Hoʻopili: Exploring social sciences from the *ʻāina*

Kamakanaokealoha M. Aquino

Abstract

Decolonising and indigenising the academy continues to be a trend for higher educational institutions around the world. As a result of the 2012 *Ke Au Hou Native Hawaiian Advancement Task Force Report*, Hui ʻĀina Pilipili, the Native Hawaiian Initiative, was established to provide a coordinated effort to decolonise and indigenise the College of Social Sciences at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. This article explores what is means to re(create) social sciences from a Hawaiian perspective. It concludes with reflections on the ways in which the College of Social Sciences has made progress in its commitment to a Hawaiian place of learning.

Keywords: Native Hawaiian, Indigenising, Decolonising, Higher education, Social sciences

Introduction

In 2012, the *Ke Au Hou (New Life, New Beginning): University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa Native Hawaiian Advancement Task Force Report* provided the university with a new direction for transforming the institution into a Hawaiian place of learning. This publication arrived 26 years after a foundational report, *Kaʻu: University of Hawaiʻi Hawaiian Studies Task Force Report*, was submitted to the university's administration in 1986. In the 1980s, the task force members comprised the relatively few Hawaiian scholars working across academia at the time.[1] The 2012 task force was composed of

[1] The 1986 task force members included Isabella Abbott, Kekuni Blaisdell, Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, Alberta Pua Hopkins, Larry Kimura, Davianna Pōmaikaʻi McGregor, Abraham Piʻianāiʻa, and Haunani-Kay Trask from the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa; Jean Ilei Beniamina from Kauaʻi Community College; Lucy Gay and Ilima Williams from Leeward Community College; Kauanoe Kamanā and David Sing from the University of Hawaiʻi at Hilo; Edward Kanahele from Hawaiʻi Community College; Pualani Kanahele from Maui Community College; Edith McKinzie from Honolulu

a new generation of Native Hawaiian scholars and educators from across the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa campus. Together, these contributors developed recommendations in four key theme areas: students, faculty and staff, environment, and community.[2] As a result of this report, Native Hawaiian faculty in the College of Social Sciences gathered in 2014 to discuss and envision the future of a Hawaiian place of learning. Four years later, in 2018, I started in a new position to help lead the college's Native Hawaiian Initiative.

Names and naming have a significant role in our identity and place. The name of our initiative came forth as ‘Hui ‘Āina Pilipili’, and its work is grounded in, on and from ‘āina. ‘Āina means “land, earth”, or “that which feeds” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 11).[3] The word hui includes meanings such as “club, association, society, organization, joint ownership, partnership, union alliance, team” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 86) and refers here to the collective efforts and collaboration of our Native Hawaiian and affiliated faculty in the college. Pilipili refers to an ‘ili‘āina or land area (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 97) on the Mānoa campus where most of the College of Social Sciences is situated. The word pilipili is also the reduplication of the root word pili, which means “to cling, stick, adhere, touch, join, adjoin, cleave to, associate with, be with, be close or adjacent; clinging, sticking; close relationship, relative; thing belonging to” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 329). Ho‘opili is “to bring together, to stick; to attach oneself to a person; united, as friends; to mimic, imitate; to claim a relationship; to put together, as parts of a puzzle” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 329). The word ho‘opili describes an

Community College; Richard ‘Dutch’ Mossman from Kapi‘olani Community College; and Midge Older from Windward Community College.

[2] The 2012 task force members included Maenette K.P. Ah Nee-Benham (Hawai‘inuiākea); Noreen Mokuau (Social Work); Naleen Naupaka Andrade (Medicine); Noelani Arista (Arts and Sciences); Kimo Cashman (Education); Paul Coleman (Astronomy); Carl Evensen (Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources); Debra Ishii (Chancellor’s Office); Elmer Ka‘ai (Chancellor’s Office); Joshua Ka‘akua (Engineering); Lana Sue Ka‘opua (Social Work); Kaiwipuni Lipe (Education); Pōhai Kukea-Shultz (Education); Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie (Law); Nālani Minton (Nursing and Dental Hygiene); Marylyn Moniz-Kaho‘ohanohano (Athletics); Kapā Oliveira (Hawai‘inuiākea); Ty Kāwika Tengan (Social Sciences); E. Kahunawai Wright (Hawai‘inuiākea).

exploratory process of two distinct knowledge systems. Bringing together the knowledge of our kūpuna (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 186) and the social sciences as parts of a puzzle will be an exciting challenge to solve.

