Kanaka ʻŌiwi Contributions to the Old (K)new Practice of Indigenous Planning

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This article discusses the significance of cultural pedagogy among Hawaiian-focused public charter schools and the necessity of ʻāina in this educational framework. I argue that Hawaiian-focused public charter schools are a result of the epistemic collisions that occurred in the early 1970s between state notions of land use and Hawaiian ideations around those very lands. The land use struggles at that time, such as the Protect Kahoʻolawe movement to stop the US military from bombing the island, served to awaken, among other things, Hawaiian cultural practices. Those practices, coupled with Hawaiian language revival, eventually took root in the project-based activities of many Hawaiian-focused public charter schools. Thus, the cultural pedagogy shared among many Hawaiian-focused public charters is a logical extension of early struggles that heightened awareness about the necessity of land in the production and transfer of knowledge. By discussing Hawaiian-focused education with an eye toward ʻāina, I examine larger systems of spatial power and the way in which those systems structurally determine what constitutes legitimate land use.

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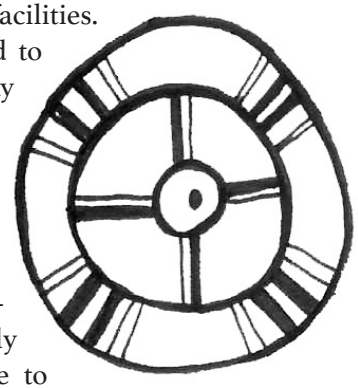
Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being, Vol. 11, No. 1

Several years ago, I worked as a planning consultant with a Hawaiian-focused public charter school located in a rural region in Hawai'i. My task was to develop a place-based educational framework that would guide the future site development of the school. This school was located on lands that were abundantly rich with both natural and cultural resources, which seemed well suited to their culture-based educational philosophy and project-based objectives. I have a vivid memory of the environmental studies teacher asking if we could include native and non-native plants that had pleasant smells. She advocated for this so that she could teach outdoors, but more so, that her students (especially the little ones who have short attention spans), while moving from one part of the campus to another, could engage all their senses during the school day.

Working closely with the teachers during several design workshops where they were asked to draw what they considered to be their ideal campus, I was constantly struck at how Hawaiian cultural knowledge informed the rationale for their educational facilities and site layout. It dawned on me that as planners, we miss a great deal of innovation by not being able, or willing perhaps, to incorporate Indigenous vocabulary and local ways of knowing with any degree of consistency—or seeming aptitude—into our planning practices, let alone processes.

As I continued to work with the school, I recognized a complexity to this project that seemed to underscore the ill fit between state land use and Hawaiian ways of knowing. On the one hand, the school seemed to be in a geographic region that fundamentally served its educational philosophy. The site itself was the source of learning; it was the "textbook" and "outdoor classroom," as many of the teachers would say. However, the land use rules seemed to be so heavily weighted in rational and linear processes that they fundamentally shifted, and came to dominate the value, use, and function of that 'āina[1] for that school. The land use system triggered a complicated regulatory environment that the school administrators now had to navigate. Moreover, the regulatory environment was further complicated by the inequality between regular schools and stand-alone charter schools, the most glaring difference being that stand-alone public charters do not receive any fiscal or planning support for facilities. They are expected to build, purchase, renovate, and maintain their facilities with no supplemental funding for those purposes. Basically, this means public charter schools must mount capital campaigns to supplement funding for day-to-day school operations as well as for facilities. By my estimation, the school seemed to reflect the larger struggles facing many Hawaiian communities and families, that is, enduring a land use system that is incongruent with Hawaiian ways of knowing and being.



One strength of place-based education is the adaptation of unique, locally bound characteristics that may serve to overcome the dislocation between school and a child's life (Gruenewald, 2003). That unique adaptation in Hawai'i, I argue, is through 'āina. By framing research questions that explain how 'āina teaches, we can identify Kanaka 'Ōiwi expressions of space and place in ways that inform Indigenous planning. By combining two streams of thought that are rarely brought into the same space with each other, we can address larger theoretical questions that coalesce around how societies might engage in transformative planning by utilizing multiple epistemologies.

In Search of Methodology

One of the difficult issues faced by Indigenous researchers is finding methodologies that are congruent with our social commitments to justice and to our cultural traditions and life experiences (Brown & Strega, 2005; Kovach, 2005; Smith, 1999). All methodologies hold assumptions that shape what constitutes legitimate data, and how those data are collected and analyzed to arrive at findings. The problem in the social sciences is the lingering dominance of positivist methodology, which offers little room for other ways of knowing to enter the field on their own methodological terms. To address these failings, this qualitative inquiry relies on an Indigenous methodology that utilizes the theory-building approach found in grounded theory and the research techniques found in participatory rural appraisal.

