

## RE-PLACING HAWAIIANS IN DIS PLACE WE CALL HOME

*Kali Fermantez*

In Hawai'i today, Native Hawaiians find ourselves literally and figuratively out of place. Such displacement can be countered through conscious acts of re-placement, or reconnecting to Hawaiian ways of knowing and being that are rooted in place. Displacement is a shared experience of Native Hawaiians of different generations, and re-placement involves a linking of generations through place. This article examines how Native Hawaiians experience displacement and re-placement on the Wai'anae Coast. Taking a Participatory Action Research approach, I partnered with Ka'ala Farm, a community grassroots organization, to understand how their participants re-place themselves in the 'āina (land). I draw upon the fields of geography and indigenous studies to interpret the ethnographic data collected while living in Wai'anae during 2003–2005. This research suggests that re-placement is transformative, propelling Native Hawaiians forward to skillfully navigate a complex world comprised of multiple realities.

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[F]or me, I needed to be connected to be happy. And that's why I did what I did and doing what I'm doing, because it makes me feel like I'm here for a purpose. And so, for me, I needed to find culture, to find the land, and to find the connection between the land and me, the land and my kupunas.

*When Mahina Pukahi spoke these words, it was a typical hot day in Wai'anae as we talked story in his carport. As he spoke, he was deliberate, humble, and yet powerful, speaking as one who regularly talks story with kūpuna (grandparents, elders). It was as if the voices of his grandmother and Uncle Eddie, whom he had worked closely with at Ka'ala Farm, were speaking through him, giving him wisdom beyond his years. When Mahina spoke, it was Uncle Eddie's words that echoed in my ears: "to make sure the connections stay connected." These were the first words I ever heard Uncle Eddie speak. He had a clear vision of what his kuleana (responsibility) as a kupuna was.*

*Mahina and his wife, Cheryl, had just had another baby, and they named him Makanihoa for the strong winds that accompanied his birth. Our 'ohana (families) need the powerful winds of change to reclaim our place in our homeland, and full circle, this 'ohana was reconnecting from kūpuna (ancestors) to mākua (parents) to mo'opuna (grandchildren).*

One of the incredible ironies for Native Hawaiians today is that we often find ourselves literally or figuratively out of place in our own homeland. The fantasy world of the idyllic Hawaiian Islands inhabited by happy and prosperous natives exists mainly in the imaginary of state-sponsored tourism. I argue that all<sup>1</sup> Native Hawaiians have experienced some kind of literal and/or figurative displacement given the physical and discursive<sup>2</sup> dispossession of the last few centuries. We have been "dissed"—disrespected, disenfranchised, and disconnected. Recognizing that individual experiences differ, as a people we have been displaced from the 'āina (land), distanced from Hawaiian culture, and marginalized in terms of health, education, political power, and socioeconomic status (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Marshall, 1999; Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006; Osorio, 2002). All of this displacement has come in dis<sup>3</sup> place, Hawai'i, our homeland. This is a harsh irony for us to stomach, and it is our na'au, our gut, that tells us that we need to reclaim our proper place in our homeland.

My understanding of our displacement developed from my upbringing and early life experiences and matured as I became more educated. As a graduate student in geography the more I learned, the more I wondered how we got pushed to the margins, both socially and spatially. Now, as a cultural geographer, I draw upon the tools and concepts of my discipline to explore ways of reversing these disturbing realities. I use the term “re-placement” to describe the various ways we as Native Hawaiians work to overcome our displacement. Re-placement involves reconnecting to our Hawaiian homeland and revisioning the world through indigen-ous ways of knowing and thinking which are deeply rooted in place.

In this article, I describe the lived experience of Native Hawaiians residing in and out of place in Wai‘anae and highlight the ways we, as a people, can re-place ourselves in the ‘āina. My research, both ethnographic and autobiographical, is based on fieldwork conducted while I was living in Wai‘anae. It supports the belief that Hawaiians can become empowered by our geography, as we put ourselves back into place (Fermantez, 2007). From my experience working with my community partner Ka‘ala Farm, I examine what displacement and re-placement look and feel like. Ka‘ala Farm is a community-based organization with a 30-year history of reconnecting Hawaiians to the ‘āina through educational and environmental projects ([www.kaalafarm.org](http://www.kaalafarm.org)). I was transformed by the research process, and as a result, my writing is purposely eclectic, reflexive, and at times, ironic.

On the island, we do it island style  
 From the mountain to the ocean  
 From the windward to the leeward side<sup>4</sup>

Growing up in Hau‘ula on the Windward side of O‘ahu, I developed a keen sense of aloha ‘āina (love and connection to the land). Situated on a narrow coastal strip, I was never too far from mountain or ocean and spent a good amount of my youth between the two. Roaming outside was a chance for an unsupervised escape during my sometimes not so idyllic youth. I discovered that the ‘āina was not only a book to be read, but also had the power to heal. My upbringing in Hau‘ula made me familiar with not only the natural environment, but also with the often dysfunctional social environment Native Hawaiians find themselves in today, from the Windward to the Leeward side. Symptoms of our “recovering nation”<sup>5</sup> include domestic violence, substance abuse, incarceration, poverty,

unemployment, homelessness, low educational attainment, poor health, and the list goes on (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006). As part of his diagnosis of “kō kākou pilikia” (our problems), Dr. Kekuni Blaisdell (2005) suggests that the underlying causes are depopulation, colonialism, cultural conflict, adoption of self-destructive foreign ways, and racism. One need not look too far to see living proof of these disturbing symptoms. Places like Hau‘ula on the Windward side of the island, and especially Wai‘anae on the Leeward side, typify the statistics. As “rural”<sup>6</sup> areas with a Hawaiian demographic,<sup>7</sup> both communities share a similar marginalization. I brought this shared understanding to my fieldwork on the Wai‘anae Coast, only to be taken aback by the scale and extent of the displacements I encountered.

Inā po‘i ke kai iā ‘oe, e ‘au me ke au.

*If a wave pulls you into the water, swim with the current.*

When you are struggling through a rough time in your life,  
hang on until the worst is over.

—Hale and Armitage (2001, pp. 18–19).

