

This quote and many others are presented in the EIS as simply an ornamentation of culture for the document less concerned about the culture as it is about fulfilling a legal mandate and selling astronomy to the skeptical. As an opening piece, it establishes for the reader an impression that the University, not only takes seriously the cultural value and sacred view of Mauna Kea, but has in fact adopted this perspective, now represents it, and therefore is the appropriate carrier of that knowledge. Eloquently crafted – perhaps to the lay reader – the piece appears to be a genuine demonstration of cultural hybridity: the University really has changed. They are not only representing the cultural, but they actually *know* the culture. Even Pua Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, an esteemed kumu hula and cultural icon appears to endorse the CMP. However, despite appearances, Kanahele was anything but advocating for astronomy.

In the original interview transcript from which this and several other quotes were pulled, the context of the section finds Kanahele articulating a case for the removal of all telescopes. “Something so trivial, and yet, in the minds of people,” she argues, “because it cost a lot money, and it allows them (astronomers) to look out into space. And that kind of thing to us is so trivial. But the mountain itself, and the fact that its way up there,

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<sup>63</sup> Kepā Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update: Oral History and Consultation Study, and Archival Literature Research: Ahupua‘a of –Kā‘ohe (Hāmākua District) and Humu‘ula (Hilo District), Island of Hawai‘i (various TMK)*, Prepared for Group 70 International by Kumu Pono Associates, Hilo, Hawai‘i (1999), A-362–382.

is the most important.”<sup>64</sup> Hardly a minute after Kanahele uttered the quoted words regarding the piko metaphor used in the EIS, she disdainfully addresses critics of astronomy opponents, who, “want to throw it back in our face (and say to us), ‘Well, you didn’t say anything before.’” She asserts, “But, we are saying it now,” and taking action. She then expresses, in no uncertain terms, her views on Mauna Kea astronomy when asked by Maly:

KM: Yes, now is the time (to take action). So your *mana‘o*, flat out, about *Ka mauna a Wākea*, in regards to development of any kind, observatories or what in the summit region, would be?

PK: No, Nothing on the summit. They can go to other places in the world. They say this has to do with the economy, I don’t see that economy filtering down. The economy is the biggest excuse. For the economy, we have given up all of our sacred places.<sup>65</sup>

The CMP’s “Cultural Anchor” and the EIS’s preface are gross misrepresentations built around discursive acts of deception. If this is anything like the science produced through astronomy or by University scientist contributors to the Comprehensive Management Plan,<sup>66</sup> I am skeptical the mountain is in good hands. Manipulating the words and works of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi is dangerous practice to get into, especially if the goal truly is about

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<sup>64</sup> Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update* (1999), A-378.

<sup>65</sup> Maly, *Mauna Kea Science Reserve and Hale Pōhaku Complex Development Plan Update* (1999), A-378-9. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>66</sup> Because of deficiencies in the original document, the Board of Land and Natural Resources mandated the University produce four “sub-plans” to augment the scope of the CMP. These include the Cultural Resources Management Plan, the Natural Resources Management Plan, Public Access Plan, and the Decommissioning Plan.

coexistence, respect, and accountability. However, the concern appears to be, not for Hawaiians, but for achieving the necessary state support for expansion. The use of these quotes and thoughts also raises questions about whether other contributors of the CMP and EIS actually support the TMT, let alone approve of their work being appropriated and mobilized in such ways.

Like Kanahele, Kealoha Pisciotta, one of the petitioners who challenged the TMT permit in the contested case, was also appropriated in similar fashion. She was cited in the EIS as “offering” cultural knowledge by describing the value of the summit, differences among types of ahu, and contemporary perspectives on the spiritual significance of the mountain.<sup>67</sup> Despite challenging her indigeneity in the hearings and arguing she did not deliver sufficient evidence proving she is legally “native Hawaiian,” – which would afford her constitutional protections of her contemporary cultural practices – by using Pisciotta’s expertise in a document intended to advance the TMT, the University is ultimately using her mana‘o as a means to undermine her work. Placing Kanaka scholarship into very disparate contexts that are not endorsed by the authors themselves, represents a problematic appropriation of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, their intellectual labor, and traditional knowledge.

One of the important selling points the University made to the public and the BLNR to convince skeptics that the adverse impacts of the TMT would be adequately mitigated was a list of other good deeds that included, among other things, educating its telescope operators and the public about the sacred value of Mauna Kea and the cultural

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<sup>67</sup> As discussed in the preface, Kealoha Pisciotta is a former telescope operator, cultural researcher and practitioner, and head of the Native Hawaiian environmental organization Mauna Kea Anaina Hou.

connections Native Hawaiians have with the summit. The Comprehensive Management Plan explains the importance of Mauna Kea to Hawaiians and the importance of education in this regard:

It is clear that to many Hawaiians, Mauna Kea is more than a mountain; it is the embodiment of the Hawaiian people. As we embarked on the development of this CMP [Comprehensive Management Plan] and gathered community input, it became apparent there is a general lack of understanding and appreciation of the cultural significance Mauna Kea holds for many Hawaiian people. It could simply be a lack of understanding and appreciation that leads to disrespect for the cultural and spiritual values associated with Mauna Kea, as well as to direct and indirect impacts to Mauna Kea's significant natural and cultural resources. It was therefore not only deemed appropriate, but necessary, to provide the users of this CMP with an orientation on the Hawaiian cultural significance of Mauna Kea.<sup>68</sup>

The notion that the Comprehensive Management Plan might identify and explain the nature of "disrespect for the cultural and spiritual values associated with Mauna Kea," while itself showing such little respect as to properly cite Hawaiians is an example of the practice of replacement discussed above. To posture as a defender of Hawaiian cultural and spiritual values without mention of the disrespect Hawaiians feel the TMT represents is a problematic suggestion, but has proven an effective strategy. After all, this is a document that, in the last instance, is meant to build a case for the University's continued management and development of the summit, despite documented failures. Therefore, the rhetoric of necessity and the argument that this plan must provide "orientation about

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<sup>68</sup> University of Hawai'i, "Mauna Kea Comprehensive Management Plan, UH Management Areas," January 2009, 1-1.

the Hawaiian cultural significance of Mauna Kea” performs the delicate reversal necessary for a representational replacement and assumption of environmental authority. According to this frame, the University not only knows Hawaiians, but has *a responsibility* to know Hawaiians and their history, perhaps better than most Hawaiians do themselves.

With eloquent mo‘olelo and indigenous worldviews expressing cultural meanings, place names, genealogies, and storied figures from Hawaiian traditions as preface to descriptions of the University’s new management structure, the CMP and EIS appear disjointed. Rather than creating an image of a natural connection between Western science and Hawaiian culture, the juxtaposition is forced and contrived. As UH is consistently described in the text as “steward of the land,” the documents reveal deep anxieties about its presumed affinity with Hawaiians. The discourses of cultural affinity, kinship, and inheritance, as well as the presentation, arrangement, and implications of those narratives of responsibility, protection, and payment-as-mitigation, serve ultimately to authenticate the University as culturally sensitive, responsive, inclusive, and even *like* Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, despite evidence to the contrary.

It is clear the legislative audits and the Keck Outrigger defeat motivated UH to change course. The Comprehensive Management Plan and EIS actually do represent a degree of reform, perhaps unprecedented. However, the cost of that reform is marginal considering that their encompassing relations of power remain intact. Where the UH failed in the past, these documents now promise reform: a renewed commitment to protect critical habitats, historic sites, natural resources, and native rights.

### *Stewardship, Sustainability, and Anxiety*

There is an irony for many in the assertion that the University might educate the public on the disrespect Hawaiians experience and the Hawaiian cultural significance of Mauna Kea, especially considering the UH is also fighting a legal battle costing millions to continue development of the mountain, which also requires discrediting Kanaka claims to cultural practice and authenticity.<sup>69</sup> That the UH responds by claiming cultural sensitivity while advancing another giant telescope project suggests a troubled University administration who must somehow reconcile what appears to opponents to be a contradiction. The anxiety becomes most apparent in the insistence of reform and the pairing of the TMT development with assertions of stewardship, sustainability, and accountability. As the world's largest telescope, it is difficult to imagine the TMT could *not* have significant impacts on the mountain or Hawaiian cultural practice, although this is the University's claim.<sup>70</sup> How can large-scale industrial development be reconciled

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<sup>69</sup> As of mid-year, between 2010-2011, the University spent \$1.1 million on legal fees to secure the Conservation District Use Permit and to fight challenges to the TMT. During the contested case, the University's monthly rate in expenditures for outside legal counsel more than doubled, reaching \$203,000/mo. in 2010-2011, from a rate of approx. \$86,000/mo. in the preceding 44-months. Considering the University's annual operating budget is supplemented (60%) through a portion of State general excise and personal income tax, as well as student tuition and fees, tax payers and students were inadvertently subsidizing the University's circumvention of State conservation laws and Native Hawaiian traditional and customary rights. See Rob Perez, "Legal fees spike at UH," *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, June 1, 2011; Nanea Kalani, "Civil Beat Shares University of Hawaii Salaries," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, September 1, 2010.