Before I continue, I need to acknowledge that I do not have any formal education or training in the field of sociology, nor any traditional social sciences academic discipline. My bachelor's degree is in Hawaiian Studies, with a focus on Indigenous comparative studies. While the social science disciplines are rooted in non-Indigenous knowledge and values, I draw from my foundational grounding in Hawaiian Studies, my genealogical connection to a non-traditional academic discipline that was politically born out of struggle. It is a starting point for me, like many others who have chosen this discipline, to re(connect), learn, understand, question, critique and analyse our language, history and culture, as well as contemporary social, political, economic and health issues. I have a great interest in comparative studies, which provides me a greater perspective and understanding in the field of Indigenous higher education. It is the reason I choose to study and immerse myself in te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori language and customs) in order to understand the similarities and differences between my experiences and knowledge in Hawai'i and Aotearoa/New Zealand. This led me to an excellent opportunity to further my education through a semester exchange programme at the University of Waikato. There, I was able to further my studies across the ocean and realise a greater appreciation and understanding of my relations across Oceania. My master's degree in Higher Education was a direct result of my education and experiences in Aotearoa/New Zealand. My observations and experiences of being a student at Waikato, living in the dorms and being with my Māori relations, provided a guiding path towards my career aspirations and work.

The primary purpose of this article is to explore Hawaiian ways of understanding of social science and its disciplines. What does it mean to (re)create social sciences from a Hawaiian perspective? How do we integrate, insert or include our knowledge in an academic discipline? I review the scarce literature published by Hawaiian Studies scholars on our ways of knowing and being and its integration in social sciences disciplines. The second

purpose of this article is to tie the connections of Hawaiian ways of knowing and being to the development of the College of Social Sciences at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. What is a Hawaiian place of learning in the college? Is our current work and progress enough or are there more that needs to be done to improve and reach our goals? I conclude with some thoughts on indigenising and decolonising the academy, college and curriculum.

Hawaiian Studies

It was not until 1970 that the “university, like many across the [US] nation, had become receptive to the idea of creating programs of ethnic studies” (Johnson, 1998, p. 141). Like many other Ethnic, Native American, Indigenous, Aboriginal and Māori Studies programmes, the establishment of Hawaiian Studies became a pivotal point in our history for reclaiming our language, histories, knowledge and cultural practices in higher education (Kame‘eleihiwa, 2016; Lipe, 2016; Trask, 1999; White & Tengan, 2001). At the time, Hawaiian students were significantly underrepresented in higher education. Katherine H. Wery and Norman A. Pi‘ianai‘a (1975) inquired into the effectiveness of higher education for Hawaiian students in the 1970s, posing the big question: “Where are the Hawaiians?” They reported a very low enrolment of Native Hawaiians across the University of Hawai‘i (10%). The establishment of the Hawaiian Studies programme as part of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement “helped problematise our liminal identity and revitalise many of our cultural practices, birthed the establishment of several indigenous spaces and places of resistance among, against, and often within neocolonial systems” (Wright & Balutksi, 2013, p. 151).

Noenoe Silva (2017) provides a great starting point in mapping out the genealogy of Hawaiian Studies. Table 1 shows that genealogy and includes the academic disciplines and the universities involved to show the breadth of our intellectual mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) here in Hawai‘i and abroad. Silva (2017, p. 107) acknowledges that there are many more scholars to include and that “each generation draws on the works of the previous generations, overturning some ideas, taking Kanaka [Native Hawaiian] concepts further, using the works written by our kūpuna in more thorough ways”. Our

intellectual moʻōkūʻauhau as an interdisciplinary academic field draws its genealogy from fields such as Political Science, History, Anthropology, Geography, English and Education. However, we must also acknowledge and remember that our intellectual moʻōkūʻauhau extends further beyond the academic institution to our kūpuna, and our mea hana noʻeau, our traditional practitioners (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2016).

