Université de Montréal

KU KIA'I MAUNA: WARRIORS RISING IN *KAPU ALOHA*
RE-BRANDING THE HAWAIIAN IDENTITY THROUGH THE REVIVAL OF PLACE AUTHENTICITY

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Kū Ha'aheo

Kū ha'aheo e ku'u Hawai'i
Mamaka kaua o ku'u 'āina
'O ke 'ehu kakahiaka o nā 'ōiwi o Hawai'i nei
No ku'u lāhui e hā'awi pau a i ola mau

Stand tall my Hawai'i
Band of warriors of my land
The new dawn for our people of Hawai'i is upon us
For my nation I give my all so that our legacy lives on

[Hina Kalu-Wong]

© Mélodie Lirette 2015. Symbolizing *Ku Kia'i Mauna*, or Guardians of the mountain. South Point, Hawai'i Island.

Résumé

En 2010, la Thirty Meter Telescope Corporation, représentée par une alliance interuniversitaire de chercheurs en astronomie, a présenté le projet du Thirty Meter Telescope ayant comme lieu de prédilection la montagne sacrée Mauna Kea, située sur l'île d'Hawai'i. S'inspirant de Idle No More, un mouvement d'activisme Hawaiien est né afin d'empêcher la désacralisation de ce temple naturel. Rapidement, un mouvement est né : *'A'ole* TMT, signifiant « non au TMT ». Ce mémoire illustre les raisons motivant cette initiative sociale et les outils mobilisés par les agents actifs de ce mouvement. Cette dissertation montre comment – s'inscrivant dans le contexte, d'abord, du Mouvement des Droits Civiques aux États-Unis et, ensuite, du mouvement de justice sociale et environnementale Idle No More – les activistes du *'A'ole* TMT Movement ont su procéder au *re-branding* de leurs attributs culturels et spirituels et, ainsi raviver l'authenticité de leur nation et de leur environnement, caractérisée par la réappropriation des lieux de mémoire hawaiiens.

Mots clé : Mouvements sociaux, *place branding*, authenticité, lieux de mémoire, politique autochtone, justice environnementale, études hawaiiennes.

Abstract

In 2010, the Thirty Meter Telescope Corporation, composed of an inter-university alliance of researchers in astronomy, presented the Thirty Meter Telescope project, proposed to be built on the sacred mountain Mauna Kea, located on Hawai'i Island. Inspired by Idle No More, a grassroots Hawaiian activism movement was formed in an attempt to stop the desecration of this natural temple. Rapidly, a movement was born: *'A'ole* TMT, meaning "No to the TMT". This dissertation shows the reasons motivating such a social initiative and presents the resources that active agents to the *'A'ole* TMT Movement mobilized to formally halt the TMT project. This thesis establishes how – in the context, first, of the accomplishments of the American Civil Rights Movement and, second, of the social and environmental justice movement Idle No More – Hawaiians have managed to re-brand their cultural and spiritual attributes and hence revive the authenticity of their nation as a singular and unique place through a renewed connection with Hawaiian *lieux de mémoire*.

Key words: Social movements, place branding, authenticity, *lieux de mémoire*, indigenous politics, environmental justice, Hawaiian studies.

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List of Hawaiian Terms

Note: In the Hawaiian language, the plural form is generally not literally visible. In the plural form, Hawaiian words are generally not written with an additional letter "s".

- *Ahupua'a*: Section of land extending from sea to mountain

- *'Āina*: Land

- *Akua*: Deities

- *Aloha*: Love and respect

- *Aloha 'āina*: Love and respect for the land

- *Ali'i*: King or royalty

- *Ali'i 'ai moku*: Chief(s) of an island district

- *Ali'i 'ai ahupua'a*: Chief(s) of a section of land extending from sea to mountain

- *'A'ole*: No

- *Haole*: Foreigner, commonly used to refer to Caucasians

- *Honua*: The earth

- *Ho'oponopono*: To return to balance, to make things right

- *Hula*: Hawaiian dancing

- *Hula 'auana*: Modern *hula*

- *Hula hālau*: *Hula* school

- *Hula kahiko*: Traditional or authentic *hula*

- *'Ili*: Small portion of an *ahupua'a*

- *Iwi*: Bones

- *Kānaka*: People

- ***Kānaka Maoli***: Indigenous people of Hawai'i

- ***Kapu***: Sacred, forbidden, or restricted

- ***Kapu aloha***: Behavioural restriction to act with greatest love and respect

- ***Keiki***: Children, kids

- ***Kino lau***: Representation of the divine in the natural environment

- ***Kua 'āina***: People of the land

- ***Ku Kia'i***: Guardians of the sacred

- ***Kuleana***: Duty, responsibility

- ***Kumu***: Teacher, or master

- ***Kumu hula***: *Hula* teacher, *hula* master

- ***Kūpuna***: Elders

- ***Lāhui***: Nation

- ***Lei***: Flower necklace

- ***Lōkahi***: Unity, to unite

- ***Mālama***: To care for

- ***Mana***: Powerful spirit, energy

- ***Mauna***: Mountain

- ***Mele***: Music (song)

- ***Moku***: Island districts

- ***Mo'o***: Half-human, half-reptile spiritual figures or deities

- ***Mo'olelo***: Traditions or oral history

- ***'Ohana***: Extended family

- ***'Olelo no'eau***: Proverbs

- ***Oli***: Chants

- ***Papa***: Earth Mother

- ***Pau***: Finished, done

- ***Pono***: Righteous balance

- ***Piko***: Umbilical cord

- ***Pule***: Prayer, to pray

- ***Pu'uhonua***: Safe space, or safe place

- ***Wa'a***: Double-hulled canoe

- ***Wahi pana***: Sacred site, storied place

- ***Wākea***: Sky Father

- ***Wao***: The realm

- ***Wao akua***: The realm of the deities

- ***Wao Kānaka***: The realm of the people

List of Acronyms

- **ACURA**: Association of Canadian Universities for Research in Astronomy

- **Caltech**: California Institute of Technology

- **CDUA**: Conservation District Use Application

- **CDUP**: Conservation District Use Permit

- **INM**: Idle No More

- **PKO**: Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana

- **TMT**: Thirty-Meter Telescope

- **UHH**: University of Hawai'i at Hilo

- **UC**: University of California

- **NGO**: Non-governmental Organization

- **NHERC**: North Hawai'i Education and Research Center

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Introduction: Mauna Kea, The Threatened Temple

HAWAIIAN AUTHENTICITY: CONTEXT OF RESISTANCE

Re-branding A Select Brand

The brand image associated to the Hawaiian Islands, crafted by the tourism industry during the 1920s, is still to this day highly praised. Associated to elements such as tropical flower *lei*, ukulele music, grass huts, endless white sandy beaches, and surfing, these remote islands are host to millions of visitors searching for what comes closest to paradise. The branding of Hawai'i, crafted by the tourism industry, was however not without loss for the native and local population of the archipelago. Indeed, significant cultural, religious, linguistic, and urban changes were imposed on Hawaiians and Hawai'i Nationals[1] as part of such a branding process. The transition into the English language as the formal language of education, the implementation of Christianity as the official religion, and the transformation of pristine environments into luxury houses, hotels, and condominium complexes all contributed to driving Hawaiians away from their cultural and spiritual authenticity.

While the original brand of Hawai'i remains active and lucrative to this day, one can't help but notice the simultaneous counter-movement that has emerged in the last few decades. Indeed, Hawaiians now appear to mobilize against such misconceptions of their culture and their identity, and brand their nation as they deem just, or, as will be explained in this dissertation, to re-brand the cultural and spiritual attributes that represent their authenticity as a nation. The most

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[1] The term Hawai'i Nationals refers to individuals who were born in Hawai'i and raised with elements of the Hawaiian culture and/or spirituality (Silva, Personal Communication September 9th, 2015).

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recent example of such cultural and spiritual reappropriation is happening on Hawai'i Island and seeks to protect the sacredness of their most revered natural temple: Mauna Kea Volcano.

Mauna Kea Volcano: Geographical Characteristics of a Natural Temple

Mauna a Wākea, also referred to as Mauna Kea, is Hawai'i Island's most sacred and revered peak. The mountain has multiple and diverse microclimates, a pristine fauna and flora, as well as an extremely rich yet fragile ecological diversity. But to Hawaiians, Mauna a Wākea is much more. It is a place of reverence; it is their temple (Case, personal communication, September 30th, 2015).

© Mélodie Lirette, 2015. Mauna Kea Visitors Center, 2,800 meters altitude.

The geographical character of Mauna Kea makes it an exceptionally coveted site for astronomical research and observation. Indeed, Mauna Kea is a dormant volcano and is the world's tallest mountain at 9,966 meters, from its underwater base[2] to its summit (National Geographic 2012). Its position in the middle of the Pacific Ocean also grants it a privileged location for astronomy, being isolated in a valuable darkness, granted by the distance that separates it from most urban centers (ibid.). Today, thirteen telescopes stand on Mauna Kea's summit (Terrell 2015). Context and resources being, the first thirteen telescopes did not encounter much opposition from the local community upon the time of their construction. Yet, times have changed. Today, Native Hawaiians and local residents stand up to denounce the installation of a thirty-meter-high telescope, known as the TMT. Activists understand the TMT project as a desecration of their most sacred site, which stands as their connection to their culture, their spirituality, their history, and their land (Case, personal communication, September 30th, 2015; Mangauil, personal communication, September17th, 2015). Opposition to the TMT has taken the form of an activism movement, known as the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, which stands for "No to the TMT". The movement reassembles natives of the Hawaiian Islands and local residents of various age, ethnicity, and profession. Such a mobilization nevertheless raises the question of "why now?". Indeed, the TMT is the fourteenth telescope project to be proposed for Mauna Kea but is the first one to face such strong and organized mobilization to contest its construction. This dissertation studies more closely two particular moments in history that appear to have motivated the birth of the current activism underway in Hawai'i.

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[2] Mauna Kea is 4,205 meters high above sea level and 5,761 high under sea level (National Geographic 2012).

The Civil Rights Movement and the legacy of its leader Martin Luther King Jr., and the overall 1960s social turmoil, appear to have been an inspiration for the birth of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. Indeed, the protests for African-American rights produced a socio-political awakening on the continental United States, which stimulated a larger-scale mobilization during the 1960s and early 1970s, all of which related to injustices regarding minority rights (Dowd Hall 2005, 1234). The introduction of the philosophy of non-violence, preached by Luther King Jr. and mobilized as a means to contest events such as the Vietnam War, combined to the representation of other minority rights such as women's rights, and sexual as well as religious minority rights, hence paved the way for the recognition of indigenous people's rights to culture, land, and spirituality. Indigenous communities around the world have benefitted from this reformed attitude towards them, accompanied by a changed international diplomatic context. Indeed, alliances between indigenous nations, environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as human rights advocates have secured significant advancements for indigenous peoples (Corell and Betsill 2008, 32).

Since the mid-1980s, the rise of a global environmental consciousness has further increased the influence of groups defending issues related to the environment at the negotiations table. Benefitting from a spark of interest regarding environment-related issues, indigenous peoples and advocacy groups have thus gained visibility, recognition, and influence through partnerships with environmental groups and human rights advocates whose visions align on matters including environmental conservation, energy development, cultural and spiritual rights, as well as minority rights (ibid.). Indigenous peoples' struggles and demands relative to cultural, spiritual, and land rights have therefore gradually received greater attention because a growing

pool of individuals, groups, and communities expressed support in favour of such matters. The switch in media outlets from printed press to online media, which was finalized around the late 2000s, allowed the average citizen to publicly express concern or support regarding a bill, a project, or a policy. Environmentalists, scholars, artists, activists and celebrities can since then participate to broadcasting the need for social action to respond to a given injustice. Indigenous peoples as well as other minority groups therefore have, since the end of the 2000s, more effective and malleable tools at their disposition to have their voices be heard within a larger audience (ibid., 32-33).

Such advancements have paved the way for the emergence of the *A'ole* TMT Movement in Hawai'i. This second event happened in 2012 and owes its large-scale impact and rapid rise to modern changes regarding news broadcasting, from one-way news mediums including television, the press, and the radio, to the interactive newsroom that are now the various social media platforms. The Canadian indigenous activism movement Idle No More seems to have played a role in the awakening of the political activism in Hawai'i. The *'A'ole* TMT Movement is in fact one of the many transnational branches of Idle No More, which grew alongside the Canadian movement. On social media, we can follow the issue, including the protests, the arrests, the support and the legal proceedings associated to the TMT project using the hashtags "#IdleNoMoreMaunaKea", "#WeAreMaunaKea", and "#'A'oleTMT". TMT protesters have thus used the momentum secured by Idle No More internationally to join forces with other indigenous groups and environmental conservation organizations to fight parallel battles dealing with the protection of sacred sites and the environment (Caron 2015). Idle No More thus gave Hawaiians and their local supporters the strength necessary to stand up for their beliefs and secure the faith of their identity as a people of the land, rooted in their sense of place and their collective

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memory. The *'A'ole* TMT Movement is about protecting a mountain, a spiritual and memorial site. Mauna Kea Protectors are *Ku Kia'i Mauna,* or guardians of the mountain. It is their function as a group and their slogan that they express loud and clear in order to affirm their commitment to protecting their sacred mountain. Yet, the implication of such a mobilization is considerably broader. The initiative to protect Mauna Kea asserts Hawaiian's commitment to protecting and strengthening their culture, their authentic values, and their spiritual practices, in an attempt to reassert the authenticity of their land. They do so by rethinking the original branding of their nation by, as it will be demonstrated in this thesis, re-branding the Hawaiian cultural and spiritual identity.

RESEARCH QUESTION AND STRUCTURE

Structure and Summary of the Chapters

In this thesis, I wish to answer the following research question: How and in what broader context have Hawaiians proceeded to reassert and re-brand their cultural and spiritual identity in a quest for place authenticity? To answer this query, I structure this dissertation as three distinct chapters. The first chapter consists of a literature review of the concepts mobilized in this thesis. In this review, I refer to the literature relative to social movements, branding, and collective memory. I mobilize, first, the concepts of groupness and study key moments and opportunities in order to suggest how the *'A'ole* TMT Movement came to life. Followed by a discussion on framing and the framing contest that is at play within any context of contention, I then detail the functions of branding as a tool used to reassert the cultural and, in the Hawaiian context, the spiritual attributes that define a national identity. I continue this discussion by introducing the

concept of place re-branding to define the current social initiative in Hawai'i. I then discuss the notion of authenticity in the indigenous context and relate its function as a determinant factor to the construction and maintenance of a strong place identity. Finally, I end this literature review by discussing collective memory, most particularly the connection between place and memory. I present the concept of *lieux de mémoire* and their Hawaiian equivalent *wahi pana* and highlight the connection that links indigenous people to particular sacred sites found within the natural environment. Together, the concepts and literature mobilized in this literature review therefore account for strong moments of unity and solidarity, referred to as moments of groupness. Such moments can then, as it is the case in Hawai'i, allow for the reappropriation and revival of the cultural and spiritual attributes that characterize the authenticity of a nation. The indigenous connection to particular sacred sites are thus revived and mobilized as political tools to demonstrate the relevance of the existence and preservation of indigenous authenticity, as it is currently demonstrated by *'A'ole* TMT activists.

To apply such concepts to the Hawaiian context, the second chapter to this dissertation consists of a brief historical narrative of Hawaiian social, cultural, political, and urban changes, starting upon the years of the first European contact. Throughout this section, I detail the evolution of significant threats and menaces that have gradually jeopardized the survival of the fundamental authenticity of Hawaiian culture, spirituality, and land. This second chapter comes to an end with a description of the pan-continental context of resistance that emerged on the mainland of the United States around the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. I hence highlight how these significant moments in American history correspond to and arguably inspired the current Hawaiian resistance movement.

Finally, in the third chapter, I introduce the event that is in the background of the formation of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement in Hawai'i, namely the Canadian environmental indigenous activism movement Idle No More. I also engage in a parallel discussion on Hawaiian spirituality and the particular cultural and spiritual practices that were revived in the last decades. This paves the way for a discussion on the spiritual foundation of the ecological model of sustainability that structures Hawaiian way of life and that is defended by Mauna Kea Protectors. Discussing the *'A'ole* TMT Movement activists, I define the discipline of respect that structures and guides their behaviour, called *kapu aloha*, and explain its role in the framing contest currently going on in Hawai'i. I conclude with other key examples of threatened sacred sites across Hawai'i and explain the role of other active agents involved in the international indigenous rights movement, who contribute to the awakening of a global environmental consciousness.

Originality and Contribution to the Literature

Altogether, this dissertation seeks to mobilize, analyze, and contribute to the literature in political science, but also in related fields of study. Indeed, this thesis applies ideas, concepts, and theories that find their roots in the literature on social movements, collective memory, as well as branding, hence mobilizing notions deriving from political science, anthropology, sociology, marketing, and communication. Interdisciplinarity therefore occupies an important role in the relevance and originality of the topic discussed in this thesis. I seek to apply the concept of branding and, more specifically, of place branding, since it is an area of study that has only recently emerged in publications published in social sciences journals. I mobilize the concept of place branding as a means to demonstrate the connection that unites ideas of identity,

memory, and place. I focus on the role of each of these concepts as contributing factors to the production or reassessment of authenticity in the indigenous context. I thus seek to highlight the reasons motivating and the means undertook by indigenous peoples to revive their cultural and spiritual knowledge and practices and to ultimately reassess the authenticity of their land.

1. Re-branding Identity: Groupness and Place Authenticity

Mauna Kea, kuahiwi ku ha'o i ka mālie
Mauna Kea, standing alone in the calm
['Ōlelo No'eau, 2147]

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE POWER OF GROUPNESS

"We Are Mauna Kea": Mobilizing a Successful Moment of Groupness

The *'A'ole* TMT Movement, like Idle No More, rapidly became viral. Beginning as a local issue raising concerns of the realm of environmental conservation, ecological sustainability, human rights and indigenous rights, The *'A'ole* TMT Movement was transformed into a dispute of global proportions. Initially a native Hawaiians' mobilization, the movement grew in popularity and was transformed into an inclusive protest initiative, rallying activists from various ethnic, economic, and geographical backgrounds. Everybody "became" Mauna Kea. This idea supported the movement and became the *'A'ole* TMT slogan: "We Are Mauna Kea". These four words were printed on posters, flyers, bumper stickers, t-shifts, mugs, and clothes. On social media, activists and supporters posted pictures wearing "*mauna* wear", including hats, earrings, scarfs and shirts. Others went further and posted pictures with the words written across their bodies as a message of solidarity. On Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, activists shared videos of Mauna Kea Protectors chanting, praying, and dancing on the mountain. Rapidly, support for the movement came in great numbers and diversity. Musicians, actors, and other celebrities publicly showed their support for the *'A'ole* TMT activists.

