

2022

'People Not Profits': Hawaiian Cultural Nationalism and Protest Against the United States, 1968-1980

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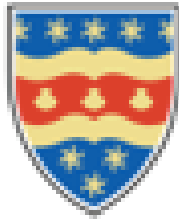
<http://hdl.handle.net/10026.1/18808>

<http://dx.doi.org/10.24382/829>

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UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH

**‘PEOPLE NOT PROFITS’: HAWAIIAN CULTURAL NATIONALISM AND PROTEST
AGAINST THE UNITED STATES, 1968-1980**

by

EMILY MAY HOUGH

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth
in partial fulfilment for the degree of

RESEARCH MASTERS

School of Society and Culture

March 2021

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisors Darren and Simon for their constant support, enthusiasm and advice which they have given me throughout the process of creating this thesis, I would not have been able to complete this without their guidance.

To my parents, my brother, and my wonderful friends, thank you for always being supportive, interested, and just simply for being there.

Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for the degree of Research Masters has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Doctoral College Quality Sub-Committee. Work submitted for this research degree at the University of Plymouth has not formed part of any other degree either at the University of Plymouth or at another establishment. A programme of advanced study was undertaken, which included MAHI700: Key Debates and Research Methods in History and MARE700: Research in the Arts and Humanities.

Presentations at conferences:

December 11, 2019, Postgraduate Research Showcase - 'The Effect of Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i, 1941-2000' Work-in-progress presentation

March 11, 2020, Transnational Oral History Masterclass - 'The feminine land and resistance in Hawaiian protest music.'

Word count of main body of thesis: 26,992

Signed:



Date: 11/03/2021

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Since the early nineteenth century, United States colonialism has transformed the Hawaiian Islands from an independent sovereign nation into an American controlled state. In Hawai’i, colonialism is largely represented through the appropriation of culture, people, and land for the benefit of the tourist industry, in addition to the control of land for military use and urban development. In this study, the ways in which the United States has exploited Hawaiian culture, people, and land and the resulting opposition against it is analysed, to demonstrate the effects of colonialism on Hawai’i and the ways Hawaiian people adapted to resist it. This is accomplished through the use of three different primary source sets: the first is television, in which Hawai’i is either sold to audiences as a paradisaical destination full of welcoming locals or shown to be in need of Westernisation through the presentation of culture as primitive. The second source set is the recently created Kokua Hawai’i Oral History Project, which features interviews from members of the activist group Kokua Hawai’i who protested against the eviction of Kalama Valley in 1971. These interviews help to build a picture of the protests and the group, exploring themes such as motivations behind their activism, schooling, and socio-economic background, and are a hitherto unused primary source. Thirdly, music used to protest against the eviction of Kalama Valley and the military occupation of Kaho’olawe is used to show how activists used elements of culture which were suppressed or appropriated by the United States as a tool of protest. This is accomplished through a lyrical analysis of the songs, which follow themes of *aloha ‘āina* and *kuleana*. As relatively unused sources, this will create a new contribution to existing scholarship, alongside showing the detrimental effect of colonialism on Hawai’i and the efforts to resist it.

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Introduction

On March 30, 1971, a rally titled “People Not Profits - Huli!”¹ was held at Hawai’i’s State Capitol to protest against the eviction of a Native Hawaiian and ethnic minority dominated community at Kalama Valley, O’ahu, who were being removed to make way for a luxurious suburban enclave, similar to which could be found throughout mainland America. Kalama Valley was the event which ignited the Hawaiian protest movement of the subsequent next decades. However, Kalama Valley was not a one off protest, but was an outburst framed by over a century of resentment, anger, and resistance against United States colonialism. To understand this project, it is important to establish this context to better appreciate the aims of the chapters which will be established in the next section. From the early eighteenth century Christian missionaries began to arrive in the Islands, demonising traditional culture and Hawaiian people as being pagan and in need of saving through introduction to Christianity and Western culture. Alongside this, American business moguls began to assert influence over the Islands, dominating the economy through successful pineapple and sugar plantations. The consequences of colonialism soon began to take effect on the Islands and Hawaiian people, with the indigenous population rapidly decimating due to diseases introduced by foreign settlers: historian David Stannard has estimated that between 1778 and 1900, the Native Hawaiian population fell between ninety and ninety-five percent.² A significant example relevant to this thesis when considering themes of cultural suppression and land upheaval, is the spread of Hansen’s disease. The rapid spread of this disease among the Hawaiian population led to the creation of a prison-like settlement in Kalaupapa, Moloka’i, where those afflicted by the disease were arrested, ripped from their families and ancestral land, and confined to the settlement permanently. The settlement and subsequent creation of a community, where Hawaiian culture and beliefs persisted des-

¹ Gary T. Kubota, *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (2018) p.296. *Huli* means overturn.

² David E. Stannard, ‘The Hawaiians: Health, Justice, And Sovereignty’ *Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine* (March 2000)

pite the circumstances of confinement and influences of Christian missionaries, was the topic of my undergraduate dissertation, ‘Ka Ohana O Kalaupapa: Creating a Community in the Kalaupapa Settlement.’³ United States power in Hawai’i continued to grow throughout the century, and in 1887, King Kalākaua was forced at gunpoint by white American businessmen to sign away the majority of the powers of the Hawaiian monarchy under what became known as the Bayonet Constitution; in 1893, the entire Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown as a result of a coup d’état led by Americans including Sanford B. Dole, who became the first territorial Governor of Hawai’i, and in 1898 the Islands were formally annexed by the United States. Following this, Hawai’i was a Territory of the United States for sixty-one years before becoming the fiftieth state in 1959: just nine years later in 1968, the residents of Kalama Valley were served with their eviction notice.

The broader historical context within America also contributed to why that particular moment set off the chain of events which led to the Hawaiian protest movement. Leading up to the Kalama Valley protest, America had been embroiled in civil rights movements, including the Black Power movement, Red Power movement led by Native Americans, and protests led by the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican protest group, all of whom have been named as an influencing factor for Kalama Valley, and will be elaborated upon further in the second chapter. Additionally, the Vietnam War took a severe toll on Hawai’i. Out of those deployed to assist in the War from Hawai’i, 277 were killed, out of which 229 were recorded as being Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander.⁴ During the 1960s when most of the Vietnam War deaths took place, the Hawaiian Islands had a population of just over 630,000, and around 100,000 of this population were considered to be Native Hawaiian.⁵ This would mean that 80% of those killed from Hawai’i came from a group who made up approximately

³ For more about Kalaupapa, see RDK Herman, ‘Out of sight, out of mind, out of power: leprosy, race and colonization in Hawai’i’ *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol.27(3), (July, 2001) pp.319-337 and Kerri A. Inglis, *Mai Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2013).

⁴ ‘DCAS Vietnam Conflict Extract File record counts by RACE OMB NAME (Race) (as of April 29, 2008)’ <https://www.archives.gov/research/military/vietnam-war/casualty-statistics> [accessed 08 May 2020].

⁵ Sumner La Croix, ‘Economic History of Hawai’i’ *EH.Net Encyclopaedia* (September 27, 2001) pp.n/a.

just 15% of the overall Hawaiian population, a worrying statistic which demonstrates the disproportionality of deaths which, alongside the economic effects of the War which also affected Native Hawaiians more,⁶ fuelled anti-War protests which some of those involved in Kalama Valley also took part in.⁷

The misuse and expropriation of land is a crucially important facet of American colonialism in Hawai'i, and can be seen through the appropriation of land for the benefit of the military, tourist industry, and as a hub of new housing developments for Americans to purchase. In Hawai'i, land is a vital aspect of Hawaiian culture and self, and so the appropriation and destruction of land through military use, and urban or tourist development is simultaneously an attack on the Hawaiian identity. In tradition, it is believed that life was created through the union of the gods Wākea, the sky father, and Papahānaumokū, the earth mother: this belief would make the gods, and by extension the land itself, the ancestral parents of Native Hawaiians. Familial ties to the land extends beyond parental: for example the creator of the Islands, Pele, is often referred to as grandmother when spoken of, and it is also believed that the stillborn son of Wākea, effectively the brother of the Hawaiian people, was buried and from his grave grew the taro plant which is a staple crop in Hawai'i. Thus, not only were Hawaiians born from the gods of the Earth, but they are also given land to live upon and crops to eat through them. The familial relationship between Hawaiians and the land is a reciprocal one, and this is demonstrated in two Hawaiian values of significance which are framed in relation to land. The first, *malama āina*, which means "to care for the land" is the belief that if you respect and take care of the land, it will also take care of you. The second is *aloha 'āina* and was explained in a newspaper interview by Hawaiian activist George Helm in 1976: 'This value is love of the land and it does not exclude water or air. We want to protect our culture because it's in a rapid state of deteri-

⁶ Candace Fujikane, 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) p.191.

⁷ See Appendix, Table 1.

oration.⁸ As demonstrated through Helm's statement, alongside being a core principle in Native Hawaiian life, the phrase *aloha ʻāina* has become 'a rallying cry for resistance to US colonialism,'⁹ and has become a central value of the Hawaiian protest movement of the late twentieth century due to the affect of Americanisation on the land itself, but also for Hawaiians who are forced to leave their *ʻāina* through evictions and redevelopments. Additionally, as land is such a vital component of Hawaiian culture, the efforts to conserve it from destruction is a display of cultural nationalism unique to Hawai'i and the native population.

Project Outline

In this thesis, I will be analysing the exploitation of Hawai'i by the United States between 1968 and 1980, demonstrating how Hawai'i was used for the benefit of the United States at the detriment of Hawaiian land, culture, and people through three key industries: tourism, urban development, and the military. These three are especially significant, as they were the three most economically lucrative industries in the Hawaiian Islands between 1968 and 1980, but also as previously mentioned they were a common way in which Hawaiian land was desecrated. Alongside this, the opposition against American colonialism during this time period through displays of cultural nationalism will also be analysed, in particular the group Kokua Hawai'i who formed to protest against the eviction of Kalama Valley. Also analysed will be the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana who protested against the military occupation of the island Kaho'olawe.

At this point, we can turn specifically to what the concept of cultural nationalism is in reference to, as it was extremely prominent in Hawai'i during this time period. With reference specifically to

⁸ Vickie Ong, 'Battle of Kahoolawe Skies' *Honolulu Advertiser* (May 12, 1976) p.3.

⁹ Emma Scanlan. 'Decolonizing the Light: Reading Resistance in Native Hawaiian Poetry' *Interventions* (2017) pp.976-995, p.977.

the 1970s and 1980s, cultural nationalism is central to understanding the phenomenon of the Hawaiian cultural renaissance which saw a huge resurgence in the practice and education of traditional Hawaiian culture and language, as well as the Hawaiian Sovereignty movement which aimed to restore power in Hawai'i to the Hawaiian people. In a core secondary text for this thesis, Sarah Miller Davenport's *Gateway State*, she defines cultural nationalism with regard to Hawai'i in three significant ways. The first is through recognising the presence of racism in Hawai'i despite representations of Hawai'i through media and the tourist industry as a "melting pot" of ethnic and cultural diversity, which as Davenport writes: 'was to suggest that people in Hawai'i had assimilated to Euro-American norms, and that assimilation represented progress.'¹⁰ This undermines indigenous selfhood but also shields fraught race relations in the Islands, which corresponded to the wider racial divides seen throughout mainland America during this time period, but was also unique to Hawai'i when considering the experience of Hawaiians as a result of American colonialism. The challenge to cultural suppression through the advancement of cultural pride, namely through the resurgence of Hawaiian language as part of the cultural renaissance and *aloha 'āina* is the second portrayal of cultural nationalism within the Islands.¹¹ This was especially key during the protest movements in Hawai'i during the 1970s and 1980s, and was vital 'to preserve people's "democratic right to maintain and perpetuate their cultural heritage" against the homogenising tendencies of cultural mixing.'¹² From this we see the third presentation of cultural nationalism, being the redefinition of the notion of being Hawaiian. Through appropriation and colonialism, the Hawaiian identity became heavily stereotyped and seen as something which could be obtained by non-Hawaiians by embracing the "aloha spirit." Similar to the resurgence of cultural pride, the redefinition of Hawaiian identity was tied to the Hawaiian protest movement, with Hawaiians pushing back against

¹⁰ Sarah Miller-Davenport, *Gateway State: Hawai'i and the Cultural Transformation of American Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019) p.193.

¹¹ Davenport, *Gateway State* p.214.

¹² Davenport, *Gateway State* p.198.

stereotypes and further promoting Hawaiian history and cultural practices. These three illustrations of cultural nationalism will form the conceptual framework for each of my chapters.

Being the principal event of the Hawaiian protest movement, Kalamā Valley and the subsequent protest movement will be used as the focal point for this project, with the appropriation of culture and land through tourism and mass media and resurgence of cultural pride in other Hawaiian land based protests being analysed in relation to it. This will be accomplished through three case studies that highlight a novel use of original primary sources. The first case study presented will explore the appropriation and stereotyping of Hawaiian people and culture through American prime-time television produced between a period of social change and protests in Hawai'i and mainland America, 1968 and 1979: *Hawaii Five-O*, and *The Brady Bunch*. In doing so, this dissertation will show how mainstream media appropriates and stereotypes Hawaiian culture and people and reinforces the colonisation and tourist structure of Hawai'i in several powerful ways. Firstly is the presentation of Hawaiian land as an exotic extension of the United States, through the naturalisation of urban development and promotion of the tourist industry. This is often accomplished through the use of sexually enticing native women, often dancers, and the marketing of tourist activities within the episodes. Additionally, the exotic presentation of Hawaiian culture and ethnicity is also used to uphold colonialism in the Islands: this is demonstrated through the creation of a racial power hierarchy, whereby white American male leads are promoted as heroes over native characters. With this, the media upholds the vision of Hawai'i as an ethnically diverse haven, which obscures the racism and discrimination against Hawaiians during this time period. This can be linked to the problem of assimilation, which is covered in the media through the presentation of Hawaiian culture as primitive and Hawaiian people who believe in it as absurd. Through this, Hawai'i is shown to be in need of Americanisation, which vindicates colonialism and affirms the islands as a constituent of the United States. The use of television as a primary source represents how Hawai'i has been appropriated and is viewed under a colonial gaze by the United States which has had a lasting and damaging

effect on Hawaiian people and culture which will be indirectly responded to through the cultural nationalism displayed in the Kokua Hawai'i and Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana protest movements. While these movements and the activists involved in them do not directly respond to the specific television analysed, it is what the media represents as a form of appropriation and disregard to Hawaiian self and culture which makes it so vital. From these portrayals, a real harm is inflicted upon the Hawaiian identity and its culture is marketed to such an extent that its meaning is lost and the belief system behind it is shown to be satirical. It is that which makes it so vitally important for this thesis, and it is this appropriation which will be responded to and fought against by the subjects of chapters two and three.

The second chapter shifts focus to highlight how cultural nationalism deals with a specific way that Hawai'i is appropriated, that being through the takeover and misuse of land. This will be accomplished by spotlighting the 1971 Kalama Valley protest and Kokua Hawai'i, analysing the event, the influences which motivated the formation of the protest movement, and the health effects that evictions from their land had on former communities. In doing so, this chapter will show how Hawaiians began to redefine the Hawaiian identity in relation to a growing sense of cultural pride and in opposition to American colonialism, and powerfully if indirectly, against the kind of harmful cultural appropriation that is explored in chapter one. Crucially too, we can begin to see the ways in which the discourses within popular cultural representations are identified and engaged with so culture, specifically language, land, and identity, are reclaimed. The main primary source will be the Kokua Hawai'i Oral History Project (2018), a fresh and so-far unused archive which was created by journalist and former member of Kokua Hawai'i, Gary T. Kubota. In this, Kubota interviewed members of the group in addition to others who witnessed the Hawaiian protest movement of the 1970s and 1980s, recording recollections of the Kalama Valley eviction and subsequent years following. With this information I have created a database to develop a content analysis of the interviews, documenting general contextual information of those interviewed, alongside details such as

their education, socio-economic background, roles in protests, and influences or role models which drove them.¹³ Through this recurring themes among the members of Kokua Hawai'i emerges and a cross-sectional analysis is able to be made.

The use of the oral historical archive has advantages and disadvantages. For one, the recording of the interviews have not been made public and so only the transcripts are available: this means I miss out on elements such as pauses, emphasis on certain words and phrases, and emotion which can be heard in the voice, which help to demonstrate the significance of certain recollections. Without this, I instead use alternate primary sources, such as newspaper articles, alongside secondary source scholarship in order to develop context. Another disadvantage is that Kubota's familiarity with the memories being shared means that he perhaps does not probe into some details as much as others would: for example, when interviewing Lucy Witeck, she says, 'There's a lot of things that went on in Kokua Kalama, like the blatant chauvinism, which the women addressed time and time again,' to which Kubota replies 'And which I learned a lot about.'¹⁴ His response demonstrates his familiarity with the topic, however he does not inquire for elaboration and so that is all the reader learns about it. However, the advantages of the project are substantial: the archive created by Kubota allows access to testimony and memories which have not been recorded in any other form and ensures that the story of Kokua Hawai'i will not be forgotten. Additionally, as a former member of Kokua Hawai'i Kubota benefits from sharing in the collective memories of the group. This means he is able to nudge interviewees into talking about certain events or details: if an outside party had been conducting the interviews they would not have had the personal insight to get these stories. Furthermore, as those interviewed were all familiar and friendly with Kubota, they likely would be more open and relaxed in the interviews than if someone else had been asking them questions.

¹³ See Appendix, Table 1.

¹⁴ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Lucy Witeck' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (October 1, 2016) pp.149-156, p.156. The group used to be called Kokua Kalama, it was changed to Kokua Hawai'i not long after it formed.

These factors alongside Kubota's skills as a long-time journalist has created a comprehensive oral history project which can be applied in a range of different approaches.

Finally, in the last chapter and case study, the exploration of cultural nationalism and protest movements through the voices of Hawaiians who resisted American colonialism continues, focusing again on Kalama Valley as well as the efforts to save the island Kaho'olawe. In contrast to Kalama Valley and Kokua Hawai'i who protested against urban development of land, the protests for Kaho'olawe in the late 1970s shifts focus to the American military presence which dominates the Hawaiian Islands, namely the use of Hawaiian land for destructive military training exercises. In this chapter, protest music will inform the main primary source approach. Music has a notable place in Hawaiian culture and has historically been used as a method of story-telling and history sharing: in the case of the music created for the Hawaiian protest movement, they share the stories of the causes the activists are fighting for as well as the issue of land loss. They also call for collective action to protest against the misuse of land, and use Hawaiian language and instruments. Given the cultural importance of music and the use of traditional elements which have long been suppressed or commodified by America through instances such as the tourist industry and television, the use of music as a form of protest acts as a demonstration against colonialism in Hawai'i and as a display of cultural pride, uniting Hawaiians through their shared ancestry and beliefs in a form that is accessible to the public on a mass scale. This chapter builds upon the conceptual platforms concerning the reclamation of Hawaiian culture and identity, which was central to the promotion of Hawaiian cultural nationalism during this period.

