Nā Moʻokūʻauhau Holowaʻa:
Native Hawaiian Women's Stories of the Voyaging Canoe Hōkūleʻa

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A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
At the University of Otago
Dunedin, New Zealand

December 2010

Hōʻouluʻulu Manaʻo: Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the lived experiences of contemporary Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) women voyagers and navigators from the double hulled sailing canoe Hōkūleʻa. The research is unique because it addresses the historical and contemporary gaps in scholarly texts and publications that have scarcely included women's perspectives and contributions as traditional and present-day voyagers and navigators (Kalakaua, 1888; Emmerson, 1915; Kamakau, 1991; Nelson, 1991; Howe, 2006; Finney, 2003). The theoretical and methodological framework is embedded in moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy), a concept that is interwoven throughout the doctoral project.

The thesis begins by introducing the topic and examples of legendary women who voyaged from Kahiki (Tahiti) and are ancestors of several women interviewed. The creation of the Hōkūleʻa is explained as part of the Hawaiian cultural revival, which itself sprung up in reaction to the forces of colonisation and neo-colonisation. The thesis follows the voyages of Hōkūleʻa and the literature that subsequently became a part of the canoe's legacy. The thesis also analyses the way that Kanaka Maoli women academic leaders have informed diverse areas of scholarship with contemporary meanings of moʻok`ūʻauhau (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999; Meyer, 1998 and 2003; Kaomea, 2003; Silva 2004).). As a synthesis of the two central themes of this thesis, (1) the influence of Hōkūleʻa to the Hawaiian cultural revival and (2) the importance of Kanaka Maoli women to this broader movement, in-depth interviews with five women who voyaged on Hōkūleʻa are presented.

The women's stories are included in the findings chapter and integrated with scholarly texts in the discussion chapter. The stories that the women shared were diverse, yet the interviews

brought forth reoccuring themes, which guide and inform the thesis discussion and conclusion. The themes are (1) Hoʻomanawanui: Patience and Perseverance, (2) Laulima: Cooperation and Joint Action, (3) Hōkūleʻa Ea: The Spirit of the Canoe, and (4) Moʻokūʻauhau: Linking Past, Present and Future. When aligned with the scholarship available about the canoe, the stories of the women reveal the gendered nature of the Hawaiian cultural revival and Hōkūleʻa. The stories also support contemporary practices of Hawaiian epistemology and cultural perpetuation, including an acknowledgement of the spirit of the canoe and ancestral guidance. Thus, the thesis begins and ends with an acknowledgement of nā kūpuna (ancestors) and the continuity of moʻokūʻauhau.

Hōʻoiaʻiʻo: Acknowledgements

Mahalo e nā akua, nā kūpuna, nā ʻaumākua. From the depths of my being I truly believe that all who have come before guide my life journey, including this work. I acknowledge that these ideas were whispered in the wind and when my mind, heart and spirit were open and still, I listened; so, I acknowledge my ancestors and their everpresent guidance. Mahalo nui loa.

Mahalo e nā wahi pana. There are so many sacred places that have influenced and shaped my knowing; Kaʻaʻawa, Kualoa, Kāneʻohe, Nā Koʻolua, and Palolo on Oʻahu Island; Kalamaʻula, Kalaupapa, Pelekunu and Wailua on Molokaʻi Island; and Kaʻū, Volcano and Hilo on Hawaiʻi Island. On the North American continent two prominent places that have also formed my consciousness are Colorado and Minnesota. More recently, I honour the islands of Aotearoa-New Zealand; Ōtepoti, Ōtākou and ʻOpōtiki. The geography of this space and place is where the thesis came together and should also be acknowledged. Mahalo nui loa.

Mahalo e kuʻu ʻohana. To my beautiful family, my mom, Carolyn Louise Averill, you have been such a huge support bringing me back and forth from home to home. I love you and thank you SO much! To my dad, Herbert Ralph Mahie Wilson you are an inspiration. Our moʻokūʻauhau is what creates and shapes this work. Thank you for teaching me to listen to my heart and that the kūpuna are always with us. Mahalo nui loa! Aloha nō!

Mahalo e kuʻu mau ipo. To Brendan James Hokowhitu, the love of my life, and his beautiful sons Tari Jay and Riley, it is our love that guided me back to your islands and led to the completion of this work. I can honestly say it would not have happened without you. Brendan, thank you so much for all of our conversations, for your patience and encouragement, and the endless hours of feedback and support. Aloha wau ia ʻoe, e kuʻu ipo. Aloha nō! Kia ora nui. Arohanui.

Mahalo e kuʻu mau pēpē. To my beautiful daughter, Kaliko, and my son, Tai, I dedicate this work to you! I committed to the topic when Kaliko was growing in my belly. All of my determination fused through my cells and into your being, so together we proposed the thesis, flew to Hawaiʻi, conducted the interviews, transcribed them, finished an article for publication, and then you were born right in the middle of the action! You motivated me to finish because you are the next generation of mana wāhine. To my beautiful baby boy, Tai, while you are growing in my belly I am finally finishing and feeling ready to close this chapter of my life so I that I can be the best mama I can be. Mahalo nui loa e kuʻu mau keiki. Aloha wau ia ʻolua. Aloha nō!

Mahalo e nā kumu. To all the sources of knowledge that have guided, supported and contributed to this work, nā wāhine: Penny Martin, Shantell Ching, Catherine Fuller, Wahine Koa, Piʻikea Miller, and Moana Doi, I am honoured to know you and priviledged to have shared time with you. You are amazing! To my supervisors, Associate Professor Lisette Burrows and Dr. Mike Boyes you have been so patient and supportive. Lisette, you have been more than a supervisor and a dear friend. Mike, it was your kindness and grace that welcomed me to the school and nurtured the doctoral journey. To my advisors, Dr. Khyla Russell and Dr. Manulani Aluli Meyer, you were the papa, the foundation and the celestial bodies that helped me navigate to and from island to island across Te Moana Nui a Kiwa. Kia ora nui. Mahalo nui loa!

Papakuhikuhi: Table of Contents

ʻŌlelo Hoʻākāka: Introduction

Aloha kākou. ʻO Kamakahukilani a me Kaʻaukai kuʻu mau kūpuna. Aloha e Pele. Aloha e Hina. Aloha nō[1]. As a woman of Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) ancestry from the Kamakahukilani line of Maui and Waialua, Molokaʻi and the Kaʻaukai and Kealaikahiki line of Kalapana, Hawaiʻi, this research is dedicated to nā wāhine holowaʻa [legendary women voyagers] of past, present and future; Hina of Molokaʻi and Pele of Hawaiʻi Island, both of whom voyaged to the Hawaiian Islands from Kahiki (Tahiti); contemporary women voyagers from the canoe Hōkūleʻa and; the next generation of mana wāhine maoli.

I deliberately begin with the Hawaiian language and an acknowledgement of the significant ancestors in my genealogy because in Hawaiian culture it is appropriate to acknowledge one's ancestors. Moʻokūʻauhau[2] (genealogy) is paramount to Kanaka Maoli and forms the methodology and papa (foundation) of this work.[3] The thesis interlinks the genealogies of ancestral women voyagers with contemporary women of

[1] I have chosen not to italicise Hawaiian words. I understand that for some Indigenous researchers it is important to italicise Indigenous words that appear in English texts, so that the Native language does not become subsumed within English, however, italicisation can also serve to de-normalise language. That is, italicisation can make Native languages appear as foreign to the normal text. While both arguments have merit, I believe it is more important that Indigenous languages appear as standard, not as 'Other'.

[2] In this context, I am using the Hawaiian term moʻokūʻauhau to refer to genealogy, but like so many words in the Hawaiian language there is much lost in simplifying the translation to English. The reader should keep in mind that my use and description of moʻokūʻauhau is also a simplified version of the Hawaiian concept and an entire thesis could be devoted to a study of Hawaiian genealogy; yet, it is important to understand how I use this term in the context of this work.

[3] For more on genealogy see the late Kanalu G. Terry Young's, (1998). *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*.

the canoe Hōkūleʻa. Therefore, mana[4] wahine serves as a theoretical lens to explore nā moʻolelo (stories) that acknowledge the foundation of moʻokūʻauhau (geneaology) as a defining and driving force.

The thesis seeks to reposition Kanaka Maoli women within the literature on Hawaiian voyaging and, in doing so, makes an epistemological statement by prioritising Kanaka Maoli values and perspectives. It is an apt link because the revival of traditional Hawaiian voyaging skills in the 1970s served as the trigger for a more deep-seated cultural revival within Kanaka Maoli that has strengthened with each passing decade.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the lived experiences of contemporary Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) women voyagers and navigators from the double hulled sailing canoe Hōkūleʻa. The research is unique because it addresses the historical and contemporary gaps in scholarly texts and publications that have barely included women's perspectives and contributions as traditional and present-day voyagers and navigators (Emmerson, 1915; Finney, 2003; Howe, 2006; Kalakaua, 1888; Kamakau, 1991; Nelson, 1991). The theoretical and methodological framework is embedded in moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy), a concept that is interwoven throughout the doctoral project and informed in-depth interviews with five women who voyagered on Hōkūleʻa.

In this introductory chapter I incorporate legendary stories of Pele and Hina, as a way of discussing the importance of genealogy, Hawaiian epistemology and women

[4] Mana can be defined as power in both Hawaiian and Māori. It is supernatural or divine power that for humans is passed down through genealogy or can be used to acknowledge human achievements such as mastering the art of carving as one example (Barlow, 1991; Pūkui and Elbert, 1986; Pūkui, Haertig and Lee, 1972).

voyagers. It is important for the reader to understand that one contention of this thesis is that since colonisation these stories have been largely silenced. Therefore, I introduce the work of contemporary academic Hawaiian women through the work of Noenoe Silva (2004), which is particularly relevant because it directly points to the 'writing out' of accounts of Hawaiian women voyagers. It serves as a vital example of the important work that Hawaiian women, in particular, have advanced since the Hawaiian cultural renaissance. I complete this Introduction by positioning myself within the research and by briefly sharing something of my own voyaging experience as a crewmember of Hōkūleʻa on the Voyage to Rapa Nui from 1999-2000. Finally, the last section will provide a brief summary of the thesis chapters.

Nā Moʻolelo o Pele a me Hina: Stories of Pele and Hina

In *Ka Poʻe Kahiko*, Hawaiian historian Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau refers to ākua, such as Pele and Hina, as ancestors who "came from Kahiki as humans do – that is, by canoe" (1964, p. 68). Pele was the daughter of Haumea (female) and Kānehoalani (male). She gave birth to ʻOpelunuikauhaʻalilo, who became the ancestor of the Kanaka Maoli people of Hawaiʻi. In reference to Pele, Kamakau stated that, "she was consecrated and made a god (hoʻolaʻa) by persons not related by blood descent; and that is how Pele became an akua" (1964, p. 69). She is now widely known as the "volcano goddess."[5]

[5] For an overview of writings on Pele, see Valerio Valeri's (1985), *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, pp. 18-19 and pp. 28-29.

There are several legends of Pele, but for purposes of this Introduction I focus on the migration legend, which describes Pele as having seven brothers and six sisters. In this moʻolelo (story) she longed to travel, so she approached one of her brothers, Ka-moho-aliʻi, and he gave her the canoe belonging to another brother, Puʻahiuhiu, promising that he would eventually follow with the rest of the family. Pele brought her little sister, Hiʻiaka, on this voyage. Upon arriving at the Hawaiian archipelago, she sailed in from the northwestern Hawaiian Islands, past Mokumanamana and Niʻihau. In search of a place to make a home, Pele travelled along the path of the formation of the islands from the oldest in the west to the youngest in the east, arriving at Hawaiʻi Island, where she finally settled. When she came to Kauaʻi, she met Lohiau, a handsome young chief, and fell in love. Although she carried on with her voyage in search of a place to stay, she later sent Hiʻiaka on a quest to bring back Lohiau.[6]

Hina is the most widely known ancestress in Polynesia. Her name and stories change slightly from archipelago to archipelago. For example, she is called Sina in Sāmoa, Sima in Tonga, Hina in Tahiti and Hawaiʻi and Hine in Aotearoa-New Zealand.[7] In Hawaiʻi, Hina is the daughter of Kamaunuaniho (female) and Kalana (male) who, like Pele, came from Kahiki. She married ʻOlopana, who was also from Kahiki, and they had a child who they named Kahiki-o-honuakele (Kamakau, 1991, p. 111). Hina is

[6] For more on the Pele legends, see David Kalakaua, (1888). *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii*; Nathaniel Bright Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawai'i* (1915); and William Drake Westervelt, (1916). *Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes*. Archaeological evidence suggests that Hawai'i was the first island in the chain settled and that the small, remote and inhospitable northwestern islands were only temporarily settled later in history and soon abandoned. See, for example, Kirch, (1985). *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks*, pp. 300-305.

[7] Although I have not located conclusive evidence of Nei Nima'anoa as deriving from similar origins as the ancestral stories of Hina, it is possible that they are related (*Nima=Sima-Sina-Hina-Hine*).

listed in the cosmogonic genealogy, the Kumulipo, as an akua (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999). She is also the mother of the island of Molokaʻi and recognised in the genealogies as an ancestor to the Kanaka Maoli from Molokaʻi Island in the Hawaiian archipelago. The moʻolelo of both Pele and Hina speak of their intentional and independently initiated voyages. The stories of Hina speak of her as the creator of the human race, as well as a legendary voyager across the Pacific:

> After exploring the earth Hina's love of discovery did not cease. So one evening when the full moon was shining invitingly, being large and half visible at the horizon, she set off in her canoe, which was never seen again. Thus Hina-i-faʻauru-vaʻa became Hina-aa-i-te-marama (Hina who-stepped-into-the-moon), as in the moon she ever afterwards remained, though she did not cease to be in sympathy with her brother [Rū/Kū] in his travels on earth and to do good to man. She watched over travellers at night, an office that caused her to be called Hina-nui-te-araara (Great Hina, the watchwoman). Hina-i-aa-i-te-marama appears in Polynesian folklore generally. (Henry, 1995, p. 5)

In Tahiti, Hina is remembered as the daughter of Ātea and Hotu. She is known for her voyage of discovery to Aotearoa (New Zealand) accompanied by her brother, Rū. They departed from Motu-tapu in Raʻiātea through Te-ara-o Hina ("the passage of Hina" and ventured south across the Pacific. In this story Hina is Hina-faʻauru-vaʻa, or "Hina the canoe pilot" (Henry, 1995, p. 4). After exploring several islands in Polynesia, Hina embarked upon an even greater voyage. On the night of the full moon, just as the moon met the horizon, she set sail to visit it. Upon arriving she let her canoe drift away and decided never to return to the earth. From the moon, she watches over travellers at night, and in this manifestation is called Hina-nui-te-araara (Great Hina the watchwoman), just as the moʻolelo describes in the quote.[8]

[8] See Neil Gunson, (1993). 'Understanding Polynesian traditional history,' *Journal of Pacific History, 28*(2): pp. 139-158, who demonstrates that the presence of supernatural elements in traditions is common and does not necessarily negate their use as historical sources.

There are two Hine (Hina) stories from Aotearoa that are significant to Hine as a voyager. In one story Hine-Te-Aparangi was the first to sight the islands of Aotearoa, or 'long white cloud.' She and her husband, Kupe, are widely accepted as the first Polynesians to arrive to Te Ika a Māui (the fish of Māui – as Māui literally fishes it out of the sea, i.e., discovers it), the North Island of New Zealand. On this voyage it was Hine-Te-Aparangi who, upon sighting land, yelled, "He ao! He ao!" ("A Cloud! A Cloud!") The name Aotearoa comes from this first sighting (Nelson, 1991, p. 9).

Another ancestral story from New Zealand speaks of Hine-raho, a woman chief and one of the voyagers on board the canoe Arahura. This canoe brought the god Arahura to Te Waipounamu (literally the place of greenstone, now known as the South Island of New Zealand). Arahura is actually the image of pounamu, the greenstone (Tregear, 1891). On the west coast of the Te Waipounamu, there is a river called the Arahura. It is where the pounamu, the precious taonga (treasure) of Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Waiwai can be found.

These voyaging stories of legendary women are found throughout Polynesia, although the names change slightly from island to island. A voyaging story in Sāmoan culture speaks of the union between Rangi and Papa, who gave birth to Tangaloa. In this story, Sina (Hina/Hine) was Tangaloa's daughter. Tangaloa sent Sina, in the form of a bird, to find land. On her journey she did not find land, so Tangaloa threw stones into the sea below, thus creating the Sāmoan island of Savai'i (Tregear, 1891). In several Polynesian cultures, such as Hawaiian and Māori, the manu (bird) is a metaphor for the canoe (Henry, 1995).

In other stories, Hina gives birth to the human race. The Tuamotuan story of Hina tells of Ahuroa (male) and Onerua (female), who were the parents of Tiki. Tiki and Onekura gave birth to Hina, and Tiki and Hina developed the human race. In Marquesan legend Tiki-Tapu (male) and Kahuone (female) produced Tiki (male), who with Hinemataone (Sane at Havaiʻi) gave birth to the human race (Howe, 2006). In the Hawaiian Islands, Hina is the mother of Molokaʻi, as previously mentioned, giving birth to the island of Molokaʻi Nui a Hina (Great Molokaʻi of Hina).

These stories affirm the significance of the ancestress, Hina. In Hawaiian lore she takes on multiple forms as mother to the coral reefs and the famous gods Kamapuaʻa and Māui. She is the Goddess of kapa (Hawaiian fabric) and medicinal herbs. Hina controls all that is fluid and malleable, the moon and tides, as well as freshwater pools. As the moon, there are various names and translations of Hina; such as Hina-Nui-i-te-Marama, Hinaʻaikamalama and Hinaakamalama-Hina of the Moon or Hina fed by the moon. There is Hinaakeahi-Hina of the Fire, Hinaakaʻaluʻalumoana-Hina who follows the ocean, Hinahāwea-Hina of the reddish glow, Hinakekā-Hina the canoe bailer, Hinalauaʻe-Hina of the lauaʻe fern, Hinalaulimukala-Hina of the limu kala seaweed leaves, Hinaluaʻikoʻa-Hina of the coral reef, Hinaōpūholokoʻaokamoana-Hina whose womb is full of everything in the ocean, Hinapukuʻai-Hina who gathers food, Hinapukuiʻa-Hina who gathers fish, and Hinauluʻōhiʼa-Hina of the ʻōhiʻa forest (Handy, Handy and Pūkui, 1972; Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999).

There are several reasons for sharing the various manifestations of Hina within this text, all of which are interrelated. First, the moʻolelo of Hina speak of her as an ocean voyager. The fact that Polynesians tell stories of women engaging in great adventures

and voyages, as well as taking on multiple forms in the natural world, exemplifies the importance and centrality of women within Polynesian cultures and genealogies. The other purpose for sharing the Hina mo‘olelo is to highlight how she is known as the progenitor of humans in the stories previously shared. Female deities, such as Hina, exemplify the strength and importance of women within Kanaka Maoli and Pacific cosmologies and world views.

Kūmaumau: Continuity

The continuity of Kanaka Maoli women’s voyaging honours an ancient connection with legendary women voyagers and the ancestors. Voyagers of the Twenty-First Century, whether male or female, tread the challenging terrain of modernity, which is an integral part of diverse contemporary Indigenous peoples’ lives. Living in a modern context and trying to adhere to the life of a voyager is highly complex. Sacrifices have to be made to make time to volunteer with the hope to sail someday. Other challenges are present as well, especially for women.

Mo‘olelo about women voyaging to and from Kahiki serve as counter-narratives to the disempowering notion that only Pacific islands men were navigators and voyagers. Instead, it reinforces the fact that the women of Polynesia are surrounded by an abundant and rich her-story of powerful examples of women akua,[9] leaders, voyagers

[9] According to Pūkui and Elbert (1986), akua has many translations, such as god, goddess, spirit, supernatural and many more, but these are English translations. Arguably, the reason there are so many translations is because akua is difficult to render into an English-speaking conceptual framework. Kumu Hula John Ka’imikaua speaks of the akua as “our ancestors,” which is how I use the term here.

and navigators (Pūkui and Elbert, 1986). In particular, there are several examples of female deities whose moʻolelo tell of their great voyaging feats. Within Hawaiian epistemology, the akua are ancestors who have passed away back in time and are now a part of the spirit world (Minton, 2000).[10] Throughout the Pacific there are stories of ancestral and legendary women voyagers. These stories highlight and pay tribute to the women navigators and voyagers of Polynesia, as well as the greater Pacific, exemplified by Nei Nimʻanoa, Luʻukia, Kaupeʻa, Papa and others, which will be elaborated upon within the thesis.

According to Kanaka Maoli scholar Noenoe Silva (2004), Kamakau incorporated akua in his account of traveller narratives. Silva's (2004) rigorous analysis of Hawaiian language newspapers, books and letters uncovered evidence of female akua and women voyagers and their voyaging feats that had been edited out of English language historical texts. Women were literally 'written out' of voyaging accounts by colonial writers. It is for this reason that the moʻolelo are so important. Silva's research and translations of the Hawaiian language archives fills a crucial gap in the historical record and has profoundly informed the assertion of this thesis that the women of Hōkūleʻa come from a long lineage of nā wāhine holowaʻa.

He wahine holowaʻa: A Voyaging Story

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[10] Most Pacific scholars now acknowledge the value of traditions as historical sources. See, for example, Niel Gunson, (1993). 'Understanding Polynesian Traditional History,' *Journal of Pacific History*, 28(2), pp. 139-158, on the nature of Polynesian traditions.

As a Kanaka Maoli woman voyager of Hōkūleʻa who follows the lineages of both Pele and Hina, I purposefully began this Introduction with a tribute to these legendary ancestors. In this way, I have striven to interweave moʻokūʻauhau as theory and method within this academic text. I have a personal interest in this subject area and, specifically, in highlighting the stories of other historical and contemporary women voyagers and navigators. My experiences on Hōkūleʻa inspired me to pursue this academic research and exploration because, despite the presence of a number of women crew on Hōkūleʻa, to date this topic has been neglected by scholars. A sub-theme of the work is a return to the importance of traditional forms of historical narratives rather than merely an insertion of evidence via a conventional Western academic social science approach; hence, the priority of voyaging genealogies.

My bonds with the great canoe Hōkūleʻa are long-standing and were formed from cultural and residential proximity and affinity. Residence and identity are closely related in Pacific cultures. Like Hōkūleʻa, I too was born in 1975. I spent many influential years growing from a girl into a young woman near Hōkūleʻa in Kaʻaʻawa, the valley beside Kualoa along Kāneʻohe Bay on Oʻahu's windward coast. I remember often walking to the end of Kualoa Beach where the canoes were. For my family, the home of the canoes was a puʻuhonua (place of refuge). Interacting with the canoes, helpers and crew influenced my consciousness and, in ways difficult to define, contributed to creating who I am today. As a Kanaka Maoli whose lived experience involved the diasporic movement to and from Hawaiʻi and the continental United States, I feel that in both a metaphoric and literal sense Hōkūleʻa carried me on my journey home.

It was not until womanhood that I became aware of my genealogical legacy as a voyager, years after I had sailed on Hōkūleʻa through the Marquesas Islands from Fatu Hiva to Mangareva in the Tuamotus, later meeting Hōkūleʻa and crew in Rapa Nui and helping escort her back to Tahiti. When I returned from sailing on Hōkūleʻa, I had a difficult time transitioning back to land. It was hard to get my 'land legs' back, because the body's equilibrium is used to the movement and rhythm of the ocean. It was not easy getting used to man-made lighting again, like lightbulbs in the house at night, because at sea there is only sunlight, moonlight and starlight. Once I returned from Tahiti, I found it even more difficult to transition back to Oʻahu, to the Honolulu traffic and populace. It was intense. I had a vision at sea that I needed to move to Molokaʻi. The vision came on the night of the full moon. I was on watch, steering, and I felt a very strong presence in the moon. I thought it was my Grandma Einei because in the vision I was on her homestead in Kalamaʻula, Molokaʻi. Emotion overcame me and tears welled up in my eyes.

I moved to Molokaʻi a couple of weeks after returning to Oʻahu. My cousin invited me to live at our grandmother's homestead across the road from one of the first women voyagers to sail on Hōkūleʻa, Penny Martin. Auntie Penny came by on my first day at the homestead. She had some Lilikoʻi butter that she had made for my cousin – the best passion fruit butter I have ever tasted! From that time on we became friends. She was my ʻAnakē (Auntie). That's what my cousin and I called her ʻAnakē, as if there were only one in the world!

Auntie Penny invited me to work with her on her Hawaiian Values Program where we would visit classrooms around the island and give talks and play games with the

children sharing Hawaiian Values. We also visited the rainforests of Kamakou Mountain where she guided interpretive hikes teaching about Kamakou's native, endemic plants and animals. Auntie Penny's husband was a taro farmer so I also used to go help him in the loʻi and at her homestead cleaning kalo (taro root) or making poi (pounded taro root). She was my mentor.

That year when the Hōkūleʻa returned from the Voyage to Rapa Nui, it first landed on Molokaʻi. Our work surrounded the canoe and crew and our talks with the children of Molokaʻi moved from the classroom to the ocean. It was a powerful time. We sailed Hōkūleʻa from Molokaʻi to Oʻahu for the 'official' arrival ceremony at Kualoa Beach Park. The arrival ceremony marked the end of that voyage, but for me it had just begun.

After returning to Molokaʻi, I often questioned why; why was I selected to crew on the canoe? What should I do now? Auntie Penny helped me answer those questions. She said, "The canoe decides." In that moment, she was suggesting that it was so much bigger than us, people that is; rather, it is about the spirit of the canoe. She was saying that the spirit of the canoe is so strong that it was the canoe that makes the decisions! Hearing her words was such a relief. It was the kind of sensation like a breeze on a hot day or plunging into the warm ocean waters of home, relief.

It was during these conversations that Auntie Penny would say that we came from a powerful lineage of navigators. She never questioned her ancestral link to the first voyagers and their knowledge. She is an immensely humble person, but she is clear about her knowing. Auntie Penny is from the Kaiakea/Bishaw moʻokūʻauhau from Molokaʻi and Oʻahu. I am not sure of our blood connection, but most people from

Molokaʻi acknowledge that we are family either by marriage or blood. What I do know is that Auntie Penny deeply informs this work. Her welcoming me into her home and life has made her a part of me and I acknowledge her as my kumu (teacher), kuʻu ʻAnakē (auntie), kuʻu hoaaloha (friend) and kuʻu kupuna (elder).

More recently, I have reconnected with my genealogical origins from my grandfather's moʻokūʻauhau from Kaʻū, Hawaiʻi, which extends from my great grandmother, Kalikookalani Kaʻaukai 's, lineage. Her name 'Kaʻaukai', literally translates as 'the sailor'. My father shared that Kaʻaukai is a shortened version of the original name, which was Kanakaʻaukai, meaning the voyaging people. From the same lineage we also carry the name 'Keʻalaikahiki', which means the way to Kahiki/Tahiti. Keʻalaikahiki is a sacred place on the island of Kahoʻolawe where the art of navigation was taught and learned. It is the traditional departure point to Kahiki (McGregor, 2007). I often wondered why I had been selected as a Hōkūleʻa crew member, as I had little ocean knowledge or sailing experience; yet, I felt a deep calling**.** I had dreams about sailing on Hōkūleʻa that were so vivid that I remember waking with a feeling of surprise that I was in my bedroom and not on the ocean.

As a voyager, my role was slightly different than the other crew because I had been brought onboard to do the documenting via digital equipment and to communicate with students in the Hawaiian Islands who were following the journey online at their local schools. For this reason, there were many moments when I was behind the camera feeling as though my responsibility was to see the voyage through the viewfinder and to become the eyes for those not able to join us physically on the canoe.

Before being selected as a crewmember and to help with documentation, Hōkūleʻa had already deeply impacted upon my life and consciousness as a Kanaka Maoli woman interested in helping to perpetuate Hawaiian culture and protecting Hawaiʻi's natural environment. The first time that I sailed on Hōkūleʻa I did so as an intern working for the Nature Conservancy of Hawaiʻi at the age of 19 and it was not until 5 years later that I was selected as crew. I can distinctly remember the way in which the canoe had the power to inspire whether on land or, if lucky enough, sailing on the ocean**.**

Since sailing, my role as a 'voyager' has taken on many forms. For example, I worked as an environmental educator while later pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Pacific Islands Studies. In these seemingly different roles, I found that the experiences I had aboard the canoe lived within me and continued to inform my consciousness. As I pursued my doctoral study about the women of Hōkūleʻa, I realised that I am still voyaging, but my role has changed.

I purposefully position myself within the research to honour the subjective nature of the thesis. As will be further articulated throughout the work, I conceptualise moʻokūʻauhau as both theory and methodology. Within this theoretical framework, I have begun by acknowledging moʻokūʻauhau and ancestral voyagers before introducing myself. I will now conclude the Introduction chapter by offering the reader a brief overview of the chapters that follow.

Hōʻuluʻulu Manaʻo: Thesis Overview

The thesis consists of eight chapters: 1) ʻŌlelo Hoʻākāka: Introduction, 2) ʻIkena: Epistemological Orientation, 3) Mōʻaukala: Historical Overview, 4) Mana Wāhine, 5) Kiʻina Hana: Methodology & Methods, 6) Hulilawa: Findings, 7) ʻŌlelo Kūkā: Discussion, and 8) Hopena: Conclusion. I prioritise ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, the Hawaiian language, within the chapter titles as a political statement to bring Kanaka Maoli perspectives to the forefront. Although I do not speak Hawaiian fluently, and I acknowledge the challenges of translating the Hawaiian language into English, I believe that it is still important to prioritise ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi throughout the thesis' text.

The chapter, 'Ikena: Epistemological Orientation', offers a glimpse of Kanaka Maoli epistemology and worldview. The word 'ikena' translates as view, which at first glance might seem to over simplify the chapter's intention to explore Hawaiian epistemology. I use this word to represent diverse perspectives, one of which is Hawaiian. The chapter opens with the words of an ancestress from the island of Molokaʻi who befittingly speaks about diverse 'views' or perspectives. Being that several of the women interviewed for the thesis connect their genealogies to Molokaʻi, the chapter articulates aspects of Hawaiian epistemology beginning at ka piko (the belly button), or centre, of the Hawaiian Islands. The chapter then explores Pacific genealogical connections in the region and epistemological collisions between Pacific epistemologies and the occident. The chapter concludes by interconnecting the wisdom of Indigenous scholars and, lastly, by articulating deeper meanings of moʻokūʻauhau as the foundational concept of the thesis.

The following chapter is 'Mōʻaukala: Historical Overview', which seeks to contextualise the re-emergence of voyaging and the creation of the canoe Hōkūleʻa.

This is accomplished by revisiting significant colonial events, such as the arrival of Westerners to Hawai‘i, the introduction of foreign disease, missionary settlements and schooling, annexation to the United States, and statehood. Before discussing Hōkūle‘a as inspirational to the Hawaiian renaissance, it was vital to revisit colonisation; thus, the next section explores the movements that gain momentum during the Hawaiian cultural revival in the 1970s. The last section in the chapter is devoted to Hōkūle‘a, its voyages and the literature available about the canoe.

The next chapter, Mana Wāhine, integrates the scholarly work of several Kanaka Maoli women academics. The chapter is divided into three sections: 1) Sovereignty & Feminism, 2) Historical Revisioning: Aloha ‘Āina and Land Tenure, and 3) Mo‘okū‘auhau and Nā Wāhine Kūpuna Holowa’a: Genealogy and Ancestral Women Voyagers. The section on sovereignty and feminism discusses the work of Haunani Kay Trask, while the section on historical revisioning focuses on the scholarly writing of Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa and Noenoe Silva. The last section returns the reader to the importance of mo‘okū‘auhau within the thesis and articulates other examples of ancestral women voyagers. Throughout the chapter, I critically engage with the work of prevalent Kanaka Maoli women academics and discuss the decolonising scholarly texts that have informed this thesis.

Following the Mana Wāhine chapter I introduce ‘Papahana: Methodology & Methods’. I use the word ‘papahana’ because it integrates the words papa, meaning foundation, and hana, meaning work. As previously stated, I assert the use of mo‘okū‘auhau as theory and method to establish the foundation of the thesis. The chapter discusses these ideas in greater detail in the first section articulating mo‘okū‘auhau as methodology,

which is supported by the decolonising methodologies section that follows. The chapter then briefly explores qualitative method and in-depth interviewing which are utilised as tools within the thesis. The last section delves into moʻokūʻauhau as method within the thesis 'analysis' by talking about the use of stories and themes.

The next chapter is 'Hulilawa: Findings'. There is not a word in the Hawaiian language that means 'findings' in an academic context, so I have used the word hulilawa, which implies a rare find. The stories that the women share are treasured. I felt honoured to spend time with nā wāhine holowaʻa so I call the chapter huliawa to show my respect for the gift of stories that the women gave. Their interviews are organised in the order that they were conducted and are primarily included verbatim, which is more thoroughly explained in the last section of the methodology and methods chapter.

'Huliawa' is followed by ''Ōlelo Kūkā: Discussion', which is an integration of the previous chapters' literature alongside the women's interviews. I have organised the chapter into four themes that came forth from the women's stories. The first theme is 'hoʻomanawanui' and focuses on the patience and perseverance that the women shared. The next theme is 'laulima' and expresses the need to work together. It literally means 'many hands', but is best defined as 'joint action'. The third theme is 'Hōkūleʻa ea', a title I chose to represent the spirit of the canoe. The last and concluding theme is 'moʻokūʻauhau', which expresses the presence and support of our ancestors.

The final chapter is 'Hopena: Conclusion'. The purpose of the last chapter is to summarise the main ideas within the thesis and to suggest directions for future research.

Within the conclusion, I again position myself within the thesis to reconnect with the reader and to offer closure.

ʻIkena: Epistemological Orientation

Molokaʻi Nui a Hina

> All people climb the same mountain. The mountain, however, has many pathways-each with a different view. A person knows and understands only what he sees from his own pathway, and as he moves, his view will change. Only when he reaches the top of the mountain will he see and understand all the views of mankind. But who among us has reached the top of the mountain? Tomorrow, we too will see a different view. We have not finished growing. Most Hawaiian histories have been written from the pathways taken by foreigners who wrote Hawaiian history as they believed things to be. It was not a Hawaiian view, or from a Hawaiian pathway. These stories that I tell you are from the pathway taken by my family, on Molokaʻi. (Kameʻehua cited in Willis and Lee, 1990, p. 17)

As Kailiʻohe Kameʻehua communicates, perspective is relative to epistemology and worldview. For Kailiʻohe, her cultural context comes from the island of Molokaʻi Nui a Hina (hereafter referred to as Molokaʻi) and the Pacific region. I open this chapter with Kaili'ohe because she is an ancestor of several women interviewed for the thesis. Being that one of the central aims of the work is to link contemporary women voyagers of Hōkūleʻa to an extended moʻokūʻauhau of voyaging, it is appropriate to begin with the wisdom of our kūpuna. In this chapter I will explore selected aspects of Hawaiian, Pacific and Indigenous epistemologies by focusing on Kanaka Maoli relationships to place, the natural world and our ancestors within the Pacific region and the Hawaiian Islands. I also discuss Hawaiian epistemologies in relation to the work of other Indigenous academics and conclude by prioritising the Hawaiian concept of moʻokūʻauhau.

The theoretical work of Hawaiian philosopher and academic, Manulani Meyer, reinforces the importance of a sense of place for Kanaka Maoli. In her doctoral dissertation, *Native Hawaiian Epistemology: Contemporary Narratives* (1998), Meyer devoted her entire thesis to understanding aspects of Hawaiian epistemology while humbly acknowledging that one could devote a lifetime to exploring all the intricacies of Hawaiian ways of knowing. I similarly acknowledge the limitations of this chapter in articulating the complexities of our Kanaka Maoli worldviews. Therefore, the intention of the chapter is to ground the reader through an introduction to Hawaiian epistemology by interweaving aspects of my own base of knowing with values within Hawaiian culture that articulate our connections as Pacific and Indigenous peoples.

From my own perspective, when standing tall, strong and proud above the steep green sea-cliffs dropping into Pelekunu Valley over the north shore of Molokaʻi, I am surrounded by a cultural space where my Pacific, Hawaiian and Molokaʻi genealogy and the natural environment connect. The native forest of Kamakou abounds with ʻōhia lehua trees, pūkiawe bushes, hapuʻu ferns, ʻieʻie vines, mosses, mist and clouds. From the earth beneath my feet - Papahānaumoku - the sky above - Wākea - to the ocean connecting island to island - Kanaloa[11]- I am surrounded by the kūpuna, my ancestors. The kūpuna and nā ākua - the gods - are alive and well from this view on the mountain.

Living on Molokaʻi, the homeland of my father's lineage, my perception of time, space and place experienced a radical shift from what I had previously experienced in my predominantly Western life away from the Hawaiian Islands. I had not been conscious

[11] Papahānaumoku is the goddess of the earth, Wākea is the god of the sky, and Kanaloa is the god of the ocean.

of the power, or hold, that the islands of my Indigenous origin had over me. Molokaʻi, and all its entities became my teachers - nā kumu - sources of knowledge and understanding. Kamakou Mountain, the most prominent source of waiwai[12] (abundant freshwater), became a teacher. Kamakou is home to primarily native and endemic plants and trees like the ʻōhia lehua, which on Molokaʻi is the kinolau - embodiment - of Laka[13], the goddess of hula. The ʻōhia lehua trees stand tall, bursting with blossoms of salmon, yellow and red. The native ʻōlapa tree quivers like the gentle movements of a dancer in the misty breezes. The native forest is layered with plants, trees and mosses living symbiotically, harmoniously in balance. They feed and shelter each other like the people of the island. This is how the forest of Kamakou has evolved to live and thrive.

Many of the native plants and trees embody nā akua, such as Laka. Native plants and animals evolved interdependently for tens of thousands of years before the first inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands arrived, approximately 2000 years ago. The Kanaka Maoli[14] people of the past and present, through an intimate relationship with the earth, sky, ocean, rocks, birds, and all of the plants and animals of the land and sea, recognised that these lifeforms have their own wisdom and significance. For example, in the native forest the hapuʻu fern becomes a nursery for the seeds of the ʻōhia lehua. It

[12] Waiwai has multiple meanings. It is fresh water, but it also refers to abundance and prosperity. It is the source of life and, from a Hawaiian epistemological perspective; it is of the utmost importance (Pūkui and Elbert, 1986, p. 380).

[13] The art of hula and chant connects its genealogy to the goddess of Laka and the island of Molokaʻi. Laka is thought to embody plants such as maile, palapalai, lama, ʻieʻie, and the blossoms of the ʻöhia lehua (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999, p. 36).

[14] Kanaka literally translates as a human being, individual, person or population and maoli translates as native, indigenous, real, true or actual. It is used in the text to describe the first inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands and their descendants. The Kanaka Maoli and Native Hawaiian are synonymous (Pūkui and Elbert, 1986).

provides nutrients and shelter for the seedlings until they grow into trees; the forest comes to represent the community, in that working together and by feeding and supporting one another, growth and life flourishes.

Kumu Hula John Kaʻimikaua, loved and remembered teacher of oral history and the art of chant and hula, linked his genealogy of hula to the island of Molokaʻi, and spoke of his knowing in the documentary *A Mau A Mau, To Continue Forever* (Minton, 2000). He said, "to know the *kūpuna* is to know the land,"[15] meaning that to know and understand our culture and people we must come to know and understand our cultural place, our island homes, including all the elements. The earth-Papahānaumoku, sky-Wākea, ocean-Kanaloa, wind-ka makani, rain-ka ua, and sun-ka Lā begin our genealogy[16]. Of the kūpuna, the ākua[17] are ancestors that have passed-on further back in time and are now a part of the spirit world. The ʻaumākua[18] are recent ancestors who have passed and come to us in various animal forms, such as the manō (shark), pueo (owl), or ʻio (hawk). The mākua[19] are still living in the physical realm (Minton, 2000).

[15] This quote is from the documentary by Nālani Minton, (2000). *A Mau A Mau: To Continue Forever* (Honolulu: Nā Maka I ka ʻAina Documentary)*;* therefore there is not a page number.

[16] For more on Hawaiian genealogy, cosmology and the creation chant see M. W. Beckwith, *The Kumulipo*. (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1951).

[17] Ākua are either gods or goddesses, but the Hawaiian cosmology links its genealogy to the ākua, so they are also ancestors.

[18] ʻAumākua are personal and family gods, deified ancestors who assume the shape of various animals. They act as guardians that give warning in the form of dreams, visions and calls (Pūkui and Elbert, 1986).

[19] Mākua refers to a parent or any of the parents' generation, such as an aunt, uncle, or cousin (Pūkui and Elbert, 1986, p. 230).

To understand the natural environment as a cultural space that allows for genealogical connection, it is important to realise the significance that Hawaiian culture places on intuition. Kaʻimikaua explains that the source of truth is both tangible and intangible and that the naʻau[20] (the gut or intuition) can interpret beyond intellect. While everything has its own intelligence the naʻau can feel the spirit of the land, which in turn shaped the hearts and minds of the kūpuna. Native Hawaiian epistemology and intelligence is based on truth that transcends the mind and enters the heart and the centre of emotion and knowing, which is the naʻau. It is an understanding that derives from aloha-love and compassion. Kumu Hula Olana Kaipo Ai poignantly affirms that, "Aloha is the intelligence with which we meet life" (cited in Meyer, 2003, p. 1). It is this sense of aloha that guides our connection to the natural world. Kanaka Maoli perceptions of space are deeply embedded in an epistemology that prioritises spiritual relationships with the natural environment. Such Indigenous understandings of space are important to articulate because foreigners have often defined Hawaiian history.