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Singer, songwriter, indigenous activist and Hawai'i Island resident Nahko Bear has contributed greatly to supporting the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. With his group *Nahko and Medicine for the People*, he also publicly supported environmental activists such as Josh Fox, known for his work in the anti-fracking movement on the mainland of the United States with his documentary *Gasland*. Nahko Bear's music spreads the need for social action as a means to achieve social and environmental justice. On his group's most recent album titled *Hoka*, which is a call for action in the Lakota language, we find a song called *Ku Kia'i Mauna* in honour of Mauna Kea. This single is sung by singer, musician, and activist Hāwane Rios and narrated by her mother, *kumu hula*

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and activist Pua Case[3], whom I have had the chance to discuss with in the fall of 2015. The song *Ku Kia'i Mauna* is therefore included on this album as part of a wider, larger-scale initiative that seeks to denounce the wrongful appropriation of and abuses inflicted upon indigenous peoples, cultures, lifestyles, and beliefs, and the desecration of the earth's most sacred sites in a call for social action. His words highlight principles of humbleness, consciousness, and respect. He stresses for solidarity, equality, love, and balance in all facets of life. Nahko Bear's involvement highlights the connection that exists between the *'A'ole* TMT Movement and the wider indigenous rights and self-determination initiative currently underway. Examining the pillars supporting both movements, namely indigenous cultural and spiritual rights and environmental justice, raises interesting questions regarding the context in which this activism emerged and evolved.

To answer such an inquiry, the work of Rogers Brubaker is particularly relevant. Renowned sociology professor at UCLA, Brubaker has written extensively about nationalism, ethnicity and identity. In his innovative 2004 publication *Ethnicity Without Groups,* Brubaker rethinks the way we understand social mobilization. He argues for the need to reassess the analytical relevance given to terms such as ethnicity, race, and nationalism, which he views as too static and divisive (Brubaker 2004, 11). He claims that it is necessary to rethink these notions in terms of dynamic processes that go beyond their traditionally fragmented and restrictive character. He contends that the traditional units of analysis, namely the categories that define the groups, are too limited and cannot explain the interactive phenomena that produce and sustain initiatives of nation and identity building. For Brubaker, groups themselves –based on gender, age, ethnicity, or else – should not constitute the main unit of analysis when it comes to

[3] While there is no official leader to the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, Pua Case is a very important active agent to the movement and is often referred to as the "mama" of the *mauna*.

analyzing a collective movement (ibid., 11-12). He therefore argues in favour of an alternative conceptualization of such group dynamics that rather focuses on the interaction that produces these traditional group categories. Brubaker refers to such a phenomenon as "groupness" (Brubaker 2002, 168). He claims that focusing on "groupness" puts forward unity at a point in time amongst traditionally "different" group categories rather than being limited by divisions. Indeed, "groupness" highlights the positions that are defended rather than the characteristics of the individuals who comprise the group. It puts forward the common values and goals of various agents with diverse backgrounds in order to raise resources and awareness in an attempt to produce strong momentum, which results into powerful and successful "moments of groupness". Brubaker defines such episodes of groupness as, "[…] phases of extraordinary cohesion and moments of intensely felt collective solidarity" (ibid., 168). The *'A'ole* TMT Movement can thus be considered, in a "Brubaker*ian"* sense, as a "moment of groupness". As a response to a threat to their culture, to their spirituality and to their native land, Hawaiians have mobilized and rallied support from a large base of diverse "active agents", including local residents from diverse ethnic backgrounds, and from all ages and professions, to unite and produce successful "collective solidarity" and cohesion. Because groupness is a contextually fluctuating moment (ibid., 167), to understand the potential role of the political context that stimulated the development of the activism that supports the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, a brief discussion about contention and what sociologists Doug McAdams and Charles Tilly and political scientist Sydney Tarrow refer to as opportunity structures is relevant.

<u>Contention, Threats, Opportunities, and the Design of Precedents</u>

McAdams, Tilly and Tarrow are known as the academic experts of what they refer to as contentious politics. Contention can be summarized as a conflict, or antagonism, that emerges out of a fundamental opposition between the project of one agent or group against the interests or wellbeing of another (McAdams, Tilly and Tarrow 1996, 17). Contentious politics, McAdams, Tilly and Tarrow assert, must include the involvement of a level of government, since contention cannot exist without the threat of coercive power (ibid.). I agree with such a definition, to a slight exception. While I understand that contentious politics can only emerge out of a threat of coercive power imposed on a minority group, I do not agree this agent or group must necessarily take the form of a political authority. In the globalized, capitalist and democratic social framework most societies function in today, I argue that coercive power is no longer limited to political influence, but can take the form of monetary dominance or, in another vein, be the result of restrictive legal constraints caused by limitative judicial precedents. I find this is presently the case in Hawai'i, as the current conflict is the product of a threat imposed by three agents, namely the scientific community including astronomers and other scholars who are in favour of the telescope project, the University of Hawai'i who sponsors the initiative, and the various governments who also finance the TMT.

Yet, the coercive power that limits advancements regarding the rights of Kānaka Maoli, or Native Hawaiians, on Mauna Kea is influenced by the current workings of the American judicial system. Indeed, as it will be detailed in the third chapter of this dissertation, the western philosophy that guides the inner workings of the legislative branch in the State of Hawai'i, including the Hawai'i Supreme Court, does not recognize the Hawaiian cosmological principles,

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values and beliefs as legitimate or valid in a court setting[4]. The authority of the court, resting on a western, "modern" structure of secular, or nonspiritual, values and cosmology, therefore limits the value of traditional and/or authentic Hawaiian beliefs that represent the essence of their testimony. The legal battle is therefore ultimately biased, as Hawaiian petitioners must resort to strategies and tactics that are not truly representative of their genuine convictions, opinions, and observations and must resort to translate their understanding of justice in a "westernized" vision and vocabulary, without which their requests would be dismissed by the coercive judicial authority of the State.

Theoretically, contentious politics encompass many forms of social mobilization, including social movements. McAdams, Tilly and Tarrow point to the fact that social mobilization is an option chosen amongst many others when the resources and timing grant them with the best chances for success (ibid.). While the authors do not mention the role of emotions into the choice of social mobilization and the moment for its formation, they recognize that the birth of social movement activities is the result of "specific interpersonal bond", which are now facilitated by transnational principles of justice, equality, and respect, globally shared through the works of NGOs and agencies and spread via social media (ibid., 31). Such dynamics thus

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[4] The story of Mo'oianea exemplifies clearly such contention. During a presentation given in the town of Waimea on September 29th, 2015, Pua Case shared the story of how she came to be invested in the movement to stop the construction of the telescope on Mauna Kea. She shared that one day in 2010 she went with her daughter Kapulei Flores near a pond of importance to their family, located in Waimea. She shared that her daughter, who is gifted the ability to see and communicate with guardian spirits that are half-human, half-reptile called *mo'o*, encountered Mo'oianea, the guardian spirit of Mauna Kea. Mo'oianea told Kapulei to ask her mother to try one more time to save the mountain. Pua Case chose to listen to Mo'oianea. She then decided to devote herself to stop the building of the TMT. Pua Case and her husband Kalani Flores decided to file a motion for Mo'oianea to be granted standing on the case against the TMT. They were granted standing as the Flores-Case 'Ohana, but the *mo'o* did not, on the ground that she was not a human being. Even if the existence of Mo'oianea as guardian spirit of Mauna Kea is a truth to Hawaiians, not a belief, Mo'oianea was denied standing as a petitioner within the American legal system that governs judicial matters in the State of Hawai'i. In this case, Hawaiian activists had to resort to legal strategies that were not authentic to their beliefs and customs and that rather complied with a secular and westernized system in order to secure legal standing. Such a story therefore demonstrates the coercive power of the courts in the United States, which limits indigenous cultural and religious freedoms by refusing such motives as legitimate ground for defense (Salazar 2014, 57; Case, personal notes, September 29th, 2015).

generate moments of groupness and therefore give the agents and groups involved a valuable momentum. Most interestingly, researches conducted by McAdams, Tilly and Tarrow raise questions relative to the various forms of contention. Indeed, while physical conflicts such as genocides or wars entail a response that requires immediacy under a life or death threat, social movements rather relate to a buildup in events and in perceptions that is related to what we could call an "enough-is-enough" response (ibid., 31). Social movements emerge out of a fundamental break in perspective, opinions, ideals, or beliefs, generally between individuals or groups who compose society and a entity that has some form of authority, such as a government, a university, or an influential private company (Benford and Snow 2000, 626). Social movement activities are hence a response to a perceived injustice that has long infringed upon a group's rights and wellbeing. Such a response emerges at an opportune moment, whenever the agents of the group judge they have mobilized the necessary resources to use a given opportunity to overcome such an infringement. For instance, Idle No More, including the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, did not emerge exclusively out of urgency or necessity but were rather the product of particular contextual factors that, combined together, formed a favourable occasion for success, or what the literature on social movements refers to as a successful political opportunity structure.

Put simply, opportunity structures are synonymous for context. They relate to the resources, the supporters and opponents, the power dynamics at play, and the local and global context at a specific moment. They are therefore a given combination of resources, norms, social conventions, and events that, at a given time in history, either encourages social mobilization or refrains collective action (Arzheimer and Carter 2006, 422). What is interesting in this context is that political opportunity structures act as precedents, the same way a judgement rendered by the court does. Indeed, a social movement does not emerge out of nowhere but is rather the product

of past successes or failures of social mobilization to oppose or contest related issues. In other terms, past opportunity structures, independently of their outcome, therefore act as a buildup to the next and upcoming opportunity structures (Snow, Soule and Kriesi 2004, 80). The production of singular opportunity structures therefore essentially alters the socio-political dynamics between a coercive power and a minority group, thus influencing the makeup of future opportunity structures (McAdams, Tilly and Tarrow 1996, 24). Although I do not intend to establish a causality, this conceptual discussion on political opportunities and structures makes it possible to better understand and to contextualize the present-day *'A'ole* TMT Movement, relative to the lack of contestation in Hawai'i in 1964, when the first telescope was being built on Mauna Kea (Salazar 2014, 78). The choice not to act to protest astronomical research and telescope construction on Mauna Kea in the past fifty years can therefore be understood as a strategy per se. The literature on social movements thus state the obvious; that the combination of the adequate and necessary human and monetary resources, a favourable local and international context, and the involvement of dedicated active agents involved in complementary works therefore generate a strong moment of groupness that can generate change. To conclude the discussion on social mobilization, I wish to examine a notion determinant to the analysis of collective action, namely framing.

Framing Contest: Re-framing Strategies to Celebrate Differences

In every situation of opposition, there are always two sides to every story. And in every context of resistance that is made public, strategies of framing are mobilized in an attempt to pinpoint the other side as "the bad guy". Active agents of the opposing groups thus embark in what sociologists Robert D. Benford, from the University of Nebraska, and David A. Snow, from

the University of Arizona, refer to as a "framing contest" (Benford and Snow 1999, 626). They claim that such a phenomenon describes every form of social movement, whatever their origin, structure, size and purpose. The concept of framing is directly related to the "opening or closing of political opportunity structures" (Johnston and Noakes 2005, 20). Depending on the level of mobilization success, framing strategies put forward by particular agents and/or groups actively involved in a given movement thus determine the existence or non-existence as well as the context of future political opportunities (ibid., 22). Tarrow even identifies framing strategies as a contributing factor to the creation and resilience of social movements (ibid., 23). In the literature, academic work on social movements sparked in the beginning of the 1960s, with the awakening of the American Civil Rights Movement (Della Porta and Diani 1999, 1). Changes in the perspectives on issues such as racism, secured by the advancements of the 1960s, has undeniably contributed to additional advancements for other minority groups and causes, including women, sexual minorities, religious minorities, and even particular causes such as the environment. Such progress indubitably influenced the framing of certain social issues. Today, someone who asserts that a man should be paid more than a woman for the same work is misogynistic, someone who claims a gay couple shouldn't have the right to get married is homophobic, someone who claims all Muslims are terrorists is xenophobic and someone who dumps a plastic bottle in a lake is homocentric. Advancements secured by the Civil Rights Movement transformed the way minorities and particular elements are viewed today by transforming the connotation, and implication of certain categories. Such categories were thus re-framed. The definitions of particular group categories have thus been fundamentally altered, shifted even. An attribute that has historically been negatively connoted for its difference is now celebrated for its uniqueness.

PLACE BRANDING: RECLAIMING CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL AUTHENTICITY

Branding, Place Branding and Re-branding: Marketing National Identities

Nowadays, uniqueness is trendy. To be exclusively associated to set of characteristics and attributes that set us apart from the crowd is valued, even praised. It is true for individuals, groups, even places such as cities, regions and nations. A place, in the simplest sense, is a geographical location, which can be found at a determined longitude and latitude. It can be extremely precise, like an address on a street, or can define an incredibly vast area, such as a country or even a continent. Yet a place, just like a person, a car, a watch, or a company, has a label, an identity and an image, that represents its fundamental characteristics and core values. A place is therefore, in other words, a brand. While the preceding section discussing social movements, groupness and framing focused on explaining the context in which Hawaiians and Mauna Kea Protectors and supporters take action, the following discussion on branding and authenticity focuses on examining how Hawaiian activists structured and organized their protest actions. Indeed, contested issues are inevitably framed differently by opposing parties. In the case discussed in this thesis, the issue is being framed as pinning scientific advancements against cultural and spiritual rights. The framing contest currently being broadcasted on social media allowed Hawaiians to engage in an initiative of branding that seeks to correct the false portrait of island culture that has been branded by the tourism industry during the 1920s and to reassert what truly describes and represent Hawaiian authenticity.

Branding is a concept generally associated to the domains of marketing, management, and communications. However, in the past decades, the term has transcended its original sense

and has expanded to the realm of the social sciences, most particularly to the fields of economics, sociology, and political science. Simon Anholt, a marketing expert and independent policy consultant, is credited for coming up with the term "nation branding" in 1996 (Kaneva 2011, 117). Anholt has since then exposed the need for cities, regions and nation-states to develop a positive image and reputation that would transcend domestic borders and become recognized internationally (ibid., 116). Over the last twenty years, Anholt has built his career and forged his expert reputation helping marketing consultants and policy makers design what he defines as place brand identities (ibid., 117). In his book *Competitive Identity, The New Brand Management for Nations, Cities, and Regions,* Anholt defines a brand identity as the core of the 'product', the underlying values that support its character (Anholt 2007, 19). The same concept can apply to places. A place, too, has a brand image, which Anholt argues, can be synonymous to its reputation (ibid.). Additionally, shoes, cars, purses and nations have a brand purpose, or *raison d'être*, and a brand equity, or intrinsic value (ibid., 20). Anholt therefore argues that culture and national identities, or more specifically place identities, are now part of the global commercial market controlled by offer and demand (ibid., 14). In other words, a people's culture, including its language, monuments, traditions, customs, and symbols, can, and in fact are, marketed like other goods and services. Nation branding, or place branding, is therefore necessary because we now live in an interconnected and interdependent world (ibid., 16). Globalization therefore allows for, and in fact demands, the existence of nation branding strategies. Without a carefully crafted place brand identity, a city, region or nation cannot hope to compete against lesser-known, although similar, places for tourism or other forms of foreign investment (ibid., 15-16). A place's brand thus becomes its image, or what it is associated with. Anholt argues that a well-designed place brand can ensure an endured positive and exclusive reputation over decades

(ibid., 15). For instance, he mentions that some place brands are so successful that they can be linked to particular positive adjectives or attributes, for which they have become the sole ambassadors (ibid.). As Anholt mentions, when we think of Paris, we think of romance. When we mention Tuscany, we think of gastronomy. And as mentioned in this introduction, when we hear Hawai'i, we think of paradise. However, like it is the case for Hawai'i, these same vocabulary associations can also become the stereotypical descriptions of the places they represent. Such images have become the reputation of the places they epitomize. They have become the reason why couples in love dream of visiting Paris, why travellers into cooking plan a tour of Tuscany and why those who dream of the ultimate tropical vacations book their tickets for Honolulu. Place brands, their image but also their core identity, therefore become highly competitive. Not only do they characterize what such places are but they also ensure that their cultural industry grows in a way that will continually enrich this same brand image (ibid., 20).

While established place brands cannot hope to be shaken easily, the global commercial dynamics of the twenty-first century naturally makes cities, regions and nations continually compete to acquire "the right kinds of investment, tourism, trade, and talent […]" (Aronczyk 2008, 42). Since established brands cannot easily be taken down, marketing consultants and branding experts need to find what makes a place unique and desirable. As Anholt mentions, "[a] place, just like any other marketable product, tends to be 'judged by its cover' [therefore] marketing experts' role is to put on that same cover attractive and desirable attributes for which such place will from then on be associated with "(Anholt 2007, 16). Marketing advisors must therefore refrain from trying to compete for an image that is already associated to an established place brand. They must rather try to come up with a new image that will attract the "right kind" of attention. Melissa Aronczyk, assistant Professor of journalism and media studies at Rutgers

University, published in 2013 the book *Branding the Nation: The Global Business of National Identity*. In this volume, she defines nation branding as "the creation and communication of national identity using tools, techniques, and expertise from the world of corporate brand management (Aronczyk 2013, 1.2). The notion of place branding can thus be viewed as a beauty makeover session for a political community (Kaneva 2011, 118). Aronczyk refers to nation branding as a new concept, one that could hardly exist in a pre-industrial, pre-globalizing word (Aronczyk 2013, 1.8). Like Anholt, she argues that nation branding can only occur in an environment that essentially views the world as one large market and that values competition (ibid.). In a pre-industrial context, the identity of a people, including the music it listens to, the food it eats and the language it speaks, would in no way be associated to the annual gross domestic product of its country. Globalization is therefore necessary for place branding to exist, for it to be useful and needed, argues Aronczyk, because it is what demonstrates the connection between "commerce and culture" today (ibid.).