Table 1. Genealogy of Hawaiian Studies

Generation	Timeframe	Scholars
1	1980s–mid-1990s	• Haunani-Kay Trask, PhD in Political Science, University of Wisconsin–Madison • Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, PhD in History, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa
2	Late 1990s–early 2000s	• Kanalu Young, PhD in History, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa • Jonathan K. Osorio, PhD in History, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa • Manulani Aluli Meyer, EdD in Education, Harvard University • Noenoe Silva, PhD in Political Science, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa
3	Late 2000s	• J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, PhD in History of Consciousness, University of California, Santa Cruz • Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, PhD in Anthropology, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa
4	2010s	• Hokulani Aikau, PhD in American Studies, University of Minnesota • Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, PhD in History of Consciousness, University of California, Santa Cruz • E. Kahunawaikaʻala Wright, PhD in Higher Education, University of California, Los Angeles • Kamanamaikalani Beamer, PhD in Geography, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa • Kapā Oliveira, PhD in Geography, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa

		• ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, PhD in English, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

Haunani-Kay Trask’s (1999) reflective piece highlighted her struggles against the many forms of discrimination well before she was employed at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. She obtained her PhD in Political Science from the University of Wisconsin–Madison and began her first academic appointment in a tenure track position in the Department of American Studies in 1981. After five years in American Studies, the university administration transferred her tenure track position to the Hawaiian Studies programme, becoming its first full-time faculty member. There, she was able to build the Hawaiian Studies programme along with Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, Kanalu Young and Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, who all received their doctorates in History from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies and Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language sit within Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at Mānoa. The mission of the Kamakakūokalani is as follows:

> To achieve and maintain excellence in the pursuit of knowledge concerning the Native people of Hawai‘i, their origin, history, language, literature, religion, arts and sciences, interactions with their oceanic environment and other peoples; and to reveal, disseminate, and apply this knowledge for the betterment of all peoples (Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, n.d.-b)

This mission statement provides a good starting point for us to consider knowledge of our ‘āina, Hawai‘i. Kamakakūokalani aims to revitalise the Hawaiian language and culture through quality Hawaiian education. Hawai‘inuiākea was established in 2007, the year that I entered my undergraduate degree in Hawaiian Studies. Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge is uniquely positioned as the only college of Indigenous knowledge located within a US research institution. The mission of Hawai‘inuiākea is “to pursue, perpetuate, research and revitalise all areas

and forms of Hawaiian knowledge" (Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, n.d.-a).

Hawaiian Studies scholars in the social sciences

Hawaiian Studies is, first and foremost, "to explore what it means to be 'Ōiwi" (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2015, p. 6); it is "what distinguishes *Hawaiian studies* from *studies of* Hawaiian topics" (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2015, p. 9). 'Ōiwi [Native Hawaiian] is translated as "native, native son" or "of the bone or of one's ancestry" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 280). It is our ancestral connection that includes a reciprocal relationship known as kuleana (responsibility; see Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2015; Tengan, 2005; Wright, 2018). As 'Ōiwi, the field of Hawaiian Studies has provided an alternative approach and understanding to the traditional Western-centric academic disciplines, which allows opportunities to further explore what it means to be 'Ōiwi in these spaces for decades.

I want to expand and add to the genealogy of Hawaiian Studies in this article by focusing on the social sciences. While the scholars in Table 1 can commonly be classified or referred to as historians, political scientists or geographers, I refer to them all as Hawaiian Studies scholars. Hawaiian Studies scholars transcend the boundaries of Western academic disciplines that have traditionally compartmentalised knowledge. Our knowledge, like all Indigenous knowledge systems, is multifaceted and interrelated. Hawaiian Studies scholars explore being 'Ōiwi, and that includes ancestral relations, human and non-human, within the discipline.

In *Reproducing the Ropes of Resistance: Hawaiian Studies Methodologies*, Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2015, p. 6) highlights and privileges the voices of 'Ōiwi scholars for two reasons:

> First, Kanaka have historically been cast as students, not teachers; as informants, not analysts or scientists; as characters in, rather than the authors of, history and literature. Second, there exists a politics of citation, whether or not we are conscious of it. Too often people who write about and do research in Hawai'i participate in a politics of citation that perpetuates the primacy of non-Native scholarship over scholarship by Kanaka 'Ōiwi.

Goodyear-Kaʻōpua (2015, p. 7) reminds us to be collectively strategic against "American discourses of assimilation and citizenship". Several of our Kānaka scholars have experienced and reflected and written about how the social science fields have historically been a contested knowledge space for, by, on, and at times against, Native Hawaiians (Andrade, 2013; Kawelu, 2015; Nāleimaile & Brandt, 2013; Rezentes, 1996; Tengan, 2005; Trask, 1999). Due to the lack of Hawaiian Studies scholars and published works in the social sciences, I highlight here several areas in the social sciences that have emerged within the last two decades and that have shared their considerations, understandings and analyses. This is not meant to be an exhaustive representation of all ʻŌiwi scholars and the published works in these areas, but to highlight work that analyses and critiques Western fields and interrogates what being ʻŌiwi is in the scholars' disciplines.