These three case studies seek to make a contribution to the growing scholarship which surrounds this topic, by demonstrating the differing ways in which American-led colonialism manifests itself in Hawai'i and the effects this has had in addition to how Hawaiians have adapted to resist the commodification of their identity, land, and cultural traditions. While the first chapter demonstrates the dominating colonial gaze which misrepresents and commodifies Hawai'i and Hawaiian culture,

most notably through the tourist industry, chapters two and three respond to these issues through a display of cultural nationalism through the use of music and land based group protest. Individually, these three studies emphasise a different form of representation: touristic representation as a form of cultural colonialism, self-representation through oral history, and community representation through protest music. Together, they present a balanced analysis of Hawai'i's colonial experience between 1968 and 1980.

Secondary Literature

In secondary literature, several scholars stand out. Sarah Miller-Davenport's book *Gateway State* is a comprehensive analysis of the transformation of Hawai'i from United States territory to the fiftieth state, in which she analyses how Hawai'i was used by America to mask its colonial misdeeds and instead portray itself as a multiculturally diverse and socially advanced nation. Crucially for this project, she also studies how America marketed Hawai'i for economic profit through the tourist industry, selling facets of Hawai'i such as lū'aus, muumuu dresses, pineapples and tiki culture to lure tourists to the Islands and to naturalise Hawai'i as part of America. Chapter four of her book, 'Selling the "Golden" People"' analyses how Hawaiians were used in the performance of tourism to welcome and entertain visitors to further advance the impression of America as diverse and Hawai'i as an exotic extension of the States. Similar to Davenport is work created by anthropologist Jane C. Desmond, who in her book *Staging Tourism* and article 'Invoking "The Native"' analyses the role of the native performer in tourist shows, in particular hula performances at lū'aus. Desmond offers a critical study of the commodification of shows for the tourist industry, but also delves more deeply into the complex and fraught relationship between native performers and the work they do in the tourist industry, as they grapple with wishing to practice their native culture while simultaneously helping to uphold a system which commodifies it for profit. These two pieces will be important

when exploring the gendered and sexual dynamics concerning how Native Hawaiian people, significantly women, are treated and viewed by the tourism industry.

Neil Milner's 'Home, Homelessness, and Homeland,' and Haunani-Kay Trask's 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O'ahu,' are perhaps the two most valuable secondary sources when considering the eviction of Kalama Valley. They both examine the effects of the Kalama Valley eviction on the community, both in terms of losing your home but also in relation to the cultural connection between Hawaiians and their land. Milner also studies the role of music in the protest, while Trask probes into what led Kokua Hawai'i to take part in the protest against the eviction. Trask herself is a Native Hawaiian activist, and so has extensive firsthand experience of the Hawaiian protest movement, and was also familiar with the members of Kokua Hawai'i. Her knowledge makes this source invaluable when considering the topic. Sociologist George H. Lewis has extensively studied the history of Hawaiian music, and is an exceptional scholar for this project when considering the contextual details of music, such as common themes, rhythm patterns, and popularity of the music. Where he lacks however is the absence of a lyrical analysis, which is what I intend to do in the third and final chapter of this thesis. These secondary sources are invaluable for this project, and will be used alongside my chosen primary sources to make an original contribution to the existing scholarship.

“Crawl into your boxes, Hawaiians!”¹⁵ The Representation of Hawaiian Culture and People in
American Television, 1968-1979

Television is the most popular form of media in the United States, having been used to entertain, inform, and influence audiences across the nation. In this chapter, the mass media marketing of Hawai'i as an ethnic paradisaical extension of the United States mainland will be explored as a form of cultural colonialism, demonstrating the way in which media, namely television, has stereotyped and appropriated Hawaiian culture and people. The ramifications of this are harsh, and has severely impacted the expression of Hawaiian selfhood and identity, undermining Hawaiian culture in addition to the unique indigeneity of the Hawaiian nation through notions of assimilation. Through these representations, television hides racial divides and indigenous nationalist movements, instead perpetuating touristic elements of Hawai'i such as the stereotypical 'happy Natives waiting to share their culture with everyone and anyone.'¹⁶ This is particularly significant during this time period of 1968-1979, when considering both the wider historical context within America at this time, such as the African American civil rights movement and the Vietnam War. This form of representation is also critical to understanding the growth of a Hawaiian cultural nationalist movement, and specifically as will be explored in later chapters, how culture, expression, and identity were reclaimed from erasure under the colonial gaze and then redeployed by Native Hawaiians. The first part of this chapter will focus on *Hawaii Five-O*. Although it has been attributed to a surge in tourist arrivals having once 'accounted for twenty-five percent of Hawai'i visitors,'¹⁷ the selling of Hawai'i as a po-

¹⁵ *Hawaii Five-O*, 'Strangers in Our Own Land' dir. Herschel Daugherty (CBS, October 3, 1968) 47:12.

¹⁶ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (University of Hawai'i Press 1999) p.18.

¹⁷ Stanley Orr, "'Strangers in Our Own Land": John Kneubuhl, Modern Drama, and Hawai'i Five-O' *American Quarterly*, 67, 3 (September 2015) pp.913-936, p.919.

tential holiday destination is arguably not the main focal point of the show, instead aside from being made to entertain, the show continually naturalises colonial dominance in the Islands. This is done through the portrayal of Hawaiian characters as secondary over white leads, or in need of help either through solving crimes and rescuing them physically or saving them through Westernisation, which is a viewpoint demonstrated through the portrayal of Hawaiian culture as archaic. Additionally, this portrayal of Hawaiian culture validates its' replacement with a more Westernised ideal. In the second part, *The Brady Bunch* which uses Hawai'i as a location for a holiday in its' 1972 episode will be analysed for the portrayal of Hawai'i as an exciting holiday filled with welcoming locals alongside its misrepresentation of the Hawaiian dance hula. Alongside benefiting the tourist industry, TV like this presents the US as a welcome force in the Islands, and denotes Hawaiian culture as merely a mode of entertainment for paying guests. Furthermore, this show aired during an extreme turning point in Hawaiian history when Hawaiians began to protest largely against American colonialism and cultural appropriation through a display of cultural nationalism, and so the episodes also help to demonstrate the common attitudes held about Hawaiian culture and people during this time period, alongside the themes which the Hawaiian protests fought back against.

The subject of television is often omitted in secondary analysis of Hawai'i in popular media which most frequently focuses on film. Where television is mentioned, it focuses primarily on *Hawaii Five-O*, but even then despite its popularity there has been little academic work written about it. Karen Rhodes has produced a lengthy guide to the show, covering its entirety from conception to finale. Rhodes offers a comprehensive look into the history of the show, offering details about the production, casting and discourses that surround the show. While useful for those elements and unique for being the only book dedicated to the show, by the nature of its format it lacks by not offering detailed analysis into the episodes. English Professor Stanley Orr has written an article looking into the third episode of season one, "Strangers in Our Own Land." In this article he delves into the background of Polynesian episode writer John Kneubuhl and his motivations behind

the episode, in addition to analysing the episode in depth and examining critiques of the show which argue that the treatment of minority characters plays into racial stereotypes. In ‘Hawaii Five-0: A Case Study in Haole-Wood Agitprop,’ Ed Campbell also examines critiques of the show and argues that it is a product of “haole-wood,” meaning white-led productions which uphold stereotypes. He also offers counter arguments, for example the economic benefits Hawai’i saw as a result of the show and its’ employment of local, Hawaiian actors. Aside from Orr however, secondary literature does not probe deeply into individual episodes, and omits mention of examples like *The Brady Bunch* completely. The omission of episode analysis in the case of *Hawai’i Five-0* and failure to discuss tourist focused television at all are significant, as the content of the episodes provide a significant opportunity to analyse how an imaginary of Hawai’i was presented to the public, and to demonstrate the differing ways in which Hawaiian culture, people, and land were used by America.

An important discourse in visual media which is prominent in secondary works is the subject of the “male gaze,” which positions women in television and film as merely being an object of male attraction. This certainly arises throughout media centred around Hawai’i, such as in the *Hawaii Five-0* introduction where the camera follows a beautiful Hawaiian woman, and focuses in at one point on a Tahitian dancer’s twirling hips. On a more conceptual level, the male gaze in Hawai’i focused media can be seen as being an aspect of the colonial gaze which plays into colonial perceptions of Hawai’i as a feminine isle ‘ready for masculine dominance,’¹⁸ with the masculine being the United States. This props up subtly throughout the media which will be analysed in this chapter, but is especially significant in *Hawaii Five-0* which often explored themes linked to American colonialism in Hawai’i. Also of importance which Sarah Miller-Davenport emphasises in her work, is the role of the female consumer, with women accounting for ‘55 percent of tourists to Hawai’i in

¹⁸ J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, ‘Native American Decolonization and the Politics of Gender’ *American Quarterly*, 60, 2 (June 2008) pp.281-287, p.285.

1965.’¹⁹ This is especially prudent to point out when considering the popularity of *Hawaii Five-O* among women, who were drawn in by the lead actors Jack Lord and James MacArthur, and so were a large contributing factor for its mainstream popularity. Overall however, the concept of the colonial gaze will be focused on to demonstrate how the portrayal of Hawaiian people and culture in television naturalised Hawai’i as an exotic extension of America.

Hawaii Five-O

The original 1968 series of *Hawaii Five-O* ran for twelve seasons, and was one of the most popular TV shows of its time, enjoying high ratings, Emmy nominations, and an eventual 2010 remake. Created by American screenwriter Leonard Freeman, the show follows lead character Steven McGarrett and his sidekick Danny “Danno” Williams, alongside team members Kono Kalakaua and Chin-Ho Kelly,²⁰ a special police task force solving crimes in post-statehood Hawai’i. In this section, a selection of five episodes from across the series which focus on Hawaiian culture, people and history will be analysed, exploring the way in which they represent those topics and how this upholds American colonialism.

In episode eight of season two, released on November 12, 1969, “King Kamehameha Blues,” the story follows the theft of King Kamehameha I’s cloak from the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and lead character McGarrett’s quest to track it down. The museum itself features heavily as a setting throughout the episode, and it is credited at the end: following the opening sequence, the camera looks down upon a large group being given a tour in the Hawaiian Hall section of the museum, which is dedicated to pre-contact Hawaiian culture and beliefs. The guide provides historical context for the group and the audience about the feathered cloak of King Kamehameha I, explaining

¹⁹ Davenport, *Gateway State* p.148.

²⁰ In later seasons James Carew, Lori Wilson, and Truck Kealoha.

how it was made using the feathers of birds which are now extinct, and could only be worn by someone of Kamehameha's status. Later, McGarrett is in the Hawaiian Hall of the museum, pondering over several Hawaiian artefacts. The camera follows his walk around the Hall, focusing on three separate statues: the first is a bust of the Hawaiian god Kū. One of the four major Hawaiian gods, Kū is invoked under many different names as the god of war, fishing, forestry, farming and sorcery. In this context, the statues represent Kū as the war god Kūkailimoku, or 'the snatcher of land,'²¹ who acted as a guardian for Kamehameha during his unification of the Hawaiian Islands under his rule, from which he became the first King of the Kingdom of Hawai'i. McGarrett focuses on this bust for a moment, before panning around to admire a full body statue of Kūkailimoku, and then slowly walking past a grass house replica to look at a red feathered bust.²² As the guardian of Kamehameha the Great, images of his guardian around artefacts relating to him are to be expected, however the long focus on them by McGarrett can be viewed with greater significance. Throughout the rest of the episode, we follow McGarrett as he tries to recover the King's cloak before it can be damaged or destroyed. At one point, he attempts to reason with the thieves into returning it, saying: 'I'm worried about a world without law and justice, a jungle where no one is free and no one is safe.'²³ In this situation, McGarrett is acting as a protector for the cloak, and by extension Kamehameha, in a sense, he is Kū. This symbolism is problematic and plays into criticisms of the show that characters who were ethnic minorities 'generally had secondary or menial roles'²⁴ in comparison to the white American leads: an episode focused on the cultural significance of a Hawaiian artefact could have easily been an opportunity for Kono, the only Hawaiian in the Five-O team, to take centre stage. Furthermore, Haunani-Kay Trask has criticised the show for having 'an underworld

²¹ Martha Warren Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1970) p.15.

²² See Appendix, Images 1, 2 and 3.

²³ *Hawaii Five-O*, 'King Kamehameha Blues' dir. Barry Shear (CBS, November 12, 1969) 39:41.

²⁴ Karen Rhodes, *Booking Hawaii Five-O: An Episode Guide and Critical History of the 1968-1980 Television Detective Series* (Jefferson: McFarland Incorporated Publishers, 2011) p.61.

atmosphere that the *haoles* [white Americans] were trying to save us from,²⁵ which certainly rings true with McGarrett being the saviour of the Hawaiian artefact. The idea that Hawaiians were in need of saving also has colonial links, tying back to Christian missionaries who claimed to be saving Hawaiians from their primitive culture. In previous research based on newspaper analysis for my undergraduate dissertation, I explored this topic in relation to the Hawaiian leprosy settlement in Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, where the susceptibility of Hawaiians to the disease was blamed on their beliefs and cultural practices. Through this, missionaries were able to easily Christianise Hawaiians, under the guise of protecting them from a disease which resulted in isolation to Kalaupapa and death. By asserting McGarrett as the hero of the episode, the show reaffirms the white saviour trope of Hawai'i being rescued by foreign settlers, which can historically be linked back to the aforementioned leprosy settlement in Kalaupapa, Moloka'i, with Western missionary figureheads such as Father Damien who has been made into 'a hero of mythic proportions.'²⁶

The thieves are made known to the audience from the beginning of the episode and are a group of four University students: Arnold Potter, the 'brains'²⁷ of the group, his girlfriend Diana Cole, Eddie the 'monkey',²⁸ and Hawaiian student John Kalama the 'muscle.'²⁹ The assignment of "the muscle" is a common stereotype in media for Hawaiian men, which undermines their intelligence and sexualises them, a stereotype which will be further explored when analysing *The Brady Bunch* and the role of Hawaiian people in the tourist industry.

Throughout the episode, the group quarrel back and forth over what to do with the cloak once it has been stolen. Arnie, Diana, and Eddie show a blatant lack of respect towards the cultural and his-

²⁵ Wayne Harada, 'The Continuing Legacy of "Hawaii Five-O"' *Honolulu Advertiser* (January 26, 1998) pp.n/a.

²⁶ Pennie Moblo, 'Defamation by Disease: Leprosy, Myth, and Ideology in Nineteenth Century Hawaii' (The University of Hawai'i Dissertation, 1996) p.vi.

²⁷ 'King Kamehameha Blues' 40:26.

²⁸ 'King Kamehameha Blues' 40:08.

²⁹ 'King Kamehameha Blues' 40:15.

torical significance of the artefact, hoisting it as a flag on a boat, whipping it around like a matador during a bull fight, and Diana refers to it as ‘Kameha-what’s his names bathrobe.’³⁰ At one point, they watch and ridicule a television appeal from local personality Papa Ako, played by radio presenter Hal Lewis, who shows a queue of people donating their own money as a reward fund for the safe return of the cloak. It is John Kalama, the only Hawaiian in the group, who frequently shows doubt and remorse over the theft. Following the group mocking Ako, he says: ‘look what we did. What it’s done to people.’³¹ Arnie mocks him, saying: ‘it’s all that hot, Hawaiian blood running through his veins. All these ancient taboos pounding up to the surface, bubbling away.’³² This description conjures images of lava and volcanoes, but also makes references to “ancient taboos,” meaning the Hawaiian *kapu* system. The *kapu* were strictly enforced laws which referred ‘to ideas, people, places and objects that are sacred, forbidden or restricted,’³³ and were used by the chiefs and monarchs of Hawaiian society to assert dominance over the common people. Breaking the laws was ‘thought to bring serious divine reprisal’³⁴ and was also punished on a community level. Abolished in 1819, the *kapu* today are often used to prevent trespass. Arnie using this to poke fun at Kalama is one of many examples throughout the series of traditional Hawaiian culture being used against Hawaiian characters to demean and infantilise them.

Kalama’s doubt about the theft is picked up upon by Kono, who appeals to him to return the cloak by saying: ‘I bet we got relatives who came over on the same canoe from Tahiti a thousand years ago . . . We ain’t haoles. Kamehameha was our King. Stealing his cloak is like spitting on

³⁰ ‘King Kamehameha Blues’ 38:15.

³¹ ‘King Kamehameha Blues’ 37:52.

³² ‘King Kamehameha Blues’ 37:59.

³³ Mark D. McCoy, Maria C. Codlin, ‘The influence of religious authority in everyday life: a landscape-scale study of domestic architecture and religious law in ancient Hawai’i’ *World Archaeology*, 48, 3 (2016) pp.411-430, p.413.

³⁴ McCoy, Codlin, ‘The influence of religious authority in everyday life’ p.414.

him. Now where's it at?'³⁵ As previously mentioned, Kono's character is severely under-utilised in this episode. This is a point also made by Karen Rhodes in *Booking Hawaii Five-O* which emphasises that, 'Kono should have had a role in its recovery'³⁶ due to the strong cultural importance of Kamehameha's cloak and the reverence of the King to this day by the Native Hawaiian population.

Overall, this episode is somewhat lacklustre. It does a fairly positive job of emphasising the cultural importance of the cloak for the Hawaiian people, in comparison to other moments throughout the series where it makes elements of traditional Hawaiian culture seem foolish, and also provides a positive advertisement of the Bishop Museum. However, it plays into criticisms of the show by reducing Native Hawaiian characters to lower level roles, while the white American lead is pushed to the forefront. As a result of this, the writers missed a unique opportunity to provide an impactful and positive example of television representation for Native Hawaiians, and the history behind the cloak and Kamehameha could have been pushed even further.

An example of a much more daring episode is the third episode of the first season "Strangers in Our Own Land" which follows the investigation into the murder of Native Hawaiian politician Nathan Manu, who is killed by a car bomb. Written by Polynesian historian and screenwriter John Kneubuhl, this episode offers 'a sophisticated critique of paternalist colonialism in Hawai'i'³⁷ by exploring Native Hawaiian discontent towards the appropriation of land, a key element in the emergence of Hawaiian cultural nationalism as a protest movement. By 1968, the year this episode aired, seeds of protest in Hawai'i were beginning to form. That year, eviction notices were served to the community of Kalama Valley in order to make way for an American suburban neighbourhood, and in previous years many communities had already been evicted for other housing or tourist developments, such as the eviction of Damon Tract to make way for Honolulu International Airport, or the

³⁵ 'King Kamehameha Blues' 40:58-41:12.

³⁶ Rhodes, *Booking Hawaii Five-O* p.61.

³⁷ Orr, "'Strangers in Our Own Land': John Kneubuhl, Modern Drama, and Hawai'i Five-O' p.920.

construction of the H-1 Freeway. On a broader national scale, political unrest was rife throughout America with anti-Vietnam War protests and the African American civil rights movement. Additionally, Stanley Orr of the University of West O'ahu has highlighted how the use of the car bomb to kill Manu is not an insignificant detail. These were a common method of attack during periods of political unrest, such as The Troubles in Northern Ireland, the 1965 attack on the US embassy in Saigon, and the attacks against NAACP leaders George Metcalfe in 1965 and Wharlest Jackson in 1967.³⁸ Considering this was only the third episode of the entire series and could still have easily been cancelled, having an episode with strong political and anti-colonial, i.e. anti-American, themes is certainly a bold move, however it pays off with a thought-provoking and educative episode, which is in contrast to stereotypical representations of Hawaiian characters as passive.