<sup>70</sup> Among the claims made in the contested case is that the TMT would not add to existing, or "cumulative impacts" because these have been previously defined. Instead, the rhetoric of "incremental impacts" was used in reference to visual and habitat impacts to argue that the TMT would not cause "substantial impacts," but instead only "incremental impacts," which the authors of the EIS have kept rather ambiguously defined, even through cross-examination. The rhetorical slippage in meaning and interpretation, coding and encoding, achieves a necessary flexibility to



with the protection of environmental and cultural resources? The 2009 Final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) gives some indication as it promises a renewed commitment to preservation. The executive summary reads:

*UH has been working to find ways for these two cultures to co-exist in such a way that is mutually respectful yet honors the unique cultural and natural resources of Maunakea.* The most recent effort is the CMP recently approved by the BLNR and accepted by the UH [Board of Regents]. The CMP provides for the stewardship of the land with a road map to conserve, protect, and preserve this unique and most special resource. The CMP is the culmination of years of work by OMKM (the Office of Mauna Kea Management) and UH Hilo in establishing the foundation for good management of UH's management areas.

*UH, UH Hilo, and TMT have gained an understanding of the cultural sensitivity of Maunakea through working with the community during the preparation of the CMP and this Final EIS.* It is the intention of all those involved to be good stewards of the land and avoid miscommunication or unintentional disrespect between the Project and the community.<sup>71</sup>

The repetition of the point within the EIS does not make it more convincing. Moreover, although the petitioners would prefer coexistence to include a moratorium on new development, to coexist under present conditions is to accept the TMT on its own terms.

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diminish the significance of anticipated impacts. See DLNR No. HA-11-05, Volume II, Contested Case Hearing, Transcripts, August 16, 2011.

<sup>71</sup> University of Hawai'i at Hilo, *Final Environmental Impact Statement, Vol. 1: Thirty Meter Telescope Project*, Island of Hawai'i (May 8, 2010), 3-1. Emphases added.

The EIS does acknowledge that “the past actions on Maunakea have resulted in substantial, significant, and adverse impacts to cultural,” geological, and biological resources.<sup>72</sup> However, the concession is undercut when the University argues there must be a distinction between “cumulative impacts” and “impacts associated with an individual project.”<sup>73</sup> The logic suggests one more telescope, despite its size, will not significantly damage the mountain any more than what has already been done cumulatively. The EIS also proposes measures to “avoid, minimize, or mitigate” the potential substantial adverse impacts.<sup>74</sup> The logic of the argument is that the proposed TMT would have substantial, adverse, and significant impact on the resources, but that these would be tolerable for two reasons: first, because they could be worse and, second, because they would be mitigated.

Through expert witness testimony in the contested case hearing, the University was successful in framing the potential impacts of the TMT as likely to be no greater than what already exists. Citing expert witness testimonies, UH attorneys argued the TMT “would not have significant impacts on biological resources...because those species and habitats found in the TMT project site *would not be unique* to the project site but are also found elsewhere”; “will not have a *significant* impact on any biological resources”; “would not have any impact on burials”<sup>75</sup>; “would not have any substantial impact on any other historic properties” because *no known* such properties were identified by experts in the proposed site; would not impact cultural practices because “no cultural practices *are*

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<sup>72</sup> UHH, *FEIS*, Vol. 1 (2010), 3-23; Chapter 343 Final EIS Summary Sheet, TMT Project.

<sup>73</sup> UHH, *FEIS*, Vol. 1 (2010), Section 3.16–Cumulative Impacts.

<sup>74</sup> This is a paraphrase of a statement consistently written throughout the EIS.

<sup>75</sup> As ‘Ōiwi hid the buried remains of their kūpuna, burials will likely not be found until they are unearthed. The argument is self-serving.

*known* to be associated with any specific historic property identified in or near the TMT project”; and would not obstruct view planes because no such view planes were used in ancient cultural practices.<sup>76</sup> Parsing out impacts in this way is effective because the 18-story, 8-acre project appears to sit in an unwanted and desolate piece of land where nothing of significance exists.

The oscillation between admission and denial of potential impacts, the distinctions between multiple categories of practice and degrees of impact, the indeterminacy of *knowing*, and the proposed remedies to offset expected impacts suggest a deep ambivalence, a haunting uncertainty in the University’s claims to stewardship and community responsiveness. In its decision and order to uphold the TMT permit, the Land Board accepted the substitution of a University promise of sustainability over actual evidence of sustainability drawn from precedence:

The purpose of the conservation district rules is not to prohibit land uses... The TMT project provides for ‘appropriate management and use’ that promotes the long-term sustainability of resources and the public health, safety, and welfare... By following the applicable provisions of the various relevant plans, sub-plans, and permit conditions, UHH [the University of Hawai‘i-Hilo] and the TMT Corporation will conserve, protect, and preserve the important natural and cultural resources of the State, will promote their long-term sustainability, and will promote the health, safety, and welfare of the public.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Contested Case Hearing, Transcripts of closing arguments, DLNR No. HA-11-05, Vol. VII, September 30, 2011, 24-30.

<sup>77</sup> State of Hawai‘i, Department of Land and Natural Resources, DLNR File No. HA-11-05, “Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law and Decision and Order,” p. 92. Internal quote is from Haw. Rev. Stat. § 183C-1.

The Land Board also accepted the University's logic of offsetting any potential impacts through "mitigation measures" proposed in the Environmental Impact Statement and Comprehensive Management Plan. The impacts are represented, and legally determined, as tolerable when weighed against the project's proposed benefits. For example, the TMT Corp. and University promise to allocate funds through the aforementioned "Community Benefits Package" amounting to \$1 million annually for grants, scholarships, and other educational programs "specific to Hawaiian culture," astronomy, math and sciences, and "community outreach."<sup>78</sup> The benefits package has been described to me in my interviews by some as a "bribe" and by others as deserved, long overdue, and fair compensation. The funds will be distributed by an entity, yet to be established by the University, which they are calling "The Hawaii Island New Knowledge Fund" (THINK). Resembling a pay-to-pollute model used in other liberal environmentalisms like Cap-and-Trade policies, impacts are considered tolerable if they do not surpass a threshold determined in law. According to the model, some degree of damage is made to be reasonable. In other words, the determination of what qualifies as reasonable is based, not on an assessment of damages, but on the best possible pay off *despite* the damages for which nothing can be done. What is sustainability if the rhetorical slippage allows for fuzzy definitions that enable degrees of obstruction, redemption for damage, and apologies for pollution?

The idea of sustainability itself is a contradictory concept, yet it's all the craze. In recent years, the term has become ubiquitous among groups with broadly divergent interests, including conservationists, governments, corporations, the military, farmers,

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<sup>78</sup> DLNR, HA-11-05, Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Decision and Order, 35.

and Universities among others. How does ‘sustainability’ become appropriated to such historically antagonistic groups without losing its relevance? What is it about sustainability that makes it universally adaptable – as attractive to local community organizations as it is to transnational agribusiness corporations? The concept brings dissimilar categories under a unifying rubric, ostensibly aligning otherwise polemical and conflicting interests within a single ideology. The concept possesses an ambiguously positive environmentalist connotation that most people can, even *should*, get behind, which makes it extremely important to industry, military, and corporations. It is also attractive to advertising firms and PR agencies and departments as its marketizing function broadens possibilities for branding and determining fundable environmental or food and land-based projects. We see this in corporate rhetoric that deploy the language of “sustainable development” and the burgeoning land consolidation practices described as “private-public partnerships,” both of which find ‘sustainability’ highly malleable, marketable, and multicultural. That flexibility should force us to question meanings associated with other commonly used terms like “stewardship,” which also appears frequently in University and TMT discourses. Where it would appear as a contradiction that the military and conservation groups can both be imagined as ‘sustainable’, it is in that very ambiguity of the term that it becomes ubiquitous.

Leerom Medovoi, for example, has argued that ‘sustainability’ is so broadly adaptable because the term’s protective meaning is tempered by its close parallel with ‘tolerance’ in which some (environmental) damage becomes acceptable. Tolerance accounts for its counter force by accepting it in small amounts. When measured against the potential for profit, this connotation of tolerance usefully elides sustainability’s

connotation of care, protection, or preservation. As Medovoi writes, “Instead of suggesting the support of life...(sustainability) signifies instead a suffering unto the edge of death.”<sup>79</sup> This is because the etymology of ‘sustain’ presents both positive and negative connotations. To illustrate the negative, consider the EIS: throughout there are references to “sustainable practices,” “sustainable markets,” and “sustainable technologies,” each of which has an effect because of its ambiguity. These references imply that sustaining the TMT and astronomy is somehow synonymous with sustaining the environment, yet that claim need not be explicitly made. Read critically, the phrase “to sustain” may imply sustaining a degree of damage, as in idea of “sustaining an injury” or “sustaining an objection” as used in legal parlance. Considering this slippage, the term holds a hidden capacity for broad application. My concern is in the use of the term in association with an environmental ethic.