Four stand-alone New Century Public Charter Schools agreed to participate in this research project. A total of twenty-nine semi-structured, open-ended interviews and three facilitated workshops were conducted. Three schools identified as Hawaiian-focused public charter schools, with one school identifying as a Hawaiian language immersion school. Importantly, the inquiry drew heavily from the language, worldviews, metaphors, philosophies, and experiences of our Kanaka ʻŌiwi and other Indigenous communities.

Over the years I have enjoyed working with many Hawaiian-focused public charter schools on various planning and facilities projects. While I work in higher education, I have no teaching experience in public charter schools, although I currently serve on a school governance board for a public charter. Sharing the insider role, that is, working within and among Hawaiian educators, affords me unique access to certain data and knowledge not available to an outsider because I come from the same worldview as the participants. This also allows me a "second sight" in those instances where Hawaiian thoughts or ideas emerge that others may disregard as unimportant or miss all together. Moreover, it has been my experience that for some participants in studies such as this, there is a relief in knowing that between the researcher and the participant, we may share common values, philosophies, and worldview, to the degree that the participants do not have to spend time justifying their daily lives and, by extension, their work.

Framing Indigenous Planning

Several scholars have theorized planning as an imperial discipline and colonial practice primarily associated in the West (Jacobs, 1996; Matunga, 2013; Porter, 2010). They describe planning's dominant practice as a linear, rational process in which the fundamental tools and methods, often, have served to displace Indigenous peoples globally. A number of Indigenous political struggles have challenged the dominance of planning systems because of their role in the production of space. Sandercock (2004) observes:

> Since the 1970s, there has been a global movement on the part of Indigenous peoples to reverse injustices and dispossession . . . at the heart of this movement are land claims that are potentially destabilizing of established practices of land use planning, land use management and private property laws . . . the core of planning practice. In the claims of Indigenous peoples for return of, or access to their lands, planners are sometimes confronted with values incommensurable to modernist planning and the modernization project . . .

> which privileges development in which exchange value usually triumphs over use value. (p. 119)

Matunga (2013) identifies three epochs of Indigenous planning that provide a periodicity relevant to this discussion. The first epoch, the Classic tradition, covers the precolonial contact phase. This phase is characterized by traditional Indigenous worldviews and their approaches to environmental management. The second epoch, the Resistance tradition, accounts for the immediate postcolonial phase up until the 1970s. The third epoch, the Resurgence tradition, generally considers the period in the 1980s onward, in which Indigenous Peoples move beyond protests of resistance and couple with broader global Indigenous rights movements to assert their worldviews as a means of human rights to land, language, culture, education, health, governance, and resource management, among other things.

The significance of cultural pedagogy among Hawaiian-focused public charter schools straddles the second and third epoch in Matunga's framework. I argue that Hawaiian-focused public charter schools are a result of the epistemic collisions that occurred in the early 1970s between state notions of land use and Hawaiian ideations around those very lands. The land use struggles at that time, such as the Protect Kahoʻolawe movement to stop the US military from bombing the island, served to hoʻāla (awaken), among other things, Hawaiian cultural practices. Those practices, coupled with Hawaiian language, eventually took root in the daily activities of many Hawaiian-focused charter schools. Thus, the cultural pedagogy shared among many Hawaiian-focused charter schools is a logical extension of early struggles that heightened awareness about the necessity of land in the production and transfer of knowledge. By discussing Hawaiian-focused education with an eye toward ʻāina, we examine significantly larger systems of spatial power[2] and the ways in which such systems structurally determine what constitutes legitimate land use. By privileging Hawaiian land use from a Hawaiian educational point of view, we recast the way in which a "(k)new" old story about planning is told in Hawaiʻi (Edwards & Hunia, 2013).

Public Charter Schools in Hawaiʻi

One of the unique markers of public charter schools in Hawaiʻi is the presence of Hawaiian language and culturally focused schools. The majority of these schools enroll a high percentage of Hawaiian students and have a high percentage of Hawaiian teachers who teach in either their own Indigenous language or through a curriculum taught in English utilizing, among other things, Hawaiian practices. These schools represent a venue for educators to develop curriculum that promotes learning for a range of students whose needs, many would argue, are not met in regular public schools. The state Department of Education (DOE) figures indicate that approximately 180,000 children are enrolled annually in Hawaiʻi public schools. Of this figure, Native Hawaiians represent the largest ethnic group (26.0 percent), followed by Filipinos (22 percent) and white Caucasians (17 percent) (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2017). Further, charter school enrollment has risen steadily in recent school years (2014–15 through 2017–18) by about 7 percent (Hawaiʻi Department of Education, 2017). In school year 2015, for example, there were approximately ten thousand students enrolled across thirty-four public charter schools among the five major islands. Moreover, among the seventeen Hawaiian-focused public charter schools, Hawaiian students represented 40.4 percent (or 4,211) of that student population. Based on these

figures, one of the seventeen Hawaiian-focused public charter schools has about three times more Hawaiians than non-Hawaiian students. Overall, enrollment in public charter schools is increasing, but why the strong Hawaiian presence in these schools?