Following the on-screen explosion, McGarrett visits Manu's wife where he also comes across Benny Kalua, Manu's best friend, who tells McGarrett to find the man who killed Manu and reward him. This shocks McGarrett who asks Kalua to explain what he meant: the camera follows Kalua as he walks to the edge of the garden the pair are in, and the shot then pans out to see multiple high-rise buildings in the distance in addition to a crane. Kalua explains himself through a moving monologue:

Hotels, beaches, shops, tourists, glamour, money. Nate and I were born right there, in Waikiki. When we were kids there was a lot of Hawai'i there. Most of the places where the hotels are now, that was a big swamp, with ducks. Nate and I played there, chasing the ducks and laughing all over the place. Kids. That was the Nate I loved, he was like my brother . . . There's an old Hawaiian saying McGarrett — "One day we shall be strangers in our own land." Nate loved the land until a few years ago. Then he changed. All of a sudden, he was all for these high-rise buildings and housing projects, condominiums, freeways. Never mind the Hawaiians and the land. Build the lousy cement and steel all the way up into the sky. Block out the sky and the mountains. Nate was all for that. He called that progress. That side of Nate I hated.³⁹

³⁸ Orr "'Strangers in Our Own Land': John Kneubuhl, Modern Drama, and Hawai'i Five-O' p.921.

³⁹ *Hawaii Five-O*, 'Strangers in Our Own Land' dir. Herschel Daugherty (CBS, October 3, 1968) 10:56-12:20.

In addition to identifying Kalua as the key suspect in the case, this monologue is the first insight into the theme of the episode for the audience, and offers a critique of American colonial infrastructure, both tourist and urban, which ‘displaces native peoples and transforms the landscape after the fashion of the metropolis.’⁴⁰ Additionally, by identifying Kalua and Manu as being on opposite ends of the Hawaiian spectrum of opinion over these developments, the episode begins to highlight a sub-theme of assimilation among the Hawaiian population to the American norm, where Manu, in Orr’s words, ‘has internalised the Western gospel of work and capital’⁴¹ and characters like Kalua are seen to be resisting and holding on to a sense of cultural nationalism and pride. This is further explored later in the episode during a meeting between McGarrett and building site manager David Milner, as they discuss a key suspect in Manu’s death, Tommy Kapali, a young Native Hawaiian man who worked on one of the construction sites but was against the development of the land. In this meeting, Milner shows disdain towards Kapali, and says:

Milner: Shooting off his mouth to the other workmen, telling them they were destroying the land, not building it. He even claimed the land belonged to them. I’ve run into his kind before.

McGarrett: Maybe he just meant that the land belonged to them as Native Hawaiians.

Milner: I know, I know. I’ve heard all that. You’ve got to stop treating these Hawaiians like children. You’ve got to use the land, make it work for them, provide them jobs.⁴²

Through his attitude, Milner comes across as dislikable and disrespectful, however he also, as Orr recognises in his work, ‘represents the coloniser’s ultimatum for Native Hawaiians to accept assimilation and exploitation or face extinction.’⁴³ The “extinction” is allegorised in the episode through the transformation of Hawaiian land: where Hawaiians like Kalua grew up, the land has changed and Americanised to the extent that he is now a stranger in his own land. Kalua’s previ-

⁴⁰ Orr “‘Strangers in Our Own Land’”: John Kneubuhl, *Modern Drama*, and *Hawai‘i Five-O*’ p.924.

⁴¹ Orr “‘Strangers in Our Own Land’”: John Kneubuhl, *Modern Drama*, and *Hawai‘i Five-O*’ p.928.

⁴² ‘Strangers in Our Own Land’ 28:49-29:12.

⁴³ Orr “‘Strangers in Our Own Land’”: John Kneubuhl, *Modern Drama*, and *Hawai‘i Five-O*’ p.927.

ously displayed hatred of this ties in strongly to the protests and cultural nationalism shown across the next two chapters: land, and by extension culture, is the only space left for Hawaiians to reclaim as their own, as economically and politically there is no realistic opportunity for them to be able to reclaim their sovereignty from the United States. As such, this, alongside the cultural and historical significance of land, helps to show why there was such a strong outcry against the continued destruction of Hawaiian land.

Construction imagery like the crane seen during Kalua's monologue is present throughout the episode: on the construction site McGarrett visits after seeing Kalua, the background consists of muddy, razed land with various excavators, graders and bulldozers noisily driving around it and emitting dark smoke. On the next site, the camera focuses on a crane panning around in the sky and scaffolding being built. Later in the episode a bulldozer is shovelling a mound of dirt: from the position of the camera, it appears as if the audience is about to be buried by it as if in a grave, creating a claustrophobic feeling.⁴⁴ All of this together creates a negative impression of the housing developments, both in terms of the environmental damage of the dark smoke and razed land but also the destructive and suffocating feel of the shots. The stark contrast between these scenes and the prior scene of Kalua monologuing is also important. Against the dark and formidable views of the construction sites which give off a dangerous and bleak feeling, the green garden and bright blue sky in Kalua's scene lives up to classic representations of Hawai'i as being paradisaical and peaceful. The auditory differences too help this: in the construction scenes, the noise of the machinery and the shouting workmen is overwhelming, whereas in Kalua's scene, his mournful voice is backed up by gentle flute music and the sounds of birds singing. The juxtaposition between the different scenes is powerful, and while the audience sympathises with Kalua, it simultaneously looks upon the "progressive" constructive sites in a negative light.

⁴⁴ See Appendix, Image 4.

Towards the end of the episode we learn that Benny Kalua is responsible for Manu's death, and while Five-O race to apprehend him, he takes property developer David Milner to one of the construction sites with the aim to murder him. Kalua angrily rants to Milner, saying that he is 'changing this Island into a concrete jungle . . . 400 little high-rent boxes. Crawl into your boxes, Hawaiians!'⁴⁵ Kalua also shouts that it was actually Milner, and the development companies who changed the Hawaiian landscape that killed Manu: linking the buildings to coffins and the builders to murderers is a powerful analogy which symbolises the anger felt by Hawaiians over the loss of their land, which would particularly become prominent only a few years later with the 1971 eviction of Kalama Valley and subsequent protests over the misuse of Hawaiian land by American developers.⁴⁶ This episode is similar to Kalama Valley, in the sense that it was Hawaiian land being destroyed for a suburban development. Furthermore, Kalua's anger, although extreme in his methods, was also shared by protestors who fought for against the redevelopment of Kalama Valley, for example activist Edwina Moanikeala Akaka who lamented after the event about the 'skyscrapers and desecration of our quality of life and our environment, the *'āina*. Oahu especially was becoming the playground for the rich.'⁴⁷

Ultimately, Manu's attempt to exact revenge upon Milner is foiled by the arrival of Five-O, and atop a bulldozer he dies by driving himself into a shed filled with explosives. At the end of the episode, Kono has the final word: looking out over the razed land, a suburban community in the distance and mountains in the background he says, 'Look at that. One day we'll be strangers in our own land.'⁴⁸

⁴⁵ 'Strangers in Our Own Land' 47:00-47:12.

⁴⁶ As discussed in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

⁴⁷ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Edwina Moanikeala Akaka' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (October 11, 2016) pp.18-29, p.22.

⁴⁸ 'Strangers in Our Own Land' 49:53.

Overall, this episode is a bold and well written critique of urban development and colonialism in Hawai'i, in which Kneubuhl is able to 'project an island community simmering with rage and insurgency in the wake of conquest'⁴⁹ in a solemn and moving way. Although Kalua ends up being the criminal Five-O are apprehending, he is not represented as a simple villain like which is often found in the climax of *Five-O* episodes, instead the audience comes to know him and sympathise with him and the motives behind what he did. Furthermore, through carefully crafted shots the episode creates synonymous linkages between the construction taking place and foreboding destruction, which establishes a binary between what is good and what is bad in the audiences mind in terms of the redevelopment of Hawaiian land.

Disregard towards the theft of Hawaiian land by Americans like which was demonstrated by David Milner in "Strangers in Our Own Land" is seen again in episode three of season nine, "Assault on the Palace," when it is decided that a historical reenactment of the 1889 Wilcox Rebellion will take place during the Kamehameha Day celebrations and parade. The Wilcox Rebellion was a revolt organised by Robert Wilcox, part Hawaiian soldier and friend of the future Queen Lili'uokalani, who wanted to usurp the Constitutional Government which had been established following the Bayonet Constitution of 1887 and restore full power to the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Wilcox first attempted to stage a rebellion in 1888, but his plan was foiled at the last minute and he was exiled to San Francisco. Upon his return to the Islands a year later he formed the Liberal Patriotic Association, who were provided with a Red uniform, inspired by the Italian general Giuseppe Garibaldi. On July 30, he and his armed group, commonly referred to as the Redshirts for their uniform, surrounded Iolani Palace and exchanged gunfire with the Honolulu Rifles who had been called upon by the Government. Wilcox and the Redshirts were defeated and arrested, however Wilcox, who was strongly supported by many Hawaiians, was acquitted at his trial.

During the meeting discussing the reenactment, McGarrett asks about the event:

⁴⁹ Orr, "Strangers in Our Own Land": John Kneubuhl, *Modern Drama*, and Hawai'i Five-O' p.921.

McGarrett: Wasn't that an armed rebellion?

Arthur Lambert: Yes, luckily one that failed, Steve. Wilcox tried to overthrow the Constitutional Government.⁵⁰

It is not surprising that the character Lambert was against Wilcox given his attempt to end American rule in Hawai'i, however it is certainly an interesting argument to put centre focus on in the episode both considering the support given to Wilcox by Native Hawaiians, but as Wilcox was attempting to overthrow a Government which had forced the rightful King of Hawai'i to sign away his powers under threat of gun power. Wilcox is further presented negatively throughout the rest of the episode: the main plot is a bank heist that takes place under the cover of the reenactment, and it is the group playing as the Redshirts who are the thieves. This is not an insignificant detail, and further pushes the narrative that Wilcox was an enemy, completely omitting the illegality of American actions against the Kingdom of Hawai'i.

While this episode and "Strangers in Our Own Land" both feature a dismissal of the loss of Hawaiian land, the way it is portrayed is significantly different. In "Strangers in Our Own Land," the developers who take the land are presented in a negative light, and a sympathetic current towards the plight of Native Hawaiians is present throughout the episode. However, in "Assault on the Palace," it is the pro-Hawaiian side which is vilified. This episode aired in 1976, during a period of protests against United States use of Hawaiian land, and so could perhaps be a retaliation against this. Also however, it is important to remember that the writer of "Strangers in Our Own Land," John Kneubuhl, was Polynesian, and so generally more likely to write an episode which sympathises with Hawaiian history, more so than a white American writer for example Jerome Coopersmith who wrote "Assault on the Palace." This demonstrates how although the show has strong episodes like "Strangers in Our Own Land" which represent issues in Hawai'i well, the show itself is not to be confused as a paradigm of positive representation for Hawaiian history, people, or culture.

⁵⁰ *Hawaii Five-O*, 'Assault on the Palace' dir. Ernest Pintoff (CBS, October 7, 1976) 04:39-04:44.

There are many episodes where Hawaiian culture is made to appear ridiculous. Two key examples of this are the twenty-third episode of season one, “The Big Kahuna” and the tenth episode of season twelve, “The Kahuna.” These two episodes focus on two traditional Hawaiian beliefs, the gods and the *kapu*. The *kapu* is a large focal point of “The Kahuna,” in which Five-O are investigating the deaths of two boys on a private island who were said to have been killed by ‘the power of the *kapu*’⁵¹ after disrespecting a rule and entering a beach they shouldn’t have. The private island which appears in the episode does not actually exist, but this could perhaps be in reference to Ni’i-hau, a small island with restricted access which is home to a small community whose primary language is Hawaiian. In the episode, the island, referred to as Lono Bay, seems well populated, with multiple cars, living dwellings, a shop, and even a barbershop featuring throughout, however prominently featured is the strong presence of traditional Hawaiian culture which is viewed by the Five-O team as an oddity.

While investigating, Hawaiian Detective Truck Kealoha is intercepted by the local *Kahuna*. *Kahuna* is the title given to an expert in their profession, often priests or doctors, and in this episode the *Kahuna* is a sorcerer who warns him that the beach he was heading towards is *kapu*. Kealoha responds that he doesn’t believe in the *kapu*, and enters the beach anyway. Almost immediately, Kealoha hurts his ankle on a rock and over the course of the episode gets gradually more unwell. After this, we see the *Kahuna* at night ready to put a curse on Kealoha. Sat around a table with bowls filled with various substances, a fire, and Kealoha’s hat, he says as he stares into the fire: ‘E Kū, e Kāne, e Lono, Gods of the Hawaiian universe. Kū of the great night, Kū of the long night. Let him [Kealoha] see the *hoaka* [spirit] with eyes shut and head down. Let him know the wrath of the *Kahuna*.’⁵² Following this, Kealoha’s luck only worsens. He is kicked out from the house he is stay-

⁵¹ *Hawaii Five-O*, ‘The Kahuna’ dir. Robert L. Morrison (CBS, December 18 1979) 14:03.

⁵² ‘The Kahuna’ 22:45-23:27.

ing in by a woman who shouts ‘You *kapu!* Go!’⁵³ and after becoming so unwell he collapses in the street, he dazedly declares ‘I do believe. I believe.’⁵⁴ Among Five-O it is believed that he may have induced his illness through fear, and the team express skepticism over the belief system:

McGarrett: An evil *Kahuna*? That sounds like something out of Captain Cook’s voyages.

Det. James ‘Kimo’ Carew: Uh, well, it’s a little eighteenth-century around here, Steve.⁵⁵

The comparison to Captain Cook and the eighteenth century is intended to link this facet of culture to a time where Native Hawaiians were seen as primitive, which is further pushed through the appearance of the *Kahuna* who wears only a *kīhei*, a traditional garment worn over one shoulder, and a headpiece made of leaves,⁵⁶ making him stand out starkly to other characters who all wear Western clothing. It is clear that the show is attempting to present traditional Hawaiian culture as an exotic novelty and something of the past: as this episode takes place on a private island, it could be seen that these beliefs are distinctive to this community which has been somewhat untouched by Americanisation. Simultaneously then, while this portrays traditional Hawaiian culture as odd it also portrays colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands in a positive light, as it bought Hawaiians out of the ‘Hawaiian dark ages.’⁵⁷ After his scene, the *Kahuna* is not seen again in the rest of the episode and as the audience discovers, Kealoha’s illness was actually caused by exposure to plutonium in a previous episode, and the two boys who were killed were in fact murdered, and were not killed because they disrespected the *kapu*. This makes the curse scene an odd addition to the episode as it

⁵³ ‘The Kahuna’ 31:13.

⁵⁴ ‘The Kahuna’ 35:02.

⁵⁵ ‘The Kahuna’ 32:10-32:17.

⁵⁶ See Appendix, Image 5.

⁵⁷ *Hawaii Five-O*, ‘The Big Kahuna’ dir. Herschel Daugherty (CBS, March 19, 1969) 13:45.

had no effect on the storyline except to serve as a moment to spook audiences and further portray this aspect of Hawaiian culture as being a sinister oddity.

“The Big Kahuna” follows descendant of Hawaiian royalty Sam Kalakua, who is faced with being sectioned for psychiatric support after shooting at what he says was the Hawaiian goddess Pele, who was trying to kill him. Often affectionately called *Tūtū*, meaning Grandmother, Pele is the Hawaiian goddess of volcanoes and is significant in Hawaiian religion, often attributed to being the creator of the Islands and hula, and is said to reside in Kīlauea, the most active of all the Hawaiian volcanoes. The audience is greeted to the sight of “Pele,” a woman in a black wig with a white painted face and painted flames going up her neck and hands. She wears a dress, made up of multi-coloured fabric strips and a red feather crown, and calls out Sam’s name repeatedly.⁵⁸ By the end of the episode the audience learns that this is actually Sam’s niece who is exploiting his deeply held beliefs in order to have him sectioned, (later she aims to have him killed), in order to sell his house and land. Sam, however, completely believes that he is indeed seeing the goddess Pele.

Throughout the episode, Sam is ridiculed and infantilised for his religious beliefs. After his arrest for shooting at Pele the first time, McGarrett queries whether he was drunk or on drugs, and it is also thought that he could be suffering from dementia due to his age, or, simply, needs psychiatric help. Danny Williams refers to Pele as ‘only a superstitious legend, a myth,’⁵⁹ while McGarrett in defence of him not believing in the Hawaiian gods calls himself ‘a man of this century.’⁶⁰ Kono, the only Native Hawaiian on the Five-O team, says ‘I ain’t believed in Pele since I was four years old.’⁶¹ This line especially is significant as it implies that she is something only believed in by children, similar to figures like Santa Claus. The attitude displayed towards Hawaiian religious beliefs

⁵⁸ See Appendix, Images 6 and 7.

⁵⁹ ‘The Big Kahuna’ 05:59.

⁶⁰ ‘The Big Kahuna’ 09:08.

⁶¹ ‘The Big Kahuna’ 27:47.

throughout this episode and in “The Kahuna” are demonstrative of a pattern of disrespect which has long been used to prop up American influence in the Islands under the guise of modernising the Hawaiian population and assimilating them to a more acceptable Western belief system.

To conclude, although only a small sample of the show’s twelve seasons, these episodes are valuable when analysing the portrayal of Hawaiian culture and people in mainstream American television. Through them, a picture of Hawai’i as a modernising yet still mysteriously exotic Eden emerges: characters of Hawaiian descent are split between those who have assimilated to the Westernised ideal, often police officers and politicians, and those who still hold firmly on to their heritage and culture, and are often mocked for doing so. Although *Five-O* has some interesting episodes like “Strangers in Our Own Land” which portrays Hawaiian people and land as victims of a destructive American colonial franchise, the overarching impression which the audience receives is that Hawai’i is the beneficiary of an Americanised lifestyle, rather than a traditional Hawaiian one which is made to seem ridiculous and sometimes even frightening. This display of colonialism and misrepresentation of Hawaiian people and culture helps to provide a background for the Hawaiian cultural nationalist movement, with the stereotypical and often egregious portrayals and appropriation being indirectly challenged in the protests analysed across the next two chapters.