How can the health *and* destruction of the environment both be “sustained” within the structures of the UH management plan? Advocates of this line of reasoning have adopted a neoliberal approach and appropriated a contemporary environmentalism. They suggest the interests of capitalism and environmentalists are actually compatible: without a healthy environment, there could be no profit. Protection of the environment in this

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<sup>79</sup> See Leerom Medovoi, “A Contribution To the Critique of Political Ecology: Sustainability as Disavowal” in Dawson, Ashley, ed. *New Formations: A Journal of Culture/Theory/Politics*, Vol. 69: Imperial Ecologies (2010), 131-132, who argues, “(T)he close parallel between tolerance and sustainability captures an underlying political logic of our era: just as tolerance supplements, and ultimately makes tolerable the hegemony of political liberalism, so sustainability serves to sustain economic liberalism and, ultimately, capitalism itself... (H)ow does ‘sustainability’ stand in as a compensatory substitute for some more profound ethical critique and in lieu of the impulse to a deeper political transformation?... The connotation of ‘sustainability’ as tolerating damage permits it to work in exactly the opposite fashion, as a disavowal of that transformation.”

frame is consolidated within a capitalist imperative to “stay in business forever.”<sup>80</sup>

Within so-called triple bottom line accounting, ‘people, planet, and profit’ are equal objectives; each comprising a separate ‘environment’ that requires protection if corporations are to continue accumulating capital. As both do not equally sustain life, these conflations of corporate and environmental sustainabilities raise urgent questions about the value of the concept, particularly when legal protections are concerned.

The petitioners in the contested case hearing were unconvinced by the language of stewardship and the tolerance model of sustainability. They argued against the Land Board’s decision and order for upholding the TMT permit claiming:

The law mandates the protection of sacred places, like Mauna a Wākea, and the practices that occur there, from inappropriate land uses. Everyone is responsible and accountable for their own actions that would adversely impact this sacred landscape. The true aspect of stewardship entrusted with the BLNR for our precious and public lands in the conservation district is to insure that these significant areas are acknowledged and preserved for present and future generations. *In essence, the development on the summit of Mauna a Wākea is a commercial enterprise under the guise of science, educational, and economic opportunities.*<sup>81</sup>

The University’s assertion of increased cultural sensitivity and community responsiveness was, to the petitioners, not credible. However, to the Land Board, it

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<sup>80</sup> Medovoi, “A Contribution To the Critique of Political Ecology” (2010), 132.

<sup>81</sup> DLNR File No. HA-11-05 (CDUA HA-3568); Petitioners’ Combined Narrative Exceptions to the Hearing Officer’s Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Decision & Order, 5. Emphasis added.

proved successful, if not persuasive. Upon comparison of the two documents, the Board's Decision and Order was in many places a cut-and-pasted duplicate of the University's own legal brief and recommendations, including typos and citational errors, raising questions about BLNR's continued accommodations made for UH on Mauna Kea. As UH demonstrated a new effort to approach management and consultation in an unprecedented way, this reform can be understood as simply a means to an end: the realization of the Thirty Meter Telescope Project. Again, coexistence would occur on the terms set, not by Kanaka 'Ōiwi who feel the summit is already overdeveloped, but rather by the University. The EIS and management plan were something residents could live with. Although, perhaps it was not totally convincing that the TMT would have no adverse impacts, the public would accept some impacts because of the mitigation measures. The Community Benefits Package was particularly instrumental in this regard. The shift in conversation from destruction to community responsiveness, cultural sensitivity, and community benefits using the logic of mitigation, ultimately worked. However, the irresolution of sustainability and the insistence on distinguishing adverse cumulative from potential individual impacts, implies an anxiety troubling the University. In the next section I will discuss the inventive forms of disqualification that render the appropriations that much more egregious.

### *Legal Procedures and Producing Inauthenticity*

In settler colonial Hawai'i where traditional and customary rights are claimed in order to gain constitutional protections of Hawaiian cultural activities, qualifications of a cultural practice and native identity hinge on two ambiguous dates and qualifying legal



tests. The earlier date defines one's authenticity as a native person and the other delimits the cultural practice in question. I will address the latter first.

In State law, the traditional and customary rights doctrine stems from common law theories, which allow for the recognition of a cultural activity to which one seeks constitutional rights protection, but only providing the usage in question has been practiced for long periods of time, exercised without interruption, and is generally accepted as "ancient" and "reasonable."<sup>82</sup> The 1995 Supreme Court ruling known as *Public Access Shoreline Hawai'i v. Hawai'i County Planning Commission (PASH)* determined reasonable application, pertaining only to activities conducted on "undeveloped land" or "less than fully developed land."<sup>83</sup> The University argues the TMT would be built on *fully developed land*; so, cultural rights are not applicable. If someone seeks constitutional protection of native Hawaiian traditional and customary rights for a cultural practice relating to access or religious freedom that is claimed to be obstructed by a development project, the burden of proof falls on the individual claiming the right who must also defend the claim that the practice is "traditional and customary" – that is, authentic. That individual must furnish evidence that this cultural activity had "been established in practice by November 25, 1892,"<sup>84</sup> was "associated with the ancient way of life," and continues to this day.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook* (Honolulu: Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation, 1991), 216.

<sup>83</sup> See *Public Access Shoreline Hawai'i v. Hawai'i County Planning Commission*, 79 Haw. 425, 903 P.2d 1246 (1995) ("PASH").

<sup>84</sup> DLNR File No. HA-11-05, Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Decision and Order. The 1892 date refers to common laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom, which were cited in *PASH*. Of notable importance is the difference between the 1892 reference to "Hawaiian national usage," a phrase quoted in the common law section of the 1978

Likewise, a temporal logic of authenticity determines *who* qualifies as a legal subject with standing to make a claim to constitutional rights protections. The authenticity of a claimant’s identity as “native Hawaiian” is pursuant to the criteria established in the HHCA, which reads:

The State reaffirms and shall protect all rights, customarily and traditionally exercised for subsistence, cultural and religious purposes and possessed by ahupua’a tenants who are descendants of native Hawaiians who *inhabited the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778*, subject to the right of the State to regulate such rights.<sup>86</sup>

The State reaffirmed the category “native Hawaiian” in 1978, but its legal test was developed in subsequent case decisions. For example, the *PASH* decision was cited in the subsequent 1998 *State v. Hanapi* decision, which outlined the burden of proof the petitioners in the TMT contested case hearing had to establish. According to *Hanapi*, whether one’s cultural practice is entitled to constitutional rights protection as traditional and customary depends on three factors:

First, he or she must qualify as a “native Hawaiian” within the guidelines set out in *PASH*... *PASH* acknowledged that the terms “native,” “Hawaiian,” or “native Hawaiian” are not defined in our statutes, or suggested in legislative history... *PASH* further declined to endorse a fifty percent blood quantum requirement as

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State of Hawai‘i Constitution in which the “national” was dropped from an otherwise verbatim section. The date signifies when a practice was rendered “common”; See also, *Laws of Her Majesty Liliuokalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, 1892*, 91; Hawai‘i Revised Statutes §§ 1-1 and 7-1; *PASH*.

<sup>85</sup> Hawai‘i Constitution, Article XII, section 7.

<sup>86</sup> Hawai‘i Constitution, Article XII, section 7. Emphasis added.

urged by the plaintiffs... Instead, PASH stated that “those persons who are ‘descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the island prior to 1778,’ and who assert otherwise valid customary and traditional Hawaiian rights are entitled to [constitutional] protection, regardless of their blood quantum.”

Second, once a defendant qualifies as a native Hawaiian, he or she must then establish that his or her claimed right is constitutionally protected as a customary or traditional native Hawaiian practice... The fact that the claimed right is not specifically enumerated in the Constitution or statutes, does not preclude further inquiry concerning other traditional and customary practices that have existed...

Finally, a defendant claiming his or her conduct is constitutionally protected must also prove that the exercise of the right occurred on undeveloped or “less than fully developed property.”<sup>87</sup>

These legal tests were central to the University’s legal strategy in the TMT contested case hearings. In their findings of fact and conclusions of law, the University argued the petitioners had not adequately met the legal test for native Hawaiian identification:

With respect to the first *Hanapi* factor for establishing that conduct is constitutionally protected as a native Hawaiian right, although the Hearing Officer does not question that Petitioners Ching, Neves, Pisciotta, and Flores-Case ‘Ohana are native Hawaiian, *Petitioners offered no testimony or other evidence to establish that they are descendants of native Hawaiians who inhabited the*

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<sup>87</sup> *State v. Hanapi*, 89 Hawai‘i 177, 970 p. 2d 485 (1998) (“*Hanapi*”). Constitution, Art. XII, § 7 cited. Emphases in original.