Hawaiian anthropology and archaeology

Western anthropologists and archaeologists have researched Indigenous peoples for centuries in ways that have objectified, marginalised and pathologised them for centuries (Kawelu, 2015). However, in the past couple of decades, we have seen a slight increase in ʻŌiwi graduating with doctorate degrees in Anthropology or Archaeology.[4] Hawaiian Studies scholar Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, who graduated with a PhD in Anthropology from Mānoa and is a professor in a joint-appointment position in the Departments of Ethnic Studies and Anthropology, refers to anthropology as the "most colonialist field in the academy" (Tengan, 2005, p. 247). Well-known Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 1) of the Ngati Awa and Ngati Porou iwi (tribes) writes that "the word itself, 'research', is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" because it is linked inextricably to imperialism

[4] In addition to Tengan and Kawelu, other Hawaiian Studies scholars include Kēhaulani Cachola-Abad, Lynette Cruz, Brandon Ledward and Kekuewa Kikiloi who all graduated from Mānoa. Cachola-Abad and Leward work at Kamehameha Schools. Cruz retired as a professor from the Hawaiʻi Pacific University and is the Kupuna in Residence. Kikiloi is a professor at Kamakakūokalani.

and colonialism. Her groundbreaking book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* provides a critical review of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and research (Smith, 1999).

While Tengan (2005) reflects on the contentious and conflicting relationships between anthropologists and Native peoples, he provides an unsettling account of his journey entering the anthropology doctoral programme of his university. It can be a lonesome journey filled with many challenges for Indigenous peoples pursuing higher degrees (Brayboy et al., 2013; Pidgeon et al., 2014; Pihama et al., 2019). Kathleen Kawelu (2014) graduated with a PhD in Anthropology from the University of California, Berkley and is now a professor at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. She chooses to focus on the relationships between Hawaiians and archaeologists because of her own struggles pursuing the field of archaeology.

The Hawaiian concept of kuleana is a common thread across the works of our 'Ōiwi scholars in anthropology and archaeology. Kuleana translates into "right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 179). Tengan (2005) reflects on kuleana formed from the intersection of Indigeneity and anthropology, while Kawelu (2014) focuses on the relationship between Native Hawaiians and archaeologists. Sean P. Nāleimaile and Lokelani Brandt (2013, p. 32) write:

> Merely assimilating ourselves into these practices will not make them Hawaiian. We need to set our guidelines and include our perspectives in order for this practice to be more culturally defined and appropriate to the Hawaiian community. Native Hawaiians can participate, and in fact, need to participate, as it is a part of our cultural *kuleana* (responsibility) to be involved.

We cannot merely assimilate ourselves or be present to make these disciplines Hawaiian. We must move beyond being present and further participate in the discussions and in the decision-making process. Our perspectives must be reflected in the discussions and decisions to ensure our perspectives are valued and appropriate to the Hawaiian community.

It is interesting to note that in 2011, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa took up the discussion of what kuleana

means to their department and to their professional field. A statement on the department's home page reads:

> As an original land grant institution, the University of Hawai'i shoulders particular responsibility to the community. We recognize the fragility of island ecosystems – including their cultural, intellectual, and natural resources. Thus, we place firm commitment in upholding responsibilities to those resources, exploring past conditions of settlement, challenging existing stereotypes of interaction, and developing means of leadership in ourselves and our students for the future. The broad-based knowledge upheld by anthropology provides us with the strength of our differences to embrace that stewardship. This is how we conceptualize *kuleana*. We extend the concept of *kuleana* to:
>
> - the land and people around us
> - the work that we do as growing scholars
> - the community that we build through our interactions
> - the teaching and learning that are foundational to the department
>
> *Kuleana* defines the ethical basis upon which we establish who we are and what we do as anthropologists. If anthropology is the study of humankind in all its interactions, symbols, objects, emotions, meaning systems, and struggles through time, then *kuleana* embeds itself as the highest principle of respect and obligation within that endeavor. (Department of Anthropology, n.d.)