Aronczyk claims that the purpose of nation branding initiatives is threefold. The first objective she identifies is monetary. Indeed, nation-branding strategies typically try to create an appealing product, or brand, that seeks to generate the interest of tourists and businesses in order to stimulate investments within the nation (ibid., 1.2). The second objective she recognizes is political. Nation branding can also be used in order to boost the political legitimacy of a state in a particular diplomatic setting, either local or global. A state can therefore use nation branding tactics in an attempt to get invited to the negotiations table, even without formally being recognized as a politically independent or sovereign entity (ibid.). The third and final objective of nation branding Aronczyk acknowledges is patriotic. By crafting a nation's brand, nation branding projects try to produce a positive national image that will enhance a people's pride for

the elements that characterize their nation at home and abroad. It is a matter of pride that is directly related to the desire to belong to the group, or to belong to the image produced by branding strategies. While all three of these objectives could contribute to explaining the current mobilization in Hawai'i, I find that this last objective Aronczyk mentions contributes most notably to explaining the motivations guiding current nation branding initiatives, as opposed to the prior branding initiative that was aimed for commercial profitability. Indeed, initiatives supported by the *'A'ole* TMT Movement and other philosophies that will further be detailed in this thesis contribute to reasserting what it means to be Hawaiian and what authentically makes Hawai'i meaningfully beautiful. Such a project brings cultural agents and practitioners closer to their history, their culture and their spirituality in an attempt to reassert a national sense of pride for Hawaiian traditions, including their culture and beliefs, embedded in the native Hawaiian land.

As mentioned previously, Hawai'i's brand can be deemed extremely successful. For most people, various elements automatically come to mind when we mention the islands. Yet, such associations do not represent what Hawai'i and its people "authentically" are. While the marketed portrait of the islands ended up being extremely profitable in terms of foreign investments as well as American tourism investments, it ultimately alienated Hawaiians from their own culture. It disconnected them from their traditions, their culture and their spirituality. Romanticizing a place identity is therefore profitable but is not without consequences to the integrity of a people's land, culture and spirituality. While Anholt stresses that while places such as cities, regions and nations can be recognized as genuine brands, they cannot be branded the way other more conventional, product or company-type brands are (Anholt 2007, 19). While logos or slogans can be effectively used to brand shoes, cars or electronics, it cannot suffice to

brand a place. Anholt explains that a place's reputation plays a greater and more intricate role than it does for other types of goods or services. Indeed, a place's image directly influences its relationship with other places, which ultimately impacts "its economic, social, political, and cultural progress" (ibid., 23). Therefore, the image of a place does not only influence its purpose and equity, but also impacts its core identity. Consequently, the identity of a place influences and determines the identity of a culture and, accordingly, of its people. While the marketing strategies of a place differ of those used to brand a good or service, the marketing experts, or in this case the "branders", remain the same. To brand a product, companies seek the expertise of marketing consultants. A team of experts in the dynamics of a particular market is thus in charge of creating a brand identity and of stimulating a brand image that will appeal to the client base and that will be profitable to the company. Marketing specialists are thus experts at studying what the markets demands and needs and in utilizing those findings to design a strong brand identity and image (Van Ham 2008, 128-129). Those marketing consultants are not however necessarily experts in the product they are in charge of branding. They rather become knowledgeable of the product as they go along in the research and marketing process. For the branding of places, the same individuals' expertise is mobilized. Place branders are thus marketing experts who master the market of global identities (ibid., 129). They do not however master the foundation, structure, and organization of the place they are branding from day one. They thus remain marketing experts and never become cultural experts. I argue this is where lies the problem regarding accuracy, or in this case, authenticity. Indeed, I claim that the difference between a brand identity that is exclusively lucrative and one that is both productive and authentic lies with the branders. One important difference between the branding strategy used by the tourism industry in the 1920s in Hawai'i and the one embedded within the *'A'ole* TMT

Movement is therefore the branders. While the former strategy mobilized the expertise of marketing experts in the industry of tourism, the latter rather uses the expertise of cultural experts, or more accurately, of cultural practitioners. For this same reason, I chose to refer to the current initiatives in Hawai'i not as place branding, but rather as place re-branding, since it represents an project to reassert Hawaiian culture and spirituality in their authenticity, as envisioned by Hawaiians themselves.

Re-branding Place Identity for Place Authenticity: Defining Indigenous Authenticity

Regaining cultural and spiritual authenticity has been a long and challenging process for many indigenous nations worldwide. At the time of colonization, European settlers imposed to indigenous peoples a set of cultural, spiritual, social, and political principles, which fundamentally impacted the growth and survival of traditional cultures and spiritualties. Prior to defining and analyzing authenticity, I therefore wish to briefly explore the concept of indigeneity and the idea of indigenous identities, which I discuss on numerous occasions in this essay. The adjective "indigenous" can represent an individual, a group, traditions, practices, a language or a culture, that are distinctively unique through their historically significant connection to a specific territory. According to the International Labour Organization's Convention no. 169 (1989), indigenous peoples represent groups of individuals who possess ancestral lineage associated to a specific region prior to the arrival of colonial settlers, or "the formation of modern state borders" (Sarivaara, Maatta and Uusiautti 2013, 370). Indigeneity, on the other hand, is a character that represents the whole or a part of a person's identity. Taiaiake Alfred, professor of political science at the University of Victoria and Kahnawake Mohawk activist and educator, and his colleague, Jeff Corntassel, professor in indigenous governance at the same institution and

member of the Cherokee Nation, define indigeneity, or "indigenousness" as "an identity constructed, shaped and lived in the politicized context of contemporary colonialism" (Alfred and Corntassel 2005, 597). Most authors agree that indigeneity, or indigenous identity, entails two necessary requirements. One is individual and the other is collective. Indeed, for one person to be indigenous, he or she ought to self-identify as such. Additionally, for one person to be indigenous in the collective sense of the term, he or she ought to be accepted as indigenous by the other members of a group self-proclaimed as indigenous (Sarivaara, Maatta and Uusiautti 2013, 375). While some authors argue that indigeneity, or partial indigenous identity, demands a ratio of blood quantum (ibid., 371), I do not wish to acknowledge such a debate in this essay since, as I will demonstrate in the coming sections of this thesis, ethnicity does not act as a determinant contributing agent to the re-branding of the Hawaiian cultural and spiritual identity, which, I argue, rather uses a moment of groupness to thrive. This aforementioned differentiation between the implications of the terms "indigenous" and "indigeneity" brings forward two vital elements in the context of a research on native resistance. The first one refers to the crucial role that occupies place in the perpetuation of indigenous culture, spirituality and practices. The second one refers to the structural function of indigenous group cohesion and solidarity as pillars to indigeneity and indigenous identity. Indigeneity thus builds, strengthens and perpetuates a relationship that unites a group of people to one particular place, or region. Such a connection brings us back to discussing what I refer to as place authenticity.

Authenticity, in this context referring to indigenous authenticity, is difficult to define, as it rests upon individual and collective subjectivity and varies immensely from one cultural group to another (Harris 2013, 10). To discuss authenticity, we ought to recognize its modern existence, which some academic scholars debate (ibid., 12). The debated question goes as follows: Can we

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consider the beliefs, traditions, and way of life of indigenous peoples in 2016 as authentic to their beliefs, traditions and way of life prior to European contact? I argue we can answer positively to such a query as long as we assert that the term "authentic" is not a synonym to the word "unchanged". Indeed, authenticity is not static and answers to an ever-changing contextual environment (Lucero 2006, 35) Authenticity is dependent on change, most particularly on human action (Marine-Roig 2015, 582). Indigenous authenticity is therefore not a description of a group nor of its actions or practices, but rather acts as a variable motivating actions and practices that are validated by the cultural, spiritual, and social principles that construe indigeneity (Lucero 2006, 35). José Antonio Lucero, Chair of the Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Washington, summarizes such a process by introducing the term "authenticators", which he describes as "actors who arbitrate, validate and legitimate competing claims for authenticity" (ibid.). To conclude, I therefore choose to consider as authentic whatever cultural, spiritual, or customary belief and practice that the indigenous group concerned deems authentic and that are therefore "validated and legitimized" by "authenticator" agents. In this sense, authenticity can be associated to the elements that comprise a people's celebrated, preserved, or revived social capital (Trask 2000, 376).

While I have focused so far on cultural, spiritual and customary authenticity, I wish to introduce another branch of authenticity, namely place authenticity. In this thesis, place occupies a dominant role, acting as the anchor of the cultural and spiritual vitality of Native Hawaiian identity, or Kānaka Maoli identity. The *'A'ole* TMT Movement, which seeks to protect Hawai'i's most revered mountain from further desecration, is thus essentially a quest towards place authenticity. John A. Grim, Professor of Native American Studies and Indigenous Religions at Yale University, argues that place, most specifically sacred sites, play an outmost importance to

allow Indigenous peoples to regain identity authenticity (Grim 1996, 361). Indeed, he claims that the connection that unites indigenous groups to particular sites across their native territory is determinant, based on the cultural, spiritual, environmental, historical, and social value of such places (ibid.). Indigenous peoples are thus people of the land, groups of individuals who fundamentally value and respect the vast emptiness that characterizes the wild, and with which they maintain a continued relationship of mutual respect and support. Authenticity of a place, in this context, thus refers to a commitment to valuing and respecting the sacredness of the wild by refraining from altering the pristine natural character of the land. Indigenous peoples, including Kānaka Maoli, cultivate spiritual relationships with elements part of their natural environment (Mangauil, personal communication, September 17th, 2015). Sacred sites thus hold the cultural and spiritual charge that supports a people's traditional connections. Place authenticity therefore sustains cultural as well as spiritual authenticity and hence contributes to the preservation or revitalization of the authenticity of indigenous people's identities. Principles such as *aloha 'āina* (love and respect for the land), *kuleana* (responsibility to care for the land) and *kapu aloha* (discipline of respect) are concepts that will be mobilized in the next chapters to explain such connections in the Hawaiian context. This discussion on authenticity therefore sets the tone for introducing the last section of this literature review. While authenticity demonstrates the validity of the claims currently voiced by indigenous communities relative to culture, spirituality and native land, discussing the mechanism for the transmission and perpetuation of oral traditions, philosophical and spiritual principles, as well as cultural customs is necessary.

REMEMBERING THROUGH PLACE: COLLECTIVE MEMORY & *LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE*

Collective Memory: The Social Function of a Shared History

       Cultural and spiritual practices are part of the social life of a community, including the rituals, traditions, moral standards, and values agreed upon by members of a group (Misztal 2003, 124). A common past therefore strengthens collective solidarity amongst individuals who share a connection to the same group. Barbara A. Misztal, Professor of Sociology at the University of Leicester, writes about collective memory using Emile Durkheim's famous sociology legacy. She discusses collective memory, a concept that was coined by Durkheim's student, Maurice Halbwachs, in an attempt to define the concept and its implications. For the purpose of this thesis, I wish to discuss the role of memory as a factor contributing to initiatives of re-branding. Durkheim understood the past as an agent that influences the cultural and social structure and attributes of a group in the present (ibid.). The cultural and spiritual values, norms, traditions, and customs that characterize a group is therefore the product of its past and must hence ensure its harmonious continuity "with the past" (ibid.). Collective memory, as a historical narrative that holds a group's foundation, thus binds together notions of memory and authenticity. The memory of a group is its common narrative, what defines it as an entity and what unites its members together as well as with their past. The preservation and perpetuation of habits, rituals, traditions, norms and values of a group are therefore essential to activate groupness, and ultimately produce successful moments of groupness. Such a conclusion reassesses the importance of preserving or reviving authentic elements of indigenous cultures and spiritualties. Producing and perpetuating a collective memory that is in line with what indigenous cultural and spiritual agents deem as authentic is thus necessary in order to produce a dynamic and continuing collective memory.

Durkheim understood a group's sense of unity as the product of shared values, spiritual beliefs, and most importantly, cultural and spiritual practices (ibid., 129). He argued that such socio-cultural and religious solidarity allows a group to share "beliefs, fears and knowledge", which create a cohesive social collectivity (ibid.). Settler colonialism fundamentally altered such cohesion. Indeed, the imposition of a "high culture", represented by the teaching of an a "modern" language, the imposition of an institutionalized religion and the introduction of new individualistic values, customs and way of life, thus disconnected indigenous peoples from their former cultural, spiritual and social references (Smith 1999, 7). Current initiatives of re-branding, embodied in actions associated to the Idle No More Movement, thus seek to revive this lost cohesion, this disappearing continuity that faded alongside the forced implementation of "modern" lifestyles, values, and beliefs. Durkheim argued that the existence of a strong and cohesive collective identity was in fact essential for the wellbeing and durability of a group (Misztal 2003, 124). Grassroots initiatives of nation re-branding therefore attempt to revitalize cultural and spiritual foundations of their past to bring members of the group together. Such actions thus foster a powerful sense of belonging and contribute to the crafting of a singular, cohesive and powerful place identity. While commemoration of nationally significant individuals, events or discoveries can require the implication of governmental agencies or other private institutions, the values, beliefs and practices that embody collective memory are cultivated and perpetuated by members of the group themselves. According to Durkheim, it is the practice of rituals that ensures the survival of collective memory (ibid., 125). The historical, cultural, spiritual and social charge carried in ritual practices, Misztal argues, has the power of "transmitting social memory", which in turn ensures the "continuity of collective identity and social life" (ibid.). Cultural authenticity is thus closely linked to practices that evoke elevated, or

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sacred, components of a culture and spirituality. Collective action to denounce the desecration of Mauna Kea is a clear example of the activation of groupness. The spiritual significance of the mountain, including the stories associated to it and the rituals and ceremonies that are practiced on its peak, is thus of paramount importance to ensuring the respect of Native Hawaiians' past, present and future. Social mobilization to denounce the installation of the TMT acts as an assertion of Hawaiian authenticity in terms of culture, spirituality and land. It asserts Hawaiian's relationship to this sacred site, demonstrated by the singing of traditional chants, or *oli,* the practicing of prayers, or *pule*, and the dancing of *hula*. Their actions assert their commitment to the practice of what they view as authentic embodiments of their culture and spirituality, which is embedded in specific sacred sites such as Mauna a Wākea.

Sites of Memory: Uncovering the Meaningfulness of Nature

Places we visit develop meaning. They become tied to emotions that we attach to them out of nostalgia or simple reminiscence or recollection, all of which are related to memory. *Lieux de mémoire* are, by literal translation, sites of memory. This concept was coined by French historian Pierre Nora, who is well known for his work and influence in the domain of collective memory, identity and nationalism. *Lieux de mémoire* can be understood as elevated components of a culture for their historical significance and their role as supporting pillars to social and collective memory (Nora 1989, 6). Nora explains that *lieux de mémoire* are created out of necessity, because there are "no longer *milieux de mémoire,* [or] real environments of memory" (ibid., 7). The primary function of *lieux de mémoire* is thus to ensure a longlasting commemoration of a common past. Sites of memory must recognize a clear break with the celebrated elements of the past while promoting a sense of continuity with the socio-cultural

values that represent a group (ibid.). *Lieux de mémoire* are therefore elements of a landscape that contribute to the building and the strengthening of a cultural group's identity. These sites can take various shapes and forms. They can be tangible, like a monument or a museum; cultural, such as festivals or other types of celebrations, or natural, like a national park or a protected site (ibid., 3-5). Whatever form they take, *lieux de mémoire* seek to recognize the memorial and historical narrative that is unique to a group (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004, 348-349). Their meaning, including what they evoke and how individual members of the group interpret them, yet depend on how people construe the cultural emblems embodied within *lieux de mémoire*. The value, meaning and significance of *lieux de mémoire* thus ultimately depend on their capacity to produce a common narrative that can hold a community of individuals together through time (ibid.). They therefore contribute to the creation and preservation of a group's collective and social memory by producing and preserving certain celebrated elements of a culture. *Lieux de mémoire* are thus living elements of a culture, continually absorbing the sociocultural and political context in which they evolve.

Nora identifies industrialization as the cause for the passage from "memory to history", also characterized by the disappearance of *milieux de mémoire,* or actual environments of memory altogether (Nora 1989, 8). He indeed argues that colonization and the structural changes imposed on indigenous societies forced a global homogenization of cultures, practices and socio-political organizations as well as systems of beliefs (ibid.). Examining the creation of *lieux de mémoire* in indigenous communities is thus of high interest to this research, as Nora claims, such memorial structures have the ability to absorb and preserve the values associated to a long-lost past (ibid., 9). A cultural group can therefore choose to revive authentic values and practices previously buried in a pre-contact period by converting such elements into *lieux de mémoire*.

Consequently, even in contexts where a native culture has seen its structure and foundation torn apart in favour of a "high culture", the creation of *lieux de mémoire* can then allow a culture to revive its authenticity through cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices (ibid., 8-10).

While in western and industrialized societies *lieux de mémoire* generally take the form of museum exhibits, monuments, statues or festivals, in indigenous societies, they tend to take a more natural form, sometimes indiscernible from the natural landscape. They take the form of what I refer to as environmental *lieux de mémoire,* which are intrinsically connected to the natural environment and is a beacon to the cultures it directly supports. Indigenous peoples' relationship to nature explains the focus I place on such a type of *lieux de mémoire* in this research. Professor and environmental historian Donald J. Hughes, while studying American Indian tribes, explains that indigenous peoples cultivate a bond with their environment that is based on an understanding of their existence as fully conditional to the wellbeing of nature (Hughes 1996, 136-138). For indigenous peoples, man is not the master of its environment but is simply a part of it (ibid., 138). Hughes' observations are hence generalizable to all peoples of the land, who live in constant interactive proximity with elements of the natural world. He argues that indigenous peoples' understanding of nature and culture as fundamentally inter-connected and their immediacy with the elements that surround them dictate their lifestyle and habits, including their rituals, traditions, customs and beliefs (ibid.). Kānaka Maoli's philosophy of life is rooted on the same principles. While I will discuss Hawaiian cosmological worldviews and beliefs in greater detail in the upcoming chapters of this thesis, I here wish to explain how particular sites across the Hawaiian archipelago can be recognized as *lieux de mémoire*.

Waipi'o Valley on the Big Island, Kaho'olawe Island, Mauna Kea Volcano, also on Hawai'i Island, and Haleakala Volcano on Maui Island are a few of the numerous historically,

culturally, spiritually and socially significant sites that Hawaiians celebrate. Such places can be considered as *lieux de mémoire* for Kānaka Maoli, as they embody the memorial function and authenticity character described above. Hawaiians have a term that echoes the significance, purpose and representation of *lieux de mémoire* and refer to them as *wahi pana*. The notion of *wahi pana* derives from the Hawaiian belief that suggests that the creation of the Hawaiians Islands was the work of divine, or spiritual figures, or deities, also referred to as *akua*. Hawaiians believe the *akua* granted certain places, regions or sites a "dynamic life force and energy" (Aluli and Pōmaika'i McGregor 1992, 236). *Wahi pana,* as opposed to *lieux de mémoire*, therefore cannot take man-made or cultural forms and are solely embodied as natural sites, let them be a mountain, a valley, a forest, or a river (Ho'omanawanui 2012, 187). The role of *wahi pana* is to bond elements of the past to those of the present and of the future (ibid.). They allow Hawaiians to experience and discover their history, but most importantly to contribute to their collective narrative and ensure its vitality. Like *lieux de mémoire*, *wahi pana* allow a cultural group to celebrate the sociocultural and/or spiritual elements of their culture and carry their authenticity for future generations. *Wahi pana* therefore contribute to the creation of Hawaiian collective memory. As I will detail in the next chapter, *wahi pana* are constantly relevant to the existence and flourishing of Hawaiian cultural and spiritual authenticity. The cultural, environmental, and spiritual threats they face have therefore been defended using particular moments of groupness in Hawaiian history. Such moments of groupness will be explored and analyzed in the two remaining chapters of this essay as contributing factors to the emergence of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement to protest the construction of this particular telescope project, at this specific time.