Some argue that conventional DOE schools have failed Hawaiian children, and a look at performance indicators may prove these arguments to be valid. Hawaiian educator, Dr. Kū Kahakalau, explains, "I couldn't understand how the students I taught in high school could be articulate, smart and funny in my classes but based on their report cards they were failures" (personal communication, 2013). The overrepresentation of certain demographics in special education courses continues to be a concern in national debates. Locally, 14.6 percent of Native Hawaiian public school students are enrolled in special education courses, compared with 8.3 percent of non-Hawaiian students. Math and reading proficiency scores show that Native Hawaiians score disproportionately lower than non-Hawaiians on standardized tests (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2017, p. 6, 8). Hawaiian-focused education can be viewed as one way of resetting the educational foundation through language and culture in ways that benefit Indigenous students. Research conducted by Kanaʻiaupuni, Ledward, & Malone (2017), for example, indicates that "learners thrive with culture-based education (CBE), especially Indigenous students who experience positive socioemotional and other outcomes when teachers are high CBE users and when learning in high-CBE school environments" (p. 311S).

Na Wai Hoʻi e Hele ʻOle ke Ala o nā Kūpuna?

To understand the educational context, it is worthwhile to outline the social and environmental setting that children were generally born into during the time of Kānaka ʻŌiwi wale nō.[3] Approximately twelve to fifteen hundred years ago, the first people to arrive at our pae ʻāina settled and cleared lands for agriculture. On Oʻahu island, Chief Māʻilikūkahi is generally credited for clearly marking and reorganizing land palena; aliʻi on other islands would have implemented similar systems. Beamer (2014) maintains that:

> In the ʻŌiwi system of old, palena created places—spaces of attachment and access to both the metaphysical and physical worlds. They delineated the resource access of makaʻāinana and aliʻi on the ground, literally connecting people to the material and spiritual resources of these places. Palena were cataloged and maintained visually and cognitively, and were passed on orally from generation to generation by inhabitants knowledgeable about the place. (p. 32)

The Hawaiian economy was based on an exchange system that existed within the ahupuaʻa, which provided everything needed in close proximity. Kānaka ʻŌiwi planned kauhale around cultivated field systems and other necessary material resources; thus, their settlement patterns were defined in terms of adjacency, access, and configuration. The ʻohana were generally able to maintain long-term relationships with a specific parcel of land even though the aliʻi might change. Boundary setting established the following land divisions: moku, ahupuaʻa, ʻili kūpono, ʻili ʻāina, and moʻo ʻāina. Ahupuaʻa are "diverse and complex divisions, ranging in size, shape, and geography. Some ahupuaʻa are bounded by mountain ridges and peaks," and since they "defined resource access, they usually extended into the ocean" (Beamer, 2014, pp. 41–42).

It was within this setting that Hawaiian methods of teaching and learning were developed. Learning through observation, listening, and repeating are well-known traditional methods of Hawaiian instruction. The idea of education was "practical, skill-oriented, socially useful, in tune with reality, environmentally aware and conserver-cognizant" (Kelly, 1982, p. 13). Reliance on the surrounding environment for basic living meant for our Hawaiian ancestors that "culture furnished the natural and basic content material of their education," and a part of that "curriculum include[ed] attaining an intimate, discriminating knowledge of nature, including names, characteristics and habits of plants, fish, rains, surf spots, just to name a few" (Kahakalau, 2003, p. 38). Learning was acquired through subtle forms of teaching that occurred through everyday living as children observed the daily activities of family and community members. With time, children eventually tried out tasks for themselves or alongside brothers, sisters, and cousins. What is key to this discussion is that a child's relationship with the ʻāina was held in tact during the process of learning and, as such, ʻāina was vital to the subsequent knowledge produced and transferred.

Emergence of the State Land Use System

During the territorial period, Hawaiʻi's government planning was centralized, which resulted in land use being regulated by local boards. In 1937, the territorial legislature established the Territorial Planning Board and, in 1939, the board produced the first comprehensive report that inventoried the physical, social, economic, industrial, and educational resources (Territorial Planning Board, 1939; Downes, 1986). Between 1950 and 1960, Democrats enacted measures intended to bring greater social and economic reforms to the island populous. They did this through internal state measures and by capitalizing on external factors. They raised taxes on major land owners, made assessment practices more uniform, and gave neighbor island counties zoning power that only Oʻahu had enjoyed since 1939.