Television as Tourist Marketing

Hawai’i has also been used as a setting in popular shows of the 1970s as a vacation spot, for example *The Brady Bunch* in 1972 and even as a six-episode special for *Sesame Street* in 1978. In these, Hawai’i is marketed as an idyllic and exotic holiday destination, and individual companies and activities are advertised to the audience, which calls back to eighteenth and nineteenth colonial portraits of the Islands as an unspoilt Eden and can be linked to the Age of Discovery and concepts of the “New World.” Following the advent of statehood for Hawai’i and the coming of jet airliners

in 1959, tourism to Hawai'i increased at a rapid rate: in 1960, visitor arrivals reached 296,249, while a decade later they soared to 1,745,904,⁶² and tourism soon overtook the military as the biggest economic industry in the Islands. One of the key selling points of Hawai'i as a holiday destination was the idyllic scenery and the promise of the "Aloha Spirit." In her critical analysis of the development of Hawai'i into the fiftieth state, Davenport defines the "Aloha Spirit" as 'an elusive vision of social harmony that was supposedly the defining feature of the Hawai'i vacation'⁶³ which was characterised through welcoming locals and the promise of a multiethnic and unique experience, including dining, entertainment and culture. In these two examples of Hawai'i-special television episodes, audiences are sold the "Aloha Spirit" yet still are kept in the realm of America through familiar references such as Pearl Harbor and Elvis Presley. Through this, Hawai'i as being an extension of America is naturalised in the minds of the audience, demonstrating how tourist focused media both sells Hawai'i and assimilates it at the benefit of colonial powers, which in turn indirectly undermines cultural nationalist attempts.

ABC's *The Brady Bunch* aired for only a few years between 1968 and 1974, and during its air time had 'a loyal niche audience . . . but it earned mediocre ratings.'⁶⁴ It wasn't until 1976 when it began to air in syndication that it rose in popularity among American households, and it has since endured as one of the most well-known and popular TV shows in American history. In the three-part 1972 premiere episode for season four, the Brady family, consisting of parents Carol and Mike, children Greg, Marcia, Peter, Jan, Bobby and Cindy, and housekeeper Alice, travel to Hawai'i as part of a work trip for Mike. The episodes "Hawaii Bound," "Pass the Tabu,"⁶⁵ and "The Tiki

⁶² Sumner La Croix, 'Economic History of Hawai'i' *EH.Net Encyclopaedia* (September 27, 2001) pp.n/a. <https://eh.net/encyclopedia/economic-history-of-hawaii/>

⁶³ Davenport, *Gateway State* p.117.

⁶⁴ Mimi Marinucci, 'Television, Generation X, and Third Wave Feminism: A Contextual Analysis of the Brady Bunch' *Journal of Popular Culture*, 38, 3 (2005) pp.505-524, p.509.

⁶⁵ A reference to the *kapu* system.

Caves” follow the family both as they engage in typical activities for a tourist in Hawai’i but as they also contend with a series of unlucky incidents caused by a “cursed” tiki idol. The references to tiki culture is the first example of ill-representation of Hawai’i within these episodes. Beginning in California during the 1930s, tiki is a kitsch and imaginary portrayal of Pacific cultures, most commonly sold to tourists through Polynesian themed bars and restaurants decorated with tropical motifs, carved wooden statues, female dancers and fire. As a key part of the tourist experience, tiki has become synonymous with Hawaiian culture and has aided in producing ‘the lure of paradise while simultaneously degrading the Native peoples who inhabit this fictional settler imaginary,’⁶⁶ further perpetuating American colonialism as well as the impression of Hawaiian culture as being antiquated.

The idol is the focal point of the trilogy of episodes, and is discovered by son Bobby on a construction site. The comedy of errors that follow include Greg wiping out while demonstrating his surfing skills for the family, the appearance of a tarantula, and Alice hurting her back during a hula lesson. The girls of the family are given this lesson on Waikiki beachfront, on the grounds of the Royal Hawaiian hotel. The group, who lack rhythm and comically flail their arms about, are taught by the quintessential native woman who is slim, tanned and smiling. This representation is an example of the “exotic gaze” that Hawai’i and Hawaiian women especially are often viewed through by American popular culture and tourist agencies. This then works in tandem with the “colonial gaze,” which, as referenced earlier, is a gendered one, in which the “male gaze” is asserted and reinforced. Significant to this is the presentation of Hawaiian people as “golden people,” a highly racialised idea that American television as a visual form of cultural representation exploits. The portrayal of Hawaiians as a “golden people” has been used by tourism agencies to sell Hawai’i as a place where mainlander tourists can experience a diverse and exotic, yet still American experience,

⁶⁶ Aanchal Saraf, ‘Aloha made: the circulation of empire, plastic, and the visceral in Bishop Museum’s “Unreal Hawai’i”’ *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory*, 30, 1(2020) pp.48-69, p.50.

and ‘could enjoy adventure without exertion.’⁶⁷ This was especially utilised by the Hawai’i Visitors Bureau during the 1960s with the “The Golden People of Paradise” campaign, which ‘sought to sell Hawai’i on the basis of its “intellectual-cultural” appeal’⁶⁸ for tourists who wished to ‘partake in a nationalist project that advanced . . . the negotiation of racial difference’⁶⁹ by immersing themselves in a multi-ethnic culture and a predominantly non-white population. The promotion of hula worked with this campaign particularly well for its cultural relevance and entertaining ability, so tourists could enjoy themselves ‘under the guise of an educative ethnographic display.’⁷⁰ Jane Desmond has identified how a golden skin tone was mostly required for men and women to be hired for real hula shows targeted towards tourists, similar to what is seen in *The Brady Bunch*: ‘those with darker skin or more explicitly Polynesian looks found it harder to get cast, as did some dancers who looked “too haole.”’⁷¹ Ideally, dancers would be a mix of the two, essentially, golden. This requirement is significant: not only is it a racist exclusionary measure for some Polynesian dancers who could be prohibited from working in this field just for their skin tone, it also distinguishes Hawaiians as separate from the black-white dichotomy which is at the forefront of mainland American racial discourse.⁷² This pacifies the racial differences of Hawai’i and Native Hawaiians in the tourist mind, which as Desmond explains, ‘proffers a gentle, sensuous encounter with difference — different enough to be presented as “alluring” but not threatening — of which the “hula girl’s” body is metonymic,’⁷³ seen through the display of gentle femininity in their appearance, inviting smile, and en-

⁶⁷ Davenport, *Gateway State* p.126.

⁶⁸ Davenport, *Gateway State* p.128.

⁶⁹ Davenport, *Gateway State* p.121.

⁷⁰ Patty O’Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015) p.251.

⁷¹ Jane C. Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999) p.134.

⁷² Jane C. Desmond, ‘Invoking “The Native”’: Body Politics in Contemporary Hawaiian Tourist Shows’ *TDR*, 41, 4 (Winter, 1997) pp. 83-109, p.88.

⁷³ Desmond, ‘Invoking “The Native”’ p.88.

ting movements. This too can be linked with Davenport's definitions of cultural nationalism, namely the need to recognise the presence of racism in the Islands. Both which is in line with the mainland United States, but also the uniquely Hawaiian experience of racism, seen here too with the definition by others of what it is to be Hawaiian, in this case "golden." These representations in tourist performances and media centred around tourism, are an example of the racism and cultural appropriation which will be challenged by activists across the next two chapters.

Furthermore, the advertisement of hyper-feminine female hula dancers through the tourist industry has created a synonymous linkage of these portrayals and actual Native Hawaiian women, and has come to define what tourists, in particular white mainlanders, believe native women to be like.⁷⁴ Once more, this effect is much alike that which resulted from television shows created through a colonial gaze. Antonymous to the fantasised hula girl is the appearance of the male performers. The men are shirtless, and don skirts like their female contemporaries, or otherwise a simple cloth known as a *malo*. Sometimes also, they can be seen 'brandishing spears or clubs,'⁷⁵ signifiers which give an impression of an uncivilised primitivity and is a continually perpetuated colonial association made with Native Hawaiians, men especially, that played a role both in the colonisation and Americanisation of the Islands, but also the banning of the hula in the nineteenth century. As Haunani-Kay Trask has argued, the appearance of male dancers 'conveys an image of Polynesian sexuality that is both enticing and threatening.'⁷⁶ This imagery of the mysteriously dangerous Polynesian male maintains the impression of Hawai'i as an exotically alluring destination, while also preserving the view of Hawaiians behaving in a savage manner prior to American contact: by presenting this, the United States' colonial dispossession of the Islands and subsequent transformation to an American ideal of modernity is affirmed and validated in the audience's mind.

⁷⁴ Momiala Kamahela, 'Hula as Resistance' *Forward Motion*, 3 (1992) pp.40-46, p.42.

⁷⁵ Desmond, 'Invoking "The Native"' p.96.

⁷⁶ Haunani-Kay Trask, 'Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture' *Border/Lines* (Winter 1991/1992) pp.22-29, p.28.

Thus, while the hula girl acts as an accommodating host to the masculine visitor, ‘reviving colonialist tropes, in which native Hawaiians welcomed white American settlers,’⁷⁷ the male figure performs as the mysterious barbarian, normalising American presence as a necessary helpful power for the benefit of Hawaiians.

Among discourse against the use of hula in the tourist industry, there have been some debated benefits: for example, the tourist industry provides substantial employment opportunities. However, these are relatively low paying ones as Trask identifies, as while the biggest lū’au companies make tens of millions each year, dancers employed under them can expect to make as low as \$10,000 per year.⁷⁸ Another argued benefit is that these jobs provide an opportunity for the Native Hawaiians employed with them to connect in some ways with their traditional culture: this is a point made by Stephanie Nohelani Teves in her PhD dissertation. Teves posits that performing ‘is the way that we remain connected to Hawaiian indigeneity,’⁷⁹ however she crucially explains that this is not a choice that Hawaiians can take agency over, as it has become necessary to do due to the risk of cultural erasure under American influence. This demonstrates the complicated relationship between the Native performer and their involvement in tourist shows, and how despite the perceived benefits that may be put forward about this, it is still fraught with imperfections.

The hula teacher in *The Brady Bunch* embodies these stereotypes through her appearance and gentle movements. Furthermore her character has no lines and makes no sound at all: as a background character who only appears in this one scene this isn’t necessarily shocking, (although confusing as she is meant to be teaching the group), however it is significant as it contributes to the submissive stereotype of native women in addition to reducing her and in consequence the viewers impression of native women, to merely a supportive figure for the benefit of the tourist industry.

⁷⁷ Davenport, *Gateway State* p.125.

⁷⁸ Trask, ‘Lovely Hula Hands’ p.28.

⁷⁹ Stephanie Nohelani Teves, ‘We’re All Hawaiians Now: Kanaka Maoli Performance and the Politics of Aloha’ (The University of Michigan Dissertation, 2012) p.84.

Over the three episodes, the family also take a tour where they learn about Pearl Harbor, meet famous Hawaiian singer Don Ho who is perhaps best known for his song “Tiny Bubbles,” attend a lū’au and visit a Hawaiian burial ground where they return the idol. Through these scenes, the show is able to advertise to the audience what they could expect on a holiday to Hawai’i: an enticing multicultural paradise which at its heart is still American.

To conclude, the use of television in the marketing of Hawai’i, Hawaiian people, and culture, is an effective tool of colonialism which helps to naturalise Hawai’i as an extension of America and secures it as an economically lucrative tourist enterprise, while also promoting the idea of the Islands as a “melting pot” of diversity separate from the racial tensions on mainland America during this time period. In *Hawaii Five-O*, this is done through the presentation of Hawaiian culture as bygone and the indigenous Hawaiians still practicing it as peculiar and in need of help, like seen with character Sam Kalakua when he says he has been seeing the goddess Pele. Although there are instances where culture and social issues are presented in a more sensitive manner, like in “Strangers in Our Own Land” or in “King Kamehameha Blues” when the stolen cloak is shown to have cultural significance for the Hawaiian population, the negative portrayals coupled with the promotion of a white saviour lead over minority characters help to legitimise Westernisation and American colonialism as progressive in comparison to Hawaiian culture and beliefs. In instances where Hawai’i is used to sell an exotic, yet still American, holiday destination, like in *The Brady Bunch*, Hawai’i is shown to be an Eden of beautiful scenery, fun activities and enticing locals, often women, who affirm the United States as a welcome settler state. In these episodes, Hawaiian culture is engaged with on a superficial basis, and audiences learn little about it except that it can be a fun activity to engage in. Additionally, the presentation of Hawaiian men and women through these media types is often stereotypical and damaging: they are mostly demoted to background characters, women are shown to be submissive objects of desire, while the men can be frightening or infantilised. The use of a colonial gaze which includes gender with the white male and female gaze, and race with the

exotic gaze, in these pieces of media has significant influence on American audiences and is a tool which is still present within media of the twenty-first century, like the 2010 *Hawaii Five-0* reboot and in films such as *Just Go With It* (2011) or *Aloha* (2015) where Hawai'i is still reduced to merely a paradisaal extension of America, and Hawaiian characters are pushed into the background in favour of white American leads. As the analysis of mainstream television shows, the late 1960s and 1970s reinforced a particularly egregious form of the colonial gaze whose implications were racist and damaging. This formed a strong backdrop of appropriation against which Hawaiians created a series of dynamic protests through the emergence, reclamation, cultivation, and eventual deployment of cultural nationalism, which will now be explored in chapter two.

“The Bulldozer versus the Hog Farmer”⁸⁰ Redevelopment and Protest in Kalama Valley

The third biggest economic franchise in the state of Hawai'i during the 1960s and onwards was construction and urban development.⁸¹ Although economically prosperous for Hawai'i, urban development had many negative impacts on Hawaiian land, people, culture and also the working-class population of Hawai'i who were often ethnic minorities. In this chapter, the case of the redevelopment of Kalama Valley will be analysed, in particular looking at the protest group which formed to support the residents of the Valley, Kokua Hawai'i. This group staged a series of protests and raised awareness for the community of Kalama Valley, culminating in a sit-in style protest on May 11, 1971, which led to the arrest of thirty-two members of Kokua Hawai'i. Furthermore, the influences which led to Kokua Hawai'i to form will be analysed, in addition to the repercussions of urban development and evictions for Native Hawaiians.

To do this an oral history project archive created by journalist and member of Kokua Hawai'i, Gary T. Kubota will be used.⁸² In the group, Kubota acted as a leader and helped to found Kokua Hawai'i's newspaper *Huli*, in which he was a writer and editor. In 2016 and 2017, Kubota, at the encouragement of Kokua Hawai'i leader Lawrence Kamakawiwoole, carried out oral historical interviews with some of those arrested alongside political leaders of the time, supporters and members of other protest groups. These interviews were transcribed and published in 2018 as the 'Kokua Hawai'i Oral History Project,' which aimed to provide an understanding about Kokua Hawai'i's contribution to the Hawaiian protest movement. This project offers an emotional account not just of the Kalama Valley eviction, but also the political atmosphere in the Islands during the 1970s and

⁸⁰ Haunani-Kay Trask, 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O'ahu' *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 21 (1987) pp.126-153, p.162.

⁸¹ Kathy E. Ferguson, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) p.2.

⁸² At the beginning of my research, I had the opportunity to communicate with Kubota who offered me some advice and secondary reading suggestions. Unfortunately, this exchange was only brief.

also in relation to the civil rights movement in mainland America. Crucially too, it discusses Hawaiian cultural practices and the sense of loss that is felt by Hawaiians as a result of land and cultural destruction. The cultural forms the protests take and the deployment of cultural facets within them can be understood as a rediscovery and reclamation which asserts authenticity, ownership, and power in ways which challenge representations of Hawaiian culture which can be viewed in media like which was analysed in chapter one. Furthermore, through this renaissance of culture, the narrative shifts from colonial forms of gazes to the voices of Hawaiians themselves and their own self representation.

From this oral history project, I have created a database of information allowing for a cross-sectional analysis.⁸³ This database is split into twenty sections: the first seven document the subjects name, date of birth, date of death where applicable, ethnicity, place of birth, interview date and interviewer.⁸⁴ The basic biographical information allows for a picture of the group to form: Kokua Hawai'i were not strictly a Hawaiian group, and they were aged mostly in their early twenties. These sections also provide a look into what influenced and motivated them in their activism. Additional sections of the database include influences for them in their work, educational background, roles in the group and socioeconomic background. The economic background of the interviewees is significant as a class analysis can now be applied which gives more of an insight into the influences that led to their involvement in activism, but also demonstrates how urban development affected the poorer communities in Hawai'i the most, helping to understand the social structure that shaped cultural nationalism at this time. As a whole, the database is extremely useful for cross-referencing and identifying common factors and themes among those interviewed.

Alongside this, newspaper articles which followed the story of Kalama Valley will be used to provide additional content and information, as well as secondary research. Davenport's *Gateway*

⁸³ See Appendix, Table 1.

⁸⁴ See Appendix, Table 1.

State will inform this chapter through her definitions of cultural nationalism, being the challenge to cultural suppression through the advancement of cultural pride and the redefinition of what it means to be Hawaiian. Political Scientist Neil Milner's article 'Home, Homelessness, and Homeland' creates an in depth timeline of the Kalama Valley protest and further shows how Hawaiian land transformed into an urban landscape following statehood in 1959, which subsequently led to the evictions of impoverished Hawaiian communities. Additionally, Milner connects this to the depleting living conditions of Native Hawaiians, for example an increased level of homelessness, poor health, incarceration, and poverty, as well as to the cultural loss they suffered as a result of the severed connection between themselves and their land. Work by Hawaiian activist and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask and Professor John Casken will also be referenced. Trask takes a similar approach to Milner in her article 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O'ahu,' analysing the negative repercussions of the Kalama Valley eviction, while also examining the methodology of activists and what influenced them in their actions. Casken analyses health statistics of Native Hawaiians who are impoverished and have been evicted as a result of American urbanisation. Where these scholars miss out however is the use of the testimony from Kubota's project, as it is a new source set and so has not yet been used in academic study: in this project, I will use the oral history set and the database I created to offer a fresh and original source analysis for the secondary research surrounding this topic. The first part will provide context with oral history interspersed throughout, whereas the second part will use the research I have done to provide a new analysis of Kokua Hawai'i and the Kalama Valley eviction.

The Protest

Pinpointed by scholars such as Haunani Kay-Trask and Neil Milner as ‘the spark that ignited the modern Hawaiian movement,’⁸⁵ Kalama Valley is the defining example of the negative impact of American led land appropriation in Hawai’i and cultural nationalism in opposition towards it. Located in Southeastern O’ahu, Kalama Valley was home to sixty-seven multi-ethnic, working-class and poor families⁸⁶ who leased the land they lived and often worked off of from the Bishop Estate, Hawaii’s largest private landowner. In the early 1960s, development plans by American businessman Henry J. Kaiser began to evolve, which would see the transformation of the Hawai’i Kai district in southeastern O’ahu into a high-end residential and resort-dominated locale. Phase one of the project was the development of the residential community, which would include redeveloping Kalama Valley, while phase two involved the building of hotels and resorts along the coastal zone of Hawai’i Kai, particularly the stretch of Sandy Beach and Wawamalu Beach, known as Queen’s Beach. This phase was a source of contention among local residents and activists, who feared that the building of a ‘second Waikiki’⁸⁷ would have a severe impact on living standards and the environment. The linkage to Waikiki is important as it shows a critical pattern in these developments: with Kalama and Hawai’i Kai, the land was described as swamp-like⁸⁸ and chairman for the Bishop Estate, Richard Lyman, referred to Kalama especially as a “rural slum” . . . “barren land” on which “there is no history of Hawaiian culture.”⁸⁹ When Waikiki and the Ala Wai canal began to be redeveloped in the beginning of the twentieth century, the land there was:

Similarly described as a "swamp" by those who wished to develop it as a tourist destination . . . the canal would drain the swamp, create healthier conditions in the area, and generally put

⁸⁵ Trask, ‘The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement’ p.126.