Wai‘anae, on the Leeward Coast of the island of O‘ahu, is literally marginalized from the urban core and at the “end of the road” (Farrington Highway, the only major road into and out of Wai‘anae, dead ends at Ka‘ena Point). Wai‘anae is also discursively marginalized, with a stigma of displacement that influences its reputation of being a demographically and culturally Hawaiian place. I found in Wai‘anae a strong, defiant, proud people who, amid a myriad of socioeconomic challenges, possess the strength to endure. It is a rural community that stubbornly harbors Hawaiian culture and people. The largest concentration of Native Hawaiians anywhere in the world resides on the Wai‘anae Coast, where over half of the population is Hawaiian.<sup>8</sup> It has a long history of existing on the margins, as a refuge of traditionalism and self-reliance, in contrast to urban centers like Honolulu (Cordy, 2002; McGrath, Brewer, & Krauss, 1973). When contrasted with the rest of Honolulu County and the State of Hawai‘i as a whole, Wai‘anae is generally worse off (in some cases dramatically) in almost every socioeconomic category measured, and this is reflected in the University of Hawai‘i Center on the Family Community Profile for Waianae:

The Wai‘anae area ranks poorly on many measures of child and family well being, including unemployment, per capita income, children in poverty, child abuse rates, and school safety. In a Statewide student survey, more than 60% of the adolescents responding in this community reported neighborhood fights, graffiti, drugs, and crime. There are high levels of disability and unmet health needs. Other areas of concern are the poor performance of 3rd graders on the math and reading SAT tests, teacher turnover, school attendance, low levels of college acceptance, and the high percentage of youths ages 16–19 who are not in school and not working. (Center on the Family, 2003b, p. 1)

Despite the statistics, through tradition, culture, resistance, and way of life, Native Hawaiians in the community embrace Wai‘anae’s reputation as a Hawaiian place (Wai‘anae Coast Culture and Arts Society, 1986). As with other Hawaiian communities, Wai‘anae presents contrasting realities for resident Native Hawaiians who find themselves both in and out of place.

## JUNK DA POSITIONS: THEORIZING DIS- AND RE-PLACEMENT

This is the land that was supposed to be for Hawaiians. We’re foreigners in our own land. If I’m obstructing justice, they can take me away [arrest me] too. I’m going to have three meals, a place to sleep, and a hot shower... Homelessness is not going ever, ever to end unless they do it right.

—Homeless woman displaced from Mā‘ili Beach in Wai‘anae (Pang, 2007).

Residents along the beach in Wai‘anae often remind me that they are not homeless, but houseless, because Hawai‘i is their home. Right now it cannot be much of a home to any of us, because we have dismantled what makes Hawai‘i home. It is time to restore it.

—Trisha Kehaulani Watson (2010)

Homelessness is one example that illustrates the overlapping dis- and re-placement of Native Hawaiians today. Of course not all homeless people are Hawaiian, but many are. When I conducted my fieldwork, Hawai‘i’s real estate bubble was growing and as a result the homeless population was dramatically increasing in Wai‘anae. Exact numbers are difficult to find, but reportedly “OHA [Office of Hawaiian Affairs] officials said about 4,000 homeless people live in Leeward Oahu, and that as many as seventy percent of them are Native Hawaiian” (“OHA helps fund,” 2006).

The situation of homeless Hawaiians in Wai‘anae illustrates the oppositional forces of dis- and re-placement. At the same time the homeless seem to be displaced, they can also be thought of as being very much in place. As I have often heard, they are “houseless” not homeless, choosing to live as Hawaiians, off of the land and sea on the beaches. In Wai‘anae, the beach has always been a gathering place for Native Hawaiians. According to archaeologists, the earliest settlements on the Leeward Coast were fishing camps (Cordy, 2002). In our contemporary world, many Hawaiian ‘ohana like mine, choose to temporarily leave the comforts and conveniences of our modern homes to go camping, living in tents on the beach. This is not to trivialize homelessness by equating it with camping, but more to emphasize the irony that campers, as well as the wealthy, occasionally seek out life on the beaches to enjoy Wai‘anae’s famed pristine waters. Millions of dollars are spent on beachfront properties along the coast, which are considered prime real estate because of their ocean views. So, in a way, the homeless get million-dollar views for free. This ironic “junk da position”<sup>9</sup> (juxtaposition) of beachfront luxury homes a stone’s throw or a rock wall away from homeless-filled beach parks is repeated again and again in the landscape along the Wai‘anae Coast. However, since I left Wai‘anae the beaches have been cleared of the homeless in what are called “sweeps” by state and city government. As a result, many homeless Hawaiians experience further displacement (Watson, 2010, p. 130).

These kinds of juxtapositions are striking realities for Native Hawaiians today. The seeming contradiction of dis- and re-placement occurring simultaneously, as exemplified by the homeless, is analogous to a kind of existential homelessness we experience as Native Hawaiians being in and out of place in our homeland. Both homeless people and their location (i.e., on the beach) epitomize liminal borderlands. Beaches are dynamic margins between land and sea that are always in a fluid state of space and time through shifting tides. This dynamic and contextual relationship between people and place through time can be characterized as dialectical. That is to say, the seemingly contradictory relationship between dis- and re-placement can be understood not as mutually exclusive opposites, but more as a state of flux alternating through time and space. While all of this philosophical theorizing of dis- and re-placement may seem irrelevant to homeless people who are trying to survive, their liminal situation on the beaches is an apt metaphor for understanding and theorizing the intense relationships between people and places.

It is in this context of ongoing dis- and re-placement, that the geographical concept of place becomes a valuable tool in helping to address the many struggles faced by Native Hawaiians today. At the same time we were experiencing the cultural revitalization that was referred to as the “Hawaiian Renaissance” in the early 1970s, the field of geography was experiencing a renewal of its own in the theorizing of place as a center of meaning (Buttimer & Seamon, 1980; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). More recent theorizing of place has emphasized the textured plurality of meanings that places hold and their associated identities of difference, reflecting diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, class, and gender (Adams, Hoelscher, & Till, 2001). Hawaiian geographers have weighed in on the heavy concept of place and added indigenous depth (Andrade, 2008; Beamer, 2008; Louis, 2008; Oliveira, 2006, 2009). The work of this cohort of Hawaiian geographers is in dialog with other Native Hawaiian scholars who speak the language of what I refer to as dis- and re-placement (Blaisdell, 2005; Howes & Osorio, 2010; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Kana‘iaupuni & Malone, 2006; Kauanui, 2008; McGregor, 2007; Meyer, 2001; Osorio, 2002; Silva, 2004; Tengan, 2008; Trask, 1999; Young, 1998,).

E ho‘opiha i ka mākālua i hakahaka.

*Fill the hole from which the plant has been removed.*

Find someone to replace one who has gone away or died.

—‘Ōlelo No‘eau (Pukui, 1983, p. 36, no. 294)

As a displaced people in our homeland, trying to find and re-place ourselves, we are like uprooted plants. I do not mean that Native Hawaiians are totally uprooted and unconnected to our homeland or that we as a people need to be *replaced*. Instead, I am playing with language, using the word “place” and the prefix “re” to suggest going back to place in space and time. As Casey explained, *re* is both spatial (as in moving back) and temporal (as in doing again), and as a result is “placial” (1993, p. 297). My use of *re* is very much in line with Kanalu Young’s (1998) “rethinking” of the Hawaiian past, Ty Kawika Tengan’s (2008) examination of the “remaking” of the Native Hawaiian men, and Kekuni Blaisdell’s notion of “rebuilding” the nation (2005, p. 17).