*Hawaiian islands prior to 1778*. Therefore, Petitioners have not satisfied the first factor of the *Hanapi* analysis.<sup>88</sup>



This enraged Hawaiians in the audience and was the subject of TMT conversations for weeks. The Hearings Officer ultimately did not accept the University's argument regarding the qualification of the petitioners as legally "native,"<sup>90</sup> but the attempt to argue the point is a racialization strategy by which indigeneity is minoritized through mundane legal procedure. Jodi Byrd explains such efforts reinforce the U.S. expansionist project by "turning indigeneity into a 'racial' category, a transformation that equates the distinctions of indigenous nations as sovereign and independent with that of every other racialized and diasporic arrival to be mediated within U.S. citizenry."<sup>91</sup> Wiping away the particularity of Native Hawaiians is to render them one of a dozen other minorities

<sup>88</sup> DLNR File No. HA-11-05, "The Applicant University of Hawai'i at Hilo's Proposed Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Decision and Order," November 18, 2011, 118.

<sup>89</sup> Figure 6.1. Cartoon by Gary R. Hoff, Cartoon of the Day, *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, December 15, 2013.

<sup>90</sup> The reason is because they had been qualified in earlier court proceedings regarding the Keck Outriggers and NASA proposal years before.

<sup>91</sup> Jodi A. Byrd, *Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 202-203.

encompassed and, thus, dismissed by the state. Without distinct legal rights as native people, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi have few available resources for substantive, meaningful change. Although the Land Board was unwilling to disavowal Kanaka ‘Ōiwi in this case, they did accept the other two claims.

The University argued the cultural practice for which the petitioners sought rights protections were “contemporary,” not “ancient,” and thus, not “traditional and customary” as defined in the Constitution or standards established in *Hanapi* and subsequent court decisions:

Petitioners have not offered evidence or testimony sufficient to establish that any of their practices with respect to Mauna Kea are entitled to constitutional protection. In particular, Petitioners have offered no proof that they are seeking protection for practices that were established by Hawaiian usage by November 25, 1892.<sup>92</sup>

The third argument attempting to disqualify the petitioners from claiming constitutional rights protections invoked Western notions of reason to address the present state of Mauna Kea development. The University’s line of argument attempts to suggest that the TMT proposal is “consistent” with existing conservation policy and constitutional laws because the mountain is fully developed. According to the third provision for constitutional protections, claims for Native Hawaiian rights protections can only be made if the violation asserted is executed on undeveloped lands or “less than

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<sup>92</sup> DLNR File No. HA-11-05, “The Applicant University of Hawai‘i at Hilo’s Proposed Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Decision and Order,” November 18, 2011, 118. (Confirm this citation. Deleted a mistaken *ibid.* but I need to confirm)

fully developed land.”<sup>93</sup> Common sense would lead us to believe that if the mountain is fully developed, it is overdeveloped: no more telescopes should be built where an area is already fully developed. However, as a tactical move to block the petitioners from invoking constitutional rights protections, the University argued the summit is *fully developed*. To defend the assertion, attorneys even cited the petitioners’ own testimonies arguing they had previously complained that the mountain was so over (i.e., fully) developed that they almost could not conduct their cultural practice. According to the third *Hanapi* criterion, it is only on “undeveloped” or “less than fully developed” land to which constitutional protections may be sought. The University’s logic? Since the summit is already fully developed, it would be unreasonable to prohibit the TMT because project is consistent with current uses (over/full-development) of the summit. It seems the University’s argument on the summit’s level of development is conditional.

Ultimately, the Land Board accepted nearly all of the University’s arguments. As the two authenticating dates for native Hawaiian rights – 1892 for cultural practice and 1778 for aboriginal descent – embody the logic of replacement, the State’s approval of the conservation district use permit demonstrates the role of Western law in reproducing the colonial binary of tradition vs. modernity that underwrites settler colonialism. Moreover, tracing the origins of traditional and customary rights to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Hawaiian Kingdom law provides the State an elevated status as liberal when “protecting” the “gathering rights” of Native Hawaiians. However, as ‘Umi Perkins has argued, these rights were not simply for access to property owned by others, but within Kingdom law

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<sup>93</sup> The language of consistency, as in, “the TMT project is consistent with current laws,” appears throughout the CMP, EIS, and CCH arguments.

they were actually native rights to fee simple title.<sup>94</sup> The State's juridical order today results in the legal disenfranchisement of Kanaka 'Ōiwi under the guise of Native Hawaiian rights protections, through which the mundane, administrative rejection of indigenous authenticity is not excessive or obviously violent, but is instead, simply, procedural.

### *Repressive Authenticity*

These temporal authenticating logics encompass the legal constructions of inauthenticity against which the settler state achieves its status as rational arbiter; a precarious coherence that reflects an anxiety that troubles big science and its juridical supplement in defining and accounting for Hawaiians' indigeneity. Patrick Wolfe's notion of "repressive authenticity" offers a provisional frame for understanding how rights discourses are rooted in inclusive exclusions. He explains, "The narrative structure of repressive authenticity is the excluded middle."<sup>95</sup> Law accounts for the extreme few, but rejects the middle majority. The system "presents a complex set of histories as an eternal dichotomy," which the colonial Self will straddle to issue and contest authenticities. The polarity establishes the possibility of anomaly or deviation from the preferred, and mythic, authenticity at the ends. However, the aberration also signals the greatest threat to settler society: an unassimilable native subject who must be repressed, through latent negation and positive production of authenticity. The construct establishes the range of exclusion from authenticity by which subjects are evaluated. The logic of

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<sup>94</sup> Mark 'Umi Perkins, "Kuleana: A Genealogy of Native Tenant Rights," Ph.D. diss., University of Hawai'i, 2013.

<sup>95</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 181.

elimination embedded in native Hawaiian rights discourses combined with the inclusive demarcation of qualified authenticity, thus, marks a settler concession of recognizing a limited indigeneity – some native-determined authenticity is accepted, but too much would undermine a settler authority to determine. Wolfe writes,

The more polarized the binary representation, the wider its intervening catchment of empirical inauthenticity. This is why, to appreciate the operation of repressive authenticity, it is necessary to reverse its values, to see it as the positive production of...cultural *inauthenticity*, a condition that it is appropriate to eliminate.<sup>96</sup>

Kanaka practices will invariably get snared in this binary as the anomalous middle. There is an arrogance in settler law that presumes inclusivity of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, while simultaneously positing the “reasonable” terms of their exclusion within the framework of constitutional rights. As settler colonialism is structural, its logic of elimination requires and produces a rarified traditional native-ness that may be minoritized, rendering rights even more problematic as welfare, or “special rights.” Thus, repressive authenticity converts an effect of structural invasion into a multicultural debate over rights. The contradictory inclusion and simultaneous exclusion reflects the productive aspect of the settler state. Mark Rifkin locates Abamben’s “state of exception” at the core of what it means to be sovereign. It is through the sovereign that “what is included in the juridical order and what is excluded from it acquire their meaning.”<sup>97</sup> This positive

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<sup>96</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 181. The ellipsis refers to the genetic component of inauthenticity Wolfe describes, but will not receive attention here. Emphasis in original.

<sup>97</sup> Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception* (2003), trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 19, quote in Mark Rifkin, “Indigenizing Agamben:



production of cultural inauthenticity is born of juridical encounters wherein racialized determinations of Hawaiians' distinct history and cultural knowledge, values, and forms consign them to permanence outside of modernity; their "peculiarization" renders them outside, but governable as inside. Rifkin adds,

the language of exception, of inclusive exclusion, discursively brings Native peoples into the fold of sovereignty, implicitly offering an explanation for why Native peoples do not fit existing legal concepts (they are different) while assuming that they should be placed within the context of U.S. law (its conceptual field is the obvious comparative framework).<sup>98</sup>

As such, the process essentializes Kanaka 'Ōiwi. They are not only productively made authentic through statutes, court decisions, and legal tests, but are also rendered *inauthentic* as a productive consequence of a legal stereotype that conceals the state's own mythic origins and precarious sovereignty. The banal procedural function of settler jurisprudence creates the necessary abject indigenous subject by "locating" her distinction within, but also without. According to Colin Perrin, "Indigenous peoples are 'hard to place' simply here (inside) or there (outside), and it is the terms of inclusion and exclusion, in which indigenous peoples are approached colonially or critically,"<sup>99</sup> that reveal the ambivalence and irresolution of settler coloniality which continues to haunt.

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Rethinking Sovereignty in Light of the 'Peculiar' Status of Native Peoples," in *Cultural Critique*, No. 73, Fall 2009 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 89.

<sup>98</sup> Rifkin, "Indigenizing Agamben" (2009), 90.

<sup>99</sup> Colin Perrin, "Approaching Anxiety: The Insistence of the Postcolonial in the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," in Eve Darian-Smith and Peter Fitzpatrick, eds., *Laws of the Postcolonial* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 25.