⁸⁶ Neil Milner, ‘Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in the Kalama Valley: Re-Imagining a Hawaiian Nation Through a Property Dispute’ *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 40 (2006) pp.149-176, p.155.

⁸⁷ John Kelly, ‘Anyone want a second Waikiki! No way!’ *UHM Library Digital Image Collections* [accessed May 30, 2020] <https://digital.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/items/show/31345>.

⁸⁸ Milner, ‘Home, Homelessness, and Homeland’ p.152.

⁸⁹ Milner, ‘Home, Homelessness, and Homeland’ p.158.

the land to better, more progressive use. In the process farmers in the area lost their livelihood and important place names and markers disappeared.⁹⁰

This quote demonstrates a concerning trend of ignorance towards Hawaiian land, particularly that where low income residents live, and is similar to that which was shown by the Navy towards Kaho'olawe in 1976, which will be analysed in the next chapter, illustrating a pattern of neglect, ignorance, and disregard for Hawaiian land and custom. This is especially significant when considering the cultural notion *aloha 'āina*, as discussed in the introduction, and the significance of land for Hawaiians as a part of their identity and selfhood. This makes the movements against land appropriation a key example of a cultural nationalist protest to reassert cultural pride and a sense of self for Hawaiians.

In 1968, the Bishop Estate rezoned Kalama Valley from agricultural to urban land, and informed the residents that they needed to leave their homes before July 1970. The notice to leave was met with discontent among the residents of Kalama, many of whom who had lived there for a significant amount of time and could not reasonably afford to live elsewhere. However, it would be several years before protests began to develop: on July 2, 1970, upon hearing that houses in Kalama were due to be bulldozed, activists John Witeck, Lori Treschuk and Linton Park staged a sit-in on the porch of one of the houses. Confronted with Bishop Estate officials and a bulldozer, the trio stood their ground and were arrested, as were Park and another group a week later on July 9 following a similar stand-off. Over the following months, Lawrence Kamakawiwoole, a local activist and teaching assistant at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, initiated the formation of the group Kokua Kalama (changed to Kokua Hawai'i some months later), made up of independent activists and residents of Kalama. Kokua Hawai'i would attempt to raise awareness in favour of Kalama Valley through rallies and protests, such as a sit-in at Governor John Burns' office between September 20 and October 1, 1970, in addition to a demonstration at the Hawai'i State Capitol on March 30, 1971.

⁹⁰ Milner, 'Home, Homelessness, and Homeland' p.152.

Between 1,500 and 2,000 people gathered at the Capitol holding signs which included phrases such as “People Not Profits - Huli,” and “People Can’t Eat Tourist Development.”⁹¹ *Huli*, meaning “overturn” became the key principle of Kokua Hawai’i and represented the desire for social and political change in Hawai’i, and also became the name of Kokua Hawai’i’s newspaper. The high number of attendees for this rally had a dramatic effect, as John Witeck recollected in 2016: ‘When they stomped their feet, they shook the building.’⁹² Additionally, the event garnered significant attention to the Kalama Valley eviction, and helped the numbers of Kokua Hawai’i grow in size.

In April 1971, Kokua Hawai’i began to occupy Kalama Valley on a constant basis, establishing with the help of several hundred volunteers basic living quarters and community rules. During Kokua Hawai’i’s occupation of Kalama Valley, they continued to raise awareness to what was happening to the community, publishing flyers, their newspaper, and drawing the attention of local news media. Shortly before the end of their protest, a decision was made to ask all of the non-local, most of whom were white Americans, to leave the Valley. This decision was made due to the media focusing on these members of the group, overshadowing and neglecting the local members and the residents of Kalama, as well as taking away from the core conflict of Kalama Valley which was local minorities being mistreated by American franchises. This decision was not an easy one: as Moanikeala Akaka recalled, ‘That was just heart-breaking, and I cried . . . as we told these brothers and sisters, some of whom had supported us for months and months even before the occupation, that they had to leave.’⁹³ The decision caused some debate among Kokua Hawai’i: John Witeck and John Kelly, two white American activists, both agreed with and encouraged the decision, while Kamakawiwoole and Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo both disagreed along with many of those being

⁹¹ Dianne Armstrong, ‘Citizen Groups Rally At Capitol’ *Honolulu Star Bulletin* (April 01, 1971) p.19.

⁹² Gary T. Kubota, ‘Interview with John Witeck’ *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (October 7, 2016) pp.97-107, p.105.

⁹³ Gary T. Kubota, ‘Interview with Edwina Moanikeala Akaka’ *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (October 11, 2016) pp.18-29, p.25.

asked to go. However, the decision was a success and was a turning point for the redevelopment of a Hawaiian sense of selfhood, as it reorientated the focus of news outlets to the local struggle and spotlighted Hawaiian indigeneity.

The climactic event in the timeline of Kokua Hawai'i and Kalama Valley was on May 11, 1971, when police were called to arrest those who still resided in the Valley. At this point, the house of George Santos was the last to be bulldozed, and so thirty-two members of Kokua Hawai'i chose there as their site of protest: eleven of them sat on the porch, and the rest, as well as a dog, sat on the roof of the house, refusing to come down and peacefully waited to be arrested.

The mood among the protesters was positive, despite the threat of arrest and the risk to their safety as Raymond Catania made clear in his interview: 'We were on top of the roof. There were snipers on the ridges—you could see the glint. We were surrounded by cops. They had helicopters and this and that.'⁹⁴ The events of the morning were detailed in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, who said of the Kokua Hawaiians:

The demonstrators then began singing and chanting. In between choruses, they talked to the policemen. "Hey, you guys are Hawaiian. You should be up here with us," they said. Then to Van Allen. "Do you know what you're doing Mr. Van Allen? Will you be able to sleep tonight? You know, you're stealing the land from the local people."⁹⁵

Mr. Van Allen is in reference to William Van Allen, the director of land management for the Bishop Estate, who was sent by them to assist in the eviction, alongside Ed Michaels who once made an 'unforgettable racist statement to residents that "in today's modern world, the Hawaiian lifestyle should be illegal."⁹⁶ This statement was largely in reference to the style of living enjoyed by the community at Kalama Valley, namely a rural, farming lifestyle which has 'a larger concern

⁹⁴ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Raymond Catania' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (May 27, 2016) pp.29-45, p.39.

⁹⁵ '32 arrested in peaceful Kalama eviction' p.19.

⁹⁶ Trask, 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement' p.142.

for people and their daily happiness rather than for money, status, and achievement,⁹⁷ and is a traditional Hawaiian way to live. Michaels specifically calling out this as a “Hawaiian lifestyle” even though the residents at Kalama were of mixed ethnicity demonstrates in part why the eviction of Kalama Valley was so important among local Hawaiian activists: not only is it another piece of Hawaiian land being appropriated for the profit of Americans, but it is another example in a long history of attacks against the traditional Hawaiian way of life. Specifically, the *aloha ‘āina* focused, authentic Hawaiian lifestyle, and not the faux grass skirts and beach life sold to audiences in televisual representations and the tourist industry. Prior incidents like this include banning the teaching of the Hawaiian language in schools in 1896 and the commodification of culture for economic profit in the tourist industry.

Among those on the roof of the Santos home was Sam Lono, a *kahuna lapaau* (Hawaiian medicinal expert), who had previously educated Kokua Hawai'i in traditional Hawaiian cultural practices which would become a primary focus for the emerging cultural nationalist movement. While on the roof, Lono began to pray in Hawaiian:

They (the police) didn't know if he was putting the “heebie-jeebies” on them . . . Radio announcer Ed Michelman who was doing a live show says, “The police just stepped back one step,” thinking that maybe they were “ana‘ana-ed” (Hawaiian cursed) by Sam. (Laughter) Later on, I asked Sam, and he said he was saying, the Lord's Prayer in Hawaiian. However, the police didn't know that. ⁹⁸

In addition to being a funny anecdote from the events of that morning, this quote demonstrates a sad fact about Hawaiian culture at this time, in the fact that the Hawaiian language has been suppressed to the extent that the Hawaiian police officers couldn't understand what Lono was saying. Additionally, for it to be believed that Lono was cursing them shows how Hawaiian culture has

⁹⁷ Trask, ‘The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement’ p.131.

⁹⁸ Kubota, ‘Interview with Edwina Moanikeala Akaka’ p.26.

been made to seem ‘ridiculous’⁹⁹ as Professor Lisa Kahaleole Hall put it in her article ‘Hawaiian at Heart.’ In this, she posits how the United States has marketed Hawaiian culture to be exotic and kitsch, through elements such as ‘aloha shirts . . . tiki bars . . . pineapple and ham pizza,’¹⁰⁰ and that by doing this it ‘undermines sovereignty struggles.’¹⁰¹ Appropriation like this has created an environment in which Hawaiian culture and language is something to be laughed at or consumed, and in a protest setting this undermines what the activists are trying to achieve.

The protestors, recognising some of the police officers to be former classmates, began calling out the officers by name. As Akaka recalled, ‘most of the police were Hawaiians . . . We would call out to them telling them we were doing this “for their kids. . .”’¹⁰² This personalised address alongside the police inability to remove the protestors from the roof of the house, as the group had taken the only ladder in Kalama Valley, embarrassed the officers. Eventually, a fire engine was called in, Hawaiian firefighters were advised to stay in the background to avoid another incident of recognition, and a ladder was procured: those on the roof climbed down of their own volition and were still smiling when they were arrested. On October 11, 1971, fourteen of the thirty-two arrested were found guilty of misdemeanour trespass.

Following from this, Kokua Hawai'i played vital roles in other protests against evictions: in January 1972 they staged a similar sit-in style protest in Ota Camp, where 130 people were being faced with eviction by a development company looking to build apartment blocks. Also in 1972, they engaged in a three night sit-in at the University of Hawai'i to try and prevent the Ethnic Studies program from being cancelled. This protest was a success, and Lawrence Kamakawiwoole became the director of the program. In February 1973, they protested against evictions of residents from the

⁹⁹ Lisa Kahaleole Hall, “‘Hawaiian at Heart’ and Other Fictions’ *The Contemporary Pacific*, 17, 2 (2005) pp.404-413, p.409.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, “‘Hawaiian at Heart’” p.409.

¹⁰¹ Hall, “‘Hawaiian at Heart’” p.409.

¹⁰² Kubota, ‘Interview with Edwina Moanikeala Akaka’ p.26.

poor community in Kalihi-Palama in order to expand Honolulu Community College, and then in the Summer of 1975 they fought back against the extreme rent increases and proposed evictions for the community in Waiahole-Waikane, which came about when the State wished to build the H-3 Freeway among other developments. Liko Martin and Soli Niheu, two of Kokua Hawai'i's organisers, went on to take part in landings on Kaho'olawe to protest against the military use of it, and Moanikeala Akaka became a trustee of the Office Of Hawaiian Affairs, which was established in 1978 to allow Hawaiians to manage the Hawaiian Homelands, preserve Hawaiian culture and lifestyle and advance education about this.

Influences Behind Kokua Hawai'i

With the context of the Kalama Valley eviction and protest established, it is important to consider the influences which guided Kokua Hawai'i as a whole, and the individuals who were in the group. Especially significant for the Kalama Valley eviction was that the community consisted of poor, working class people: 'some were pig farmers, some were vegetable farmers, some were construction workers . . . They lived in old wooden houses with their animals nearby.'¹⁰³ The wealth and class of Kalama's residents is significant as it demonstrates the damaging effect of urbanisation for impoverished people: the language that has been used to describe Kalama Valley, such as "slum" and "barren" and the desire to replace the existing community with an expensive suburban enclave can be likened to urban cleansing, and although the community was made up of a mix of ethnicities, it is a clear example of the continued Westernisation and transformation of Hawai'i into 'anywhere USA.'¹⁰⁴ Among those interviewed for Kubota's project, a large majority of them come from a working class background, and five directly mention class conflict as an influencing factor for them

¹⁰³ Trask, 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement' p.129.

¹⁰⁴ Kubota, 'Interview with Edwina Moanikeala Akaka' p.22.

in their activism and involvement in the Kalama Valley protests. Kubota and Virgil Demain both name Karl Marx, and Clyde Ohelo says that Kokua Hawai'i studied Marxist-Leninism in order 'to understand what social consciousness meant globally, and what it meant at home.'¹⁰⁵ Alongside this, a class struggle is demonstrated through the style of the Hawai'i Kai development: as Trask points out in her article 'homes in Hawai'i-Kai were being offered at \$45,000 with the lowest at \$34,000 . . . far beyond what most people, including members of the local middle class, could afford.'¹⁰⁶ In comparison to this, in her interview with Kubota, former Kalama resident Dancette Yockman who was a teenager when she was evicted from the Valley stated that her family paid seventy-five dollars a month for their leasehold.¹⁰⁷ This extreme price increase makes it clear the class of people being sought out to live in the Hawai'i Kai development, and can be compared to the more than one hundred percent rent increase for the tenants at Waiahole-Waikane which heightened the pressure to give in and leave their homes to make way for the H-3 Freeway. This contemptible tactic is further demonstrative of urban cleansing and the desire to replace predominately poor ethnic minorities with a wealthier, often white, community.

While some, such as protestor Edyson Ching, place significant emphasis on the protest being more class-based than race-based, saying, 'the struggle was not so much about race, it was about class consciousness against the ruling class,'¹⁰⁸ the elements of class conflict are intrinsically linked with Hawaiian indigeneity and at the core of Kokua Hawai'i was the wish to preserve Hawaiian culture and selfhood through cultural nationalism. The Bishop Estate, although not lead by Hawaiians, is a Hawaiian franchise which came about from the last will and testament of Bernice Pauahi Bish-

¹⁰⁵ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (October 3, 2016) pp.67-90, p.88.

¹⁰⁶ Trask, 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement' p.137.

¹⁰⁷ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Dancette Yockman' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (September 4, 2017) pp.108-114, p.109.

¹⁰⁸ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Edyson Ching' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (February 25, 2017) pp.121-129, p.128.

op, a Hawaiian noblewoman and philanthropist who entrusted her wealthy estate to a board of trustees who since her death have been chosen by the Supreme Court of Hawai'i, and primarily have been non Hawaiian. The men driving the bulldozers which destroyed the Kalama houses were Hawaiian, and the policemen who arrested the protestors were also Hawaiian. Thus, at the root of the Kalama Valley eviction was a communal Hawaiian struggle which can not simply be explained by class divisions alone. Lori Treschuk reflects upon the July 2, 1970 sit-in she took part in alongside Linton Park and John Witeck in her interview with Gary Kubota, in which she spotlights an incident with one of the Hawaiian bulldozer operators:

I remember this big Hawaiian guy was sitting in the bulldozer—he was working it . . . People were clearly still living in that house . . . I recall the bulldozer operator Tiny started going, and this Bishop Estate official Ed Michaels just egging him on. . . Tiny was very reluctant, very slow, slow, slow, and then he stopped. He basically got off of the bulldozer, threw down the keys and said, “If you want this bulldozer to move and bulldoze that house down, you do it.” And he walked off. Thank goodness, because I wasn’t sure what we were gonna do. . .¹⁰⁹

This abstract is significant for several reasons. For one, it denotes the callousness of the Bishop Estate towards the people of Kalama Valley that can be seen in Ed Michaels’ willingness to destroy a house that still had people’s possessions in and his “egging on” of a bulldozer towards this and people peacefully demonstrating. It also however shows the internal struggles among Native Hawaiians who are stuck between their employment by white Americans who appear to care little for their land and culture, and supporting a fight fought by and for the Hawaiian people. This event also draws into focus a divide within the Native Hawaiian population during the Hawaiian protest movement of the 1970s and 80s, those who joined the protest and those who did not. This could also be noted upon in the recollections of the climactic May 11 protest, in which the protestors called upon the Hawaiian police and firefighters to join them. Although it is not known specifically why the bulldozer operators and emergency service workers did not join the protests, it is fair to

¹⁰⁹ Gary T. Kubota, ‘Interview with Lori Treschuk’ *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (October 1, 2016) pp.46-51, p.48.

assume it was largely to do with the risk it would pose to their employment. At this time, the economic wellbeing of Native Hawaiians was poor: in statistics taken from census surveys carried out on the island of Hawai'i, Maui and O'ahu in 1975, Haunani-Kay Trask summarises that the median income of Hawaiians 'was \$3,000 to \$4,000 less'¹¹⁰ than other ethnic groups in Hawai'i. She further adds, 'Hawaiians suffered higher unemployment than other major ethnic groups; institutional racism had ghettoised Hawaiians occupationally, limiting them to non-professional, low paying service jobs.'¹¹¹ The societal demotion of Hawaiians into low-paying jobs was recounted by community organiser Clyde Ohelo who spoke of an experience with his first-grade teacher, who said to the class:

“Kenji and Nakamurasan, when you grow up, you will become lawyers and doctors. Kalani, when you grow up, you will be . . . one great truck driver” . . . I looked at her and I said, “I don't wanna be a truck driver . . . I wanna be a lawyer too,” I said. She goes, “No, no, no, no, no. You cannot be a lawyer because Hawaiians are not lawyers. They're truck drivers.”¹¹²

This racist stereotyping of Hawaiians as purely fit for labour and service work was prevalent throughout Hawai'i and limited the professional success of Native Hawaiians, and can be seen in representations like the *Hawai'i Five-O* episode “Kamehameha Blues,” where Hawaiian character Kalama was typecast as “the muscle,” in contrast to his white American compatriot who was “the brains.” There are many issues which arise from this, such as decreased wealth and in turn limited opportunities to have savings in case of emergencies like the loss of a job, which made the risk of joining protests all the more great.

To further add to the influence of Hawaiian indigeneity on Kalama Valley, is the spotlighting of Hawaiian culture throughout the protest as a display of cultural pride. As mentioned previously the rural, farming life lived by the community is a traditionally Hawaiian way of life and so the desire

¹¹⁰ Trask, 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement' p.128.

¹¹¹ Trask, 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement' p.128.

¹¹² Kubota, 'Interview with Clyde Maurice Kalani Ohelo' p.72.

to break this up for a more Americanised development, alongside the Bishop Estate belief that the traditional Hawaiian lifestyle should be banned, makes the case of Kalama Valley specifically resonate with Hawaiians. Additionally, throughout the protest Hawaiian culture is used as a tool. For example, the protestors spoke in Hawaiian, as seen through Sam Lono's prayer, they held lū'au's, and sung Hawaiian songs. Music especially played a strong role, for example protester Alfred Abreu said in his interview, 'I didn't know Karl Marx from Groucho Marx,'¹¹³ but instead spoke of Hawaiian culture, specifically music, as a key influencing factor for his involvement in Kokua Hawai'i. The use of culture in the Kalama Valley protest will be explored further in the next chapter. Finally, the mere fact that the redevelopment of Kalama Valley is yet another piece of Hawaiian land being appropriated by America is motivational enough: as described in the introduction to this thesis, land is a vitally important facet of Hawaiian culture, and so the desecration of this land by foreign influences is in turn a direct attack on Hawaiian culture and self.