Given the historical relationships of Native Hawaiian communities with anthropologists and archaeologists, the Department of Anthropology seeks to acknowledge its kuleana to the 'āina and people of Hawai'i. With a renewed statement of commitment, kuleana becomes an ethical framework grounded in Hawaiian values and foundation. It provides a direction forward for the department and its students to be intentional when engaging in research with communities that have been historically traumatised and marginalised.

Hawaiian geography

The field of geography, like that of anthropology, continues to be viewed as colonialist by Native Hawaiian scholars. Kamanamaikalani Beamer (2014, pp. 3–4), a professor in Hawaiian Studies and a graduate of the geography

department, argues that "ali'i *selectively appropriated* [emphasis added] Euro-American tools of governance while modifying existing indigenous structure to create a hybrid nation-state as a means to resist colonialism and to protect Native Hawaiian and national interests". Beamer goes on to emphasise the agency of our ali'i, transitioning from traditional structures and incorporating them with knowledge from countries around the world. Here I emphasise the agency of several Hawaiian Studies scholars who have also graduated from the geography department and incorporated Hawaiian knowledge with geography knowledge.

Carlos Andrade, a retired professor in Hawaiian Studies, wrote a chapter titled 'A Hawaiian Geography or a Geography of Hawai'i'? In it, Andrade (2013) writes that a Hawaiian geography is about being Hawaiian, that is our genealogy, it is aloha 'āina, it is learning from the land and cultural autonomy. He notes that the most common perceptions of geography reflect those voices and perspectives that are not from this 'āina. As Andrade (2013, p. 20) further notes, his chapter is but a single individual perspective and it is "appropriate that a Hawaiian geography be fashioned by many kanaka".

To build upon his articulation and further explore a more comprehensive Hawaiian geography understanding, there are two critical published works. In 2014, Katrina-Ann R. Kapā'anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira, a professor at Kawaihuelani Centre for Hawaiian Language, published *Ancestral Places: Understanding Kanaka Geographies*. In 2017, Renee Pualani Louis, an affiliate researcher for the Institute of Policy and Social Research at the University of Kansas, with Moana Kahele, published *Kanaka Hawai'i Cartography: Hula, Navigation, and Oratory*. Both Oliveira (2014) and Louis (2017) further articulate Andrade's (2013) characteristics of a Hawaiian geography, describing it as similar to performative cartography (see Woodward & Lewis, 1998). Kali Fermantez (2013), a professor in the Faculty of Culture, Language & Performing Arts and the Jonathan Nāpela Centre for Hawaiian & Pacific Studies at Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, refers to geography as having many kino lau or many different bodies or forms.

While our ancestors did not have physical maps, they had many ways of remembering, respecting, describing and celebrating their places through many expressive ways. Protocols and performances that were enacted through "intimate, interactive, and integrative processes" (Louis, 2017, p. xviii) involved "inoa ʻāina (place names), mele (songs), hula (dance), ʻōlelo noʻeau (proverbs), māhele ʻāina (land divisions), moʻolelo (historical accounts), moʻokūʻauhau (genealogies), kaulana mahina (moon calendar), hei (string figures) and hoʻokele (navigation)" and more (Oliveira, 2014, p. 65). We are reminded of our ancestral knowledge through the different ways our kūpuna remembered and through the ways in which it was transmitted down the generations.

Hawaiian politics

In the late 1990s, the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa's Indigenous Politics programme was established, offering undergraduate courses and a specialisation option within the master's and doctorate degrees in the Department of Political Science. According to its website, the philosophy of the Indigenous Politics programme is to "understand indigeneity to be a political category that recognizes the connection of autochthonous peoples to their lands, and the international alliances and interconnections amongst peoples who identify as Indigenous" (Indigenous Politics Program, n.d.). Courses offered cover Indigenous politics, Hawaiʻi politics, Native Hawaiian politics, politics of Indigenous language revitalisation and Hawaiian language media, Hawaiian political thought, Indigenous representation, Western imperialism, contemporary Native Hawaiian politics, Indigenous theory, sovereignty, and decolonial futures. The program's philosophy is further articulated as follows:

> We believe that place matters. Because of our location, the study of Indigenous Politics in Hawaiʻi must begin with and be accountable to Kanaka ʻŌiwi Hawaiʻi, the original people of these islands. We are also Pacific-oriented because of our familial, genealogical, linguistic, and historical relations to other Indigenous Peoples of Oceania. Indigenous politics, as we see, teach, and practice it, is inherently interdisciplinary. Students in

> this program will examine the breadth and dynamism of the issues and movements that constitute the field of indigenous politics. Our goals are to facilitate learning about the field and to nurture individuals who engage in a critical praxis of indigenous politics. Students are encouraged to analyze the ways various axes of power – such as race, gender, sexuality, and class – intersect with indigeneity. (Indigenous Politics Program, n.d.)