Argument and Methodology

> ➢ "How and in what broader context have Hawaiians proceeded to reassert and re-brand their cultural and spiritual identity in a quest for place authenticity?"

<u>Presentation of the Argument</u>

Based on the preceding literature review, I here present the argument that is supported throughout this thesis as a means to answer the aforementioned research question. I examine first, the context surrounding the emergence of an activism force in Hawai'i. To answer this first query, I argue that the force that allowed for the creation of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement is twofold and is part of a larger initiative of cultural and spiritual re-branding, called the Hawaiian Renaissance. I understand the Hawaiian Renaissance as being divided into two moments of groupness. The first moment of groupness takes part of what I refer to as the Cultural Renaissance and took place during the 1970s, almost simultaneously to the activism happening on the mainland of the United States. The Civil Rights Movements and the anti-war social mobilization that refuted the Americans' involvement in the Vietnam War therefore provided a favourable context for the awakening of a Hawaiian activism. The second moment of groupness, which could not have taken place without the prior mobilization, takes part to what I refer to as the Spiritual Renaissance and emerged at the beginning of the 2010s, evolving hand in hand with other indigenous mobilizations in Canada and across North America. Idle No More, accompanied by the mobilization of new social media platforms, too, contributed to encouraging the mobilization of Hawaiian activists today.

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I then move on to answering the query that examines the resources, techniques, and active agents mobilized to enact a cultural and spiritual re-branding in Hawai'i in a quest for place authenticity. To determine how Hawaiians have taken over to reform their cultural and spiritual identity, I look closely at the concept of authenticity, most precisely of indigenous authenticity. Doing so, I determine that the revival of particular knowledge and practices in Hawaiian culture and cosmology stimulated a re-affirmation of the Hawaiian identity or character, or put simply of "Hawaiianness". I then argue that such a re-branding encouraged a direct reconnection to specific sacred sites around the islands, hence favouring a return to balance as given by the Hawaiian traditional ecological model of wellbeing. I find that this renewed relationship between Hawaiians and sacred sites emphasizes the interdependency between the deities, the environment, and the people of the land in the Hawaiian cosmology and way of life. Finally, I conclude that both aspects of this dual research question, namely the reasons stimulating the cultural and spiritual re-branding, and the methods used to secure a return to place authenticity, therefore link beliefs, culture, and land as political agents to the reappropriation and re-branding of Hawaiian cultural and spiritual identity.

METHODOLOGY

Data Gathering and Analysis

This thesis is a qualitative analysis of a cultural, social, environmental, spiritual and political indigenous movement. To prepare the ground for the empirical study and elaborate a framework of analysis, I selected publications from particular literatures, most specifically related to the works on social movement and branding, which are directly related to my research

interests. The material I collected from these sources led me to consulting the literature on authenticity and collective memory in a way that seeks to answer my research question in an original manner that not only relied on the literature but also on current events.

For the empirical part, I chose to adopt a qualitative approach to collect data due to the nature of the research question I ask in this thesis. The *'A'ole* TMT Movement is a project that was initiated by the people of the Big Island of Hawai'i and that serves to protect the sacredness of Mauna Kea. This movement, by its foundation, is thus based on a cosmological realm of beliefs, values, and principles that recognize Mauna Kea as sacred. Hawaiian spirituality is therefore a fundamentally personal and communal experience that could not feasibly be treated quantitatively with the respect and accuracy that it deserves (Halperin *et al*. 2002, 309-319). Secondary sources on the object of my interest being scarce, I chose to conduct a field research.

To collect the facts, stories, and opinions detailed in this essay, I conducted thirteen semi-structured interviews with local residents of the Big Island of Hawai'i as part of a five-month-long research stay across the Hawaiian Islands, from September 2015 until January 2016. The interviews were realized in a room at the North Hawai'i Education and Research Center (NHERC) in the historic town of Honoka'a on the Big Island, affiliated to the University of Hawai'i at Hilo (UHH). The length of the interviews varied between durations of about forty minutes and more than an hour and a half. The average length of the interviews was of approximately one hour. I selected participants to the interviews based upon suggestions voiced by Professor Eileen Momilani Naughton, Coordinator of the Heritage Center at the NHERC, who also supervised my studies during my research stay and who advised me along the entirety of this writing process. I ensured that the people I spoke with represented a varied population relative to their ethnic background, their age, their occupation, and their gender. I paid additional

attention to choosing individuals who signalled diverse views and opinions concerning the current spiritual revival and who expressed distinctive convictions with regards to the construction of the TMT. I interviewed activists who physically of verbally opposed the installation of the telescope as well as residents who were in favour of it, including others who did not express a clear view on the issue and who preferred to remain neutral.

By conducting semi-structured interviews, I sought to inquire about the personal experiences of thirteen individuals who grew up on Hawai'i Island. I wanted to comprehend their connections to Hawaiian culture and spirituality according to their ethnic background, their religious education, their educational experiences, and the number of years, if any, that they had spent abroad. I thus choose to include the underlying content of participants' testimonies as part of this dissertation, including an analysis of the latent reoccurrences in the content of their interviews, in order to answer my research question (ibid., 313). With these thirteen interviews, I sought to inquire about the motivations guiding the current re-branding initiatives and the means empowered in order to achieve such a goal.

However, I recognize that interviews, as a data collection method, have limits. Indeed, while I selected a diverse group of individuals, I understand such a sample is not actually representative of the population as a whole. Thirteen interviews is thus too small a number to consider this approach as a self-sufficient data gathering method to reach generalizable conclusions (ibid., 313). Interviews alone do not permit either to reconstruct the historical context in which the Hawaiian movement evolves. This is why, in addition to the content of the testimonies I collected, I rely on a thorough literature review on Hawai'i to form the argument defended in this thesis. I consulted varied academic journals, some specialized in the Pacific region and others more focused on the themes of the literature I was interested in. I also

consulted articles and books as well as book chapters written by Hawai'i residents and Native Hawaiians in order to be exposed to diverse views, opinions, and arguments on issues including sovereignty, self-determination, identity, and nationhood. A great majority of them have experience as faculty at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in the departments of anthropology and political science. Their expertise in particular niches of Hawaiian studies have allowed me to get a better understanding of key dynamics in Hawaiian society. However, the issue studied in this dissertation being very current, I had to rely on other sources found in local newspapers, such as the *Hawai'i Tribune Herald*, *Hawai'i News Now*, and *The Hawai'i Independent* to link the contribution of these scholars to the present issue. I also made sure to study the coverage of the events happening on Mauna Kea made by foreign papers, such as the *The Huffington Post* and *Yes Magazine*, to compare the way the issue and the actors were portrayed, both at home and abroad.

Furthermore, while on the islands as part of my research stay, I took part to cultural events, including festivals and parades, I visited museum exhibits, I attended concerts, and I participated to rallies and protests in order to experience personally Hawaiian culture and familiarize myself to the issues it faces today. All these experiences have been very formative on a personal level but equally very instructive for my overall understanding of the context, people, and issues at stake. Yet, while I took part to these activities as observant, I do use explicitly two of these experiences in this thesis, namely my visit to Waipi'o Valley and my attendance to a town meeting held in Waimea, on Hawai'i Island. I made sure the sources I mobilized to develop the argument presented in this thesis were diverse, original, and detailed in order to present a research paper as complete as possible in the context of a master's dissertation.

2. The Rise of A Warrior Mentality: The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance

Imua e na pōki'i a inu i ka wai 'a'wa'awa
Forward, my younger brothers, until you drink the bitter water of battle
['Ōlelo No'eau, 1237]

COLONIALISM IN HAWAI'I: A SHORT HISTORY OF CULTURAL AND POLITICAL THREATS

Explaining the Dynamics of Threats and Action in Social Mobilization

In the previous literature review, I detailed the dynamics of contention in a political and/or social environment and how it is related to the emergence of certain opportunities, which influence the formation or non-formation of singular moments of groupness. Such mobilization is thus the product of a mix of fear and opportunity (Aminzade and McAdams 2001, 36). Authors and sociologists Ronald Aminzade and Doug McAdams emphasize the connection that exists between threat and action and the fine line that separates these two elements. Indeed, they identify fear as a strong influence to social mobilization (ibid.). Put simply, a threat is a burden, a hazard or an impediment, imposed on a group or individual in the present or in the future. Furthermore, such an encumbrance is the product of another group or individual's doing; one that has power, influence or authority on the entity that it threatens. Such a dynamic helps explain the response from many indigenous groups in the last few decades. Responding not only to make up for past injustices inflicted upon their people but also to respond to current threats to their culture, their spirituality and their land, indigenous communities use the struggles they face today as an opportunity for social action (Alfred and Cornstassel 2005, 597). This following section seeks to detail the short history of significant moments of groupness in Hawaiian and pan-continental history. This second chapter therefore presents the social, cultural, political, and

urban changes that threatened Hawaiian authenticity since European contact. This brief history includes the arrival of the first European explorers in Hawai'i, the arrival of the American missionaries on the islands, the overthrow of the last Hawaiian monarch, the tourism boom and the rise of a warrior mentality during the 1970s. This second chapter therefore demonstrates the reasons why Hawaiians have come to form an organized, structured and determined collective action movement to defend their sacred mountain and most interestingly, why they did so at this particular point in their collective history.

God Bless America: The Bible and the American Dream Reach the Hawaiian Islands

British explorer James Cook first visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 (Kāwika Tengan 2008, 36). His arrival paved the way to important changes that would affect the Hawaiian people up until this day. Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, mentions in his book *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* that Cook's "discovery" of the Hawaiian Islands, put the isolated island chain "on the global imperial map" (ibid., 2). With the frequent and numerous visits of other European explorers, Hawai'i then slowly but surely engaged in a transformative process that westernized its social, political, and cultural foundation, hence undermining the fundamental indigeneity of its native structures. British voyager George Vancouver is one of the few who were inspired to visit the archipelago based on Cook's discovery. During his three voyages to Hawai'i in 1792, 1793 and 1794, Vancouver developed a friendship with the *ali'i*, or chief, of the recently unified Hawaiian Islands, King Kamehameha I, also known as Kamehameha The Great (Keanu Sai 2008, 23-24). Kamehameha I viewed Vancouver as an ally, as an advisor. Their relationship resulted in important changes for the Hawaiian Kingdom and for its people. Indeed,

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in 1794, Kamehameha I, seeking protection for the islands and its people, ceded Hawai'i to Great Britain and to the ruling of the British monarch of the time, King George II (ibid., 31). This partnership lasted until 1842 under Kamehameha III. Throughout Hawaiian history, I recognize three significant breaks in Hawaiian authenticity; moments and events that fundamentally disconnected Kānaka Maoli from their native cultural and spiritual identity. These three major threats act hand in hand and date back to the first European contact. These threats are cultural, based on linguistic oppression, spiritual, based on the imposition of a set of institutionalized beliefs, and urban, or that impact land tenure management and resource development in Hawai'i. All of these threats were first imposed on the Hawaiian people prior to the 1850s but survived through time as constant menaces to the survival and perpetuation of Hawaiian authentic cultural and spiritual values, philosophies and practices.

Kevin Y. Kawamoto, former professor in the department of communications studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, details the history of linguistic changes imposed on the Hawaiian people and the religious impacts such a shift coincidentally caused. He argues that, while a fairly underhand process, colonial threats to Hawaiian authenticity first began with the infiltration of the English language within Hawaiian society, as early as the end of the eighteenth century (Kawamoto 1993, 194). Indeed, an increasing number of European traders, then involved in fur trade, began to visit the Hawaiian Islands as part of their usual route, thus bringing more *haole*, or foreigners, on the islands as visitors and, later, as immigrants (ibid.). English traders began to recruit Kānaka Maoli to take part on their expeditions on their ships and thus introduced Hawaiians to the English language. Upon their return to Hawai'i, Hawaiians who had embarked on these European voyages had acquired a basic knowledge of the English language and could then act as translators for *haole* who were on the islands for business (ibid.). The invasion of the

English language in Hawai'i would not however begin until the 1820s, or until the arrival of the first American Christian missionaries (ibid.).

The American missionaries arrived from Boston at a determinant moment in Hawaiian history. Kamehameha I had just passed away and his son, Kamehameha II, had taken upon duty to govern. Kamehameha I's favourite wife, Ka'ahumanu, acting as Regent, had just lifted the former *kapu* system of religious restrictions that, until then, maintained a state of *pono*, or "wellbeing and balance", within Hawaiian society (Kāwika Tengan 2008, 35). American missionaries, seeking to spread the gospel and free Kānaka Maoli from their "ignorance" thus arrived at an opportune moment (Kawamoto 1993, 195). Furthermore, the desire to convert Hawaiians to the Christian religion stimulated the introduction of the English language. The linguistic changes were gradual, allowing the Christian missionaries to embark on a project to transform the formerly oral Hawaiian language into written form. They hence converted the sounds they heard into a western alphabet composed of 17 letters (ibid.). Christian Protestant values and principles, including hard work and initiative, are one of the many legacies brought to Hawai'i during this period. While Hawaiians were considered a hard working people prior to the teachings of Protestant values, the concept of initiative and, most importantly, of rising above others, are ideas that the Christian faith bequeathed to the Hawaiian people. Prior to 1848, twelve companies of American Christian missionaries arrived on the islands as to serve the "Autonomous Hawaiian Church" (Garret 1982, 36). A revolution in the *palapala* system of literacy thus stimulated the construction of a sturdy institutionalized Christian affiliation across the islands, motivated and guided by what would later be considered a capitalist set of beliefs, values and principles (ibid. 36-43). The introduction of Roman Catholicism, brought in by Irish and French missions to Hawai'i, created great tension between partisans of both faiths. Besides

such conflict between various branches of Christianity, the shift towards "modern" institutionalized Christian religion(s) was unequivocal and widespread across the archipelago (Garrett 1982, 48- 53; Keanu Sai 2008, 56-61).

Kawamoto adds that Kamehameha's widow, Ka'ahumanu, having converted to Christianity herself, endorsed the creation of the first formal education program in 1824. Headed by the missionaries, the education platform was based on Christian principles and included the study of the Bible and of its religious stories. Biblical texts thus became henceforth the "new" essentials of Hawaiian literature (Kawamoto 1993, 196). English was later formally recognized as the official language of education in the Hawaiian system in 1894 (ibid., 197). English hence became the language of power, guiding everyday business, from commerce to education, including the judiciary, the political and the religious (ibid.). The implementation of Christianity as the formal institutionalized religion for Hawai'i and the transition from Hawaiian to English as the language of instruction in schools are two events that go hand in hand. Their implications are longlasting on the Hawaiian nation and on its people. Indeed, by profoundly restructuring the spiritual identity and linguistic connections of Kānaka Maoli, American missionaries essentially disconnected Hawaiians from their spiritual and cultural identity. The Hawaiian customs and practices was discouraged, weakened and shamed. Christian missionaries sought to put a stop to the practice of *hula* dancing during the mid-1850s since they deemed this exercise sinful. *Haole* influence on Hawaiian society led to the construction of a negative brand image of the Hawaiian culture, one that was primitive, aberrant and obscene on many levels. Kānaka Maoli, their practices, their beliefs and their culture, were hence portrayed as a burden to the successful transition of Hawaiian society, from an archaic people to a "modern" nation (Silva 2004, 52).

Becoming the *Aloha* State: Significant Changes to Land Management in Hawai'i

The implementation of a *haole* language and religion to the islands thus stimulated the development of a new economic philosophy and mindset. Traditionally, Hawaiian land was divided into *moku*, which could either be small islands or areas of larger islands. In each *moku* were smaller sections of land called *ahupua'a*, which generally extended vertically, from sea to mountain, hence ensuring subsistence for the inhabitants of each *ahupua'a* (Craighill Handy and Kawena Pukui 1972, 4). These land sub-divisions were generally the responsibility of the Ruling Chief of the *ahupua'a*, or *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a*, who, in turn, responded to the directions of the Ruling Chief of the *moku*, or *ali'i 'ai moku* (ibid., 5). The land comprised within a *moku* or *ahupua'a* was however not the property of any single person or group but was rather held in common, worked in common and for the benefit of all residents of a same *ahupua'a*. Smaller portions of an *ahupua'a* were called *'ili* and generally hosted members of a same *'ohana*, or family (ibid.). The traditional Hawaiian land tenure and management system was therefore based on values of sustainability, family and community support. Hawaiians worked to support their families, were dependent on the work of members of their community for subsistence, and were conscious of the importance of sustainable living practices for the wellbeing of present and future generations. Residents of an *ahupua'a*, while working under the ruling and authority of an *ali'i*, found and developed a sense of belonging, a connexion and an attachment to their immediate environment not out of obligation or fear, but rather out of dutiful devotion and obedience to the land itself (Strover 1997, 7). As I have heard many times during my exchanges with local residents of the Big Island of Hawai'i, "land is chief". Hawaiians and Hawai'i nationals, namely children of immigrants who have nevertheless been born and raised in Hawai'i

and who have grown accustomed to Hawaiian culture, believe in the principle of *mālama 'āina*, or more generally of *mālama honua*. Literally, *mālama* can be translated into English as the duty to care for and to respect, to ensure the balance and wellbeing. Combined with the words *'āina*, which means the land, or *honua*, which stands for the earth, *mālama 'āina* and *mālama honua* represent the duty to care for, love and respect the land and the natural world in order to ensure its prosperity, balance, and sustainability (Holmes 2000, 39-43).