The contradictory modes of Kanaka representation as inside and outside, as legitimate and disqualified Others, exposes the failure and anxiety of settler law. In the juridical determination of ‘Ōiwi authenticity, the substance of settler law is not in whether a statement about native-ness or settler stewardship is true or fact. Instead, it is in the insistence and repetition that settler law fails to convince. It is in the “compulsive talk” of stewardship, sustainability, cultural sensitivity, and community responsiveness that colonial anxiety becomes apparent.<sup>100</sup> In the obsessive compulsion to convince and the contradictory impulse to envelop and reject its constructed native Other, “the anxiety which pertains to this undecidability” will continue to trouble settler society.<sup>101</sup>

Anticipating a need to eliminate native rights, the mechanism for determining exceptions to claims was written into the State Constitution in the very definition of the category, “native Hawaiian.” The constructed Other was further expanded upon in subsequent case laws, each of which produced a larger catchment in which ‘Ōiwi would invariably lack authenticity. Against the mythic authenticity of the native Hawaiian Other, the settler presumes his own coherence. The creation of rights holders, therefore, presupposes the possibility of legal disenfranchisement. Likewise, it is the positive generation of inauthenticity of native Hawaiians that reproduces the white colonial patriarchy of the imperial state.

Perhaps one of the most troubling outcomes of these discursive practices is that they restrict possibilities for growth in cultural activities. Hawaiians begin policing Hawaiians when hybrids are suspect. Imagination, creativity, and innovation are reduced to false

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<sup>100</sup> Perrin, “Approaching Anxiety” (1999), 26-27.

<sup>101</sup> Perrin, “Approaching Anxiety” (1999), 26.

constructions and romanticized inventions. So long as Kanaka ‘Ōiwi remain condemned to the juridical status of “ancients,” contemporary expressions of indigeneity will always appear counterfeit.

However, there is also another possibility that might emerge from such a critical indigenous politics. As long as Kanaka resist the settler state’s insistence on multiculturalizing science, the mountain, and Kanaka, the state will be unable to deploy multiculturalism to undermine indigenous cultural perpetuation/innovation. That is, while Kanaka ‘Ōiwi resist the multicultural impulse of coercive inclusion by invoking and embracing their indigeneity and based on their own histories, their own cultural knowledge, and their own ways of being, they not only undermine colonialism, they also subvert efforts to name settler colonialism multicultural and paint it as a universal benefit, the move in which law and science both assist. In this way, we are truly living in the ideology of multiculturalism. As science is made to perform the settler state’s multicultural replacement of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi on the mountain, the state must show caution in their designation of Hawaiians as primitive, irrational, and pre-modern, for doing so implies that Kanaka are *not* rational, scientific, or modern, which undermines the characterization of science, the TMT project, law, and the state as genuinely multicultural – that is, it threatens to expose that colonialism, not multiculturalism, exists. In other words, the settler colonial logic of replacement operationalized through multiculturalism, requires of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi to be neither distinct in their cultural histories and knowledges or dissenting in their resistance to colonialism, which colonialism has instigated. That said, Kanaka must continue to challenge multiculturalism in science, law, and governance by maintaining our distinct practices that preceded settler colonialism and those deemed

inauthentic precisely because their dismissal as inauthentic further exposes the coloniality of contemporary 'Ōiwi subject formations that derive from settler encounters.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter examined some of the discursive practices that invoke colonial binaries of modernity versus tradition, that simultaneously appropriate and disqualify Kanaka 'Ōiwi, and that reproduce hierarchizing legal structures that authorize Mauna Kea astronomy. These processes reflect conventional social relations among groups who share space, compete over land and resources, and vie for the authority to make decisions concerning Mauna Kea's future. As Native Hawaiian rights policy has offered progressive forms of agency to Kanaka 'Ōiwi within the legal structures of the State, these engagements also threaten conventional relations of power. Critical inquiry into the relationship between science and law offers insight into the power that operates within determinations of cultural authenticity, political legitimacy, and land claims. It also reveals racialized discourses wherein Hawaiian indigeneity is collapsed, constructed, and contested. The discursive negation of indigeneity renders indigenous legal subjectivities ineligible, while cultural subjectivities become appropriable and absorbed within State and University institutional practices in inventive and new, if violent, ways.

To conclude, I want to emphasize the rhetoric of transformation, renewal, stewardship, and affinity are discursive practices of replacement – fundamental to settler colonialism. The insistence and repetition of cultural sensitivity does not make it any more convincing, but it does reveal a deeper anxiety that continues to haunt the United States, the State of Hawai'i, and the University whose precarious origins must remain

obscured to rationalize continued colonial forms of land use, resource management, legal practice, and claims to scientific rationality. While these debates surrounding the future of Mauna Kea have us asking unanswerable questions about tradition, modernity, and authenticity, it might be more productive to identify how these appropriations of Hawaiians and Hawaiian cultural forms act as diversions from the more egregious practices of legal disqualification of contemporary cultural activities and Kanaka indigeneity, scientific disqualification as pre-modern and obsolete, and ontological disqualification as irrational, yet appropriable – each of which reproduces settler colonialism.

As TMT petitioner, Pua Case explained to me, “we are not anti-science, we are anti-another-building.” Yet, the scientific imperatives of Western astronomy trump the cultural values of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi. The Mauna Kea debate reveals the same colonial thinking upon which American westward expansion from sea to sea and across the Pacific was justified in the first place. It is little wonder that when the frontiers of Turtle Island and Oceania were demystified and overcome, the colonial frontier moved upward to sacred mountains and the ever-expansive universe above. I want to suggest that part of our kuleana as Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, is to identify and interrogate such settler practices of replacement by exposing the work of science, law, and the state.

## Chapter Seven Conclusion

As an intervention in prevailing discourses and to encourage a different frame through which to understand Mauna a Wākea and the proliferation of telescopes, my dissertation has examined the politics, contested meanings, and opposing value systems assigned to the mountain and its scientific development by staging a conversation that acknowledges the continuation of colonialism in Hawai‘i. The story of Mauna Kea reveals how ontological divisions that underpin the current struggle over the Thirty Meter Telescope is nothing new, but instead is an extension of the longer story of settler colonialism under U.S. occupation that give rise to competing hegemonies. In many ways, a central goal of this study has been to analyze the ways in which specific practices on Mauna Kea become dominant, particular voices become legitimate, and others remain suppressed and silenced. As Sankaran Krishna observes, multiculturalism and settler colonialism are great fellow travellers: each one legitimates the other powerfully and reproduces a very limited, blurred democracy, which continues to marginalize, delegitimize, neutralize, and silence the indigenous.<sup>1</sup> In this project I have offered a different conversation through which we might critically turn the telescopes from the stars and towards power and forms of knowledge production that leave Kanaka ‘Ōiwi for dead, while appropriated our language, culture, and lands. In this regard, I suggest we turn the gaze towards colonialism to interrogate conventions in ways contemporary settler society fulfills the cultural imperatives of capital, science, law, and the state.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a paraphrase of Sankaran Krishna’s comment made at my dissertation defense and final examination at the Department of Political Science, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa on September 18, 2014.

capital, science, and law perform the necessary operations on which colonial repressions continue to exist in Hawai'i today, we must self-reflect on the ways in which our participation, opposition, compromise, apathy, or resolve generate colonial hegemonies. As we become entangled in these processes within our everyday lives, we have a choice.

In the context of Mauna Kea and the TMT – within this contemporary hegemony of settler colonialism as multiculturalism – we find that a narrow body of discourses proliferates. There is the promise and acceptance of the assumption that the TMT will resolve crises in employment and education, stimulate and diversify a perpetually frail tourist-dependent local economy, provide answers to human-kind's most pressing existential questions about the universe, and it is ultimately less problematic than other industries and practices. Yet, other issues, particularly contestations of those ideologies, emerge as unspeakable and prohibitable. The threat of their force is in how they undermine the compulsion to reproduce a particular order that is colonial, ethnocentric, and violent.

When we carve out a space to speak our opposition and express our dissent, the category of the indigenous – our ontologies, epistemologies, our very being and forms of becoming – are (re)presented as unintelligible. Our distinct claims to land, difference, meaning, and meaning making become irresolvable in settler courts, state discourses, and Western scientific paradigms. In the dissertation, I have shown how that irresolvability is itself a particular discursive formation, is political, and a function of settler colonialism to which we must direct more critical attention. It isn't that science, law, or the state cannot comprehend the indigenous or our conceptions of the sacred or the natural – our assertions of an indigenous onto-genealogical land-based ethics and claim to 'āina – the

problem is that recognition contradicts the underlying premise of the state's monopoly on rationality, which is afforded through its commitment to science and reliance on law.

Any recognition of a distinct indigenous Kanaka ontology or Kanaka indigeneity might also require action, which would undermine the perpetuation of settler colonial antics on indigenous soil. Finally, to recognize 'Ōiwi difference would be to recognize that amidst the nonsense is the simultaneous appropriation and disavowal of Hawaiians across the scientific, legal, economic, and state discourses that rely on a specific order of control – that is, Hawaiian indigeneity must be recognized *and* disavowed in order for multiculturalism to prevail, to conceal colonialism. We must be at once ancient *and* modern, rational *and* irrational, never one over the other alone, but malleable – each depending on whatever circumstances require at any given moment in the rationalization of the hegemonic order.