In addition to class consciousness and Hawaiian indigeneity, Kokua Hawai'i were also influenced by the African American civil rights movement. Kamakawiwoole who formed the group was personally motivated by the efforts of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California. Of those interviewed by Kubota, five including Kamakawiwoole name the Black Panthers, two name Malcolm X, and five name Martin Luther King Jr., as an influence for them in their activism.¹¹⁴ At the time of Kokua Hawai'i, the mainland civil rights movement was going through a tumultuous period. Just three years prior in 1968, Martin Luther King Jr., was assassinated, leading to a series of retaliatory protests, and one year later Black Panther leader Fred Hampton was murdered by police officers. The Black Panther party and Black Power movement began to peak in the late 1960s and early 70s, and in November of 1970, Moanikeala Akaka and Clyde Ohelo travelled to a Black Panther Party

¹¹³ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Alfred Abreu' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (March 12, 2017) pp.174-180, p.177.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix, Table 1.

conference in Washington D.C., where they gave speeches about American colonialism in Hawai'i and Kalama Valley, and learnt about the violence faced by the Panthers at the hands of the police, most notably the death of Fred Hampton. Akaka and Ohelo then moved up to New York, where they visited and spoke with the Puerto Rican activist group Young Lords.¹¹⁵ Also named as an influence for Kokua Hawai'i, the Young Lords formed in Chicago in 1960 and fought against the American military occupation of Puerto Rico, educated Puerto Rican's about their heritage, and opposed evictions. This movement especially resonated with Kokua Hawai'i for its emphasis of community care, land preservation, and their belief in power to the people. Furthermore, protestor Kehau Lee Jackson has drawn into focus their similarities in regard to their relationships with America: 'like the Hawaiians, they had a native island being used for military training as well . . . Puerto Rico and Hawaii were taken at the same time. We're on the same latitude. Puerto Rico could have easily become the 51st state.'¹¹⁶ The similarities between the Young Lords and Kokua Hawai'i was extremely influential for the Hawaiian group and helped to shape their own protest style, most notably the sit-in method. Kokua Hawai'i even mimicked their logo: the Young Lord's logo shows a clenched fist holding a gun, whereas Kokua Hawai'i's depicts a clenched fist holding a poi pounder, a stone tool used to crush taro root in order to make poi, a key staple of Hawaiian cuisine.

The Black Panthers and Young Lords influenced Kokua Hawai'i in several other ways. For one protest, Kokua Hawai'i trialled wearing brown berets. Similar to the black berets worn by the Black Panthers and Young Lords, the berets became recognised as a symbol of resistance among groups for its links to French revolutionary groups, and were chosen by leaders Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton as a key part of the Black Panther uniform 'after watching a movie about the French resistance to Nazis during WWII . . . they felt that it was a strong symbol of militancy and such milit-

¹¹⁵ Kubota, 'Interview with Edwina Moanikeala Akaka' pp.23-24.

¹¹⁶ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Kehau Lee Jackson' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (December 13, 2016) pp.191-200, p.196.

ancy was what they wished the Black Panther Party to convey.¹¹⁷ Kokua Hawai'i only wore the berets for one protest, abandoning them as their group were not militant.

Perhaps one of the most significant ways the Young Lords and Black Panthers influenced Kokua Hawai'i was their decision to be non-violent. There were several debates in the group over the issue of picking up weapons due to their use in civil rights protests throughout America, which protester Raymond Catania explained: 'At Wounded Knee, the Native Americans were using guns. And the Black Panthers were talking about picking up the gun, right? So, guns were seen as a revolutionary weapon.'¹¹⁸ In Kubota's oral history project, Catania, Kamakawiwoole and Edyson Ching all expressed how they opposed the idea of arming the group, with Catania labelling the idea 'stupid,'¹¹⁹ saying, 'I think using guns is insane. Look what happened to the Panthers. They got wiped out.'¹²⁰ The actions taken by police officers against the Black Panthers created a feeling of distrust among Kokua Hawai'i, who were unwilling to engage violently in fear of what the police may do. Additionally, Catania recalled how George Santos also opposed the idea as only a very limited number of the group knew how to work a gun, having said to the group: "'How can you guys get guns when the cops stay on both sides of the mountain ridge behind the house. They're just going to take potshots at us guys. That's really dumb. Because the only guy who should use his own gun is me, and I'm not going to use one.'"¹²¹ Furthermore, Kamakawiwoole expressed that the idea of using weapons was opposed on a moral and religious level, and how 'it would have alienated us from the communities we wanted to reach.'¹²² All together, this led Kokua Hawai'i to completely disregard

¹¹⁷ Mary Vargas, 'Fashion Statement or Political Statement: The Use of Fashion to Express Black Pride during the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements of the 1960's' *Undergraduate Review*, 5 (2009) pp.95-99, p.96.

¹¹⁸ Kubota, 'Interview with Raymond Catania' p.38.

¹¹⁹ Kubota, 'Interview with Raymond Catania' p.38.

¹²⁰ Kubota, 'Interview with Raymond Catania' p.39.

¹²¹ Kubota, 'Interview with Raymond Catania' p.38.

¹²² Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Lawrence (Larry) "Harbottle" Kamakawiwoole' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (2015-2016) pp.129-148, p.142.

the idea of arming themselves, and weapons ended up being banned from entering Kalama Valley. Furthermore, despite being heavily influenced by other civil rights and indigenous movements, an individual and unique display of cultural nationalism is displayed through the rejection of elements such as weapon use, and embrace of Hawaiian traditions which will be further explored in the next chapter.

Material Repercussions of Urban Development Among Native Hawaiians

For those evicted from Kalama and the many other communities who fell victim to urban redevelopment, the repercussions were severe. Dancette Yockman's family were financially ruined by their eviction from Kalama Valley and she later became homeless. The wife of Kalama's proclaimed mayor Moose Lui died shortly before the May 11 protest and her death was attributed to the stress of the eviction, and some of the children who's lives were uprooted by the event 'started running afoul of the law — like fish out of water, removed from the healthy rural lifestyle they had been raised in.'¹²³ Furthermore, there are links between urban development and the declining health of Native Hawaiian communities. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American colonialism and the introduction of Western cultural practices destroyed traditional Hawaiian systems of health, hygiene and medicine. Traditional Hawaiian health practices centred heavily around a holistic approach, believing that the mind, body and spirit were interconnected and needed to be balanced. Key treatments administered by *kahunas* [healers] included prayer, physical therapy, and medicines made using plants and herbs which could be found throughout Hawai'i. As a result of American intervention and religious missionaries, these practices were largely suppressed in favour of a Western approach to medicine. Urbanisation has led to the extinction of some plants used for

¹²³ Edwina Moanikeala Akaka, Maxine Kahaulelio, Terrilee Keko'olani-Raymond, Loretta Ritte, *Nā Wāhine Koa: Hawaiian Women for Sovereignty and Demilitarization* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018) p.21.

medicinal purposes, and have interfered with the collection of them. For example, at the same time as Kalama Valley, Hawai'i Kai were looking to build a resort and turn Queen's beach into a private enclave for tourists. This beach was used by Hawaiians for fishing and gathering underwater plants which were used to make medicines.¹²⁴ The high cost of homes in large cities and towns in Hawai'i has also pushed poorer Native Hawaiians into more rural areas of the Islands. This put them in life threatening situations as they lived a substantial distance away from medical care and hospitals, for example the district Ka'u on the Island of Hawai'i 'is approximately 75 miles from the nearest hospital with standard emergency room service.'¹²⁵ Furthermore, Native Hawaiians statistically have a higher death rate than any other group on the Islands, have the highest suicide rate, and also have higher rates of disease.¹²⁶ For instance, in 1980 heart disease was the leading cause of death among Native Hawaiian men, at a rate of 324 deaths per 100,000 people, compared to 198 for caucasian men and 124 for Japanese men.¹²⁷ This is especially significant when considering the difference in population sizes for these three groups: in the 1980 population census of Hawai'i, there were 115,500 Native Hawaiians, in comparison 318,770 caucasian and 239,748 Japanese people.¹²⁸ These high rates of disease have been attributed to the lower standard of social and economic mobility that has arisen due to Westernisation and American colonialism in Hawai'i.¹²⁹ When coupled with the isolation from medical care which some Native Hawaiian communities experience, this

¹²⁴ John Kelly, 'Save Wawamalu!' *UHM Library Digital Image Collections* [accessed June 24, 2020] <https://digital.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/items/show/31347>. p.5.

¹²⁵ John Casken, 'Improved Health Status for Native Hawaiians Not Just What the Doctor Ordered' *Wicazo Sa Review*, 16, 1 (Spring 2001) pp.75-89, p.77.

¹²⁶ Candace Fujikane, 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) p.191.

¹²⁷ Casken, 'Improved Health Status for Native Hawaiians' p.81.

¹²⁸ 'The Population of Hawai'i by Race/Ethnicity: U.S. Census 1900-2010.' <http://www.ohadatabook.com/T01-03-11u.pdf>.

¹²⁹ See Trask, 'The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement' p.128 and Kevin D. Cassel, 'No Ke Ola Pono o Nā Kāne: A Culturally Grounded Approach to Promote Health Improvement in Native Hawaiian Men' *American Journal of Men's Health*, 14, 1 (February 2020) pp.1-10, p.1.

demonstrates how further than being emotionally and culturally damaging, land appropriation in Hawai'i effects the physical and mental health of the Native Hawaiian population. These statistics also demonstrate how the politics of cultural nationalism isn't simply about representation and appropriation of land and culture. Rather, these elements tie into a much bigger system of oppression which has specific ramifications for health and mortality: while factors like television didn't cause these deaths, they helped to reinforce the colonisation of Hawai'i into the American consciousness.

To conclude, the protest that took place in Kalama Valley in 1971 was a pivotal event in modern Hawaiian history that encapsulates fully the economic greed of American franchises and their disregard towards Hawaiian people, culture and land. This has been demonstrated through the use of oral history which provided intimate details about the event and the people who took part in it, conveying the highly emotional atmosphere for those affected. This has allowed for the effect of urbanisation to be analysed on a personal level, but also can be compared to similar events which took place throughout Hawai'i, exemplifying that the negative impact of urban development had an Island wide effect and was not limited to just this case. By analysing the influences which led to Kokua Hawai'i's involvement in protests, the severity of evictions and redevelopment is further clarified. Class based motivations emphasise the economic downfall for communities who are uprooted from their land, while influences from national civil rights movements and the history of cultural suppression faced by Native Hawaiians as an indigenous people help to provide context for the social repercussions for the people who's cultural identity has been repressed by a dominant colonial force. Today, Kalama Valley is an upscale district where homes cost upwards of \$800,000 and several are priced past the one million mark.¹³⁰ In spite of this, the legacy of the Valley, its residents and Kokua Hawai'i has been positive. Having been labelled as the event which started the modern Hawaiian protest movement, Kalama Valley certainly lives up to this. Following from the 1971

¹³⁰ Correct as of 15 January 2021. Information courtesy of Google.

protest were fights against evictions throughout Hawai'i, like Ota Camp in 1972 and Waiahole-Waikane in 1975. In 1976 activists successfully protested against the military occupation of Kaho'olawe and a year later the Office of Hawaiian Affairs was established. More recently, protests have been held concerning the plans to build a thirty metre tall telescope on Mauna Kea on the Big Island. Beginning in 2014, Hawaiian activists have staged protests and blockades on the roads leading up to Mauna Kea in an attempt to prevent the telescope from being constructed. A pivotal moment for the Mauna Kea protests was on April 2, 2015, when three hundred activists blocked a road leading up to the summit of the mountain, preventing vehicles from delivering construction equipment. Of this group, twelve including Moanikeala Akaka were arrested. This event drew the attention of celebrity Jason Momoa who helped to gain international attention for the protests with the hashtags #WeAreMaunaKea and #ProtectMaunaKea which went viral on social media. Momoa has physically joined protesters on Mauna Kea multiple times, and has also encouraged other celebrities with Hawaiian links to raise awareness, such as Dwayne Johnson who joined a protest in 2019.

A vital part of Kokua Hawai'i's legacy however has been their recorded voice in Gary Kubota's Kokua Hawai'i Oral History Project. Through this the group and the cause they fought for has been memorialised: since its creation, several of the interviewees has passed, including Akaka in 2017, Ohelo in 2018, and Kamakawiwoole in 2019. Without this project, the rich stories that these people held would have been lost completely, and with them a vital primary source for scholars and activists. While chapter one provided a backdrop looking at how televisual representation reinforced discourses of colonial subjugation, painting Hawaiians as desirable as they had "civilised" and assimilated Hawai'i into American modernity, this chapter has demonstrated how the cultural nationalist movement in Hawai'i developed. The next and final chapter closely looks at the specific forms of protest, in the shape of language and music.

The use of Hawaiian music as a form of protest against colonialism was a prominent display of cultural nationalism during the Hawaiian protest movement of the 1970s, and can be linked to the definitions of cultural nationalism established in the introduction to this thesis, namely the redefinition of being Hawaiian through the promotion of history and culture and pushback against stereotypes, and also the deployment of cultural pride through the use of the Hawaiian language. Music’s use as a tactic dates back to the 1890s, during the imprisonment of Queen Lili’uokalani in Iolani Palace following the 1893 coup. While detained, she ‘regularly submitted songs and poems to papers that spoke to her people . . . reminding them that they were rightful heirs of the land . . . and that justice would prevail.’¹³² For the modern Hawaiian protest movement, music was mostly centred around the issue of land loss and expressed feelings of “‘pain, [and] revolution . . . expressing the emotional reaction the Hawaiians are feeling to the subversion of their lifestyle’”¹³³ at the hands of American colonial powers. In this chapter, the use of music in the protests for Kalama Valley in 1971 and the protest against the US military use of Kaho’olawe which began in 1976 will be analysed, looking at the way in which Hawaiian activists used music and language to protest against land development, desecration, and in the case of Kaho’olawe, militarism. This will be done through an analysis of the lyrics of five songs, alongside testimony from members of Kokua Hawai’i recorded by Gary Kubota in his Kokua Hawai’i Oral History Project.

In secondary work, the study of Hawaiian music in protest is minimal, and has mainly been studied by sociologist George H. Lewis in articles including, ‘Da Kine Sounds: The Function of

¹³¹ Palani Vaughan, ‘Sons Of Hawaii’ *Meet Palani Vaughan And The Sunday Manoa* (1994)

¹³² Amanda Mae Kāhealani Pacheco, ‘Past, Present, and Politics: A Look at the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement’ *Intersections* (2009) pp.341-387, p.350.

¹³³ Neil Milner, ‘Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in the Kalama Valley: Re-Imagining a Hawaiian Nation Through a Property Dispute’ *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 40 (2006) pp.149-176, p.168.

Music as Social Protest in the New Hawaiian Renaissance’ and ‘Style in Revolt Music, Social Protest, and the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance.’ In these Lewis picks up upon traditional elements of the music, such as chants and traditional instruments, in addition to the use of the Hawaiian language as opposed to English which provided an emblematic linkage between modern activists and their heritage. In ‘Home, Homelessness, and Homeland,’ Neil Milner also analyses Hawaiian music produced following the Kalama Valley eviction and the themes of land loss and dislocation that emerge throughout them. While these pieces of work are significant and beneficial for this project, they focus more on the context behind protests and do not delve into a lyrical analysis which have historically been used as a storytelling and history sharing tool, which is where this paper will focus.

Kalama Valley

On the day of the pivotal Kalama Valley protest on May 11, 1971, Kokua Hawai’i, while sat on the roof of George Santos’ house, began to sing the alma mater song of the Bishop Estate controlled Kamehameha Schools, “Son’s of Hawai’i.” In his interview with Gary Kubota, James Ng recounted: ‘I thought it was ironic. Here we were singing the alma mater song of the school that Bishop Estate funded, and we were against the officials of Bishop Estate.’¹³⁴ Kamehameha Schools are a system of schools established by the Bishop Estate which specifically educate children of Hawaiian descent. Among those interviewed by Kubota, four of them identify themselves as alumni from Kamehameha High School: Liko Martin, simply stated that he ‘hated Kamehameha School,’¹³⁵ whereas Lawrence Kamakawiwoole goes into more detail, by saying:

¹³⁴ Gary T. Kubota, ‘Interview with James Ng’ *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (March 7, 2017) pp.252-256, p.255.

¹³⁵ Gary T. Kubota, ‘Interview with Liko Martin’ *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (July 17, 2017) pp.115-120, p.116.

I recall my father telling me when he attended KSB, students were physically punished when they were caught by school personnel for speaking Hawaiian on campus . . . Kamehameha school focused on assimilation and acculturation. And they did a good job! The educational focus was on being Americans, not Native Hawaiians. I remember in my history class there was one page on Hawaiian history in the text book.¹³⁶

This account of the curriculum at Kamehameha Schools helps to further contextualise the dislike held towards the actions of the Bishop Estate and distinguishes the way in which Hawaiians are assimilated away from their heritage and culture to such an extent that they could be physically punished if caught practicing it. Through singing the alma mater song to the Bishop Estate officials, this comes across as a sardonic display, but in addition to this, it is also a unifying song for the group as well as for some of the police officers and firefighters who were assisting with the removal of the protestors. As recalled in the prior chapter, Kokua Hawai'i were able to call out to some of the emergency personnel by name as they had attended school with them, specifically, they were 'Kamehameha School grads.'¹³⁷ As they had this mutual connection, it is a possibility that they could have experienced the same problems or felt the same dislike towards Kamehameha Schools as those in Kokua Hawai'i did. Consequently, by singing the alma mater song and evoking nostalgic memories for those on the ground, it could have been another attempt on Kokua Hawai'i's part to sway the officers into joining their protest.

When analysing the lyrics of the song they take on a challenging and symbolic meaning in relation to the protest, particularly the first verse: 'Be strong and ally ye, O sons of Hawai`i, And nobly stand together hand in hand. All dangers defy ye, O sons of Hawai`i, And bravely serve your own, your father land.'¹³⁸ Even if this was not the intentions of the Bishop Estate, the wording of these

¹³⁶ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Lawrence (Larry) "Harbottle" Kamakawiwoole' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (2015-2016) pp.129-148, p.131.

¹³⁷ Gary T. Kubota, 'Interview with Edwina Moanikeala Akaka' *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (October 11, 2016) pp.18-29, p.25.

¹³⁸ Vaughan, 'Sons Of Hawaii'

lyrics can be seen as a demonstration of the familial relationship between Hawaiians and Hawai'i itself, with the phrases "father land" and "Sons of Hawai'i." Additionally the line "nobly stand together hand in hand" suggests collective action and resistance, much like what was demonstrated on the morning of the Kalama protest. As such, Kokua Hawai'i were able to turn the song of the Estate which sought to suppress and evict Hawaiians against them and use it as a rallying cry for protest.