Traditionally, power and authority over the lands of an *ahupua'a* and a *moku* was granted by King Kamehameha I upon the time of the unification of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the end of the eighteenth century to selected *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* or *ali'i 'ai moku* (Strover 1997, 7-8). Those regional chiefs would then henceforth pass down the responsibility and authority to their descendants (ibid., 8). This practice was however questioned as more American advisors made their way into the King's political entourage (ibid.). In 1840, King Kamehameha III sponsored the first Hawaiian Constitution, which transformed the islands into a constitutional monarchy (Lili'uokalani 1990), 1). While formally reassessing that Hawaiian land remained property of the common, the new constitution however included a new provision that now made legitimate future changes to such provision, upon the monarch's demands (Strover 1997, 10). In the 1840s, the new Hawaiian king, Kamehameha III, upon the advisement of his staff, then heavily composed of American missionaries, thus acted in continuity with a system of political and economic governance that represented the western shift that Hawai'i had undertaken in the past ten to twenty years (Walker 2005, 593). In 1848, Kamehameha III enacted the *Māhele*, a reform of the traditional land tenure and management system. This new legislation nationalized Hawaiian land and placed it in the hands of the Hawaiian government. The *Māhele* allowed for the break of the traditional *ahupua'a* system of land division across the islands in order to

separate it into smaller plots of lands that were later made available for purchase (ibid.). While a significant portion of the land remained within the hands of the *ali'i 'ai ahupua'a* and *ali'i 'ai moku* of the islands, the group who benefited most from such a policy change was the *haole*, the foreigners, most significantly the Americans and the British (ibid.).

The *Māhele* represents the policy change that radically transformed the course of Hawai'i's economic development. The purchase of Hawaiian lands by *haole* allowed for the creation of the first sugar and pineapple plantations on the islands, thus enabling the first radical urban transformation of Hawai'i (ibid.). By the beginning of the 1890s, the Americans had acquired more political and economic power than any other group in Hawai'i at that time. They had managed to mobilize the necessary resources and influence to orchestrate a political coup. On January 17th, 1893, American businessmen, backed by the United States Marines who had come to Hawai'i by ship from Boston, forced the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani's government, an event that would later be recognized as unconstitutional. Hawai'i's last reining monarch gave in to threats of violence on her land and her people. Hawai'i consequently became a territory annexed to the United States of America on August 12th, 1898 (ibid., 594). Therefore, three elements, or three pillars, were firmly established over the years to achieve this radical transformation. The first is of the spirit, the habits, the values and the devotion. Christianity was put in place to, as the missionaries believed, correct the "ignorance" of Kānaka Maoli, to set them on the "right" path to the divine. The second is of the intellect, the academic knowledge and the literacy. The English language was brought in to "modernize" the Hawaiian people, to let them rise above what was then viewed as an "archaic" form of oral language that could not be fit for modern business. The third is of the aspiration, of the greed, of the dream and of the money. Capitalism was introduced to Hawai'i as a set of values and way of life that directly derived from

the Protestant teachings of hard work and assiduousness. The Great American Dream had made its way to Hawai'i.

The years following the annexation of Hawai'i to the continental United States imposed extensive cultural and spiritual restrictions that fundamentally forced Hawaiians to grow estranged to their own language, values, customs and practices. Not only did English become the official language, but it did so at the expense of the survival of the Hawaiian language (Yamauchi and Ceppi 1998, 14). Education became exclusively performed in English and the use of the Hawaiian language within the schools was formally banned, its practice being physically punishable. Students, from an early age, were taught that the use of the Hawaiian language was sinful and that the Hawaiian culture was inferior to the American values taught to them in school (ibid., 15). The Americanized system of education imposed in Hawai'i created a lost generation, composed of individuals from Hawaiian ancestry who had been conditioned to refute their Hawaiian heritage. They have been taught to live their lives in English, devote their faith to Christianity, and to apply themselves to their jobs in a way to provide for their family as active agents to the American society. The changes in the political and economic mentality during the second half of the 1800s and the first half of the twentieth century thus led to significant socio-cultural shifts that impacted the Hawaiian cultural and spiritual authenticity to its very core. Indeed, Hawaiians' alienation to their native language directly disconnected them from their culture, the values that used to guide Hawaiian life and the practices that structured their beliefs (ibid., 13). Most importantly, the children of this generation were not taught what it meant to be Hawaiian because they, for the most part, considered themselves American citizens and had lost most attachment to the Hawaiian identity, out of fear or habit (Personal

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communication, Bouchard Hedlund, September 26th, 2015). And it remained as such until the late 1960s.

THE HAWAIIAN CULTURAL RENAISSANCE: ASSEMBLING MOMENTS OF GROUPNESS

<u>From *Blue Hawai'i* to *I Have a Dream*: Cultural and Political Influences from the Mainland</u>

Over the years following the annexation of Hawai'i as the fiftieth State of the United States of America in 1959, the Hawaiian landscape radically changed. Beginning during the roaring 1920s on the continental United State, Hawai'i entered a spectacular tourism boom. Waikiki, an area on the island of O'ahu, became the tourism spot *par excellence*, home to the most sumptuous hotels and the finest restaurants, visited by high-class celebrities and elite members of society. The same luxurious frenzy spread across the neighbouring islands during the next fifty years without much struggle. From Wailea on Maui to Waikoloa on Hawai'i Island to Princeville on Kaua'i, the Hawaiian Islands became the fancy tropical paradise they were branded to become. Hawai'i was fashioned into the ultimate vacation spot, offering to visitors from the mainland the experience of luxurious "traditional" island treats. The branding of Hawai'i as a place was carefully crafted and built on the notions of prestige, uniqueness, and most importantly, "authenticity". However, the term "authenticity" as used by the tourism industry in Hawai'i has little to do with the notion discussed previously in the literature review of this thesis. In this case, authenticity was fabricated in order to represent a make-believe place brand identity that copied, transformed and reinvented certain elements of the genuinely authentic Hawaiian culture (Connell and Gibson 2008, 52). Music played an important role in the

branding of Hawai'i. Gradually, traditional Hawaiian music was transformed as to please the visitors. The brand identity and brand image of Hawai'i were broadcasted to the world through the medium of music, most importantly, through the industry of record album covers (Schroeder and Borgerson 2009, 2). Postcards and, later, movies have, too, managed to produce an image of Hawai'i that could be simplified to elements such as *hula* dancers, flower lei, surf and ukulele. Elvis Presley is one key figure associated to the post-annexation tourism boom. Indeed, his music and movies portrayed an image of the islands that was close to the ultimate fantasy. The movie *Blue Hawaii* epitomizes the caricatured portrait of island culture and has greatly contributed to spreading such a misrepresentation of Hawaiian culture overseas. In this case, Elvis' work, including his movies and his music, contributed to the "commodification" of Hawaiian culture (Connell and Gibson 2008, 52). Hawai'i's brand was close to perfection, carefully crafted, and able to respond to the increasing demand from visitors.

Yet, meanwhile, on the mainland of the United States, social tensions reached their peaks with the birth of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Refuting the social injustices imposed on African-Americans of the United States, the Civil Rights Movement is an inspiration for social mobilization and collective action to this day. Martin Luther King Jr.'s 1963 "I Have a Dream" speech not only denounced racial segregation but condemned the very imperialist, materialist and military social structures that allowed for the emergence of such social injustices (Dowd Hall 2005, 1234). Rapidly, the legacy of the Civil Rights Movement inspired other groups to stand up for their rights and demand equality and justice. The issue of women's rights made its way on the collective socio-political agenda along anti-war activism, protesting the Americans' involvement in the Vietnam War (Keanu Sai 2008, 172). The activism turmoil happening on the mainland generated immense media coverage and great academic interest from

social scientists. Sociologists and historians in Hawai'i began to study the movement and drew conclusions that revealed the profound injustices that were imposed on Hawaiians in the past (Salazar 2014, 84). Scholars then came to the conclusion that the American overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy was unconstitutional and that the United State's occupation of Hawai'i was thus fundamentally illegal. Such revelations paved the way for the emergence of a Hawaiian Independence Movement (ibid.). The moment of groupness that produced the Civil Rights Movement therefore contributed to the revival of Hawaiian culture and identity. The Hawaiian cultural revival in the 1970s is therefore the direct result of the socio-political effervescence happening on the continental United States. Many examples could be used as a means to demonstrate the context of the birth of Hawaiian activism. Yet, most writers and scholars point to one particular event as embodying the essence of the 1970s mobilization in Hawai'i. While the Renaissance was a phenomenon that was representative of all of Hawai'i, one particular island appears to epitomize this episode of Hawaiian history: The island of Kaho'olawe.

Island of Resistance: Re-branding the Hawaiian Cultural Identity

Swimming at the popular spot called Big Beach in the town of Mākena on Maui, one can clearly see the island of Kaho'olawe, just about eight miles away. Part of Maui County, this small island has an extremely rich political history that is interestingly fairly recent. While the Vietnam War was facing raging protest on the continental United States, the American military was training for its execution far away from the social uproar, in the middle of the Pacific. The military's preferred site for "offshore gunnery and aerial bombing practices" was the island of Kaho'olawe (Warren and Aschmann 1993, 462).

© Mélodie Lirette, 2015. On the left, the Island of Kaho'olawe as seen from Big Beach, on Maui Island.

Yet, for Hawaiians, Kaho'olawe's valuable political history has little to do with the war. Its celebrated history comes from the fact that it represents the first chapter of what we know today as the Hawaiian Renaissance. The Renaissance generated the revival of particular aspects of Hawaiian authenticity. George H. Lewis, professor of sociology at the University of the Pacific, describes the Renaissance as a "social redefinition process, […] a psychological renewal [reasserting Hawaiian] dignity" (Lewis 1984, 39-40). While generally exclusively associated to the social mobilization that happened during the 1970s and 1980s in Hawai'i, I recognize the Renaissance as a continuous social phenomenon that, too, characterizes the activism of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. Based on the interviews I conducted on Hawai'i Island, I choose to treat the Hawaiian Renaissance as two separate yet continuous events, namely as the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance and the Hawaiian Spiritual Renaissance (Silva, personal communications,

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September 9th, 2015). The former refers to the activism that sparked in the 1970s and that has contributed to re-branding Hawaiian cultural identity, including Hawaiian language and cultural practices. The latter refers to the activism currently underway to denounce the installation of the TMT and contributes to the re-branding of Hawaiian spiritual identity, including the significance of *wahi pana*, the commitment to Hawaiian spiritual worldview and to the sacred elements of the natural environment. Primarily activated through a revival of the knowledge and practice of the Hawaiian language, the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance enabled Hawaiians to re-define and, ultimately, re-brand Hawaiian social capital according to their authentic cultural values and practices.

Amongst the cultural customs that were revived in the 1970s were the *'olelo no'eau*, or Hawaiian proverbs, the singing of *oli*, or traditional Hawaiian chants, and the practice of *hula*, based on creation stories and the natural beauty of the Hawaiian landscape (Trask 2000, 377). The revival of the practice of the Hawaiian language had an immense impact, hence allowing Hawaiians to reconnect with their traditional culture. The reactivation of native social capital reawakened Hawaiian culture by reassessing the authenticity of Hawaiian music, poetry, and art. As Lewis puts it, Hawaiians mobilized in re-defining their cultural identity using symbolic representations of their collective social capital, in creating an "ideology through the content of lyrics" (Lewis 1984, 40). The Hawaiian Renaissance therefore sought to re-brand Hawaiian cultural identity for Hawaiians to engage in Hawaiian culture and to reassess Hawaiian pride. The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance thus attempted to move away from the false portrait of island culture that had been crafted and perpetuated by the tourism industry. For the first time since the overthrow of the Hawaiian government, Hawaiians were taking control over the

representation of their culture. They were re-branding their cultural identity in a quest towards cultural authenticity.

Haunani-Kay Trask, a retired professor of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Hawaiian activist and accomplished writer, identified three values that support Hawaiians' authentic social capital. These three values are at the heart of the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s and, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, still serve the same function as pillars to the Spiritual Renaissance. The first is called *lōkahi*, which stands for unity, and calls for loyal cooperation and solidarity amongst members of the Hawaiian nation. The second is *'ohana*, or family. It reassesses the connection that unites Hawaiians together and most importantly that grants them a sense of belonging, to a group but also to Hawai'i as a place. The last is *mālama 'āina* and *aloha 'āina*, the duty Hawaiians have to care for, respect, and love the land that supports them (Trask 2000, 375-376). The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance indeed served these same values. For instance, the reappropriation of the Hawaiian linguistic heritage during the Cultural Renaissance generated immense creativity amongst Native Hawaiians, most notably through music. Traditional Hawaiian music became well known and well liked because it became the voice of the Hawaiian people (Lewis 1984, 46). Most importantly, Hawaiian *mele*, or music, of the Cultural Renaissance highlighted the significant importance of nature in the Hawaiian culture and way of life. It reassessed the profound respect Hawaiians vow to their environment, the intimate relationship they perpetuate with it, and how it structures their identity as individuals and as a people in defining their sense of place.

During my research stay on Hawai'i Island, I had the chance to discuss with Darde Gamayo, a radio host to the Hawaiian music station KAPA in Kona, on the Big Island of Hawai'i. She and her husband Darren live in Waipi'o Valley, a *wahi pana* of historical

significance to Hawaiians, located on the northern part of the Hāmākua Coast. Waipi'o Valley is a place that has great *mana*. While I plan on addressing the concept of *mana* in the third chapter of this thesis, I here temporarily and briefly define the term as applied to a place, as energy or spirit, an intense and intimidating stillness that almost forces serenity. Darde told me that many artists, including Gabby Pahinui, one of Hawai'i's greatest musical emblems, came to Waipi'o to get inspiration to write, compose, and reconnect with traditional Hawaiian *mele*. Pahinui's famous rendition of the historically celebrated song *Hi'ilawe*, composed by Sam Li'a Kalainaina Sr. at the turn of the twentieth century, reassessed the pristine and powerful beauty of Hawai'i's tallest waterfall (Gamayo, personal communication, October 12th, 2015). Yet, Hawaiian music of the Renaissance also communicates the anger Hawaiians were feeling relative to the desecration of their islands, their culture, their beliefs and their lifestyle (Lewis 1984, 46). Indeed, discontent, anger and resentment also represent the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance.

While on Hawai'i Island, I had the opportunity to conduct an interview with Pua Case, a teacher and *kumu hula*, or *hula* master, who is actively involved in the *'A'ole* TMT Movement to protect Mauna Kea. During our talk, she explained to me that in the 1970s, Hawaiians "were just beginning to regroup, [to] re-understand [their] place" (Case, personal communication, September 30th, 2015). She described the context as being extremely challenging, charged with anger and resentment. In 1976, these emotions were channelled through an activism movement that sought to put an end to the American military's desecration of the island of Kaho'olawe. To Kānaka Maoli, Kaho'olawe is a *wahi pana* of cultural, environmental and spiritual significance. Culturally, Kaho'olawe is historically meaningful as it was used, around the thirteenth century, as the launching site for the *wa'a*, or double-hulled canoes, voyages to Tahiti. Furthermore, the island was home to a navigation school, which was used to train Hawaiians for their next *wa'a*

expedition (Aluli and Pōmaika'i McGregor 1992, 235). Environmentally, Kaho'olawe's geographical position granted Maui residents access to varied species of "fish, seaweed, […], and other forms of marine life [that Hawaiians used both for] subsistence and medicinal uses" (ibid.). Spiritually, the whole island of Kaho'olawe embodies great sacredness, as Hawaiians recognize the entirety of the island as a *wahi pana*. Traditionally, Kaho'olawe was named Kohemālamalama O Kanaloa, referring to the Hawaiian *akua* associated to the ocean and navigation, Kanaloa. In other words, Kaho'olawe is a *kino lau*, or bodily manifestation or representation, of the *akua* Kanaloa. The revival of Hawai'i's native language reconnected Hawaiians to traditional *oli* and oral histories that associate Kaho'olawe to the realm of the sacred and the *akua* Kanaloa (ibid., 236). Kaho'olawe is therefore viewed as a traditional learning center for young Hawaiian navigators, an environmental treasure ensuring agricultural sustainability for neighbouring residents, as well as an important spiritual sanctuary.

The destruction and desecration of Kaho'olawe for military use therefore generated a historically significant moment of groupness amongst Hawaiians. Social opposition against the military occupation of Kaho'olawe and the consequential desecration of the sacred island therefore acted as a moment of groupness as part of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance, embodying the enough-is-enough mentality of 1970s. Hawaiians organized their opposition to the military desecration of Kaho'olawe as geographically varied resistance units that ultimately allied to form an organized group called the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (PKO). The PKO's core commitment was to ensure the respect and viability of the principle of *aloha 'āina*. The actions of the PKO stand as an opposition to the *haole* appropriation of the term *aloha* and the branding of its essence by the tourism industry (Nohelani Teves 2015, 716). Indeed, while the tourism industry branded *aloha* as a means to commercialize Hawaiian culture, Hawaiian activists who

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were part of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance mobilized the authentic spirit of *aloha* to denounce and "challenge American hegemony [and] unsettle the articulation of aloha, [abused in the name of] tourism […]" (ibid., 716). The founding motto of the PKO also stood as a reminder of the constant and eternal connection that binds culture and nature in Hawaiian cosmology. *Aloha 'āina* sought to reassess the fragility of both elements, placing the existence and survival of culture on the wellbeing and sustainable development of the natural environment (ibid.).

The PKO was founded by *kua'āina*, who are Native Hawaiians who refuse to commit to the social system brought in by *haole* influences, including all the "modern" services associated to industrialization. They favour the "old ways" and are committed to protecting the *wahi pana* to which their *'ohana* have *kuleana*, a duty and responsibility to care for and protect (Pōmaika'i McGregor 2007, 5). The PKO was created in 1976 by Walter Ritte Jr. and George Helm, two Native Hawaiian activists and *kua' āina*. The PKO's principal objective was to put an end to the military use of Kaho'olawe and allow for the restoration of the cultural, environmental and spiritual sanctity of the island (Blackford 2004, 557). The movement's activists decided to occupy the island of Kaho'olawe as a means to protest and reclaim possession of the island. Their initiative was inspired by the actions of the American Indians in San Francisco, California, who had occupied the island of Alcatraz from 1969 to 1970 (ibid.). The strategy chosen by the PKO did not however produce unanimous support amongst the Native Hawaiian community. Some *kūpuna,* or elders, disapproved of the organization's actions, arguing that it did not represent Kānaka Maoli commitment to non-violence, love and respect (Kay-Trask 2000, 377). Kaho'olawe activists had difficulty keeping their calm and channelling their anger. The illegal occupation of the island did not generate strong support from non-Hawaiians at first. However, more local residents grew sympathetic to the Hawaiian cause in large part due to the

mediatisation of the issue. In the end, Kaho'olawe was formally recognized as historically and culturally significant, being added in 1993 to the National Register of Historic Places. Its jurisdiction was returned to the State of Hawai'i by an act of Congress one year later (Oshiro 1995, 94). The victory of the PKO is also largely due to the changing global context, which acted as an extraordinary moment of groupness, which allowed for the successful repatriation of Kaho'olawe into the hands of Hawaiians. Indeed, the mainland of the United States had just entered the Peace and Love years, characterized by a strong anti-military and anti-war discourse. The late 1970s also represent the burgeoning of a global environmental consciousness, arguing in favour of the rights of nature (Blackford 2004, 557-558). Moreover, the PKO's claims "branched out politically" with demands formulated by American Indians on the mainland of the United States and with other indigenous communities across the Pacific who were fighting against the production and use of nuclear energy on their territories. This Pacific alliance hence became an anti-nuclear and anti-military movement, which fostered the creation of a "pan-Pacific" identity. Hawaiians therefore refuted their attachment to the United States by refusing to be considered Native Americans, hence rather embracing their Polynesian heritage and identity (ibid., 558).