My goal in this dissertation has therefore been to stage a new conversation of the Mauna Kea debate in order to target such hegemonic relations of power embedded within scientific, capitalist, and state alignments and apparatuses. These relations and regimes of power reflect a deep ambivalence towards the indigenous subject, but my goal in this work has not been to deconstruct the category of the indigenous so much as to deconstruct the advance of the settler colonial – to interrogate the critique of Kanaka indigeneity, the construction of multiculturalism that delegitimizes Hawaiians and takes our ancestral homeland. In this methodological frame, we find Kanaka 'Ōiwi emerge as both rogue and resource, our subjectivities inflecting the various ideologies at work and conventional distributions of power. On the one hand, the indigenous subject becomes a deviant, an obstruction to colonial replacement – multiculturalism encoded as universal



human progress. Yet, on the other hand, the indigenous emerges as a resource with which power shapes an image of the multicultural to represses exposure of the colonial, and to proceed with replacement. The double-action in the imaging of the indigenous undermines those distinct land-based ontologies and genealogical claims to Hawai‘i that constitute Kanaka indigeneity.

While the political is removed and the native is refigured, I argue the conditions of being and states of becoming that constitute Kanaka indigeneity remains a constant source of anxiety that continues to haunt the settler colonial, much as does the precarious origins of U.S. sovereignty and control over Hawai‘i reflect a parallel anxiety for empire more broadly. That the political relationship between the U.S. and the Kingdom of Hawai‘i has never been legally, ethically, or convincingly resolved, it must therefore be continuously and discursively repressed and recoded time and again. In this way, U.S. sovereignty must be continuously remade anew, realized through the valorizing image of reason and rationality provided by science and law.

The perpetuation of the complimentary myths of U.S. title to Hawai‘i through treaty or other means and the fictive absorption of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi within liberal democratic and multicultural society are tenuous at best. The impossibility of both is exposed in the fissures of American settler hegemony that this dissertation has sought to pry open further. While settler colonialism is never complete, my purpose in thinking through the frame, as a decolonizing project, has been to apply pressure, to flush out empire’s anxiety. In testing the fragility of those fictions, we find the colonial work active in the case of Mauna Kea is also plagued by anxiety, troubled by the indigenous. This was the work of Mo‘oinanea, the UH student mural and protests, the Hawaiian and settler alliance

who petitioned the TMT permit, and the continued assertions of a responsive indigeneity, though rooted in the distinct mo‘okū‘auhau that connects the lāhui to the mountain.

Before concluding, I want to juxtapose two interviews that complicate settler coloniality and its encompassing discursive frames. These stories reflect relations of power active in the Mauna Kea struggle and the complex and contradictory transit of power across Hawai‘i more generally. The first is the mana‘o of Clarence Ku Ching, former Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) trustee and retired lawyer, who articulated in our interview a broader context in which the debates take place, locating astronomy expansion in relation to U.S. militarization of Hawai‘i and the continued violations of international law that is occupation. The second is the story of John and Ruth Ota, a retired settler couple whose mana‘o I found in our interview demonstrates the complex ethnic relations that shape the debates, proving settler colonialism is never wholly complete or entirely without rupture. I wish to pry open further the fissures. I describe their perspectives to pry open further the fissures of settler colonial binaries, to unsettle categories and to demonstrate the broader context of the Mauna Kea struggle today.

### *The Kū‘ē of Clarence Kukauakahi Ching*

In my interview with Ku Ching – one of the eight petitioners in the TMT contested case and member on the Pōhakuloa Cultural Advisory Committee –, he relayed to me his understanding of the myth of annexation. Ching told me a story of how he tried to explain to a friend, a commander at the Pōhakuloa Training Facility, that Hawai‘i is illegally occupied by the U.S. and that 1898 annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States was fraudulent and illegal. He reflected on coming to understand this was

the context for both Mauna Kea telescopes and militarization of Hawai‘i and what that means to him: “I had to learn all this stuff myself. Bottom line is, if you don’t do it yourself, you never know. So, if you just go to school and expect the school to tell you what happened, it ain’t right. I mean, they ain’t telling you the right story.”<sup>2</sup> What struck me about Ching’s analysis is how he articulates his politics around Mauna Kea as connected to the broader struggle of self-determination. Moreover, he invokes the now popular language of international law, Hawai‘i independence, and state continuity. He outlined for me the difference between the model of self-governance promoted by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and independence, never once mentioning Keanu Sai, whose influence among Kanaka communities across the islands has been major in recent years. The absence of Sai in his analysis revealed how this legal history has become increasingly hegemonic among Kanaka, informing new articulations of indigeneity and political views. Ching said, “and so, technically speaking, the difference is: nation within a nation, and nation standing alone. I just happen to be with the stand alone guys.” His critique of U.S. empire was well informed:

We (the Kingdom of Hawai‘i) used to be coequal with the United States. Then to have the United States come over here and go through all their shenanigans to try and make Hawai‘i subordinate to it, I think that nation within a nation is just another part of that story. And I don’t know we ought to be subordinate. So, they talk sovereignty, but the table or the people is not level. They’re playing on a different level field than they want us to play on. And it’s not acceptable to me. Simple.

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<sup>2</sup> Clarence Kukauakahi Ching, interview by author, July 16, 2013, Waimea, digital recording.

Ching doesn't have high hopes for changing hearts and minds when he talks about Hawai'i's history in this way, but keeps expectations moderate considering how mainstream society interprets discourses of Hawaiian sovereignty and independence. In bringing up independence at the contested case, he says, "you just put all this stuff in the record, and it's primarily ignored." The main concern for Ching is to share the story of Hawai'i's legal history despite the occasional backlash it invites. He added that he feels Hawaiians need to teach, "our kids and grandkids... the right story," since it isn't taught in schools.

Ching is also incredulous when thinking through the ways in which a part of the State "is trying to make us all Hawaiian, and then you have this other part of the State – the University, BLNR, and DLNR – trying to make us *not* Hawaiian." I asked him elaborate. He contended that "the new kid on the block," the Native Hawaiian Roll Commission, or Kana'iolowalu, which is an OHA initiative to gather as many Native Hawaiian signatories as possible in order to use in lobbying Congress to pass federal legislation to recognize Native Hawaiians as a native tribe, wants to "make everybody Hawaiian to make their numbers." Yet, in the contested case proceedings the year before our interview, Ching argues, the University and the DLNR tried to disqualify the Kanaka petitioners on grounds that they did not adequately prove their genealogies. He explained how the merit of their indigeneity – of being legally "Native Hawaiian" according to state criteria – was challenged in the hearings. The documentation requirement for proving one's genealogical descent functions to disqualify Hawaiians before the substance of the legal case is heard. This identity test also works to disqualify Hawaiian claims to constitutional protections, which it was argued the TMT permit would adversely impact.

However, despite the petitioners' native identities being accepted in the case, the permit was nevertheless issued to the University for the TMT.

Ching demonstrated for me throughout our interview, as did the other petitioners, an astute awareness of the ambiguities of law and the faith-tempered low expectation they have of obtaining justice within the State's legal system. One strategy might be to delay the TMT until it becomes too expensive to continue pursuing. Another strategy has been to simply prolong the discourse until the movement to stop the telescope grows to a critical mass. However, they were also clear about their motivations. For Ching, it is a matter of historical and restorative justice. He is attentive to the "real story" of Hawai'i's relationship to the U.S. and this political context drives him here and in his other community activism. So this resistance to development on Mauna a Wākea is dynamic. It is a matter of the sacred quality of Mauna a Wākea, but also a matter of principle relating to the broader colonial context, the contemporary political, and the shared vision of a decolonial Hawai'i. It is each and every one of these things. The political and the cultural are in processes of becoming.

Resistance exists in multiple forms, each presenting its own contradictions. As in the case of Hawaiians seeking recourse to U.S. occupation through international law or Hawaiians endeavoring to stop the TMT within state courts and use of state laws, we find the future of Mauna a Wākea is being shaped before our eyes through colonial logics of replacement. In these processes, Kanaka 'Ōiwi are also experiencing forms of cultural becoming in response and contradistinction to the irresolvability of settler colonialism – in the indecision, ambiguity, and struggle that defines the contemporary condition. Nevertheless, the unifying goal of each of these examples of resistance, opposition, and

dissent is a desire to stop the abuse, the theft, and the damage of lands; to stop the appropriation, deligitimation, enlistment, dispossession, and dismissal of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi. While we fight these systems from within and outside of these consolidating logics, our narratives, identities, and political commitments are always already becoming.

Ching’s articulation of the context for his political commitment to the mountain and resistance to astronomy expansion demonstrate the impossibility of settler colonialism – the impossible fruition of its culminating ambition to exterminate and replace. There will always be Kanaka who remember our mo‘okū‘auau, our genealogical relationship to Mauna a Wākea and the history of our lāhui; the relationship between the mountain and Kanaka. That is, indigenous memory stands against the colonial and its realization.