In this brief introduction I have described, through my 'aloha no Hawaiʻi nei' (love of Hawaiʻi), genealogical connection to place, and Western academic education, what I have come to experience of Hawaiian epistemology and the interconnection between Kanaka Maoli genealogies, the natural world, and our ancestors. In moving from the epistemological significance of honua, to the related epistemology of sea as cultural space, the next section follows the migrations and voyages across the Pacific Ocean by Polynesian navigators and Western explorers. Being that Pacific Island navigators were the first to explore their ocean home, the section begins by continuing to articulate

[20] The naʻau is the intestines, bowels, guts; as well as the heart, mind, affections and feelings (Pūkui and Elbert, 1986).

selected Pacific ideologies and epistemologies that exemplify a deep connection and relationship to our islands and ocean world.

Pacific Genealogical Connections

> *Ka manu kāhea i ka waʻa e holo-The bird calls the canoe to sail.*
> *(Pūkui, 1983, p. 160)*

Through a seafaring lineage, Polynesian cultures have developed a distinct relationship with the Pacific Ocean and celestial bodies. As a crewmember on the double-hulled sailing canoe Hōkūleʻa, during the Voyage to Rapa Nui in 1999-2000[21], I was humbled by the immensity, temperament and beauty of Kanaloa. Surrounded by 360 degrees of ocean, I found that the canoe became our island and the stars our guide. The navigator of our canoe would visualise the islands coming to the canoe and crew. When land appeared it seemed to be lifted out from the sea by the stars overhead as it rose above the horizon. Wayfinders, such as Mau Pialug, Nainoa Thompson, Shantelle Ching, Kaʻau McKenney and Kalepa Baybayan, taught me to view the ocean as a pathway. Navigating on open ocean freeways expands and reconfigures fundamental epistemological principles (Meyer, 2005). For many Pacific Islands peoples the ocean is an extension of the land, which offers food, *re*-creation and transport. The ocean is not a barrier that divides the islands and limits our movement; rather, it is our source of expansion and connection.

[21] For more information on the Voyage to Rapa Nui or contemporary Native Hawaiian navigation see www.pvs-hawaii.com/voyages/rapanui.

Renowned and respected Pacific academic, poet and theorist, Konai Helu Thaman, reiterates these epistemological ideas in her poem, *Thinking*, where she offers the reader a broader Indigenous, Pacific and Polynesian perspective of intellect and knowing. She expresses, just as Ka‘imikaua described, a relationship and respect for the natural world and all that is free.

THINKING

you say that you think
therefore you are
but thinking belongs
in the depths of the earth
we simply borrow
what we need to know

these islands the sky
the surrounding sea
the trees the birds
and all that are free
the misty rain
the surging river
pools by the blowholes
a hidden flower
have their own thinking

they are frames of mind that cannot fit
in a small selfish world.
(Thaman, 1999, p. 15)

Similarly, Meyer (1998) describes taro cultivation as a “spiritual/environmental facet of epistemology; an epistemology that imbue[s] the *‘ohana*, or family, with continuity of place and people, and their [Hawaiian] world with relationship” (p. 30).

The relationship that Meyer depicts is one of reciprocity where the land, ocean and people all give and take. While the land and sea provide an abundance of food, the people must in return be guardians and stewards who aloha ʻāina-cherish the land and ocean. The Kanaka Maoli protect and mālama ʻāina-care for the land just as they would an elder or a family member for, as stated above, the land and ocean are genealogically connected to the people. Meyer (1998) states:

> To understand Hawaiian ontology and its pervasiveness in the form, function and essence of knowing and understanding, one begins and ends in the vista of "that which feeds." Here, as with most images, "feed" is not only food for the body, but nourishment for spirit, history and sense of place. (p. 33)

Throughout the Pacific, epistemologies are similarly defined through genealogical connections. In a personal interview, Konai Thaman described how Western perspectives differed from Indigenous Pacific concepts of land or *vanua* (Fiji), *honua* (Hawaiʻi), *fenua* (Tahiti), and *whenua* (Aotearoa/New Zealand), all of which encompass a holistic and spiritual connection to place. Thaman explains:

> It's not just about a piece of soil- it is that - plus all of the other things, all of the spiritual connections-all of the people, all of the relationships, everything, which in English there isn't a word for, so they say "land," but land is a very limited definition of place. Place in most Pacific languages is fenua or vanua or honua. In Melanesia that's what they are talking about, they're not talking about a piece of land. It's a mentality that includes land. It includes everything. It's an integrated notion of place. (cited in Wilson, 2004, p. 35)

Thaman's background in the Western discipline of geography allows her to critique some Western definitions of space and place as exceedingly limited. She says:

> That's what geography is all about. It is about space, spatial differentiation, how one's place is different from another's place. And I thought that they really needed to extend that notion of space and place

> and things that you cannot observe. [Western] science is all about things you can observe. (cited in Wilson, 2004, p. 35)

The unobservable entities, which inform and fill a cultural space that Konai refers to include cosmological, genealogical, ancestral spiritual connections and understandings of place.

The next section delves into the contrasts between Pacific genealogical connections and Western exploration as an economic pursuit. An exploration of epistemological differences between Kanaka Maoli and newcomers to our islands allows us to revisit historical events that deeply impacted life for Kanaka Maoli after Western contact and during the colonial era. This section prefaces the next chapter which discusses colonisation and articulates the events that led to cultural revival movements in the Hawaiian Islands, out of which came the creation of the canoe Hōkūleʻa.

Epistemological Collisions: Pacific and Western Perceptions of Cultural Space

> *I Kahiki no ka hao, o ke kiʻo ana i Hawaiʻi nei.*
>
> In the foreign country was the iron; in Hawaiʻi the rusting. (Pūkui, 1983, p. 128)[22]

Understanding how early European explorers of the Pacific perceived their experience is fundamental to deconstructing European colonial conceptions of space or place that

[22] Literally translated as "In Kahiki (foreign land) was the iron; in Hawaiʻi, the rusting," the deeper meaning of the proverb is that the foreigner may have been a good person at home, but in Hawaiʻi he grows careless with his behaviour.

were eventually imposed upon Indigenous models. Early European explorers described the Pacific region as consisting of remote, isolated islands in the far sea; a perception contrary to Pacific peoples' cultural understandings and connections to their homelands, which did not view the sea as either far or remote. Prior to European arrival, Indigenous Pacific Islanders had come to know and understand the land and ocean as an extension of themselves, and as a part of their genealogy and origin. This quote by Tongan writer and academic, Epeli Hau'ofa (1993), helps reconstruct a Pacific perception of space within the Pacific. He eloquently states:

> Oceania is us. We are the sea, we are the ocean, we must wake up to the views that aim ultimately to confine us again, physically and psychologically, in the tiny spaces which we have resisted accepting as our sole appointed place, and from which we have recently liberated ourselves. We must not allow anyone to belittle us again, and take away our freedom. (1993, p. 16)

From an Indigenous Pacific Islander's perspective, the Pacific region is not made up of islands in the far sea; it is our sea of islands.

When native peoples began losing rights to their own lands through colonial displacement, they were simultaneously disoriented by the imposition of invisible boundaries and geo-political borders created by other nations and driven by an opposing occidental worldview. These invisible boundaries are the imaginary national and geographical borders created to categorise people and places of the Pacific from a Western imperial perspective. The invisible boundaries also continue to exist in the colonised mind, which engages with a limited perception of our world, spaces, peoples and cultures. An imposed colonial imaginary keeps the people of the Pacific divided and separated (Said, 1979; Hau'ofa, 1993).

The definitional imposition of Western classifications began with the first-encounters between Pacific Islanders and Westerners through travellers' tales. J.R. Forster, the naturalist who travelled aboard the Resolution on Captain James Cook's second voyage to the Pacific, for instance, became one of the first writers to categorise Pacific Islanders by skin colour and hair texture. His descriptions created the Polynesian and Melanesian distinction that remains to this day, dividing peoples and imposing imagined categories to preside over the islands in terms of Micronesian, Melanesian and Polynesian (Geiringer, 1990).

Western discourses[23], such as those created through the discipline of anthropology, contributed to the demarcation of the Pacific by providing scientifically "valid" definitions of Pacific population distribution, race, physical characteristics, environmental and social origin, and culture.[24] Indigenous peoples worldwide were and continue to be defined via non-Indigenous standards through discourses ignorant of Indigenous ways of understanding the world, such as genealogical and spiritual connections to place, which were in existence prior to colonisation.

[23] I use the nomenclature 'discourse' frequently throughout this thesis. I use the word largely in the Foucauldian sense in that I refer to discourses as discursive and pervasive. For instance, in this section the perceived inferiority of indigenous peoples was founded on discourses pervasive in their spread throughout various literatures, including travel, anthropological, and scientific; and discursive in their tacit application.

[24] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide an in-depth account of the Western demarcation of Pacific Islanders through travellers' tales and anthropological discourse. For further reading see Linda Smith's, (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous Peoples,* especially Chapters 1-4.

Western definitions of the Pacific also enabled Western economic expansion largely due to the classification of the Indigenous peoples as savage. As described above, the genealogical connections that Pacific peoples had with their lands held no currency within an occidental worldview that defined the islands in terms of "natural resources" and the potential for economic exploitation, a notion far removed and the polar opposite to genealogical relationship with the natural environment and values of aloha ʻāina and mālama ʻāina - loving and caring for the earth in its entirety.

From the European colonialist perspective, the islands and peoples, or cultural spaces, they encountered lacked the imperial culture through which the colonists had come to view their own lands. European settlers considered the cultural landscape they encountered to be "uninhabited." Through their own cultural lenses, the land was not being exploited because it was not perceived as being controlled and manipulated by humans and did not resemble the cultivated European countryside; the lands were viewed as savage and untamed, as were its peoples. Lands were defined as "unworked" or, what John Locke conceived of as *terra nullius* (Smith, 1999).

Linda Smith (1999) writes that, "space is often viewed in Western thinking as being static or divorced from time" (p. 52). Smith goes on to describe the spatial vocabulary of colonialism as assembled around three concepts: (1) the line, (2) the centre, and (3) the outside. The "line" is relevant because of its use to map, chart, fence and create boundaries. The "centre" refers to orientation to power, such as the mother country (Europe/United States), churches, ports, stores, and stockades. The "outside" is the most significant to the thesis because it locates Indigenous lands, peoples and ways of knowing away from the imperial centre, in the margins. It enables the colonial notion of

an empty peripheral landscape, or *terra nullius*; uncharted, uninhabited, and unoccupied (p. 52).

In terms of colonial exploitation, the early-European colonist's lack of ancestral relationship or responsibility to care for these "newly discovered" islands led to environmental and cultural atrocities in the Pacific region. The cultivation and farming of lands through Western methods redefined the cultural spaces. For example, although initially Hawai'i was a stopover point from the Americas to Asia, later, when explorers and traders such as James Cook divulged news of Hawai'i's abundant source of freshwater and fertile land, Westerners came in vast numbers to economically exploit the islands. They brought with them Western diseases and Western ways of viewing the world. Land, for instance, was only valued when subjected to cultivation for cash crops, such as sugar, pineapple or exploited for sandalwood. Western customs influenced and changed Kanaka Maoli perceptions of their cultural spaces by instilling ideas of ownership over the natural environment, and a cash economy. By 1848, with the signing of the Great Māhele[25] and the ensuing enablement of foreigners to buy and sell land, Native Hawaiians were rapidly displaced. Many Native Hawaiians were forced to leave their 'ahupua'a (ancestral lands) to find work in urban areas (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

Kanaka Maoli societies, like Western societies, also exploited natural resourses, especially following Western and missionary contact. In particular Hawaiian chiefs and

[25] Kamehameha III signed the Great Māhele, which led to the 1850 *Act to Abolish the Disabilities of Aliens to Acquire and Convey Lands in Fee*; thus, opening the way for Western foreigners to purchase and own Hawaiian land. For more information on the Great Māhele see Kame'eleihiwa's, (1992). *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea La E Pono Ai?*

elite participated in global markets, not to the scale of industial Europe, but none-the-less resources were ulitised often to the detriment of island environments. For example, Hawaiian chiefs harvested Sandlewood from the native forests to near extinction. Although Sandlewood was not cultivated like pineapple or sugar, Kanaka Maoli chiefs benefitted economically by its exploitation.

In reference to the cultivation of food crops, historians such as Felix M. Keesing and Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa portray contrasting stories of pre-contact Hawai‘i and the events that followed. Keesing (1936) conducted research on the history of *Hawaiian Homesteading on Moloka‘i*, whereas Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) gave a contemporary Native Hawaiian perspective of the Great Māhele in her book *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea La E Pono Ai?* Keesing (1936) described the changes to Hawai‘i caused by Western influences as inevitable, arguing that:

> Western standards of living and commercial attitudes have tended to replace the simpler subsistence economy of the old environment. As early as 1848, the individualistic ideas of land holding brought in by whites prevailed over an earlier feudal-like system. (p. 13)

In contrast, Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) believes that the feudal-like system that Keesing refers to was in fact a very organised and efficient form of land-management and mālama ‘aina. Yet, as Keesing suggests, many Hawaiian families did readily adapt to Westernisation and prospered in the 19th century land tenure, which was often determined by the power differentials that existed in Kanaka Maoli feudal systems of land management between Hawaiian chiefs and commoners.

The displacement of Native Hawaiians eventually led to the United States government establishing the first Hawaiian Homestead[26] settlement, a pilot project named the Kalaniana‘ole Settlement, in Kalama‘ula, Moloka‘i. Many Kanaka Maoli lost their ancestral lands and connection to genealogical ‘ahupua‘a. Instead, they were *re*-placed on to Hawaiian Homesteads—often dry and remote areas, spaces still occupied today by the progeny of the original Hawaiian Homesteaders. Keesing (1936) reflects on the establishment of homesteading suggesting that “the fundamentals of culture cannot be destroyed easily, even though the externals may change… it will be seen how things Hawaiian continue to be effective in the lives of homesteaders” (p. 16). I interpret this quote to mean that Hawaiian culture and epistemology continued to guide the lives and exchanges between the local people within the community, even though Western economic and business ventures “with [their] competitive individualism… represent perhaps the extreme contrast to the old economic system” (Keesing, 1936, p. 16).

Competitive economic ventures emanated values that were the extreme opposite of the worldview of the Kanaka Maoli, who had been nourished for centuries without individualistic opportunism. Priorities that maintained a healthy Hawaiian economy were values of aloha-love and respect, trust, giving and receiving. When the land has been objectified, consideration of the greater whole (i.e., the earth in its entirety, including the spiritual connection that defines cultural spaces) is ignored; when the land has been calculated in terms of its ‘natural resources,’ holism is lost. Such is the history

[26] The United States government began awarding Native Hawaiians ‘Hawaiian Homesteads’ in the 1920s on the basis of a blood quantum of 50 percent or more. They consist of acreage in often dry and remote areas of the Hawaiian Islands. Homesteads can be passed down through the generations, but the recipient must have a blood quantum of one-quarter or more Native Hawaiian.

of Western colonisation of the Hawaiian Islands and the differences between Western and Pacific perceptions' of place and cultural space, at least at that time.

This journey of learning, growth and sharing is about that which connects Indigenous peoples, like the seas that caress the beaches of our shores, the light of the moon that shines upon us and sun that warms our skin. Our connections are defined by our legacy of being deeply rooted to place, both physically and metaphysically, guided by our ancestors. Furthermore, we are survivors of colonisation and colonial forces that continue to exist and shackle us to a limited worldview and the truths and myths of foreigners to our homelands. This is a story about how empowering it is to realise that we are not alone in our struggles and that together we can only continue to grow stronger.

Epistemological Re-*searching*

I find that this doctoral journey of *re*-searching seeks to accomplish multiple goals. First and foremost, my goal is to feature the voices and visions of Indigenous educators and academics. There is currently a gap, a void, in all disciplines-history, geography, sociology, education, anthropology, the physical sciences and so forth. This gap is created by the dominance of Western epistemology, yet academia can only become more dynamic and enriched by incorporating multiple epistemologies and worldviews. The concept of 'academia' comes from Western epistemology, but must it be limited by Western epistemology?

My work is devoted to *re*-searching and *re*membering the beating of drums in my heart, the tears of my ancestors in my soul-in my lifeline, a hunger to devour the knowledge that is ours and that we have been deprived of by dominant cultures and educational structures that are not our own. I have an Indigenous side of myself that has been suppressed and I know, without a doubt, that the perspective that I, and other Indigenous peoples, have to share is crucial. This is a humanist pursuit, because as Indigenous peoples' voices and visions are brought forth all of humanity can only benefit.

The writing that follows is a dialogue, an interweaving, between the theories of two Indigenous educators, Greggory Cajete (2000) and Manulani Meyer. Cajete is a man of Native American descent from the Tewa tribe of New Mexico. He is an artist, educator, philosopher and scientist. Meyer, beyond being a leading academic in Hawaiian epistemology, is also a stone carver, educator, philosopher and activist. The work of both serves as a window into understanding Indigenous epistemology and our significant connection to place. Cajete's work is interesting because its scope is broad and, thus, it can be discussed alongside the thoughts shared by Meyer. Both educators encompass perspectives beneficial to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators because they emphasise the importance of identity, place, multiple generations and diverse epistemologies.

Meyer and Cajete seek to define a contemporary guiding philosophy for educating Indigenous peoples, the goal being to heal and transcend the effects of colonisation and Western dominated educational institutions. In his book *Look to the Mountain,* Cajete speaks of the Tewa saying of "pin peye obe" which means that in looking to the

mountain we attain the highest perspective of where we have come from, where we are, and where we hope to go (Cajete, 2000, p. 181). This perspective is at the core of developing a "completeness"-a complete self-because in recognising 'who we are' and 'where we come from' we are able to discover our passionate selves that motivate and move us through life. He says that, "as we move through our inner and outer landscapes we move toward a greater understanding of ourselves" (p. 182).

Meyer parallels the philosophy of Cajete as she speaks of the need for identity. She believes that epistemology is the starting point for discussing Indigenous education and that this endeavour must entail prioritising identity. She states that "understanding what native peoples believe about their knowledge origins, priorities, context, and exchange teaches us more about its continuity" (1998, p. 22). Therefore, Indigenous education is directly related to Indigenous identity. As Cajete expressed previously, moving through 'our inner and outer landscapes' is a movement toward a complete self.

There are five foundations of Indigenous education that Cajete (2000) discusses: 1) Community; 2) Environmental Knowledge; 3) Visionary and Dream Understanding; 4) Mythic Tradition and; 5) Spiritual Ecology. These five foundations are important to this work because they not only represent an Indigenous perspective, but also further explore an area that is often marginalized in traditionally Western educational systems and academic institutions, that of vision, myth and spirituality. Furthermore, each foundation builds upon the other. For example, the need for relationship within one's community extends to include knowledge about one's natural community. In this community, which includes the environment, our ancestors are embodied in nature. They share visionary and dream understanding, which is an extension of our mythic

tradition. All of these foundations create a sense of spiritual ecology, which Cajete explains "is the intimate relationship that people establish with place and with the environment and with all of the things that make them or give them life" (2000, p.184).

Meyer's study of Hawaiian epistemology supports Cajete's five foundations of Indigenous education. She says that Hawaiian spirituality and knowing "is the ocean in which Hawaiian culture and beliefs swim" (1998, p. 22). There is no separation between Hawaiian spirituality and culture; they are symbiotic, interdependent and interwoven. Wisdom, learning, knowledge and understanding are dependent upon our Spiritual Ecology, as termed by Cajete. Meyer affirms that, "knowledge, for Native Hawaiians, is grounded in the natural environment and in the ancestral line of family" (1998, p. 23).

At the centre of this research is the desire to support theories that explore a deep relationship with the natural world. In Cajete's theory of Spiritual Ecology this deep relationship embraces dance and ceremonial rituals that renew relationship with ecology (2000, p. 184). Often these rituals surround an honouring of the earth and ocean as a source of sustenance, for example, Cajete speaks of the importance of corn for the Tewa people and Meyer describes a psychic and spiritual connection to the taro plant for Kanaka Maoli. Another spiritual ritual and interaction with the natural world is through visual art in the act of shaping pottery and carving rocks from the earth or weaving from plants such as lauhala or harakeke in Hawai'i and Aotearoa-New Zealand. These practices enrich Indigenous peoples' relationships, understandings and appreciation of their ecology.

Cajete's discussion of the philosophy of native science articulates "native science" as two contrasting worldviews that exist simultaneously where commonalities create a bridge of understanding. Cajete talks about the fact that all sciences are earth-based. Similar to Indigenous phenomenology, the philosophy of phenomena, science seeks to provide explanations. Cajete challenges Western science as disassociated, disconnected from lived experience of the natural world. "Modern thinking abstracts mind from body and the body of the world" (Cajete, 1994, p. 46). Native American science is not only rational, it is knowledge and truth that is understood through the body, mind, soul and spirit with nature (Cajete, 1994).

Meyer and Cajete both articulate an animated world in which all things have spirit. There is not a distinction between the mind and self or mind and the natural world. Indigenous empiricism is shaped by a worldview in which spirituality and relationship are foremost. Cajete also acknowledges that, "humans share a species-specific experience" (1994, p. 45). Yet, Indigenous identity traces a multi-generational map that reflects wisdom of a spiritual and mythic geography.

In summary, Manulani Meyer and Gregory Cajete are two prominent Indigenous educators whose thoughts on Indigenous education bring forth paralleling themes. Interweaving the ideas of Meyer and Cajete illustrates core Indigenous principles, which emphasise: (1) identity and completeness; (2) inter-generational and ancestral significance; and (3) spirituality and connection to the natural world. Their work challenges the continuation of merely surviving and thriving within non-Indigenous institutions of power and dominance, thus challenging colonial structures and reinstating the need for Indigenous education.

The central aim of the thesis is to understand the impact of the concept of moʻokūʻauhau upon women of Hōkūleʻa. Thus far in this chapter I have introduced a number of key Indigenous, Pacific, and Hawaiian epistemological ideas in relation to place and space. I did so to contextualise moʻokūʻauhau as a key theme of the thesis. The next section articulates the importance of genealogy in reference to the principles of identity and completeness, inter-generational and ancestral significance, and spirituality and connection to the natural world. The section begins with an example of Hawaiian creation to further draw upon the connection of Kanaka Maoli to nā ākua, nā ʻaumākua, and nā kūpuna, all of whom are a part of the natural world. The Kumulipo and our moʻokūʻauhau link Kanaka Maoli to our ancestors, place and us as Indigenous peoples. Genealogical knowledge has the potential to center and create inter-generational completeness.

Ke Kumulipo **Ka Wa Akahi**	**The Kumulipo** **Chant One**
O ke au i kahuli wela ka hohua	At the time when the earth became hot
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani	At the time when the heavens turned about
O ke au i kuka‘iaka ka lā	At the time when the sun was darkened
E ho‘omalamalama i ka mālama [mahina]	To cause the moon to shine
O ke au o Makali‘i ka pō	The time of the rise of the Pleiades
O ka walewale ho‘okumu honua ia	The slime, this was the source of the earth
O ke kumu o ka lipo, i lipo ai	The source of the darkness, the deep darkness
O ke kumu o ka Pō, i pō ai	Darkness of the sun, darkness of the night
O ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo	Nothing but night.
O ka lipo o ka la, o ka lipo o ka pō	The night gave birth
Po wale ho-‘i	Born was Kumulipo in the night, a male
Hānau ka pō	Born was Pō‘ele in the night, a female
Hānau Kumulipo i ka pō, he kane	***
Hānau Pō‘ele i ka pō, he wahine	The man with the water gourd, he is a god
***	Water that causes the withered vine to flourish
O ke kane huawai, Akua kena	Causes the plant top to develop freely
O kalina a ka wai i ho‘oulu ai	Multiplying the passing time
O ka huli ho‘okawowo honua	The long night slips along
O paia i ke auau ka manawa	Fruitful, very fruitful
O he‘e au loloa ka pō	Spreading here, spreading there
O piha, o pihapiha	Spreading this way, spreading that way
O piha-u, o piha-a	Propping up the earth, holding up the sky
O piha-e, o piha-o	The time passes, the night of Kumulipo
O ke ko‘o honua pa‘a ka lani	Still it is night
O lewa ke au, ia Kumulipo ka pō	(Beckwith, 1951, pp. 55-60 and 187-190)
Pō-no	

The Kumulipo is a Kanaka Maoli creation chant. In ‘ōleo Hawai‘i, kumu can be defined as the beginning, foundation or origin and lipo refers to the “deep blue-black, the sea or dense forest” and the “dark depths or the unfathomable mystery of the gods” (Pūkui and Elbert, 1986**,** pp. 182 and 208). Life begins in darkness, pō (darkness). The

kaona, hidden or double meaning, is metaphorical of the womb and is associated with birthing.

The Kumulipo explains the genealogies of both commoners and aliʻi, our chiefs. From this creation chant the evolution of all life is explained. Life does not begin when we are born; instead, our lives are an extension of all life forms that have come before, including the plants, animals, elements of earth, sky, wind, and rain. These life forms and elements are merely a few examples of the embodiments of the akua (gods), ʻaumākua (ancestors), kūpuna (elders and ancestors) and the place from which we originate. Life begins with the creation of place, the land, sky, and, for a person with a Pacific Indigenous origin, the ocean.

For Pacific Island peoples the ocean connects us. It is an extension of the land. The ocean is a place where the genders meet because it connects the earth, Papahānaumoku, and sky, Wākea. Many Indigenous cultures worldwide consider the earth female and the sky male. For Kanaka Maoli the earth is Papahānaumoku, our Mother Earth, and Wākea, our Father Sky. Similarly, moʻo kūʻauhau of Kanaka Maoli are comparable to the whakapapa, or genealogies, of the tangata whenua (Indigenous people of the land) of Aotearoa, New Zealand. In Māori whakapapa begins with Io, the universe and Supreme God, and Te Kore. After Te Kore, Te Po, or darkness, and Te Ao Marama, or the world of light. Light and darkness give birth to Ranginui (Wākea/sky/heavens) and Papatuanuku (Papahānaumoku/Ka honua or earth). Ranginui is born from light and Papatuanuku from the darkness.

The genealogy of the gods begins with the offspring of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. They give birth to Tawhirimata, god of the winds; Tane, god of the forests; Tangaroa, god of the sea; Rongomatane, god of cultivated crops; Tunatauenga, god of war; Haumia, god of the fern root; and, Ruaumoko, god of earthquakes and volcanoes. Everything has a whakapapa, a place within the genealogy, even the soil, rocks, mountains, rivers, trees, birds, fish and animals (Barlow, 1991).

The Kumulipo is similar to the Māori whakapapa. From the source of darkness, the night gives birth to Kumulipo, a male, and Pō'ele, a female. Yet, unlike the whakapapa of the Māori, the Kumulipo progresses from the land and sea duality, plants and animals whose counterparts dwell in the ocean and forests, to 'the winged life, the crawlers, the night-digger, and dog child' into the 'dawn of day', or Ao. Before Papahānaumoku and Wākea, there was stillness in nature to juxtapose two worlds, one world with gods and one without. This stillness expresses the intensity of the moment and prepares for the emergence of the gods, and later Kanaka Maoli (Beckwith, 1951).

In the Kumulipo, Papahānaumoku, also referred to as Papa, and Wākea come forth. Papa seeks Wākea, the earth seeking the heavens, for the sun and rain to fertilize the earth. Papa refers to a flat surface, and the "warm upper layer of earth, where lies the fertilized seed" (Beckwith, 1951, p. 117). Wākea seeks Papa in the form of the mist and rain clouds that caress and embrace the mountain peaks.

Interpreting the depth and layers of the creation is both a gift and an art. For Kanaka Maoli and Māori peoples our genealogies connect us to the natural world, yet the lives of modern Pacific peoples are now layered with social issues that are even more

complex. Just as the genealogies build, layer upon layer of creation, so too have we built upon the layers of history by fighting for equal opportunities and challenging imposed colonial structures as Indigenous and minority peoples. Thus, although we look to the past for clarity by understanding our genealogies and his/her-stories, we are struggling to survive in a modern Pacific context.

Queen Liliuokalani translated the Kumulipo, which she attributed to her Eighteenth Century ancestor, Keaulumoku, who composed the Kumulipo before European contact. The chant is a sophisticated description of the origin of species, likened to Darwin. The successions of the Kumulipo extend from the natural world and emergence of sea and land, flora and fauna to humans. It is an epic moʻokūʻauhau describing the interrelationships between the ocean and land, plants and animals, gods and humans that connect the Hawaiian ancestral chiefly genealogies to the beginning of creation. The Kumulipo is crucial to this work because it links Kanaka Maoli women voyagers to an extensive lineage, an inherited moʻokūʻauhau.

Moʻokūʻauhau is the primary inspiration for the thesis and is a theme that runs through the entire work. My personal passion and interest in moʻokūʻauhau fuelled the thesis research from the beginning and deeply influenced the interview questions; thus I have come to conceptualize moʻokūʻauhau contemporarily as methodology. The epistemological orientation of this work uses genealogical connections, specifically the meaning and utility of moʻokūʻauhau, which informs the methodology, methods and chapters of the thesis.

Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa poignantly articulates that “Genealogies are perceived by

Hawaiians as an unbroken chain that links those alive today to the [cosmological] life forces-to the *mana* (spiritual power) that first emerged with the beginning of the world. Genealogies anchor Hawaiians to our place in the universe" (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992, pp. 19-20). Moʻokūʻauhau is fundamental to Hawaiian epistemology, to our sense of knowing and being in the universe.

Using the terms 'genealogy' and 'moʻokūʻauhau' interchangeably is potentially problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it is important to point to difference in conceptualising of genealogy as method articulated by Foucauldian genealogical approaches. The use of moʻokūʻauhau as method is distinct, as will be addressed further in the methodology chapter. The second reason the interchangeable use of the terms is complex comes from the layers of multiple meanings in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, the Hawaiian language versus English.

The reason for using the Indigenous origins to define the term 'genealogy' is to demonstrate the richness and perspective that is lost when translated into English. It is important to illustrate the multiple meanings and in the case of Hawaiʻi, the kaona, or hidden meanings within the language. The word for genealogy in Hawaiian is moʻo kūʻauhau. Moʻo in this context can be defined as a succession, series, story, tradition or lineage. Kū means to stand, stop, halt, anchor or moor, as well as signifying the God of War. ʻAuhau refers to the femur and humerus bones of the human skeleton. When strung together the words refer to 'genealogy,' as it is known or translated in English; yet, the kaona and deep significance in ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi refers to the bones of our ancestors that connect us, as Kanaka Maoli, to our islands. The succession of our ancestors, and mana within their bones buried in the ʻĀina (land), establish our place to

stand tall, our place to protect and defend. From this context, I believe that our spiritual selves are informed and inspired by nā ākua, nā kūpuna, and nā ʻaumākua (ancestral guardians within the natural world). The relationship is recited in the Kumulipo connecting humans to nā akua, nā ʻaumākua, and nā kupuna who dwell within the natural and spirit world. Spirit and the natural world are ubiquitous. They are one and the same.

Spirit is informed by genealogy, which is deeply embedded in place, the ʻāina (land) and natural world. Our moʻokūʻauhau, nā kūpuna, nā Ākua and sense of place inform our sense of self. Our identity is defined by all that has come before, in this life and through our moʻokūʻauhau. In this regard, I find that identity and spirit are ideologies that can be used interchangeably. Spiritual knowing and understanding from a Kanaka Maoli perspective is inspired by a profound connection to nā ākua, kūpuna, ʻaumākua and ʻāina.

So, what has caused a separation of spirit and identity for Kanaka Maoli? My theory is that colonial and Western educational institutions, and more importantly, the institutionalised values they set forth within the four walls of the one-room schoolhouse, attempted to separate Indigenous cosmologies, genealogies, ancestors, selves, identity and spiritual knowing.

The missionary values where God was dichotomous to the natural world, established separation between the metaphysical and the corporeal, enabling the earth to be bought and sold, owned and controlled by humans, which in turn severely impacted upon contrary Kanaka Maoli and Māori epistemologies (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992; Smith, 1999).

Perhaps the most devastating impact upon our people was the loss of much of our ancestral lands, resulting in displacement. This displacement is both physical and metaphysical, because without our direct connections to our ancestral lands it is more challenging to connect to our spirit and identity.

Having said this, Moʻokūʻauhau is the thread that holds the thesis together. It is the invisible cord that continues to connect me to the islands of my Indigenous origin while I conduct the research away from Hawaiʻi. It is the word that I use to describe the intention, purpose and focus of the work, and it is the central epistemological value that informs and guides the thesis.

Mōʻaukala: Historical Overview

An historical overview of colonisation, Hawaiian cultural revivals, and the canoe Hōkūleʻa are vital to contextualise the thesis. The chapter briefly explores several pivotal moments in Hawaiʻi 's colonial history that might help the reader better understand how assimilation, dislocation, disempowerment, displacement, loss of language, culture and identity has occurred for the Indigenous people of the Hawaiian Islands; and, thus, why the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance was so significant for Kanaka Maoli. I then focus on the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance and several significant social, political and cultural movements that emerged during the 1970s and 80s, including the creation of the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS), the canoe Hōkūleʻa, and the canoe's first successful voyage. I hope to reiterate throughout the section the role that the Hōkūleʻa played in solidifying and unifying Kanaka Maoli during this period of cultural revival and resurgence. In particular, the ways Kanaka Maoli movements were used as sites for building and re-building Kanaka Maoli community and identity will be explored. The last section will focus on the history and literature of Hōkūleʻa, pointing to the voyaging as a pivotal space through which Kanaka Maoli culture and epistemology is lived and practised.

Colonisation

The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance was a time of 'psychological renewal' in which feelings of alienation and inferiority could be purged and self-dignity and self-importance reasserted (Kanahele, 1982 McGregor, 2007). This recreation of Hawaiian

consciousness, pride, identity, political awareness and economic and social uplifting of Kanaka Maoli are what inspired George Kanahele (1982) to describe the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance as one of the most significant chapters of Hawaiian history in the twentieth century. To better understand the powerful shift of discourse that took place during the 1970s and 80s in the Hawaiian Islands, and to locate Kanaka Maoli feelings of interiority, it is helpful to reflect upon several pivotal events in Hawai‘i ’s colonial past.[27]

Following the academic insights that Maenette K.P. Benham and Ronald H. Heck (1998) use to synthesise and deconstruct colonial and contemporary educational movements, I too will highlight several historical events that fuelled Kanaka Maoli cultural, social and political movements toward self-determination in the 1970s. These events are: (1) European explorers' introduction of foreign diseases and Kanaka Maoli depopulation, (2) the arrival of Christian missionaries in the 1820s and the mission schools, (3) the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, and (4) the Americanisation of the Hawaiian Islands during the 1950s and 60s.

Disease and Depopulation

Prior to the introduction of Western political and educational policies in the Hawaiian Islands, foreigners to the islands introduced a far more debilitating force, disease.

[27] While space prohibits a detailed exploration of the devastating effects of the colonial era, understanding the key events that helped shape the Hawaiian psyche is a crucial precursor to making sense of revitalisation and renaissance for Kanaka Maoli. For further resources devoted to more thoroughly articulating the devastating effects of the colonial era, remnants that still exist within the Hawaiian psyche of present, please refer to the references provided.

Captain James Cook conservatively estimated that there were approximately 400,000 Native Hawaiians inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands when his crew arrived in 1778, although modern estimates are as high as 800,000 at the time of European contact. By 1893, the population of Native Hawaiians was 40,000; meaning that after a century of contact with Europeans 760,000 Hawaiians had died due to the introduction of diseases, such as influenza and small poxes. That is a demise of approximately 90 percent of the population over 70 years. Depopulation of Kanaka Maoli from foreign diseases and poor economic conditions meant that the activities of foreigners to the islands, including missionaries in churches and schools, and Christianity took hold of our people at an incredibly vulnerable time in their history (Osorio, 2002; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Trask, 1993).[28]

1820 Missionaries and Mission Schools

> *The destruction of traditional Hawaiian practices and principles over time by Western Science, Education and Economics has resulted in loss of life, loss of understanding of family and community, and loss of a cultural script that records process and experience. (Ah-Nee Benham & Heck, 1998, p. 32)*

American missionaries arrived to the Hawaiian Islands during the 1820s, bringing with them Western and Christian values, a foreign ontology and non-Native epistemology, that defined and centralised educational policy, institutions and practices from 1820-1840. This legacy still exists today. By the end of the 1820s, Hawaiian rulers, guided by Western advisors, mandated schooling in which American Western cultural values of land ownership/property, individualism, status and self were institutionalised. The missionary schools' intention to civilise the Indigenous peoples of the islands led to the

[28] For more on depopulation during the colonial era refer to Osorio (2002), Kame`eleihiwa (1992), and Trask (1999) as a few authors that might offer more thorough details.

next historical parallel in which social control, led to political control. The shift of economic power to foreign investors permitted political control of the islands and has resulted in the exploitation of the land and Indigenous people. Missionary schools institutionalised Western political and economic values in the early schools and according to Benham and Heck (1998), "Hawaiian sovereignty was first lost in the one-room schoolhouse" (p. 41).

The missionary schools' teaching of Western ideologies for social and political control over the islands and native people paralleled the dominant educational discourses and history of colonisation in the Hawaiian Islands. Missionaries established mission schools in Hawai'i as sites of colonisation and assimilation of Kanaka Maoli. The tools and techniques were similar to those used in the work of missionaries in North America with Native Americans to attain cognitive control over the Indigenous peoples' worldviews. Such tools included separating children from their families, creating learning environments that were disconnected from daily life, and a focus on textual learning. Texts were initially in the Indigenous language and later solely in the English language. Western educational institutions were, and continue to be, sites of colonisation, neo-colonialism, assimilation, and conformity. Ironically, they are also places of educational opportunity if one is successful according to the Western standards set forth by the curricula.

The goal at the time of missionary colonisation was to assimilate the native people. Western assimilation of Kanaka Maoli allowed foreign political and social control over the islands and people. This colonial legacy is evident in the political power structures and educational policies that still exist, yet from colonisation to the present Kanaka

Maoli people have continually resisted and fought for their land, language, identities and sovereignty. Assimilation of Kanaka Maoli via social and political control provided access to land ownership and resource exploitation, yet examples of Indigenous resistance are prevalent in Hawaiian language newspapers (Silva, 2004) and will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

It is important to acknowledge that Kanaka Maoli embraced the introduction of written language as a means of extending and communicating their knowledge base and maintaining sovereignty in the Hawaiian language. Again, this is exemplified in the vast archives of Hawaiian newspapers written in Hawaiian for Hawaiians (Silva, 2004). Perhaps the most detrimental aspect of Western missionary curricula for Kanaka Maoli cultural values and identity resulted in the near loss of `ōlelo Hawai‘i, the Indigenous language of the islands. This occurred because missionaries initially learned the Hawaiian language to teach Kanaka Maoli the alphabet and how to read and write, but in time the curricula, teaching resources, materials and teaching shifted to only encompass the use of English. The missionary schools' curricula, as well as the social and political policy at the time, consisted of an English only mandate upheld via punishment of Kanaka Maoli students. The English language became a tool for success or failure and a vehicle for the construction of a social caste system in which those who were proficient in English represented the elite and those who had to learn English as their second language were regarded as intellectually inferior (Benham & Heck, 1998). The English only curricula also taught Western values of materialism, capitalism and land ownership. The teachings of Christianity created a dichotomy of good and evil, civilised and savage, which isolated and ostracised Indigenous peoples' connections to

themselves, their identities, communities, the natural world, their genealogy, cosmology, ancestors and spirit.

The dichotomies of good and evil, civilised and savage, are complex but offering a brief example might help the reader better understand such a packed statement. One such example would be the practice of hula kahiko, our ancient dance. Through the Christian gaze hula was considered sexual, provocative, uncivilised, savage and evil. This was because hula kahiko honours our ancestors and nā ākua embodied in the natural world. The art of hula and oli, dance and chant, is a medium for remembering our genealogies and connecting with our cosmologies. This practice for the missionaries was considered evil because it represented the worshiping of false idols. For Kanaka Maoli, practicing the art of hula is a multi-faceted way of connecting with Hawaiian culture, our genealogies, stories, cosmologies, ancestors and spirit, but it was a practice that was foreign to the occident.

As previously outlined, the missionary schools played an extremely influential role in creating a dichotomy between Western and Indigenous cultural values in Hawai‘i. Social dominance by Europeans was made possible via the implementation of English only mandates and curricula designed to create a hierarchy of educated elite. The dominant educational discourses of colonisation paved the way for social and political control over the islands. To better understand the wider historical contexts of the political struggles, beginning with European contact to American political control, an assessment of the events that led to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarch, which resulted in the loss of political sovereignty for Kanaka Maoli people, is vital.

During this historical shift Indigenous traditional knowledge and cultural values were challenged by materialistic imperial powers from the West. The New England missionaries' mentality of de-culturation and en-culturation, that drove the mission schools of Native America, crossed the vast Pacific, arriving in the Hawaiian Islands with the same intent to assimilate the Native people. Furthermore, Christianity created a gateway for United States political ideologies that defined educational goals and curricula. These ideologies represented the beliefs and values of the controlling majority. In the case of missionary schools in Hawai‘i the goals were to implement literacy in English, academic subjects, to emphasise the value of accumulating wealth, Christianization, and to teach United States citizenry (Benham & Heck, 1998).

Shifts in political power and control happened simultaneously with the acquisition of wealth by United States mercantile businessmen and the Hawaiian monarchy's reliance on foreign advice. Monetary wealth of foreigners to the islands also saw the decline in whaling and sandalwood, a prized, aromatic heartwood endemic to Hawai‘i, due to exploitation and near extinction of these resources. Inevitably, Hawaiian leaders were influenced by their relationship with missionaries and foreign advisors. For example, Queen Ka‘ahumanu banned the art of hula after converting to Christianity. Yet, not all of the Hawaiian monarchs were complacent.