Using kalo (taro) as a root metaphor of re-placement, the huli (taro top) is returned to the ground and replanted after the leaf and corm are harvested. Huli can also mean to turn around or over. The huli is returned to the earth just as you huli a canoe back to an upright position should it flip over in the ocean. When I use the term re-place in this context, I mean reconnecting to our Hawaiian homeland and revisioning the world through Hawaiian ways of knowing and thinking which are rooted in place. This involves overturning the way we think and revisioning our relationships to place, people, and culture, as well as replanting ourselves into the ‘āina.

## “TALK STORY” APPROACH AND METHOD: PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

He lokomaika‘i ka manu o Kaiona

*Kind is the bird of Kaiona*

Said of one who helps a lost person find his way home. The goddess Kaiona, who lived in the Wai‘anae Mountains of O‘ahu, was said to have pet birds who could guide anyone lost in the forest back to his companions.

—‘Ōlelo No‘eau (Pukui, 1983, p. 85, no. 770)



*I reached the top of Mount Ka'ala alone, and although I was still on the trail, I felt lost. I needed one of Kaiona's birds, one of her 'iwa, to guide me in my research. I remember being told as a young boy who spent countless hours at the beach, that when you see 'iwa'iwa flying close to shore, you know a storm is coming. The storm this time, as I looked down from the highest peak on the island, was in my mind. I was struggling with my research, and I wanted to know the right path to take. I have my own 'iwa, my wife Ka'iwaālainaka, but the 'iwa I needed from Kaiona at that time was one that would give my eyes the vision to do participatory research, a process I had just barely begun...*

I chose to conduct my fieldwork in Wai'anae not only because of the displacement evident in the area but also because Ka'ala Farm was located in the community. When I first became acquainted with their work and vision, I realized they were *doing* the kind of re-placement I was theorizing. Named after Mount Ka'ala in the Wai'anae Range, Ka'ala Farm's mission is, "to reclaim and preserve the living culture of the *Po'e Kahiko* (people of old) in order to strengthen the kinship relationships between the 'āina (land, that which nourishes) and all forms of life necessary to sustain the balance of life on these vulnerable islands" ([www.kaalafarm.org](http://www.kaalafarm.org)). To fulfill this mission, the organization established a cultural learning center consisting of several acres at the back of Wai'anae Valley, where restored agricultural terraces and a hale (shelter, house) provide spaces for re-placement. When I volunteered with the organization from 2003 to 2005, I worked the agricultural areas mauka (in the upland) as well as makai (in the ocean) where canoe-based, ocean-oriented programs were being developed.

Shortly after Ka'ala Farm became my community partner I received a U.S. Community Forestry Research Fellowship designed to enable scholars to conduct research using Participatory Action Research (PAR; Fermantez, 2004). This fellowship enabled me to move my young family to the Leeward Coast to live and conduct research in Wai'anae with Ka'ala Farm. To conduct research, PAR requires that a partnership be developed between a researcher and a community or organization (McTaggart, 1997; Park, Brydon-Miller, Hall, & Jackson, 1993; Reason & Bradbury, 2001; Stringer, 1999). Such a partnership can only be reached through dialog, which in my case involved "talk story" between myself and those at Ka'ala Farm. PAR places emphasis on applied research in order to affect positive social change and as such, it is highly appropriate when working in Native Hawaiian communities like Wai'anae (Matsunaga et al., 1996; Oneha & Beckham, 2004). PAR is increasingly being embraced by geographers because of its focus on place-based fieldwork (Kinson & Elwood, 2009; Pain & Kinson, 2007).

While it can be time consuming and “messy,” PAR is designed to democratize the research process, to give voice to marginalized, or often absent voices, and to work toward social justice (Maguire, 1993, p. 176). Just as I descended from Mount Ka’ala’s lofty heights back down to sea level, the approach to my research on the ground was to try to “see level,” to see eye-to-eye with my research partners and community members. The spatial focus of my research was on Wai’anae moku (district) and as far as the temporal dimension, I focused on the contemporary lived sense of displacement and re-placement I documented while living on the coast from November 2003 to April 2005. My methods were “talk story” in nature, including participant observation, semistructured individual interviews, and group interviews.

## DISPLACEMENT: GENERATIONS OF GAPS

The displacement of Native Hawaiians has been experienced differently, by generations of individuals, in various times, and diverse places. Just as ‘ohana and generations are linked to place, they also share a displacement that spans time and space through genealogy. However, there has been a perceptual shift in the way displacement has been experienced over the past few generations. Through my research, I documented how three generations experienced different kinds of displacements.

First, there is the kūpuna generation, our elders and ancestors who lived the culture and were punished and disrespected for doing so. The next group is the mākua generation, made up of the children of the kūpuna generation. This group was not fully taught the Hawaiian culture and faced assimilation by both the local as well as the broader American culture. The third group is the mo’opuna generation, the youth of today. This youthful cohort has benefited from the cultural revival and activism of the recent past and unlike previous generations, feels proud to be Hawaiian. They have a sense of the losses experienced by previous generations but have also inherited an empowered, critical, and at times a somewhat entitled stance toward their displacement.

While these categories are very broad generalizations, they are useful inasmuch as they demonstrate that different age cohorts experience displacement differently.

In reality, there are different permutations, gradations, and overlap between generations and individuals through time that make a three-stage model overly simplistic. Furthermore, the simultaneous experience of dis- and re-placement leaves individuals in a state of flux at different times and places in their lives. The seeming gaps or borders between generations are less important than the recognition of the collective experience of displacement. What I am calling attention to is the fact that, while experienced differently, these displacements are always relevant and significant.

Personally, I feel I am on the margins between the mākuā generation and the mo'opuna generation because I still harbor some of the negativity associated with being Hawaiian that seems to be absent in many of the younger, proud Hawaiians. At the same time, I am increasingly empowered as I study and live Hawaiian culture and gain increased respect for the ingenuity and excellence of our kūpuna. Being displaced on the margins between these generations is really what inspired this research and as Hawaiians holomua (progress, persist) and reorient ourselves, we recognize that the only way to overcome displacement is by linking the generations and making meaningful contributions in our home communities. Connecting the mo'opuna generation to the kūpuna and their knowledge is a strong focus of the work at Ka'ala Farm. As expressed by Ka'ala Farm founder, Eric Enos:

I guess it's part of the displacement we all felt yeah, I mean you know growing up...we weren't taught to be proud to be Hawaiian, it was always negative...at that time it was more like the Western was the way to go...

Then also we used to make fun of the communities where we came from as being backwards, as being the bush, you know that kind of attitude toward country, you know like country hicks...they don't know how for talk correct English...coming through that and then going to university where you got displaced too, because...at that time Hawaiians were such a minority...and then coming back to the [Wai'anae] community which I'm from...I knew we had to do something. (personal communication, 2005)

Fortunately, leaders of the mākuā generation, like Eric Enos, are able to forge powerful connections among generations and between people and ‘āina. The focus of this article is on the experiences of members of the mo‘opuna generation, whose mana‘o (ideas, opinions, insights) most powerfully exemplify re-placement in Wai‘anae.