The economic situation of Hawaiʻi changed drastically with statehood and jet travel, as outside capital found a way into the islands, affecting tourism, enabling expensive residential development, and increasing military training (Cooper & Daws, 1990; Downes, 1986; McGregor, 2010). Given these economic trends and their impact on land uses, two issues were focusing on public land use policy: the provision of public infrastructure and the preservation of prime agricultural land. Public agencies were becoming increasingly unable to provide public infrastructure due to the costs associated with the spread of urban development. Moreover, the spread of urban development was encroaching on the state's prime agricultural lands—those that were best suited for large-scale pineapple and sugar agriculture and, compared with urban development, had greater potential to buoy the state's economy in the long run.

The State Land Use Law, enacted as Act 187, was adopted in 1961. By creating a system of land uses, it was believed that the state would be able to preserve agricultural lands (as well as preserve its political economic relationships) and produce a mechanism for urban development (for democratic reform purposes) while simultaneously containing development (thus making it cost effective for government). The state land use system classified all lands into one of four land use districts: urban, agriculture, rural, and conservation. By 1963, the democratic governor implemented a "highest and best use" approach to land development. To reinforce this economic policy, the Session Laws of Hawaiʻi (1963)

merged the Planning Department with the Department of Economic Development to become the State Department of Planning and Economic Development. Moreover, incentives were created by offering lower tax assessments on buildings rather than land, thus creating an incentive to build. However, the law did not affect the taxes of large land owners, rather, it was their lessees who ended up paying, therefore, by not addressing land ownership:

> Overall and over time, while the Democrats in power did start out down the land reform track in the name of social justice . . . [they] opted instead for land development as an essential part of the way to broad social and economic reform. (Cooper & Daws, 1990, p. 7)

Development, it was believed, could create new wealth and increase standards of living for the middle and working class. Therefore, instead of cutting up the "old pie of land wealth, the idea was to make the pie grow rapidly and continually by developing land intensely so that everyone could have more without giving up anything of significance" (p. 7). The land use zoning supported the pro-development ideology, which meant that the few remaining pockets of rural Hawaiian communities and small farmers would begin to feel the pressure to urbanize.

Political Activism Links to Education

With the imposition of statehood in 1959, urban-based economic reforms brought ten years of uncontrolled urban growth. As Hawaiʻi entered the 1970s, public awareness grew increasingly critical of the excessive urban growth, the loss of small-scale family agriculture, the high cost of living, lagging salaries, and unaffordable housing (McGregor-Alegado, 1980; Trask, 1987). Development threatened the remaining rural pockets of the Hawaiian community, which, for generations, had relied on ʻohana subsistence practices as a way of life. Moreover, the broader issues of education, employment, wages, housing, legal justice, social services, and the concentration of land ownership indicated severe problems facing the Hawaiian community at the beginning of the 1970s (McGregor-Alegado, 1980; Trask, 1987). By 1972, the majority of Hawaiian wage earners received incomes that fell within the low-income level. Among educational indicators for that period, only 50 percent of Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians age twenty-four and older had graduated from high school, and the dropout rate (according to the 1970 Census) was 23 percent, compared with the Hawaiʻi average of 13 percent. The census also showed that only 4 percent of Hawaiians had graduated from college (McGregor-Alegado, 1980, p. 37).

Despite years of large-scale agriculture of the previous century, which erased large swaths of Hawaiian landscape, the remaining wahi pana, or significant Hawaiian places such as heiau, fishponds, and village sites, were now under threat for a second erasure, this time by policy-driven urban development. Influenced in part by similar cultural movements from the late 1960s and early 1970s in the United States and abroad, the Hawaiian movement revived cultural practices and found political voice to articulate a resistance to urban development and the outright destruction of ʻāina and their cultural landscapes. Beginning in the 1970s, intense land struggles erupted, first on Oʻahu, against unbridled urban development of the few remaining Hawaiian communities and small rural pockets (Cooper & Daws, 1990; McGregor-Alegado, 1980; Trask, 1987). Many community-based struggles were occurring across our islands, including, for example, Hālawa

Housing, Kalama Valley, Ota Camp, Waimānalo People's Organization, Old Vineyard Street Residents' Association, Waiāhole-Waikāne Community Association, He'eia Kea Residents Association, Mokauea Fisherman's Association, Hale Mōhalu 'Ohana, Niumalu Nāwiliwili Residents, and the Sand Island Residents 'ohana (McGregor-Alegado, 1980, p. 41).