The first renaissance or revival of aspects of Hawaiian cultural practices happened under the leadership of King David Kalākaua, nicknamed 'The Merry Monarch'. Under his leadership the arts of hula and lua were revived and the sport of surfing celebrated. Kalākaua challenged the leadership of his predecessors, such as Queen Ka'ahumanu. After the repression of Hawaiian language, culture and arts by early Calvinists,

Hawaiian cultural knowledge and practices went underground. It was not until Kalākaua's reign in the late 1800s, and again a century later in the 1970s with the 'Second Hawaiian Renaissance,' also termed the 'Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance,' that Hawaiian culture is celebrated once again. King Kalākaua died four years before the United States overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, but his legacy lives on and Hawaiians celebrate 'The Merry Monarch' every year in the form of the largest gathering of hula practitioners and kumu hula to compete and perform in honour of King Kalākaua.

The reign of Kalākaua is more popularly remembered in the form of The Merry Monarch Hula Competition, but before his untimely demise Kalākaua, under duress, signed the 1887 Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, known as the 'Bayonet Constitution', which stripped the Hawaiian monarchy of political control and transferred power to the American, European and Hawaiian elite. The constitution became known as the Bayonet Constitution because of the armed militia's intimidation of King Kalākaua to sign the document or be deposed. It created a monarchy similar to the United Kingdom by empowering the legislature and establishing a cabinet government.

1893 Overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy

> *No matter what Americans believe, most of us in the colonies do not feel grateful that our country was stolen, along with our citizenship, our lands, and our independent place among the family of nations. We are not happy Natives. (Trask, 1999a, p. 2)*[29]

[29] For more on colonisation, annexation, and sovereignty see Trask's (1999), *From a Native Daughter*.

Queen Liliʻūokalani, the last monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom, succeeded King Kalākaua after his death, yet with the signing of the Bayonet constitution she was left with little political power and, thus, experienced the demise of the Hawaiian Kingdom. On January 17, 1893, American citizens deposed Queen Liliʻūokalani in a coup d'état. United States Marines supported the coup by imprisoning the queen at gunpoint. The conspirators set up a Provisional Government that became the Republic of Hawaiʻi followed by annexation five years later to the United States in 1898.

Interior Minister, Lorrin A. Thurston, a missionary descendent, drafted the Bayonet Constitution and led the coup d'état that overthrew Queen Liliʻūokalani with the support of primarily elite American and European businessmen residing in the Hawaiian Islands. They were Kingdom subjects that included Sanford B. Dole, Supreme Court Justice of the Hawaiian Kingdom, legislators, and government officers. These were the same parties that coerced the signing of the Bayonet Constitution. Fearing further loss of life of Kanaka Maoli, Queen Liliʻūokalani ordered her forces to surrender. She knew that the United States was too large a power to contend with.

Sanford B. Dole, an elite missionary descendent and cousin of James Dole of Dole Pineapple Company, appointed himself President of the Republic of Hawaiʻi on July 4, 1894. He had been a 'friend', advisor and attorney of King David Kalākaua and Queen Liliʻūokalani advocating for Westernisation. Under the leadership of Thurston and Dole, and the Bayonet Constitution, people of Asian descent were stripped of a right to vote and Kanaka Maoli disenfranchised and given income and wealth requirements to vote. This meant that they could only vote it they earned a certain monetary income, thus consolidating power with the elite.

As previously stated, this is a brief overview of Hawai‘i’s colonial past. The intention of the thesis is not to centralise the discourses of colonisation so that they become the primary focus; yet, offering the reader a context will strengthen understanding of why the creation of the sailing canoe Hōkūle‘a was so powerful for Kanaka Maoli and a celebration of Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance so significant.[30] Before delving into the celebration of discourses surrounding the canoe there is one more period in time that immediately precedes the renaissance of the 1970s that must be considered, that is, Hawai‘i’s statehood in 1959. Americanisation and statehood immensely affected Hawai‘i and Kanaka Maoli in the 1950s and 60s, and caused a reaction that sparked revival. The following section explores these historical shifts.

1950s-60s Americanisation of the Hawaiian Islands

> *American colonisation has brought more than physical transformation to the lush and sacred islands of our ancestors. Visible in garish ‘Polynesian’ revues, commercial ads using our dance and language to sell vacations of condominiums, and the trampling of sacred heiau (temples) and burial grounds as tourist recreation sites, a grotesque commercialization of everything Hawaiian has damaged Hawaiians psychologically, reducing our ability to control our lands and waters, our daily lives, and the expression and integrity of our culture. (Trask, 1993, p. 3)*

Like an earthquake’s reverberations, the Hawaiian Islands felt the rumblings of change occurring in the United States. In 1959, 16 years before the canoe’s completion and successful first voyage, Hawai‘i joined the union of states with the USA in 1959, but in the 1960s and 1970s voices of opposition regarding US dominance grew and grew.

[30] For more on the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom see Lili‘ūokalani (1898) and Kuykendall (1967).

Several unethical issues triggered reaction from activists, namely, evictions of local farmers from Kalama Valley on the island of Oahu to make way for a new housing development, and the US military bomb testing on the sacred island of Kahoʻolawe. "As the political rhetoric grew, the Hawaiian language, hula dancing, canoe [building and] paddling, and music flourished anew, spreading across racial lines, giving an added dimension to both movements" (Laenui, 2000a, p. 50).

Hōkūleʻa was born during the onset of the Hawaiian Renaissance. It is important to acknowledge the genealogy of social movements occurring worldwide in the 1960s and 1970s that affected the momentum that followed in the Pacific. Feminism, the civil rights movement, Indigenous peoples' protests for return of their land, resources and autonomy are just a few examples of the diverse voices and perspectives that began to come forth. It was a radical time, a time of change and transformation. As previously mentioned, Kanaka Maoli began protesting the United States military bombing taking place on the island of Kahoʻolawe. Both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians developed a new respect for hālau hula, schools where the hula kahiko (ancient dances) and mele (songs) were taught. Lāʻau lapaʻau, traditional herbal and spiritual healing practices, were once again valued beyond and alongside the realm of Western medicine (McGregor, 2007). The ancient loʻi (taro terraces) that were overgrown with weeds were cleared and replanted. The nutritional value of our traditional foods was recognised as significant to the health and wellbeing of our people. During this time, the construction of the Hōkūleʻa was underway, and in 1975, the canoe's final lashings were secured on the shores of Kualoa and she was launched into Kāneʻohe Bay on the island of Oahu.

The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance

The written transcript of Dr. George Kanahele's presentation to the Rotary Club of Honolulu on March 22, 1977 marked a seminal moment in the Hawaiian Renaissance movement. After the presentation was published in the newspaper it fuelled discourses surrounding cultural revival for Kanaka Maoli in the 70s and 80s. Although many embraced the 'renaissance', some Hawaiians questioned the appropriateness of this description of the era because of the French term's meaning, 'rebirth', which implied that the culture had died. Interestingly, in the decades preceding the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance, Kanahele quotes himself as well as other academics and intellectual leaders, such as Mary Kawena Pūkui, as having participated in a dialogue focused on the 'loss' of Hawaiian culture and demise of culture practices. Following this discourse of 'loss' at that time, Kanahele found the term 'renaissance' befitting. Kanahele's message was of celebrating the 'fruits' of Hawaiian heritage:

> Let me say, first of all, we're not here to listen to me talk about the Hawaiian Renaissance. We're here to celebrate it. For if anything is worth celebrating, it is that we are still alive, that our culture has survived the onslaughts of change during the past 200 years. Indeed, not only has it survived, it is now thriving. (Kanahele, 1982)[31]

Some of the 'fruits' about which Kanahele speaks culminated with the successful first voyage of Hōkūleʻa sailing to and returning from Tahiti. This Hōkūleʻa voyage unquestionably assisted in expanding a consciousness about cultural revival into the greater Pacific. Diverse cultural practices and political movements contributed, in the 1970s and 1980s, to the 'fruits' Kanahele refers to in the Hawaiian Islands. Space prohibits a full and detailed canvassing of these; thus, the following sections highlight

[31] *The Hawaiian Renaissance* (1982) by George S. Kanahele was presented to Kamehameha Schools May 1979.

several examples rather than the full gamut of practices that may be imagined to constitute a renaissance. The examples which I draw on are organized within three sub-sections, 1) Kanaloa, 2) Aloha ʻĀina and 3) ʻOhana. The final section of the chapter is devoted to Hōkūleʻa.

Kanaloa

The cultural, social and political movements of the renaissance created new venues for Kanaka Maoli communities and identity. The Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana (PKO) is an example of one such community. In January 1976, Kanaka Maoli organized the political occupation of the sacred island of Kahoʻolawe to protest and draw national attention to the conditions of Native Hawaiians and the United States military bomb testing of the island. Two protestors, Noa Emmett and Walter Ritte, made it past the coast guard blockade and remained hidden while the United States Navy arrested other protestors. The two men roamed the island for two days before also being found and arrested. During this time they witnessed the vast devastation that the island had experienced from the bomb testing, and at the same time felt the presence of a deep spiritual force.

and Ritte later sought out wisdom from kūpuna (elders), such as Aunty Mary Lee, Aunty Clara Ku, Aunty Lani Kapuni and Aunty Harriet Ne from Molokaʻi, to learn more about the island of Kahoʻolawe. The elders explained that the island was a wahi pana (sacred place) for Kanaka Maoli. It was, and is again, a site for Kanaka Maoli spiritual customs and practices and a centre for training in the art of non-instrumental

celestial navigation. The island is also known as the physical manifestation of Kanaloa, the Kanaka Maoli god of the ocean.

Kahoʻolawe is the only island in the Pacific named after a primary ākua, as seen in the names Kanaloa and Kohemālamalama o Kanaloa, translated as 'the shining birth canal of Kanaloa' or 'the southern beacon of Kanaloa'. Both translations connect the island to the art of wayfinding between Hawaiʻi and Tahiti. Kealaikahiki is one of the place names on the island that is also a family name that we carry from the Kaʻū, Hawaiʻi side of my grandfather's Kaʻaukai lineage. It means 'the pathway to Tahiti' and, on the island of Kanaloa, is one of the sites used in traditional navigation. Lae o Kealaikahiki is a major departure point described in oral tradition for Hawaiians leaving for Tahiti in the thirteenth century (McGregor, 2007).[32]

From 1976 until 1990, the Protect Kahoʻolawe 'Ohana led Kanaka Maoli in protests against the United States bombing of Kahoʻolawe, the sacred island of Kanaloa. Members of the 'Ohana were arrested, imprisoned, and ostracised by friends, family and the broader community for their political action. In 1977, the mysterious disappearance of two activists, George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, while at sea surrounding the island during a protest was one of the most difficult losses for the 'Ohana. Helm is commemorated for his dedication to the PKO and for filing a civil suit in 1976 that resulted in an out-of-court settlement with the United States Navy called a consent decree in 1980. The PKO are now acknowledged as Ke Kahu O Ka 'Āina, or Steward of the Land, and are allowed access to the island for religious, cultural, and

[32] For more on Kaho`olawe, and the Hawaiian Renaissance, see Daviana Pōmaika`i McGregor's (2007),. *Nā Kua`āina-Living Hawaiian Culture*.

educational purposes for four days every ten months of each year. The US Navy also agreed to restrict bombing to one third of the island, while the PKO-Kahu O Ka ʻĀina worked toward restoration of the rest of the island. The members that remained in the PKO viewed the consent decree as a temporary measure and started the process toward healing and resettling the sacred island. The rediscovery, protection and care of the sacred island of Kanaloa led to a deeper, broader Kanaka Maoli revival based on aloha ʻĀina, love of all of the islands, and relationship to the natural world.

Aloha ʻĀina

Love and respect for the land, aloha ʻāina, is a core Kanaka Maoli value that is traditional and contemporary, spiritual and a part of everyday lived practice:

> According to the kūpuna, Native Hawaiians respect, treasure, praise, and worship the land and all natural elements as deities and the source of universal life. At one level, family genealogies link contemporary Hawaiians to astronomers, navigators, planters, fishermen, engineers, healers and artisans. (McGregor, 2007, p. 264)

Our genealogies also link us to the land itself, as Papahānaumoku, the mother who birthed the islands and gave birth to the first human, so our love and respect for the land is familial, as well as spiritual: "Acknowledgement of such ancestry thus places a responsibility upon contemporary Native Hawaiians to protect the land and all of its resources in one's lifetime and for the lifetime's of future generations" (McGregor, 2007, p. 265).

Several cultural practices that re-emerged during the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance afforded Kanaka Maoli, as well as non-Kanaka Maoli, opportunities to re-connect and learn about the natural world and our ancestors. For example, within the art of

memorising and reciting oli, or ancient chants, genealogies are re-told and remembered. The art of hula, hula kahiko in particular, was originally danced to the gods and ancestors inhabiting and manifested in the natural world, such as the earth, ocean, wind, volcano and so forth; thus, a return to the practice of hula is also a form of aloha ʻĀina in that it honours those who have come before including the land and elements. Arts, such as weaving and tapa making, require knowledge of the plants and spiritual protocols to be able to work with the plants to create mats, baskets, and fibers. Laʻau lapaʻau, the art of healing with medicinal plants, also reconnects the practitioner with the natural world where a reciprocal relationship of care is established and nurtured. These are just some examples of the ʻfruitsʼ about which Kanahele speaks.

The last examples that I will highlight connect to aloha ʻĀina as powerful mediums with which Kanaka Maoli values were expressed during this rich time. These examples include music, language and art. The contemporary resurgence of popularity in composing, producing and playing of Hawaiian music, notably Hawaiian slack key guitar, is another pivotal example of a cultural practice that emerged out of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance. The mood and lyrics of the compositions reveal and offer insight about the values coming forth during this abundant time in Hawaiian history. Musical, poetic and artistic depictions described special places in the islands, the beauty, and relationship that Kanaka Maoli share with the natural world. Although contemporary composers often used the English language in their songs, the practice of honouring significant places is profoundly Kanaka Maoli as seen in the compositions and artwork. Lastly, and perhaps the most important example of cultural resurgence was the restoration and use of `ōlelo Hawaiʻi, the Hawaiian language, which has resulted in an Indigenous language revival. Kanahele describes Hawaiians of the time

to be like a dormant volcano coming to life again and erupting with pent-up energy. Again, the social, political and cultural movements that came into fruition during the renaissance were many. The purpose of this chapter thus far is to contextualise the emergence of the canoe Hōkūleʻa and its importance to Kanaka Maoli within this abundant era.

ʻOhana

Before moving into the last section of the chapter focusing on Hōkūleʻa, I wanted to conclude the section on Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance by emphasizing the word ʻohana. As exemplified in the uniting, action and name of the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana, I believe that the political, social and cultural movements and practices of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance created renewed sites for Kanaka Maoli communities and identity. Spaces to create song, art, poetry, and dance, and to come together to practice the culture, created families, ʻohana, and communities where Kanaka Maoli identity could be restored and renewed. In the context of the chapter's opening, which detailed the effects of colonisation, it seems befitting to celebrate the renaissance for Kanaka Maoli. The PVS and the canoe Hōkūleʻa emerged as a communal space and will be detailed in the last section of this chapter.

Ka Waʻa Kaulua o Hōkūleʻa -The Double Hull Canoe of Hōkūleʻa

> *One exceptionally clear night I stayed up quite late, star chart in hand, memorizing the stars and their relative positions. When I finally went to sleep, I dreamed of stars, and my attention was attracted to Arcturus. It appeared to grow larger and brighter, so brilliant that I awoke. I turned on my reading light and wrote 'Hōkūleʻa.' The next morning, I saw the notation and immediately recognized it as a fitting name for the canoe. As a*

zenith star for Hawai'i, it would indeed be a star of gladness if it led to landfall. (Herb Kāne cited by Low, 2000)

Hōkūle'a rode the wave of social change in the Pacific and arrived in the islands of our ancient homeland with an unforeseen impact. Upon re-visiting and re-reading texts written about the canoe Hōkūle'a, I felt moved by the quote above because I believe that it reveals the presence of nā kūpuna, nā 'aumākua and the power of our Kanaka Maoli Mo'okū'auhau to connect us, if we are open to the dreams and visions that our ancestors plant like seeds in our conscious and subconscious. Kāne describes how in a dream state the zenith star over the Hawaiian Islands, the star called Hōkūle'a, appeared to grow larger and brighter, so brilliant that he roused from a subconscious state into consciousness. A name that comes in this way is called inoa pō (name in the night) and is considered a gift from the ancestors. In reading this story, I got chills and a feeling that the vision of the Hōkūle'a, meaning the 'star of gladness', growing larger and brighter was a hō'ailona (sign)[33] from the ancestors about the mana that the canoe would have in revitalising an appreciation and pride in our Kanaka Maoli heritage, culture and identity.

Herb Kāne described a conversation with Ben Finney that they had in 1973 about how the creation of the canoe might strengthen Pacific Islanders' pride in their rich heritage (Kane, 1976). The founders of the PVS and creators of the Hōkūle'a set out to prove that Polynesians sailed and navigated with the utmost intention, but the founders could not have known what an immense impact this would have on contemporary Hawaiian and Pacific peoples. I interpret the image that Kāne describes in his dream of the star

[33] For more on inoa pō and hō`ailona see *Nānā I Ke Kumu, Look to the Source,* by Pūkui, Haertig and Lee (1972).

Hōkūleʻa growing larger and brighter to represent the way in which the canoe Hōkūleʻa would ignite an energy difficult to articulate, yet capable of connecting people of the Pacific to one another and to themselves, to their ancient origins, ancestors and their own rich Moʻokūʻauhau as Kanaka Maoli.

The retelling of this story about the double hulled sailing canoe Hōkūleʻa focuses on my belief in the prophecy of Kāne's dream and the power of the canoe to re-story Polynesian migration, thus *restoring* Kanaka Maoli perceptions of themselves in a modern and Indigenous present where both co-exist and thrive. Briefly considering the context and challenges that Kanaka have endured for several centuries, puts into perspective why celebrating the canoe, named after the star of gladness, and its amazing capacities has had such a vast impact.

The canoe Hōkūleʻa fuelled a revival of transpacific non-instrumental navigation and re-instilled Pacific people with a feeling of pride, identity and connection in the twentieth century. Western dominance surrounding disempowering discourses about Pacific peoples' unintentional arrival to our islands was so strong that it actually took the voice and pursuit of another Western male to challenge these racist assumptions. The research and experimental archaeology of Ben Finney that began as early as 1965 out of the University of California in Santa Barbara, and eventually led to the construction of a replica of a double hulled deep sea sailing canoe, the Hōkūleʻa, has been invaluable to the people of the Pacific region. Three men, an academic-Ben Finney, an artist-Herb Kāne, and a sailor-Tommy Holmes envisioned, researched, designed, engineered, and fundraised for the creation of the Hōkūleʻa, but it was the

support and volunteer hours of hundreds of Kanaka Maoli and others that made the canoe come to life.

The Voyages

The following section will chronologically review the primary open-ocean, long distance voyages of the canoe Hōkūleʻa and key academic texts written about the canoe. Paralleling the voyages, academic conversations focusing on Hōkūleʻa were predominant from approximately the 1970s to present. The academic literature on Hōkūleʻa reveals distinct discourses across the decades. The section begins by listing the voyages of Hōkūleʻa followed by an articulation of academic priorities across the decades from the birth of the canoe to present.

As described in the previous section, the creation of the canoe Hōkūleʻa in the 1970s was a response to the academic debate about the effectiveness of Polynesian navigation and ancient canoe construction. The canoe was built to prove that Polynesian peoples' first voyages across the Pacific were intentional. Before the first voyage, the founders recruited master navigator Pius 'Mau' Piailug from Micronesia to assist and lead in the canoe preparation and voyage navigation, as much was not recorded specifically about Kanaka Maoli navigating techniques. This forged a powerful bond between the people of Hawaiʻi and Micronesia, particularly Mau Piailug and his Kanaka Maoli apprentice navigator Nainoa Thompson. Many have described Hōkūleʻa as the 'mama,' the mother canoe, because after her successful roundtrip voyage other island communities built their own sailing canoes. Also, the sport of outrigger canoe paddling re-emerged and grew in Tahiti, Rarotonga, Aotearoa and Hawaiʻi. Hōkūleʻa's successful first voyage

proved to be a powerful event not only for Kanaka Maoli people, but for all Pacific peoples.

There was so much enthusiasm for voyaging that only two years after Hōkūleʻa's first voyage another crew planned and attempted to voyage to Tahiti again in 1978. This voyage was short lived and ended with the tragic loss of loved and respected waterman, Eddie Aikau. Hōkūleʻa had not even left the Hawaiian archipelago when the canoe swamped south of Molokaʻi in heavy seas. Crewmember, Eddie Aikau, attempted to paddle on a surfboard to get help and was lost at sea. This was a huge loss for Kanaka Maoli. After Aikau's disappearance the PVS redirected their energy toward safety procedures and precautions before considering another sail. Yet, the board members and crew agreed that the best way to honour Aikau's memory was to keep sailing.

In 1980, the next voyage took place, and successfully voyaged to Tahiti. This voyage was significant because apprentice navigator Nainoa Thompson, who studied under Satawalese navigator Mau Piailug, became the first Hawaiian in over 200 years to navigate a canoe using only the natural elements of stars, sun, moon, birds, and ocean currents. The voyages offered opportunities for Pacific connections and cultural exchange that enriched and nurtured relationships that have continued to grow since the first voyages. The canoe has become a symbol of Polynesian renewal and rediscovery, all of which was happening during the Kanaka Maoli cultural renaissance of the Hawaiian language, hula, poetry, music, art, traditional medicine, spirituality, and activism, as previously described.

The next voyage in 1985 was befittingly called ‘The Voyage of Rediscovery’. The 16,000 mile journey sailed along several ancient migration routes of Polynesia, from Hawai‘i to the Society Islands, Rarotonga-Cook Islands, Aotearoa-New Zealand, Tonga, Sāmoa, and back through Aitutaki, Tahiti, and Rangiroa in the Tuamotu Archipelago. It showed that it was possible for Polynesian canoes to sail from west to east in the Pacific when seasonal westerly winds replaced the prevailing easterly trade winds. The voyage also expanded and reinforced the bonds between Kanaka Maoli and Polynesian communities that the canoe visited.

After a decade and a half of sailing and reconnecting with the ancient migration routes and with contemporary Pacific islands communities, the PVS shifted its energy and focus from the sea to the land and from sailing to environmental education and outreach. In 1990, the voyaging society partnered with the Bishop Museum’s Native Hawaiian and Cultural Arts Program to build a new voyaging canoe made entirely of natural materials. The intention was to carve the canoe’s hulls out of koa, a native hardwood endemic to the Hawaiian Islands, but after nine months searching, the team of canoe builders could not find a koa tree that was both big enough and healthy enough with which to carve a canoe. The president of the PVS, Myron “Pinky” Thompson recalls:

> The failure to find a koa log was a turning point for all of us. For a decade and a half we had focused our attention on the sea. Now it was time to care for our land. We realised that our culture and our planet cannot thrive unless our environment is healthy. (Low, 2000, p. 30)

The PVS and Bishop Museum continued with the intention to build a canoe made from natural materials and consulted historical resources that described logs that drifted to Hawai‘i from the Pacific Northwest. This information led to Herb Kane arranging to

collaborate with Native Alaskan leader and friend, Judson Brown, who gave the PVS two 400-year old spruce logs on behalf of the native peoples of southeast Alaska. Nainoa Thompson reflected that,

> The Alaskan people care for their environment because they understand that the resources of the natural world are sacred gifts. When he presented us with the trees he said, 'Our trees are part of our family; they are cherished like our children. We will give you two of our children to build a canoe that will carry your culture. (Low, 2000, p. 30)

From these trees came the canoe Hawai'iloa, named after a legendary ancestral Kanaka Maoli navigator.

In 1992, the voyage 'No Nā Mamo, For the Children' took place and Hōkūle'a sailed from Hawai'i to Rarotonga and back via Tahiti and Ra'iatea. In Rarotonga, the canoe participated in the Sixth Pacific Arts Festival celebrating the revival of traditional canoe building and navigation in the Pacific. The voyage incorporated an educational component that allowed students in Hawai'i to follow the canoe on its journey through live, daily radio reports. This voyage led to the sailing of several canoes alongside Hōkūle'a.

In celebration of all the canoes that came after Hōkūle'a , in 1995 the voyage called 'Nā 'Ohana Holo Moana' - 'The Voyaging Family of the Vast Ocean', took place in which the voyaging canoes Hōkūle'a , Hawai'iloa, and Makali'i sailed from Hawai'i to the Marquesas and back via Tahiti and Ra'iatea. This voyage was significant because it celebrated the voyaging revival as well as Hawaiians ancestral link to the Marquesas Islands.

During the summer of 1995, the voyaging canoes Hōkūleʻa and Hawaiʻiloa were shipped to Seattle. Hōkūleʻa travelled down the West Coast to San Diego to share the mana of the canoe with Hawaiians, Native Americans, and the peoples of North America. Hawaiʻiloa, meanwhile, went from Seattle to Juneau Alaska to visit the land of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tshimshian, who had donated the logs for the canoe's hulls.

At the turn of the millennium, 1999-2000, Hōkūleʻa reached the furthest southeastern corner of Polynesia, completing its modern exploration of the Polynesian Triangle. 'The Voyage to Rapa Nui' sought to prove that a double-hulled canoe such as Hōkūleʻa could sail against the prevailing winds to Rapa Nui, also known as Easter Island. The voyage meant that Hōkūleʻa had completed the Polynesian Triangle.

The new millennium seemed to initiate a return home, a return to prioritising the Hawaiian Islands. In 2003-2004, Hōkūleʻa sailed to the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands to explore unique natural and cultural resources of the Hawaiian archipelago. The voyage was called 'Navigating Change.' The voyage highlighted the abundant natural beauty and rich ocean life, including birds, fishes, monk seals, and green sea turtles, as well as the devastation that is occurring from the global fishing industry. Although the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands are home to several endemic and endangered species, their beaches are covered with plastic debris and fishing nets which have floated in from the ocean on the primary currents. The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands are also known as the kupuna islands, the eldest islands in the Hawaiian archipelago.

In 2007, Hōkūleʻa ventured out into new ocean pathways on the voyage called 'One Ocean, One People' in which Hōkūleʻa sailed to Micronesia, Satawal accompanied by

the canoe Alingano Maisu, a gift for Master Navigator Mau Piailug. This leg of the journey appropriately named 'Kū Holo Mau-Sail On, Sail Always, Sail Forever' in honour of the man that made reviving the art of wayfinding a possibility for Kanaka Maoli. The canoe then sailed on to Japan to celebrate over a century of intercultural exchange called 'Kū Holo La Komohana-Sail On to the Western Sun.' Currently, the PVS is preparing for Hōkūleʻa 's worldwide sail to circumnavigate the globe.

This brief voyaging history demonstrates how what began as an anthropological experiment to sail Hōkūleʻa from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti has grown into an educational and cultural medium for contemporary Kanaka Maoli voyagers. Sailing the canoe to Tahiti was just the beginning and since 1975 the canoe has continued to voyage with purpose and intention. The reasons for the voyages have changed with the times. Initially, in the 1970s, the focus was to prove Kanaka Maoli capabilities to anthropologists. By the 1980s, voyaging grew into a cultural celebration. In the 1990s, the voyages expanded into Hawaiʻi's classrooms and began bringing the children of Hawaiʻi along the journeys. By the turn of the millennium, Hōkūleʻa has returned to Hawaiʻi and sails to the ancient atolls of the Hawaiian archipelago to raise environmental awareness. Now, Hōkūleʻa will sail around the world. The voyages have continually grown and expanded over the past four decades and have far surpassed the original intention.

Literature of Hōkūleʻa

Upon visiting the literature written about Hōkūleʻa it is fascinating to witness that what began as experimental archaeology grew into the revival of one aspect of Kanaka Maoli and Pacific culture and identity. Being that the experimental archaeology occurred

during the heart of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance, it is also spectacular to observe the way in which Kanaka Maoli have reclaimed the canoe itself and have continued sailing since 1975. I believe that the canoe came to symbolise and actualise sovereignty, which will be discussed further in the last chapter of the thesis. When contextualised, the voyages appear to parallel the larger discourses throughout the decades, such as the anthropological debates on Polynesian settlement of the 1960s and 1970s, cultural reclamation of the 1970s and 1980s, the questioning of traditional authenticity of the 1990s, and environmental education and outreach of the new millennium. Both canoes, Hōkūleʻa and Hawaiʻiloa, became mediums for connecting the ocean and land, culture and environment, as well as the peoples that came to know about the canoes or were fortunate enough to sail upon them. Of particular interest to the thesis, are the ways in which the canoe has revived Kanaka Maoli culture while re-conceiving the possibilities for Kanaka to move into the future. The voyages have continued to expand and grow for nearly half a century with the next prospect of sailing around the world.

The various strengths of the three founders of PVS, Ben Finney, Tommy Holmes and Herb Kane, all contributed to the materialisation of Hōkūleʻa. Co-founder of PVS, Tommy Holmes, contributed greatly to the construction of Hōkūleʻa and wrote the book *The Hawaiian Canoe* (1981). Finney studied the canoe construction from an anthropological standpoint and with an understanding of the ocean from his experiences of surfing and sailing, but it was Tommy Holmes that was known as a true ‘water-man’. Herb Kane was the only Kanaka Maoli founder and as an artist, he contributed to the construction of Hōkūleʻa by drawing and drafting the canoe until its creation. From an

academic standpoint, it is Finney who most readily published about the canoe construction and process of creating the canoe.

The following section will review the key academic texts available about Hōkūleʻa. As mentioned earlier, the literature appears to parallel the voyages, and vice versa, within three primary subject areas: (1) celestial navigation and canoe construction, (2) cultural rediscovery, revitalisation and authenticity, and (3) educational curriculum and outreach. To date, issues of gender or a focus on the women of the canoe is yet to be realised.

Celestial Navigation and Canoe Construction

The most widely known author and academic to publish works documenting canoe construction, navigation techniques and the Hōkūleʻa across the decades is Professor Ben Finney. There are others, such as David H. Lewis and Will Kyselka whose primary interests were navigation, but it is Finney who has followed the academic conversations surrounding Hōkūle'a from the time that the canoe was built to the present. His first academic publications about voyaging focused primarily on canoe construction. His publication 'Voyaging Canoes and Settlement' (1977), and the collection he edited *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging* (1976), refer to David Lewis' extensive writing on navigation including the text, *We, The Navigators* (1972). The works of Lewis that explore Polynesian and Pacific celestial navigation inform the early stages of Finney's academic writing related to the canoe Hōkūleʻa.

David H. Lewis is remembered as an adventurer and sailor who travelled through the Pacific documenting celestial navigation techniques. Prior to Hōkūleʻa's construction,

Lewis was already publishing about Polynesian navigation with articles such as ‘Ara Moana: Stars of the Sea Road’ (1964a), ‘Polynesian Navigational Methods’ (1964a), and ‘Stars of the Sea Road’ (1966). After the first successful voyage of Hōkūle‘a, Lewis wrote ‘Mau Piailug’s Navigation of Hōkūle‘a from Hawaii to Tahiti’ (1977), documenting the navigation of the historical journey.

Will Kyselka also researched Polynesian navigation prior to Hōkūle‘a’s first sail. Published several years before the canoe was to set sail, Kyselka and George Brunton wrote *Polynesian Stars and Men* (1969), which influenced the work of Ben Finney. With a keen interest in navigation, Kyselka worked closely with, at the time, apprentice navigator Nainoa Thompson to study the stars and acquisition of celestial knowledge. Later his book, *An Ocean in Mind* (1987), documents his work with Nainoa. In the text he explores the mind’s ability to acquire, utilise and transmit knowledge exemplified in the apprenticeship of Nainoa with master navigator, Mau Piailug. During this time, Kyselka published two other books, *North Star to Southern Cross* (1976, with Ray Lanterman) and *Hawaiian Sky* (1989).

There is a wealth of literature available about Polynesian navigation, as well as literature discussing the arrival of Polynesians to new islands, which informs the work of Ben Finney. Finney enters the debate about Polynesians’ intentional (e.g., Sir Peter Buck) or unintentional (Sharp, 1956) voyaging and engages with anthropologists using a new form of research, experimental archaeology. The discussions between the adherents of the opposing views primarily focus on the capabilities of early Polynesian double canoes. According to Finney (1976), no data was available about Polynesian vessels. He asserted that this was due to early European observers’ failure to

systematically or precisely measure and record Polynesian voyaging performance and the disappearance of Polynesian crafts after European contact. The question of debate regarding Polynesian's intentional or unintentional voyages concerned the capacity of Polynesian double canoes to sail into the prevailing winds necessary to settle the furthest islands of Polynesia: Hawaii, New Zealand and Easter Island. Finney's experimental archaeology entailed the reconstruction of two canoe sailing vessels, one of which was Hōkūleʻa, to engage in the discussion. Finney's (1977) article, 'Voyaging Canoes and the Settlement of Polynesia', documents for the first time in history, sea trials of Polynesian sailing canoes. The findings of Finney's research provided firm indication of the windward capacity of Polynesian canoes. His research consisted of sails conducted in Hawaiian waters and Hōkūleʻa's sail from Hawaii to Tahiti totalling 10, 370 kilometres, which confirmed Polynesian canoe capabilities and the possibility of intentional settlement.

Finney's edited collection *Pacific Navigation and Voyaging* (1976) is a compilation of leading researchers' works that affirm Pacific navigation and voyaging technologies. The first section of the book documents influential experimental research including the work of David Lewis and Edwin Doran. The book also documents computer simulated research which concludes that unintentional landfall, such as accidental drift, would have been unlikely due to the predominant winds and ocean currents to Hawaii, New Zealand and Easter Island. Lastly, the book documents ethnographic research that focuses on the navigational knowledge of Puluwat and the renaissance of Carolinian-Marianas voyaging.

Rediscovery, Revitalisation and Authenticity

As already stated, Finney is credited with conducting the majority of academic writing available about Hōkūleʻa. Beyond canoe construction and celestial navigation several other themes are evident within the academic discussions surrounding the canoe from 1975 to present. These themes are rediscovery, revitalisation and authenticity. This section will review the most renowned works of Finney that grapple with the complexities prevalent within the Hawaiian cultural revival.

Finney's writing follows the canoe from the first voyage to present beginning with the book *Hōkūleʻa: The Way to Tahiti* (1979). The book moves beyond canoe construction, preparation and sea trials and into the realm of social relations. Finney articulated the multi-cultural tensions between the founders of the canoe and several Kanaka Maoli crewmembers that volunteered and sailed on the first voyage to Tahiti. Finney explained the diverse intentions of the participants, including his scientific pursuits versus the priorities of Kanaka Maoli cultural revivalists. The book documents a fight that ensues in which Finney gets punched before landfall in Tahiti. The early writings of Finney indicate his awareness of Hawaiʻi's colonial past and its effect upon the Indigenous people, expressing his vision of experimental archaeology and voyaging from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti as things that might help restore Hawaiian cultural pride. Simultaneously, he approaches his research scientifically and systematically. In a conversation with Herb Kane documented in a *National Geographic* article, Kane (1976) reflects upon the affect that the canoe might have toward reconnecting Kanaka Maoli and the peoples of the Pacific in a common feeling of ancestral pride and heritage. Kane's vision and the materialising of Hōkūleʻa's impact within the Pacific

appear in Finney's later works as having been a part of the founders' original intention (Finney, 2003; 2006; 2006a; 2006b).

During the 1980s, Finney's interests expand to include migration into space. His books *Interstellar Migration and the Human Experience* (1985, an edited collection with co-editor Eric Jones) and *From Sea to Space* (1992) reflect his interests in how lessons from Pacific colonisation can be learned as humans attempt to explore and map outer space. It is really quite remarkable that Finney simultaneously writes about Hawaiian and Pacific 'rediscovery' and voyaging into an ancient past while producing innovative texts about travelling into the future and the ethics associated with space exploration.

Finney's (1994) book *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey through Polynesia* documents Hōkūleʻa's epic voyage of 12,000 nautical miles throughout Polynesia. The odyssey from Hawaiʻi to Aotearoa and back included sailing through seven archipelagos without sextant, compass, charts or Western navigational aids. The 'Voyage of Rediscovery' further solidified the seaworthiness of the canoe and effectiveness of celestial navigation. The book describes how Hawaiian navigator, Nainoa Thompson, guided the canoe on the journey. It recounts the voyage as both a cultural and scientific odyssey of exploration into Polynesia's ancestral past.

The voyages of Hōkūleʻa and the canoes that followed were influenced by larger social and cultural discourses. For example, in the 1980s after the cultural revival and Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance began to flourish and was well embraced by Kanaka Maoli, an anthropological debate came forth regarding the 'authenticity' of practicing Indigenous, Pacific cultural 'traditions', including celestial navigation and voyaging of

the canoe Hōkūleʻa. While the majority of Finney's writing documents canoe construction, navigation techniques, voyages, islands visited and cultural exchanges, in the late 80s and early 90s Finney becomes engaged with the above debate. Indeed, after the Voyage of Rediscovery, PVS committed to constructing the double hull sailing canoe Hawaiʻiloa as a challenge to the criticism of anthropologists. Hawaiʻiloa was meant to be built entirely of natural materials, such as koa trees and pandanus and coconut fibres.

In his academic writing, Finney engaged in the authenticity debate. 'Myth, Experiment and the Re-invention of Polynesian Voyaging' (1991) and 'The Sin at Awarua' (2000) are two significant texts that articulate Finney's contemplation regarding what is 'real' and what is 'reinvented' from Polynesian pasts and 'recreated' in our present. The following chapter will more thoroughly articulate debates surrounding cultural authenticity from the perspective of anthropologists and Kanaka Maoli, but what is of significance to this review is that Finney offers his perspective of cultural authenticity in reference to the Hōkūleʻa and the ceremonies conducted surrounding the canoe. He recognises the contemporary complexities of cultural revival and exudes sensitivity to Pacific cultural practices of the present day.

Finney's article 'Myth, Experiment and the Reinvention of Polynesian Voyaging' begins by reviewing scholarship conducted through Western analytical approaches that interpret legendary voyaging stories of Polynesia. In the article, Finney focuses on the legendary Māori homeland of Hawaiki and the legendary Hawaiian homeland of Kahiki. His review explores the opposing perspectives of anthropologists as to whether Hawaiki and Kahiki exist or are merely mythical. Finney also articulates another aspect

in question among anthropologists as to whether Māori and Hawaiians made multiple journeys, as recorded in the stories, or if these accounts are also mythical. The anthropological perspectives surrounding myth are left unresolved, yet it is clear from Finney's description of Hōkūle'a's experimental voyages that he supports Polynesian legends as historical rather than mythical. He asserts that although Western anthropologists, such as Roger Keesing (2000), and Indigenous cultural revivalists, such as Haunani-Kay Trask (2000a), differ in their assessment of Polynesian 're-invention', voyaging revitalisation in his opinion has become a medium through which anthropologists and Indigenous activists have been able to work together toward a common goal. Finney says:

> What began as a project to settle scholarly controversy by making a single crucial voyage, has evolved-while continuing to provide important experimental data-into a cultural celebration of Polynesian voyaging wherein a revived Hawaiian enthusiasm for the sea has led them to relive the legendary voyaging exploits of their ancestors and those of kindred Polynesians. In so doing, we are perhaps coming closer to understanding the original meaning and role of the voyaging legends than possible through analytical approaches that oppose history and culture. (Finney, 1991, p. 399)

Finney's account of the 'Sin at Awarua' (2000) reconsiders arguments about authenticity, what is 'real' or 'invented'. He reviews the events surrounding a contemporary gathering of voyaging canoes at Taputapuatea on the island of Ra'iatea. The oral traditions reference the sacred marae as a place where a visiting priest was murdered by a local chief ending the gathering of Polynesians to Ra'iatea. In 1995, canoes of the voyaging revival from across the Pacific including New Zealand, Hawai'i and Tahiti come together to restore the alliance once shared by their ancestors. In this text, Finney writes as an ethnographic observer, recording the contemporary complexities and inconsistencies of the ceremony. Yet, he respectfully concludes with a

remarkable story from Hector Busby, the skipper of the canoe Te Aurere from Aotearoa-New Zealand. Busby describes Te Aurere entering the pass and in hearing the chanting of Te Ao Pehi Kara he fell into a trance-like state in which he felt the personal pain of the assault on his ancestors. When the chanting stopped and the tapu had been lifted, he describes feeling exhilarated and prepared to sail into a new age.

Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors (Finney, 2003) is an account of six voyaging canoes from Hawai‘i, the Cook Islands, and Aotearoa/New Zealand that sailed from Nukuhiwa (Marquesas) to Hawai‘i in 1995. In this text Finney also offers a history of Polynesian voyaging studies by summarising contemporary understandings of Polynesian settlement and assessing that innovation is inextricably linked to notions of tradition and cultural revival in Polynesia. The text covers vast academic territory by describing and comparing the construction and design of the six canoes, linking legendary and ancestral stories (mythology) from Polynesia, describing the construction of the canoe Hawai‘iloa and issues of environmental conservation. The book also tells a story of human experiences including interpersonal dynamics, friendships, tensions, agendas, negotiations and compromises among leaders of the voyaging revival and 1995 expedition.

Finney’s most recent publications are chapters in the book *Vaka Moana, Voyages of the Ancestors: The Discovery and Settlement of the Pacific* (2006). His three chapters from *Vaka Moana* (2006) are: 1) Ocean Canoe Sailing, 2) Navigation, and 3) Renaissance. The chapters reflect Finney’s earlier writing and reiterate the premise of *Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors* (2003). In summary, the majority of writing about the canoe Hōkūle‘a, and the canoes that followed has been produced by Professor Ben Finney.

Across the decades three themes come forth: 1) rediscovery, 2) revitalisation, and 3) debates regarding 'authenticity'. The section above maps out the key texts that articulate these themes offering an overview of the academic literature available about contemporary canoe sailing and the Hōkūleʻa. To complete this section of the literature review, I briefly examine the literature surrounding Hōkūleʻa and curricula.