Love and Respect of the Land*: From the Philosophy of *aloha 'āina* to the Social Project

This renewed alliance and reawakening of Polynesian identity also triggered a revival in the practice of Polynesian voyaging. Aboard a traditionally crafted *wa'a* canoe, the crew of the *Hōkūle'a* embarked in 1976 on a non-instrumental expedition from the Hawaiian island of O'ahu to Tahiti (Feinberg 2005, 232). The *Hōkūle'a* was a project that embodied the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance and that represented the regionally widespread Polynesian cultural revival. The *Hōkūle'a* was crafted as a traditional *wa'a* canoe, using customary Hawaiian techniques. The

crew reached Tahiti using Hawaiian traditional knowledge, guided by astronomical observation and a study of the trajectory of migration birds as a means to locate shore (Finney 1994, 71). The *Hōkūle'a*'s success was a way to demonstrate to the world the legitimacy of Hawaiian traditional knowledge. The project of the *Hōkūle'a* is also associated to a shift in mentality at the end of the 1970s. While the period of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance was heavily charged with resentment from the native population, the *Hōkūle'a* was used in a positive and pro-active manner that sought to move away from the emotional upheaval that characterized the 1970s.

The canoe was however, at its commencement, charged with a powerful militant agenda. Indeed, some argued that the *Hōkūle'a* should not sail to Tahiti and should rather remain in Hawai'i as a symbol of Hawaiian political protest. The *Hōkūle'a* crew sought to use the canoe as to go beyond the ongoing climate of tension and to rather use Polynesian voyaging as way to represent the emerging sense of pride associated to being Hawaiian. The revival in Polynesian voyaging that characterizes the *Hōkūle'a* equates with the revival of the authentic knowledge and the practice of *aloha* and, most importantly, of *aloha 'āina*. To this day, the *Hōkūle'a* navigates the world's oceans, sharing Hawaiian traditional ecological knowledge and teaching about the importance of practicing environmental sustainability in the spirit of global environmental justice. Such an initiative takes part of the broader socio-cultural, political, and environmental educational movement that has become the Aloha 'Āina Project (Feinberg 2005, 232). The *Hōkūle'a* spreads the notion of *aloha* and *aloha 'āina* around the world to educate about love and respect one should have for others and for the environment. This shift in mentality, however, shall not be mistaken for weakness. While the battle for Kaho'olawe embodies the first chapter of the Hawaiian Renaissance and the rise of a warrior mentality, this attitude does not weaken as anger, frustration or resentment translate into principles of *aloha* and *aloha 'āina*. To the

contrary, the *Hōkūle'a* fuelled this renewed assertiveness of Hawaiian authentic cultural identity and allowed the Hawaiian cause to evolve in a graceful, powerful yet humble manner beyond the oppressive context of the 1970s (Finney 1994, 73). Such a transition into an elevated and pro-active form of protest is the force that granted Hawaiians today the necessary resources and momentum to orchestrate an extraordinary moment of groupness that characterizes the Hawaiian Spiritual Renaissance. The following chapter explains how the *'A'ole* TMT Movement emerged as a second significant moment of groupness of the Hawaiian Renaissance and how Hawaiians have mobilized to reassert the authenticity of their spirituality using their renewed connection to sacred sites.

3. A Discipline of Respect to Serve the Land: The Hawaiian Spiritual Renaissance

Aloha mai no, aloha aku; o ka huhū ka mea e ola ʻole ai
When love is given, love should be returned; anger is the thing that gives no life
[ʻŌlelo Noʻeau, 113]

MOVING TOWARDS A DISCIPLINE OF ALOHA: THE FORMATION OF GROUPNESS

Rising Consciousness: Idle No More Mauna Kea and the Birth of Modern Activism in Hawaiʻi

In 2012, issues relative to indigenous rights worldwide benefited from what started as a Canadian grassroots movement to denounce a policy put forward by the former government. Indeed, indigenous peoples of Canada have made the headlines worldwide by protesting Bill C-45, a piece of legislation proposed by the government of former Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper (Van Gelder 2013). Bill C-45 "[paved] the way for expansion of tar sands mining and [the] building of a pipeline […]" (ibid.) across the Canadian Prairies, all the way to the West Coast. This bill fundamentally jeopardized First Nations' rights to land and natural resources by proposing revisions to first, the Indian Act, second, the Navigation Protection Act, and third, the Environmental Assessment Act (Donald 2013, viii.). As explained by Dwayne Donald, Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta, such proposed amendments would have eased the process of leasing reserve lands. Furthermore, Bill C-45 encouraged to "[remove] the burden of responsibility for pipeline and power line corporations […] [and reduce] the environmental restrictions placed on industry development projects and expedite the approval process for such projects" (ibid.). This Conservative bill therefore raised serious concern not only from indigenous groups across the country and

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worldwide, but also from environmental and social justice advocates (Wotherspoon and Hansen 2013, 23). The bill acted as the straw that broke the camel's back for issues of indigenous rights in Canada. Four women from the province of Saskatchewan –three of them of indigenous descent- thus began to rally support to contest the bill within their community using social media (ibid.). Rapidly, their initiative became viral across various social media platforms, including Facebook, Instagram and Twitter, using the hashtags "IdleNoMore" and "INM" (ibid., 24). A movement was born: Idle No More. Idle No More is therefore a prime example of an exceptionally successful moment of groupness, which encouraged the formation of other local branches of indigenous and environmental social mobilization and activism. As mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, the *'A'ole* TMT activists used the Canadian indigenous and environmental movement's framework to gain momentum, mobilizing the hashtag "IdleNoMoreMaunaKea" on social media. Idle No More can therefore be considered as having established a favourable context for Hawaiians to mobilize and engage in what is now referred to as the Hawaiian Spiritual Renaissance. Indeed, the broadcasting of indigenous issues in Canada has put on the map discussions relative to the cultural and, more recently put forward, the spiritual connections that indigenous peoples have to their native land. Idle No More therefore paved the way for the revival of cultural and spiritual indigenous authenticities. This global movement has allowed Hawaiians to re-brand their cultural and spiritual identity using their connection to particular sacred sites across the islands as a way to reassess the authenticity of their nation as a place.

In this chapter, I demonstrate how the achievements secured during the Cultural Renaissance of the 1970s have helped Hawaiians move away from attitudes such as anger and resentment, towards a spiritual warrior mentality that is guided by a discipline of respect called

kapu aloha. In the following sections, I detail the spiritual knowledge and practices that have been revived in the past ten to twenty years and explain how the reawakening of such spiritual authenticity encouraged a reaffirmation of Kānaka Maoli ancestral connections to specific sacred sites across the islands. By introducing current examples of activism, I demonstrate how the reconnections to sacred sites, secured by the Spiritual Renaissance, is not only demonstrated by the *'A'ole* TMT Movement but is rather a larger-scale movement that attempts to secure the faith of all natural temples that find meaning in indigenous cultures and faiths. This chapter then concludes by discussing the concept of *aloha 'āina* and its role as a cultural and spiritual philosophy that has gradually and successfully been re-branded by active agents of the Hawaiian activism movement. Indeed, this dissertation comes to an end discussing how the Hawaiian Cultural and Spiritual Renaissance and the related re-branding initiatives, are in fact part of a local socio-cultural, political, and environmental education initiative called Aloha 'āina, copied after the philosophy of love and respect of the land that carries the same name.

REVIVING CONNECTIONS: THE HAWAIIAN SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE

The Practice of *Hula*, *Pule*, and *Oli*: The Short History of a Spiritual Reawakening

During my research stay on the Big Island of Hawai'i, I had the pleasure of discussing with Lanakila Mangauil, a Hawaiian studies teacher, prodigious *hula* dancer, and founder of the Hawaiian Cultural Center of Hāmākua, who is also deeply invested in the *'A'ole* TMT. He is an important active agent to the movement, being one of the Mauna Kea Protectors. Listening to Lanakila Mangauil helped me understand the rich complexities that make Hawaiian culture and history lush in meaning and complexities. During our discussion, he told me about his

relationship to *hula* and the role he believes it played, and continues to play, in the redefinition of Hawaiian identity and the reactivation of Hawaiian spirituality. According to him, *hula* embodies both Hawaiian cultural and spiritual authenticity. It is a portrait of Hawaiian identity that mirrors the knowledge and commitment of its practitioners (Mangauil, personal communication, September 17th, 2015). The authentic practice of *hula*, referred to as *hula kahiko*, had for long been appropriated and transformed by the tourism industry. *Hula kahiko* was therefore westernized and transformed into a "modern" form of *hula* called *hula 'auana*. The revival of the practice of *hula kahiko* is one concrete example of the reviving of Hawaiians' common cultural and spiritual authenticity (ibid.). Hawaiians have reconnected with the knowledge of the native Hawaiian language during the Cultural Renaissance both on a collective as well as on an individual level. This renewed relationship with the linguistic backbone of their culture enabled Hawaiians to reconnect with some important cultural traditions, including the singing of *oli*, which demands an understanding of the theoretical knowledge as well as the practical usage of the Hawaiian language. Such chants are at the core of the cultural and spiritual practices that are offered to the *mauna* today (ibid.). The traditional Hawaiian chants structure and guide the dancing of *hula* with purpose and meaning. According to Lanakila Mangauil, *hula* is the epitome of Hawaiian authenticity, "an image, […], a sound that makes [Hawaiians] unique to the world" (ibid.). With the recovering of Hawaiian cultural authenticity, Hawaiians now attempt to share the cultural wisdom and the traditional ecological knowledge they have reconnected with during these past few decades. With initiatives such as the *Hōkūle'a* canoe, Hawaiians are now sharing with the rest of the world the unique traditional knowledge of Hawai'i to demonstrate the connection that exists between people, culture, and land.

This broad educational initiative began well before Hawaiians mobilized to protect their sacred mountain. Indeed, the diverse advancements secured in areas including culture, environmental conservation, civil, religious, as well as indigenous rights during the last few decades, at the local as well as at the international level, contributed to appease the emotionally charged context that represented the Cultural Renaissance in Hawai'i. The victory of the PKO for Kaho'olawe and the successful voyage of the *Hōkūle'a* to Tahiti acted as stepping-stones to the reactivation of other key Hawaiian cultural instruments. With the formal recognition of the Hawaiian language as one of the two official languages of the State of Hawai'i in 1978 came the creation of the Hawaiian immersion schools (Kape'ahiokalani, Ah Nee Benham and Heck 1998, 200). The State recognized the need to revive and preserve the Hawaiian language as an essential means to ensure the survival of the Hawaiian culture. At the same time, the practice of *hula* was revitalized, thanks to the revival of numerous traditional *hula hālau,* or houses of hula instruction. The Cultural Renaissance was guided by a reconnection with the native language and literally came back to life through the means of the practice of Hawaiian art, including the singing of *oli*, the making of flower *lei* and the reconnection with *hula kahiko* (ibid., 183). The Hawaiian Cultural Revival, while reasserting Hawaiian core authenticity, is founded on a principle of openness and inclusion. While the English-only policy on education for public schools in Hawai'i was only lifted in 1986, the coinciding creation of Hawaiian immersion schools did not limit its access to students from Hawaiian ancestry, but opened its doors to all Hawai'i children who sought to learn about Hawaiian language, history, and culture. The immersion programs were rooted on the teaching of traditional Hawaiian knowledge and practice, imparted using hands-on experience (ibid., 200). Such a program, which still exists today, therefore seeks to achieve the same goal as the one put forward by cultural agents of the

Cultural as well as the current Spiritual Renaissance. Indeed, all these initiatives put forward authentic Hawaiian knowledge, beliefs, and practices by re-branding the identity of their culture in a principle of openness and inclusion. Hawaiian education, like Hawaiian activism, is inclusive and does not attempt to go back in pre-contact time, but rather seeks to revive certain authentic philosophies, principles, and practices that foster equality, respect, and sustainability for Hawai'i's culture, land, and people as an agent to groupness.

Education therefore had a lot to do with the shift of contextual attitude expressed by Hawaiians, from the anger of the Cultural Renaissance to the elevated consciousness of the Spiritual Renaissance. The reactivation and reappropriation of Hawaiian cultural instruments and social capital thus stimulated a reconnection with Hawaiian history, hence making Hawaii's youth aware of the injustices imposed on the Hawaiian people in the past and the impact these events still have on Hawai'i today. This reconnection to the past produced a cohort of well-educated and well-informed young Hawaiian scholars and professionals who became actively involved in giving back to their community. Their work has helped Hawaiians regain the rightful political, legal, and environmental justice they had been deprived of for so long (Kame'Elehiwa 2008, 66). For example, during the 1980s, law graduates in Hawai'i combined efforts to bring into court the abuse of Hawaiian trust lands in an attempt to give back the control of these areas to Hawaiians themselves (ibid.). This same issue evolved into a massive social protest to contest the political management of Hawai'i and put forward claims in favour of Hawaiian sovereignty. The mobilization hit a high point in 1993, on January 17th, or on the one hundredth anniversary of the illegal overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani's constitutional monarchy. This event marked, to my opinion, the precise transition into the Spiritual Renaissance. Indeed, the movement appeared more organized than in the previous years and demonstrated a clearer, more defined goal: an

agenda for sovereignty. Yet, the march on 'Iolani Palace in Honolulu reassembled hundreds of thousands of Hawaiians who, as the press releases, photos and videos of that period demonstrate, had clearly transitioned from a frustrated and angered stage into a politically mobilized action group uniting individuals who were protesting their desire for independence in a state of social and environmental consciousness. The political mobilization of that period kept Kaho'olawe in their minds but moved towards the discipline envisioned by the cultural heroes of the Renaissance.

While the activation, or re-activation, of a formal discipline of respect was only formally mobilized as part of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, the mentality of protesters in the mid 1990s clearly embodied the birth of the same principles of consciousness. Today, this discipline called *kapu aloha* stands as the watchword for the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. Mauna Kea Protectors' commitment to this philosophical principle and discipline, I argue, is the central element that allowed Hawaiians to transform the current framing contest into their advantage. Starting in the 1990s, Hawaiians have studied their history, their culture, and their spirituality as to become masters of their identity (Mangauil, personal communication, September 17th, 2015). The academic interest for Hawaiian political sovereignty and justice therefore further helped this transition into a *kapu aloha*-type of activism. The *oli*, the *hula*, and the *pule* Mauna Kea Protectors perform on the *mauna* as a sign of peaceful protest is the core strength of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. Like other social movements that have inspired Hawaiians to mobilize in *kapu aloha*, it is the activists' commitment to non-violence, as transmitted through the legacy of Martin Luther King Jr. and the Dalai Lama, that grants the actions of their movement acceptability and credibility (Case, personal communication, September 30th, 2015). Mauna Kea Protectors stand tall and proud in *kapu aloha* despite the hate speeches that portray them as an

archaic, ignorant, and anti-science people, and have maintained this elevated state of consciousness despite the arrests of their peers. For instance, eight women were arrested by agents of the Department of Land and Natural Resources of the State of Hawai'i on September 8th, 2015, while in a *pule* circle, or a circle of prayers. The protectors were arrested at around 1 a.m., or during the restricted hours as proclaimed by the Emergency Rule granted by the Board of Land and Natural Resources earlier that year (Lincoln 2015). While the protectors were interrupted during the practice of their culture and their spirituality, they remained respectful and understanding. They however asked questions regarding the legitimacy of their arrest, but continued to being devoted to acting with *aloha*, and refrained from physically protesting their arrest (ibid.).

IN THE SPIRIT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS: PHILOSOPHIES SUPPORTING HAWAIIAN AUTHENTICITY
Hawaiian ecological wellbeing: Defining the concepts of *mana*, *pono*, and *kuleana*

The relationship between nature and indigenous cultures has been subject to discussion in previous sections of this dissertation. However, an analysis of such a dynamic, as applied to the particularities of the Hawaiian context, has until now been only briefly mentioned. In the following section of this essay, I wish to introduce new elements relative to Hawaiian spirituality that demonstrate what motivated and continues to encourage Hawaiian activists to re-brand, first their cultural identity, and second their spiritual identity. In this section, I pay particular attention to the reasons guiding a revalorization and a reconnection with Hawai'i's sacred *wahi pana*. To the heart of this sacredness is the notion of energy and the dynamics that contribute to its production and sustenance. Such energy is enriched and perpetuated through the practice of

balanced and sustainable political, social, cultural, spiritual, and ecological conducts. This system of balance is, in turn, maintained because of a continued sense of duty and responsibility to care for and to protect the *'āina*. In the following section, I study more closely the concepts of *mana*, *pono*, and *kuleana* as a means to demonstrate the structure of the model of Hawaiian ecological wellbeing, and hence the determinant role of particular sacred sites in the reaffirmation of cultural and spiritual authenticity.

Qualitative ethnographic studies conducted in Hawai'i examined the relationship Hawaiians have to place. The conclusions of such researches revealed that Hawaiians' collective health and wellbeing is related to their sense of place in five major ways. First, Hawaiians have a "spiritual connection to their ancestral place". Second, Hawaiian health "relates to the past, [the] present and [the] future". Third, the connection between place and wellbeing is "experienced with intention and understanding". Fourth, Hawaiian health and wellbeing "means an openness to the flow of energy". And fifth, health and wellbeing are, to Hawaiians, a "*pu'uhonua*, or safe place" (Mailelauli'i Oneha 2001, 299). These findings highlight the interdependent relationship that unites the physical world and the spiritual world in the Hawaiian cosmological worldview. Such conclusions therefore demonstrate that the *'āina*, the *kānaka*, and the *akua*, or the land, the people, and the deities, have complementary roles in the maintenance of balance of the elemental forms that structure Hawaiian life, namely the land, the culture, and the spirituality.