The Indigenous Politics programme includes three core faculty members: Noenoe Silva, a graduate of the Political Science program; Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, who received a PhD in History of Consciousness from the University of California, Santa Cruz; and Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, who received a PhD in English from Mānoa. Hōkūlani Aikau, who obtained her PhD in American Studies from the University of Minnesota, was previously a faculty member.

While I was unable to find specific literature on how indigeneity intersected with and critiqued the field of political science, the Indigenous Politics programme has many kino lau. The courses provide space for students to discuss the many different ways power intersects with Hawaiian identity, and to explore contemporary issues facing Native Hawaiians in their homeland, such as health disparities, education, language and culture revitalisation, homelessness, housing, employment, food, land development, tourism and the military.

Hawaiian emergence

While anthropology, geography and political science have been progressing, other fields continue to be at a standstill, waiting for direction and resources. In the field of planning, there is a growing number of Native Hawaiians wanting to work in positions of urban planning, community planning, and land development. However, we do not see further interest beyond the professional degree into the research degree. It is another field that urgently needs Hawaiian Studies scholars to ensure the physical structure of planning here in Hawaiʻi is cognisant of our Hawaiian values and practices. Konia Freitas is recognised to be the first Native Hawaiian to graduate with a PhD in Urban and Regional Planning from Mānoa. Freitas is an associate specialist

at the Kamakakūokalani Centre for Hawaiian Studies and works in the areas of programme planning, curriculum development and programme assessment and evaluation. In approaching Indigenous planning in Hawai‘i, Freitas (2019, pp. 198–199) expresses that it 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”.

In the field of psychology, William C. Rezentes III (1996), who received a PhD in Psychology from Mānoa, provides an introduction to Hawaiian psychology that encompasses the integration of Hawaiian healing practices of ho‘oponopono or “to correct” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The field of Hawaiian psychology has been focused on understanding Native Hawaiian identity and well-being. Laurie D. McCubbin graduated from the University of Wisconsin–Madison with a PhD in Counseling Psychology. McCubbin and Marsella (2009) provide a historical and cultural context of Native Hawaiians and psychology. Some Native Hawaiian scholars that graduated from Mānoa include Kamana‘opono Crabbe, CEO for ‘Iole Stewardship Centre; Jill Oliveira Gray, licensed clinical psychologist at I Ola Lāhui Rural Hawai‘i Behavioral Health, Keawe‘aimoku Kaholokula, professor and chair of the Department of Native Hawaiian Health at the John A. Burns School of Medicine; and Lisa Watkins-Victorino, research director at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Other Native Hawaiians include Aukahi Austin, licensed clinical psychologist and executive director at I Ola Lāhui; Hannah Preston-Pita, executive director at Big Island Substance Abuse Council; Hoku Hoe, Kaliko Change, Halona Tanner and Kaniala Kekaulike (McCubbin & Marsella, 2009).

College of Social Sciences

So how does the above discussion relate to the College of Social Sciences? First and foremost, the work in these disciplines in teaching, curriculum development, research and publishling aligns with the many policies and strategic plans of the University of Hawai‘i. One of the basic missions in the University of Hawai‘i Board of Regents states:

c. The university is committed to diversity within and among all racial and ethnic groups served by public higher education in Hawai‘i. The president, working with the chancellors, ensures the unique commitment to Native Hawaiians is fulfilled by:

1. Providing positive system-wide executive support in the development, implementation, and improvement of programs and services for Native Hawaiians;
2. Encouraging the increased representation of Native Hawaiians at the university;
3. Supporting full participation of Native Hawaiians in all initiatives and programs of the university;
4. Actively soliciting consultation from the Native Hawaiian community and specifically Pūko‘a, the system-wide council of Native Hawaiian faculty, staff and students that serves as advisory to the president;
5. Providing for and promoting the use of the Hawaiian language within the university;
6. Providing a level of support for the study of Hawaiian language, culture and history within the university that honors, perpetuates and strengthens those disciplines into the future;
7. Encouraging Native Hawaiians to practice their language, culture and other aspects of their traditional customary rights throughout all university campuses and providing Hawaiian environments and facilities for such activities; and
8. Addressing the education needs of Native Hawaiians, the State of Hawai‘i, and the world at large, in the areas of Hawaiian language, culture, and history through outreach. (University of Hawai‘i, n.d.)