Additionally, the term "father land" calls into reference the idea of the United States as being the white patriarchal power over Hawai'i. If this is the case, then "sons of Hawai'i" takes on an even more significant meaning, and can be linked to the settler colonial technique of naturalising settlers as being locals and indigenous to the land, and thus having a sense of ownership to the land.¹³⁹ The debate over what it means to be Hawaiian is eloquently analysed by Women's Studies Professor Lisa Kahaleole Hall in her article "Hawaiian At Heart" in which she studies how the Hawaiian identity has been defined by white American settlers through racial measures such as the 1920 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act which defined the Hawaiian identity through a blood quantum measurement, in which you would only be considered Hawaiian if you could prove that you had at least fifty-percent Hawaiian blood. Additionally, Hall examines how the term "local" has come to define even those who aren't Native Hawaiian, both in terms of ethnic minorities who have an 'identity forged in shared (though not identical) oppression in the plantation work economy,'¹⁴⁰ but also through the marketing of being Hawaiian as something that can be bought. This can be seen through selling "Locals Only" gear in the form of clothing, surfboards, and labels¹⁴¹ and also cultural elements such as "Hawaiian" shirts and hula, which allows settlers to believe that they can pay to be Hawaiian. This is similar to how the United States engaged with Native Americans: Eve Tuck

¹³⁹ Eve Tuck, K. Wayne Yang, 'Decolonization is not a metaphor' *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1, 1 (2012) pp.1-40

¹⁴⁰ Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "Hawaiian at Heart" and Other Fictions' *The Contemporary Pacific*, 17, 2 (2005) pp.404-413, p.406.

¹⁴¹ Hall, "Hawaiian at Heart" p.407.

analyses this in her article ‘Decolonization is not a metaphor’ in which she uses the term “‘playing Indian’”¹⁴² to demonstrate how the American settler takes facets of Native American culture and identity and makes it their own, for example, ‘the Boston Tea Party, to fraternal organisations, to new age trends, to even those aforementioned native print underwear.’¹⁴³ By doing this, the United States is able to present themselves as being “‘little bit Indian’”¹⁴⁴ which erases the identity and undermines the sovereignty struggles of native populations, assimilating them into the American fold and subsequently affirming the American hold over indigenous land. As such, through singing this song *Kokua Hawai'i* are also symbolically reclaiming their land which has been appropriated by the white American settler.

Following the events at Kalama Valley, a resurgence in appreciation and practice of Hawaiian culture emerged with the ensuing protest movements over the next decade, reinforcing cultural pride among Hawaiians. Music created to aid in these often implemented traditional elements of Hawaiian music, in order to create symbolism and a connection between modern Native Hawaiians and their ancestors. Elements included ‘rhythm patterns or traditional dance forms, as well as the special use of traditional instruments,’¹⁴⁵ for example the *pahu*, which is a bass drum that accompanies the performance of hula. This was particularly significant on February 25, 1997, when a congregation of hula practitioners, Hawaiians and supporters assembled outside the State Capitol to protest against a Senate Bill which aimed to restrict the gathering of natural materials used in hula performances as they began to interfere with the plans of land developers. On the day of the protest, on every hour ‘more than one hundred *pahu* sounded in simultaneous rhythm . . . one could hear loud chanting in the Hawaiian language . . . scores of hula practitioners danced hula *kahiko* (ancient

¹⁴² Tuck, Yang, ‘Decolonization is not a metaphor’ p.8.

¹⁴³ Tuck, Yang, ‘Decolonization is not a metaphor’ p.8.

¹⁴⁴ Tuck, Yang, ‘Decolonization is not a metaphor’ p.9.

¹⁴⁵ George H. Lewis, ‘Da Kine Sounds: The Function of Music as Social Protest in the New Hawaiian Renaissance’ *American Music*, 2, 2 (Summer, 1984) pp. 38-52, p.40.

hula),¹⁴⁶ in an effort to derail the Senate hearing and in the words of *kumu* hula Momiala Kamahele,¹⁴⁷ show to the government that Hawaiians ‘would no longer remain apathetically quiet while others attempted to circumvent our legally protected rights.’¹⁴⁸ The effect of the *pahu* was staggering, the sound reverberated throughout the Capitol building and could even be heard ‘five blocks away.’¹⁴⁹ After twenty-two hours of continuous protest, the Bill was quashed and this arguably would not have happened without the dancers and the strong sound of the *pahu*. This event also highlights how the encouragement of traditional Hawaiian cultural performances is contingent on its profitability for the State: when it exists out of this realm and becomes unproductive for the leading elite it is no longer valued as an important cultural tradition for Native Hawaiians, and instead becomes a nuisance, similar to how it was viewed during the nineteenth century by missionaries. Furthermore, the use of hula as a form of protest in such a public setting is a stark contrast to how hula was most commonly publicly seen, that being as a form of tourist entertainment. This is significant as it is an indirect attack of the portrayals of hula seen in the tourist industry and in media, such as *The Brady Bunch* analysed in the first chapter, demonstrating how impactful cultural appropriation portrayals are on the Hawaiian community.

Alongside musical patterns, protest music was also often sung in the Hawaiian language: at the beginning of the twentieth century, the teaching of the language in schools was banned, and as such the number of Hawaiians who were able to speak or understand it dwindled rapidly throughout the course of the century. This makes the popularity of Hawaiian sung songs particularly interesting as although the majority of listeners could only understand fragments, if any of it, there was still a de-

¹⁴⁶ Momiala Kamahele, ‘‘Īlio’ulaokalani: Defending Native Hawaiian Culture’ in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai’i* by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press) pp.76-98, p.90.

¹⁴⁷ *Kumu* hula meaning hula teacher.

¹⁴⁸ Kamahele, ‘‘Īlio’ulaokalani: Defending Native Hawaiian Culture’ p.90.

¹⁴⁹ Kamahele, ‘‘Īlio’ulaokalani: Defending Native Hawaiian Culture’ p.90.

sire among Native Hawaiians, especially the youth, for it to be created in order to connect themselves to their ‘cultural roots,’¹⁵⁰ in addition to instilling a renewed sense of Hawaiian cultural pride and encouraging a sense of cultural nationalism. Furthermore, singing in Hawaiian is an act of cultural nationalist protest in itself, as it fights back against American attempts to destroy the language, and by extension, Hawaiian culture as a whole.¹⁵¹

One Hawaiian musician of note during this time period is Liko Martin, who has been described as ‘the Hawaiian Bob Dylan’¹⁵² and was one of those arrested at Kalama Valley. One of his songs called “Nānākuli Blues,” which is mostly known as “Waimanalo Blues” after it was released under this name in 1974 by the Hawaiian band Country Comfort, is sung in a mixture of Hawaiian and English, and expresses feelings of disorientation in the changing landscape of Hawai’i. This is especially shown in the first verse with the lines: ‘Tired and worn, I woke up this morn, Found that I was confused, Spun right around and found I had lost, Things that I couldn’t lose.’¹⁵³ This sense of confusion as a result of construction was not unusual among Hawaiian residents, particularly among the youth, who as Virgil Demain recounted in his interview with Kubota, ‘were growing up in a period of rapid change in Hawai’i.’¹⁵⁴ This “rapid change” was partly influenced through the burgeoning tourist industry which, alongside the building of neighbourhoods, was a common reason for the redevelopment of communities and land. This is commented on in “Nānākuli Blues” through the lyric: ‘The beaches they sell, to build their hotels, My fathers and I once knew.’¹⁵⁵ The reference to the beaches is particularly interesting as it links to one of the core advocations to the protest

¹⁵⁰ Lewis, ‘Da Kine Sounds’ p.43.

¹⁵¹ George H. Lewis, ‘Storm Blowing from Paradise: Social Protest and Oppositional Ideology in Popular Hawaiian Music’ *Popular Music*, 10, 1 (Jan., 1991) pp. 53-67, p.63.

¹⁵² Kubota, ‘Interview with Liko Martin’ p.115.

¹⁵³ Liko Martin, Thor Wold, Country Comfort, ‘Waimanalo Blues’ (1974)

¹⁵⁴ Gary T. Kubota, ‘Interview with Virgil Demain’ *Hawaii Stories of Change: Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project* (March 28, 2017) pp.228-236, p.232.

¹⁵⁵ Martin, Wold, Country Comfort, ‘Waimanalo Blues’

group ‘Save Our Surf’ or ‘SOS.’ Formed in 1964 by local surfer John Kelly, SOS fought for the preservation of surfing sites, beaches, and against the polluting of Hawaiian land and water, and was ‘instrumental in preserving 140 surfing sites between Pearl Harbor and Koko Head.’¹⁵⁶ SOS worked alongside Kokua Hawai’i in multiple protests, including the protest in Kalama Valley, and its leader, John Kelly, has been named by several of the interviewees in Kubota’s project as an influence for them in their own activism.

One of Martin’s most popular songs is “All Hawaii Stand Together” which is sung in a mix of Hawaiian and English and is accompanied by a slack-key guitar, as was “Nānākuli Blues.” Written in 1976, this song expresses feelings of loss in relation to land but above all the desire to collectively protest against this: this is prominent in the chorus of the song, where he sings: ‘All Hawai’i stand together, It is now and forever, To raise our voices, and hold your banners high, We shall stand as a nation, To guide the destiny of our generation, To sing and praise the glory of our land.’¹⁵⁷ These lyrics are a direct call for group action in the form of protest and appeals to a sense of Hawaiian pride while also representing the Hawaiian value of responsibility. Called *kuleana*, this value is about taking accountability for your actions and personal responsibility for yourself and others around you. Through this song, Martin is articulating the responsibility he and others have as Hawaiians to protect their communities and the land that is their ancestral home.

In this song, Martin also makes reference to the Hawaiian familial connection with the land, demonstrated in the line: ‘From the fiery pit of Tūtū Pele, I hear my mother’s call.’¹⁵⁸ Referring to the gods with familial terms again demonstrates the genealogical link between Native Hawaiians and their land and in particular the role of the earth as the mother of the Hawaiian people and Pele as the creator of the land. This song was written in the same year that the activist group, Protect

¹⁵⁶ Treena Shapiro, ‘Save Our Surf was his battle cry’ *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (October 22, 1999) p.4.

¹⁵⁷ Liko Martin, ‘All Hawaii Stand Together’ (1976)

¹⁵⁸ Martin, ‘All Hawaii Stand Together’

Kaho'olawe, was formed to protest against the United States military use of the island Kaho'olawe as a bomb testing site: Martin makes reference to this through the lyric 'the barren slopes of Kaho'olawe.'¹⁵⁹ The use of the noun "barren" is fascinating, and there are different ways to read this: it could be that it was intended to demonstrate how the bombs dropped on the island have desecrated the landscape, but it is also a word that was used by US military officials to oppose the group, and question why they would want to have it returned to them, for example in this article by the *Honolulu Star-bulletin*, the author writes 'the tiny, barren island of Kaho'olawe populated by only a herd of goats.'¹⁶⁰ This type of language undermines the significance of the land as well as the efforts of the protest movement.

Kaho'olawe

Since the late nineteenth century, American colonialism has manifested itself in the Hawaiian Islands through a strong military presence that has dominated the economy and aided in the destruction of Hawaiian land, and subsequently culture, while simultaneously helping to consolidate American hegemony. In 1887, one hundred marines from the USS Adams supported the Bayonet Constitution and then in 1893, marines from the USS Boston aided in the coup d'état which overthrew the monarchy. Following the annexation of Hawai'i in 1898 and its incorporation as a territory of the United States in 1900, an increasing amount of Hawaiian land began to be delegated into military zones which consequently affected local Hawaiians: 'in 1912, for example, the Navy began the process of condemning private fishing rights in and around Pearl Harbor.'¹⁶¹ Military spending dominated the Hawaiian economy until the late-twentieth century when tourism began to grow exponen-

¹⁵⁹ Martin, 'All Hawaii Stand Together'

¹⁶⁰ 'Unrest Among Hawaiians' *Honolulu Star-bulletin* (November 18, 1977) p.14.

¹⁶¹ Ian Y. Lind, "'Ring of Steel' Notes on the Militarisation of Hawai'i" *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 31 (1984) pp.25-48, p.32.

tially, additionally the military has become one of the biggest landowners in Hawai'i, owning twenty-five percent of O'ahu alone, and 7.5% overall,¹⁶² and in 1980, 12.5% of the overall population were active military personnel and their families.¹⁶³ Following the attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent imposition of martial law throughout the Hawaiian Islands, Kaho'olawe was dedicated as military training grounds, and was most commonly and infamously used as a bomb testing site: this testing continued post-Second World War and was on such a scale that Kaho'olawe became known as “the most bombed island in the Pacific.”¹⁶⁴ These training exercises had severe environmental implications for Kaho'olawe and the surrounding waters, for example reefs which surrounded Kaho'olawe were damaged to such an extent that they died.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, there is a vast array of historical sites on the islands which were being destroyed by military exercises, as recorded by activist Dr Noa Emmett Aluli in an article for the *Honolulu Advertiser*:

The Island contains thousands of archaeological sites and features, including one of Hawaii's major petroglyph fields, the second largest adze quarry discovered in the Islands, numerous fishing shrines, religious temples, house structures and burial sites. Together, the archaeological resources of Kaho'olawe illustrate the detailed and complex record of nearly 1,000 years of habitation by the Hawaiian people.¹⁶⁶

The initial protests for Kaho'olawe began on January 4, 1976, when Dr Noa Emmett Aluli and Walter Ritte Jr., alongside seven others, illegally sailed to the Island from Maui: the seven companions quickly surrendered to U.S. Marshals, however Ritte and Aluli stayed there for two days to explore in what journalists at the time described as a ‘game of hide-and-seek,’¹⁶⁷ before finally sur-

¹⁶² Brian Ireland, *The US Military in Hawai'i: Colonialism, Memory and Resistance* (New York: Springer, 2010) p.221.

¹⁶³ Lind, “‘Ring of Steel’ Notes on the Militarisation of Hawai'i” p.25.

¹⁶⁴ Mansel G. Blackford, ‘The Hawaiian Islands: The “Healing” of Kaho'olawe’ in *Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and its Consequences in the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007) p.27.

¹⁶⁵ Blackford, ‘The Hawaiian Islands: The “Healing” of Kaho'olawe’ p.27.

¹⁶⁶ Noa Emmett Aluli, ‘Why the Bombing of Kaho'olawe is Opposed’ *Honolulu Advertiser* (May 25, 1984) p.15.

¹⁶⁷ ‘2 on Kahoolawe Removed’ *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (January 6, 1976) p.1.

rendering, after which they were arrested and barred from returning. Despite this, Aluli and Ritte, alongside others, returned to the island another four times over the next year where they would explore and perform religious ceremonies, and soon formed the protest group Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana, or PKO.

Alongside Ritte and Aluli was activist and musician George Helm, who would become an influential leader and role model to activist groups throughout the Islands, including Kokua Hawai'i. Helm specialised in music which incorporated traditional Hawaiian elements and aimed to shed light on the struggles faced by Native Hawaiians in America, and also to educate young Hawaiians about their culture: this music was also used during protests, and helped to rally groups together. One song of significance by Helm is his rendition of "Ku'u Pua I Paoakalani," a song originally composed by Hawaiian Queen Lili'uokalani during her eight-month imprisonment in Iolani Palace. Sung in a mixture of Hawaiian and English and accompanied by a gently strummed slack-key guitar, the song demonstrates Lili'uokalani's nostalgia for 'the flowers that bloom in the fields of Paoakalani,'¹⁶⁸ the garden on her familial estate. In Helm's performances of this, he introduced the song by saying:

This is a song that has an interesting origin, it was written in a prison. That prison was the Iolani Palace, and was written by the late Queen Lili'uokalani. She wrote this song for a place in Waikiki, that is now the location of the Holiday Inn Hotel, but one time, oh, there used to be a beautiful garden as is expressed in this one song that was written behind the bars.¹⁶⁹

Helm's introduction places emphasis on the unjust imprisonment of the Queen and his mention of the Holiday Inn Hotel also draws attention to the way in which the tourist industry in Hawai'i has changed the natural landscape of the Islands and destroyed its natural beauty, in this case the Paoakalani gardens. Helm's rendition of this song pushed the memory of the Hawaiian Queen and

¹⁶⁸ Queen Lili'uokalani, 'Ku'u Pua I Paoakalani' (circa 1895). Lyrics acquired from the Hawaiian Music and Hula Archives <https://www.huapala.org/Pa/Paoakalani.html> [accessed 20 May, 2020].

¹⁶⁹ George Helm, 'Ku'u Pua I Paoakalani' *The Music of George Helm - A True Hawaiian* (1996).

the injustices she faced at the hands of American forces to the forefront of the Hawaiian protest movement of the 1970s, and emboldened activists in their demonstrations.

Another important song for the Kaho'olawe protests is "Mele O Kaho'olawe" written by PKO leader Harry Kunihi Mitchell. Sung entirely in Hawaiian, this song is similar to "All Hawai'i Stand Together" in the way it calls for collective action, specifically in this song against the misuse of Kaho'olawe by the American military: 'Let us band together the Hawaiian Kingdom . . . Stand together and follow.'¹⁷⁰ The song also calls into reference *aloha 'āina*, though the lyric 'we are but few in numbers, but our love for the land is unlimited.'¹⁷¹ This demonstrates the importance of *kuleana* in relation to the land as although the Hawaiian population had been diminished and the group supporting PKO were even smaller, through the power of their love and group responsibility towards the land they could make a difference against the dominant military powers. The song ends with the lines, 'Forward young people and bring, salvation to Kaho'olawe.'¹⁷² This final, drawn out lyric has been described by activist Aluli and Ethnic Studies Professor Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor as 'a challenge, a rallying slogan, and, ultimately, a prophecy fulfilled by himself and the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana.'¹⁷³

On March 6, 1977, Helm, alongside twenty-five year old Kimo Mitchell, who was the son of Harry Mitchell, and two others, set out to Kaho'olawe to aid in a protest they believed was being led by Walter Ritte Jr., however unbeknownst to them, this protest had been ended the day previously with the arrest of Ritte and his party. In the early hours of March 7 after realising that Ritte and his group were no longer on the island, Helm and his compatriots attempted to paddle their way

¹⁷⁰ Harry Kunihi Mitchell, 'Mele O Kaho'olawe' *Poki Records* (1976).

¹⁷¹ Mitchell, 'Mele O Kaho'olawe'.

¹⁷² Mitchell, 'Mele O Kaho'olawe'.