Hōkūleʻa Curricula

Upon conducting a search for resources available about the canoe Hōkūleʻa, another category that deserves literary mention is curriculum development. Alongside the voyages of the canoe, the PVS and its advocates have developed educational materials for Hawaiʻi's classrooms. Following the first voyage a *Resource Curriculum Guide* (Lindo, 1976) and *Polynesian Seafaring Heritage* (Lindo and Mower, 1980) were published as teacher's resources. The curricula have ranged from *Hawaiian Canoe*-Building Traditions (Chun, 1988) to Hōkūleʻa: A field trip: A guide for upper-elementary teachers (Larson, 1989) and Hōkūleʻa: A Guide to Educational Resources (Menton, 1990). Now students are able to sail along on a virtual ride with the Hōkūleʻa Education Program based at the University of Hawaiʻi, East-West Centre. There are voyaging classes offered at five different University of Hawaiʻi campuses as Hōkūleʻa prepares for the worldwide sail. The Hōkūleʻa Worldwide Voyage website includes the ability to virtually link and communicate with crewmembers and read crew blogs.

Historical Overview Conclusion

In conclusion, the chapter has covered a vast terrain of historical events from colonisation through the Hawaiian cultural revival leading up to the creation of the Hōkūleʻa. The intention of the chapter was to contextualise the primary research conducted with women crewmembers that have made significant contributions to the canoe creation, maintenance, and long open, ocean voyages. An overview of Hōkūleʻa's voyages and the scholarship available about the canoe reveals a gap in the field that a study focusing directly on the experiences and voices of women from Hōkūleʻa can address.

Mana Wāhine

> *It is the female Akua that empower Hawaiian women. They are our ancestors; they are our inspiration; they live in us. They are all we know of what it means to be female; they define our femininity, our sexuality, and our great capabilities. Ua hānau ka pō: the night gives birth. It is woman who creates the universe. (Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, 1999, p. 3)*

The above quote comes from Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa's book *Nā Wāhine Kapu*, which seeks to answer the question often presented in reference to the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement: Where are the Hawaiian men(Kame'eleihiwa, 1999)? Ty Kāwika Tengan's (2008) book *Native Men Remade* also addresses this question in his chapter Restoring Balance: Men, Women, and Movement by addressing complex gender relations during the Hawaiian renaissance and acknowledging Kanaka Maoli male leaders such as Kawaipuna Pregjean, Soli Niheu, Keli'i Skippy Ioane, Kekuni Blaisdell, Bumpy Kanahele, Palikapu Dedman, Emmett Noa Aluli, Alapai Hanapī, Attwood Makanani, and Pōkā Laenui Hayden Burgess as all having made substantial contributions toward decolonising. In reference to voyaging several other male leaders also came forth such as leaders, such as Pinky Thompson and, his son, Nainoa Thompson, Abraham Pi'ianai'a, Richard Lyman, and outrigger canoe paddling legend, Nappy Napoleon. Yet, upon researching the scholarly material written for and by Native Hawaiians since the mid-1970s, it is the voices of women that have significantly reinterpreted and rewritten colonial histories by taking into consideration Kanaka Maoli manuscripts, newspapers, language, worldview and epistemology. These mana wāhine inspire the next generation of Kanaka Maoli women. Their work is diverse but equally powerful in bringing forth alternative perspectives to various historical and contemporary issues and events in Hawai'i. During the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance several mana wahine Kanaka Maoli came forth as academic and political leaders,

including Haunani Kay Trask, Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, Davianna McGregor, and Noenoe Silva.

In this chapter, I critically engage with the work of these prevalent Kanaka Maoli women and discuss the decolonising scholarly texts that have informed the thesis. I have organised the chapter thematically beginning with Sovereignty and Feminism, and the scholarly work of Haunani Kay Trask. The next section discusses Historical Revisioning: Aloha ʻĀina and Land Tenure while highlighting the scholarship of Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, Noenoe Silva and Davianna McGregor. I will then explore the connection between Hawaiian Language Revival, Epistemology and Critical Pedagogy as exemplified in the work of Noenoe Silva, Manulani Meyer, Julie Kaomea and Maenette Benham. The chapter will conclude with Moʻokūʻauhau, returning to the writing of Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa's *Na Wahine Kapu* and the contemporary use of moʻokūʻauhau as methodology by Julie Kaomea. The inclusion of moʻokūʻauhau is present within all of the previously mentioned women's work. These mana wahine have greatly informed the thesis and inspired the doctoral journey; thus, it is by their example that I will engage in scholarly dialogue with the texts available about Hōkūleʻa so that the thesis might contribute to the body of knowledge about Hōkūleʻa and contemporary Kanaka Maoli mana wahine.

Sovereignty & Feminism

> More than a feminist, I am a nationalist, trained by my family and destined by my genealogy to speak and work on my people's behalf, including women. I am a leader, and my obligation is to lead, both our women and our men. This is my duty to our people – all of them: the ancestors, the living, the yet to be born. (Trask, 1996, p. 915)

An ascendant from the Piʻilani lineage of Maui and the Kahakumakaliua lineage of Kauaʻi, Haunani Kay Trask comes from a chiefly moʻokūʻauhau of aliʻi and political leaders. Her father and grandfather were both politically active in their fight for Native Hawaiian land rights, a legacy that her sister, Mililani, and Haunani Kay uphold today. She says, "My people were born of Papahānaumoku-Earth Mother-and Wākea-Sky Father-who created our bountiful Hawaiian islands. From these people came the taro, and from the taro, our chiefs and common people" (Trask, 1996, p. 906).

As previously mentioned, Haunani Kay Trask is one of the most famous, and infamous, Hawaiian scholars of our time. She is both loved and feared. From a personal standpoint, I have felt fortunate to have experienced her abundant aloha. As an undergraduate student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, I was invited to dinner with Haunani Kay and the Dean of my department, and asked to introduce her prior to a public address she gave. Several years later I was a student in her Pacific Women's Poetry course at the University of Hawaiʻi-Manoa while working toward my Master of Arts degree in Pacific Islands Studies. Upon reflection, I am aware of and grateful for the impact that she has had in my life as a Kanaka Maoli woman and scholar. I am also cognisant that to many scholars the name Haunani Kay Trask brings forth other emotions and reactions.

The following section will review the dynamic shifts within Trask's work over the past three decades by interweaving her scholarly texts and poetry that focus on sovereignty and feminism. Her most renowned works include: *Eros and Power: The Promise of Feminist Theory* (1986)*, From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaiʻi* (1999, first published 1993)*,* and two books of poetry, *Light in the Crevice*

Never Seen (1994), and *Night is a Sharkskin Drum* (2002), which I will utilise to better articulate her efforts toward decolonisation and self-determination for Kanaka Maoli. From the 1980s to present, Trask's views and writing on feminism have changed to reflect a distinct understanding of her perspective as a Kanaka Maoli woman, which will also be discussed. I will then review a radical written debate that Trask engaged in with two leading anthropologists who had devoted their academic careers to the study of Hawai'i, the Hawaiian people and the Pacific region. Lastly, I feature some of Haunani Kay's poetry.

Before reviewing the shifts within Trask's scholarship, a brief introduction to her educational journey is helpful in contextualising her work across the decades. After attending Kamehameha Schools in Hawai'i, Haunani travelled to the mid-west of the United States where she spent 10 years at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, completing a bachelor's degree (1972), master's degree (1975) and doctorate (1981) in Political Science. Her dissertation, which was revised into a book, was *Eros and Power: The Promise of Feminist Theory* (1986). She returned to the islands of her Indigenous origin in the 1980s during the height of the Hawaiian Cultural Revival, at which time her work reflects a powerful departure from feminism toward Hawaiian sovereignty. Upon returning to Hawai'i, Trask unified with other Kanaka Maoli in her activism for land rights and joined the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana and sovereignty movement. Her writing parallels the discourses, issues and activism of the past three decades from the 1980s to present.

Much of Trask's work foregrounds the role women have played in the Hawaiian renaissance. For instance, her chapter titled 'Women's Mana and Hawaiian

Sovereignty' in *From a Native Daughter* (1999) discusses the reasons why Hawaiian women came forth as de-colonial leaders during the 1980s and Hawaiian cultural revival. She observes that whereas Hawaiian men had taken up powerful positions in electoral politics, including the first appointment as a Hawaiian senator in the United States Congress, Daniel Akaka, Hawaiian women have taken the path of decolonisation in the sovereignty movement. Much like other Hawaiian academics (Kameʻeleihiwa, Silva, and Kaomea), Trask names other women leaders working in areas outside of politics but equally powerful. Pua Kanakaʻole Kanahele (kumu hula) and Dana Naone (repatriation of ancestral burial sites) are cited as two examples.

Central to Trask's work is thinking about and struggling with the interface between Western feminism and indigeneity. For example, in an article titled, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism" (1996), Trask reflects upon her journey of learning about and being inspired by feminism while distancing herself as a Native woman from American feminism. She reflects in the following quote: "Any exclusive focus on women neglected the historical oppression of all Hawaiians and the large force field of imperialism" (1996, p. 909). She perceives American feminism as individualistic whereas she considers the needs of the Hawaiian nation and Hawaiian people to value collectivism. She writes,

> As my scope has enlarged over the years to encompass international linkages with indigenous women in the Americas, in the Pacific Basin, in the Arctic, and elsewhere, feminism seems more and more removed from the all-consuming struggle against our physical and cultural extinction as indigenous peoples. Issues specific to women still inform our identity as Native women leaders, but our language and our organizing are framed within our own cultural terms, not within feminist American terms. (Trask, 1996, p. 910)

Trask's assertions and articulations of Hawaiian, Pacific and Indigenous feminism as 'different' and as having different priorities than other diverse women, such as African American, Latin American, Asian, and/or Lesbian American feminists for example, exemplify her work toward engaging within the feminist scholarly texts from a Native Hawaiian perspective.

Trask's scholarly writing, poetry, speeches and political activism clearly reflect her passion and dedication toward Hawaiian sovereignty. In a famous speech delivered at 'Iolani Palace in January 1993 at a huge protest rally commemorating the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, Trask begins by saying, "We are not American! We are not American! We will live and die as Hawaiians!" (Maka o ka 'Āina, producers of the documentary, *Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation*, 1993). She is acclaimed for her political leadership protesting the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation and anti-Americanisation scholarship. She says,

> The myths of democracy and Americanization as beneficial to Native Hawaiians have meant a Native population in the thrall of America. Decolonization must then shift from a primary focus on the mind of the colonized to a dual focus on re-invigoration of the Native culture, with its protective land ethic and accompanying spiritual ethic, and an emphasis on political analysis of the colonial situation. (Trask, 1993)

Clearly Trask believed the path towards decolonisation involved a movement away from the omnipresent coloniser towards a mindset focused on Native Hawaiian epistemologies. Trask came forth as a leader at a time when many Kanaka Maoli were ready for radical change and bold, non-compliant leadership.

The next scholarly texts I cover foreground Haunani Kay Trask's responses to anthropological assertions surrounding Indigenous cultural revival in the Pacific and

their authenticity. While the debate may seem only slightly relevant to the present writing, I have focused in on it here because it helps articulate, firstly, that Trask was cognisant of the neo-colonial intent of academic writing at the time. That is, she perceived the idea of 'invented tradition' to be an attack on Hawaiian cultural revival. And, secondly, she was weary of the privilege non-Indigenous academics possess in writing 'on' other cultures and the damage such writing can cause; something other Indigenous academics have repeatedly alluded to in contemporary times (Smith, 1999; Meyer, 1998).

The debate takes place between Trask and two anthropologists, Roger M. Keesing and Jocelyn Linnekin, who had devoted a significant portion of their scholarship to the study of Native Hawaiian people and culture. Before the debate began, scholarly texts by anthropologists in the early 1980s questioned the 'authenticity' of contemporary Indigenous movements, exemplified in two publications *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (1983) and *Reinventing Traditional Culture: The Politics of Kastom in Island Melanesia* edited by Roger Keesing and Robert Tonkinson (1982), featured as a special issue in the journal *Mankind*. Later, Roger Keesing further developed his ideas surrounding authenticity and tradition in the article 'Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific,' published in 1989. Several iterations of debate erupted around Keesing's controversial article (Briggs, 1996; Feinberg, 1994; Jolly and Thomas, 1992; Lindstrom and White, 1994; Tobin, 1994) including a sharp critique from Haunani Kay Trask, which began what is now called the Keesing/Trask debate (Hanlon and White, 2000).

Keesing's article 'Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific' commented on the contemporary use of history warning against what he saw as a 'created' or 'imagined' idealising of the past by Indigenous activists for political purposes. Trask responds in the next edition of *The Contemporary Pacific* journal with an article called, 'Natives and Anthropologist: The Colonial Struggle,' in which she calls Keesing's article a 'gem' of academic colonialism. She says,

> Knowing old-fashioned racism too crude to defend but bitterly clinging to his sense of white superiority, Keesing plows the complaining path of the unappreciated missionary who, when confronted by ungrateful, decolonized Natives, thinly veils his hurt and anger by the high road of lamentation: Alas, poor, bedevilled Natives "invent" their culture in reaction to colonialism, and all in the service of grimy politics! (Trask, 1991, p. 159)

Her reply is charged with emotion and bold statements. Her main critiques are that Keesing only consulted scholarship created by Western scholars and Western sources. According to Trask, if Keesing had consulted a more diverse range of scholarship and resources, such as those conducted by Kanaka Maoli or other Indigenous scholars, he would have realised the problematic nature of his accusations. She considers his article to be an example of academic colonialism because of his failure to see the legitimacy of contemporary Indigenous scholarship and his sole use of non-Indigenous perspectives.

Keesing (1991) responded to Trask in the aptly named article, 'Reply to Trask', in which he accuses Trask of racism and argues that Trask's dichotomy between 'insider' and 'outsider' is troublesome. He says that the crucial issues in the Pacific have more to do with class than skin colour. His reply is directed to Trask's article in its entirety but, in particular, it seems to reply to the infamous quote from Trask where she says, "Well, my answer to Keesing has been said by modern-day Natives to would-be White Fathers many times: What do you mean "us", white man?" (Trask, 1991, p. 160).

Anthropologist, Jocelyn Linnekin, entered into the debate with the article, Text Bites and the R-Word: The Politics of Representing Scholarship (Published in *The Contemporary Pacific* 1991 and reprinted in 2000), in which she critiques the personal nature of Trask's attack on her own scholarship, her generalising of anthropology and questions why Trask did not challenge the more immediately powerful forces of oppression facing Native Hawaiians.

In my analysis, Trask has quite thoroughly spoken out, fought against and challenged almost all forces oppressing Kanaka Maoli today. It is possible that Linnekin had not engaged with the full spectrum of Trask's work. Trask has not only written about Feminism, Hawaiian Sovereignty, and replied to anthropologist's questioning of contemporary Indigenous peoples' cultures and identities, she has also written about the tourist industry, education, incarceration, environmental issues, development, language and history. There are only so many fights for which one individual can stand and defend, represent or make an alternative perspective known. The debate highlights a necessary intervention into the world of academia by an Indigenous person seeking to clarify the boundaries between the supposed objectivity of Western research and the lived realities of Indigenous peoples.

I would like to conclude the portion of this section with Haunani Kay Trask's poetry, a medium that further articulates her struggle and work for contemporary Kanaka Maoli. In light of the above discussion, Trask's poetry highlights the importance of an Indigenous epistemology void of the commentary and analyses by 'others', which can just 'be' without neo-colonial intrusion. A parallel examination of Trask's scholarly

writing and poetry reveal similar themes, yet through my analysis, it is within selections of her poetry that there is a profound depth that transcends anger and for a moment Haunani can rest and be at peace in her homeland. Her poetry is particularly meaningful to me as we both connect with the windward side of the island of O‘ahu as a pu’uhonua (place of refuge) and the place that both Trask and I have spent many growing years protected by the steep, green Ko‘olau mountains. The following poem, titled *Ko‘olau,* comes from Trask’s (1994) book *Light in the Crevice Never Seen*:

Ko‘olau
light in the crevice
never seen mosses
pali kāla‘au
bamboo

crescent moon
stones
fragrant clack clack
from the shadows

hunehune rain
aloft on the wind
steamy rocks
falls of crustaceans

blue caves far
away choked
with grasses wet
fully winged

high ‘iwa floating
many-chambered
heavens still
and singing (p. 75)

Within Trask's poetry the aloha and complexity of emotion can be felt. Poetry becomes another medium to communicate and process ideas, contradictions, and values. In reference to her poetry, Trask writes,

> In my own work, resistance to the strangulation of our people and culture is interwoven with a celebration of the magnificence of our nation: the lavish beauty of our delicate islands; the intricate relationship between our emotional ties to each other and our ties to the land; the centuries-old ways of caring for the ʻāina (land), the kai (sea), and, of course the mana (spiritual power) that is generated by human beings love with, and dependent upon, the natural world. (2000, p. 52)

This quote deeply embodies the priorities of the thesis and the shared values that came forth from the women voyagers interviewed, which will be discussed in greater detail in the final chapter. The following poem will serve as a transition between this section on Feminism and Sovereignty into Historical Revisioning: Aloha ʻĀina and Land Tenure:

I go by the Moons
I go by the trail
of earth and green
slivers of sun
pendulous rain.

I go by the dream trees
flame trees hissing
and swaying

I go by the shores
and coconut dunes, soft crab
sand in my heart.

I go by the temples
maile vines fresh
with tears.

I go by the taro
velvet-leafed god
flesh and mud.

I go by the thrust

of Konahuanui
his lava jet
jewelled with fern.

I go by the moons
expectant
feeling in the throat
for the chanter.
(Trask, 1994, p. 96)

I have found the last line in Haunani's poem, 'I go by the moons,' powerful and profound, because I believe that as Kanaka Maoli we are guided by our ancestors who are embodied in the natural world and present within our being. This epistemological belief and understanding comes with a great kuleana (responsibility) to make a contribution to the larger good, to the broader community of Kanaka Maoli and to our islands. *Expectant, feeling in the throat for the chanter*, we know that the time will come for us to stand tall and proud, to oli (chant) our moʻokūʻauhau, our connections, our perspectives, our stories, and our histories.

Historical Revisioning: Aloha ʻĀina and Land Tenure

In the following section, I highlight the work of several women who have *re*-visioned and re-interpreted historical events in the Hawaiian Islands from colonisation to present. I begin by briefly touching upon the work of anthropologist, Jocelyn Linnekin, to acknowledge the diversity of scholarship available about historical re-reading and re-examination of Kanaka Maoli traditional gender roles. I will then devote the remainder of the section to Aloha ʻĀina and Land Tenure, reviewing the work of three Kanaka Maoli women academics: Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, Noenoe Silva, and Davianna McGregor. The historical writing of these mana wāhine Maoli has greatly enriched

Kanaka Maoli understanding of historical events and informed interdisciplinary work, such as this thesis.

The last two decades have seen greater recognition by Pacific specialists of the important roles Hawaiian women played within *Kanaka Maoli* society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries prior to the American overthrow of the Hawaiian state. The publication of Jocelyn Linnekin's *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence* (1990) marked a watershed in this regard. Linnekin argued that a rereading of the historical record demonstrated that the religious restrictions that traditional *Kanaka Maoli* religion placed on women did not prevent chiefly women from playing prominent roles in access to land and political power, while women in general made important contributions to the economic and social production and exchange. According to Linnekin, this was true of traditional society and continued into the nineteenth century despite the political and economic changes the mounting Western commercial and missionary presence and influence had on the Hawaiian Kingdom after the unification of the archipelago in the early 1800s.

A parallel Indigenous revision of Hawaiian women's place in traditional and colonial societies began with the rise of a group of articulate Kanaka Moali women scholars and political activists who focused initially on land alienation, most notably Haunani-Kay Trask (1999a), as has already been established in the previous section, and Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa (1992). After generations of being written about, Kanaka Maoli are now writing from our own frame of reference. Others have followed. For example, Katrina Kahananui Green described explorers' and missionaries' first impressions of Hawaiian women as different from those of Tahitian women. In reference to the latter, she wrote:

"these perceptions made her the most dutiful of patriarchy's daughters. Although she was sensual, it was in a way that neither threatened nor intimidated males; it was sexuality along with submission" (Green, 2002, p. 227). Conversely, Hawaiian women were depicted as assertive, decisive and masculine, claiming equality. The strength and authority of Kanaka Maoli women were apparent in matters of exchange and relations between Captain James Cook's crew and other chiefs. They observed women's boxing matches and described women warriors who accompanied their kāne (men) to battle. Early European observers also noted Kanaka Maoli women's surfing skill.[34] Thus, Hawaiian women challenged Western ideas of femininity and were difficult to categorise (Green, 2002).

While perceptions, representations and articulations of Hawaiian and Pacific women's femininities, or masculinities, are important to deconstruct and consider, in this section I focus predominantly on 'aloha 'āina and land tenure. Much like gender in Hawaiian epistemology, aloha 'Āina (love of the land) is about complementarities and balance. Upon reviewing the literature created by Kanaka Maoli women academics since the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa's book *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (1992) and Noenoe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed* (2004) are pivotal texts, which revision historical colonial events from the perspective of Kanaka Maoli.

In *Native Land and Foreign Desires,* Kame'eleihiwa offers a detailed analysis of the Māhele from a Native Hawaiian perspective. The Māhele of 1848 was the first legal

[34] On women as skilled board and canoe surfers, see John Papa Ii, (1983). *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, pp. 133-135. For the role of women in warfare, see William Ellis, (1969, first published 1829). *Polynesian Researches: Hawaii*, pp. 103-104 and pp. 124-125.

step toward allowing foreigners to own land in Hawai‘i. Kame‘eleihiwa’s scholarship utilises Hawaiian language sources to articulate a Kanaka Maoli spiritual connection to the land, genealogy and epistemology. Her analysis traces the changes which occurred that affected Kanaka Maoli relationships with the land. For example, she discusses the reasons surrounding maka‘āinana (Kanaka Maoli commoners) loss of land being primarily due to their living in rural areas. Many maka‘āinana at the time of the Māhele were also unfamiliar with the Western notion of land ownership, Western worldview, or the English language, all of which were necessary to secure ‘legal’ and genealogical ties to the land. Hawaiians who did not adhere to the Westernised stipulations by travelling to Honolulu to fill out paperwork stating their traditional and genealogical links to the land were eventually displaced and lost their legal right to the land of their ancestral origins. Kame‘eleihiwa’s knowledge of the Hawaiian language allows her to reinterpret and shed light upon the epistemological challenges of maka‘āinana to understand Western laws, as well as the miscommunications that occurred between Hawaiian elite, namely the Hawaiian Monarch, and non-Hawaiian advisors to the crown. Within this analysis she articulates the complexities of Kanaka Maoli conversion to Christianity and American colonisation. Kame‘eleihiwa’s scholarship allows a deeper understanding of the affects of the Māhele upon Kanaka Maoli from a contemporary Native Hawaiian perspective and directly relates the priorities of the thesis focus on mo‘okū‘auhau. In the ‘Afterword to my people’ chapter of Kame‘eleihiwa’s *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, she says, “Our mo‘okū‘auhau gives us mana, and we can rejoice in our survival” (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992, p 322).

Like Kame‘eleihiwa, Noenoe Silva’s historical revisionings also consider the scholarship of Hawaiian historians and Hawaiian language resources. Silva’s *Aloha*

Betrayed (2004) examines the later half of the 1800s by focusing on Kanaka Maoli resistance against the United States annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893. Silva's extensive archival research uncovered an 1897 anti-annexation petition buried in the United States National Archives signed by 21, 269 Native Hawaiians. The recovery of this petition challenges the 'myth' that Kanaka Maoli passively accepted American annexation and affirms the 'truth' that our ancestors stood together to demonstrate their opposition to United States political control over our islands and people (Silva, 2004).

Both Kameʻeleihiwa and Silva are fluent speakers of the Hawaiian language; thus, one aspect of their historical revision that sets their work apart from other non-native speakers of the Hawaiian language is their ability to consider Hawaiian epistemology and political activism discussed by Kanaka Maoli in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, their native tongue. From the language, epistemological collisions between Western and Kanaka Maoli are revealed. For example, Silva's research entailed a rereading of Hawaiian language newspapers and unpublished material that had not been included in original translations or later publications. One such example is the writing of Samuel Kamakau. Of particular interest and inspiration to this thesis is that Silva uncovered evidence of Kanaka Maoli women voyagers, which will be discussed in detail in the next section on moʻokūʻauhau and voyaging genealogies.

Before moving to the next section, I would like to conclude this section by reviewing a book that actualises the historical re-visioning of Kameʻeleihiwa and Silva previously explored. Davianna McGregor's *Na Kuaʻāina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (2007) is a celebration of our mana and survival as Kanaka Maoli. In this text, McGregor honours

kua‘āinanā kua‘āina, Native Hawaiians who remained in rural areas of the Hawaiian islands often looking after nā kūpuna (elders), speaking the Hawaiian language and perpetuating Hawaiian culture through their connection with the spirit of the land. She focuses on the mo‘olelo (oral traditions) of kua‘āina from several kipuka (a term McGregor uses to describe oases for traditional Native Hawaiian culture): Moloka‘i, Hana-Maui, Kaho‘olawe, and Waipio-Hawai‘i.

The book *Nā Kua‘āina* (2007) is a rich and inspirational text with which to conclude this section on historical revisions because it is devoted to documenting the continuity of Native Hawaiian culture alongside historical changes and challenges. McGregor’s devotion to the Protect Kaho’olawe ‘Ohana and close ties to the island communities of Moloka‘i, give her writing a sense of intimacy with the peoples and places that she describes and brings to life. There is aloha in her writing. The title, *Nā Kua‘āina*, before the Native Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance referred to the ‘back country’ or a person that was ‘unsophisticated or awkward’. In light of the cultural revival movements, kua‘āina came to represent Native Hawaiians who actively kept the culture alive by living close to the land. It literally means ‘backbone of the land’. This reinterpretation and celebration of Kanaka Maoli connectedness to the ‘Āina, or in the case of Kanaka Maoli women voyagers, ka moana (sea), and the continuity of Kanaka Maoli culture are central to the thesis and, thus, academically inspirational.

In conclusion, several Kanaka Maoli women have come forth since the cultural renaissance to reread and rewrite historical colonial events that have transpired from a Native Hawaiian perspective. They have consulted texts in the Hawaiian language, not previously considered by non-native scholars, and for this reason their scholarship often

tells a different story. The texts of Kameʻeleihiwa (1992), Silva (2004) and McGregor (2007) share several commonalities. They explore the history of change in the Hawaiian Islands, while celebrating the achievements of our ancestors; and, ultimately, our survival as a people. Kameʻeleihiwa's passion for genealogy is like a mantra to the thesis and will be further explored in the next section on moʻokūʻauhau and ancestral women voyagers.

Moʻokūʻauhau and Nā Wāhine Kūpuna Holowaʻa: Genealogy and Ancestral Women Voyagers

Upon visiting the array of mana wahine Maoli texts that have informed and inspired the revitalisation and perpetuation of Kanaka Maoli culture and perspectives, there is one commonality that all of the Kanaka Maoli women share; their devotion and acknowledgement of all that has come before and their moʻokūʻauhau. The women have done this in several ways. Firstly, they state their genealogies as Kanaka Maoli, honouring their ancestral lineage. Secondly, the women all acknowledge other Kanaka Maoli women who have served as leaders and inspiration ranging from contemporary Kanaka Maoli women all the way back to the earth, Papahānaumoku, the first mother in our cosmology. Lastly, the women incorporate this rich epistemology into their writing and various areas of research. Within their work traditional and contemporary acknowledgement of moʻokūʻauhau are interwoven. In this way moʻokūʻauhau is both theoretical and methodological, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Following the work of these mana wahine Maoli, the last section of this chapter focuses on moʻokūʻauhau and ancestral women voyagers.

Searching for Nei Nimʻanoa
I need to learn how to navigate,
Read the stars, the wind, and the ocean swells

Like she did.

This drifting in a random sea of sites and sounds,
Has been too lonely.

I will pick up the pieces
        of my broken Gilbertese,
Gather the remnants of
        my broken heart,
And use them to chart my course.

If I don't find her

Tao
She'll find me.
(Teaiwa, 1995, p. 67)

Nei Nima'anoa is an ancestress voyager from the Gilbertese Islands where the author of the previous poem, Teresia Teaiwa, is an ascendant. Nei Nima'anoa is known for teaching the art of navigation by stars (Teaiwa, 2007). The poem *Searching for Nei Nim'anoa* honours this legendary ancestress, while alluding to the contemporary identity confusion that has been the result of two hundred years of colonisation, assimilation, loss of language, culture, and direction for many Pacific Islands peoples. The idea of cultural 'loss' is commonly used to describe our Pacific Indigenous experiences. I question whether this is merely another demoralising colonial tactic. Alternatively, I seek to challenge this notion of 'loss' by celebrating our abundant ancestral knowledge that is never lost; rather, it lives within us. We are our kūpuna; we are our ancestors (Hoe, 2007).

Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa writes that, "As Hawaiian women, we are the intellectual as well as the physical descendents of our female ancestors, and in turn we will be

ancestral inspiration for the generations to come" (Kame'eleihiwa, 1999, p.1). As celebrated in the last few lines of the prior poem, this deeply rooted epistemology among Pacific Indigenous peoples that our ancestors are with us, moves beyond the colonially imbued notion that we are 'lost' or 'drifting'. The conceptualisation of loss, or being lost, is reminiscent of the anthropological debate that Polynesians drifted, or accidentally arrived to new islands (Sharp 1956; Finney 2003). Both are disempowering assumptions that have been imposed upon our peoples from the occident and will be further discussed in the next section. In some instances our people have believed these 'myths' told to us in school as 'truth', while dismissing our own stories as such.

Contemporary Kanaka Maoli academic, Julie Kaomea, wrote an essay entitled "Na wahine mana: a postcolonial reading of classroom discourse on the imperial rescue of oppressed Hawaiian women" in *Pedagogy, Culture & Society* (2006) merging mo'okū'auhau (Hawaiian genealogy) and theorist Michel Foucault's genealogical methods. Her writing offers a counter-narrative about traditionally powerful Kanaka Maoli women, who were supposedly liberated and civilised by colonisation. She argues that colonisation has served to oppress Kanaka Maoli women's political and domestic autonomy, rather than liberate it (Kaomea, 2006). Her work draws on the writing of other Kanaka Maoli women academics such as Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa and Noenoe Silva.

Noenoe Silva's (2004) archival research uncovered evidence of information about Kanaka Maoli women voyagers from mo'olelo recorded by Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau in 1866-1867 and published in a Hawaiian-language newspaper. Kamakau is

known as one of our most significant Kanaka Maoli historians. His sources include ancient mele and mo'okū'auhau. Mary Kawena Pūkui and others translated and published Kamakau's mo'olelo in 1861 under the title *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai'i*, which included newspaper articles that Kamakau had written over several years. According to Silva, the editors deleted material without consistently noting ellipses, so the translations are limited and edited versions of Kamakau's original texts. In her book *Aloha Betrayed*, Noenoe Silva translates some of the deleted mo'olelo from Kamakau about ancient women voyagers (2004, pp. 16-18).

Some of these stories include famed Kanaka Maoli navigators such as Moikeha, 'Olopana, Lu' ukia and Moikeha's sons, Kila and La' amaikahiki. Of particular interest is Lu'ukia, a woman from Hawai'i, who was the first of her family to sail to Kahiki where she lived with 'Olopana. In this mo'olelo, Lu'ukia tells 'Olopana's daughter, Kaupe'a, about her handsome brother, Kauma'ili'ula, who lives in Hawai'i. Kaupe'a follows in the footsteps of Lu'ukia and initiates a voyage to Hawai'i. She finds Lu'ukia's handsome brother, Kauma'ili'ula, and they live together. During this time Kaupe'a becomes pregnant and decides to return to her islands in Kahiki where she chooses to give birth. Kauma'ili'ula later follows Kaupe'a and arrives on the day that their child is born (Silva, 2004, p. 19).

Before Lu'ukia and Kaupe'a there is the mo'olelo of Papa, who according to the ancient traditions was the very first Kanaka Maoli to travel to Kahiki. Papa is also known as Walinu'u or Haumea. She was a wahine akua (goddess) who gave birth to both supernatural beings and humans. Papa travelled to Kahiki because that is where her parents were from (Kamakau, 1991, p. 91). According to David Malo, the Hawaiian

chants, prayers and legends often mention Kahiki as the homeland. Although Kahiki has multiple meanings in the Hawaiian language, in this context Malo refers to the islands now known as Tahiti. The early archaeological evidence and linguistic comparisons conducted by Kenneth Emory also support the fact that the ancestors of the Hawaiian Islands came from Kahiki (Tahiti) (Finney, 2003, pp. 90-91).

These mo‘olelo about women voyaging to and from Kahiki serve as counter narratives to the disempowering notion that only Pacific islands men navigated and initiated voyages. Instead, these narratives reinforce the fact that the women of Polynesia are surrounded by an abundant and rich her-story of powerful examples of women ākua, leaders, voyagers and navigators. In particular, there are several examples of female deities, or akua, whose mo‘olelo tell of their great voyaging feats.

Western epistemology and academia, in particular, deemed the stories of these women as ‘myth’. I argue that these exceptional women are legendary and have been deified lest their memory be forgotten. As our stories are told and repeated, we remember the amazing feats of our ancestors and the genealogies of our akua. Within Hawaiian epistemology, the akua are ancestors that have passed-on further back in time and are now a part of the spirit world (Minton, 2000). Throughout the Pacific there are stories of ancestral and legendary women voyagers. These stories highlight and pay tribute to the women navigators and voyagers of Polynesia, as well as the greater Pacific, exemplified by Nei Nim’anoa, Lu‘ukia, Kaupe‘a, Papa and others. Nonetheless, the broader body of literature available still remains largely devoid of reference to women as seafarers; thus, I argue that it is vital to consult a more diverse range of sources including the stories of our legendary ancestors and akua.

According to Silva, Kamakau incorporates the primary akua in his account of traveller narratives:

> Among the voyagers to Hawai‘i Kamakau mentions the akua Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, and Lono, as well as Pele and her family. In the translation this part is omitted, which means that readers of the English miss crucial information for understanding the nature of akua in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian imaginary. ‘Akua’ here cannot actually be equivalent to what ‘god’ signifies in the English language, because, unlike akua, gods are not physical beings that embark on journeys across the ocean. (Silva, 2004, p. 19)

In a decisive way, Silva’s scholarship here demonstrates how translation and the subsequent imposition of a non-Indigenous epistemology have significantly impacted upon how both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples have come to reify mistruths regarding Hawaiian culture. The quote reinforces that our akua are our ancestors from the distant past and are an integral part of our genealogy.

Kanaka Maoli society had clear gendered divisions of labour, with men doing agricultural tasks, woodwork, stone work and deep-sea fishing, while women made pandanus mats, bark cloth and highly valued feathered cloaks and ornaments worn by male chiefs and also figured prominently in near-shore and reef fishing and gathering (Linnekin, 1990). While the nineteenth century Kanaka Maoli historian David Malo (1951) referred to this gender division of labour, another Kanaka Maoli historian, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1992), noted that sometimes women also participated in agriculture and fishing alongside men, particularly on the islands of Maui and Hawai‘i. Here, the ‘uala (sweet potato) was an important crop that required a great deal of labour for weeding and mulching (Kirch, 1985). No such crossover into seafaring roles has been noted, however, for women.

As a Kanaka Maoli woman voyager of the canoe Hōkūleʻa, I have an interest in this subject area and in highlighting the stories of other historical and contemporary women voyagers and navigators. My experiences on Hōkūleʻa inspired me to pursue this academic research and exploration because despite the presence of a number of women crew on Hōkūleʻa since its inception, to date the presence and importance of women to Hōkūleʻa and thus to the Hawaiian Renaissance has been largely neglected by scholars. A sub-theme of the work is a return to the importance of traditional forms of historical narratives. Thus, by prioritising voyaging genealogies I effect both aims.

Ki‘ina Hana: Methodology

He pukoa kani ‘āina.

A coral reef strengthens into land. (Pūkui, 1983, p. 100)

Like the coral reef, this chapter is a foundation. It is what grounds and nourishes the thesis. In this way, it is metaphorically comparable to a coral head that has the potential to grow into land. The *`ōlelo no‘eau* (Hawaiian Proverb) above refers to the coral heads that Hawaiian navigators used as marking points in their memories to pass on to their apprentices. During their voyages they observed that the small coral heads eventually formed into islands.

There are several metaphorical ‘coral heads’ that this chapter uses to navigate the reader through the various methodological approaches of the thesis. The first navigational point explores the lineage of mo‘okū‘auhau as methodology by acknowledging other Kanaka Maoli women academics that have prioritised the Hawaiian value and importance of genealogy both traditionally and contemporarily. Following the work and wisdom of Kanaka Maoli we extend from Hawai‘i into the greater Pacific marking our second navigational point which follows the lineage and contributions that Indigenous, Māori academics have made toward decolonising methodologies, informing the thesis process as well. Expanding globally, the next section describes diverse ‘Western’[35] perspectives debated in terms of methodology to

[35] I highlight the term ‘Western’ here to represent a wide populace of academics that have participated in the discussion and articulation of methodology over the past 40 years, including marginalised

clearly establish the methodological paradigm utilised in this research project. Lastly, our journey comes full circle as we return to Hawai‘i where the last two sections of the chapter focus on Nā Wāhine Holowa‘a by describing in detail the methods executed and the analysis used throughout the thesis.

Mo‘okū‘auhau as Methodology

The stories of ancestral Pacific women voyagers and the contemporary narratives of women from the canoe Hōkūle‘a are better understood when grounded in the Indigenous worldviews from which they originate. Indigenous men and women of Oceania stand side by side in our struggle for equality in our colonised island homelands. This statement is intended to encompass an Indigenous ‘homeland’ that is capable of existing within the heart, mind and spirit for so many Pacific peoples who find themselves geographically separated from their Indigenous islands of origin. Within these diverse spaces and perspectives, I have found that there is power in unity, power in a common cause, where each unique Indigenous person has the capacity to contribute to broader communities in our fight for the return of our autonomy, sovereignty, land, languages, integrity and dignity since the onset of colonisation. These are struggles that continue to exist today as we attempt to locate our own voices, stories and perspectives in educational and political spheres that have, for the purposes of Western assimilation, long deemed our epistemologies as inferior and irrelevant. It is for this reason that Indigenous Pacific methodologies, specifically the Kanaka Maoli concept of mo‘o kū‘auhau ground this research. This approach is meant to be inclusive

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perspectives of Indigenous and feminist academics from a wide spectrum of ethnic, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds.

of kāne and has been drawn on to add to the larger body of knowledge available about the Pacific region, specifically Kanaka Maoli women voyagers (Trask, 1996; 2002).

The previous chapters offer a mere glimpse of Hawaiian epistemology and, specifically, the importance of moʻokūʻauhau within this. Given the contemporary academic context, my extending moʻokūʻauhau from epistemology into methodology is comparable to shifting from understanding into utility. This is a complex process in which epistemological worlds merge. I will attempt to explain. From the bones of our ancestors, and the mana that is passed on in succession, our traditional link to the land, place and our islands is clearly established. Beyond the physical existence of our ancestors at their place of rest, many Kanaka still believe that our ancestors are present in spirit form. As `aumākua in animal form or in the elements of the natural world, such as the wind, rain, a rainbow, the ocean and so forth, our ancestors communicate and make themselves known. So, I extend this epistemological knowing and understanding into methodology in two ways. Firstly, the starting point is to be open and to trust the process, acknowledging that my ancestors are present and here to mālama (take care); thus, I take time to listen to the signs and messages through the research journey. Secondly, moʻokūʻauhau as methodology is about allowing the women involved the same time and space to articulate connections of spirit. It is about offering an opportunity for the women to introduce their moʻokūʻauhau before themselves if they choose and to prioritise questions that honour this deeply rooted aspect of Kanaka epistemology.

Living in Aotearoa-New Zealand, I am deeply influenced by the elements and people of this land. My relationship with the sub-Antarctic ocean, for example, or friendships and

aloha shared with Kai Tahu, Indigenous to this space and place inform the thesis. Although the aloha exchanged has been expansive and life changing, I still seek to maintain a deep connection to my ancestors, family and islands of Indigenous origin. My moʻokūʻauhau has sustained me while living away from my island homeland. During the early stages of the thesis I found that Moʻokūʻauhau repeated in my mind, heart and spirit like a mantra. I saw genealogy in everything, especially the academic texts that I read. There seemed to be an interconnection and layering of voices and perspectives that came in succession. In particular the academic writing of Kanaka Maoli women seemed to follow a 'genealogy' of thought. Interestingly, these women also interweave the value of moʻokūʻauhau throughout their texts, so the reciting of genealogies happens on multiple levels, for example, spiritually with the acknowledgement of the presence of our ancestors when conducting research, or 'coming up with'[36] an idea, and intellectually, as we acknowledge the academic lineage that has come before. As exemplified by leading Kanaka Maoli women academics Moʻokūʻauhau is both deeply embedded in our epistemologies and contemporarily utilised as methodology. In honour of the Kanaka Maoli women academics that have informed the thesis and methodology I draw on their work for inspiration and direction.

The epistemological orientation of the research, methodology and methods primarily follows the work, voices and wisdom of Kanaka Maoli women academics, such as Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, who as previously quoted reminds Kanaka Maoli women of

[36] I use quotes here to emphasise my personal belief that our ancestors call us as Kanaka to do particular work or research. In this respect I do not take credit for 'my' ideas. Instead, I acknowledge the presence of my ancestors in everything that I do or pursue. In regards to this research, I strongly believe that the research came to me when I was initially asked to contribute an article to the *International Journal of Maritime History* and grew from there.

our intellectual and physical connect to our ancestors, and that in turn we will be ancestral inspiration for the generations to come (1999). Alongside Kameʻeleihiwa, I also draw on the scholarship of Haunani Kay Trask, Noenoe Silva, Julie Kaomea, Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua, Karina Kahananui Green and Manulani Meyer, each of whom have made significant and on-going contributions to the understanding of Native Hawaiian perspectives in academia and education. My hope is to follow in their lineage as a part of the next generation of Kanaka Maoli women academics and in this way I conceive of their work and this thesis project linking in a contemporary genealogy of discourses and ideas supporting our greater cause to decolonise and shift historical inequalities.