These land struggles catalyzed Hawaiian consciousness around the concepts of Hawaiian rights and the resurgence of Hawaiian language, cultural practices such as hula, and traditional farming methods such as lo'i kalo and loko i'a. The struggle to stop the US military's bombing of Kaho'olawe island, perhaps more than any other issues of the day, gave life to the notions of aloha 'āina and mālama 'āina. At the beginning of World War II, Kaho'olawe was taken over by the US Navy for live-fire ordnance exercises and combat training. These exercises grew in scale and intensity. In March 1977, George Helm and Kimo Mitchell lost their lives in the ocean off Kaho'olawe during a protest of the bombing. The struggle grew into a movement that stopped the military use of the island in 1996, and it also sparked the revitalization and resurgence of Hawaiian culture, music, navigation, arts, agriculture, and aquaculture. McGregor (2007) comments:

> The contemporary rediscovery of Kaho'olawe as a sacred island dedicated to Kanaloa led to a revival of the traditional Hawaiian value of aloha 'āina or love and respect for the land. Ancestral memories of the kūpuna focused upon aloha 'āina as the Hawaiian value at the core of traditional spiritual belief and custom. (p. 264)

McGregor (2007) also notes that recollecting family genealogies inspired contemporary Hawaiians to reestablish or reaffirm family-based kahuna or professions such as navigation, fishing, engineering, healing, and planting. Another significant outcome of the movement to stop the bombing of Kaho'olawe was the "reestablishment of the Makahiki and other Native Hawaiian cultural and religious ceremonies and practices on Kanaloa . . ." (p. 270). The purpose of one such ceremony was to attract the akua Lono, to Kanaloa, in the form of rain clouds, to soften the earth and to ready it for young plants to re-vegetate the island (p. 272). These practices reconnected a generation of Hawaiians with their ancestors and with the pragmatic use of ceremony, as in the case of Kaho'olawe, to call forth rain so that plants could again repopulate and heal the island.

The 1978 Constitutional Convention resulted in the voters of Hawai'i ratifying amendments to the state constitution. Three key amendments were significant to the resurgence of Hawaiian language, culture, and education. The first amendment, Article XV, section 4, provides that English and Hawaiian shall be the official languages of Hawai'i (Lucas, 2000). The second amendment, Article X, section 4, mandates that the state promote the study of Hawaiian culture, history, and language; the article also requires the state to provide for a Hawaiian education program consisting of language, culture, and history in the public schools. The third amendment, Article XII, section 7, provides that the state reaffirms and shall protect all rights, customarily and traditionally exercised for subsistence, cultural, and religious purposes by ahupua'a tenants of Hawaiian ancestry, subject to regulation by the state.

Looking back at the 1960s and 1970s, we see the confluence of two significant events in Hawai'i. The first was the establishment of Hawai'i's land use law, which advanced a pro-development ideology by the Democratic

Party. The second significant event was an organized Hawaiian activist movement against the deplorable conditions of Kānaka Maoli and their homelands. The alignment of other key events continued between 1970 and 1990 to create fertile ground for a Hawaiian charter school movement to take root in Hawaiʻi—the resistance to development in rural areas; the resurgence of Hawaiian cultural practices and language revival prompted by the Protect Kahoʻolawe movement; the enactment of key state amendments that affirmed Hawaiian language as an official language of Hawaiʻi; the study of Hawaiian culture, language, and history through Hawaiian education programming; the protection of customary and traditional rights of ahupuaʻa tenants; and the articulation of aloha ʻāina as a viable principle and management standard for land use. By the close of the twentieth century, the role of Hawaiian activism, coupled with the revival of Hawaiian practices, heavily influenced a Hawaiian charter school movement focused on ʻāina as a viable way to produce and transmit Hawaiian knowledge.

ʻĀina as a Source of Knowledge Production and Transmission

To understand how Hawaiian epistemology unfolds in an ʻāina-based educational context, I question *how* ʻāina teaches. This is distinct from asking what we learn as a result of ʻāina-based education. Here I analyze the qualities of ʻāina within an ʻŌiwi context to explore how it shapes knowledge and our sense of being. For example, the impact of a school's morning protocol goes beyond simply gathering students to start the day—it is a reconfiguration of haumāna and kumu around an ʻŌiwi consciousness where ʻāina, spatial awareness, and inclusion are central to learning.