## MO‘OPUNA GENERATION

*It is an amazing thing to hear a young child chant in the Hawaiian language, and of course, there was a touch of parental pride when I heard my oldest daughter, Kialoa, who was 3 years old at the time, chant the oli “I kū mau mau” and Kū i ka pono. I was taken aback, not only because of the language skills she was gaining at Pūnana Leo o Wai‘anae, but also because of the content of what she was chanting. Here she was, chanting words like kū (to stand), kū‘ē (to resist), and pono (right, correct) at a time when she had only recently in her young life learned to stand, when she was beginning to hone her skills at resisting parental authority, and when she was just starting to learn the difference between right and wrong.*

*To kū (stand) is a very situated and place-bound action—you can’t stand literally or socially (have social standing) in a vacuum. An important part of Hawaiian re-placement is to kū‘ē by taking a stand and resisting our displacement, and the overarching goal is to get back to a state of pono.*

*She also chanted to kū mau mau, to stand side by side and huki (pull) together as when manually hauling a felled tree from the forest down the mountain so that it can be fashioned into a canoe. Re-placement is a collective labor, one that is intergenerational. That these words fell from the lips of a child is instructive, because for Native Hawaiians, re-placing ourselves is a lifelong journey of standing, pulling together, and striving for pono across generations.*

Generally speaking the mo‘opuna generation, unlike the kūpuna and mākuā generations, has grown up politically astute and comprises empowered Hawaiians. This group is perceived to have it easier, having benefited from the activism of the prior generations whose voices of resistance grew louder in the 1960s and 1970s. Jody Pihana, who was at the time a mother of teenagers, explained how this most recent generation has benefited from the previous two:

More are feeling connected, and I think Ka‘ala [Farm]...plays a big role in the community. ‘Cause like Hawaiian studies [at Wai‘anae High School], a lot of the kids [before would say,] “Hawaiian studies? Why you going over there?” and “Ugh, you dancing *hula*?” and you know that kind stuff. But with the changes and how sovereignty and all of that started changing, [it] was being more accepted. And so you know like my mom used to say that when they were growing up or when their parents were growing up you couldn’t speak Hawaiian, it wasn’t right to speak Hawaiian and all of that. So I think like from then to now [there have been] so much changes, the attitudes change that now people [are] more proud to learn to speak the language, they more willing to go out into the lo‘i (taro field) and work and do more Hawaiian stuff. And I think plenty in the community, and I think not everybody [is] connected but I think a whole lot more than 20 years ago...

And our kū i ka pono marches.<sup>10</sup> I think that made one impact on the kids, feeling Hawaiian and being around so much people that’s Hawaiian and fighting for the same cause. And I told them, at least when you guys [were] marching, you guys [were] marching with thousands of people. When we had to march from Mākua,<sup>11</sup> only had us. That was embarrassing at that time. But now I see my son, he’s the same age as me back then, you know they[’re] all proud. A lot of his friends they[’re] out there marching.

This young and pride-filled generation has benefited from forward momentum spurred onward by the revitalization of the culture that occurred in previous generations. In the past, there was a negative stigma that went along with Hawaiians who sought to reclaim the land and culture. While Native Hawaiian activism is still stigmatized and disavowed by many, including Native Hawaiians, there is a much broader base of support today than in the past for the perpetuation of Hawaiian rights and culture.

As Native Hawaiians are empowered by a growing sense of Hawaiian pride, it is important to remember kuleana, the responsibilities and rights that come along with the benefits and burdens of being Hawaiian. One lingering burden for Hawaiians is that at the same time we are being re-placed there are still significant dis-placements occurring. Among the difficulties the pride generation faces is that although they are perceived to have things better today, they often face new and different challenges as well. At the same time they are empowered by their Hawaiian identities, they are also keenly aware of their displacement as compared to other Hawai'i residents vis-à-vis persistent socioeconomic inequity.

## YOUTH ON THE EDGE

Despite their professions of pride, the Wai'anae youth I interviewed also felt displacement. They expressed their sense of being on the margins of society with a feeling of immediacy, framing their displacement in both abstract and concrete ways. Their feelings were succinctly expressed by a Wai'anae High School Hawaiian Studies student who explained simply that displacement "sucks." As such, it appears to suck the energy, creativity, self-respect, and sense of empowerment out of the youth. Even though they did not seem to fully grasp why they felt this way, they were aware of broader displacing influences at work. They saw powerful forces like economic development as wasteful activities that squeezed their people out. Their frustration at being at the bottom of the socioeconomic spectrum was expressed in terms of race and ethnicity, and directed at those at the top. Racial and ethnic concerns are complicated by the diversity that exists in the vast majority of Native Hawaiian 'ohana (Kana'iaupuni, 2004; Ledward, 2007). Youth were keenly aware of their subordinate position in their homeland and they often directed their discontent toward dominant ethnic groups.<sup>12</sup>

The Wai'anae youth I interviewed felt marginalized even within the broader Native Hawaiian community. They had a sense of injustice because they felt that they did not benefit from some of the entitlements that went to other Hawaiians who were perceived as (and very likely were) less needy. This youthful generation demonstrates most drastically the simultaneity of dis- and re-placement. At the same time they have burgeoning pride they also face a set of displacements compounded from previous generations. One could say both pride and shame seem to be as unevenly distributed as are entitlements.

## ALTER(ED) NATIVES

*She was ma'i, sick from a disease that no one could cure. The fever came and grew and seemed to take away her hā, her breath of life. The kahuna (priest) had tried all his knowledge of lā'au lapa'au (medicine), and none of his remedies had any effect. Her breathing was slow now, steady, as one whose soul will soon leap from Kā'ena, the leina or jumping off point for the dead, to the depths, the darkness, the deep uliuli, to the abyss of pō uli uli, down...i lalo...down...*

*Shouts from outside the hale, brought her back to consciousness. Frantic voices raised in anger. From the mumble of voices she heard the name of her love, Puhinalo. All the men of the village had been jealous with the rumors of their courtship, and their suspicions were confirmed when they saw the acknowledgment in her eyes that she was taken. He had been good to them, providing fish in abundance for her and her mother. But now they say her sickness has come because he's a kupua (demigod), but how could this be? Perhaps that explains the euphoria of their short time together, never to happen again. Puhinalo, all along an eel, a deceptive demigod.*

*And so the battle ensues, the men of the village trying desperately to hold the giant eel down to kill it. Spears don't work. The ahi, fire, the answer, burning and cleansing, the writhing is over. Scars of his pain remain on the valley walls just as in her na'au—a longing, a wanting that lingers, a haunting craving that never goes away.<sup>13</sup>*

As part of Ho'omau Ke Ola, a culturally based addiction recovery program, recovering addicts would come up to work at Ka'ala Farm's Cultural Learning Center. Their work involved engaging with the 'āina; planting and harvesting kalo was part of the rehabilitation process. In these sessions, they went from "jonesing"<sup>14</sup> to joking about their struggle with addiction. They had been taught to avoid the triggers that would make them want to do drugs again and joking about it wasn't helping. As we walked from the hale to the upper edge of the lo'i at the Cultural Learning Center, Uncle Butch pointed out the scar on the mountain side. He explained that the snake-shaped, black mark on the valley wall was left by Puhinalo, a kupua who could change from a man to an eel and who was eventually killed by the people. It occurred to me that the scars of addiction are left in the minds and souls of these men and women as a reminder of their struggles. It is in this same valley, whose walls hold the markings of an ancient tale, that their scars are being left behind. Written on Wai'anae Valley is a reminder of the ability of people to rid themselves of something that was making them sick. Through their time at Ka'ala Farms, recovering addicts recognized the 'āina has the power to heal and

absorb their pain and struggle. Tattooed (or branded) on the 'āina is a permanent reminder that the scourge can be overcome, but it takes time, recognition, action, and healing to get rid of Puhinalo.