Highlighting and focusing upon the academic writing of Kanaka Maoli women is both logical and politically strategic. During the onset of colonisation Western men were the primary voices and perspectives documented. Initially, they were explorers, whalers and, later, missionaries who had ulterior motives and agendas. The dominance of Western male presence in academia is still a reality; thus, I have felt compelled in the thesis to bring forth the voices of primarily Kanaka Maoli women in reference to epistemology and moʻokūʻauhau.

Moʻo kūʻauhau grounds the knowledge and understanding of several of the aforementioned leading Kanaka Maoli academics' work (Meyer, 1998; 2003; Goodyear-Kaopua, 2005; Kaomea, 2006; Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999; Silva, 2004). These scholars have each worked within their various areas of expertise to add to the body of knowledge that redefines Kanaka Maoli in our own terms. Their contributions are vital to the methodological approach and intention of the thesis. As detailed in the previous

chapter, Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa specialises in land tenure and moʻo kūʻauhau (1992; 1999), Haunani Kay Trask is known for her radical work on Hawaiian sovereignty and poetry (1993; 1994; 1999a), Noenoe Silva uncovered anti-annexation petitions from Hawaiians which she documents in her book *Aloha Betrayed* (2004), Julie Kaomea (2003) utilises moʻo kūʻauhau to deconstruct the current Hawaiian curricula within the Department of Education, Karina Kahananui Green (2002) analyses representation of Hawaiian women by early explorers and missionaries, and Manulani Meyer (1998) conducted her doctoral research exploring the stories of Kanaka Maoli kūpuna (elders) and leaders to create an academic text that would better inform the concept of Native Hawaiian epistemology. Each of these scholars offers methodological examples that inform the overall intention of the work as well as specific sections.

Meyer, Kameʻeleihiwa, Kaomea, and Goodyear-Kaopua, in particular, help ground moʻokūʻauhau as both methodology and a theme throughout the thesis. For example, Meyer's dissertation found that the majority of kūpuna interviewed described the significance of place and identity in relation to moʻo kūʻauhau, connectedness with the ancestors, land and the surrounding environment. Cultural terms such as continuity, spiritual purpose, responsibility and genealogy came forth and shaped the need for further clarification as to how the participants drew inspiration from genealogy to develop their sense of ongoing purpose (Meyer, 1998). Following the work of Meyer, I encouraged the women interviewed from the canoe Hōkūleʻa to describe their moʻo kūʻauhau and to investigate the extent to which their connections to place and their ancestors inspired their life experiences as voyagers, which will be discussed in further detail in the methods section of this chapter.

Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa (1992; 1999) is well respected for her knowledge of Kanaka Maoli moʻo kūʻauhau and for her incorporation of the genealogies into contemporary academic contexts. Julie Kaomea (2003), in turn, utilises Kameʻeleihiwa's explanation of moʻo kūʻauhau in the essay 'Nā wāhine mana: a postcolonial reading of classroom discourse on the imperial rescue of oppressed Hawaiian women'. In this work, her methodology merges moʻo kūʻauhau (Hawaiian genealogy) and French social theorist, Michel Foucault's genealogical methods. While there are clearly distinct differences in the ways Foucault thinks about genealogy and Kanaka Maoli women utilise moʻokūʻauhau within contemporary academic texts, the insights afforded by Foucault have nevertheless informed this thesis and academic lineage. Julie Kaomea (2003) and Linda Smith (1999) insightfully demonstrated that Foucauldian concepts do have analytic utility for Indigenous scholars. In particular, his understandings related to what 'history' comprises together with his notions of 'discourse', power-knowledge and subjectivity are useful in Indigenous work. This thesis project follows the lead of Meyer, Kame'eleihiwa and Kaomea by highlighting traditional and contemporary narratives about Kanaka Maoli women voyagers, yet an acknowledgement of Foucault's insights is also useful.

With regard to 'history' Foucault challenges the often linear, rational and 'progressive' versions of history promulgated by key historians, who were primarily Western men. Thinking about history as manufactured, not 'there', as produced by disciplinary processes operating at particular junctures and as intimately related to the establishment and privileging of specific discourses has relevance for my project. Under Foucauldian-like scrutiny, the kinds of 'truths' established about the state, status and practices of

Hawaiian voyaging women by largely Western academics can be revealed as simply 'one' set of 'stories' about the lives of these women.

In the case of the current project, understanding *how* our people have come to be 'known' as they are and how 'history' can come to have written our lives in potentially limited ways are important questions. For example, to what extent is our 'history' simply a collection of assertions made by historians steeped within their own cultural contexts, seeing through their own cultural lenses, while, at times, unaware of their personal subjectivities and the power their pens on paper yield in establishing 'truths' about our lived experiences?

Considering the links Foucault draws between power/knowledge is also important to this project. For Foucault power is something that operates in diffuse, capillary-like fashion, creeping, rather than 'leaping' in top-down fashion, and 'productive' rather than necessarily 'repressive'. In his view, power and knowledge are inextricably linked, that is, power is productive of knowledge and knowledge produces power. The two are intertwined in often-subtle ways and are always implicated in the ways people define and relate to each other and themselves. Examining how power has been exercised, how particular kinds of knowledge about Hawaiian women has been generated, how individuals have been constituted as particular kinds of beings by power-knowledge relations have *all* been important in the work of Hawaiian women academics such as Julie Kaomea and Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua. What is particularly relevant about Foucault's theorising of power-knowledge is the possibilities it affords for resistance to existing conceptualisations of what Hawaiian women 'do' and 'who' they are.

Foucault's particular conception of 'discourse' is also of particular importance to the thesis. Discourse has been variously defined in the literature (e.g. in socio-linguistics, and sociology), but for Foucault, discourse primarily refers to systems of knowledge with knowledge being framed in terms of the social, historical and political conditions. For this project, understanding what has enabled Western academics to write, speak and think in particular ways about Hawaiian women voyagers is one task, but so too, is appreciating the conditions under which it is possible to 'know' something at a particular historical point. It is the emancipatory potential of considering discourse in this way that is appealing to the current project. Drawing on the Foucauldian concept of 'discourse', both the women's stories *and* the orthodox, traditional 'histories' of Hawaiian women voyagers can be (*re*)examined in relation to the power relations that constitute them (Foucault, 1967; 1972; 1977; 1979; 1980; 1980a; 1981; 1985). The way discourses contour possibilities in relation to what can be 'said', 'known', and done, is a central task of this thesis.

Finally, subjectivity is a Foucauldian notion that affords interesting analytic possibilities for this study. Rather than considering individuals (voyaging women) as static entities, comprised of un-changing, enduring essences, devoid of culture and/or context, Foucault regarded people as dynamic and multiple. Understanding subjectivity in this way, encourages me, when analysing the women's stories, to always consider these 'in context', to endeavour to understand their interpretations, experiences, statements as necessarily linked to 'context', to an understanding of how their narratives are contoured by their location within space and place, their lived histories (genealogies) and the ways their 'truths' have been previously regarded and/or

explained by Western explorers, missionaries, and anthropologists (Foucault, 1967; 1972; 1977; 1979; 1980; 1980a; 1981; 1985).

Investigating the multiple ways that Indigenous academics utilise Foucault further grounds the Foucauldian philosophies within the work. For example, Julie Kaomea (2006) draws on the revolutionary work of New Zealand-Māori scholar, Linda Smith's *Decolonising Methodologies* (1999). Both Kaomea and Smith's work are influenced by Foucauldian thought; thus, they, along with that of the other scholars' work alluded to above, substantially guide and inform the methodology of the doctoral project. The work of Linda Smith, in particular, has made a significant contribution to Indigenous movements and research methodologies, which will be further explored in the next section of the chapter.

In summary, the opening section of the chapter has laid the first foundation of the thesis methodology with a focus on moʻokūʻauhau as not only a thread that is woven throughout the thesis, holding it together, but how moʻokūʻauhau also informs the methodology and methods. Although Foucault's work on genealogy differs from that of moʻokūʻauhau as it is used in this thesis, it too informs the project. Attempting to articulate and utilise Moʻokūʻauhau as methodology extends from a long lineage, traditional and contemporary, personal and academic. If we were to imagine the convergence of these worldviews, like the meeting of ocean waters at the furthermost tip of the North Island of New Zealand or South Point on Hawaiʻi Island, what we find is abundance, rich abundance where life flourishes. Valuing Moʻokūʻauhau as methodology is a part of a larger on-going process of decolonisation within, and extending beyond, academia. It lays the foundation for the thesis, informed by the work

of other Indigenous, feminist and post-modern academics. The next section will explore others' contributions to creating decolonising methodologies.

Decolonising Methodologies

The Indigenous peoples of the world are on the move. We are propelled by the momentum of five hundred years of struggle and radical social transformation that in the past thirty years have received global recognition. Within each diverse Indigenous community there is a shared history of dislocation from our homelands, social structures, languages, and cultures, which has created a reaction from Indigenous scholars emerging primarily out of the 1970s. Forty years have now past and Indigenous academics, including myself, are still enthused when another resource becomes available that 'validates' or 'affirms' our diverse ways of knowing and being.

The *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith, 2008) offers insight into this continual process of 'decolonisation'. I question whether 'decolonising' is entirely possible in the context of academia because within the Western academy students, researchers and lecturers must still conform to Western standards of research, writing and publishing, words on paper. As Caribbean-American writer, poet and activist, Audre Lorde, so poignantly stated, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House" (cited Smith, 1999, p. 19). Lorde's criticism of feminism inspires lessons for 'decolonisation' because just as the binary between men and women, or the idea that all women can be unified and equal within feminism, is overly simplistic, so too is the idea of 'colonised' methodology and 'decolonised' methodology. The illusion that a book, article or doctoral thesis can 'decolonise' is

highly problematic. As Indigenous academics we are in a *process* of 'decolonising,' but the effects of colonisation are ever present so long as we are restricted by the master's tools: words on paper, use of predominantly European languages and so forth.

Manulani Meyer's chapter in *Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (2008) challenges current research paradigms and offers inspiration in this process of decolonisation as she seeks to articulate principles of Hawaiian epistemology that do more than ground this thesis; they give it life and spirit. In her section on 'Spirituality and Knowing: The Cultural Context of Knowledge', she says, "these ideas, accessed via deep and enduring respect for our kūpuna, our lands, our oceans, our language, rituals, and families became the foundation of a Hawaiian essence" (cited in Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith, 2008, p. 218). Here she is referring to spiritual principles, including the intentionality of process, the purpose of meaning and the practice of mindfulness (Meyer, 2008). Meyer (re)introduces spirit and purpose into our (re)search as Indigenous academics.

After Meyer's completion of her doctoral dissertation on Hawaiian Epistemology in 1998, Indigenous Maori academic, Linda Smith published the book *Decolonising Methodologies* (1999) exploring how we intellectually came to be where we are today creating an analysis of 'intellectual history' which has been transformative for many Indigenous academics. Smith (1999) acknowledges that pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in layers of imperialism and colonial practices. We, as Indigenous peoples, have been inevitably influenced by colonisation, specifically academic processes and 'research', yet *Decolonising Methodologies* attempts to redefine the processes of research from an Indigenous, Māori perspective. Alongside Meyer, Smith's work has guided the thesis methodology.

‘The Indigenous Peoples’ Project: Setting a New Agenda,’ is the sixth chapter from Smith’s book *Decolonising Methodologies.* The chapter draws together discussion of various Indigenous social movements, both local and international, and concludes with a call for an Indigenous research agenda. Smith writes with political conviction, interweaving words like respect, trust, ethic and sensitivity throughout the text. Her writing provides the groundwork for an alternative approach to researching, and clearly guides the values that I embraced in my methods and throughout the work’s process. She says that research is both a humble and humbling activity. In her view, as Indigenous academics, we should attempt to deconstruct Western scholarship by *re*-telling the stories. According to Smith, these counter stories are a form of resistance, a declaration of self-determination and self-definition. At one point Smith says that our journey is a process of *re*-searching.

As I reflected upon this process, I am reminded of and feel inclined to return to the Kanaka Maoli epistemological value of Moʻokūʻauhau, because in searching we discover our place. With a sense of place there is responsibility to respect, care for and protect our place; therefore, through our sense of place we find our sense of purpose. In defending what we love we are offered meaning.

The research agenda of this project was to prioritise the contemporary life stories and experiences of Indigenous, Kanaka Maoli women from the canoe Hōkūleʻa. The stories of these women serve as counter narratives to texts that have not included women’s perspectives as voyagers and navigators. The thesis centres on the women’s stories, affording them place and space to describe and define their own experiences and

understandings of the canoe Hōkūleʻa. It also yields opportunities for the women to reflect upon ways that working with the canoe may have contoured other aspects of their lives, in particular, allowing them to forge paths of self-determination as Hawaiian women.

When discussing 'An Agenda for Indigenous Research', Smith uses the metaphor of ocean tides to express the movement and processes involved in recovering and uncovering Indigenous peoples' potential for healing, transformation and mobilization. The tides represent change, inward and outward flows for survival, recovery, and self-determination. As a Pacific Islander, I imagine the centre of the circle as a canoe. We are navigating to our destination, which is self-determination. In this analysis, healing and transforming represent waves that mobilise and decolonise. Through healing and transformation, there is recovery and survival (Smith, 1999).

Whether 'Indigenous' or 'non-Indigenous', we must define, question, re-define and question again the 'agenda'. What is our agenda as researchers? Smith reminds the researcher to ask questions such as, who is this work for and how will it be used? She states that knowledge is to be shared, not on a surface level but in depth. It is a long-term commitment to inform our communities of the ways in which knowledge is constructed and represented. I must confess that in regards to the Native Hawaiian population, I place a great weight of responsibility upon myself to 'give back' and serve the Native Hawaiian community. This is how I interpret her point. It is for this reason that this work really had to consider these questions with the utmost intention.

The thesis is meant to firstly honor legendary Pacific and Kanaka Maoli female voyagers and to link these ancestral women, through an extended moʻokūʻauhau, to contemporary women from the canoe Hōkūleʻa . A deconstruction of Western anthropological and explorer documents will inform readers, specifically other Kanaka Maoli, of the way in which our ancestors' knowledge was recorded and represented to offer a dissected, incomplete version of our people. The intention is that the work will serve as an example to question the historical texts as potentially limited, especially when written by foreigners to the Pacific who came with their own personal agendas and worldviews.

Decolonising Methodologies begins by discussing the complexities of imperialism and colonisation, which led to the misrepresentation of Indigenous peoples by outside power structures such as academia, and for this reason is immensely valuable to scholars conducting research for or about Indigenous peoples. The book goes on to discuss potential solutions and provides suggestions regarding 'how to' go about decolonising our research. Twenty-five 'Indigenous' projects are suggested: 1) Claiming, 2) Testimonies, 3) Story telling, 4) Celebrating survival, 5) Remembering, 6) Indigenizing, 7) Intervening, 8) Revitalizing, 9) Connecting, 10) Reading, 11) Writing, 12) Representing, 13) Gendering, 14) Envisioning, 15) Reframing, 16) Restoring, 17) Returning, 18) Democratizing, 19) Networking, 20) Naming, 21) Protecting, 22) Creating, 23) Negotiating, 24) Discovering and 25) Sharing (Smith, 1999). In this thesis project, I approached these project ideas holistically by fusing several of the project aims together.

The areas that this work highlights are storytelling, celebrating survival, connecting, and reading, writing, representing, returning, creating and sharing. Storytelling, or a qualitative narrative approach, recognises that each individual story is important and contributes to a larger collective story. I used this methodology while working with the women interviewed because as Russell Bishop suggests, storytelling is a culturally appropriate way to encourage diverse 'truths' where the storyteller retains control (Smith, 1999).

Celebrating survival counters non-Indigenous research intent on documenting the assimilation and demise of Indigenous peoples and knowledge by asserting that Indigenous communities have retained cultural and spiritual values. In this work I hoped to bring these values forth by also focusing on connection to place and community, including the canoe community. In this sense, as an Indigenous Hawaiian woman researcher and voyager from the canoe Hōkūleʻa, my methodology informs my work with other Hawaiian women from the canoe.

The last three areas that Smith suggests, and that I utilise, are returning, creating and sharing. These areas are interrelated because they involve firstly the creative approach to presenting the thesis ideas and in turn making sure the findings are returned to the interviewees and Indigenous communities with whom I worked. Furthermore, it will continue to be important to share these findings with other Indigenous peoples, both locally and globally. Smith reminds the researcher that it is our responsibility to share. She reflects that the term for this process is the "dissemination of results" but for Indigenous researchers sharing is more about "demystifying knowledge and information" speaking in plain terms, face to face as much as possible (Smith, 1999).

As Indigenous academics we are in a continual process of decolonising. We are meant to communicate and facilitate this process within the confines and contexts of a very colonial institution, namely, academia. Over the past half a century, from the civil rights and feminist movements of the 1960s until now, much progress has been made to support and promote the emergence of alternative voices, perspectives and epistemologies within a wide variety of academic disciplines. To better understand the methodological discourses and shifts that assisted in this process, it helps to revisit my use of qualitative methodology in the thesis.

Qualitative Methodologies

The goal of the previous two sections was to emphasise the contribution of contemporary Kanaka Maoli women academics and leading Indigenous research methodologists to the form and substance of this thesis. The purpose of the present section is to discuss qualitative methodologies to better reveal the influences and juxtapositions that are relevant to this work and to processes of 'decolonisation'.

Space, place and acceptance of multiple perspectives, historically were marginalised within academia. Since as early as the 1830s positivism and the quest for scientific objectivity permeated dominant academic discourses. Thomas Kuhn's influential book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1996, first published in 1962) first described what he termed a 'paradigm shift'. This marked a significant moment in the use of qualitative methods, for it signalled a move away from traditional Western science's emphasis on universal or generalisable truths, the belief that knowledge was singular

and, critically for Indigenous epistemologies, the reliance on the Western scientific method (or the Cartesian method first developed by Rene Descartes in the 1600s) as the only valid investigator of knowledge and truth. This is not to say however that all qualitative research moved from a positivist mode to a post-positivist mode, rather qualitative methodologies allowed researchers interested in ideas of multiple-truth the tools to express those voices suppressed by the homogenising notions of positivism. Essentially, the paradigm shift occurred in conjunction (yet somewhat independently) with the development of post-structuralism and postmodernism in the 1960s, both of which inherently questioned the notion of universal truth and particularly the power invested in 'scientific knowledge'. These developments were critical to those Indigenous knowledges subjugated throughout colonisation because they recognised that multiple knowledges could exist concurrently. At the core of the 'paradigm shift' was the realisation that qualitative methods were a key tool to realise and recognise subjugated knowledges. While quantitative methods, inspired by positivism, inherently focus on finding generalisable truths by searching for those phenomena that in combination show little variance, qualitative methods developed hand-in-hand with the paradigm shift because it allowed for multiple knowledges and the pursuit of truths that were not generalisable or universalistic, but were merely truths, plural.

Having said this, qualitative methodologies are sometimes used in positivistic ways. Therefore, it is the 'paradigm', 'worldview or 'epistemological vantage point' that is important. For example, statistics can be used for socially critical ends or quantitative methodologies can be deconstructed for similar results. In relation to this research, cultural anthropologists were some of the earliest qualitative researchers, but their methodological approach historically adhered to objective, positivist paradigms in

which the cultures, places and peoples, who were primarily Indigenous, were ‘studied’. Initially, Western researchers viewed Indigenous peoples as ‘subjects’ and ‘primitive’.

From the above, it is critical to realise that qualitative methods have been significant to the development of research within Indigenous frames because they allow for the illumination of Indigenous epistemic knowledge, yet crucial to the validity of qualitative methods here is an Indigenous methodology. Again, as highlighted in the previous two sections, this work aligns with a qualitative approach to research, enhanced and enlightened by Indigenous, decolonising and Kanaka Maoli methodologies. I purposefully began this chapter with mo‘okū‘auhau as methodology and decolonising methodologies in an effort to relocate once marginalised perspectives to the forefront of this thesis. This is an intentional centring of Indigenous, Kanaka Maoli ontology and epistemology that I have woven throughout the thesis serving as a thread that holds the work together in cohesion and harmony.

Contemporary qualitative methodologies, including Indigenous methodologies, such as the work of Smith’s *Decolonising Methodologies* (1999), endeavour to address the ‘Othering’ of the researched by the researcher. Current trends in qualitative methodology (Denzin, Lincoln, and Smith, 2008) embrace subjectivity and attempt to even the power distribution within the research relationship by considering the interdependence and connectedness between the interviewee and interviewer. Furthermore, in contrast to early cultural anthropology, Indigenous methodologists acknowledge that the researcher is deeply affected by her research participants and, in the case of this thesis; it is the participants’ voices that guide the themes of the work.

In this process, I am conscious of my own subjectivities because inevitably the stories of the women are filtered through 'my' lenses. Therefore it is important to emphasise that the participants' voices *guide* the work, indeed it is imperative that they do. Simultaneously, I acknowledge my awareness of how my concerns, experiences, and subjectivities influence the way in which I discuss and interpret the women's stories. Reflexivity is, therefore, a constant and vital part of the methodological process as well.

In-depth Interviewing

In-depth interviewing is a qualitative technique that seeks to bring forth the voices and priorities of research participants. It is conversation with purpose (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and requires openness to the flow of conversation, rich discussion of thoughts and feelings, as well as an acceptance by the researcher that the interviewee might take the interview down a different path than anticipated. In-depth interviewing honours complexity and subjectivity, including the subjectivities and biases held by the researcher. It requires establishing trust and rapport before delving into the interview questions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The goal of in-depth interviewing is to allow research participants the time and space to share what they feel is important to the work or the questions they are asked in an interview (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Kincheloe and McLaren, 1998; Reason, 1998; Charmaz, 2002).

Semi-structured, unstructured and collaborative narratives are three interviewing approaches to in-depth interviewing. They expand the possibilities for conversation that can be stifled by a set and unchangeable more formally structured interview process. While in-depth interviewing might follow an interview guide (Denzin and Lincoln,

1998) it is not limited by pre-defined research goals. For example, while keeping the 'goals' in mind, there is an acceptance that the questions that help you achieve your 'goals' might be different from those that are listed in an interview guide.

In the introduction of this chapter, I stated that we would explore three aspects of methodology utilised in this thesis, 1) Moʻokūʻauhau as methodology, 2) decolonising methodologies, and 3) qualitative methodologies. We have thus taken a voyage across the three oceans of methodologies, and like the waters that cover our globe, it is important to remember and visualise the interconnections of thought and discourses that have transpired. It is now time to return to the Hawaiian Islands and the focus of the thesis, Na Wāhine Holowaʻa, to the Kanaka Maoli women voyagers of past and present. Therefore, the next and last section of this chapter is devoted to describing in detail the research methods and analytic strategies used in this research.

Moʻokūʻauhau as Method

As stated above, the methods of this thesis included in-depth, semi-structured interviewing practice; sitting alongside these was Moʻokūʻauhau as method. The methods for this project involved gathering stories from five Kanaka Maoli women who voyaged with the canoe Hōkūleʻa. The women were encouraged to share about who they are, beginning with their extended family (moʻokūʻauhau), where they are from, what spaces and places have been significant to shaping their worldview and 'sense of place'; thus, laying a foundation of understanding before leading into their experiences working with the canoe Hōkūleʻa and on long open-ocean voyages. Beginning with the participants' background in this way incorporates and prioritises

Hawaiian epistemology and value for moʻo kūʻauhau as a Kanaka Maoli method of inquiry.

I envision the method of incorporating time and space to explore Moʻokūʻauhau to be similar to what Māori academic Russell Bishop (2008a) has termed one of the most fundamental concepts in Māori culture, whānaungatanga, which acknowledges connectedness and kinship. This term in the Hawaiian language would be best associated with Moʻokūʻauhau or ʻOhana, a familial relationship. Connectedness is established through traditional and contemporary genealogies and experiences. For example, in this project I share the same traditional Kanaka Maoli moʻo kūʻauhau as some of the participants as well as the contemporary experience of having also voyaged on Hōkūleʻa.

Relationships nurtured by having voyaged with and worked alongside the women interviewed made contacting them and working together feel quite natural. Our initial communication occurred over email, similar to how one might contact a friend that you have not spoken to in a long time. I simply emailed and asked how they were doing, hoping that the email found them well, and asked if they would be willing to participate in an interview for my doctoral project about Kanaka Maoli women from Hōkūleʻa. The women that I contacted were really warm and willing to kōkua (assist). I knew that these women were familiar with being contacted by newspapers, magazines, television and radio stations for interviews and commentaries. Several of them are also educators or work for community outreach organisations, so I knew that they would be comfortable with talking about their experiences, as well as familiar with interviewing processes.

I feel honoured to share that all of the emails and interactions opened and closed with words of aloha (love, respect and appreciation). Beyond the research intention, I really valued having an opportunity to reconnect. I relate the relationship that I share with the women contacted as whānaungatanga. Aloha/Aroha guides the process of decolonising as exemplified by the insights of other Indigenous researchers such as Manulani Meyer (1998; 2003; 2008) and Linda Smith (1999; 2000). In particular, many of the practices found within Kaupapa Māori (Bishop, 1995; Smith, 1999) research were utilised.

Kaupapa Maori serves as a beautiful example of an Indigenous, Pacific approach to researching, yet it is important not to essentialise across the Pacific. Māori and Kanaka Maoli *do* share deep genealogical, linguistic and cultural similarities but are also distinct. In this respect, our Māori cousins inspire the potential for establishing research methods appropriate for Kanaka Maoli, but we need to articulate our own methodology. Manulani Meyer's work on Hawaiian epistemology is pivotal as a starting point for paralleling Kanaka Maoli perspectives and values in relation to Indigenous research methods articulated by Māori academics. Her work greatly informed my desire to explore Moʻokūʻauhau as methodology.

Returning to Kaupapa Māori, as briefly expressed previously, this approach involves the development of a relationship defined as whānau/'Ohana (extended family). This relationship sets forth a series of rights and responsibilities, commitments and obligations, and supports a collective purpose (Bishop and Glynn, 2003). The interactions are warm and interpersonal, emanating attributes of "aroha [aloha] (love in the broadest sense), awhi [kōkua] (helpfulness), manaaki (hospitality) and tiaki

(guidance)" (Bishop and Glynn, 2003, p. 158). The purpose of the dialogues with the women was to establish meaningful exchange.

In their dissertations, Manulani Meyer (1998) acknowledged her interviewees as mentors and Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua (2005) honours her participants as kumu (teachers). All of the women that I interviewed are both of these to me. They are women that I have looked up to, some of whom have taken me under their wing and mentored me, and some of them have also been good hoaaloha (friends) with whom I have a deep respect and appreciation. I recognise that the sharing of these 'stories' are 'gifts.' They are 'gifts' that will not merely be contained within the doctoral document but will also be shared with Hawaiian, as well as other Indigenous, peoples and communities with the intention to 'give back'.

Research within this context is not about just going in and taking, rather it forms broader social networks where reciprocity is an underpinning value. Since conducting the interviews, I have maintained relationships with the interviewees, updating them on my progress, and they have contacted me for various reasons. For example, one of the women wanted me to send her all of my writing and publications to date so that she could pass my work on to another woman writing a play about a female Polynesian navigator. I was also contacted to locate a venue for one of the women to speak when she was in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Again, reciprocity is vital in this cultural context whether it is directly related to the thesis or not.

Following the methodological wisdom of Smith and others, I also prioritised that the interviews were 'kanohi kitea', face to face. Getting home to Hawai'i and arranging

face to face interviews was a bit challenging in that I am studying and geographically located in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Once flights had been set, I had several months' dialogue over email with the women about my travel dates and when we could meet in person. I was also able to refine my research methodologies and approaches. An essential part of this process entailed writing an ethics proposal for the University of Otago. I appreciated this process as it assisted in my ability to articulate the project goals and methodology. The application required that the interview questions and an interview information sheet also be submitted, so again it was a valuable process. Thus, by the time I arrived to Hawai'i, the ethics proposal had been written and passed by the university powers that be, and I was able to provide the women with the research questions and an overview of the project.

In Hawai'i, once our meetings had been arranged, two of the women invited me to their homes, one wanted to go for a walk and another wanted to meet for a meal and go to a park to talk. I really enjoyed all our times together. Most of our time was spent catching up, talking story,[37] and laughing, the 'interviews' were secondary, and I believe such informality, in this context at least, would be a form of 'Hawaiian methodology'. We valued time spent just being together, sharing food and 'talking story' and free flowing in conversation. I found that the 'interview questions' and paperwork at times interfered with this flow, but luckily the women knew what to expect and were appreciative that I was "so organised", which they teased me about. This cross-cultural process permitted connection by allowing humour to bridge the informal into the formal.

[37] 'Talking story' is a local Hawai`i way of saying chat or share stories, catch-up etc.

Once we were into the more formal part of the interview, each interview flowed quite naturally. Rarely did we return to the questions or follow them in a linear fashion. By the fourth interview, I could already see themes coming forth, commonalities in the women's ways of interacting with the canoe, their commitments and passions, the stories that they wanted to share. It was a beautiful process and exchange. There were a couple of interviews in which I rarely spoke at all, just allowing the women to flow and encouraging them by nodding my head and listening attentively. In other interviews, we were happy to have the questions to glance at if we needed to refocus our direction. Although there were some similarities in the themes that came forth from the interviews, all of the women were also unique. Two of them are now mothers whose children and babies were present.

One of the formal interview questions asked whether or not the women wanted their names revealed in the thesis. Four out of five of the women did not mind if their names were used. The other initially said that it was fine to reveal her identity and then after receiving the interview transcription and reading her words changed her mind and did not want her name included. This was not ideal, for two reasons. Firstly, my commitment to moʻokūʻauhau is also about creating a text that is accessible to future generations of Kanaka Maoli, meaning that someday a grandchild of one of the women might be able to read about the amazing lived experience of their kupuna. Secondly, an Indigenous methodology is invested in subjectivity, which challenges the notion of objectivity inherent to the traditional Western scientific method. Yet, of greater priority is maintaining respect for all those involved, especially in this case the women who shared their stories and when one of the participants expressed that she wanted to remain anonymous, I was more than willing to honour her decision to do so.

The women knew from the information sheet provided that they could have as little or as much involvement with the thesis as they wanted. Most communicated that they trusted me and were happy to just have the interview and wished me luck in finishing my doctorate. Either way, within two months from the time of the interviews all the women received their interviews transcribed verbatim via email to review. The women that replied required very little editing; whereas the woman that did not reply had already communicated that she was very busy and happy for me to proceed without her review of the interview.

The stories shared by the women are presented in the Findings chapter and used to shape the structure of the discussion chapter of the thesis. Qualitative research is an ongoing, inductive activity that values the participants' perspectives (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It has proved vital that I also remain aware of my privilege as 'researcher' and 'writer' to the larger story that this thesis tells. Traditional Western scholarship previously assumed the role of 'objectivity' and 'neutrality' in research, recognising the researcher as an 'outsider.' Yet, current texts by Indigenous, feminist and other critical scholars (Meyer, 2008; Bishop, 2008b; Smith, 1999) acknowledge the validity of 'insider' methodologies in qualitative research. In this context the research is both conducted as an 'insider' and 'outsider' who must balance these roles while constantly reflecting critically about the processes in interpreting the stories shared and received.

'Analysis': Stories and Emerging Themes

> *Love, compassion, reciprocity, ritual, and gratitude as methodologies in the spirit allow us to more clearly recognize humans in our various ways of being. (Dillard, cited in Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008, p. 289)*

This quote reiterates the core priorities of this chapter and the methodologies utilised within the thesis. Woven through the previous sections of this chapter are the values that inform the actions and creation of this thesis work. Firstly, Mo‘okū‘auhau acknowledges an extended lineage of spirit and intention. Spirit is foremost in all processes of this journey; Spirit that is informed by love, compassion, reciprocity, and gratitude. These are the seasonings that make this methodological soup taste so good! Indigenising, feminising methodologies involve emotion, *aloha*. We see this essence throughout *Decolonising Methodologies* (1999), Hawaiian epistemology (Meyer, 1998; 2008), and Kaupapa Māori (Bishop, 2008b), and these ‘methodologies in the spirit’ must also transcend into analysis.

Aloha (love, compassion, reciprocity and gratitude) guide this ‘analytical’ process. Within this context, words like ‘data’ and ‘analysis’ feel very foreign and inappropriate to the essence of this thesis. Instead of the word ‘data’, I would like to use the word ‘story’. Rather than ‘analysis’, I like to conceptualise the emergence of themes. My intention in creating alternative words is to honour the women I worked with as people who have shared and given of themselves. It is important to note that ‘stories’ and ‘themes’ are commonly used in processes of orthodox qualitative research. Indeed, ‘themes’ are sometimes critiqued because of their tendency to evoke a sense of ‘boundedness’ that belies the fluidity, shifting, changing, partial understandings that we humans can and do share. Therefore, I draw upon the women’s ‘stories’ and, what I perceive to be relevant, ‘themes’ recognising that this is merely one researcher’s subjective interpretation.

If the reader were to liken the 'stories' to strips of lauhala (pandanus) used for weaving a mat, than I am the weaver with the intention to create a mat. Lauhala mats in Hawai'i are used to cover the floor or for sitting upon, so in this analogy I imagine the mat as a foundation from where meaning can develop. I weave but one mat, laying one foundation of meaning and understanding, but others might visit this mat to further discuss meanings. Humans are dynamic and should not to be confined to dwell in limited spaces. In the same way, the women interviewed are dynamic and the stories that they tell me might change with time. Stories can change within the hour of the interview as well. My purpose in stating these complexities is to emphasise that the purpose of the thesis is not to make a 'single-truth'; nor is it intended to generalise the knowledge. Rather, it should be again highlighted that the process of research including this thesis is a journey that will continue beyond completion, submission. Meaning and knowledge are fluid and the knowledge produced here will continue to grow and develop.

As a starting point for discussing how the stories are articulated in the Findings Chapter, I again turn to Russell Bishop (1995; 2008a; 2008b) who enunciates the value of whakawhanaungatanga*,* briefly touched upon in the previous section, which prioritises a collaborative storying approach. This approach involves establishing and maintaining relationships as foundational to an extensive, on-going research process where the researcher understands that they are somatically, physically, ethically, morally and spiritually a part of the research and that the research is participant driven. Collaborative storying is also important to acknowledge as an analytical approach, because it devalues an 'in-and-out-again' approach to research. That is, rather than the

researcher merely ‘taking data’ and analysing the data separated from his/her participants, a collaborative storying approach brings the women (in this case) into the analyses process by incorporating methods such as continuing dialogue with the women regarding the meaning within the interviews, and returning the interviews for elaboration and for checking purposes.

Stories

> *The main claim for the use of narrative in educational research is that humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. The study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways humans experience the world. (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990, p. 2)*

The ‘stories’ shared by the women interviewed are presented using a combination of two approaches, narrative and verbatim. The narrative approach and narrative inquiry best articulate the ‘analytic tools’ used in the methodology, method and findings of this thesis. Narrative is a powerful tool that expresses the nature of experiences creating social and personal meaning. Narrative inquiry is different than storytelling and the two should not be confused. For example, whereas storytelling involves embellishing a story for entertainment; the narrative approach pays special attention to the question ‘why’ and delves into the meaning of the narrative (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). Narrative inquiry seeks to discover the way that people make meaning of their lives by focusing not only on ‘what happened’, but, more importantly, ‘what meaning’ people make out of ‘what happened’. This is a recent movement in social science qualitative research that challenges the philosophy behind ‘data-gathering’ and questions the idea of ‘objectivity’. Prioritising meaning and embracing subjectivity are vital to the thesis, and it is for this reason that the narrative approach and inquiry are utilised.

Alongside the narrative approach, I have also presented the women's stories verbatim. Several of the women told their stories seamlessly and when transcribed they read logically and coherently; therefore, these interviews are presented with very little change. These particular women are educators and have frequently told their stories to public audiences. It is for this reason that I believe their interviews required very few transitions to create continuity. Where necessary I have added a sentence to explain a transition in the interview, but the women's words are their own. Two of the women had their children and babies present so within these interviews we stopped and started frequently and were often simultaneously interacting with the little ones, so in these interviews I needed to rearrange the women's words to form a clearer narrative. I did not change what the women said, so their words are also verbatim, but I did re-organise quotes to create a continuous story. I have presented these interviews differently and have incorporated my voice to create a smooth narrative, beginning with how they got involved and ending with memorable stories from the canoe. I felt this was necessary because there were moments when we ebbed and flowed in and out of the 'formal' interview. Again, when their words are included, they are written verbatim. Often in these interviews my voice is present in transitioning from question to question, story to story.

Viewing research as stories (Ballard, 1994, cited in Bishop, 1995) entails uncovering experiences and emphasising complexities rather than commonalities. In this regard, I include all of the women's stories in the Findings chapter, and draw upon commonalities to synthesise the stories alongside the other chapters within the thesis in the Discussion chapter. Here, the acknowledgement of themes is used as a way to

‘make-sense’ of the women’s stories within the broader historical and cultural contexts with which I write. I view this research as comprised of complex his/her-stories and participant driven, but at the same time, within the complexities commonalities can also come forth. These commonalities form the themes of the work, but within the themes the women are all unique and diverse. At times, they even contradict themselves or one another, and I embrace this complexity in the Discussion chapter of the thesis.

‘Themes’

Within Hawaiian epistemology, words have mana. Meyer (2008) describes this idea as “causality in language” in which “intention shapes the observable world” (p. 222). Bearing this epistemology in mind, when I transcribed the interviews verbatim, returned the transcriptions for review, edited and made changes, and found concepts that repeated from one interview to the next I saw the ‘commonalities’ as having mana and spirit. Bishop says that, “there is wairua (spirit) in story” (1995, p. 80). Meyer’s work on Hawaiian epistemology adheres to this sentiment. Both Bishop and Meyer also embrace conscious subjectivity, another value vital to this thesis process.

The reoccurring themes within the women’s interviews will be explored in detail within the Discussion chapter, but I will briefly explain each of the four themes here as well. I have entitled the themes: Hoʻomanawanui, Laulima, Hōkūleʻa Ea, and Moʻokūʻauhau. Hoʻomanawanui is defined in the Hawaiian language as both patience and perseverance, qualities that the women interviewed all shared. Laulima is a value often expressed within Kanaka Maoli movements and is best defined as ‘joint action’. It literally means ‘many hands’ and implies that ‘many hands make light work’. Several

of the women expressed that they felt that the ‘many hands’ that came together to create and maintain the canoe, contributed to Hōkūle‘a’s mana or spirit. This connects to the third theme, which is ‘Hōkūle’a ea’, a title that I have chosen to represent the spirit of the canoe. Again, this will be explained in depth in the Discussion chapter. The last and concluding theme is Mo‘okū‘auhau, which expresses the presence and support of our ancestors.

As a Kanaka Maoli woman voyager from Hōkūle‘a, I approached this qualitative work with the knowledge that my positionality has been both my greatest asset as well as a reality that has required continuous reflexivity. I know from experience the power that the canoe Hōkūle‘a holds and the way that voyaging surrounded by the open-ocean for several weeks, using only the sun, moon, stars, wind and natural elements to navigate, can shift and intensify one’s awareness and worldview. I later gained knowledge of how voyaging is deeply embedded in my family’s Mo‘okū‘auhau on the Ka‘aukai and Ke‘alaikahiki side of the family. This relationship to the work enhances my desire to highlight the personal experiences and stories of other Kanaka Maoli women from the canoe.

In conclusion, I find that my journey as a voyager on the canoe Hōkūle‘a has now changed forms. I often wondered how I would give back to the canoe and the canoe community after being given so much. As a young woman, volunteering time to work with the canoe Hōkūle‘a was a great honour. I was given a sense of purpose and a deepened sense of identity as Kanaka Maoli. The canoe carried the crew and myself on amazing journeys both literally while on the ocean, as well as metaphorically while on land. It is for this reason that I find my positionality as a Kanaka Maoli woman voyager

from Hōkūleʻa strengthened my relationship with women interviewed, provided a deepened empathy and understanding to the stories that they shared and greatly assisted the process of honouring the themes that came forth. It is my kūleana (privilege and responsibility) to represent my Moʻokūʻauhau (extended family and kūpuna) appropriately and to facilitate work that contributes to my people, our movements and struggles, giving voice to our worldview and perspectives. It is my positionality and lived experience that enhances the work with a sense of purpose and meaning, as well as profound intention.

Hulilawa: Findings

Shantell Ching

The first interview that I conducted of Native Hawaiian women voyagers was with Shantell Ching. This interview could be called a 'pilot interview' because it informed a publication which grew into the doctoral study. The interview questions for the thesis were created in relation to this interview and what Shantell shared about her moʻokūʻauhau. After hearing Shantell's stories, I wanted to talk to more women voyagers about their experiences of feeling the presence of their ancestors and a connection to their moʻokūʻauhau, based on my own experiences and the reinforcement of those experiences with the stories shared by Shantell. As the reader will see, each of the women interviewed had their own priorities come forth. Shantell's interview is primarily about her connection to her moʻokūʻauhau, her ancestors and accrediting those who have come before for her participation as a navigator and voyager. Most of our conversation is included verbatim, but I have included brief transitions when necessary to create fluidity between the stories that Shantell shared. Her story began at the age of ten:

"When I was ten, from the perspective of being ten years old, really the question in my mind was how did our ancestors do it? How did they navigate using the natural clues around them? To this day that is the question that stands out in my mind.

It wasn't until the last ten years that I have actually gone in depth into my genealogy that I am starting to understand why I had that interest when I was that young. I found names in my family, like Kahoewaʻa, which means paddling the canoe in my

genealogy. My dad is from Hanapeʻe, Kauaʻi and traces [his genealogy] to Niʼihau. I have recently found Niʼihau records that show that two of my ancestors Waʻawaʻa and Paikuli actually- "makemake moana" – died at sea and so I feel like I'm still in the process of understanding why I have this very strong interest in learning about the ancient ways of navigation and in my recent research [this] is leading me to "wow, it's in my genealogy, it's where I come from, it's in my blood."