"We Begin Our Day with Protocol"

Three of the four schools involved in this inquiry conducted a form of morning protocol or ceremony to begin their school day. Whether they referred to this gathering as "piko," "wehe," or "wehena"—this spatially anchored activity transcends placemaking into a Hawaiian conception of time and acknowledges an individual's genealogical ties to place. Through morning protocol, these schools intentionally identify where they are located within larger regions and learn about the storied landscapes and associated mele or chants of their surroundings so that they can honor the places and people of an area. One principal explained:

> We do a morning oli, Ua Ao Hawaiʻi, [we] do Hawaiʻi Ponoʻī then the Kumu Alakaʻi does a manaʻo for the day, then the students do another oli for the waters of Kane and that's the Kumu and the students, so we do that all together.

Ua Ao Hawaiʻi, literally meaning Hawaiʻi is enlightened or conscious, represents a clever play on the word ao since aʻo means to teach, training, or counsel. Ao means light, day, dawn, or to dawn or grow light. The coupling of ao, aʻo, and piko is symbolic in this instance. To the Hawaiian, piko refers to the navel cord, genital organs, and/or the crown of the head. Thus in the Hawaiian view, there are three piko, the top of the head, the center of the body (literally the navel area) and lastly, the genital area. As a spatial concept, however, the idea of conducting morning piko represents a physical space that transcends toward relational development. It is a space designated for the ancestor-descendant relationship to be continually nurtured over time. This can also be conceived of as lōkahi, or unity or accord.

Another educator described their morning piko as "a place, a union of moʻokūʻauhau, [where] everyone starts their day as one." The idea of beginning the day all together in a designated place "as one" is a highly inclusive act because students, faculty, and staff are invited to recall the great deeds of their own ancestors, or the ancestors of that area. Another educator explained, "We have wehena, it's a school-wide practice. We blow the pū and everyone gathers at eight o'clock in the morning and then it goes into first period, second period academics." Wehena at this school involves students, faculty, and staff gathering to sing, chant, and offer general school reminders or notices for that day. At another school, one educator noted that ". . . the neatest part of the whole experience [was] the way the day starts." At this school, located in the lower elevations of a watershed, students, faculty, and staff (including any campus visitors) gather outdoors for their morning wehe. An educator explained, "Everybody focuses through oli, there's the usual oli that are a part of the repertoire that you know, a couple of oli that were written for the school that the kids recall the history and moʻokūʻauhau . . . nobody [is] monkeying around, everybody [is] focused." Thus, these elements, when taken in their totality, can heighten the awareness of place and its spatial composition.

"'Āina Does Not Discriminate"

One of the most profound lessons about how ʻāina teaches came from Dr. Kahakalau:

> The ʻāina does not discriminate. There is no discrimination at all if you interact with the land. That stream, if you go in there and it's too fast, everybody, whether you're smart, skinny, whether you're beautiful, it doesn't matter, ʻāina, it's you know, either the stream is too fast and everybody is gonna eat it, you fall down . . .

In reflecting on the concept of aloha ʻāina, Dr. Kahakalau observed how students receive positive feedback through reciprocal interaction that couples the Hawaiian value of aloha with ʻāina. Common thinking is that aloha ʻāina means "let's love the land," which is not a wrong idea. However, the value of aloha ʻāina is inclusive and reciprocal. Kahakalau explained, "The more important value is the aloha ʻāina coming this way [motioning toward herself] than going that way [motioning away from herself]."[4] In this way, for "those students who need aloha, the land can give it unconditionally." She explained that for many youth, the organic structure and order of ʻāina can offer clarity, purpose, and meaning to their personal lives in ways they may not receive from their family or community. Students can get positive feedback by working the land and seeing the results of their work based on simple environmental processes. Students have the opportunity to experience reciprocity through their hands-on work with the ʻāina, ma ka hana ka ʻike—indeed, through working one learns.

ʻĀina Teaches as a Living Medium

ʻĀina is a critical pedagogical element for Hawaiian-focused charter schools because they recognize how it teaches as a living medium. It has an immersive quality, as one kumu observed: "I can actually touch things, smell them, eat them, that's teaching right there." She continued,

> It's a living laboratory right here. You can walk right outside. It's okay, we're gonna go look at the noni right now, you know what I mean? We're

> gonna smell the lauaʻe and pick some right now and make hoʻokupu, and we're going to go pick our ʻauamo.

Another kumu explained how ʻāina, as an authentic medium, can serve learning in ways that can be more apparent when making connections between abstract ideas and practical application. "When students are out taking care of a stream, or opening ʻauwai, learning about water quality, *cooperation* becomes important, *aloha* becomes important, *mālama* becomes important, so ʻāina is to me the most authentic medium" [emphasis added]. Under these conditions, mundane tasks can take on heightened importance because abstract ideas or values (e.g., mālama) become apparent in a stream that students are clearing or measuring for water quality. In a similar example, this kumu noted that by applying the concept of kaona to a mundane task such as weeding, "we can teach ourselves how to be better people, how to interact with one another." Therefore, authentic teaching and learning of abstract ideas and values can occur "best when you're on the ʻāina," compared with being "in a classroom [where] you kind of have to be intentional about teaching something like that."