Puhi means burn, smoke, and blow and also eel. Nalo means lost (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Too many of our people have been made ma'i by contact with Puhinalo. They are nalo (lost) from the puhi (burning, smoking, and doing blow) and this problem cuts across all generations of Native Hawaiians. The substances may change, but the symptoms of displacement are endemic in the population. From the start, I had seen drug abuse as both symptom and cause of displacement and I had anticipated that working with clients of Ho'omau Ke Ola up in the lo'i would help me address this in my research. However, I was unable to get permission to interview the clients. Despite this drawback, drugs cropped up again and again in the interviews that I was able to conduct although my interview guide did not contain specific questions about drug abuse. Nevertheless, interviewees referred to personal drug abuse, as well as drug abuse by family members and friends, or simply the broader Wai'anae community. Over the course of my fieldwork, it became clear that drug abuse was an important factor in the displacement of Native Hawaiians in Wai'anae.

Of course, drug abuse is not limited to the Native Hawaiian population. Nevertheless, there is a high prevalence of substance abuse in the population (Hawai'i Department of Health, 2008). Although drug abuse negatively impacts all sectors of society, the marginalization and cycle of dysfunction in the predominantly Hawaiian community of Wai'anae has seen a disturbing number of Native Hawaiians turn to drugs. Arguably, those who are incarcerated are perhaps the most displaced sector of the Native Hawaiian population. Scholars have called attention to the criminalization and over-representation of Hawaiians in prisons (Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2008, 2010; Chesney-Lind & Bilsky, 2011). Many incarcerated Hawaiians are serving time for drug-related offenses. Most, if not all, of the participants of Ho'omau Ke Ola were under court order to attend a drug rehabilitation program.

To Hawaiians, drugs offer an altered native (alternative) lifestyle and temporary escape from harsh realities. Refuge in a drug culture and community was perceived as a means of filling the gaps various displacements in their lives had left. As I pointed out to the youth in a teaching moment during my group interview with



them, substance abuse was symptomatic of the displacement we were discussing. At least one of the youths remained unable to escape the grip drugs had on her life, even though she professed awareness of their negative effects.

I think about it you know, to be honest with you I feel guilty every time I do it, but like I said it's something I enjoy doing. And I don't know what, if I'm going to have to hit rock bottom in order to quit but to be honest with you...I've been doing it for a very long time...it's not something I'm proud of...I know it's wrong, I know what can happen, and I know what will happen, but it's a risk that I take, you know what I mean...everybody gotta die one day.<sup>15</sup>

Such a fatalistic way of thinking references the perceived inevitability surrounding cycles of displacement. When it comes to substance abuse, our people need a different kind of 'ai pōhaku<sup>16</sup> (eating stones, a reference to resistance). We need to resist our displacement instead of getting stoned. For the mākuā generation, the social climate of the 1960s and 1970s which spawned the Hawaiian renaissance also coincided with a rise in the drug culture nationally and locally. For the youth of today, the negative impacts of drug abuse come harder and faster, as exemplified by the current ice (crystal methamphetamine) epidemic “tweaking”<sup>17</sup> altered natives at an alarming rate and scale. Drugs and displacement feed into each other, with the sense of displacement leading to drug use which, in turn, leads to further displacement in a vicious downward spiral. A more defeatist state of consciousness comes about from being trapped in the cycle, a condition described as being a “chronic”—a slang term referring to a person who suffers from long-term drug addiction.

## RE-PLACEMENT: BRIDGING THE GAPS

The fact that substance abuse cuts across generations makes it a historical and collective experience as well as an individual one for Native Hawaiians. While I have made some artificial boundaries between the kūpuna, mākuā, and mo'opuna

generations, the central point is that displacement is a shared experience. I separated the generations for analytical convenience, and have focused on the youth because of the poignancy of their experience in my work, but in actuality the generations are bound together like an intricate 'upena (fishing net), as Eric Enos explained:

Our collective work...[fits] the analogy of the 'upena. If [the] 'upena has all kind of pukas [holes]...then it no longer serves its purpose, you know that safety net...So that's the analogy of...working the pieces together so they form a good solid bond or good fabric. (personal communication, 2005)

It is up to Hawaiians of all ages to bridge the generation gaps and repair the net by sewing up the pukas of displacement. Bridging these gaps requires an increased sensitivity to the importance of kūpuna connecting to mākuā and to the mo'opuna and vice versa. Making these intergenerational connections is a starting point for practicing and institutionalizing re-placement.

*A tree fell in the woods and no one heard, but Keaolani knew, she had always known. She knew she would be the branch that was gifted, shaped and hewn, steered by the uncles, and the knowledge transferred to the keiki (children). Connections from kūpuna to keiki, from mauka to makai, from the koa (forest tree) to the ko'a (coral head, fishing grounds), from the broad to the narrow and then back again. She would be a tool, not just a vessel to transport through space but also to carry on through time and link children to their ancestors...*

Keaolani was the name of the koa outrigger fishing canoe we used in Ka'ala Farm's E Mau Ana program. Designed to teach Wai'anae Coast youth how to fish using the hoop net, the highlight of the program was going 'ōpelu (mackerel scad) fishing with the uncles, Uncle Eddie Ka'anana and Uncle Walter Paulo. As she cycled through the environment from up mauka as a koa tree to makai as a canoe, Keaolani was symbolic of the way Hawaiians are linked to the 'āina, from mauka to makai, as well as to our kūpuna through our genealogies.

Keaolani was beautifully made, and I had second thoughts about trusting such a prized possession to the youth. We also used Keaolani in partnership with the Wai'anae High School Hawaiian Studies Program, and a few statements from my field notes express my sentiments at the time:

March 9, 2004

The kids have no idea it seems, what a valuable thing they have in a koa canoe. Some don't even go in the water. If I could go to school in the ocean it would be in a heart beat...I don't know what to say.

April 29, 2004

Went riding on the canoe with the kids—on the job training for me as steersman. Went outside of the breakwater at Pōka'i—chased dolphins. The kids' (1st crew) reward for being consistent. Still those kids have stink ear.<sup>18</sup> Talking with Eric later about the kids' lack of responsibility and respect. I made a comment [it's almost like] pearls before swine—but on the other hand, who else should be riding this koa canoe? At a symbolic level, I'd rather have these kids riding on it, at the grass roots, than the canoe sitting in some hotel. Culture as lived—not artificial. Also [there are] downstream/current effects. [The] kids may not realize [the] privilege till later—but [it's] not pohō (a loss, in vain).