That's why on my first voyage in 1995 it was a very conflicting time for me because there was this drive in me [that this is] just something I have to do. Here's an opportunity. I've been fascinated and very passionate and learning on my own all these years from ten years old. Here's my opportunity to participate in what is my culture and where I come from and who I am. It was just something that I had to do.

The conflict was actually with my family. It was more in modern terms along the lines of safety. I am the youngest of eight children, the baby sister. Their concern, safety concerns, really came out of my being the youngest and the baby girl. So, with all that pressure from my family [asking], "Why? Why do you want to go?" One of my brothers even took responsibility for it and felt bad about it you know, "I used to take you diving and you started to get this liking of the ocean." It went that far. They just didn't want me to go on that first trip from Hawaii to Tahiti, but still I was standing my ground.

I had a conversation with my dad and I said, "Dad do you know of anything in our ancestry, in our genealogy, that points toward our family being voyagers?" This was when I was 27 years old, on my first trip, a month before I took my first trip. He thought, but he didn't know because my grandma lived in the time where of course they

couldn't speak the language and all of that was hidden. So, unfortunately, she didn't pass that knowledge on to my dad. So, he didn't know. He asked me why.

My dad is the one that I go to for anything personal or [for] advice I go to my dad and actually the genealogy of all of those names comes from my dad's side. So, I asked him and he said, "Why?" And, I said because, "Dad, I can feel that this desire is in my blood." That was the only way that I could explain it because I had that pressure of, "Oh, maybe you shouldn't go. It's not safe." Despite all of their concerns, and I'm pretty conservative on the safety side too, there was still that strong desire that this was something I had to do, something I ought to do. So, I went and I told my family – I asked my family.

They all wanted to come to the airport to see me leave because they were going to miss me and everything. I had to talk to them, especially my brother. "I have to ask for your help. You want me to be safe on this trip and I'm asking you, in order for me to honour that, to be safe, to be clear in mind, body and spirit, I ask that you folks don't come [see me off]" and of course that was hurtful to them, but I explained to them because I had a family gathering before we left on the voyage and I explained to them where we were going, to put their minds at ease, what the plan was.

It was my opportunity to make pono (balance/right) everything on land and try to make them feel at ease that I needed to be prepared mentally, spiritually and emotionally. If they continued to follow me leaving O'ahu to the Big Island, because we were leaving from Hilo, then that worrying and that pressure continues until the day that I leave. Once I leave here then it's my trip. It worked great for me because I was able to go to the Big Island, [and] of course, I had a lot of kuleana (responsibilities). I was working

for PVS and being a crewmember, so it allowed me to fulfil my kuleana with the PVS, so when we left I was clear because I had said my family goodbyes. It was a hard thing to do but I guess what I'm trying to say is that there was an unexplainable strong desire to participate on this voyage and I think, I sincerely think, that it was because of my ancestry, because of my genealogy.

I truly believe that now, even then when I was 27, because there was something like an outside force that was pushing me in that direction that "You're okay, you're doing what you need to be doing. This is pono."

Some of the things that I have to share are hard to explain and some people might not understand that outside, I say "force", but I'm just trying to put a word to it. There's a lot of spirituality. I don't know how to term it. It's something that you feel. I like to use the metaphor in navigation that you only know where you are by knowing where you come from. We use that all the time, but the metaphor for me in that is before you can do anything if you think: "You only know who you are by knowing where you come from." In researching the genealogy you come across that there is a responsibility that you have in who you were born into and so I think it's really important for a person to know what their genealogy is because then you know where you come from, who you are and what kuleana you have to perpetuate.

That's how I see my role in all of this. It's because of my genealogy or ancestors that I'm doing what I'm doing, because this is what I ought to be doing. A lot of people will say, "Wow, look at what you did!" It's really hard for me to accept that because I see that as being self-glorifying. They say, "Wow, what an accomplishment!" That's a

more contemporary kind of compliment, but it makes me really uncomfortable because I don't feel that it was me who did it. I feel that it is what I ought to have done. So, not like "Wow, I did it!" I'm supposed to be doing that. There is no question this is what I should be doing, it was what I ought to have done.

There were so many experiences that I had while I was in that role of a navigator that made me feel that I was doing it right. There was that force outside of me that was guiding me and giving me the 'ike, the knowledge, to make decisions on the canoe. There were times where I felt things that I couldn't explain in English, that I couldn't explain in modern terms with scientific evidence. I was questioned on the trip and there was that conflict of facts and evidence but I guess I finally had to stay clear in mind and soul and say, "I cannot explain to you this right now but this is what it is, this is how it is, because it came from a feeling." And, most people don't understand that and that person on board the canoe didn't understand that either at that time.

I was making my decision based on feeling that I was getting from an outside force. I surprised myself, like "How did I know how to interpret that?" There were a couple of times that Nainoa was surprised as my teacher and listening to our discussion as we met every morning as navigators. Each day I was able to pick up more clues and interpret more clues and I really feel that it wasn't me. It wasn't me doing it but I didn't get that knowledge from me, I don't think I was prepped in scientific terms to recognise those things. Those things came from somewhere else.

At no time on the trip home did I feel scared. That's weird. You know, how can you travel 2500 miles [across the ocean] and not feel afraid, not feel nervous? But, not at

all, I can honestly say not at all because something was guiding us home. Whether it is Hōkūleʻa's mana, my ʻohana's mana, whatever that was, I was very comfortable out at sea and, of course, we made it home safely with that guidance. There are a lot of things I'm telling you that a lot of people don't understand. I don't really share this publicly either because people won't understand. It's something personal, but I share that with you so that you understand that you're kind of on the right track.

My experience in Micronesia in March was that women took care of the land, were queens of the land and men were the kings of the sea. Yet, what I saw was that a lot of the women know how to navigate, aspects of navigating because they were around when they were talking. Women could listen. They didn't have a say, but they were around. They could hear and they could learn just by observing and that really was the Hawaiian way without pen and paper, watching with their eyes, listening with their ears, working with their hands, closing their month. That process of learning worked in those days so I really think that women would know. I'm not sure how deeply, because they weren't privy to the deeper conversations that the men had in the men's house but I'm pretty sure that they could have observed and learned as well.

If you take twelve to fifteen people on a canoe, then that is another opportunity to learn to be a sailor or a navigator. I'm sure the men take care of the heavy tasks on board and the women would take care of…We know that we had men, women and children. That's how they would populate the islands. So I think that they could. They had the capacity and capabilities, but how their rankings were I'm not sure if they were allowed to, but if something happened to the men, then someone had to step in for survival. So, I don't know, but I think that through deduction you could imagine that women could

be voyagers and navigators, although it might not have been publicly…I really don't know. I haven't come across hardly any resources that mention women. So I don't really know. I'm not intently searching for it because I kind of think that maybe it wasn't what was meant to be written. I don't know, I really don't know.

I continue to research and develop curriculum within my current job. I look for that and if I see it, if it catches my eye, but I'm not actively searching for why are women written about in that role because maybe it just wasn't meant to be written."

At this point in the conversation, Shantell shared a story that she wanted to remain between the two of us. It is for this reason that the flow is disrupted slightly, because I have deleted a large portion that she did not want printed.

"Auntie Penny's mom is a Bishaw and my grandma is a Bishaw. The Bishaws on Molokai are my 'ohana. I think in the book Tales of the Night Rainbow it speaks of an astronomer or navigator, Kaiakea, and that's the line that we follow. That's from my mom's side, so even from my mom's side…my grandmother was born on Molokai, so when I go to Molokai it's a special place for me. I am not afraid. I feel very, very comfortable and at home. When I'm there I feel like I am surrounded by family, but not current family because I don't know who they are, but they are ancient families." We talked about feeling the presence of her ancestors on the canoe again and Shantell said: "I really think that they are coming from both sides, my mom and my dad's. I really don't think that it's one in particular, because they are on both sides.

"In general from having this strong desire to voyage to following the newspapers and television and having a scrapbook, until I had an opportunity to meet Nainoa and then to continue to learn to sail and the ways of navigation, I think that is the story, in itself. I guess because it tells about a journey from childhood to adulthood. Then there are stories around that journey, which one is the story that I told you earlier and the other is about things that happened on that particular leg from Tahiti to Hawaii in 2000 and the decisions that I made based on what I personally saw, but others might not have seen. I think that it's all part of that journey.

One of the stories was when I believe that I saw the North Star. When you are approaching the equator from Tahiti, and you can see the North Star, then you are about one or two degrees above the equator. That's the part of the trek that you know that you are in your own Hawaiian waters and that you are approaching home. So that is a significant half way point for me, but when I asked Nainoa if he saw it he said no, and I ask my apprentice navigators if they saw it and they said no. I just quietly went back to my navigator's seat and I really started to doubt, thinking: "Did I really see it? Or am I just tired and delirious and [maybe] I thought I saw it but it wasn't." In my heart I believe that that was for me to see and it gave me a confirmation of where we were. I think that it was the next day that Nainoa confirmed that we were across the equator, so I mean your talking not more than a couple of miles away, the next day however many hours later, so for me in my mind I did see what I saw. I was where I thought we were. All of these are stories that happened. We observe clues and interpret them and make decisions on your course line, that process I had guidance in, you know, in the ability to interpret rather than it being my own doing. So these are all stories from that journey.

I would like to say that people do things for different reasons, and I believe that I was placed there for a reason. I'm quite uncomfortable with attention or glorification that is made in the third piece about contemporary women sailors because I feel as though I'm just a part of the picture. You know, Auntie Penny being a pioneer, Keani and the women that have been a part of voyaging, Auntie Joanne Sterling, and Moana, Cat, Piʻikea , Kaʻiulani and Kaʻiu is where it is going now.[38] So you know we all have our roles into this big picture of Hōkūleʻa's journey. I really appreciate that role and see it as a privilege so I'm really, really hesitant about the attention being or the glorification of it being an accomplishment of me as an individual. I just feel that I have had a role in that bigger picture.

I see this as Kaʻiulani's time and after her there will be someone else. I think that's what our role is to learn, to trail, and to pass on. I've been quite disappointed that living in modern society there is the need to survive and be financially independent. I think that if all of us had a choice we would be sailing, but we have to work and keep a fulltime job so you know, I realise that I haven't been able to sail as much as I would like to, but I justify it to myself now that perhaps education is now my way of perpetuating that role in voyaging education. We all have roles and those roles change. In the end, I believe that we have been privileged to be in that position and with that privilege comes a kuleana. For me right now it's through education and I'm okay with that. I would love to sail, but I think that I can reach more with the work that I do now,

[38] Penny Martin and Keani Reiner were the first two contemporary Hawaiian women to participate in an open ocean sail from Tahiti to Hawaiʻi in 1976. Joanne Sterling was also an active participant and voyager from the 1970s until her recent demise. Both Keani and Joanne have since passed. Cat, Moana and Piʻikea were all interviewed for the thesis. Kaʻiulani Murphy is a current voyager who initially agreed to participate but declined due to her busy schedule before the docoral completion.

through education, but it's still at the forefront of my mind that I want to be involved in voyaging and perpetuate the traditions and as long as I can do that, I will."

Wahine Koa

This wahine holowa'a that I interviewed wanted to remain anonymous. As a long time teacher and public speaker about her experiences on Hōkūle'a, her interview was very fluid and, for this reason, I have included most of the interview verbatim through this section. She shared that she first got involved with the canoe through her oldest brother in 1974, which was the year that she had graduated from college. Her brother invited her to sail on the Labour Day Lahaina, Maui to Honolulu, O'ahu race. It was an annual race and they were taking the boat 'New World'. She tells her story below:

"I can't really remember if I had known anything about the canoe other than maybe seeing one of the original posters at that point, but he [her brother] said, 'you'll get to meet Herb Kane' and I guess I knew who that was and I was excited about meeting Herb. Herb was on the race. The race on a regular trade-winds day would have lasted five hours, but there was no wind and it was about seventeen hours. So, there we were on this 80 foot schooner and actually the skipper of that boat is now my husband. At the time I wasn't that interested in that bald guy, (Laughter) but I was VERY interested in this older handsome Hawaiian man who was an artist I found out, a commercial artist, and we spent several hours just way up on the pulpit of the yacht, on the bow, and he started telling me about this dream that he had of building this canoe and, in fact, he and Ben Finney and Tommy Holmes had put together the PVS. She (the canoe) was, as we spoke, just framed down at Dillingham Shipyard and the more he talked about it and talked about his experiences as an artist and actually these paintings of ancient Hawaii coming to life as he painted them and just having these amazing experiences it just so intrigued me and I wanted to know how I could get involved in this whole canoe thing.

I guess she (the canoe) did have a name at that point. They had determined that Arcturus was the zenith star over Hawaii – Hōkūleʻa– and that the plan was the 'Year of the Men' – and that was what it's called, I actually have the poster '1974 Year of the Canoe' and then 1975 was the 'Year of the Men', and 1976 was the 'Year of the Voyage'. I have this poster in my classroom. I think it does say 'The Year of the Men' and then it says something like men and women and I'm not sure if on that painting over there if there are men and women on it, but I think that would be kind of intriguing to see in his original art.

So, anyway, that just got me really excited and he said, 'go down to Dillingham Shipyard where she's being built and help them out.' And I said, 'well, I don't know anything about boat building.' And he said, 'well they'll tell you what to do.' So I went down there and I was actually kind of spurned more or less by these three gnarly, salty boat builder types and the main boat builder being Curt Ashford– who actually built this box for me (referring to her coffee table). So, you can see after awhile I was okay! (Laughter) So I went back and called Herb and said, 'they don't want me down there helping out.' So, he said, 'you tell them that I sent you.' So I went back down, I decided to be persistent about this. Usually one time rejection is enough for me, I'm pretty quick at hints (more laughter) but I went back down and in fact that was kind of the beginning of a side of me that I never really experienced before. It was this persistence, that I felt so drawn to this canoe – you know, they don't need my help – fine – just move on, but it's like I tattle-tailed – you know 'they didn't want me to help.'

So I went down again and Curt Ashford who was the head boatwright on the canoe finally started giving me jobs to do. I can remember one of the first jobs that he gave

me, I don't know if he wanted my fingers cut off or not but it was on the jigsaw. My only experience working with wood was as a 7th and 8th grader at Punahou School and we could never do the jigsaw – you know, that was only for the teacher! I said, 'this is kind of dangerous and he said well just keep your fingers out of the way. Just cut along this line so I went and I did it. And, it was really fun I found to work with these power tools and stuff. There were two other guys down there and I can't remember their names, but they were Kamehameha Schools boys that were volunteering. So there were three volunteers, the boatwright himself – Curt Ashford, and Malcom and I can't remember the other guys name… maybe Gordon. Malcolm and Gordon were his two assistants that were professional, so there were three guys being paid and then there were us three volunteers. So this was October of '74. It might have even been late September.

So, I had graduated with a PE degree and I was substitute teaching between Kamehameha and Punahou and coaching gymnastics at Kamehameha and I was getting calls to substitute and I was starting to say 'no' to these jobs because I wanted to go down and work on the canoe. My mother's like, 'what's up with this?' Because one's a paid job and the other one isn't, but it was what I wanted to do. I would get on my bicycle and I would ride down to Dillingham Shipyard from Manoa. I'd spend all day down there and I'd go up to Kamehameha to coach, but I worked almost everyday for several hours a day until the day that she was launched which was Feb 8, 1975 at Kualoa. After that, every weekend there was a very small group of us that sailed her around Kāneʻohe Bay trying to figure out what her tricks were. I remember every now and then Herb Kane would come down, but Herb knew very little about sailing. He was not a sailor. He's an artist. My understanding is that he grew up in Waipio Valley and, I

forget at what age, but at a pretty early age, was split from his family and his mother took him and he ended up growing up in Wisconsin or somewhere in the mid-west. It wasn't until he was middle-aged that he came home. Roots were calling and he started doing all of this research on ancient Polynesian canoes and started painting them. I understand that he actually was the guy that created the Jolly-Green-Giant. That was his artwork, so he was a very successful commercial artist – enough that he could make enough money and come home, live and do all of this.

So we're out there sailing and stuff and then let's see – after the formal launch – more and more people were becoming engaged and every time the idea of who would be crew would come up people would say, 'oh, for sure you'll be on that first voyage because of all of the time that you've put in on her, etc, etc.' And, then it started to be 'if we take women on that first voyage – for sure you'll be part of it.' Well, about that time I had applied to the Peace Corps and that '*if*' became louder and louder to the point where they were starting to say, 'for sure, you'll be on the return voyage because I don't think that we will be taking women down.' For some reason, I was obsessed with the idea of going down. I really wanted to voyage to Tahiti and I didn't care anything about coming back. Anyway, long story short, I got my acceptance to the Peace Corps and [they] decided they're not taking women and I went down there [to the Peace Corps]. My mom sent me all the clippings. My oldest brother ended up being the relief captain on that very first voyage in '76. He told me how that whole thing came out, that National Geographic had sensationalized it and in jest they called it the 'Saga of Kimo Hugo' rather than the 'Voyage of Hōkūle'a.' They just wanted to make a big racial deal out of it when Dave said that they made it sound 90% negative and 10% positive when in fact it was the other way around. It was just before they made landfall

in ’76 and I guess Buff (Buffalo) got a little out of hand and Ben Finney got punched out and I think that’s all written up in his book. [39]

Then I came back in ’77. When my mom sent me the clippings I didn’t even read them. I was still so nuha (sulky) about what happened and so jealous that my older brother who did very little in terms of helping build her and everything else and yet he was probably the most qualified person that they had on board being that he was a master captain – unlimited master’s license – which means that he is able to sail any ship, of any tonnage, in any ocean. Then you had other people like Kawika Kapalahua, who also was a skipper but of catamarans off of Waikiki but David was the only blue water man, as they call it, who had actually sailed long distances in deep water. He called the others, in jest – he didn’t mean to denigrate anyone personally – but what a guy that sails ship or makes passages on yachts and stuff will call people that are so called watermen like paddlers, surfers, catamaran – they call them ‘shallow water trash,’ as opposed to being a deep water man.

That was mostly people who were involved with the canoe. They had never voyaged. They had never made passages. They had never been outside of land for any length of time, so when they got there in 1976 and Mau (Mau Piailug) was so disgusted with the behaviour of the Hawaiians that he said I’m never going to sail on this canoe again. ‘Aren’t you going to help navigate it back?’ and he said, ‘no I’m out of here.’ And, he went back to Satawal. At least that’s the story as I understand it. What Dave says is that they set out to prove – I mean the whole purpose of the canoe was to prove – that the Hawaiians and Polynesians had navigated without instruments, using stars, swells, sea

[39] Kimo Hugo, David Lyman and Buffalo were voyagers from the first sail in 1975.

birds, cloud formations and that this was possible to do, right? So they had achieved their objective. In that regard it was 90% positive and successful. In regards to the behaviour of people on the passage itself with this, 'ah this is our canoe and we're Hawaiians.' I mean there were two haole (non-Hawaiians) – Ben Finney and Tommy Holmes. Herb Kane, yes he had the *koko* (Hawaiian blood) but he was raised on the mainland (in the continental United States). So you could say that the whole conception of the canoe itself was haole (non-Hawaiian). That whole thing is an intriguing aspect.

So, I come back in '77 and they were starting to talk about a voyage in '78. The more I heard about it the more excited that I would get and they said that they were going to be very careful about selection so 25 of us had to try out. Five of us were women, fourteen of us were in the final selection and I was one of the fourteen. These were selected by a committee based on three things – Meyers-Briggs to see compatibility, physical fitness, and training on the canoe. So I was selected and I remember asking my brother who had been named captain of the '78 voyage if another woman would have been selected by the committee would he have made his final selection – would he have selected them? He said that it didn't matter who the woman was, assuring me that there was no nepotism involved, that he felt it was very necessary that a woman was on board and that if there had been a woman on board in '76 he didn't think that there would have been the problems that they had. In my mind, yeah, you get too much testosterone in one place and nothing to level it out a little bit. So, it turned out that I was selected along with these sixteen other men. I don't think that we need to go into the '78 voyage too much, but that was my involvement.

Yeah, so we went six hours to sea. We capsized. We were rescued. I still had it in my head – I mean when Ariyoshi donated $40 grand to sail again (in 1980) – I was all over that. I was not selected. I wrote a scathing letter to the board saying, 'you know I've been involved with this canoe since 1974, I helped build her, I help sail on her and I really felt that if anybody deserved to be on this canoe it was me.' As I say, this was a side of me that I was shocked to observe. I was being very, very persistent and very aggressive. I remember, as it turned out I was finally accepted, and I was talking one night to Sam Kaʻai. It might have been one time when we were just working on the canoe. That was the other point that I made because I spent weekend after weekend, because you know how you have to really devote yourself to the canoe – repairing her, fixing her. I remember asking Sam, 'you know it's really weird but it's like I'm obsessed with this canoe.' And he kind of laughed and he said, 'don't you know what Hōkūleʻa means' and I said, 'yeah, star of gladness.' And he says, 'no, leʻaleʻa – reʻareʻa- the kaona of that word it's not happiness. It's desire. It's deep, deep desire. It's like an obsession.' He said, 'you look around, look at how many couples have dissolved because of this canoe. People just have this deep thing about it.' So it was very interesting to hear that. Then the next thing that he said, 'what's your Hawaiian family, or the clan that you're from?' I said, 'well we're from the Kualiʻi clan.' And he laughed again and he said, 'the Kualiʻi clan? They voyaged back and forth between here and Tahiti and it's just your roots that are calling.' All of a sudden, the whole thing made sense to me because as I said, I was observing this side of me that was not who I was – being so aggressive and so persistent about being a member of this voyage. It was something that I had to do.

We sailed into Tahiti (in 1980) and greeted my husband of five months. I remember feeling when we saw Tahiti it was sort of like a burden lifted off of me and people said, 'are you going to voyage again?' In years since I said, 'no, no, no if everybody repeats voyages then all the people that want to voyage don't get a chance – right?' That was a deal of mine, but it was also because I really had gone for it full-on and it was no longer a need, something that I felt compelled to do. I mean, Nainoa's asked me because he knows that I'm an educator and has tried on several occasions to get me involved again and there are other reasons for not being involved, but most of it is because I know what it requires- the devotion and the dedication, time and commitment. I feel kind of like, been there, done that and that I'm moving on to other things. That's not to say that I don't pay attention to what's going on with the canoe because I usually – you know, Kimo's usually on one of the voyages – but I don't want to take the time away or whatever.

Back in '76 [when] they were talking about not taking women and I remember just thinking – how can they say that '*if*' women go on this canoe? There should always be women on board- you could not have populated the islands without us. That's not the only reason. I don't know, weren't Polynesians matrilineal? They were? Yeah, because I remember in Micronesia when I was in the Peace Corps, they were. So, there's a lot more power in the culture then I think they were giving credit for. A lot of these guys that were saying, 'if we take women' were throwing it off on Mau. And, Mau who was on that voyage in 1980, said, 'it wasn't me.' He made it really clear to me that he didn't say that and he has always been very dear to me."

At this point in our meeting I had not needed to ask questions, but I wanted to return to talking about her moʻokūʻauhau , so I asked if we could get back to talking about her genealogy to Hilo. She pulled out a genealogical chart made by Frances Ching for her brother after he died in 2006. I explained that I wanted to see which women connected with which genealogy. From the chart it showed her moʻokūʻauhau as connecting with Ulu and Hema. We returned to the questions again to talk about the 'wow' moments, in which she shared:

"I remember, I kept a journal but unfortunately it was lost but I copied the pages out of it, just being so moved by the simplicity of life at sea – watching the entire zodiac of the heavens go by in a single night, the sound of the water against the hulls and the wind in the shrouds – because my husband was a sailor and loved sailing, because I had two of my three brothers that were professional sailors, I had only done sails at the most to another island on a sailboat and I'm a seasick person. In fact I was five days seasick when we left Hilo and I was very seasick during the capsize as well. For me once I got my sea legs it was like a person resurrected, somebody who had been at the brink of death. So I just had this 'Polly Anna' voyage and everything was just amazing – the sunrise, the sunset, the ocean, when we caught a fish. I just had this whole amazing perspective every single day, which was quite amazing. I was looking at other people and they were grumbling or they were missing this or missing that or 'oh I would love to have a caesar salad or a shave ice' and all I could think of was that I missed a fresh water shower. Once I learned the trick of taking a salt water shower up on the bow and somebody dumping a bucket over my head. Once I learned the trick of pouring just a little bit of fresh water on a wash cloth that didn't have any salt on it and then wiping my body, wiping the salt off of my body then I was totally fine! Other than that, just

marvelling at the natural world, which was your whole world. We had a solar panel and satellite monitor which were manmade but the sun, the moon, the stars – it doesn't get more simple and natural than that and I all of the sudden discovered this love of sailing that my husband had and my brothers, but it took getting my sea legs to get that. To me nature has always been a spiritual experience, so I guess that would probably be – I mean everyday was a spiritual experience in that regard.

When we made landfall I was really bummed. I actually did not want it to end. I had lost about ten pounds that first five days being sick and I was so Polly Anna. I said, 'I don't want this voyage to end' and people said, 'yeah because you've only been aboard for 27 days, we've been aboard for the full 33.' They were teasing me because those first five days I was really out of it. They just rolled me into one of the hulls and Tava was very, very concerned about my welfare. He was emptying my pee bucket and bringing me hot tea. He was worried that I was going to die. At one point when they actually did tack and shift because there had been a wind shift, I was positive that they were shifting tack to med-evac (medical evacuation) me. Pat Aiu had done a urinary test on me to make sure that I wasn't going to die and I said, 'so Pat, are they going to med-evac me?' He said, 'what are you talking about?' And, from that day on I started drinking and getting better and better – got hydrated and out on deck and slowly but surely got stronger. As soon as I was good to go I was having so much fun I couldn't imagine why anyone wanted it to end.

I remember when we finally did make landfall thinking about Eddie (Aikau)[40] and my brother. I felt that Eddie's spirit had been part of the voyage and that's what Eddie Kealanahele had said at Waimea Bay, that wherever the canoe goes Eddie's there, so he's gotten plenty of voyages. The ancestry thing, I remember just kind of going 'whoo' and I remember what Sam had said on the voyage. I thought why wouldn't they want to voyage? This is just such an amazing experience. They were forever surrounded by natural surroundings but for me the more I get away from the city the happier I am. That was so nice at Nanakuli the other day because there's no buildings, no hotels…I'm basically a very country girl at heart.

Our time together was nearing an end so I asked before concluding if there was anything that was important that these questions didn't ask. She didn't think so but said:

"I'm filled with pride at how many women have voyaged since and in particular – Nainoa has told me that probably the best navigator of all the people that he's taught is Ka'iulani Murphy – That leads me to believe that it's a spatial intelligence and women have that just as men do, so why wouldn't there have been women navigators, not that that's the issue, but I think that's very cool that he's not segregating the knowledge, that he's open to teaching whoever wants to learn. I remember having a long discussion once saying that there's no way he could pass on the knowledge, that what he knew was an amazing gift that Mau had given him and the likelihood of him being able to pass that knowledge on was slim to none. Well, clearly I was wrong, but I guess I was thinking so much of how it was done in the past. You know out of a whole culture there

[40] Eddie Aikau was lost at sea during the 1978 voyage in which the canoe capsized interisland before setting sail to Tahiti. Aikau attempted to paddle a surfboard from the canoe to shore to get help, but was never seen again.

would be one navigator that would come out of it, but I guess when you have a million people to choose from you'll have a whole lot more that feel called to the task and I'm sure not everybody that he's taught has the gift but certainly several have and they are both male and female. I think that's very cool.

He (Nainoa) talked to me about the po ceremony that they had in Satawal when they took the canoe down that they built for him (Mau Piailug). When they got there they did a po ceremony, which is the Satawalese navigational initiation ceremony. I think there were fifteen people and there were certain degrees of initiation. His lineage goes to Nainoa and then from Nainoa on to them. The last I talked to Nainoa and asked how Mau was I guess he wants to initiate more. He kept saying, 'let's have another po, let's have another po.' I guess he's fading but he'd probably live longer if Nainoa said, 'yeah, I've some more people for you to initiate.' I guess it really had great status for him because there are so few navigators. This is very cool about the level that Mau is at I think Nainoa's at 12 and Mau is at 25 – at that stage they get into the magical and that's when they can tell a storm to stop. They can call upon wind and the sea to be calm. It sounds totally possible in my realm of thinking…they do it through chant. I heard him doing that on the voyage and I remember he would also have nightmares. He never seemed concerned with Nainoa's navigation, but that magical stuff he talked about that Mau knows sounds really cool to me."

Catherine Fuller

Much like the previous interviewee, Catherine Fuller is an educator and well versed at public speaking about her experiences on Hōkūleʻa, so I have included the majority of her interview verbatim. She shares her story as follows:

"When I was ten Hōkūleʻa made its first voyage and the National Geographic did an article on Hōkūleʻa. I don't remember this but my mom told me that I was fascinated by the whole thing and that I told her that I was going to do that someday. The most I remember was opening [the magazine] and there was picture of Papaete and the image of the canoe and people - an ocean of people. I mean there were so many people and I remember feeling like we finally got home. We went home.

I sort of followed the canoe and then when I started paddling I met Kaʻau and Keʻahi [two navigators that were activate with the canoe at that time]. So they had a reception after the '92 voyage at the Maritime Centre and I went up and said, 'how's it, how do I get involved?' And he said, 'Well you need to come down and work.' So I went down on Saturdays at pier 36 and the Hawaiʻiloa canoe hulls had been carved out but that's pretty much all that was there and it was Wright Downing Jr. and all his Kamehameha buddies that were building the canoe– so I said 'oh, can I help?' They were looking at me like okay *haole* lady coming in off the streets, so the first day they made me strip hau logs that had been sitting in the harbour for months so they were slimmy and stink but Tava was there and he showed me this trick so that it wasn't that messy, how to cut the bark off and so I just started coming every Saturday. I was probably the only wahine in that whole group for a long time, other than Sharron Bowman but she would

mostly be cooking *pupus* (snacks) for us for afterward, but I was the only one that was working.

I remember that we would hang out – you know *pauhana* (after work)- drink some beers and I remember up until that point they were just letting me do little things, like hand sanding and that kind of thing, but they said, 'we had a meeting last week after you left' and I don't know if they were trying to follow the protocols of building a canoe, but they said 'you know we've been thinking and we decided that we think it would be okay if you use power tools because you're one of us.' So after that I think that in their minds that sort of broke down but for those guys they were like if you're willing to work they didn't care, so after that it was all over. I was doing whatever, you know sanding and varnishing mostly but it ended up when we had the blessing and we put the canoe in the water for the first time I was the only woman in that.

Must have been the end of '94 because we were doing the [canoe] testing and the trip was in '95 so I had been around a lot and once we put the canoe in the water I was being paid at that point and Nainoa was saying, 'oh you want to sail?' And, I was like, 'yeah.' Two months later, 'you want to sail?' Then we finally started doing sea trials on Hawai'iloa and I was at UH (University of Hawai'i) so I could organise my time so that I could go out with them and learned how to sail on Hawai'iloa [canoe]. When it came to the '95 trip Makali'i [canoe] was nearly complete so a lot of crew that would have gone on Hōkūle'a or Hawai'iloa were suddenly pulled to Makali'i and space opened up on Hōkūle'a and Shantelle and I were asked, 'oh so do you guys want to go?' So both of us were like, 'Ah, yeah.' So that's how I got involved in Hōkūle'a.

Part of our training while I was hanging out with Moana, Keʻahi and Kaʻau we would go look at the stars and actually Kaʻau was the one that really helped me learn [navigation] because he had made up all of these stupid rhymes and sayings about why the name was attached to the declination and number. One time Nainoa came in and we were going to do a simulated voyage so we would say, ʻokay here we are in Hawaiʻi and the wind is doing this and the current is like this so I know in twelve hours where are you going to be?' So mentally you have to calculate we're going to be so many miles east or west of the reference course and this many miles along it. And the wind shifts to here and we did this all the way down to Tahiti and back which was pretty intense but it really helps that process with what you have to think about. Anyway that's how I got started."

Catherine first sailed on a long open ocean voyage in 1995 from Hilo, Hawaiʻi to Tahiti. She stayed in Tahiti with the canoe and sailed around the Society Islands to the Marquesas and on that voyage was with the canoe for three months all together. She went on to share:

"After that I started doing a lot of coastal things and interisland. Then in '99 we had the trip through the Marquesas to Pitcairn and Mangareva. Since then I have missed a couple [of voyages] because of work which is a trade off if you get a good job with benefits then you cannot sail. With Iʻolani School they said to me that they could not see me leaving for more than two weeks at a time and in 2004 I did ten days with Hōkūleʻa and Hōkūalakaʻi and one of the draws with that was that National Geographic was filming us. So they let me go for ten days with that one. Maybe with the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands I think I was too scared to ask about it because there are

different politics in the school and my boss I could ask and I think that he would be supportive but the head master wouldn't have been so supportive because he would be thinking of the wellbeing of the whole school. So I'm kind of storing up my credit and waiting another couple of years until I can get a sabbatical and I can say, 'okay this is coming up and I'm going to take the year or take a half a year or whatever it is.

When I first started I was a student at UH so I would pick and choose when I would come down and I was putting in Saturdays all day. Then, like I said, after Hawai'iloa went into the water then I started getting paid, so then it was putting in basically a forty hour week. We were working on both Hōkūle'a and Hawai'iloa getting them ready for the 1995 Voyage. I was sort of a nomad. I didn't really know what I wanted to do with my life so that was good for me at that point. I could save some money and I could actually do what I wanted to do. It was a lot of time but I think that you had to put in that kind of time to put your face in front of the people that needed to see you. They needed to see that you had done a lot of work and that you had earned your place. I worked on five dry docks. As a matter of fact, I started teaching, so I was substitute teaching or working for people that were on sabbatical so I was working pretty steadily on the canoes and then I knew that the position that I have now was opening up. I had applied and I was pretty sure that I was going to get that position but right then we were about to go into dry dock and they found dry rot in Hōkūle'a's hull. So the dry dock went from being planned to be 3-4 months to being 13 months and school had offered me a position to cover someone on sabbatical for a semester. I turned them down because I thought this might be the last time I would be able to spend time with the canoe so even though I wasn't paid – I spent the 13 months pretty much all day, every day doing nasty stuff – bottom paint, fibre glass and epoxy, chasing scorpions out of

things-whatever it took. I felt that I needed to put in that last effort before I got sucked away but I still do presentations and go out and sail. I'm still on the board of directors. I'm still involved but it's really hard when the canoe is out sailing and I think to myself, I love my job, I get paid well, the kids are great, I get benefits, but not sailing is the one thing that would make me regret taking this job. When they're out I can imagine in my head but I can't be there in person. That's the biggest sacrifice."

Catherine described what it was like being on the canoe, she says: "Being on the canoe and being away from land that's like total freedom. It's kind of escapist. I don't have to worry about work or family. I remember Tava telling us that it is a time to put the land things away so that you could open your mind to whatever experiences that you were going to have come at you out at sea. I think that being at sea in that little tiny environment with all the same people that a lot of masks from society come away and you get to see really who you are and who people are and sometimes you look at yourself and say oh that's so stupid you know – why can I not do this? - But other times you think wow, I can handle it. This is pretty good. You get to see reality. Being on the canoe can be magic sometimes. Sometimes it's really hard and boring, hot and sweaty but when you're able to just remove yourself from everything else and just devote your mind and your energy to being out there that's what makes it worth it. You get that full experience and you get to see things that hardly anyone gets to see. There have been some weird little ways that it has affected my life. Sometimes I feel like my family is proud of me and I've made a lot of really good friends. You have to be family to sail otherwise it just doesn't work. There are certain areas where I have more confidence in my own abilities, in what I can and cannot do. Although with navigation I kept thinking

that I might fall asleep half way through and then we would be in trouble but it gives you goals and things to look forward to.

At this stage in our interview, I asked Catherine if being a woman influenced her participation with the canoe or your ability to go on voyages and she replied saying, "Your role on the canoe depends a lot on the leadership of the particular voyage. Some leaders on the canoe – they've been like 'okay women are going to do this-men go take care of the anchor – women you go do this.' I felt that on the first long voyage, or I think it was both of them to a certain extent, that it took after about a week at sea [until] I think the male/female distinctions kind of got erased. If you were there and you were capable you did a job. Everybody was required to do their job in order for the whole group to survive, and that was that. It didn't matter if you were green or purple, male or female or what, as long as you're doing what you're suppose to be doing. Bruce (one of the captain and navigators) stands out in my mind because he didn't care one way or the other. You know he would go up to the front of the canoe and take his baths at the front but he didn't care. If anything being a woman has made me more kind of determined that you know we could do it just as well as you can do it. I mean I have my captain's license and I don't think any other women on Hōkūleʻa have their captain's license. Not that I've gotten to use it that much but I have it. That was almost more important to me than navigating – was saying I can run this thing. I can be in charge and I don't have to be mean and yell, I can do it my way."

Catherine took time to share a story that happened upon the canoe's arrival to Raiatea in the Society Islands where there was a ceremony and meeting of several Polynesian canoes and peoples at Taputapuatea marae in 1995. She shares, "The canoes from all

the different islands were meeting in this one place because it had been a centre for voyaging in the past and then that had kind of gotten lost. There were some disputes between the Tahitians and Maori, so we were all coming together and we were going to make nice. So the Tahitians had laid out the protocol for this ceremony which was banning a number of things like that shoes and cameras and wearing the colour red. Initially they said no women on the marae. They weren't going to let us onto the marae. So, I had done some research into Tahitian women in their society and there were women that were definitely allowed on their marae so I kind of got into an argument with the captain and so he yelled at me.

Shantell and I were together on the canoe and we kind of sat and we waited and the men went ashore. Then they came back out and they got us and then we were allowed to go on the marae. As it turned out the Tahitians were breaking their protocols left and right so at first I was thinking okay maybe back then they did this but this is a modern age and we should be allowed. So it's kind of the tension between the two different lifestyles, you know Tahitian protocols and beliefs and the way we are raised now. It's kind of hard."

Catherine went on to share another story about being a woman, she said, "When Hōkūalakaʻi got put in the water in 2004, they did it in a traditional Hawaiian way where they sacrificed a pig on the canoe and they made it kapu for women and so you know I had been working on the canoe, helping them get it ready and doing all the dirty work with all the boys and it was kind of funny because from that point on after the kapu was lifted when the canoe was in the water that I could go on the canoe. Actually I kind of enjoyed that because I got to sit around and watch them work. They were all

like, ‘can you get that’ and I was like, ‘no I can’t.’ ‘Can you bring that to me?’- ‘No I can’t, sorry.’

Then I was really itching for the kapu to be lifted. I wanted to go on the canoe and sail. I knew that would happen at some point and that it would be okay. That was my first experience where the Hawaiians decided that the woman would be allowed. Maybe I’m a little more accepting at this point that we are trying to bring back that part of our culture where you can’t just bring back the canoe you have to bring back everything surrounding it. For certain people to make it viable you’ve got to play by the rules. You’ve got to do it the way they want to do it, so I guess I’m a little bit more tolerant.”

At this stage in our conversation, I asked Catherine if she would talk a bit more about moving into a leadership role on the canoe. She replied, ‘I was always interested in navigating. Nainoa would teach me here and there. Ka‘au was always very helpful. Chad Babayan was the one who said I want you to do these things. He was funny because even though on the canoe he was one [of the captains] that would say, ‘okay men take care of the anchor and women stay in the back and steer’ but in putting together his crews he always picked women to handle the major logistical areas because he’s like, ‘you guys are smarter than me! Ha!’ I know you guys will get it done because I don’t know maybe there’s a different kind of a stereotype that you’re more organised, which we all were, so we’d take care of the navigation, get the water, and Moana would get the equipment and we’d take care of the food. So, actually for a long time with PVS there were women primarily in charge of the big areas and now, especially Bruce, he’s trying to spread it out a little bit more and turn over the responsibility to new people but that’s kind of funny. If guys have to do this we’ll never get anywhere – Ha!

Anyway, Chad had asked us to be apprentice navigators with him and he kind of laid out what we needed to do. Even from Nainoa, I think between the two of them we knew what kind of information that we needed and where and how to go find it and so it was just a matter of sitting and studying which was kind of funny because Moana and I went to Tahiti a week before you guys did (referring to our sailing together in 1999) and we sat and studied and studied and studied – then we realised that we were looking at a flat map of the sky and it doesn't compare to the real thing because there are no clouds on a map! Then when you're trying to measure stars they don't bounce up and down like when you're on the canoe so there were some revelations. I don't think that being chosen to be taught as a navigator was a woman thing or, you know, I think you're mentally capable of it – kind of thing – and you're interested and that's the main thing. They were looking for people that were going to take in something but then also give it back which maybe is more of a female characteristic too – that we do more of that. Could be?"

In reference to her moʻokūʻauhau , Catherine said, "My mom and I got really involved in researching our Hawaiian ancestry and we actually we cannot go back that far. My grandmother's mother on my mom's side her mom was Kaʻahanui and her mom died when she was very, very young. So she was adopted by a missionary family – by the Austin family in Hilo. Whatever we might have known about the family was lost beyond that. We know that her (my great-great grandmother's) dad was Ioela, which is the Hawaiian version of Joel, so at some point he had lost -or his identity had been taken if he had become Christian. We really don't know too much about him. His family, his sister, had worked for the Austin's. The most we know is that her name was

given to my grandmother's aunties but we really don't know too much more about the family. My great, great grandmother's – her grandfather would come and visit and his name was Kanehoalani which is the peak above Kualoa and so that name is sometimes in the Pele genealogies but he's on the Big Island, so we're like – 'what's up with that?' It's an O'ahu name so we don't really know. We have odd little names here and there but we don't know [the] origin or anything beyond that.