It took a ground-up approach by the Native Hawaiian Campus Councils to advocate for such a policy that now sets a foundation for a top-down approach for each administration and campus.

As one of the largest colleges at Mānoa, Social Sciences includes several of the oldest established programmes. Social Sciences includes anthropology, communications, economics, ethnic studies, geography, journalism, peace studies, political science, psychology, public administration, sociology, urban

and regional planning, and women, gender and sexuality studies. Several of these departments have celebrated 100 years of existence, while some will be approaching their centennial year. Other departments have celebrated the half way mark of 50 years.

To help understand the progress of the College of Social Sciences towards a Hawaiian place of learning, I use Adam Gaudry (Métis) and Danielle Lorenz's indigenisation framework, which contains three distinct elements. Gaudry and Lorenz (2018, pp. 218–219) describe 'Indigenous inclusion' as aiming to "increase the number of Indigenous students, faculty, and staff"; 'reconciliation Indigenization' as addressing the question of "how should Indigenous knowledges and European-derived knowledges be reconciled, and what types of relations academic institutions should have with Indigenous communities"; and 'decolonial Indigenization' as the "overhaul of the academy to fundamentally reorient knowledge production based on balancing power relations . . . transforming the academy into something dynamic and new". The College of Social Sciences falls within a blend of Indigenous inclusion and reconciliation, insofar as it aims to improve access for Indigenous students and faculty but also to transform the structure of the university more broadly.

Indigenous inclusion

The focus for decades, possibly a century, has been the inclusion of more Native Hawaiians within the university, from increasing the number of Native Hawaiian students in all programmes from undergraduate to graduate programmes to increasing the number of Native Hawaiian faculty, staff and executive managerial positions within and across the institution. Gaudry and Lorenz (2018) provides an historical perspective on Indigenous inclusion.

> More specifically an Indigenous inclusion policy does little to actually transform the academy, and much more to support the adjustment of Indigenous people to the taken-for-granted and unchanging structures of the modern university. Inclusion is ultimately the low-hanging fruit of indigenization: it's the minimum level of commitment to Indigenous faculty, staff, and students, not the end goal. Indigenous inclusion on its own fails to meet the threshold of an indigenization policy, as it does not

> actually work to make the academy a more Indigenous space, but rather it works to increase the number of Indigenous bodies in an already established Western academic structure and culture. As the saying goes, it's just 'more brown faces in white spaces'. (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 220)

The increase of Indigenous bodies to the count is the low hanging fruit that many institutions are currently positioned in, are stuck in, or may feel comfortable with as a status quo. Indigenisation is much more than inclusion and representation and Indigenous peoples have greater aspirations than being just mere numbers. However, while inclusion should not be the end-goal, it can serve as a stepping-stone towards other goals. For us in the College of Social Sciences, it is increasing Native Hawaiian students in all our programmes from undergraduate degrees to graduate degrees. It is also to increase the representation of Native Hawaiian faculty in departments that do not have Native Hawaiian staff. Inclusion serves as the stepping stone to strategically build capacity of Native Hawaiian academics.

If we are to build the next generation of Hawaiian Studies scholars in the Social Sciences, we must advocate for ʻŌiwi-centred curricula. We must also advocate for the recruitment, retention and graduation of ʻŌiwi students in our masters and doctoral programmes. This, of course, will take commitment and much needed resources of the institution to fund the next generation of Hawaiian Studies scholars. As of Fall 2021, Native Hawaiians comprise 16% of the student population at Mānoa (Mānoa Institutional Research Office, n.d.). In the College of Social Sciences, 17% are Native Hawaiians pursuing their undergraduate degree. However, at the graduate level, the percentages seem very similar: 15% of graduate students in the college are Native Hawaiian (16% Native Hawaiian at master's level and 14% Native Hawaiian at doctoral level).