Kealani is much heavier than modern fiberglass canoes, and consequently she is harder to huli once capsized. In a displaced community like Wai'anae, re-placement is an uphill battle. Turning things around and bringing about change is hard work. Huli also means to search for, explore, seek, and study. As we examine re-placement, we need to think of the science of how a canoe floats. Canoes float by displacing water. Likewise re-placement floats on displacement. Re-placement is more than resistance, and it occurs when Native Hawaiians carve out a place in their homeland in which they can be empowered and thrive.

## RECONNECTING

*Our toes clenched the cool sand as the waves slowly covered our feet and then receded from the shore at Pōka'i Bay. The sky shimmered and the sun seemed to stand still, making sure that Uncle Eddie, then in his late seventies, had enough time to share his*

*knowledge with us. He was deliberate as he explained and demonstrated how to prepare Keaolani, our koa fishing canoe, for the fishing trip. He spoke softly as he methodically wrapped the net, tied the weight, and prepared the kā'ai (cloth bundle of food) to feed the fish. I don't think the kids fully appreciated the privilege of having this respected kupuna in their presence teaching them, I know I didn't.*

Uncle Eddie Ka'anana had grown up in the fishing village of Miloli'i on Hawai'i Island. In Ka'ala Farm's early days, he was asked along with Uncle Walter Paulo to come and teach the youth of Wai'anae to fish for 'ōpelu using traditional methods. Uncle Eddie was the kupuna of Ka'ala Farm for a number of years until he felt the need to venture on and serve as kupuna for a Hawaiian-medium school where his invaluable knowledge could help to further perpetuate the language and culture. We were fortunate that he came to Pōka'i Bay at the conclusion of our E Mau Ana program in the summer of 2004 to show us how to fish for 'ōpelu.

Traditional 'ōpelu fishing requires going to the ko'a<sup>19</sup> regularly and feeding the fish. When it was time to catch the fish, they would be accustomed to being fed, and the fishermen using a large hoop net would skillfully catch the fish that had gathered to feed. What Ka'ala Farm was doing in the E Mau Ana program was feeding the kids and skillfully trying to net them into the wa'a (canoe) which would help them on their journey forward. Traditionally, you would not say you were going fishing because the fish would hear you were coming. Instead you would say you were going holoholo (to go out for a walk or ride). Similarly we would not tell the kids that we were actually catching them in the net of cultural awareness and pride.

We were truly blessed to have had Uncle Eddie with us to pass on his wealth of knowledge. He passed away in 2006, two summers after the E Mau Ana program. Just as the name of our summer program suggested, it is up to us to e mau ana (perpetuate) and to carry on with us the knowledge from kūpuna like Uncle Eddie. I will always remember the words he spoke to me the first time I met him. He explained that he felt his kuleana as a kupuna was to "make sure the connections stay connected." Despite all my talk of displacement, Uncle Eddie suggested that an important starting point is recognizing that the connections remain despite everything that has happened to Hawaiians over the past few hundred years. In speaking to Hawaiians today you often hear about the "disconnect" that is felt. But we need to understand that the connections are still here. However, merely recognizing the connections is not good enough. It requires effort and focus for

those connections to be maintained and sustained over the generations, and this remains our work now. The words live on and the connections will stay connected, as expressed by the Wai‘anae youth in the E Mau Ana Program:

**KALI:** Do you guys feel more connected to the land, to the ocean?

**MARCELLA:** Yeah...Now I can show more respect than I used to. 'Cause before I never even used to care, I used to just litter and all kind stuff and now it's like, now you know how much is out there and what not...

**KAPENA:** You gotta always go back to the, to your ancestors, all your roots.

**KALI:** So how does that make you guys think about yourselves as Hawaiians?

**MARCELLA:** That we're capable of doing things that we think we can't do. Like for me, I was always down on myself, I was I can't paddle there, or I cannot make this canoe paddle, or hell no, I not going go up there, and look, we did what we wanted to. Even that day was kind of rough, never have what we was looking for, ah...maybe we can go next time, hopefully we still can go next time and maybe we might catch something. And I liked it, it was a great experience. There were some people that we didn't like there, but we learned to be cool with them.

The previous exchange by a young group of Native Hawaiians demonstrates the transformative nature of re-placement. By linking themselves to the ways of their kūpuna, the youths developed pride in themselves as they learned new skills, attitudes, and competencies.

## RE-LEARNING: AN OLD/NEW WAY OF SEEING

Told is the tale of the mischievous one  
who fished out all the islands and captured the sun  
His deeds and tasks I will unmask so that you'll understand  
that before there was a Clark Kent there was a  
Hawaiian Superman

He fished out the islands with his magic hook  
There would have been more but somebody looked  
In blue morning skies the sun he entwined  
To slow down its flight so kapa could dry

Mischievous, marvelous, magical Maui, hero of this land  
The one the only, the ultimate, Hawaiian supaman  
Maui, Maui, Maui, the Hawaiian supaman

—Kamakawiwo'ole (1993b)

In this song about Maui, the legendary Polynesian trickster, Bruddah IZ (Israel Kamakawiwo'ole), a Hawaiian superhero in his own right, retold some of the mo'oelo (stories) about the "Hawaiian Superman." This is an excellent example of taking old knowledge passed down from previous generations and recoding it and reinterpreting it anew. Just as kūpuna such as Uncle Eddie pass on knowledge, this song demonstrates how younger generations are re-learning Hawaiian culture as part of the re-placement process and making it their own. Re-learning Hawaiian indigenous epistemology enables a renewed understanding of place which brings forth old knowledge made new again in our time (Meyer, 2001). This renewed knowledge in time and space generates an old/new kind of way of seeing the world "through the eyes of the ancestors" (Andrade, 2008). The knowledge existed before and was brought back out of the obscurity of the Pō (depth, darkness) to the surface as it was re-learned.

Just like Maui the Hawaiian Superman, the trick that our kūpuna have is the ability to snare the sun and make time stand still for a brief moment as they share knowledge of the past with us. Also like Maui, they possess magic fishhooks which they use to pull submerged islands of knowledge up out of the deep, dark waters.

As we in the contemporary context incorporate re-emerging knowledges into our way of knowing and being we gain the necessary tools for re-righting our canoe and re-writing our stories, histories, and geographies.

The re-learning process also involves research. While conventional methodologies such as library and archival research are salient, they are by no means the only way research is done. Like Maui's search for fire, this knowledge seeking is driven by a burning desire to perpetuate the culture. While at Ka'ala Farm's Learning Center one day, Eric Enos explained how finding submerged knowledge is hard work:

[Re-learning cultural knowledge is] part of our research, we see it in the old writings and we looked at it, and even in the old writings it's incomplete. A lot of things are for you to find the answer, or to find the different parts of it. 'Cause there was a break, for Hawaiians there's a two-hundred-year break for many of us. For some Hawaiians maybe not, but for us you know, since we have to come back, we have to research the *mo'olelo* a little bit and then plug in the pieces.