#### *Articulations of Solidarity: John & Ruth Ota*

In my conversation with a settler couple who oppose the TMT, I witnessed another exception to settler colonial hegemony; a story that unsettles the colonial. This couple demonstrates a resistance to the ideological tendencies common in multiculturalism in that their support for Hawaiians centers on a politics of deference, solidarity, and self-reflection, despite their “local” identity. Theirs is a politics of solidarity that suggests another way of being, another relationality. Theirs is also a vision of Mauna Kea that is not reducible to multicultural inclusion of the indigenous or settler replacement, but actively pushes back at these dynamics, providing another decolonial possibility.

In our interview, John and Ruth Ota spoke of the broader context of Mauna Kea astronomy discourse in ways that indicate a recognition of the limits and possibilities of

their participation in the fight against the TMT, which undermines settler hegemony.<sup>3</sup> A retired couple in their 70s, the Otas are also activists. Registering their opposition to telescope expansion, they regularly give oral or written testimony at public hearings and BLNR meetings. As I began my interviews for this research, Pua Case advised me to connect with the Otas because of their unique subject position and their staunch support of the petitioners, despite their potential access to ethnic/racial and cultural privilege as settlers. Case told me they represent the diversity of the community backing their efforts to protect the mountain from development and desecration. Mr. Ota is of Japanese descent and Mrs. Ota is haole. In our interview, both responded in ways that show they reflect on their privilege and the routine delegitimation of Hawaiians. As potential beneficiaries of settler colonialism in Hawai‘i, their narratives actually critique racism, militarism, and colonialism.

Ruth Ota was a young woman in 1979 when she moved to Hawai‘i from Wisconsin for school. Around the nineties she began making regular visits alone to the summit, which she embraced as a private spiritual retreat. She and her husband discussed with me their politics regarding U.S. military activities around the world, particularly Hawai‘i and Pōhakuloa where live-fire training on the southwestern slopes of Mauna Kea threatens irreparable damage to the area. They offered a nuanced critical analysis of militarization more broadly, discussed environmental problems around the islands, and the political history of Hawai‘i. I was particularly struck that, although they lament the loss and forms of assimilation of many Kānaka Hawai‘i, they recognize Hawaiians still exist, still voice their resistance, and maintain a distinct claim to their ancestral homelands. This,

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<sup>3</sup> John and Ruth Ota, interview by author, September 23, 2012, Hilo, digital recording.

above many other instances I encountered in my interviews, demonstrated an exceptional subversion of settler coloniality because their articulated subjectivities redirect power by inflecting an anti-colonial ethic distinct from that of Hawaiians, but self-aware. Their analysis of the broader issues concerning Hawai‘i informs their opposition to telescopes on Mauna Kea, which they see as collaboration between science and technology, U.S. militarism, and State government. Part conspiracy theory and part lived experience, I would argue the discursive formations of their anti-colonial narrative offers another perspective on the contested meanings of Mauna Kea.

John Ota is a third generation descendant of Japanese immigrants to Hawai‘i and a retired Marine, the first Asian American Marine to become a U.S. officer in the Corps. He circled the world “thirteen times,” was a Boeing mechanic, and a combat veteran of the Korean War. During his tour in the Vietnam War, Mr. Ota was exposed to Agent Orange and, because he never had children, did not personally experience the devastating inheritable affects.

He told me about a friend from his military days – a Native Hawaiian – with whom he became close later in life while living in Hilo. His friend shared with Mr. Ota insights on the sovereignty movement, and Mr. Ota began reading histories of Hawai‘i. He was particularly interested in the ancient culture and society, but also learned the about the royal lines and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Hawaiian Kingdom. Based on reflections on his own experiences with racism, servicing warplanes that were sent overseas in covert American military interventions and used in top-secret atomic test bombings in Nevada, Mr. Ota grew increasingly disillusioned by governmental rhetoric and U.S. policy. Mr. and Mrs. Ota were skeptical of the State and University’s denial that Mauna Kea telescope



facilities are related to the military in any way. The level of secrecy Mr. Ota experienced in his military service made him suspicious of the secrecy surrounding the TMT project and the State and University's unequivocal support for expansion. He speculates the push for the Thirty Meter Telescope and its backing by Caltech, Japan, and India is part of U.S. Department of Defense top secret projects, used triangulation technologies in support of its ballistic missile offense programs.

He jumped ship after a conversation with his Hawaiian friend explained how his children were afflicted with physical and mental disabilities caused by their exposure to Agent Orange years earlier in Vietnam. He became angry and intolerant of what he saw as the government's lies. His suspicions of the government were for him rooted in the interpersonal and institutional racism he witnessed. He also had developed a nuanced critique of the imperialist policies and military expansion of the U.S. Finally, reflecting on his responsibilities as a retired, educated, settler with experiential insights and the time to research, he began to think more critically about what he had previously been taken for granted, writing testimonies, and articulating the injustice of astronomy expansion and others. He took issue with the arrogance of the University, the State, and the scientists,

...using telescopes to peer into the sky, to say, "Hey, I discovered a new planet." I say, "How is that new planet going to feed anybody here on earth? How is it going to benefit anybody except the scientists?" They can say... "Yeah, I discovered a new planet," and then, "my name goes down in history," and all that crap, but nobody can benefit from it except the developers. The search for out to another planet, in my way of thinking, is because they ran out of resources on earth. All the countries run outta resources. They don't know what they can

use to create anything no more. So, now they gotta find resources from another planet to create things with. Mankind has pillaged earth for what all its worth.

There's no more replacements.

He also conveyed the reason for his solidarity with the protection movement:

I'm a strong believer of the rights of the Hawaiian people. And I believe the United States did wrong by the Hawaiian people and the Kingdom. But by myself, there's not a lot that can be done. I go to these meetings to try and help them in whatever way I can.

Mrs. Ota's connection to the mountain and reason for opposing telescopes is spiritual. However, as a non-Hawaiian, this relationship complicates the notion of a firm racial or colonial binary between settler and Kanaka, but offers another model based on solidarity with those for whom colonialism has not no benefits.

Mrs. Ota grew to love the mountain for its natural beauty, the solitude she found there on her private visits, the contrast between the calm and danger it also possessed, and the kupua, the guardian spirits, she says she feels up there. Her spirituality brought her to befriend Pua Case who also journeys regularly to the summit to conduct cultural practices and who spoke of her spirituality in the contested case hearings. Mrs. Ota has also adopted a political stance with the rest of the Kanaka petitioners in the contested case, calling for a moratorium on new telescope development and a restoration of the mountain to its original, undeveloped state. Yet, as an outsider-ally, she supports Kānaka on their terms. She argues many TMT advocates refuse to accept the legitimacy Kanaka indigeneity and contemporary articulations of aloha 'āina. To accept a Kanaka ethics and

the idea of a pono relationality to ‘āina would require one to oppose further development of the mountain. It would require listening to Kanaka.

There isn't anybody who can tell me this place isn't sacred...I think we have plenty up there now (telescopes). I don't think we need this big albatross they want to put up there. They are encroaching on Lake Waiau...but these are sacred grounds. And when I go to these meetings and I hear what these people are saying and *not saying* and trying to stuff it down your throat – how wonderful this is and how it should be built; there is nothing spiritual about it. They just have closed ears. But of course they have closed ears. Because *either you are spiritual or not*. It's not as if I go to church every Sunday. It's not that. It's what you take away from church on Sunday and what lives in here (touches her chest).

Mr. and Mrs. Ota undermine the conventional model of settlers in Hawai'i unaware yet benefitting from U.S. occupation. They do so by demonstrating a critical self-reflection in their everyday lives and denouncing settler privilege through activism. The couple supports the idea of Kanaka political autonomy and self-determination, recognizing Hawaiians must determine this future for themselves. “And so my kuleana is to give them all the support I feel I can,” says Mrs. Ota.

They are also critical of the ways in which Hawaiians have little choice than to operate within the Western legal structures that produce a “mental, if not physical, oppression through harassment,” which underpins the colonial space and instrumentalist procedures of the contested case. Their stance on the proposed TMT project is informed by a critique of overdevelopment, the U.S. military aggressions in Hawai'i and around the world, and Mr. Ota's exposure to Agent Orange.

Initially, I was concerned that in this interview I might observe a paternalistic support for Hawaiians, a multicultural empathy without recognition of ongoing colonialism or the roles each of us plays in it. This was not quite the case. The ways in which the Otas articulated their solidarity with Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and recognition of how militarism, governance, law, and development are the contemporary face of colonialism in Hawai‘i demonstrate a more complicated picture of settler society and its ruptures. Not every settler in Hawai‘i chooses to ignore their privilege or the conditions of its preservation. Whereas popular coverage of the issue presents scientists versus Hawaiians, the rational subject versus the irrational irritant, the narrative practices of Mr. and Mrs. Ota reveal the broad range of variation that exists among positions and perspectives.