There's a book called *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands* by Isabella Bird and she was this Victorian age lady that went travelling around the world so she wrote all these travel logs about places she had been so she had come here and spent a lot of time on the Big Island and had gotten this eighteen year old girl to be her 'native guide' and that's was my great-great grandmother. So she's in this book and it talks about her going to see her family and apparently there's a Hamakua and all the kupuna all live together in a traditional manner with the huts and they had planted, I think it was Mango trees for their grandkids but that's about as far as we get. Then she married a guy named Benjamin Macy who came from Nantucket. He was from a whaling family but actually came across land and called himself a farmer and he worked at Hakalau Sugar Plantation. He was actually the first *haole* ever prosecuted for beating up a Hawaiian – How's that? Ha! So he was kind of infamous, yeah so they lived on Big Island and then he was the lighthouse keeper on Moloka'i so they lived in Kaunakakai for a little while and then they came back to the Big Island. Because of that the Moloka'i guys are like, 'oh, you're 'ohana.' So, genealogy – it's kind of like I know I'm Hawaiian and I know these names and a lot have, or some have, ali'i references but what they mean I couldn't tell you because the history is lost. I'm sad about that. I want to get my time machine so that I can go ask them questions!"

When asked if she had ever felt the presence of the ancestors in her life, Catherine shared, "In terms of Hōkūleʻa, I think that was one of my purposes in going was to be on the path of the ancestors and to experience what they experienced. Obviously, there had to be women on the canoes – otherwise there wouldn't be anyone here! (Laughter) That had always been my thought in going out to sail. They were out here and they saw this and they were out in the middle of this big wide ocean and they saw these clouds and they experienced or saw these stars and just to put myself in that position – I mean it's huge. That's the more encompassing "wow" kind of thing.

After Rapa Nui and the canoe was going back to Tahiti. Nainoa sent me down to take care of some of the logistics and to deal with the customs and all that and there were other people going who were going to be the protocol leaders, which was very interesting. I don't know how they got chosen but there was this lady that went down who would talk to spirits. So we went to Tautira and there were some dancers and they were doing a little show so she was going to do this lua dance. She came up to my afterward and said you know I was going to do this totally different thing and then I saw you and she said it [the lua] was about Kihauwahine, who was the mo'o chiefess and she said, 'I did that for you because something about you stood out.' Talking to her over the course of the time that we were in Tahiti there was another time when we went to a place with three waterfalls and the power of the waterfall was so strong it would just drive the breath out of your chest and your knee deep in this pool and it started pouring rain and she's giving me this whole thing about 'you have guardians. There's this older man who is guarding you.' So I was telling her that in the '99 trip there were bird references that popped up all over the place. So she said that this man's name has

to do with birds. That was kind of interesting to have this person telling me that – you know – you have this guardian.

Absolutely, there have been times when I feel – like you head down one path and then something is like wrong place or right place, you know? I think it just depends on belief systems and for me I believe that when I go to the volcano that Pele is there and I throw ʻōhelo berries in every time I go. Our ancestors are here and they are watching us. There are little things in my life like you leave something somewhere that's very valuable and you leave it wide open and it's still there like somebody's watching. Like one time I applied to get into the fire department and I got in but something just said this is not the place for you. I was in training and I left training and I said no and I'm so happy I did that now! It was hard at that point but yeah so I believe that there is guidance and sometimes it's more subtle than other times. I think maybe another thing that I learned on the canoe is that just being quiet enough sometimes to listen for it and to hear it, and not to just go blindly on your way. Maybe that's just getting old! Ha!"

Two significant places in the Hawaiian Islands for Catherine are Hilo, Hawaiʻi and Maunalua Bay, Oʻahu. She explains, "Hilo. Big Island for sure, as a larger whole [is a significant place], just because that's where my mom's family grew up. My dad's from the mainland so that [Hilo] was always the ancestral place that we would go. We would stay with my grandparents for Christmases or in the summers so that's where I learned about family and history and the great-grandparents were in the cemetery and we would all go visit them. From that side, my uncles were always in the water fishing so they would take us fishing and teach us about the ocean, so that's where my Hawaiian side developed. That's where I became aware of it more so than being here [in Honolulu].

In reference to the island of O‘ahu, Catherine shared about her connection to Maunalua Bay, “I’ve spent so much time there. I feel like 18 years and I’m still learning about the different currents or the reef. Now when I go out on my one man, I like to go out and explore if it’s a flat day I’ll look at, you know – a channel over here and the fish over there – and become more familiar with the place as a whole, so that bay has become a home for a large part of my year.”

I asked Catherine, “Do you feel like your involvement, not just with Hōkūle‘a but, with canoes is just a sport or is it more than that? Do you feel like it connects you in a way, and if so, is it for you something about being Hawaiian? She said, “Absolutely, you know, when I came back from college on the mainland and I had my degree and I was like, ‘oh I don’t know what I want to do.’ I went to work for a while in public relations and I really didn’t like it. So I wanted to learn more about me and being Hawaiian so at that point I went back to UH. I was unclassified but I took every single possible course that UH had that had to do with Hawaii. From botany to political science – everything – and then I got into Hawaiian and Tahitian language and all of that. That was in the late 80s early 90s. I feel like if you are Hawaiian then you have a responsibility to your culture. We can’t all save all of it but you find your niche and you find your place where you fit and then you do your best to keep that going. I think for me, especially with canoe paddling, that’s something that I can do and so when I coach the girls at I’olani School I’ve told the athletic director that I don’t care if they win or lose – it’s about getting out there and learning and seeing life from that different perspective and being able to go to sea and see your islands or appreciate the ocean and to open up that side of them. That’s more important to me than if they come with first place trophies.

I've been 18 years with Hui Nalu Canoe Club and I've been the equipment person and I've done all kinds of things but when I was a novice I learned how to rig the canoes and then I'm the one that has taught men now how to put canoes together and taught the rest of our women and to me that's important. To me, that's my place. This is my job and voyaging as far as I can too. Just sharing as much as I can with the community when they ask – in fact I have to go to talk to teachers [about voyaging]."

Upon reflecting about significant moments with Hōkūle'a Catherine shared, "Actually, one of the first big wow moments I had was with Billy Richards and Clay Bertelmann and Pomai and all those guys were here from the Big Island and we were down at pier 36. We had all been working on the canoes and things were wrapping up so it was *pau* (finished) work and they were singing and playing music and they started playing this song, "Sailors of Fortune" which was about seeing an island and it's calling to you and just listening to them singing and the words – I just got chicken skin because I could feel what they feel when they're out there and how much love they have for it and it just for a minute or a second I felt this oneness with them. I was just blown away! Something just opened up.

Beyond the canoe there were a lot of little moments – one of them was just sitting and watching the sun rise. In '95, we were near the equator and there were dolphins that would come at night and it was a part of the ocean where there were a lot of phosphorescence at night so as the canoe would splash through the waves the organisms would grow and then they would fade away so the dolphins would be swimming along the bow and you would see a glowing outline of dolphins. There were

about six of them and they would leave trails. It was so surreal and it's something that you could never take a picture of because, obviously light would spoil the whole thing, but I think seeing that gave me the sense that we could all just sit on the deck and not do a thing and the canoe would get where it had to go. There were like hands that were carrying you along the way.

Bobby Holcom did a painting that was sort of like that. It showed these two greater beings kind of guiding the canoe with their hands and that's what I felt like – that we were being guided. That we were being taken there and it was right and pono! Everything was good! I think that might be the closest that I felt to feeling like ancestors there, that there was a reason."

Moana Doi

Moana got involved with the canoe through Auntie Paige Barber. They knew each other from dancing hula and because she was outrigger paddling canoe in Kailua at the time. When the five year plan for Hawai‘iloa started Auntie Paige asked if Moana was interested in getting involved with Hōkūle‘a. She said, “I had no sailing experience and she (Auntie Paige) invited me to go to the annual PVS meeting and so I went with her and I met a lot of the old timers, like Billy Richards, Nainoa, Gordon Pi‘inaia and a lot of the old time, original members were there. That’s how I initially got introduced to Nainoa. In the beginning, I just thought that I would help in whatever way that I could under Auntie Paige. I guess they were preparing for the 1992 voyage and Nainoa called and said that they were trying to get more women involved and would you be interested in training as a crewmember and, of course, I was excited. I said, ‘oh, but I don’t have any experience.’ But, he was willing to train. I think out of all of the voyages, I think that preparing for the 1992 voyage we did the most sailing and crew training. Since then it’s never been as intense, I guess. So, that was how I initially got involved and, you know, something about Hōkūle‘a once you step foot on her it’s like you just get hooked.”

Moana’s first open ocean voyage was in 1992 from Tahiti to the Cook Islands, which took about a week. She was twenty-eight and she reflected about the year 1992 as a turning point in her life. In reference to the 1992 voyage she explained: “That was the year of the Pacific Arts festival. I actually started in Bora Bora which is the most beautiful island that I have been to yet. From there we left for the Cook Islands. You

know, we went Mauke, Aitutaki, and then ended up in Rarotonga for the Pacific Arts festival, but that year was the year when other Cook Islanders built their own canoes and everyone sailed their canoes and we all met up in Raro. Including Uncle Hector them from New Zealand who built and sailed Teaurere. They were the last to arrive. So, it was an exciting time because it sparked navigation and canoe building or open-ocean voyaging for other South Pacific Islanders – New Zealand as well as all the Cook Islanders. It was kind of like a revival. So, I think that was significant for that '92 voyage. I think that the theme was something to do with the voyaging canoes. There was one from Tahiti too. I think it was the Tahiti Nui. That was a double hulled canoe and there was one from the Solomon Islands too, so it was a whole gathering of voyaging canoes."

Moana's next open ocean voyage was in 1995 from Tahiti, stopping in the Marquesas, and sailing on to Hilo, Hawai'i. On the 1995 voyage Moana was an apprentice navigator with Pi'ikea Miller. She said that she was home for a month and then went with Hōkūle'a on the west coast voyage flying to San Francisco and meeting the canoe there. They then sailed down the coast, so she reflected that in 1995 she did a lot of voyaging. In 1999, Moana also participated in the Voyage to Rapa Nui and was the apprentice navigator with Catherine Fuller on the leg from the Marquesas to Pitcairn Island and on to Mangareva in the Tuamotu Atolls.

Moana reflected on her time volunteering on Hōkūle'a, she said "Prior to the '92 voyage my schedule work wise was a whole lot more open. You know when you initially get involved – you know, because Ke'ahi, myself, Ka'au and Chad Paishon, we all got involved at the same time, so we were really tight. Everyday after work until ten

at night we did the majority of the lashing and then Saturday, Sundays we spent down at pier 40 – so we were full on into it – you know? It definitely was a high priority. I guess when you're really into something, somehow you make the time. We spent a whole lot of time down at pier 40. Once we started to refurbish the canoe and crew training we became almost like the core dry dock group. Of course, more people came out on the weekends, but we spent the morning until evenings down there. I remember sleeping on Saturday nights down at pier 40. Everybody though, you know, it was a lot of fun. There seemed to be a lot more involvement, because even Mau would come down and drink awa after we pau (finished) work, but it was a whole weekend of work. Since that '92 voyage, I've never seen the crew training and the involvement as much as I did prior to that voyage. I think that it's easier when you're single and you don't have kids yet. It's easier. We try to help when we can but a lot of times you know we're working during the week and then by the time the weekends come it's like you've got so much stuff to do, but that's when the work days are at dry dock, so it's hard. It's harder to find that balance. There seems to be so much more to do. It's been all good, you know, because the canoe is such a special thing."

During our time together Moana frequently talked about the spirit of Hōkūleʻa: "I definitely feel as though she [Hōkūleʻa] has a spirit all of her own. Everybody who touches her kind of adds their mana. Some people can walk away and others, it's just something that takes hold of you and you just want more of it. I'm truly grateful because of that canoe I've been able to travel to places that I had never heard of before, you know, and the people that I've met – I think to me when I think of Hōkūle'a and why she's so special it's that wherever that canoe goes, it affects people in a way that just brings people together in different cultures – in a way that I've never experienced

before. You go to Tahiti and it's not the same as going to Tahiti with Hōkūle'a. You know the affect that it has on people. It definitely with the Hawaiian Renaissance is because of Hōkūle'a– here in Hawai'i– but it's also made other South Pacific Islanders proud of their heritage too. So, Hōkūle'a and Nainoa have done so much more than what people see on the surface."

"To travel, and like I said, I've had such wonderful experiences in the Cook Islands, Tahiti, Tautira – to me that has been the most special. Just to go to these places and the connections that you make with the people. I mean, they take you in. You know, Tautira, it's not that they're wealthy and have a lot of money. I mean they're wealthy or rich in other ways but I mean just to see that kind of aloha. You know, to take you in and you become like their family. It's just amazing."

"I think that being out on the ocean, I've never felt – like people have asked, 'oh weren't you scared to go?' out on the open ocean – but with Hōkūle'a there's never been the feeling of fear. With the people and the canoe, I've always felt safe. With the understanding, because we've had in some of our previous crew training we've had a couple of crew members who were attorneys talking about making your will and talking about things like that are a reality because whenever you go out on the open ocean there's always the risk that we might not come back. There's never been that fear, you know? There's something about Hōkūle'a that you just kind of trust and you feel safe."

Moana talked about our time on the canoe together from the Marquesas to Mangareva in 1999, and her experiences on the 1995 voyage, "I'm sure you know, being on the

canoe, how it can change your thoughts, the way you see things. Especially when you come back, you know, it took me awhile. On the longer leg in ’95, it took me longer to come back because my mind was still out on the ocean. The ’95 voyage was when we went to the Marquesas and I sailed home from Tahiti. That’s the year that all the canoes sailed home to Hawaii. We all met in Tahiti. Then we all sailed to the Marquesas and then we followed the traditional route home to Hawaii. I was on Hōkūleʻa because Hawaiʻiloa also sailed that year, so we had two from Hawaii, two from the Cooks, Teaurere (from New Zealand) and Makaliʻi – that was Makaliʻi’s first voyage (also from Hawaiʻi). So, we – Hōkūleʻa– were the last to leave the Marquesas and so we never saw any of the canoes while we were out at sea.”

One of the highlights for Moana was seeing Pitcairn Island while on the voyage to Rapa Nui in 1999. She shared, “Not too many get to see Pitcairn, let alone go on the island and meet the people and you know? So, it’s amazing. Even Rapa Nui, that’s why I believe that Hōkūleʻa has a spirit all of her own and somehow – with Nainoa, or whoever it might be, like Chad or Bruce or whoever – with their guidance, but she has a way of finding the island. I mean, Pitcairn was a great example, Rapa Nui – I mean the expected voyage time when we loaded food and water we were loading for 40 days, right? With the anticipated wind direction and swells they would have had to tack for some reason, but the wind switched and they made it in 17 or 18 days and there was the island!” I asked, “Is it the canoe?” and Moana replied, “I think it is.” She went on to say, “When you think of that – it’s something. I mean it can’t just be coincidental. I mean maybe it is but how amazing is that? So whether it be ancestors guiding or some kind of spiritual…one can only wonder, but it’s pretty amazing when you think about it.”

When asked about the moments that stand out in Moana's memory she said, "At dawn when everyone is still sleeping, everything is peaceful yeah. Another time is just out at night with the stars – you know – just being totally surrounded by nature. You know, on a really super clear night the stars are just awesome. Sometimes you can see the reflection in the water where you're just in a dome of …it's just magical. There's a sense of calmness and peacefulness that's hard to find here on land. Pitcairn was a highlight. I think that coming home in '95 and seeing the Big Island, Maunakea – you know – that was a highlight. One night I remember there were dolphins swimming by the canoe and then there were phosphorescence and it made me think of tinker bell with a magic wand and there was this green phosphorescence glowing in the water. I mean that was pretty neat. Just finding the island and having it rise up out of the ocean, once again it proved that open-ocean voyaging and wayfinding really does work. A memorable time for me too was being in the Marquesas and that was in '95 when Ka'au met us in the Marquesas because he sailed home with us to kind of complete – Eddie Aikau (who died at sea in 1978 while seeking help after the canoe capsized inter-island), for his brother – his voyage. Then there was one night. Yeah, I think it was the night before we left and in the one room I was sleeping on one bed and then Donna Went was asleep in another and across from me there was a chair between the two beds. I remember in the middle of the night I turned over and I saw somebody sitting in the chair with his back to me. You know like leaning over the backrest of the chair? So I turned and looked but I didn't feel scared for some reason I just remember turning back and I remember seeing a bandana. He was shirtless, bare back and yeah, so the next morning I had kind of had forgotten about it when I woke up. We were loading, busy and getting ready to leave because, like I said Hōkūle'a was the last to leave the

Marquesas, and when we were all on the canoe sitting on the back railing and I said, 'oh Clyde I have to tell you something.' And he was like so happy. I mean, you know? So that was memorable for me. It was like Eddie was watching over."

Moana shared that she had not looked into her moʻokūʻauhau and had never thought about the connection between her genealogy and voyaging. In reference to her moʻokūʻauhau she said, "I never really thought of it. I guess it's more of a personal, spiritual thing that you have with the canoe and I never really thought beyond that, I guess – honestly. It was just something that when the opportunity came it felt right and I just went with the flow. I just got hooked, I guess and then it kind of – not took over my life – but you know things that you feel are important to you – you somehow find the time, make the time and are very dedicated to it. Not just because somebody tells you but because you want to. You just feel that whole heartedly and spiritually that that's where you want to be at that time. I think that after the '92 voyage, you just more of that, you know? You know, real positive – life changing experiences. I'll never forget the people that I've met or the places that I've been. To me, the biggest impact is the people that I've met. It just makes you appreciate and voyaging is not just about voyaging because it really is kind of a personal life voyage. You know when you're on the canoe, for me it gave me a lot of time to think about yourself, about life and what it is that you want. So, it's like a personal journey too – being out there away from all the distractions and away from life on land, yeah. It makes you realise how really simple life can be when you have the minimum to survive. I mean we really don't need much."

"It's been very special, very memorable these experiences and I hope to voyage again someday. It's harder now to leave but before it's like, 'oh even if I'm gone for two

month, no problem', but it's a wonderful thing and I hope that Hōkūle'a just keeps sailing."

Pi‘ikea Miller

When asked how she first got involved with the canoe Hōkūle‘a, Pi‘ikea said that it was by accident. She had been living on the east coast for about six years, going to school and then working. When she moved home in 1993 she had friends who were involved in the construction of the canoe Hawai‘iloa. It was one of those opportunities when the PVS needed people to volunteer and she had time. So, Pi‘ikea first got involved by going down to work days at the pier and helping with the canoe. She explained that at the time PVS was trying to cultivate a younger crew of people in learning about navigation. When she first got involved there were primarily men who were a little bit older and had been involved in the programme a little bit longer. In reference to the men she said, “They were a little further ahead. If I were the freshman class they were probably the junior or senior class that had been involved and I kind of thought to myself, well if they can do it then I can certainly do this! I never doubted that I could do it.” She found navigation fascinating. She said, “It made sense to me and I really loved it. I had been working in an environmental field before that, so my interest in the environment, the study of navigation and my love for Hawaii all came together in the sailing and navigation.” Pi‘ikea did two open ocean voyages. The first was in 1995 from Tahiti to the Marquesas and from the Marquesas to Hawai‘i which took 16 days. Her second open ocean sail was in 1999 when she did the reverse leg from Hilo, Hawai‘i to Nukuhiwa, Marquesas which was 28 days.

Pi‘ikea described how she had spent a lot of time on the water as a child. She grew up in Kāne‘ohe , on the windward side of O‘ahu island, which has become a really special

place for Pi‘ikea and her family. Reflecting about her childhood, Pi‘ikea told a story about her father: “My father was a great waterman in his day, a great skin diver – and that had a big impact. I can remember one of my most powerful memories from, I don’t know how old I would have been – probably was 10 or 11 – I had gone diving with my Dad and I was up on the boat waiting for him to come up. [When] he came up he didn’t have his spear which was really unusual because whenever he went down he could hold his breath forever and he would go down and come up with something, but he just kind of sat on the edge of the boat and he hung his head. He didn’t say anything and I started to get kind of nervous, like oh something’s wrong. What’s the matter? I thought, maybe he’s getting old, maybe he can’t catch the fish anymore. I said, ‘Dad, what’s the matter?’ and he said, ‘I just can’t do it anymore. I can’t kill those fish. There’s so few of them left.’ So, I think [it was] that sense or awareness of a declining resource and that was it. He never went skin diving and he loved diving but that was it from that day on it was over.” This story both explains Pi‘ikea’s love for the ocean and her environmental ethics for Hawai‘i’s natural resources.

When asked about her mo‘okū‘auhau , Pi‘ikea felt that she knew some of it, but not a lot. She shared about her mo‘okū‘auhau through the naming of her first son: “There’s Hawaiian on both sides and what’s interesting is that there are lines that are connected to Moloka‘i, Maui, Big Island, O‘ahu – what was interesting when I was telling you about the baby dreams with my first son – when it came out this [name] Nanimauliloa – when translated at first that Nani, glorious or splendid, Mauli the heart or essence of life, and then loa just emphasising that, so the name was this great glorious essence of life and I was like, wow that’s beautiful, but it seemed kind of heavy too. We were getting used to the name and we weren’t sure. Then he (the kupuna that named their

son) came to see baby and the night before he came to see baby he had another dream and in the dream the voice said, 'what about the genealogies?' He knows my parents well and so he's familiar with their genealogy but he hadn't really thought about it and so he looked at both sides and he traced both sides back – further back than he had ever looked and he came to realise that my parents' genealogies both intersect at Liloa. That that's where they go back to so he realised, 'ah, Nani – Mau – Liloa' is the great, glorious perpetuation of the line of Liloa, so when he said that I thought, okay now we are grounded. So that's when we decided that we would call [our son] Liloa." Pi'ikea explained that the first dream came before her son was born and the second dream came after he was born, so she felt that the name was meant to be.

When asked if being a mother or woman influenced your ability to be on the canoe, Pi'ikea said: "Yeah, this is a special time when your children are so small. You just want to be with them. You want to be close with them. What's been great is that my older son – from the time he was small about a year and a half – he loved to lie on the grass and look at the moon and the stars. He loves doing that. From before he could talk he would go into the closet and get out a beach towel because that was what we would get out before we would go sit on the grass. He loves doing that – it's the cutest thing. My experiences on the ocean or what I have learned about the stars or navigation – you're just in such a great position to be able to share that with your children and I'm excited to do that even more."

When asked about how working with Hōkūle'a has impacted her life, Pi'ikea said: "That's such a big question. I think that up until that point, having been born at some point after the Hawaiian Renaissance, you always have this strong sense that being

Hawaiian is a good thing but having gone to a missionary school and being on the east coast for six years I didn't – I don't think I was as connected to that Hawaiian side, to Hawaiian culture. I always felt very proud of being Hawaiian. I didn't come out of that generation, my grandparents' generation where it wasn't a good thing. You didn't want to admit having Hawaiian blood if you didn't have to. I didn't have that experience. So for me it was this great window of opportunity to get more connected to the culture which is one of many, but it's such an important one because it's where you grew up. It runs a little deeper, so it gave me a stronger sense of being Hawaiian and being in this generation."

She went on to say, "One of the great things about sailing and being a part of the canoe are those opportunities to experience a living culture. To be able to go to communities and to be welcomed in and to…you know you go to share certain things and they want to share with you. It's a much more – it's a very native thing – you know Indigenous cultures, where you go to share and people want to share so much with you. That was an amazing part about being involved with Hōkūleʻa."

Piʻikea went on to talk about how Hōkūle'a was unique, she said: "There's nothing like the canoe – that ability to sail on the open ocean is incredible and the mana of the canoe is…you know because I've done sailing in other parts of the world and interisland sailing on other boats and it's great and so wonderful to be out on the ocean but it's not quite the same. You don't have the mana of the canoe so while it's great to be out there it's not the same."

Upon reflecting about sailing from Hilo, Hawai‘i to Nukuhiwa in the Marquesas Islands, Pi‘ikea said, “We had some really rough weather on that trip because up until that point that was the furthest upwind that the canoe had ever tried to go. On subsequent legs of that voyage – that was the start of the Rapa Nui Voyage. That was the first leg and then after that, our leg, the canoe continued to go more upwind, so it was really rough. I remember leaving Hilo that first night that almost everyone on the canoe was really seasick, to the point where they were taking zofran which is an anti-nausea medication that they give chemotherapy patients. That was an incredible journey. We had some really bad weather, some really unseasonable lows. They weren’t expecting us to get the amount of bad weather that we got and for as long as we got it. I can remember being on the canoe one night and we had just gotten hammered, squall after squall after squall – all night long – and it was one of those things where you were standing up and so cold the whole night through and in front of us was this wall of black. This wall of squall and I was thinking – oh, god, I’m just so tired. You know, and here we go again we’re going to get hammered and we got up to the squall and the thing split and we sailed right through and I turned around to see what was going on in back of us and the squall was coming back together again. That was just one of those chicken skin moments and I thought, ‘oh my god, we just…’ I don’t know what it was but it was like the squall just parted for us. Then it came back together again after we passed through. So I always felt that on the canoe, this feeling, that you are cared for, that you are being taken care of or that you are protected. I have always had a very strong feeling of that being on the canoe. People would say, ‘oh aren’t you afraid – don’t you get scared?’ and I thought, ‘no, I’m never afraid of the canoe.’ They would say, ‘oh you’re so brave’ and I’d say, ‘no, it’s nothing to do with my being

brave. It has everything to do with feeling that you are cared for – that the mana on the canoe is that strong."

When asked if Pi'ikea could name what she felt it was that cared for, or protected her, on the canoe, she explained: "It is so interesting. I feel like it's a combination of things, I feel like it's the fact that the canoe definitely has a spirit or presence of its own. I feel like the canoe is its own…person is too limiting of a word…it is its own spiritual entity. I feel like the canoe cares for you and I think the other thing is that there are so many hands that have gone into building and maintaining and caring for and sailing on that canoe that I feel like there is almost a collective energy – a positive collective energy that has gone into the canoe – so I feel like its both those things. It's the spirit and energy of those that have cared for the canoe that continues to care for you when you are at sea. I have a very strong sense of that."

Pi'ikea talked about the opening of the squall as one of the most special moments on the canoe because it felt almost supernatural and she went on to say: "There are so many moments just being on the open ocean and being on the canoe – the whole thing was so special. There are so many moments where you think, 'oh my god this is so amazing that I'm here and that I'm having this experience.' I can remember – we had been on the canoe for 28 days and I remember getting off in Nukuhiwa and thinking, 'wow, you know if somebody asked me to do this again next week I'd jump at it. I'd do it in a heartbeat.' So I can understand why they talk about Polynesians as being a voyaging people, a voyaging culture based on the archaeological record that the reasons that they thought that they explored Polynesia, whether they thought that it might be war or that they were running out of food. They realised that they couldn't run out of

food that fast on these different islands and that in Polynesia they had these really sophisticated dispute resolution practices that are just inherent in the culture because you have to live on islands together so you have to figure out how to get along – so they don't think it was warfare. When they boiled it all down and they looked at the historical record that they came to the conclusion that this is who they were as people - that they were voyagers. This was a very important part of the culture. This is what they did and having been on the canoe I could see it. I could see it. Even though I'm sure for them it was far harder and far more dangerous for us sailing in this modern time, but there is something about it that you just love to do. It's something that you just want to continue doing. I can see that – yeah, this is a voyaging people. You voyage for the sake of voyaging even if you don't get to where you want to go."

We concluded our time together by reflecting on genealogy again. Pi'ikea talked about not feeling deeply connected to her mo'okū'auhau , or distant ancestors, but she reiterates her belief in the spirit of the canoe by sayings: "It might be because I'm not as versed in my deep genealogy. I've seen it on paper but I haven't spent a lot of time researching it and I can't recite my genealogy so that might be what it is for me, but I'm sure there might be other people that feel a much stronger connection to those people that are further distance. I definitely feel that connection to or the presence of family but for me it's not ancestors because when someone says ancestors I think generations and generations back. I think to me it's more the immediate family and that feeling of being very supported and connected to – you know, within the generation – so parents, grandparents – I feel more connected to or supported by that more than distant ancestors. The link for me on the canoe feels so strong that it's not about an ancestral

link. For me it really feels like it's the canoe itself and the people that have given to the canoe."

ʻŌlelo Kūkā: Discussion

Ko te iwi wairua o te waka. Ko te waka te wairua o te iwi.
The people are the spirit of the canoe. The canoe is the spirit of the people.

Listening to the nā wāhine holowa'a talk about Hōkūleʻa, and the spirit of the canoe, served as another reminder of our epistemological commonalities with ngā tangata whēnua o Aotearoa, the Indigenous peoples of these islands. The whakataukī (Māori proverb) above expresses the powerful relationship between the first peoples of Aotearoa, and the waka (canoes) that carried them on their journeys. As was shared in the introduction of the thesis, conducting this research in Aotearoa has meant that the geography and cultures of this space and place have inevitably informed the knowledge and understanding attained. As a Kanaka Maoli living here, I am conscious of our similarities as Polynesian cousins within the Pacific. Thus, I open this discussion with a Māori whakataukī to honour this relationship.

I have organised the chapter into four themes that came forth from the women's stories. The first theme is hoʻohoʻomanawanui and focuses on the patience and perseverance that the women shared. The next theme is laulima and expresses the need to work together. It literally means 'many hands', but is best defined as 'joint action'. Several of the women expressed that they felt the numerous volunteers who came together to create and maintain the canoe have contributed to Hōkūleʻa's mana. This connects to the third theme, which is 'Hōkūleʻa ea', a title I chose to represent the spirit of the canoe. The last and concluding theme is moʻokūʻauhau, which expresses the presence and support of our ancestors. I open each of the chapter sections with an ʻŌlelo noeʻau (Hawaiian proverb) to link the contemporary women of the canoe with a long lineage

of cultural knowledge and rich epistemology that connects us to being Kanaka Maoli, our islands, and the first voyages and peoples that came to Hawai‘i. Opening the chapter with a whakataukī is meant to show that our ways of knowing as Indigenous, Pacific peoples has transcended time, over decades and centuries, and space, across the Pacific Ocean.

I envision the chapter themes as interrelated and cyclical. For example, the chapter begins with ho‘omanawanui and concludes with mo‘okū‘auhau, but it is the support of our ancestors that gives us the strength and direction to persevere so they are connected; one informs and feeds the other. Another example would be that the resilience of our people is realised through laulima; joint action, cooperation, and intention, in which Hōkūle‘a becomes a medium for cultural revitalisation and sustenance. The process of ho‘omana, which means to infuse with spirit, is actualised through laulima, making the canoe come to life. This collaborative energy refers to both the human world and the ancestral world of spirit. In this way, our mo‘okū‘auhau aligns us with a long lineage of connection and support. Coming full circle we find ourselves returning to ho‘omanawanui, in a moment of reverence and acknowledgement that we are not alone in our quest.

Through the discussion themes, the chapter’s aim is to synthesise the entire thesis and to reinterpret the literature reviewed to see how the women’s stories might extend our knowledge and understanding. This will be achieved by interweaving quotes from the women alongside supporting literature to determine the way in which the women’s stories either challenge or contribute to what has already been documented about Hōkūle‘a. The discussion chapter will inform the conclusion of the thesis, which will

focus on methodological reflections, study limitations and recommendations for future research. This discussion shows how those nā wahine interviewed have their own stories to tell which serve as sub-plots within the larger (her/his) story of Hōkūle'a and Hawaiian renaissance.

Hoʻomanawanui : Patience and Perseverance

He ʻaʻaliʻi kū makani mai au; ʻaʻohe makani nana e kulaʻi.
I am a wind-resisting ʻaʻaliʻi; no gale can push me over. (Pūkui, 1983, p. 60)

This ʻōlelo noʻeau describes the ʻaʻaliʻi bush which is capable of withstanding the worst of gales. It twists and bends but it is seldom that the branches break off or that the bush falls over; rather, it is shaped by ka makani (the wind). The proverb is analogous to a person who can hold their own even in the face of great difficulties and challenges. I open with this ʻōlelo noʻeau to describe the women interviewed for the thesis, as well as to represent all Kanaka Maoli. Examples of Kanaka Maoli perseverance are diverse, and within Kanaka Maoli societies and communities each Kanaka will have their own stories to tell. Thus, the stories shared by the women of Hōkūleʻa represent a very small glimpse into this diverse population of people.

The challenges that the Kanaka interviewed had to confront are two-fold, because they are Indigenous and women. Inevitably, within the cultural revival, and quest for Hawaiian sovereignty, we find gendered spaces and experiences. The experiences that nā wahine describe are unique because they are not only Kanaka Maoli, they are Kanaka Maoli women voyagers. The specificity of their multiple identities offers rich

opportunity to inform our understanding of the complexities of being contemporary Native Hawaiian people and extends the knowledge base of the present literature.

Perseverance is evident in the earlier chapters in this thesis, for instance, in the constant struggle of Kanaka Maoli to hold fast to their identities as Native Hawaiians in the face of Americanisation and colonisation which sought to assimilate our people (Ah-Nee Benham and Heck, 1998). Yet, throughout the colonial story both our leaders and common people remained firmly rooted in the face of adversity (McGregor, 2007; Trask, 1999a). As described in detail within the historical overview chapter, Queen Liliuokalani and King Kalākaua withstood huge gusts of colonial change during their reigns. They resisted the winds of change in several ways. For example, Kalākaua embraced the Hawaiian cultural practices of hula, mele, and surfing, which at the time challenged imposed Western and Christian values adopted by Kalākaua's predecessors. Another example of resistance, patience and perseverance is apparent in the words of Liliuokalani's subversive compositions of Hawaiian mele that she wrote while she was imprisoned after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian nation by the United States. In support of Liliuokalani's plea to her people for peaceful resistance, Kanaka Maoli united to protest the annexation of Hawai'i with the Aloha 'Āina petition, signed by over 20,000 Kanaka (Silva, 2004). These examples in the literature attest to the ways that Kanaka Maoli have confronted colonisation via anti-colonisation and/or de-colonisation efforts, withstanding the worst of gales as the opening proverb describes. The 'renaissance' can be seen as another example of patience/perseverance, resistance and survival. As outlined in the historical overview section, perhaps one of the most abundant and revolutionary times of remembering and reclaiming our Indigenous identities and cultural practices occurred during the Hawaiian cultural renaissance.

Hōkūleʻa is accredited with inspiring and sparking the revival (Kanahele, 1982; McGregor, 2007). Yet, upon reading the stories written about the canoe, there is very little available about Kanaka Maoli women's experiences and the roles they have played in the movement. Again, for the women of Hōkūleʻa their efforts toward hoʻohoʻomanawanui are two-fold because they were interested in supporting the creation of the canoe as an act of cultural perseverance, but they simultaneously had to contend with obstacles due to their gender as few seats were made available to women, especially at the time of the canoe's conception. Again as detailed in the historical overview chapter's section about Hōkūleʻa, women were *not* invited to sail on the first sail from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti in 1975 (Finney, 1979).

Penny Martin and Keani Reiner were the first women to sail on a long-open ocean voyage aboard Hōkūleʻa on the return trip from Tahiti to Hawaiʻi in 1976. After a public presentation in 1973, Penny asked Ben Finney if women would be included on the trip from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti. At the time, he did not give a direct answer, but there was discussion of women *possibly* being included on the return voyage from Tahiti back to Hawaiʻi. In this instance, Penny persevered and was selected as crew for the return journey. In a personal communication, she explains:

> When the selection committee met to decide on potential crewmembers for the final cut, there was only one woman that was named, Keani. The committee didn't want to take just one woman.good for me. The guys remembered me from Molokaʻi and said that there was another woman and she would go. (August, 2010)

Since the 1970s, Penny has devoted her life to the canoe and paddling. She loves Hōkūleʻa and her aloha is profound. In this sense, she is still voyaging. Her continued perseverance and perpetuation of Hawaiian culture is seen through her cultivation of

taro in her family's loʻi, her work as an environmental and cultural educator for the Moanalua Gardens Foundation and with the Maui AIDS foundation on the island of Molokaʻi. As one of the earliest volunteers and crewmembers, Penny has now seen Hōkūleʻa through four decades of sailing and maintenance. She is an example of how culture is lived, resistance is practiced, and perseverance is maintained on a daily basis and across decades of time.

Two of nā wahine interviewed shared a keen desire to get involved with the canoe by volunteering to work at 'dry-dock'. They also described the reality of *trying* to help but feeling rejected because of their gender. In reference to going to dry-dock several times to help, 'Wahine Koa' said:

> Usually one time rejection is enough for me, I'm pretty quick at hints, but I went back down and, in fact, that was kind of the beginning of a side of me that I never really experienced before. It was this persistence, that I felt *so* drawn to this canoe.

After volunteering countless hours, she was very disappointed about not being included on the first sail in 1975. Like Penny Martin, this wahine had hoped to be included on the first sail; but, unlike Penny, she was not satisfied with the PVS decision that women would not be a part of the first leg of the journey. Thus, she did not return to sail until the 1978 and 1980 voyages. Her disappointment came from feeling as though over the course of several years she had devoted her life to the construction of the canoe, and to the canoe community, only to be excluded on the first voyage. Perhaps, part of her disappointment stemmed from having been told that she *would* be a part of the journey, as she speaks directly to in this quote:

> I worked almost everyday for several hours a day until the day that she [Hōkūleʻa] was launched which was Feb 8, 1975 at Kualoa. After that, every weekend there was a very small group of us that sailed her around Kāneʻohe Bay trying to figure out what her tricks were… So we're out

> there sailing and stuff and then let's see, after the formal launch, more and more people were becoming engaged and every time the idea of who would be crew would come up people would say, 'oh, for sure you'll be on that first voyage because of all of the time that you've put in on her', etc, etc. And, then it started to be ***"if*** we take women on that first voyage, for sure you'll be part of it."

She expressed that the *'if'* kept getting stronger until PVS's final decision which was that women would *not* be included in the first voyage.

Returning to the thesis literature, Haunani Kay Trask (1993) foregrounds the role women played in the Hawaiian renaissance and discusses why Hawaiian women came forth as decolonising leaders within the Hawaiian cultural revival. As a public speaker, writer, academic and activist, Trask exemplifies a Kanaka Maoli woman located at the forefront of the 'renaissance' and sovereignty movements; yet, little is documented about Kanaka Maoli women's experiences at the grassroots level. In the opening of her book *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture,* Davianna McGregor (2007) humbly describes her experiences as a University of Hawai'i professor that naively plans a student camping trip to the sacred island of Kaho'olawe without checking the weather. She shares her realisation of disconnectedness and imbalance in reference to her Honolulu city life and tells the story of how she and her 20 students were invited to stay with Uncle Harry Mitchell, a local taro farmer, when the weather prevented them from crossing the channel from Maui to Kaho'olawe. Her writing speaks to the diversity of Kanaka Maoli and her experiences working at the grassroots, or in this instance 'taro-roots', level. McGregor's (2007) book is devoted to Kanaka Maoli who are connected to the land and have persevered as taro farmers and activists; but again, she does not write critically about gender in the text. The experience of women from Hōkūle'a in the

1970s begins to shed light into the complex and gendered nature of the spaces and communities within the Hawaiian cultural revival.

Two decades following the Hawaiian cultural renaissance and the experiences of 'Wahine Koa', Catherine Fuller describes her experience of going to dry-dock and feeling discriminated against on the basis of her gender, as well as her fair skin. Reflecting on the moment when she arrived to dry-dock and asked if she could help, she said:

> They were looking at me like 'okay *haole* lady coming in off the streets', so the first day they made me strip hau logs that had been sitting in the harbour for months so they were slimmy and stink; but Tava was there and he showed me this trick so that it wasn't that messy, how to cut the bark off and so I just started coming every Saturday. I was probably the only wahine in that whole group for a long time, other than Sharron Bowman but she would mostly be cooking *pupus* (snacks) for us for afterward, but I was the only one that was working.

As previously stated, Kanaka Maoli are diverse, multi-cultural and primarily of mixed ancestry. Here Catherine describes the way that the men saw her as a 'haole lady', alluding to the fair colour of her skin. In this quote, Catherine is expressing that she felt discriminated against because she appears to be 'non-Hawaiian', but for the purposes of this section I will continue to focus on gender. Like 'Wahine Koa', Catherine talked about going down to dry dock and initially feeling rejected, but persevering. Both women also described their eventual acceptance within the canoe community. Currently, Catherine still volunteers her time to work on the canoe and, when at sea, she serves as a captain and navigator.

Within her interview Catherine described several conflicting experiences directly related to being a woman. She shared a story that happened upon the canoe's arrival to

Raiatea in the Society Islands where there was a ceremony and meeting of several Polynesian canoes and peoples at Taputapuatea marae in 1995. She explained:

> The Tahitians had laid out the protocol for the ceremony which was banning a number of things like shoes, cameras and wearing the colour red. Initially they [the Tahitians] said *no* women on the marae. They weren't going to let us onto the marae. So, I had done some research into Tahitian women in their society and there were women that were definitely allowed on their marae so I kind of got into an argument with the captain and so he yelled at me. Shantell and I were together on the canoe and we kind of sat and we waited and the men went ashore. Then they came back out and they got us and then we were allowed to go on the marae. As it turned out the Tahitians were breaking their protocols left and right so at first I was thinking okay maybe back then they did this but this is a modern age and we should be allowed. So it's kind of the tension between the two different lifestyles, you know Tahitian protocols and beliefs and the way we are raised now. It's kind of hard.

In a book chapter entitled 'Sin at Awarua', Ben Finney (2000) wrote about the ceremony that Catherine describes, where he reconsiders arguments about authenticity, what is 'real' or 'invented'. Finney describes the cultural complexities between perceived notions of 'tradition' and 'modern', yet he fails to address issues of gender. How would Finney's ethnographic account have differed, or been enriched, if he had known that, after sailing across the Pacific, two female crewmembers from Hōkūleʻa, Catherine and Shantell, were left on the canoe while their fellow crewmembers were welcomed to land upon arriving at Taputapuatea?