ʻĀina Teaches as a Medium of Service

Building close relationships with their communities is a prominent kuleana held by all four schools involved in this inquiry. First, it is important for students to establish a relationship with ʻāina. This is significant because a relationship-based education teaches students "how to work together, [and] the ʻāina definitely does do that." Furthermore, that relationship extends beyond their own schools. These schools stated clearly that they held a kuleana to be active and of service in their communities. All the schools included in this inquiry offered kōkua to their surrounding communities or to a specific community of cultural practitioners. One school, for example, utilized its curriculum to cultivate aloha for its moku, which in turn nurtured the desire to care for the moku. One school administrator explained that the school relies on its kumu to establish and maintain close community relationships over time. This approach, beyond showing commitment to community and place, offers consistency with school projects from one year to the next. The principal explained that the relationships are for the long term: "So it's not that we going and Uncle needs help, and we help him" and then it's "okay Uncle, the school year pau, a hui hou, and we never see them again." Under this approach, the students may change as they advance through their grade levels, but the projects remain, the teachers remain, and "the relationship stays there, we kōkua."

Another outcome of being of service is that schools can support and fulfill a community's respective vision of place. By working side by side with community members, students begin to learn how to care for that area's ʻāina and its resources. A former principal gave this example:

> With our curriculum, the idea is that you cannot foster that love and desire to take care of a place unless you've been there and worked it. The first and second grade learn about the Puna district; the mele, the stories of the Puna area. Our kumu is working with a practitioner in Puna so we can help clear mangrove from the loko to make it sustainable again. It's one of the few loko iʻa that we have here. So, our haumāna learn about the moku, you work with the people in that moku and kōkua.

The key is to get involved and become engaged with the community. This way, students come to "know [the] community of practitioners" and, in the process, learn a practice and care for places so that they can eventually assume a greater sense of responsibility.

The Contribution of ʻĀina Education toward Indigenous Planning

> By taking home kalo to mālama, students make the ancestral connections they have with their older sibling Hāloa. They start to view their yard as ʻāina as opposed to simply a yard. There is a difference between the idea of yard versus ʻāina, what ʻāina can be now, how we treat it, and how we could be treating it. (Kumu, Oʻahu Island)

This article has traced systems of land use and Hawaiian-focused education to understand spatial power. I have highlighted the impact of ʻāina-based education by questioning how ʻāina teaches. The connections between genealogy, relationship, and responsibility are just a few of the recurring themes among our schools. More importantly, the contribution of ʻāina-based education toward Indigenous planning acknowledges our ʻŌiwi relationship to place and recognizes that the genealogy of ʻāina itself serves in the production of knowledge and deploys methods based on the utility of that knowledge.

Samadhi (2001) states that tradition and culture create links between principles and patterns that are expressed through organic or built form. Borrowing from this idea, Hawaiian placemaking means that our material culture and beliefs are important to our cultural place-based identity because of their form-giving elements. Hawaiian placemaking, as an organizing principle, is based on Kanaka Maoli epistemic foundations. The significance of place and its use in this respect are in part derived from the long-term occupation and spatial development by our ancestors over time.

The real challenge for Indigenous planning is relating these and other questions to urban development scales. Consider that today, 55 percent of the world's population lives in urban areas, and that figure is expected to increase to 68 percent by 2050 (United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, 2018). How can we source our own knowledge to construct urban policies that directly relate people to a living and dynamic landscape through policy design? Matunga (2013) suggests that as a tradition, Indigenous planning must position its own history to "better understand its contemporary shape with its own form and focus and as a planning approach with its own sets of methodologies" (p. 6). From his Maori homeland, Edwards (2013) offers us the concept of "ancestor lensing" (p. 20) as a framework that grounds and reframes questioning and analysis from the Maori worldview. Thus, the concept of kupuna lensing is important to widening planning's methodological approach. One kumu hints at this technique:

> I want to know the wind and rain names, and I want to know what aliʻi ruled, had rulership, or how it changed hands and what the people did. What was their economic basis . . . like Kualoa, was this a place of the aliʻi? That kind of [information] dictates how we treat it.