These findings relate directly to the three concepts mentioned above, namely *mana*, *pono*, and *kuleana*. While I have glossed over these three concepts briefly in the previous chapters and sections of this thesis, I now seek to define them in an interactive manner. A discussion about the concept of *mana* is essential in this dissertation because the notion of "the sacred" is at the heart of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, as well as of other branches of the Idle No More Movement.

Indeed, *mana* can be briefly summarized as the flow of energy or spirit that emanates from something. *Mana* can be produced by objects, people, and, most interestingly in the context discussed in this dissertation, places (Naughton 2001, 35). Since *wahi pana* are dynamic storied places that are influenced by past events that have marked a particular site, the energy, or *mana*, that is associated to a given site is what makes a place sacred, or what defines it as a *wahi pana* of historic and cultural importance. I had the opportunity to discuss *mana* with Darde Gamayo, with whom I chatted, seated at her kitchen table in the middle of Waipi'o Valley. Darde told me about her first night down in the valley: "It was like […] there was something, I couldn't put my finger on it […]. People would say […] it's scary; there are ghosts down there. It's so powerful because there is *mana* here. You cannot tell me that you don't feel it, whether you believe it or not, call it whatever you want, but you're going to feel it" (Gamayo, personal communication, October 12th, 2015). She explained to me that *mana* is not synonymous for natural splendour, or beauty. *Mana* emanates from spirituality, because Waipi'o, like other sacred places on the islands like Mauna Kea, is historically, environmentally, and culturally a sacred place, a *wahi pana*.

Humans, by their actions in a given location, also act as contributing factors to the creation of *mana* in a particular site. Families develop particular connections to certain areas of the islands and perpetuate such relationships across generations (Pahio, personal communication, October 13th, 2015). Specific *wahi pana* can therefore be transformed into familial burial grounds, where the *iwi,* or bones of the ancestors, lie as a symbol of the ties that unite the dead to a place, to an *akua* or with its *kino lau* found in the natural environment of a specific place. The *iwi* therefore contribute to producing *mana*, and so do stones. Indeed, Hawaiians traditionally revere stones that are placed at defined locations because they are the topic of *mo'olelo*, or oral

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histories, that are passed down from generation to generation. They also respect their determined places because they "house *mana*" (Naughton 2001, 67). The original location of the *iwi* and stones are therefore of great importance because they carry *mana* but also because it ensures *pono*, or balance within these places. Preserving mana through spirituality and the practice of reverence therefore encourages balanced and rightful actions that seek to maintain the relationship that unites the *'āina*, the *kānaka* and the *akua* (Mailelauli'i Oneha 2001, 300).

Pono is also directly related to the actions of *mālama*, or to care for, particular *wahi pana*. During my interviews with Hawaiians and Hawai'i Nationals, I noticed that many of them identified to one particular site on the island, most generally based on family ties to this place. The two places that were mentioned on more than one occasion were Mauna Kea and Waipi'o Valley. For certain individuals, places such as Mauna Kea and Waipi'o Valley stand as living legacies of their descendants, to which they have a *kuleana*, a deep sense of connection and responsibility to sustain, protect, and care for (Pahio, personal communication, October 13th, 2015). They explained to me that a family can have a *kuleana* to one particular *wahi pana*, while simultaneously endorsing the more general concept of *aloha 'āina*. This bond signifies that some individuals and families are actually "part of [a] place" (Mailelauli'i Oneha 2001, 309). Hawaiians therefore have a *kuleana* to maintain a state of *pono* for the sacred sites for which they have a deep connection, a responsibility. They receive this *kuleana* through their descendance, since the *'āina* is genealogically their *kūpuna*, a member of their family. Their *kuleana* to care for the land or a particular site therefore acts as the legacy of their ancestors (ibid., 310). Such notions regarding the energetic charge of particular sites in Hawai'i, the deep sense of responsibility Hawaiians have to maintain a state of *pono* for their history, their culture, their spirituality, and the ecological wellbeing of their island directly relates to the founding

principles that are at the core of the claims formulated by the *'A'ole* TMT Movement activists. Indeed, going back to the notion of *pono*, in circumstances where the state of *pono* has been compromised or damaged, Hawaiians believe it is their duty to *ho'oponopono*, or to make things right. It is in this philosophy that Mauna Kea Protectors say no to a fourteenth physical desecration of their sacred mountain in the form of a giant telescope. They mobilize today to reestablish the sanctity and balance of the *mauna*. This sanctity comes from a cautious and detailed system of cultural, spiritual, and ecological knowledge passed down from generation to generation by Hawaiian *kūpuna*.

In The Realm of the Deities: Spiritual Motives to End the Desecration of Mauna Kea

According to Hawaiian *mo'olelo,* Mauna a Wākea is the mountain of Wākea, the Sky Father. The summit of the *mauna* is therefore in *wao akua*, or in the realm of the deities, in the realm of the sacred. Its peak is considered one of the most sacred sites in all of Hawai'i, as it is the *piko*, or umbilical cord, of Hawai'i. It is the energetic medium from the *wao akua* to the *wao kānaka*, or the realm of the people (Flores, personal Notes, September 29th, 2015). On the night of September 29th, 2015, I attended a public meeting held in Waimea, on Hawai'i Island. It was a presentation given by Mauna Kea Protectors and the purpose of the evening was to present their view, not to argue about the issue of the TMT. Kalani Flores, Pua Case's husband and teacher of Hawaiian studies at Hawai'i Community College, then explained that Mauna a Wākea, as a *piko*, produces a "vortex of energy" that is then spread across the island and that contributes to nourishing life on all the land on Hawai'i Island, all the way into the ocean (ibid.). Such a concept is illustrated as part of the *Mele* Murals Project, an island-wide initiative that

reassembles Hawaiian artists as well as high-school students. This project seeks to represent particular facets of Hawaiian history, culture, and cosmology in the art form of painted murals.

© Mélodie Lirette, 2015. Representing Mauna Kea as a *piko*. *Mele* Murals Project, Waimea, Hawai'i Island.

Such murals are hence the artistic representation of the cultural and spiritual re-branding initiatives that are carried through the philosophy and social project that is *Aloha 'Āina*. The *Mele* Murals Project reached the community of Waimea in 2014. The students from *Kanu O Ka 'Āina*, a Hawaiian Charter school in the town of Waimea, were put in charge of choosing the *mele* that would embody the essence of the mural. One of the chosen *mele* was *Nā Pu'u Kaulana o Waimea*, composed by Emalani Case, part of the Case *'Ohana* of Waimea. Her *mele* highlights the connection and sense of place she has for Waimea ('Ōiwi TV 2014). The chosen *mele* were

then portrayed on three walls in the center of town, which are the property of the Kahilu Theater, an establishment that is committed to giving Hawaiian artists a platform to express their art. During the unveiling ceremony, students sang in front of their *'ohana* and members of the Waimea community. The ceremony was caught on tape by *'Ōiwi TV*, a film and documentary news platform that is committed to sharing content that represents the Hawaiian perspective on issues related to the environment, culture, and politics. In the footage from 2014, I noticed in the background that the Waimea *keiki*, or children, were singing a chant that I recognized from the night of September 29th, 2015.

The presentation held in Waimea began with traditional *pule* chanted by Kalani Flores and followed with the singing of an *oli* that, as Pua Case mentioned, is sung daily by Mauna Kea Protectors who stand on the *mauna*. The *mele* was adapted from *He Lei No Emmalani*, the Chants for Hawai'i's Queen Emma Kaleleonālani, who ruled Hawai'i alongside her husband Kamehameha IV from 1836 until 1885 and who is remembered for her considerable humanitarian legacy (Kanahele 1999, 375-379). It was originally adapted for the launch of the *Hōkūle'a* and *Hikianalia*, its sister canoe, back in 2013 (Birnie 2013). The underlying meaning of the text uncovers and celebrates the *lōkahi*, the cooperation that unites the people of Hawai'i Island, who share a history, a culture, and a land.

Mālana mai Ka'ū, me Puna, me Hilo
Hele mai Kona, me Kohala, me Hāmākua
He Ka'ele 'o Waipi'o, he pola 'o Mahiki

He uka 'o Waimea, he awa Kawaihae
He kupe no ka wa'a o Poli'ahu
He paia Mauna a Wākea i luna

Pa'a kauhiwi i ke ali'i ka wa'a

Ohohia i ka hana'ana eku … e

Buoyant comes Ka'ū and Puna and Hilo
Traveling from Kona, Kohala, Hāmākua
Waipi'o is a hollow like a hull, Mahiki, flat like a platform

Waimea is a highland, Kawaihae, a harbor
An end piece for the canoe is Poli'ahu
Mauna Kea, there above, is the sealant for the wood

The forest is secured by the chief who cuts down the canoe

Rejoicing at the activity

[*He Lei No Emmalani*, 268].

The lyrics to this song call on to every region of Hawai'i Island as having their own environmental or geographical function. I found this link to have significant importance in explaining the implication, or the broadness, of the underlying principles supporting the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, and more generally, the *Aloha 'Āina* project. So far, this dissertation has identified numerous moments and events that have allowed for the reactivation of key cultural and spiritual knowledge and practices, such as the Polynesian Voyage of the *Hōkūlea*, the revival of traditional *hula hālau*, the *Mele* Murals Project, etc. All these elements, in the vocabulary of this thesis, have been re-branded by cultural agents and cultural practitioners in an attempt to re-define Hawaiian authenticity.

According to Lanakila Mangauil, this quest towards authenticity has a lot to do with education. The creation of Hawaiian immersion programs and Charter schools helped produce a generation of Hawaiians who grew up knowledgeable about their history, who came to master their culture, who became invested in their beliefs and who developed a deep connection to their natural environment. Without the historical buildup in events that have encouraged the Cultural and the Spiritual Renaissance and the successful re-branding of the Hawaiian identity or character, or more concisely of "Hawaiianness", the reaffirmation of Hawaiian authenticity would not have been possible. Consequently, the mobilization of such place authenticity as a political tool could not have been as successful at protecting Hawaiian sacred site, in the name of culture and spirituality.

Lanakila Mangauil mentioned this connectedness between education and socio-political mobilization during his interview with me and during the meeting of September 29th, 2015. He

demonstrated that his knowledge of Hawaiian history, culture, spirituality, and ecology is what allows him to demonstrate the fundamental functionality of Hawaiian spiritual beliefs, deities, and oral histories. He mobilized such knowledge to demonstrate to non-Hawaiians and to individuals who are foreign to the Hawaiian cosmology that the cultural and sacred functions of Mauna Kea are essentially ecological. He translated the sacred in secular terms, in a manner that explained both the spiritual and environmental connection that secure Hawaiian collective health and wellbeing.

Ecology of a Sacred Mountain: A Spiritual Structure of Sustainable Development in Hawai'i

The first thing I noted from Lanakila Mangauil's discussion with me and from his speech in Waimea was the fundamental practicality of the Hawaiian culture and spirituality. He argued that all the *akua* that are acknowledged and revered in Hawaiian spirituality are in fact the representation, or product, of rigorous observations made by the Hawaiian *kūpuna*, or elders, based on their interpretation, notes, and understanding of the interactive dynamics of natural phenomena. Such observations, going back 2000 years, is the most valuable form of traditional ecological knowledge that have been passed down from generation to generation of Hawaiians. He gave one example that is highly relevant to understanding the extensive value of Hawaiian traditional ecological knowledge. He named a few of the *akua* who are present on the *mauna*: Mo'oianea, Poli'ahu, Waiau, and Lihau. Mo'oianea is the guardian spirit of the *mauna* and the mother of all *mo'o akua*, which are half-human, half-lizard figures who live in the lakes and streams of Hawai'i. Poli'ahu is the *akua* of the snow that appears during the winter season on the top of the *mauna*. Waiau is the sacred lake that is located on the *mauna* and Lihau is the embodiment of the frost that is formed on Lake Waiau during the cold season. Lanakila

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highlighted that all these *akua* are connected to one another because they all relate to water or represent water in one form or another. He said: "These *akua* are the observation of our *kūpuna*, observing the hydrology of Mauna Kea. And the stories of how they move in all these different forms, that's how our *kūpuna* interpreted these things" (Mangauil, personal notes, September 29th, 2015).

Lanakila Mangauil's example demonstrates the environmental logic that guides Hawaiian spirituality. During the same conference, Kalani Flores' discussion about *wao kānaka* and *wao akua* highlighted that the realm of the deities is determined by its elevation, its protective altitude. The *wao akua* is sacred because it is exclusive and precious, because what we find on top of the *mauna* is rare, fragile, and delicate (Flores, personal Notes, September 29th, 2015). The fact that Mauna Kea is the highest peak of the Pacific implies that the species that compose its ecosystem are extremely singular and exclusive to that place and depends on the existence and preservation of the multiple individual microclimates that can be found on the *mauna*. Like Lanakila Mangauil stressed, what grows on the *mauna*'s summit cannot hope to survive anywhere else (Mangauil, personal notes, September 29th, 2015). The oral traditions, or *mo'olelo*, passed down from generation to generation in Hawai'i are therefore environmental observations that were translated into oral histories that compose the Hawaiian traditional ecological knowledge that is still valuable today. These lessons teach about the particularities and needs of certain mountains, falls, volcanoes, streams, and *pu'u*, or hills, across Hawai'i. This demonstrates clearly how environment, beliefs, and culture are fundamentally interconnected in Hawaiian culture, like it is the case in most indigenous cultures. Lanakila Mangauil concluded his contribution to the evening of September 29th, 2015 by saying: "Our beliefs of the mountain are the scientific facts of the mountain" (ibid.).

Education has therefore a lot to do with motivating the rise of a social movement to protest the construction of the giant telescope on Mauna Kea. Indeed, this reconnection, and later revival, of the cultural and spiritual authenticity of their Hawaiian identity, represented more clearly by the re-branding of their traditional ecological knowledge, allowed Hawaiians to reassess the value and importance of their *'āina* using the stories of their place as a re-branding tool. The cultural advancements secured in the 1970s and the repercussions of such events on the Hawaiian people, consequently stimulated the rise of a spiritual and environmental consciousness, which is today mobilized in the form of *kapu aloha*. This reconnection with Hawaiian culture and spirituality, and more recently with Hawaiian traditional ecological knowledge, is what set the stage to the formation of the social mobilization that is the *'A'ole* TMT Movement.

RISING IN CONSCIOUSNESS: TIMELINE AND IDEAS OF THE SPIRITUAL RENAISSANCE

To the Stars and Beyond: Mauna Kea's Astronomical Politics

Mauna Kea volcano was chosen as the site of predilection for the future giant telescope named the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT). On its own webpage, the Thirty Meter Telescope Corporation explains its foundation, goals, and purpose. The TMT Corporation was created back in 2003 and was composed of leading universities involved in astronomical research; namely the Association of Canadian Universities for Research in Astronomy (ACURA), the University of California (UC), and the California Institute of Technology (Caltech) (TMT Corporation 2016). Technically speaking, the TMT is a novel type of telescope that, by design, demands taller and larger installations than were necessary for the previous technology of telescopes. This new

genre of telescope was design to enable researchers to study the dynamics of star development in our galaxy and those at proximity. The technical characteristics of the TMT would use "adaptive optics to achieve diffraction-limited imaging and unprecedented light-gathering power" (ibid.). Mauna Kea was hence deemed the most suitable site for the location of the future TMT in the northern hemisphere, due to its desirable elevation and exceptional isolation from light pollution. The TMT Corporation then developed a partnership with the University of Hawai'i at Hilo (UHH). Sponsors to the TMT Project then filed a Conservation District Use Application (CDUA) in 2010 in order to receive permission to lease Mauna Kea lands and receive the permit necessary to initiate the construction. In February of that year, the Board of Land and Natural Resources of the State of Hawai'i (BLNR) granted UHH and the TMT Corporation a CDUA, given that they would hold a contested case hearing on the issue. In March, the Mauna Kea *Hui*, or Union for Mauna Kea, composed of *Kumu hula* Paul Neves, *Kumu hula* Pua Case and Kalani Flores as part of the Flores-Case *'Ohana*, Clarence Kauakahi Ching, Kealoha Pisciotta, and the Hawaiian environmental alliance, KAHEA, filed a petition for the holding of a contested case hearing on the issue of the TMT and the granting of a CDUA to UHH (KAHEA 2015). The BLNR heard testimonies regarding the granting of a Conservation District Use Permit (CDUP) during the following two years and ultimately decided to grant the CDUP for the TMT project, hence giving permission to UHH to lease Mauna Kea lands and build the TMT on Mauna Kea. Members of the Mauna Kea *Hui* filed an appeal on that decision in May 2013, or one month after the granting of the CDUP (ibid.).

Despite the Mauna Kea *Hui*'s effort to block the telescope project in court, the construction of the TMT could not, at first, be stopped using legal proceedings (ibid.). Indeed, it was rather Mauna Kea Protectors' social mobilization and protest action that effectively and

rapidly prevented the timely commencement of the project. It is by the means of a human

blockade on Mauna Kea Access Road on the date upon which construction was planned to start,

on April 2nd, 2015, that the TMT construction was formally halted (ibid.). 31 protectors were

arrested during this social disturbance, which resulted in State Governor David Ige demanding a

weeklong construction delay. This delay was continued until June of 2015. On the day the

construction was expected to resume, more than seven hundred protectors blocked access to the

mauna to the construction crew (ibid.). The TMT project was therefore suspended until the

Hawai'i Supreme Court rendered its decision for the appeal filed by the Mauna Kea *Hui*,

contesting the CDUP granted to UHH by the BLNR. Petitioners to the contested case hearing

opposed the legitimacy of the permit, which was granted before hearing the totality of the

testimonies promised under the CDUA, back in 2010. It remained suspended until December 3rd,

2015, when the State Supreme Court rendered its decision. The Court then formally invalidated

the CDUP issued by the BLNR and hence revoked UHH's right to lease Mauna Kea lands until

further notice (Sinco Kelleher 2015). The TMT project, with Mauna Kea as its location, is then,

to this date in August 2016, indefinitely suspended (PTI 2016).