Just like Maui you know. You can go find Maui's birth place in Nānākuli, and Hina in the cave in Lualualei...But every island has their Maui of course, they claim it. Well you find Maui all throughout the Pacific, so people have these stories, so people have taken their stories and they've adapted it to their sense of place (personal communication, 2005).

In addition to researching and making *mo'olelo* come alive, individuals like Eric Enos of the *mākua* generation, resemble Maui who sought out "the secret of fire [that] was lost somewhere in time" by going "in search of those who hold the information [the *kūpuna* generation], so fire could be used by all the future generations" (Kamakawiwo'ole, 1993b). In the case of Ka'ala Farm, the staff strategically recruited individuals like Uncle Eddie who held critical Hawaiian knowledge. In this way, cultural practices such as 'ōpelu fishing and *kalo* growing will continue to nourish and sustain future generations.

## RE-LEARNING THROUGH MAKING/DOING: MA KA HANA KA 'IKE

*Maui's fishing line was almost to the breaking point as the waters surged behind the canoe. His brothers paddled in the front, he was seated in the back as steersman and fisherman. He pulled hard on the line, his hands raw, his muscles tense, hard work even for a demigod. "Hoe...hoe...hoe" he yelled above his wrangling. This was indeed a large fish, one that could only be caught with his magic fishhook. His brothers grunted and gritted their teeth as they pulled their paddles harder...and harder...and snap! One of them looked back and in an instant the line broke, leaving a seething fish behind them as land fragmented into the islands of Hawai'i Nei.<sup>20</sup>*

The hoe (canoe paddle) is one of the kinolau (body forms) of re-placement. In our journey, we need to look ahead and paddle forward so that we transform and reshape our worldviews into new/old islands of knowledge pulled out of the sea. The trick is to not look back into displacing habits. At the same time we stand in the present, with our "back to the future" and our "eyes fixed on the past" to learn from our ancestors, we must also stop looking back to the negativity of displacement (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 22). Looking back and concentrating on displacing habits hinders us from moving forward, and breaking the line can stop us from reconnecting to our refreshing and re-placed homeland. This work is like fashioning the paddle that will propel our people homeward.

As part of the E Mau Ana program, Uncle Pat Pine helped the youth make their own paddles at the woodshop site at Ka'ala Farm. Using a template, we cut the pieces of wood, glued them together, sanded them, and varnished them. The work took several days, and this was a memorable and transformative experience for the participants. In the process we learned a valuable lesson. Before coating the paddles with varnish, the youths decorated their paddles. As uncles, we felt that in addition to the paddle's practical function, it should be adorned with creative artwork the students could take pride in. One day we discovered that a youth had written "bad words" on the paddle. The offender did not think much of it because it was not done to someone else's paddle. This created a tense teaching moment when Eric Enos, an artist as well as activist, noticed the hewa (mistake). With controlled intensity, Eric let the youth know how wrong it was to desecrate something that they had invested their energy, creativity, and mana (spiritual power) in. The message was clear and the bad words were removed from the paddle. Eric was Maui that day, turning the situation around, steering the canoe,



and pulling up the mana into their understanding. One of the paddlers had looked back to old habits, and the line broke, but the mistake was erased and the lesson learned. The lesson was reaffirmed when I interviewed the participants as a group:

**MARCELLA:** You know what was cool? Making the canoe paddle thing. I thought that was cool. That was a very good experience.

**KAPENA:** How much of you guys still get you guys' paddle?

**MOKI:** I still get mine.

**KALEO:** I still get mine.

**MARCELLA:** Mine is hanging up on my wall.

**MOKI:** Mine too.

**MARCELLA:** I have two paddles.

**KALI:** So when you look at your canoe paddle on the wall what does that make you...

**MARCELLA:** I feel proud, brah, I feel strong like yeah I made this paddle, I wen' create em.

**KALEO:** It was a lot of hard work.

**MARCELLA:** 'Cause everybody in here had one different shape, different style and everybody's one looked good, and I liked mine.

**J-BOY:** Some of em had bad words on em, but...

**MARCELLA:** But yeah, then they wen' correct em...

**MOKI:** They wen' take em off.

**KAPENA:** What was good about it was that...

**MARCELLA:** We got to use it.

**KAPENA:** Yeah we used it.

**MARCELLA:** We got to use it when we went out...

**KAPENA:** And we felt more proud because our hard work got into it, our mana went into it. So that's like from us, you know what I mean. That's from us...

**KALEO:** Eh you know that brah!

The moral of this story is that even though we occasionally look back to our old displacing habits, we can overcome these shortcomings, wipe the negativity away, and move forward.

Creating paddles is also symbolic of the way re-placement helps us as Native Hawaiians shape and form our cultural identities. There is a culturally based template that is originally shaped and structured around shared ways of knowing and being, but each individual is allowed to work from that pattern to create a unique design. As Marcella explained, "everybody in here had one different shape, different style and everybody's one looked good, and I liked mine." From that original template the paddles are worked, sanded, shaped, and painted. Paddles and identities are constantly reworked through space and time and layered with experience. The paddles like identities are also used to propel Hawaiians forward as they are, in Bruddah IZ's phrase, "facing future" (Kamakawiwo'ole, 1993a).

Moving forward by making paddles and learning to fish required work and effort, and thus it was not simply talking or theorizing, but action that made the difference or as the well-known 'ōlelo no'ēau (Hawaiian proverb) suggests "ma ka hana ka 'ike" (in working one learns). In our group interview, the youths were able to verbalize their transformation, recognizing the importance of doing and not simply talking:

**KALI:** When you think about the program and what that means to you as a Hawaiian, as a contemporary Hawaiian... Moki, no try hide behind Kapena...what do you think?

**MOKI:** I thought it was a good experience, learning my culture and stuff.

**KALI:** How about Sam?

**SAM:** It inspired me to paddle for school.

**KALI:** You're paddling now yeah, I heard?

**SAM:** Yeah, it inspired me to get with my roots and paddle for a canoe club.

**KALI:** How about the idea that you guys are actually doing it, not just talking about it. You know like a lot of times when you talk about Hawaiians...

**KAPENA:** It's just all mouth, no action.

**KALI:** ...Hawaiians used to do this and Hawaiians used to do that, but how about actually doing it...

**KAPENA:** ...All mouth no action ah most of em.

**MARCELLA:** I never thought I was going to follow through with that 'cause it kind of got irritating and tough everyday...'cause to be honest, you guys were kind of tough on us. I wanted to just lip everyone every step of the way, I just wanted to keep going and not shut up but you know there's a limit to everything yeah. But yeah it was cool, it was really cool I liked it. It was fun when we were stuck out there, remember, when we were the last ones to like come in, brah was so funny.