Catherine shared another story about her work with the canoe Hōkūalakaʻi in 2004. She explained that the intention was to follow traditional Hawaiian protocols. She said:

> They sacrificed a pig on the canoe and they made it kapu (forbidden) for women and so you know I had been working on the canoe, helping them get it ready and doing all the dirty work with all the boys and it was kind of funny because from that point on until after the kapu was lifted when the canoe was in the water that I could go on the canoe. Actually I kind of enjoyed that because I got to sit around and watch them work. They

> were all like, 'can you get that' and I was like, 'no I can't.' 'Can you bring that to me?'- 'No I can't, sorry.' Then I was really itching for the kapu to be lifted. I wanted to go on the canoe and sail. I knew that would happen at some point and that it would be okay.

The stories that Catherine shares throw into question current Kanaka Maoli cultural practices in which only certain Kanaka are allowed to participate, namely Kanaka Maoli men. Her stories also speak to the complexities of Kanaka Maoli living within 'modern', Western, American, gendered contexts.

The mana wahine chapter of the thesis draws on examples of Kanaka Maoli women and ākua that challenge Western ideas of femininity (Silva, 2004; Green, 2002; Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999), and re-reading this literature in light of the interviews helps contextualise the findings and brings forth unanswered questions. Kameʻeleihiwa (1999) clearly documents the moʻokūʻauhau of Kanaka Maoli to nā wāhine kapu, divine Hawaiian women or nā akua, establishing Kanaka Maoli women's genealogy of leadership. The long lineage of our aliʻi, including the last monarch, Queen Liliuokalani, shows a direct genealogical connection between our aliʻi and ākua. Katrina Kahananui Green (2002) articulates how Hawaiian women were depicted as assertive, decisive and masculine which was apparent in matters of exchange and relations between Captain James Cook's crew and other chiefs. They observed Kanaka Maoli women's boxing matches, described women warriors who accompanied their kāne to battle and observed their surfing skill. Furthermore, Noenoe Silva's (2004) archival research and translations of Samuel Kamakau's writing uncovered evidence of Kanaka Maoli women voyagers.

Aligning these examples alongside the findings brings forth several problematics, such as: why were the women interviewed for the thesis discriminated against in

helping at dry-dock, in participating in the first voyage, and at the Taputapuatea ceremony? Are notions of contemporary Kanaka Maoli gender roles thus influenced by Western notions of masculinity and femininity and, thus, women's roles? That is, were references to authenticity and tradition in relation to the roles women could and couldn't perform merely veiled modern sexism, or were the men of Hōkūleʻa attempting to make the right choices by following presumed protocols? Do these notions serve to stifle or liberate nā wāhine Kanaka Maoli? How do these complexities play out within Kanaka Maoli cultural movements and to what extent is there a need for further critique?

The intention of the chapter is not to answer these immensely difficult questions, nor is it to pass judgement; rather, it is to celebrate the perseverance of Kanaka Maoli in all their shapes, forms, colours, genders, and so forth. While not wanting to offer an apology for the choices made some 40 years ago, it is also important to recognise that while it is easy to criticise, such criticism is decontextualised. It is also important to understand decolonisation as an evolving process, where mistakes are made and rectified through reflexivity and self-critical awareness. If we look back over the past 40 years from Hōkūleʻa's first sail to the present, although there were initially very few women participants, that has changed over the decades. Several of these women have become leaders in the voyaging movement, namely, Penny Martin, Kaʻiulani Murphy, and the women interviewed for the thesis.

It is also important to realise the importance of epistemological concepts that Hōkūleʻa brought forth, which move beyond gender. Shantell Ching, for instance, attributes her perseverance to her ancestors in this quote:

> I'm still in the process of understanding why I have this very strong interest in learning about the ancient ways of navigation and in my recent research [this] is leading me to 'wow, it's in my genealogy, it's where I come from, it's in my blood'. That's why on my first voyage in 1995 it was a very conflicting time for me because there was this drive in me [that this is] just something I have to do. Here's an opportunity. I've been fascinated and very passionate and learning on my own all these years from 10-years-old. Here's my opportunity to participate in what is my culture and where I come from and who I am. It was just something that I had to do.

Shantell shared that her family was not supportive of her going on a long, open-ocean voyage because she was the 'baby-girl'; but she was determined to sail and is now recognised as one of our very few contemporary Hawaiian navigators.

I would like to conclude this section by returning to the opening proverb. Like the ʻaʻaliʻi the women exemplified in this section all persevered and were patient in attaining their place on the canoe. It could be said that the perseverance they showed was a fight within a fight for decolonisation. Within the findings it appears as though perseverance co-exists with cooperation. In this instance, although the women needed to be persistent, they did so within the context of working alongside the other volunteers and crewmembers. The women also demonstrate the power of patience, because being 'a part' of the canoe community at times meant accepting exclusion. Nā wāhine speak of the numerous people that have come together to create the canoe without glorifying of themselves as somehow special or unique, rather they see themselves as part of a larger whole. They acknowledge those who have come before and *laulima* (the many hands) that have made the canoe come to life.

Laulima: Cooperation and Joint Action

E lauhoe mai nā waʻa; i ke kā, i ka hoe; i ka hoe, i ke kā; pae aku i ka ʻāina.
Everybody paddle the canoes together; bail and paddle, paddle and bail, and the shore is reached. (Pūkui, 1983, p. 40)

Like the Hawaiian word laulima, this proverb also expresses that if everyone pitches in, the work is quickly done. There are several Hawaiian proverbs about cooperation that refer to canoes, because several hands are needed to build, maintain and paddle a canoe, whether that is a double-hull voyaging canoe or an outrigger. As expressed in the previous section and throughout the thesis findings, volunteerism is an integral aspect of keeping Hōkūleʻa sailing. Most people begin their life as voyagers at dry-dock volunteering. It is not until they have put in several hours, days, or months, that they are invited to sail. The Hawaiian value of laulima is actualised throughout the culture, so whether working on the canoe, fighting for sovereignty, weeding the taro loʻi, protesting the U.S. bombing of Kaho'olawe, or helping prepare for a lūau (large meal), Kanaka must work together.

This section creates a bridge between the previous section, hoʻomanawanui, and the next section, Hōkūleʻa ea. The quotes from the findings show that for each of the women interviewed, they all spent significant time volunteering. Two of the women expressed that they initially felt rejected in their attempts to volunteer, and, thus, a need to be persistent in attaining their place within the canoe community. This was not the same for all of the women. In fact, the other three women interviewed did not speak of or allude to feeling excluded while volunteering, depending on the person or circumstance, nā wāhine memories and experiences differed. Whereas the interviews

with ‘Wahine Koa’ and Catherine, brought forth complex issues regarding gender, the interviews with Pi‘ikea and Moana repeated the importance of the spirit of the canoe in the context of laulima. As expressed in the introduction to this chapter, all themes are interrelated. I am thus mindful of appropriately integrating the interview quotes alongside the literature and ensuring that the sections are not overly repetitive. To achieve these goals, I envisage laulima as a connecting section.

The link between laulima and cultural perpetuation is vital. The continuity of voyaging is reminiscent of the historical overview chapter on renaissance, in which the reclamation of Kanaka Maoli identity is realised through joint action. Laulima comes forth hugely throughout the renaissance and sovereignty movements. The Protect Kaho’olawe ‘Ohana, hālau hula, language revival, taro cultivation and the PVS are a few examples of the Kanaka Maoli communities that grew out of the renaissance (McGregor, 2007). These cultural revival communities are spaces where not only laulima is apparent; more importantly they are places where Native Hawaiian identities and epistemology are restored and perpetuated.

Urbanisation and separation from ancestral ahupua’a (the division of land connecting mountains, valleys and shores) where families cultivated taro, raised fish, and worked alongside their kin, dislocated Kanaka Maoli culturally and epistemologically (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992). By the 1970s, new spaces and communities came forth for Kanaka to reconnect with Hawaiian culture, land and seascapes. One example can be seen through the cultivation of taro where relationships with the natural world and ancestors happen simultaneously (Meyer, 1998). Through cultural practices,

epistemology, culture, and identity are relocated. PVS is an example of one such community, where all these facets came together.

Of the five women interviewed, four of the women got involved with PVS in the 1990s. One of the nā wāhine, Pi‘ikea, described the early 1990s as a time when PVS was trying to cultivate a younger crew of people, inclusive of women. As with all of the women, Pi‘ikea first got involved by going down to work days at the pier and helping with the canoe. Much like the stories of ‘Wahine Koa’ and Catherine, she shared that when she first got involved there were primarily men at dry-dock. In Pi‘ikea’s interview she described the men as being a little bit older and as having been involved in the program a little bit longer. In reference to the men she said:

> They were a little further ahead. If I were the freshman class they were probably the junior or senior class that had been involved and I kind of thought to myself, well if they can do it then I can certainly do this! I never doubted that I could do it.

Moana reflected on her time volunteering in reference to the feeling of community, friendship and purpose that it brought to her life at the time. In this quote, Moana talks about the same crewmembers that Pi‘ikea describes:

> Ke‘ahi, myself, Ka‘au and Chad Paishon, we all got involved at the same time, so we were really tight. Everyday after work until ten at night we did the majority of the lashing and then Saturday, Sundays we spent down at pier 40 – so we were full on into it – you know? It definitely was a high priority. I guess when you’re really into something, somehow you make the time. We spent a whole lot of time down at pier 40. Once we started to refurbish the canoe and crew training we became almost like the core dry dock group. Of course, more people came out on the weekends, but we spent the morning until evenings down there. I remember sleeping on Saturday nights down at pier 40. Everybody though, you know, it was a lot of fun. There seemed to be a lot more involvement, because even Mau would come down and drink awa after we pau (finished) work, but it was a whole weekend of work. Since that ’92 voyage, I’ve never seen the crew training and the involvement as much as I did prior to that voyage.

As previously stated, volunteerism is what keeps Hōkūle'a sailing. There are numerous people who occasionally volunteered time helping, but the canoe actually requires a deep level of commitment from a core group of people to sustain its intensive maintenance.

Through laulima, nā wāhine interviewed acknowledge the spirit of the canoe, and demonstrate the epistemological importance of Hōkūle'a. The fact that they see the canoe as alive is an assertion of a Kanaka Maoli way of viewing the world. Many of the women expressed a feeling of reciprocity with the canoe.

> I feel like the canoe cares for you and I think the other thing is that there are so many hands that have gone into building and maintaining and caring for and sailing on that canoe that I feel like there is almost a collective energy – a positive collective energy that has gone into the canoe – so I feel like its both those things. It's the spirit and energy of those that have cared for the canoe that continues to care for you when you are at sea. I have a very strong sense of that. (Pi'ikea)

> I definitely feel as though she [Hōkūle'a] has a spirit all of her own. Everybody who touches her kind of adds their mana. Some people can walk away and others, it's just something that takes hold of you and you just want more of it. (Moana)

Pi'ikea and Moana's words eloquently link the importance of laulima with the spirit of the canoe. Returning to the 'ōlelo no'eau that opened this section, everyone must paddle together to make the canoe move; furthermore, it is the collaborative efforts needed to keep Hōkūle'a sailing that infuse the canoe with mana.

Hōkūle'a Ea: The Spirit of the Canoe

Ua 'elepaio 'ia ka wa'a.
The 'elepaio has [marked] the canoe [log]. (Pūkui, 1983, p. 306).

Before a tree is selected and honoured by being chosen to take on a new form as a canoe, Kanaka Maoli observe the ʻelepaio bird. If the ʻelepaio pecks at the tree it means that the wood is not suitable because it is filled with insects and rot, but if the bird flies away from the tree it means that the wood is healthy and will make a seaworthy vessel. After a tree is selected, one life is taken and a new life is formed. The tree is carved into a canoe and every time it touches the water it fulfils its life's purpose. The carvers that shape the waʻa breathe life into the canoe. The mana of the carvers is transmitted into the wood. Each paddler or crewmember, breathe life into the canoe as well. They become a part of the waʻa's life journey. In Māori the terms used to express this worldview are wairua (spirit) and mauri (life-essence). In both Māori and Hawaiian the canoe has mana; the waʻa is alive.

In the context of this section, the word '*ea*' has several meanings. In the Hawaiian language, it means life, breath, and to rise up. Over the past thirty years ea has also come to represent sovereignty. In the context of the section, I use ea to emphasize *each* of the multiple meanings. Several of nā wāhine interviewed spoke of Hōkūleʻa as a living being and its own entity, often referring to the canoe's mana and spirit, as these quotes from Moana and Piʻikea exemplify:

> I believe that Hōkūleʻa has a spirit all of her own and somehow she has a way of finding the island. (Moana)

> The canoe definitely has a spirit or presence of its own. I feel like the canoe is its own…person is too limiting of a word…it is its own spiritual entity. (Piʻikea)

Hōkūleʻa ea explores several aspects of Hawaiian epistemology and ontology that ground the contemporary and historical roots prioritising the canoe as its own entity. Firstly, we return to the Kumulipo, the beginning of creation. From this cosmology we

see the secession, or moʻokūʻauhau, of relationships between humans, deities and the natural world (Beckwith, 1951). Our ancestors both distant and near are present within the trees, plants, birds, air, earth and sky. This ontology is a fundamental starting point and is analogous to the soil that steadfastly holds the roots of a tree upright. In reference to Hawaiian spirituality and knowing, Meyer says, "It is the 'ocean' in which Hawaiian culture and beliefs swim" (1998, p. 22). There is no separation between Hawaiian spirituality and culture; they are symbiotic, interdependent and interwoven.

In creating a canoe, great importance is given to the protocol upon felling a tree. When the kumu kalai, or canoe building specialist, selected a tree to be carved there were protocols that took place in the process of transforming the life of the tree into its life as a canoe. Yet, in the case of Hōkūleʻa we are confronted with the complexity that Hōkūleʻa derived from 'man-made' resources, such as fiberglass. This modern complexity threw into question the 'authenticity' of the canoe by several anthropologists and purists, especially in the early days (Finney, 2000). Yet, the words and wisdom of the woman interviewed affirm that laulima, and coming together to build, lash, maintain and malama the canoe are what give the canoe spirit rather than the actual materials.

Piʻikea, Moana and Shantell, all of whom are navigators, attribute confidence and achievements, such as finding the island after being at sea for several weeks, to the mana of the canoe. These three women emphasised that they always felt safe on the canoe:

> People would say, 'oh aren't you afraid – don't you get scared?' and I thought, 'no, I'm never afraid of the canoe.' They would say, 'oh you're so brave' and I'd say, 'no, it's nothing to do with my being brave. It has

> everything to do with feeling that you are cared for – that the mana on the canoe is that strong. (Piʻikea)
>
> I think that being out on the ocean, I've never felt – like people have asked, 'oh weren't you scared to go out on the open ocean?' – but with Hōkūle'a there's never been the feeling of fear. With the people and the canoe, I've always felt safe. (Moana)
>
> At no time on the trip home did I feel scared. That's weird. You know, how can you travel 2500 miles [across the ocean] and not feel afraid, not feel nervous? But, not at all, I can honestly say not at all because something was guiding us home. Whether it is Hōkūleʻa's mana, my ʻohana's mana, whatever that was, I was very comfortable out at sea and, of course, we made it home safely with that guidance. (Shantell)

I found it fascinating that each of the women spoke about this feeling of security on the canoe without my initiation as I had not created a question asking about feeling safe or being afraid to be out on the canoe. Yet, as the women spoke I nodded my head in acknowledgement of having felt the same way while at sea.

In 2000, I remember when the canoe departed from Tautira, Tahiti setting sail for Hawaiʻi. Lightning struck as Hōkūleʻa's sails opened and ignited a fire on top of the local mountain. Kaʻiulani Murphy recalled the event in an interview with *Hana Hou* (2005) magazine. She said her hand was resting on the mast when she felt a jolt pass through her arm. She described the crew as not fearful but, instead in silent awe. She said, "The kūpuna were giving their blessing for a safe voyage home" (cited in Lo, 2005, p. 62). Piʻikea told another amazing story about how she believed the mana of the canoe affected a storm while at sea:

> That was an incredible journey. We had some really bad weather, some really unseasonable lows. They weren't expecting us to get the amount of bad weather that we got and for as long as we got it. I can remember being on the canoe one night and we had just gotten hammered, squall after squall after squall – all night long – and it was one of those things were you were standing up and so cold the whole night through and in front of us was this wall of black. This wall of squall and I was thinking

> – oh, god, I'm just so tired. You know, and here we go again we're going to get hammered and we got up to the squall and the thing split and we sailed right through and I turned around to see what was going on in back of us and the squall was coming back together again. That was just one of those chicken skin moments and I thought, 'oh my god, we just…' I don't know what it was but it was like the squall just parted for us. Then it came back together again after we passed through.

These stories support that several of the women interviewed believe that Hōkūle'a is its own entity.

Briefly revisiting the colonisation literature alongside the women's quotes about spirit, helps contextualise the symbolic importance of Hōkūle'a from the renaissance to present. Ah Nee-Benham and Heck (1998) remind us of the devastating effects of cultural assimilation through educational policies and institutions in this quote:

> The destruction of traditional Hawaiian practices and principles over time by Western Science, Education and Economics has resulted in loss of life, loss of understanding of family and community, and loss of a cultural script that records process and experience. (p. 32)

Shantell, Moana, Pi'ikea and Catherine are one generation removed from a time when their parents were ashamed of being Hawaiian, because they were forbidden to speak the language and taught that Kanaka Maoli culture and practices were backwards and uncivilised (McGregor, 2007). When asked about how working with Hōkūle'a has impacted her life, Pi'ikea said:

> That's such a big question. I think that up until that point, having been born at some point after the Hawaiian Renaissance, you always have this strong sense that being Hawaiian is a good thing but having gone to a missionary school and being on the east coast for six years I didn't – I don't think I was as connected to that Hawaiian side, to Hawaiian culture. I always felt very proud of being Hawaiian. I didn't come out of that generation, my grandparents' generation where it wasn't a good thing. You didn't want to admit having Hawaiian blood if you didn't have to. I didn't have that experience. So for me it was this great

> window of opportunity to get more connected to the culture… it gave me a stronger sense of being Hawaiian and being in this generation.

Re-reading the colonial literature in light of the cultural revitalisation that Hōkūleʻa brought forth illuminates the power of Hōkūleʻa ea to influence the spirit of a people and culture.

Being that the construction and successful voyages of the canoe Hōkūleʻa began in the 1970s fueling the Hawaiian Renaissance, which led to the sovereignty movements that exist today, it seems appropriate to honor the canoe as both a living being and a spirit that has helped heal and empower the Hawaiian nation. At times when the oppressive nature of United States dominance over our islands feels unbearable, I imagine the liberation that sovereign actions like sailing and navigating in the path of our ancestors can provide. Symbolically, the ocean also represents a space that is yet to be geographically and politically divided in the same way that land has historically been dissected by the powers that be; so I imagine the ocean as a sovereign space and the place where the canoe is animated and alive.

In summary, viewing the world as animated and infused with spirit is at the core of Hawaiian epistemology. Hōkūleʻa's fibreglass hulls and man-made materials challenge notions of 'authenticity' and its links to epistemology, because as the women have articulated, it is not the canoe's materials that give it spirit. Meyer (2008) writes about causality in language, or meta-consciousness, as an epistemological idea in which thoughts, words and actions have mana. The women seem to have diverse beliefs about where the 'spirit' comes from. As the quotes express, at times they attribute Hōkūle'a ea to laulima. Other times, there is mention of ancestors and genealogy. The last section will be devoted to the latter.

Mo‘okū‘auhau: Linking Past, Present and Future

He ipu ho‘oilina mai nā kūpuna mai.
A container inherited from the remotest ancestress. (Pūkui, 1983, p. 73)

The ‘Ōlelo no’eau above speaks of the womb, the container by which the family line continues. I open the section with this proverb as an acknowledgement of our extended genealogies as Kanaka Maoli women. Our mo‘okū‘auhau link past, present and future generations of nā wāhine holowa‘a with nā wāhine kūpuna a me ākua. The chapter section brings the thesis full circle back to Hawaiian epistemology and interweaves quotes from the findings that support our deep ancestral support and connections.

The Hawaiian epistemology chapter opens with a quote by Kaili‘ohe Kame‘ehua (cited in Willis and Lee 1990) who is a shared ancestress of Shantell and Penny. The recorded genealogies of Kaili‘ohe directly align Shantell and Penny’s ‘ohana with Kaiakea, an ancestral navigator. Shantell spoke of her mo‘okū‘auhau in the following quote:

> Auntie Penny’s mom is a Bishaw and my grandma is a Bishaw. The Bishaws on Molokai are my ‘ohana. I think in the book Tales of the Night Rainbow [Willis and Lee, 1990] it speaks of an astronomer or navigator, Kaiakea, and that’s the line that we follow. That’s from my mom’s side, so even from my mom’s side…my grandmother was born on Molokai, so when I go to Molokai it’s a special place for me. I am not afraid. I feel very, very comfortable and at home. When I’m there I feel like I am surrounded by family, but not current family because I don’t know who they are, but they are ancient families.

Shantell spoke confidently about feeling the presence and support of her ancestors while on land and at sea.

When asked about their moʻokūʻauhau several of the other women interviewed were unsure of their personal genealogies. Although the women could not recite their moʻokūʻauhau, they still spoke about feeling the presence of their ancestors. As previously stated, my base of knowing was deeply influenced by my relationship with Penny and our conversations about Hōkūleʼa and genealogy. Our understandings of moʻokūʻauhau and our connection as Kanaka Maoli with a rich lineage of voyaging were affirmed by the first interview that I conducted with Shantell. Admittedly, I was surprised when in-depth interviews with an additional four women revealed that they had never thought about their moʻokūʻauhau; but as I transcribed the interviews and re-read their stories, I realised that there are many ways to talk about spirit and connection. For example, several of the women felt a very strong connection with Hōkūleʼa ea and the natural environment. The findings from the women interviewed all express aspects of Hawaiian epistemology, yet they use different vocabulary; whereas, Shantell attributes her connections to her moʻokūʻauhau, Piʻikea and Moana talked about the spirit of Hōkūleʻa. These are both examples that reflect Kanaka Maoli epistemology.

All of the women talked about powerful experiences that they witnessed within the natural world while sailing on the canoe, at times attributing the mana of Hōkūleʼa and/or their ancestors as having influenced natural phenomena. They tended to have trouble putting supernatural experiences into words, as exemplified in these quotes:

> Some of the things that I have to share are hard to explain and some people might not understand that outside, I say ‘force’, but I’m just trying to put a word to it. There’s a lot of spirituality. I don’t know how to term it. It’s something that you feel. I like to use the metaphor in navigation that you only know where you are by knowing where you come from. (Shantell)

> I turned around to see what was going on in back of us and the squall was coming back together again. That was just one of those chicken skin

> moments and I thought, 'oh my god, we just…' I don't know what it was but it was like the squall just parted for us. Then it came back together again after we passed through. (Pi'ikea)
>
> I mean it can't just be coincidental. I mean maybe it is but how amazing is that? So whether it is ancestors guiding or some kind of spiritual…one can only wonder, but it's pretty amazing when you think about it. (Moana)
>
> Whether it is Hōkūle'a's mana, my 'ohana's mana, whatever that was, I was very comfortable out at sea and, of course, we made it home safely with that guidance. (Shantell)

Meyer affirms that, "knowledge, for Native Hawaiians, is grounded in the natural environment and in the ancestral line of family" (1998, p. 23) (Fornander, 1916; Handy, Handy and Pūkui, 1972; Kamakau, 1964; Malo, 1951; Pūkui, Haertig & Lee, 1972). Within the Kumulipo, ākua, ancestors and the natural world are ubiquitous (Beckwith, 1951). The literature supports that within Hawaiian epistemology our ancestors are a part of an animated world imbued with spirit; therefore, the difficulty that the women had in identifying the spiritual entities present while they were sailing on the canoe is understandable because of the holistic nature of Hawaiian epistemology and the fact that they were trying to share their Kanaka Maoli cultural understandings using the English language while being 'interviewed'. Despite the challenge of articulating complex 'non-Western' understandings, within 'Western' academia, the women still managed to acknowledge that the ancestors, both distant and near, comes to us within the natural world.

Meyer (1998; 2008) and Cajete (2000) interweave common Indigenous principles, which emphasise (1) identity and completeness, (2) inter-generational and ancestral significance, and (3) spirituality and connection to the natural world. The women interviewed also spoke of feelings of identity and completeness while working with the

canoe. The word that several women used to express these feelings was kuleana, which in Hawaiian means both privilege and responsibility:

> In researching the genealogy you come across that there is a responsibility that you have in who you were born into and so I think it's really important for a person to know what their genealogy is because then you know where you come from, who you are and what kuleana you have to perpetuate. (Shantell)

> I feel like if you are Hawaiian then you have a responsibility to your culture. We can't all save all of it but you find your niche and you find your place where you fit and then you do your best to keep that going. I think for me, especially with canoe paddling, that's something that I can do. (Catherine)

> It's because of my genealogy or ancestors that I'm doing what I'm doing, because this is what I ought to be doing. (Shantell)

These quotes support the connection between identity and ancestry, which for contemporary Kanaka is vital to adhering feelings of cultural cohesion.

As stated in the introduction to the chapter, the themes hoʻohoʻomanawanui, laulima, Hōkūleʻa ea, and moʻokūʻauhau are all interrelated. In reference to hoʻomanawanui and moʻokūʻauhau (determination and ancestry), Shantell said: "There was an unexplainable strong desire to participate on this voyage and I think, I sincerely think, that it was because of my ancestry, because of my genealogy." 'Wahine Koa' told a story that further connects the themes of hoʻohoʻomanawanui and Hōkūleʻa ea, as shown here:

> I was being very, very persistent and very aggressive. I remember, as it turned out I was finally accepted, and I was talking one night to Sam Kaʻai… I remember asking Sam, 'you know it's really weird but it's like I'm obsessed with this canoe.' And he kind of laughed and he said, 'don't you know what Hōkūleʻa means,' and I said, 'yeah, star of gladness.' And he says, 'no, leʻaleʻa – reʻareʻa- the kaona of that word it's not happiness. It's desire. It's deep, deep desire. It's like an obsession… People just have this deep thing about it.'

She went on to talk about her moʻokūʻauhau in reference to her perseverance on the canoe in the latter part of the same story:

> Then the next thing that he [Sam Kaʼai] said, ʻwhatʼs your Hawaiian family, or the clan that youʼre from?ʼ I said, ʻwell weʼre from the Kualiʻi clan.ʼ And he laughed again and he said, ʻthe Kualiʻi clan? They voyaged back and forth between here and Tahiti and itʼs just your roots that are calling.ʼ All of a sudden, the whole thing made sense to me because as I said, I was observing this side of me that was not who I was – being so aggressive and so persistent about being a member of this voyage. It was something that I had to do.

Within these stories, we see that volunteering and voyaging with Hōkūleʼa is layered with cultural meaning and significance.

To understand the natural environment as a cultural space that allows for genealogical connection, it is important to realise the significance that Hawaiian culture places on intuition.Kaʻimikaua explains that the source of truth is both tangible and intangible and that the naʻau can interpret beyond intellect. While everything has its own intelligence the naʻau can feel the spirit of the land, which in turn shaped the hearts and minds of the kūpuna. Native Hawaiian epistemology and intelligence is based on truth that transcends the mind and enters the heart and the centre of emotion and knowing, which is the naʻau. Shantell and Catherine spoke about their knowing in the quotes that follow:

> There was that force outside of me that was guiding me and giving me the ʻike, the knowledge, to make decisions on the canoe. (Shantell)

> I believe that there is guidance and sometimes itʼs more subtle than other times. I think maybe another thing that I learned on the canoe is that just being quiet enough sometimes to listen for it and to hear it, and not to just go blindly on your way. (Catherine)

To further articulate her beliefs, Catherine described a painting by Bobby Holcom saying:

> It showed these two greater beings kind of guiding the canoe with their hands and that's what I felt like – that we were being guided. That we were being taken there and it was right and pono! Everything was good! I think that might be the closest that I felt to feeling like [the] ancestors [were] there, that there was a reason.

It is difficult to express intuition, but, as in the quote above, art is a powerful medium used to communicate Hawaiian epistemology and the natural environment as a cultural space that allows for genealogical connection.

Although Moana expressed that she had never thought about her moʻokūʻauhau or its significance to her involvement on Hōkūleʻa, she shared a powerful story about seeing beloved crewmember, Eddie Aikau, who died at sea in 1978 when he attempted to paddle to shore for help after Hōkūle'a had capsized. She shared that she believed Eddie's spirit continued to travel with the canoe in this story:

> I remember in the middle of the night I turned over and I saw somebody sitting in the chair with his back to me. You know like leaning over the backrest of the chair? So I turned and looked but I didn't feel scared for some reason I just remember turning back and I remember seeing a bandana. He was shirtless, bare back and yeah, so the next morning I had kind of had forgotten about it when I woke up. We were loading, busy and getting ready to leave because, like I said Hōkūle'a was the last to leave the Marquesas, and when we were all on the canoe sitting on the back railing and I said [to Eddie Aikau's brother], 'oh Clyde I have to tell you something.' And he was like so happy. I mean, you know? So that was memorable for me. It was like Eddie was watching over.

Again, Moana does not need to use the word moʻokūʻauhau to affirm her epistemological knowing that our ancestors are with us (Minton, 2000).

In another story, Catherine described learning about the presence of an ancestral guardian. She was in Tahiti when she had the opportunity to meet a Hawaiian woman versed in the art of lua that could see spirits. She said that she and the woman:

> …went to a place with three waterfalls and the power of the waterfall was so strong it would just drive the breath out of your chest and your knee deep in this pool and it started pouring rain and she's giving me this whole thing about 'you have guardians. There's this older man who is guarding you.' So I was telling her that in the '99 trip there were bird references that popped up all over the place. So she said that this man's name has to do with birds. That was kind of interesting to have this person telling me that – you know – you have this guardian.

Much like Moana's story, Catherine's experience expresses connections of a spiritual nature. In the simplest of terms, Catherine said, "Our ancestors are here and they are watching us."

Once again, we return to Hawaiian epistemology and creation. The successions of the Kumulipo extend from the natural world and emergence of sea and land, flora and fauna to humans. It is an epic moʻokūʻauhau describing the interrelationships between the ocean and land, plants and animals, gods and humans that connect the Hawaiian ancestral chiefly genealogies to the beginning of creation. The Kumulipo is crucial to this work because it links Kanaka Maoli women voyagers to an extensive lineage, an inherited moʻokūʻauhau.

In conclusion, all of the women interviewed expressed beliefs and stories that are difficult to articulate within the confines of the thesis because writing about 'spirituality' is not commonplace within Western academia. It is for this reason that I believe the thesis has the capacity to extend the previous literature available about Hōkūleʻa. It does so, not only because it focuses on women, which has never been done before, but also because it ventures into the realm of articulating Hawaiian epistemology within a contemporary context, voyaging. We find that voyaging is a medium through which Kanaka Maoli culture lives, and that our ancestors are present, guiding the journey whether on land or at sea. The women's stories interwoven with the

literature support the continuation of Kanaka Maoli epistemology of past, present, and future.

Hopena: Conclusion

Akāka wale no o Kaumaikaʻohu.
Very clearly appears Kaumaikaʻohu. (Pūkui, 1983, p. 13)

Kaumaikaʻohu is a hill in Punaluʻu, Kaʻū on Hawaiʻi Island. The ʻōlelo noʻeau speaks of clarity. It seemed fitting to use the proberb to open the conclusion chapter for two reasons. Firstly, it offers another opportunity to pay tribute to my Kanakaʻaukai and Keʻalaikahiki moʻokūʻauhau from Kaʻū. Secondly, the proverb talks about seeing clearly, which is the objective of the thesis conclusion. Although this last chapter is brief, the purpose is to summarise the main ideas of the work and to make suggestions for future research.

The thesis serves many purposes. Firstly, it seeks to reconnect nā wāhine Kanaka Maoli holowaʻa with a rich her-story of voyaging. Our ʾŌlelo moʻolelo link us to the first ancestors that journeyed from Kahiki, amongst whom were Pele and Hina (Silva, 2004). Several of the women interviewed within the thesis also moʻokūʻauhau to these legendary wāhine. Secondly, the thesis addresses a gap that currently exists within scholarly texts about the canoe by focusing on the contemporary stories of women from Hōkūleʻa. Specifically, it addresses the need to consider the gendered spaces and complexities that exist within Kanaka Maoli cultural revival movements and present day practices. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the thesis incorporates an acknowledgement of spirit and ancestral guidance, which is very rare within academic texts.

Upon reflection, one of the most challenging and, perhaps, limiting aspects of the work is that there are so few examples of texts that seek to assert the same objectives. For example, moʻokūʻauhau as methodology is a decolonising methodology that is in the process of being articulated and implemented by Kanaka Maoli scholars, including myself, so it is difficult to navigate. Therefore, my first recommendation for future research would be to gather diverse Kanaka Maoli perspectives on methodology. I believe that this is a much needed and long overdue text, which I hope will be my next scholarly project.

In relation to contemporary women voyagers, in particular, there is also a lack of resources available, so in the case of Kanaka Maoli methodology, there are several possibilities for future studies. For example, it would be interesting to interview women throughout Polynesia about their experiences as voyagers, whether from Aotearoa, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Rapa Nui and so forth, moving beyond the Hawaiʻi context. The Pacific region is such a richly diverse space that a comparative study about women as voyagers throughout the Pacific would illuminate our understanding of the region; thus, providing another research area to explore. There are so few resources available about Pacific women voyagers that the potential options for further research are abundant. The thesis is just the beginning in filling this much needed scholarly gap.

Haʻina ia mai – The Story is Told

The thesis began by dedicating this research to Hina of Molokaʻi and Pele of Hawaiʻi Island, the ancestral women voyagers of my lineage. These are also ancestors of other contemporary women from the canoe Hōkūleʻa , such as Shantell Ching and Penny

Martin. When asked about her connection to Molokaʻi, Penny spoke of a spiritual piko (umbilical cord) that links the generations (Wilson, 2004). The connection that we feel toward our islands, ancestors and the seas they crossed is profound.

In conclusion, I would like to end by acknowledging all of the women of *Hōkūleʻa* , of whom there are too many to name, but the following are known contemporarily as having made a significant contribution: Penny Martin and Keani Reiner (Tahiti-Hawaiʻi 1976), Marion Lyman (1978)/Marion Lyman-Mersereau (Hawaiʻi-Tahiti 1980), Jo-Anne Sterling (Hawaiʻi-Tahiti 1980, Tonga-Sāmoa 1986), Elisa Yadao (Rangiroa-Hawaiʻi 1987), Nālani Minton and Ester Moʻokini (Tautira-Huahine 1992), Nālani Kaneakua (Rapa Nui-Tahiti 1999), Moana Doi (Borabora-Cook Islands 1992, Marquesas-Hawaiʻi and West Coast Sail 1995, Nukuhiva-Mangareva 1999) Catherine Fuller (Marquesas-Hawaiʻi 1995, Nukuhiva-Mangareva 1999), Piʻikea Miller (Marquesas-Hawaiʻi 1995, Hawaiʻi -Marquesas 1999), Pomaikalani Bertelmann, Kona Woolsey, and Kau'i Pelekane (Tahiti-Hawaiʻi 2000), Shantell Ching (Hawaiʻi-Tahiti 1995, Mangareva-Rapa Nui 1999, Tahiti-Hawaiʻi 2000) and Kaʻiulani Murphy (Tahiti-Hawaiʻi 2000, Japan 2007). We continue to honour our long legacy of voyaging in many different ways, as educators, documenters, academics, mothers, sisters and daughters, in all the roles that we fulfil, in the very essence of our being. We are our kūpuna. We are our ancestors.

Papa wehewehe ʻōlelo: Hawaiian Glossary

ʻāina	land, earth, also "that which feeds"
aliʻi	chief, female chief, ruler, leader
akua	god, deity, ancestor
aloha	love, affection, compassion, mercy, sympathy, pity
ao	light, day, world of living, cloud, earth, enlightened
ʻaumakua	family and personal god, ancestral deity
haole	foreign, foreigner
hōʻailona	sign, omen
hōkū	star
Hōkūleʻa	star of gladness, name of contemporary voyaging canoe
hōʻoiaʻiʻo	acknowledgements
hoʻomanawanui	patience, perseverance
hōʻouluʻulu manaʻo	abstract
hula	dance, specifically traditional or modern Hawaiian dance
huliawa	findings
ʻikena	view
kahiko	old, ancient
kai	sea, ocean
kalo	taro
kanaka	person, people
kāne	man, male

kaona	a deeper or hidden meaning
kapa	tapa or barkcloth
kapu	restricted, prohibited, spiritual governance
kinolau	embodiment of akua, physical manifestation
kiʻina hana	method or methodology (as used within thesis)
koa	native hardwood; brave, courageous; warrior
kuleana	responsibility, right, privilege
kūmaumau	continuiry
kumu	teacher, instructor, source
kupuna	elder, grandparent, ancestor
lāhui	people, nation, collective
lauhala	pandanus leaf
laulima	cooperation, joint action
lei	garland of flowers, shells, feathers, leaves or vines
loʻi	irrigated terrace for planting kalo
lua	Hawaiian martial art; two, dual; hole
mahalo	appreciation, thanks, gratitude
maikaʻi	good
makaʻāinana	commoners
makana	gift
makua	parent, adult
mālama	to care for
malihini	guest, visitor

mana	spiritual power, potency, charisma, prestige, efficacy
manaʻo	message
maoli	real, true, authentic; Native Hawaiian (Kanaka Maoli)
mōʻaukala	overview
moe	to sleep, lie down, rest
moʻokūʻauhau	genealogy, genealogical succession
moʻolelo	story, history, tradition, narrative, tale, account, legend
naʻau	gut, intestines, seat of emotion and knowledge, intuition
noa	free of kapu; unrestricted
ʻohana	family
ʻōlelo	language, speech, words, saying
ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi	Hawaiian language
ʻōlelo hoʻākāka	introduction
ʻōlelo kūkā	discussion
ʻōlelo noʻeau	proverb, wise saying
papa	foundation (as used within thesis)
pō	night, darkness; realm of akua
pono	goodness, righteousness, well-being, balance; correct
poʻo	head, both of body or organisation
pule	prayer, pray
waʻa	canoe
waʻa kaulua	double hulled sailing canoe

wahine woman, female[41]

[41] See Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert's *Hawaiian Dictionary* (1986) for more detailed definitions. Also, Ty Kāwika Tengan's *Native Men Remade* (2008) served as an example for creating concise definitions for this glossary.

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Nā Pāku‘ina: Appendicies

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the project?

This project is being undertaken to contribute to a doctoral thesis. The aim of this study is to use qualitative methods to document, analyse and interpret the stories shared about experiences of Kanaka Maoli women voyagers. The research will integrate stories from contemporary Kanaka Maoli women voyagers from the sailing canoe Hōkūle‘a with references to traditional women voyagers. The purpose of this work is to give voice to contemporary women voyagers of the Pacific and to integrate references referring to traditional women voyagers.

What will participants be asked to do?

The participants will participate in a semi-structured interview that will focus on their experiences voyaging on the sailing canoe Hōkūle`a. The length of the interviews will vary depending on the quantity and quality of the conversation generated, but it is estimated that they will last between 1-2 hours. Each discussion will be recorded either with a digital or on an audio tape recording devise and transcribed verbatim. Transcriptions will be typed and returned to the participant for checking.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind. You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

Personal details, such as your age, ethnicity and life experiences, will be collected in order to describe each participant in the study, and to interpret information gathered from the interviews. This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops.

In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable, you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

The results of the project will be published and will be available in the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand library but every attempt will be made to preserve participants' anonymity, if the participant does not want to be identified, for example through the use of pseudonyms.

How will the information be stored and who will have access to the recordings and transcriptions?

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only the researcher, Nālani Wilson, and her supervisor, Dr. Lisette Burrows, will be able to gain access. At the end of the

project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

What if participants have any questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact:

K.L. Nālani Wilson

School of Physical Education

University telephone number: (03) 479 8401

Email: nalani.wilson@otago.ac.nz

Or

Dr. Lisette Burrows

School of Physical Education

University telephone number: (03) 479-8389

Email: lisette.burrows@otago.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

Note: This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage, I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;

3. Personal identifying information [video-tapes / audio-tapes] will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed;

4. This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions that will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops. In the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable, I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind,

5. I will have the opportunity to check a transcript of the interview to ensure that my words are accurately depicted and that I have the option of adopting a pseudonym if I do not want to be identified by my actual name.

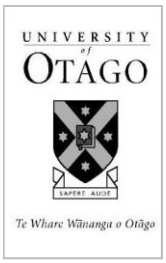
6. The results of the project will be published and available in the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand library, but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity if I so choose.

I agree to take part in this project.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.



INTERVIEW GUIDE

Purpose of Research:

To explore the experiences of women voyagers and navigators from the canoe Hōkūleʻa:

1) Identifying how they got involved with the canoe and the impact their involvement with Hōkūleʻa has had on their lives; as well as,
2) Investigating the extent to which their experiences working with Hōkūleʻa have guided their understanding of themselves-potentially shaping their identity as Hawaiian women and heightening their sense of place and connection to their Hawaiian moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy).

Proposed Interview Themes and Questions:

HŌKŪLEʻA

1) When did you first become interested in the canoe Hōkūle`a and open-ocean voyaging or navigating?
2) How did you get involved with the canoe?
3) In what way has your involvement impacted on your life?
4) Has being a woman or mother influenced your participation with the canoe or your ability to go on voyages?
5) How does voyaging link with your personal genealogy?
6) As a Kanaka Maoli woman voyager have there been moments when you felt the presence of your ancestors on the canoe? Or, guiding your participation with Hōkūle`a?

MOʻOKŪʻAUHOU

1) What is your Hawaiian genealogy?
2) Within the Hawaiian Islands, what places are most significant to you and why?
3) Does your genealogy ground or guide your life as a Hawaiian woman?
4) Do you feel the presence of the ancestors in your life?
5) Would you like your name and/or your genealogical names identified in the final thesis?