To this date, the TMT Corporation, which benefits from the support and funding of

several national governments including Canada, China, Japan, and India, is now seriously

considering other locations as alternative sites to host the giant telescope. Chile was considered

as a possible favourable location for the TMT, however Ladakh, located in the Indian mountains,

appears to be the new favoured alternative site for the project to come to life. While the legal

action undertook by the Mauna Kea *Hui* paid off in the end, the protests voiced by Mauna Kea

Protectors and the allies to the *'A'ole* TMT Movement have undeniably significantly contributed

to shifting the course of events in their favour. Such a shift is attributable to the attitude of

elevated consciousness that *'A'ole* TMT protesters continuously uphold since the beginning of the protest movement. The commitment of Mauna Kea Protectors to embody the principle of *kapu aloha* at all times indeed served the *mauna* but also considerably reinforced the project and philosophy of *aloha 'āina*. The *'A'ole* TMT Movement unites committed individuals who, together, form a group of spiritual warriors who rise in consciousness to defend their most sacred temple and the larger-scale social project that is A*loha 'Āina*. Such a collective social initiative, represented by intense solidarity and cooperation, is therefore a very successful moment of groupness that encourages a return to place authenticity across the Hawaiian Islands.

Spiritual Warriors Rising: Defining the Discipline of *Kapu Aloha*

The re-branding of the concept of *aloha* during the Cultural Renaissance allowed Hawaiians to reconnect with its principles, its implications and its underlying meaning. The transition from the Cultural into the Spiritual Renaissance was most significantly characterized by a shift in mentality, embodied within the philosophy of *kapu aloha*. This philosophical principle equates to a discipline of respect. Hale Makua was a Hawaiian spiritual shaman and *kūpuna* who is renowned across Polynesia for his words of wisdom and philosophy of life. He is credited as the source of the revival of the discipline of *kapu aloha*. He argued that Hawaiians are "spiritual warriors" who ought to structure and guide their actions based on three behavioural constraints, or *kapu*, which are deemed sacred (Wesselman 2001, 48). These three *kapu* seek to produce actions that embody the greatest of *aloha* at all times. According to Hale Makua, the three sacred *kapu* are first, to "love all that you see –with humility", second to "live all that you feel –with reverence", and third to "know all that you possess –with discipline" (ibid., 48-49).

According to the principles of *kapu aloha,* notions of humbleness, respect, and diligence therefore ought to command the behaviour of every Hawaiian spiritual warrior.

Kapu aloha, as a behavioural discipline, is what structures and guides Mauna Kea Protectors' actions. Indeed, during my interview with Pua Case, she shared with me how the *'A'ole* TMT Movement had come to life. She explained that, at the origin, the opponents to the construction of the TMT on Mauna Kea were comprised of six individuals, namely the Mauna Kea *Hui*, who filed petitions for the contested case hearing in March of 2011 (Case, personal communication, September 30th, 2015; KAHEA 2015). Together, they consented to, individually as well as collectively, represent Mauna a Wākea and pose action that would serve solely the interest of the *mauna*. They agreed to live their lives "with the temple of the *mauna* with [themselves] at all times" (Case, personal communication, September 30th, 2015). She stressed that, while Hawaiians in the 1970s were filled with anger, which blurred their capacity to engage in conscious action, their dedication to the present movement for the *mauna* could not be filled with the same resentment since, as opposed to the context of the Cultural Renaissance, "the *mauna* is not angry" (ibid.). In 2011, the small group of pioneers that composed the Mauna Kea *Hui* agreed to pose actions, express beliefs, and manifest opposition in a constant elevated state of consciousness that continuously breathes the principles of *kapu aloha*. Embodying this discipline of respect is required of any individual who seeks to participate to the *'A'ole* TMT Movement and who wishes to come to the defence of Mauna Kea in order to stop any further desecration of its cultural, spiritual, or environmental sanctity. Representing the *mauna* requires an understanding of the principle and a commitment to the practice of *kapu aloha*. *Kapu aloha* not only gives structure to the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, but it also grants it a privileged legitimacy (ibid.).

Interestingly, while Pua Case described the climate during the Cultural Renaissance as resentful, she stressed that the active agents to the Renaissance, those we could recognize as key figures of the cultural revival, did not seem to express this same anger. She reminisced during our discussion on how her vision of these cultural heroes is different today than it was in the 1970s. Today, she now views their message and their actions as embodying great consciousness (ibid.). The element that is different from the Cultural Renaissance, as compared to the current Spiritual Renaissance, is therefore the allies, the activists who supported individuals such as George Helm and Walter Ritte Jr. During the 1970s, Hawaiians, for the most part, as opposed to these emblematic figures, were not in this same state of consciousness. For some, like Pua Case, this has to do with timing. During the Cultural Renaissance, "it was the time […]" to be mad, to be frustrated and to be resentful (ibid.). Now, it is the time to forgive and move on to protect what is currently threatened, and endangered. It is time to rise in spiritual consciousness, in *kapu aloha*, and in unity to restore the sanctity of Hawaiian *wahi pana* as well as all natural sacred sites. Now is the time to stand up with all indigenous cultures to defend the earth's natural temples, which they have historically preserved as sacred through a conscious and intelligent set of local traditional ecological knowledge passed down to the present generation.

IDLE NO MORE AND THE FORMATION OF GROUPNESS: UNITY BEYOND MAUNA KEA

Idle No More Mauna Kea: Examining the Hawaiian Framing Contest

Local as well as international media portray Mauna Kea Protectors' activism as the main reason why the project of the TMT on Mauna Kea had to be suspended. While some news media celebrate the victory of human and environmental rights over economic, political, and academic

instances, others blame *'A'ole* TMT activists for limiting scientific advancement in the name of mystical beliefs. The State Supreme Court's decision to indefinitely suspend the CDUP necessary to allow construction on Mauna Kea is nevertheless one major victory, which Mauna Kea Protectors acknowledge and celebrate. Yet, the movement did not stop there. The movement keeps on going and comes to the defence of all natural sacred temples, in support of all indigenous peoples worldwide. The way the issue was portrayed and framed in the media, on the islands but also on the mainland, was that Native Hawaiian beliefs opposed the advancement of science. This idea demonstrates the work that needs to be done insofar as religious and cultural freedom goes, most particularly regarding indigenous rights to practice their culture and spirituality.

During my interview with Lanakila Mangauil, he told me that they were against the building of another telescope on their sacred mountain because it was another physical aggression, another physical desecration of their *mauna*. The fact that it was a telescope and not an arena, a hotel, or a football court had nothing to do with their protest. They are against the physical desecration of their sacred *mauna*, not against astronomy (Mangauil, Personal communication, September 17th, 2015). They oppose the proposed location for the TMT, not to the telescope project per se. Lanakila Mangauil added: "Mauna a Wākea is extremely sacred in its naturality because it is connected to elements that require our absence in order [remain] pure and keep life flowing" (ibid.). As Pua Case has argued both during my interview with her and during other talks she has given to other newspapers and local organizations, the *'A'ole* TMT Movement, while having as a priority to prevent any further desecration of Mauna Kea, stands to bring all peoples together to protect and defend indigenous peoples' cultures, lifestyles, beliefs, and sacred sites (Bauknight 2015). This objective aligns with the values that, according to

Haunani-Kay Trask, support Hawaiian social capital. Indeed, Hawaiian activists once again put the principle of *lōkahi* forward in an attempt to call for unity. The movement calls for *lōkahi* not only amongst members of the *lāhui*, or nation, but to unite every person who endorses indigenous peoples' right to practice their culture and spirituality and supports their connection to their native lands. Additionally, the broad movement that is Idle No More mobilizes the notion of *'ohana*, rallying together a community of individuals who are fighting to preserve the integrity of their sacred sites, in a pursuit to ensure the vital sustainability of their land, in a quest towards *aloha 'āina* (Trask 2000, 375-376). Idle No More can be viewed as the most recent event that favoured the formation of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement as an activism force. Yet, as it has been discussed in the second and third chapters of this thesis, the dynamics of groupness have come from numerous and diverse sources since the end of the 1960s. The buildup in events, coming all the way from the continental United States, hence contributed to crafting a social movement firmly rooted on Hawaiian authenticity, secured by a successful re-branding of Hawaiian cultural and spiritual attributes.

Threatened Sacred Sites: Examples of Current Re-branding Initiatives in Hawai'i

During the 1970s, Hawaiians reconnected with their culture and engaged in the practice and the teaching of its foundation by re-branding its very core. Today, Hawaiians and Hawai'i Nationals are reconnecting with their beliefs. They are now reasserting the sacredness of Hawai'i's *wahi pana* by mobilizing the history and *mana* of the island's most revered places. Mauna Kea is the most well-known example of such an initiative. Yet, other grassroots mobilizations seem currently to be using the same contextual momentum, which was broadened by the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. For instance, residents from the Big Island, most particularly

residents in the Hāmākua District, have expressed their concern regarding the selling of the 547 acres of land in Waipi'o Valley, which has been for decades the property of Bishop Museum, located in Honolulu on the island of O'ahu (Stewart and Milldrum 2016). The museum leases Waipi'o lands, worth a total of 10 million dollars, to families of Hawaiians from generation to generation, who, for the most part, choose to endorse a lifestyle that shares some resemblance with the one preferred by *kua'āina*. Most residents choose to live an off-the-grid lifestyle, growing *kalo*, or taro, caring for their family lands, and limiting their dependency on capitalist consumerism. The announce of the selling of Waipi'o Valley's lands produced great uncertainty regarding the faith of Waipi'o's sanctity. A historic *wahi pana* of great importance to Hawaiians, Waipi'o Valley's future worries local residents and supporters, who fear their sacred site could be transformed into a sanctuary for luxurious houses or an attraction spot of some sort (ibid.). The announce of the future sell of Waipi'o land generated a rapid buzz on social media.

© Mélodie Lirette, 2015. Taro Patch in Waipi'o Valley, Hawai'i Island.

The same Hawaiian spiritual philosophies that were put forward as part of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement were mobilized as a way to denounce the potential desecration of Waipi'o Valley. Indeed, *aloha 'āina* is at the heart of the issue of the possible sell and transformation of Waipi'o Valley. Residents of the Valley, as well as other Hawai'i Island residents who have a connection to this *wahi pana*, have expressed their commitment to preserving the sanctity of the Valley, sharing the expression *Ku Kia'i Waipi'o,* which is also mobilized as part of the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. Mauna Kea Protectors used the expression *Ku Kia'i Mauna* as a way to publicly express their commitment to preserving the sacredness of Mauna Kea. Now Hawaiians and allies use the same notion to claim their responsibility for the guardianship of the Valley.

Another current example of grassroots mobilization to preserve Hawaiian *wahi pana* is happening near Mauna Kea, most precisely on the sacred lands and American military base of Pohakuloa. Pohakuloa is located in the middle of the Big Island, between Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea volcanoes. It is considered sacred by many Hawaiians who share family ties to this site. Some have ancestors who have built *heiau,* or sacred shrines, across Pohakuloa lands. However, this vast region has been used since World War II as a training area, where the American military can test and practice new techniques (Occupy Hawai'i 2014). Like Kaho'olawe, the natural environment of Pohakuloa has intensely suffered from the continued bombing of its soil. Every year, during the months of June and July, the military training of the Rim of the Pacific Exercise, or RIMPAC, congregates at Pohakuloa. This annual warfare exercise reassembles 22 countries of the Pacific region and further contributes to the desecration of Pohakuloa (Kamaka Koi 2015). One important concern regarding the abuse of Pohakuloa land has to do with the past usage of depleted uranium in the fabrication of warfare material. Studies have revealed the presence of residue of this hazardous radiation in Pohakuloa soil. The constant bombing of the region therefore encourages this toxic waste to produce dust that comes from a potentially contaminated ground. When the dust is elevated into the air, the downwind then sends this earthy powder down to the Kona area, the most populous area on the island (ibid.). The issue of Pohakuloa therefore poses cultural and spiritual threats to Hawaiians, but also environmental and health risks to the local population, residents of the Kona area as well as the military personnel who works on this ground. Like to denounce the sell of Waipi'o Valley and the construction of the TMT on Mauna Kea, Hawaiians have organized social protests by mobilizing the authentic sacredness of Pohakuloa as part of Hawaiian culture and cosmology in order to demand change to the current management of their sacred site. The concept of *aloha 'āina* is once more at the heart of the

protests, defending both Hawaiian sacred lands and environmental sustainability for the region by denouncing the use of nuclear radiations on Hawaiian land (Carillo 2013). The *'A'ole* slogan has been mobilized to come to the rescue of Pohakuloa, being posted on social media and used during sign waving sessions as *'A'ole* RIMPAC.

GLOBAL VOICES OF INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

Music for Environmental Consciousness

The popular song *We Are (Mauna Kea)* from the Hawaiian hip hop group *Sudden Rush, Nation on the Rise* exemplifies such connections between the aforementioned simultaneous fights to preserve Hawaiian *wahi pana*. In this song, the group gives its support to Mauna Kea Protectors, singing: "We are Mauna Kea". They use music as a platform to represent other Hawaiian sites that are culturally, environmentally, and spiritually threatened. In the song, they rap: "We are Mauna Kea, we are Pu'ukoholā, we are Kaho'olawe, we are Pohakuloa […]". With this song, they also demonstrate the allegiance and connection that binds Hawaiians to the land and call for warriors to rise in *kapu aloha* to defend their sacred sites and to care for the natural environment and the earth. *Sudden Rush, Nation on the Rise* sing their commitment to indigenous peoples, cultures, places, beliefs, and lifestyles. Their music calls for the importance of maintaining and strengthening community ties amongst all peoples of the land, across Polynesia and worldwide. Such voices are however not limited to artists from the Hawaiian Islands. Indeed, as mentioned previously, songwriter, singer, and musician Nahko Bear and his group *Nahko and Medicine for the People* contribute to the same movement but with larger, more geographically-wide roots. Artists such as Xavier Rudd, Trevor Hall, and Michael Franti

are also known for their contribution to indigenous and environmental issues and often collaborate together during live shows as well as albums. For instance, Xavier Rudd and Trevor Hall sing alongside Nahko Bear on *Nahko Bear and Medicine for The People*'s newest album *Hoka* on the track "The Wolves Have Returned", which calls for the importance of brotherhood and global cooperation as backbone for global social and environmental justice.

Conclusion

The *'A'ole* TMT Movement's creation can be associated to the contextual factors and heritage of two significant moments in pan-continental history, namely the Civil Rights Movement, and the Idle No More Movement. The events that have followed the awakening of such social mobilization on the continental United States during the 1960s and in Canada in the early 2010s can be viewed as having paved the way for the formation of productive dynamics of groupness, hence facilitating the emergence of the Hawaiian social mobilization that is the *'A'ole* TMT Movement. These moments of groupness, altogether, have allowed for the successful re-branding of significant cultural and spiritual attributes that characterize the Hawaiian identity, or Hawaiianness. The reactivation of Hawaiian cultural attributes, such as the revival of the Hawaiian language and the renewed practice of *oli* and *hula kahiko*, and of Hawaiian spiritual attributes, such as the revival of Hawaiian *mo'olelo* and oral histories, therefore allowed Hawaiians to re-understand their sense of place and the connections that unite them to certain sites. Throughout this long and complex cultural and spiritual re-branding, Hawaiians have come to reassess the authenticity of their nation as a place, as a land that supports not only the survival of their people, but also of the existence of their culture and their beliefs.

The force that emanates from the current activist movement in Hawai'i is not specific to the Pacific region but takes part in a larger-scale indigenous mobilization to engage in a quest towards global social and environmental justice. The Hawaiian philosophy and project *Aloha 'Āina* is an example of such an endeavour. Educating the global nation as to understand the natural environment as being intrinsically linked to the survival and wellbeing of the people who depend on it takes part of the agenda defended by indigenous and environmental activists. The

active agents to the movement, including Mauna Kea Protectors such as Pua Case and Lanakila Managuil, as well as artists such as Nahko Bear, Xavier Rudd and Trevor Hall, and allies to this global movement therefore contribute differently to a movement that is fundamentally global. The revival of the authenticity of the world's sacred sites, as determined by indigenous cosmology, culture, and beliefs, is therefore a matter that relates to fundamental human rights, social and environmental justice, and sustainability. The *'A'ole* TMT Movement is a local initiative that demonstrates the power of local active agents who, by re-branding their identity through the revival of the knowledge and practice of their culture and spirituality, managed to re-evaluate their personal and collective connection to Hawai'i's culturally, spiritually, and environmentally significant sacred sites, to reassess the authenticity of their place as a people, a culture, and a unique nation.

SUMMARY OF THE CONTRIBUTION AND FUTURE DISCUSSIONS

This research is innovative mainly because it discusses a current issue and because it mobilizes the concept of branding, which has only recently been applied to social sciences. Furthermore, this research dares discussing the concept of branding, or place branding, as put in relation with the literature on social movements and collective memory. Such a connection demonstrated the strong relationship that unites notions of identity, memory, and place, particularly within indigenous societies. Most interestingly, the mobilization of concepts originating from various and distinct literature domains showed the interesting potential of interdisciplinary research in a field such as political science. This thesis utilizes concepts such as groupness, branding, framing, and *lieux de mémoire*, encompassing theories and concepts from the disciplines of sociology, history, political science, marketing, communication, and

anthropology. Such interdisciplinarity in academia was, to my opinion, necessary in order to study, analyze, and include the Hawaiian example as a significant case study to this research. Indeed, this research demonstrates originality as it includes notions, ideas, and concepts that derive from the Hawaiian culture and spirituality while discussed in the context of a political science research.

Furthermore, this dissertation demonstrates that, while exemplified using the Hawaiian context, the current social mobilization under way is not limited to the local works of Hawaiian activists, but is rather part of a wider indigenous and environmental movement. The analysis of the Hawaiian case raises interesting questions regarding the way other indigenous communities cope with similar challenges and how they choose to respond to the threats imposed to their culture, their spirituality, and their land. As of this date, in August 2016, the issue of the future construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline raises concern and great objection voiced by environmentalists, environmental and social justice advocates, celebrities, artists, members of the Sioux Nation of Dakota whose lands are directly threatened by such a project, but also from the global community of indigenous peoples. On social media, it is clear that the same active agents who took part to the *'A'ole* TMT Movement also make it their mission to stop the construction of the pipeline. In their own way and to their own capacities, individuals such as Pua Case, her daughter Hāwane Rios, singer and songwriter Trevor Hall, and members of *Nahko and Medicine for the People* band are invested, too, in protecting the culture and the land of the Sioux People of Dakota. The global indigenous social and environmental activism will therefore undoubtedly raise great interest in academia in the coming years. As a widespread moment of groupness, indigenous activism is bound to generate significant momentum. As demonstrated in this thesis, now is the time for indigenous peoples to rise as spiritual warriors, with discipline and with

respect, to protect indigenous cultures and spiritualities, which wholly depend on the present and

future wellbeing of the land.

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Personal Notes and Communication

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