Moreover, settler colonialism, like any other regime of power / knowledge, is never complete, fully realized, wholly discreet, or without rupture and exception. Mr. and Mrs. Ota’s practices of solidarity offer a way out to the self-reflective settler subject – not redemption, but a clearer picture with which to evaluate and contemplate future possibilities for justice and coexistence. Settler colonialism affects everyone within the occupied territory, but it does not result in a complete replacement or erasure of the indigenous so much as it remains in constant flux and tension within its formations, moments of fleeting fulfillment, and failures. Settler colonialism is a process of becoming as much as is Kanaka indigeneity. However, settler solidarity with Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, in this example, proves a redistribution of power is possible and we must pursue it. The example of Mr. and Mrs. Ota reveal the ruptures within settler colonial Hawai‘i and a different way of relating to the mountain as well as to one another.

## *Conclusion*

While the mana‘o articulated by Ku Ching and John and Ruth Ota speak to the complex and often unexpected subject formations that emerge in this struggle and that underlie the opposition to telescope expansion, their perspectives also reveal a better possibility and conception of indigenous-settler relationality – one that cannot be ignored. In the call for a different relationship to the mountain, I argue for another relationship between Kanaka and settlers; a solidarity that recognizes it is U.S. empire and the settler colonial logic of replacement that upholds the prevailing hegemony. Such stories offer another view of the Mauna Kea debate. Our frames must avoid multiculturalizing science, law, and the state as benevolent, universal imperatives. Our frames must resist collapsing indigeneity into racialized minorities under the auspices of multicultural inclusion. I recommend we rethink the strict dichotomy of settler vs. Hawaiian without neglecting, trivializing, or evacuating the political, the historical, or the colonial. Such a perspective allows understanding of how many involved in the struggle to protect the mountain from further telescope construction recognize the ways in which Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and settlers are mobilized, manipulated, and interpellated within power’s colonizing operations. Such an understanding may then proliferate.

As we have seen through the story of resistance to U.S. annexation in 1898 and the emergence of the Hawaiian Renaissance within a settler colonial Hawai‘i, the contemporary opposition to telescope expansion does not exist in a bubble. Resistance and opposition to the Thirty Meter Telescope are paradoxical. On the one hand, the struggle largely manifests as opposition, not resistance – that is, the struggle generally does not involve acts of explicit conflict, defiance, or radical disobedience. Instead, it is

perhaps better characterized as opposition because it proceeds within state sanctioned spaces, official acts of engagement designated appropriate within established administrative and legal procedure. In other words, our acts of kū‘ē are often already accounted for and contained within the hegemonies of the state and settler society. These are spaces in which a degree of opposition is acceptable, where Kanaka may register dissent as long as it falls within determined parameters, but that ultimately can never prohibit development, demilitarize the islands, or remove the U.S. occupation. These predetermined sites and methods of encounter through instrumentalist procedure are simply not designed to dismantle the state itself or the laws by which it achieves its greatest effects, despite the occasional vicotires such engagements bring. On the other hand, that much of the struggle remains indeterminate, irresolvable, and undetermined, renders many subtleties extremely valuable. Although they are often unintelligible to many, in particular those for whom resistance is only recognizable in the form of spectacle or in the spaces sanctioned by the state, many acts of resistance, solidarity, and opposition do unsettle the settler colonial. While the more explicit forms of resistance are often obvious examples of the self-determination for which many are fighting, these subtle forms of disruption must also be acknowledged, contextualized, and examined. It is these fissures within Hawai‘i’s settler coloniality that we would do well to think through, pry further open, and multiply.

As I write these final words, the latest news on the TMT is that of an explicit kū‘ē on October 7, 2014: the first tangible act of resistance on the summit of Mauna Kea. A mass protest and demonstration forced the groundbreaking ceremony and blessing of the TMT project site to end prematurely. The event had been planned to host several dozen guests

including foreign and American dignitaries, TMT partners, and major funders and to be broadcasted via live stream. Days ahead of the action, news circulated that the Office of Mauna Kea Management had caught wind of a planned political action for which civil disobedience and roadblocks were anticipated in an effort to stop the ceremony. On October 3, *The Hawai'i Independent* reported that KAHEA had received an email from the OMKM stating their intention to restrict public access in response to the news. This raised concerns for KAHEA and *The Independent* of potential First Amendment rights violations protecting peaceful assembly, free speech, and religious freedoms.<sup>4</sup> The newspaper requested a comment from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) who told the *Independent* their legal team was looking into the issue. The OMKM email to KAHEA read:

We do not know what is being planned, but we can anticipate road blockages, including possible vehicle blockages and road sit-ins. We anticipate picketers and hecklers.<sup>5</sup>

Clearly, the OMKM was concerned demonstrators would interrupt the ceremony, the webcast, and the desired image of camaraderie between TMT supporters and the opposition. A disruption was exactly what ensued. National news picked up a story by Associated Press reporter, Jennifer Sinco Kelleher, whose headline read, "Protesters Halt Hawaii Telescope Groundbreaking."<sup>6</sup> Raw footage captured Lanakila Mangauil – who

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<sup>4</sup> "KAHEA: Restricting access to Mauna Kea is a First Amendment violation," *The Hawai'i Independent*, October 3, 2014.

<sup>5</sup> *The Hawai'i Independent*, October 3, 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Jennifer Sinco Kelleher, "Protesters Halt Hawaii Telescope Groundbreaking," Available from ABC News, Online at: <http://www.topnews2.com/protesters-halt-hawaii-telescope-groundbreaking/>, Accessed on October 13, 2014.

had run barefoot past police blockades to the groundbreaking site dressed in malo (loincloth) and kīhei (shawl, cape, cloak) – holding off the ceremony for 20 minutes before more protestors arrived. In a theatrical speech and chilling display of resentment, indignation, and clarity, Mangauil condemning the assembly who police had allowed through the roadblock to, “slither in like slimy snakes to come up and desecrate our sacred lands! Where are your sacred temples!?”<sup>7</sup> The organizers attempted to proceed with the ceremony, which had already been so disrupted that only a small audience remained. More protestors arrived with drums, cameras, signs, and chants. Mangauil admonished the invited guests, “This is not continuing. E kala mai, ia‘u. Pack it up! You are going home!” He turned and challenged Kahu Danny Akaka, who was standing by and waiting to conduct the Hawaiian blessing. Mangauil stated, “Uncle Danny, I have followed you for many years. We have done many things together, but for this, I cannot stand and support you. You are about to try and make sacred the act that would desecrate our most sacred temple.” After more words and condemnation, the Thirty Meter Telescope officials decided to pack it up and go home.

As the first mass community demonstration on Mauna a Wākea, I interpret this protest as a turn from liberal opposition to colonial resistance, which we have seen forty years earlier with Kaho‘olawe. Whereas gains have certainly been achieved through engagements with the courts and established Western legal procedure, these venues present distinct limits because they do not interrogate the legitimacy of law itself or the settler state. These things are never on the table for critical examination. However, this

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<sup>7</sup> “VIDEO: Full Coverage of Thirty Meter Telescope Disruption,” *Big Island Video News.com*, Available online at: <http://www.bigislandvideonews.com/2014/10/09/video-full-coverage-thirty-meter-telescope-road-block/>, Accessed on October 13, 2014.



sort of kū‘ē invokes a history, an analysis, and anger that are often not permissible topics within the courts, which arguably may cut deeper. This kū‘ē calls to our attention the immediacy of the pain inflicted by this desecration and the colonial condition – the U.S. occupation – from which it arose. This resistance touches a broad community in ways other discourses simply cannot and that require our full attention. I recommend we look to such kū‘ē – to this protest and method of resistance – as a pedagogical encounter and practice that reveals both colonialism’s violence and the impossibility of its ultimate realization. Colonialism is real and it exists through our active participation in it. We have a choice to participate or resist.

In writing about the power in settler colonial Hawai‘i through analyzing the intersection of science, law, colonialism, and indigeneity in the context of hegemonic multiculturalism, liberal democracy, scientific and legal rationality, neoliberal capitalism, and resistance, I have come to learn that the contested space of Mauna a Wākea speaks to these entanglements because it is emblematic of the larger struggle over Hawai‘i. Power is never wholly complete or without resistance. Power’s distribution across settler colonialism and in the production of Mauna Kea as a site of Western scientific privilege and self-congratulation can be unsettled. Power’s multiplicity suggests that it can be redirected, dismantled, redistributed, and recomposed in new ways. Understanding Mauna a Wākea can help us to understand colonialism and to imagine other possibilities.

Mauna a Wākea is the first born mountain on the first born island. It is the first to receive the rain that touches our ‘āina, the first to receive the rays of our morning sun. It is the sacred piko that links our lāhui to the akua and our kupuna; it connects the present to the past, the people to the source. It is not just a sacred place because such a claim

might achieve for Kanaka a degree of special rights or legitimacy. It is sacred because the mountain *is* our kupuna. As a part of our mo‘okū‘auhau, our ‘ohana, Mauna a Wākea deserves better. It deserves our protection and the reverence that our ancestors imparted unto it. It deserves the deepest aloha we can muster. After five years of research on Mauna a Wākea and the astronomy debate, and more than a decade of graduate studies in power, knowledge, indigeneity, and colonialism, I feel confident saying that I have come to understand enough is enough. I recommend a moratorium on new telescope development as a first step to begin healing settler *and* Kanaka communities; to move towards a better way of being and becoming.

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