With an eye toward urban development, an approach to Indigenous planning in Hawaiʻi must: (a) re-establish the processes of relationship building, (b) utilize Oceanic models to inform planning and design solutions; and (c) reposition planning training to access Hawaiian language materials to link older sources to

contemporary spatial solutions. Drawing from this inquiry then, the emphasis that schools place on tradition and culture creates spatial principles that currently struggle to emerge as patterns that can successfully link ʻike kupuna to ʻāina. Each time haumāna kōkua communities or families to restore loʻi kalo or to reconstruct loko iʻa, they are reinforcing Hawaiian spatial patterns that our kūpuna left for us to learn from. In this way we are unconsciously influenced by our kūpuna. Those principles and patterns create relational bonds between student and ʻāina, student and ʻike kupuna, and student and community. Students working in specific localized places alongside knowledgeable Hawaiian practitioners or ʻohana, use ʻāina and its bounty to transfer and reinforce community-based principles through ancestral land use patterns. ʻĀina, in this respect, provides a longer sense of time; thus there is the opportunity to develop policies based on land uses that rely on long-term relationships rather than short-term profit. The more clearly we see ourselves and our ancestors in the built and natural environment, the more successful those principles and patterns are.

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GLOSSARY

ahu – heap of stones

ahupuaʻa – land division, often running from mountain to sea

ʻai – to eat, enjoy, an eating; the means of eating, the fruits of the land; that which feeds

ʻāina – that which feeds, land

aloha ʻāina – love of the land or of one's country, patriotism

aliʻi – chief

aloha – love, affection

ʻauamo – pole or stick used for carrying burdens across the shoulders

ʻauwai – ditch

hoʻāla – to awaken, rise up

hula – form of dance accompanied by chant (oli) or song

iʻa – fish or any marine animal

ʻike – to see, know, perceive

ʻike kupuna – ancestral knowledge

ʻili – sections of the ahupuaʻa selected for individuals in return for produce and labor. Tribute from ʻili ʻāina was received by the konohiki for the chief of the ahupuaʻa. Tribute from ʻili kūpono was given to the paramount chief of the island.

kahuna – general name of persons having a trade, an art, or who practice some profession

kalo – taro (Colocasia esculenta)

kanaka – man, person; Hawaiian (distinct from foreigner)

Kanaka Maoli – Native Hawaiian

Kanaka ʻŌiwi – Native people of the land

kaona – hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference

kauhale – small cluster of houses (formerly comprising a Hawaiian home)

konohiki – chief who managed an ahupuaʻa

kōkua – help, aid, assistance

kuleana – responsibility, right; small parcel of land awarded to commoners during Māhele

kumu – teacher
kupuna – grandparent, ancestor
loʻi – irrigated terrace
loʻi kalo – irrigated fields of taro (Colocasia esculenta)
loko – pond
loko iʻa – fishpond
makaʻāinana – commoner, populace, people in general; citizen, subject
ma ka hana ka ʻike – wise saying meaning, by doing one learns
makahiki – year, age
mālama – to take care of, tend, attend, care for, preserve, protect, beware, save, maintain
moku – district
mokupuni – island
moʻo – succession, series
moʻo āina – narrow strip of land, smaller than an ʻili
moʻokūʻauhau – genealogy, genealogical accounts
moʻolelo – history, story, tradition, myth; discourse
noni – Indian mulberry (Morinda citrifolia)
ʻohā – taro corm growing from the older root; fig., offspring, youngsters
ʻohana – family, relative, kin, related; root word: ʻohā
ʻŌiwi – Native son; iwi: bones
ʻōlelo makuahine – mother tongue, Hawaiian language
oli – chant
piko – navel, navel string, umbilical cord
puaʻa – pig
pū – large triton conch or helmet shell (Charonia tritonis) as used for trumpets
wahi pana – wahi: place; pana: celebrated or legendary place
wehe – to open

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Konia Freitas was born and raised in Hawai'i on the island of O'ahu. She is an associate specialist and currently serves as the department chair of Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her academic interests include Indigenous planning, Hawaiian-focused education, and Indigenous research methodology. She has professional land use planning experience and holds a PhD in urban and regional planning. Her doctoral research examined the link between education and land among Hawaiian-focused public charter schools.

NOTES

1. 'Āina is usually translated to mean land. However, it is used here to mean 'ai, to eat, enjoy; an eating; the means of eating, that is, the fruits of the land (Andrews, 1865; Pukui & Elbert, 1986). It is important to examine 'āina-based education from the origin of the word itself to explore the pedagogical opportunity that this approach offers

2. The term spatial power is used here to mean the dominant economistic ordering of space and place.

3. Distinguishes the period of time when only Kānaka 'Ōiwi inhabited the islands.

4. Hawaiian language contains directional particles such as mai, aku, iho, and a'e. Mai directs the action toward the speaker, as in hele mai (to come toward the speaker), whereas aku directs the action away from the speaker, as in hele aku (to go away from the speaker).