¹⁷³ Noa Emmett Aluli, Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, 'Mai Ke KaiMai Ke Ola, From The Ocean Comes Life: Hawaiian Customs, Uses, and Practices on Kaho'olawe Relating to the Surrounding Ocean' *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 26 (1992) pp.231-154, p.234.

back to Maui, approximately a seven mile trip. In poor weather conditions and around two and a half miles from Maui, near the islet of Molokini, Helm and Mitchell were seen struggling by another member of the party, who, unable to help, finished the journey to Maui and called upon the Navy to assist in finding the two men. However, Helm and Mitchell were never found. The tragic loss of these two men elevated them to a martyr status and emboldened the beliefs of their fellow activists.¹⁷⁴ Alongside this, their deaths also pushed the fight of PKO to the forefront of the news and public view: this added publicity helped to win them favour among residents of Hawai'i, who sympathised with the wish to reclaim Hawaiian land and wished to prevent further environmental damage from taking place. The Navy also helped to bolster PKO's reputation by unintentionally damaging their own: in one instance, the Navy expressed a callous attitude towards the beliefs of the Hawaiians by saying: "The most significant value of Kahoolawe is that it is the only facility in the Hawaiian area permitting the training necessary for military forces to effectively coordinate the employment of all available supporting arms."¹⁷⁵ This statement, made by Vice Admiral Robert P. Coogan, is demonstrative of the disregard towards indigenous land that has been historically shown in the lands which the United States occupy. Further to this, in 1976 marines were recorded as wearing 'a t-shirt bearing the slogan "Bomb the Kahoolawe Ohana"¹⁷⁶ which appalled the general public and saw opinion quickly change against the US Navy and in favour of the PKO.

In 1976, PKO, headed by Dr Aluli, filed a lawsuit against the Secretary of Defence Harold Brown 'for violating clean air, clean water, historic site, and freedom of religion laws.'¹⁷⁷ In retaliation to this, the Navy contested that they had made efforts to clean up parts of the island and once more made clear that Kaho'olawe was the most suitable and convenient place for them to undergo

¹⁷⁴ Mansel G. Blackford, 'Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control: The Case of Kaho'olawe' *The Journal of American History*, 91, 2 (September 2004), pp.544-571, p.560-561.

¹⁷⁵ Ong, 'Battle of Kahoolawe Skies' p.3.

¹⁷⁶ Blackford, 'The Hawaiian Islands: The "Healing" of Kaho'olawe' p.45.

¹⁷⁷ Blackford, 'Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control' p.564.

military exercises. Despite the protestations of the Navy, this suit which “pitted the national military needs of the Navy against the cultural needs of the people of Hawai’i,”¹⁷⁸ came to an end in 1980 with a Consent Decree that was signed between Protect Kaho’olawe Ohana and the Navy, which required the Navy to carry out clean up efforts on the island and in the surrounding waters, in addition to replanting trees and vegetation. In 1981, the Island was listed on the National Register of Historic Places, and from 1982 members of PKO began to perform religious rites and ceremonies on the land. In 1990 President George H. W. Bush, who himself was a veteran of the Pacific War, ordered an immediate stop to the bombings on Kaho’olawe, and in 1993 the island was officially turned over to the state of Hawai’i, the same year in which the U.S. government issued the Apology Resolution which acknowledged the unlawfulness of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, and the role which American forces played in this.

Overall, the use of music in these two protests had a strong effect in rallying activists together through a shared sense of cultural pride and demonstrating through song the pain felt at the misuse of Hawaiian land by the United States. The songs analysed follow similar themes: collective action, *kuleana* for communities and land, and the power of a united voice. They all use traditional musical elements, whether that be singing in the Hawaiian language or the use of Hawaiian instruments like the slack-key guitar, and they all were able to unite activists and bring them closer to their heritage. In the case of Kalama Valley, “Sons of Hawai’i” was transformed by Kokua Hawai’i from the Bishop Estate’s alma mater song into a call to action, uniting group members and onlookers alike through a mutual negative schooling experience. Ensuing music released by group member Liko Martin supported the progressing Hawaiian cultural renaissance, speaking to core issues surrounding land development, and is similar to music created for the Kaho’olawe movement. Helm’s rendition of “Ku’u Pua I Paoakalani,” reminded the Hawaiian people of their Queen and the natural beau-

¹⁷⁸ Blackford, ‘Environmental Justice, Native Rights, Tourism, and Opposition to Military Control’ p.564. Said by PKO’s environmental lawyer Isaac Hall in 1978.

ty of land which has since been developed into a high-rise development, while Mitchell's "Mele O Kaho'olawe" called for direct action to safeguard Kaho'olawe and fulfil their *kuleana* to the Island. Alongside this, the sudden and shocking passing of musician George Helm alongside Kimo Mitchell, the son of another prominent artist further emboldened Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and made their music all the more poignant. In recent years, Hawaiian activist music has gained fresh attention at the protests for the protection of Mauna Kea, with new music being composed to unite activists and raise money and awareness for the protestors,¹⁷⁹ in what some are calling 'the third Hawaiian renaissance.'¹⁸⁰ This music has an enduring quality and is able to bring people together through a shared cultural and historical background, motivating activists to stand together for their campaigns through a cultural nationalist display.

¹⁷⁹ See for example Punahale and his 2020 album "From Beneath Maunakea".

¹⁸⁰ Brittany Lyte, 'How Music Fuels The Mauna Kea Protests' *Civil Beat* (September 6, 2019).

Conclusion

In this thesis I have presented a series of case studies demonstrating the appropriation of Hawai'i by the United States between 1968 and 1980 and the growth of cultural nationalism and pride which became an ethos of protest against the acts of colonialism. In the opening chapter, television made about Hawai'i was shown to be created in a colonial framework which reaffirms American presence in the Islands as a natural and welcome force and masks racism against Hawaiians, while simultaneously marketing its land and people for profit. This was particularly relevant during the period between 1968 and 1980 when tourism in Hawai'i was soaring and the modern Hawaiian protest movement took off, with Hawaiians no longer willing to stand for their land and culture being desecrated, and a resurgence in interest in traditional culture began. In *Hawaii Five-O* (1968-1980), ethnic minority characters, especially for example Kono Kalakaua who was the leading Hawaiian character, are demoted into background roles in favour of white American actors who act as the heroes of the story. This is particularly significant in the episode "King Kamehameha Blues," where McGarrett saves an important cultural artefact from destruction: this would have been a prime opportunity to promote Kono into a leading role, yet it is the white saviour narrative that emerges strongly. Additionally, Hawaiian culture is often presented as primitive in nature, and practitioners are infantilised or made out to be strange, seen for example with character Sam Kalakua in episode twenty-three of season one, "The Big Kahuna." In doing this, *Five-O* naturalised the acculturation of Hawai'i to an American standard, while simultaneously perpetuating the colonial era belief of Hawaiians as in need of Western intervention and leadership. In television which emphasises the tourist industry, such as *The Brady Bunch* in 1972, portraits of Hawai'i as paradisaical and Hawaiian people as tools for entertainment emerge. The native women are alluring figures who embody the "golden people" archetype, which as Davenport explained appealed to tourists seeking an exotic yet still American holiday experience. Furthermore, these episodes show Hawaiian culture merely

through a tourist scope, which works in a similar way to *Hawaii Five-O* by showing it to be superficial rather than seriously culturally significant. Overall, the presentation of Hawaiian people and appropriation of culture in American television has had a strong negative impact on the Hawaiian identity and belief system, and acts as an example of appropriation against which Hawaiian people began to push back against. From this, the second chapter examined how cultural nationalism dealt with land appropriation by specifically focusing on the 1971 Kalama Valley protest and formation of Kokua Hawai'i. The appropriation of land is an economically lucrative aspect of American colonialism which is accomplished at the expense of local communities: as demonstrated through the evaluation of health statistics, Hawaiians suffer physically as well as culturally by being priced out of inner city dwellings, and have the highest death and serious illness rate among any ethnic group in the Islands. The formation of Kokua Hawai'i and the influences behind their involvement in protests is significant in recognising the severity of urban development in Hawai'i: by analysing them through their own testimony as part of the Kokua Hawai'i Oral History Project, a class struggle intertwined with a communal Hawaiian divide emerges which shows the disproportionate economic effect of evictions on Native Hawaiians, alongside the personal conflict for Hawaiians who risk losing their livelihood and economic security if they engage in protests. Additionally, the group were heavily influenced by social change taking place in America during the 1960s and 70s, in particular the Black Panther Party and the Puerto Rican Young Lords, even going as far to adopt similar styles of protest as them. This replication is significant, as it places the Hawaiian protest movement in context alongside the broader civil rights movements taking place across America, and also demonstrates the similarities between the individual groups and the causes they were fighting for. Encompassing the group however is the anger at the continued subversion of a traditional Hawaiian lifestyle in favour of one which fits into the framework of a typical American middle-class life. All in all, the eviction of Kalama Valley and formation of Kokua Hawai'i is a strong example of how the exploitation of Hawai'i affects Hawaiians in every part of their lives, and

shows how Hawaiians began to redefine the Hawaiian identity in relation to a growing sense of cultural pride and reclaim this culture from colonial marketing.

In the final chapter, Hawaiian music created or used to aid in the protest for Kalama Valley and the fight against the military misuse of Kaho'olawe was analysed, demonstrating how it was used as a unique display of cultural nationalism to inform audiences about the destruction of land by the United States, and to call for action to fight against this through the storytelling ability of the lyrics. The use of traditional elements such as singing in the Hawaiian language acted in its own way as a form of protest, due to its long time suppression by the United States in favour of the American English language. Additionally, the music appeals to Hawaiians through the concepts of *kuleana* and *aloha 'āina*, encouraging them to join together and take care of their homeland. Conclusively, while in chapter one culture was shown to have been appropriated and Hawaiians objectified through televisual representations for consumption under a colonial gaze, chapter two explores how activists shifted the politics of representation to focus on indigeneity through the reestablishment of a sense of selfhood and reclamation of culture. Then, chapter three has explored the mechanisms of this newly reclaimed sense of self and voice, demonstrating how it was mobilised into a form of self expression and political tool for the cultural nationalism movement.

Ultimately, the appropriation of Hawai'i, whether it be indirect through television or direct through evictions and the redevelopment of communities, has had a strong and lasting effect on the lives and culture of Hawaiians. In spite of this, through the efforts of activist groups, Native Hawaiians have been able to push back against American colonialism and acculturation, reinvigorating suppressed cultural elements and making their voice heard on a national stage. In more recent years, some steps have been taken to try and improve the lives of Native Hawaiians: in 1993, Democratic President Bill Clinton passed the Apology Resolution, which recognised the role the United States played in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom one hundred years previously and acknowledged that, 'the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to

their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States.’¹⁸¹ In 2005, the Akaka Bill, named for Hawaiian Senator Daniel Akaka, was passed which gave Native Hawaiians limited rights to self-governance and control over certain areas of land, similar to those awarded to Native Americans and Native Alaskans. Although considered by some to be a step forward in gaining increased rights for Native Hawaiians, this bill was opposed by many including, crucially, Hawaiian sovereignty groups who opposed it as they campaigned for Native Hawaiians to return to a fully independent sovereign nation. Furthermore, the Government had already admitted that Hawaiians never actually gave up their land to the United States, and so sovereign groups felt that the Government had no legitimate right to determine what areas of land Native Hawaiians can and cannot control. Television and film, although still majorly reductive in terms of accurate Hawaiian representation, appears to be improving, for example the 2010 reboot of *Hawaii Five-O* ‘hired Hawaiian language and culture experts to help ensure that terms are pronounced appropriately, and that traditional Hawaiian practices, as well as "local" culture, are displayed as accurately as possible.’¹⁸² Still today, Native Hawaiians are engaged in protests to preserve their land and heritage against developments and misuse, which is perhaps best shown through the ongoing protests atop Mauna Kea, where history appears to be repeating itself through the ever-growing third Hawaiian protest movement.

¹⁸¹ U.S. Congress, ‘Joint Resolution to Acknowledge the 100th Anniversary of the January 17, 1893 Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai’i’ Public Law 103-150, 103d Congress (23 November 1993) 107 Stat. 1512.

¹⁸² Colby Y. Miyose, Rayna More, ‘Eh... You Hawaiian? Examining Hawaii Five-0’s “Hawaiian”’ *PRism*, 15, 1 (2019) pp.66-80, p.66.

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Appendix

Image 1 - McGarrett ponders a bust of the god Kū.



Hawaii Five-O, 'King Kamehameha Blues' dir. Barry Shear (CBS, November 12, 1969) 10:44

Image 2 - McGarrett considering the full body bust of Kū.



'King Kamehameha Blues' 10:47

Image 3 - McGarrett and the feathered bust of Kū.



'King Kamehameha Blues' 10:56

Image 4 - Bulldozer shovelling dirt as if to bury the camera.



Hawaii Five-O, 'Strangers in Our Own Land' dir. Herschel Daugherty (CBS, October 3, 1968) 31:53.

Image 5 - The Kahuna accosts Detective Truck Kealoha. He is wearing a headdress made out of ti leaves and a *kīhei*.



Hawaii Five-O, 'The Kahuna' dir. Robert L. Morrison (CBS, December 18 1979) 16:09.

Image 6 - Pele appears to Sam Kalakua. We later learn this is actually his niece in face paint.



Hawaii Five-O, 'The Big Kahuna' dir. Herschel Daugherty (CBS, March 19, 1969) 47:26

Image 7 - Sam Kalakua faces "Pele." She is wearing a dress made out of fabric strips.



'The Big Kahuna' 48:13

Table 1 - The database I created from the Kokua Hawai'i Oral History Project

Name	DOB	COB	Ethnicity	Place of Birth	Date of Interview	Interviewer	University Interviewed?	Archival?	Preserved in Database?
Edward H. Brown	1904	1918	Polynesian	Waikiki, Oahu	Mar 12, 17	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival
Don John Brown	1904	1918	European	Honolulu	Mar 24, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes
Edwina Kawakawa Brown	1904	1917	Chinese-European	Honolulu	Oct 1, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival
Raymond Coleman	1904	1918	European-American	Honolulu	May 22, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival
Luigi Bonaventura	1907	1918	European-American	Princeton, New Jersey	Oct 1, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival
Ngila Marjorie Adams Brown	1904	1918	European-American	Oahu	Oct 8, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival
Richard K. Manning	-	1918	European-American	Hawaii	Mar 21, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes
John Brown	1904	1918	Polynesian-American	Honolulu, HI	Oct 1, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival
Charlotte Kuchuan	1904	1918	European	Waipahu, Oahu	May 4, 17	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival
Allyson Young	1907	1918	Chinese-European	Honolulu	Mar 28, 17	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes, photo on	Yes
Laura Ann (Lauri) Kawakawa	1904	1918	European	Honolulu	2004 - 2004	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, but heavily recorded
Luigi Brown	1904	1918	European-American	Honolulu	Oct 1, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes
Greg E. Sabin	1949	1918	European-American	Honolulu	Apr 16, 18	Greg E. Sabin	Yes	Yes	Yes, archival

Interviewee	Interview	Partner Job Title	Partner Job Title	Partner	Partner Economic Background	Industry	Language Spoken	Notes
Interviewee name/ number		1	1	1	1	1	English, some Spanish	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		2	2	2	2	2	English and English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		3	3	3	3	3	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		4	4	4	4	4	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		5	5	5	5	5	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		6	6	6	6	6	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		7	7	7	7	7	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		8	8	8	8	8	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		9	9	9	9	9	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		10	10	10	10	10	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		11	11	11	11	11	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		12	12	12	12	12	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		13	13	13	13	13	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		14	14	14	14	14	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		15	15	15	15	15	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		16	16	16	16	16	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		17	17	17	17	17	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		18	18	18	18	18	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		19	19	19	19	19	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse
Interviewee name/ number		20	20	20	20	20	English	Interviewee - Family Member, Full-time Career Nurse

Name	DOB	SOB	Branch	Place of Birth	Date of Admission	Admission	University Graduated?	Last year?	Admitted to Bachelor?	Role in Program
David Bagdas	1994	1994	Region	North Korea	May 18, 17	CR	--	--	Yes	Local manager and community organizer
David Yermakov	1990	1994	Overseas	Uzbekistan	May 28, 17	CR	Yes	--	Yes	Program Assistant for Global Impact. Local organizer. Local services
Andrei Liza (last name)	1990	1994	Overseas	Uzbekistan	Dec 18, 16	CR	Yes	Yes	Yes	Program Assistant to manage the operations of the University of Hawaii's Office of Global Programs
Ben Robert (last name)	1991	1994	Overseas-Overseas (Grand)	Uzbekistan	May 27, 17	CR	Yes	--	Yes	Bookkeeper
Boyd Bennett	1992	1994	Region	Uzbekistan	May 28, 17	CR	Yes	Yes	Yes	Active member of the community group (Central East) in Program's Network
Raymond Kim	1990	1994	Part 1/Overseas	Uzbekistan	Feb 26, 17	CR	Yes	Yes (second semester)	Yes	Community organizer, associate of Global Impact team. Student support
David Lanza	1991	1994	Part 1/Overseas	Uzbekistan	--	CR	--	Yes	Yes	Program and Network site official
Michael Penkovskis	1990	1994	Overseas	Uzbekistan (study)	Apr 11, 17	CR	--	--	Yes	President of the Uzbekistan Community Association
James Ng	1992	1994	Overseas	Uzbekistan	May 7, 17	CR	Yes	--	Yes	Program
Lisa Shubin	--	1994	Overseas	Uzbekistan	Apr 13, 17	CR	--	Yes	Yes, second	Program Assistant (not being active)
Bill Bennett	1990	1994	Overseas-Overseas	USA (Kyrgyz)	March 2016	CR	Yes	--	Yes	Active Participant

Reference	Language	Editor Job Title	Editor Job Role	Editor	Editor's Previous Experience	Subjects	Language Spoken	Notes
Maria			Freelance					
Yvonne	--	Editor	--	--	working days	--	English, possibly Finnish	--
Barbara Ann Kerwin Blair		Bilingual	--	--	leave working days	from Birmingham UK	English, does not speak Japanese or Chinese	--
Barbara Kerwin, Christina Blair or Victoria, Paula Blair's		Bilingual	Research/ Research/Field	Capable	leave available days	Bilingual (Chinese and Japanese) intermediate Fluent English, UK	English and Japanese (Native Speaker)	English spoken (Native Speaker)
Mrs. SAKI, (spouse) part-time	--	Project/Research Editor	--	Creative	working days	Research (Linguist) Native English, fluent in Japanese, has attended Linguistic Symposium	English	--
Barbara, Rachel and Patrick, Maria	--	Online editor of Field website	Editor Website	--	leave available days	MBA, University Chicago, US	English	--
Barbara	--	Online supply store of the Mission House	Research	--	leave available days	Specialty English	English	--
Mary Thomas	--	Business Engineer of Field website	Editor in the field and data entry/management of Field website	Creative	leave available days	Native English; fluent intermediate fluent English	English, possibly Finnish	--
Barbara		Research for mission/fieldwork projects	Lead in field, mission/fieldwork projects	--	leave available days	--	English, possibly Finnish	--
Barbara (spouse) Marionette	--	Field Project Coordinator	--	--	--	Bilingual (English and Spanish) intermediate fluent English, fluent Spanish	English, possibly Finnish	Spanish/Portuguese speaks them - "I speak at least 12 things" Barbara says "I speak 12 things" I don't know what word she's using!
Barbara in the Marionette records	--	--	--	--	--	Spanish/Portuguese fluent English	Spanish and English	She can speak English - "I don't know English" and "I don't know Spanish"
Lead English Native Speaker for the working days	--	Editor (Japanese)	--	--	leave available days	University of Colorado (Advanced Linguistics of Phonetics)	English	--