Through challenging experiences, which pushed them to new heights and in the process empowered them, the youths were inspired to take action. The positive reinforcement that came through the "doing" also helps guide who the youths are becoming. I have focused on the re-placement of the mo'opuna generation in this article, but their experiences feed back into the narratives of previous generations. This process provides evidence of the powerful and transformative nature of re-placement.

## HA'INA: THE STORY IS TOLD

There are many lessons to be learned from the stories of dis- and re-placement that have been told in this article. They suggest that as Hawaiians endure simultaneous and overlapping moments of dis- and re-placement, we are empowered when we purposefully link generations through cultural revitalization. Although displacement oftentimes takes disparate forms, it is nevertheless a shared experience for Hawaiians. Likewise, for Hawaiian well-being to be further strengthened, re-placement must be a shared experience that links the kūpuna, mākua, and mo'opuna generations. Embedded in places like Wai'anae and inherent in the Hawaiian people are the roots of re-placement. Therefore, cultivating relationships among generations and places is essential for fostering the positive social change we desire for our 'ohana.

The stories shared in this article also reveal valuable ways of thinking through dis- and re-placement. Homelessness and substance abuse can be seen as both symptoms of and metaphors for displacement. In a similar way, the huli of the kalo, the huli-ing of the canoe, and the paddle become helpful tools for practicing re-placement. Kūpuna and mākua, like Maui with the secret of fire, play a vital role in teaching the mo'opuna. They also have the magic to fish out islands of knowledge that link generations by collapsing time and space. As we make sure the connections Uncle Eddie spoke about stay connected, we re-learn old ways of knowing that nurture the formation of positive cultural identities.

Although this article is grounded in Wai'anae, these stories speak to our people more generally. They should resonate with us as Native Hawaiians in whatever place we find ourselves. Since leaving Wai'anae, I can see huli (changes) in my own life as I am constantly re-placing myself and my 'ohana. Like the huli kalo, I continue to replant myself in the 'āina, and I am growing new sprouts as my 'ohana expands. Like so many others, I am also continually huli-ing (overturning) my canoe as I consider what it means to be Hawaiian in an everchanging world, full of competing systems of knowledge and power.

## HA'INA HOU

*Because we had moved to the windward side, we knew we had to go back to visit the leeward side. When we got to Wai'anae we decided to drive to the end of the road. My daughter Ka'ena was born just after we moved away from the coast, so we had to take her to see her namesake. My 'ohana and my children are bigger now, and unlike when we used to live there, they are now old enough to ask hard questions about the people living on the beach. I'm surprised at how many more people there are on the beaches, on the margins toward Ka'ena Point, and how the beach parks are a lot emptier than they used to be. My wife reminded the kids and me of how lucky we are to have the house and food we do, lucky...*

*Lucky we got to see Mahina and Cheryl Pukahi. Their kids are a lot bigger, and I'm sure they're asking harder questions too. Makaaniloa, the youngest, was just a baby when we lived there. He is big now and the winds of change are still blowing—strong and steady, from one generation to the next in this 'ohana...*

*The song "Aloha 'iā 'o Wai'anae" speaks of the famous Kaiāulu wind, specific to this place—it is a pleasant and gentle breeze (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 115). Kaiāulu also means community, and more 'ohana need to feel the pleasant wind of change, to experience the community breeze that will help answer the questions of the next generation...*

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Kali Fermantez is an assistant professor of Hawaiian and Pacific Islands studies at Brigham Young University–Hawai'i. He received a PhD in geography and graduate certificates in Pacific Islands studies and international cultural studies from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Fermantez grew up in Hau'ula and his formative education was on the North Shore (Hau'ula Elementary, Kahuku High School, BYU–Hawai'i). He sees returning home with his 'ohana to teach as a way to give back and move our people forward.

#### NOTES

- 1 Some of the Hawaiians I spoke with have explained that they do not feel displaced at all. I respect their positions; however, the way I am framing this article includes the literal, figurative, and discursive displacements that inevitably impact all Hawaiians in some way, shape, or form.
- 2 Houston Wood's *Displacing Natives* (1999) addresses the discursive and what he calls "rhetorical displacement" of Hawaiians.

- 3 “This” in Pidgin English (Hawaiian Creole English).
- 4 From the song *Island Style* (1996) by Jon Cruz.
- 5 “Recovering Nation” comes from the title of Wende Marshall’s (1999) dissertation focusing on Wai’anae and refers to both healing as well as a resurgent nationalism.
- 6 The entire island of O’ahu is technically urban but in local usage and vernacular the areas encompassed by the Ko’olauloa district (North Shore) and Wai’anae district (Leeward Coast) are considered “rural.”
- 7 The *Native Hawaiian Data Book* (2006) published by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs shows higher concentrations of Native Hawaiians on O’ahu on the margins of the urban core in the districts of Wai’anae, Ko’olauloa (where Hau’ula is), and Ko’olaupoko.
- 8 Based on the University of Hawai’i College of Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources Community Profiles for Wai’anae (Center on the Family, 2003b) and Nānākuli (Center on the Family, 2003a), U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000 demographic profiles for Nānākuli (<http://censtats.census.gov/data/HI/1601553900.pdf>) and Wai’anae (<http://censtats.census.gov/data/HI/1601574450.pdf>), and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs 2006 *Data Book*.
- 9 My ironic use of Pidgin.
- 10 She was referring to large general protest marches in 2004 by Native Hawaiians to demonstrate unity and call attention to the vital need to address a range of grievances.
- 11 Mākua Valley is an area on the Wai’anae Coast currently occupied by the U.S. Military.
- 12 See Kana’iaupuni (2004) and Ledward (2007) regarding diversity in Hawaiian ‘ohana and Okamura (1998) and Trask (2000) regarding the politics of multiculturalism in Hawai’i.
- 13 My adaptation of a story told by Eric Enos and Ka’ala’s staff. See also a version in Ross Cordy’s *Ancient History of Wai’anae* (2002).
- 14 Slang for addictive craving.

15 Although I obtained permission to use the names of interviewees, I have left this quotation anonymous to protect this individual's privacy.

16 *'Ai pōhaku* means literally "eat stone" and is a phrase from the deceptively pleasant song of resistance "Mele 'Ai Pōhaku" better known as "Kaulana na pua o Hawai'i" written by Ellen Wright Prendergast (Wilcox, Hollinger, Hussey, & Nogelmeier, 2003, p. 115). The song is based on the true account of Native Hawaiians who would prefer to "eat stones" as a result of losing employment, rather than sign an oath of loyalty to those who had overthrown Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893 (Silva, 2004, pp. 134–135).

17 Slang for the erratic, bizarre, and frenetic behavior of crystal methamphetamine users.

18 Conveys the idea of not listening well in Pidgin.

19 The ko'a is a place in the ocean where the fish gather and fishermen can enhance the gathering of fishes at the ko'a by feeding them regularly.

20 My version of the story of Maui fishing up the Hawaiian Islands.