In the past ten years, the College of Social Sciences awarded 19 doctoral and 93 master's degrees to Native Hawaiians. The low number of doctoral degrees awarded reflects the lack of Native Hawaiian faculty in the social sciences and the continued challenges we face if we do not act now. The underrepresentation of Native and Indigenous faculty within and across

higher educational institutions continues to be a challenge (Brayboy et al., 2013; McAllister et al., 2019; Naepi, 2019). This underrepresentation stems from not having culturally appropriate support and resources for programmes like Te Kupenga o MAI, Māori and Indigenous Scholar Network in Aotearoa and SAGE, Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement in Canada that seek to recruit, retain and graduate Indigenous scholars with higher research degrees (Pidgeon et al., 2014; Pihama et al., 2019).

Reconciliation indigenisation

This type of indigenisation "requires power sharing, a transformation of decision-making processes, and a reintegration of Indigenous peoples, faculty, staff, and students, into policymaking that affects them" (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018, p. 223). As part of the power sharing and decision-making process, we are consulted and included in the decision-making process towards a Hawaiian place of learning in our college. This speaks to the University Board of Regents policies at the highest level in studying Hawaiian language and culture, increasing representation, soliciting consultations and providing educational support.

At the college level, we work towards a transformational change in our structure. That structural change began in 2014 when the Native Hawaiian faculty in the college began to organise and later, a full-time staff position was dedicated to coordinate this new initiative. This process and decision positioned our college in a new direction.

A reconciliation effort in the curriculum also becomes evident in how Hawaiian knowledge is acknowledged, included and integrated. The College of Social Sciences offers a variety of courses that focus on Native Hawaiians, Indigenous and Pasifika peoples. Gaudry and Lorenz (2018, p. 222) cited one of their respondents on indigenising the university as saying, "[I]t should not manifest as universities using Indigenous knowledges, motifs, languages, etc., as 'window dressing', but should result in substantive change." With the several Native Hawaiian faculty we do have in the college, we have been able to make substantive changes to the curriculum and course offerings.

Decolonial indigenisation

As I have mentioned earlier about the scarce published work of Hawaiian Studies scholars in the emerging areas of social sciences, there is a shift in the discourse within those disciplines. Gaudry and Lorenz (2018, p. 223) write that "while universities utilized reconciliation rhetoric in most cases to beef up inclusion policies, Indigenous faculty members envision a transformative indigenization program rooted in decolonial approaches to teaching, research, and administration". Decolonisation in the academy is not a common realisation or end goal by all involved in the indigenisation process. However, there has been some progress in our college in decolonial approaches in teaching, learning and research.

Conclusion

Indigenisation is much more than a checklist. As Michelle Pidgeon (2016) states, indigenisation is about being meaningful. It is about being intentional in our efforts throughout a transformative process. For this process to be truly meaningful, "[i]ndigeneity must remain at the core of the transformation" (Pidgeon, 2016, p. 88). While it may seem as if we are merely ticking off our checklist, the underlying meanings of our approach work to build capacity.

We now have a new generation of emerging Hawaiian Studies scholars critiquing their disciplines, building on previous published works, and bringing their perspectives and identities forth. Through their published works, we see how they have strategically challenged the Euro-American discourse, continuing the genealogy and legacy of Hawaiian Studies. They are displaying a deep understanding of what it means to be ʻŌiwi in academia. It starts from kuleana, which implies action from policy at the Board of Regents level, which develops into a plan at the university level, which in turn leads to implementation at the college and department level.

At the College of Social Sciences, we have made some progress in the four areas identified in the 2012 *Ke Au Hou (New Life, New Beginning)* report, but there is so much more to work towards. We now have the opportunity to strategically indigenise our college: one of our campus's strategic goals is for each college, school or unit to develop its own five-year strategic plan. Our

remarkable Indigenous Politics programme provides a blueprint for the rest of the departments to emulate. It emphasises the concepts of inclusion, reconciliation and decolonial forms of indigenisation through the expertise of Native Hawaiian faculty, courses, research, publication, mentoring and service. We must continue to build our capacity of Hawaiian Studies students to become leading anthropologists, archaeologists and geographers and build capacity for others to become economists, journalists, planners, psychologists and sociologists. Being a Hawaiian Studies scholar is rooted in ʻāina.

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Kamakanaokealoha M. Aquino is a Native Hawaiian from Waimānalo, O‘ahu, Hawai‘i. He is the coordinator for Hui ‘Āina Pilipili, the Native Hawaiian Initiative in the College of Social Sciences at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. He has a BA in Hawaiian Studies and a MEd in Educational Administration in Higher Education.

Email: kmaquino@hawaii.edu