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While the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement has existed and thrived since the late 1960's, there has been little recent investigation into how the movement has changed over time or its young adult participants. This study investigated young adults' participation in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement, gender differences within this involvement, conceptions of traditional Hawaiian culture and identity, and hopes for the future of the movement. The investigation aimed to cover the gap in research in young adults and gender within the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement, in order to inform members' future practices. This study utilizes three different methodologies: a detailed literature/historical analysis, participant observation in the Hawaiian Islands, and fourteen semi-structured interviews with movement members. Twelve of the informants were between the ages of 21- 35 years old, whereas two informants were older in order to investigate generation differences. The findings indicated that education, perpetuation of knowledge, conservation and sustainability, language revitalization, and identity were at the center of the movement for participants. The data indicated that there were no real differences between the genders, but rather that the older participants were more political and specific in their involvement than the younger participants.

Young Adult Perceptions and Participation in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance
Movement

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By

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Dedication

First and foremost, this work is for Hawaii, its culture and its people, who have been an endless source of inspiration and strength for me. Mahalo for sharing your knowledge, passion and aloha with me. I can only hope this work means something to you as well. And finally to Gramps, my biggest cheerleader and supporter. I hope you're looking down with proud, I love you

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Chapter 1

Statement of the Problem and Research Objectives

During the 1960s and 1970s, like many other indigenous groups around the world, native Hawaiians experienced a cultural renaissance. A new interest in Hawaiian language, music and dance sparked a desire to learn more about native cultural traditions and forms of social and political organization. Out of this cultural renaissance, a renewed sense of pride and new political movement arose. Leaders advocated for greater autonomy and sovereignty for native Hawaiians. The movement drew many to study the language and culture, and to participate in activist causes. Paradoxically, despite its success, there has been almost no research conducted on the long-term success of the movement and its evolution over time. The few studies completed have primarily evaluated the effectiveness of language revitalization programs within Hawaiian school systems. Those who are writing about the movement and its goals tend to be native Hawaiians in academic institutions or activists from the older generation who began the movement. Almost nothing is known about the level of commitment the present generation of young people, raised within the cultural milieu of the movement and with the opportunity to study their native language in school, feels toward it. This research is an attempt to systematically explore the ways in which the younger generation (individuals between 20-35 years of age) is participating in

cultural revitalization, their attitudes towards their involvement and identity as Native Hawaiian, their commitment to the movement, and their hopes for its future. While most individuals consider the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement to refer to only the events of the late 1960's to 1980's, I chose to refer to the continuing efforts as part of the same movement for several reasons. For one, I wanted to show the connection and influence that these pivotal past events had on modern day Hawaii. Many of what people choose to participate and engage in has its roots in the original events. I also felt it important to recognize the connection that the past will always have with the present and future, especially by way of Kupuna in Native Hawaiian culture. In this work I will use Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement and Cultural Revitalization Movement interchangeably. I wanted to encompass nationalism as well, and while it is widely accepted that it is intricately bound to cultural revitalization, I didn't want the title to minimize the emphasis on the political within the movement.

The goal of this project is to gain a general sense of how young native Hawaiians understand and think about the goals of the Hawaiian cultural renaissance and in so doing present a clearer picture of the changes that have occurred in the movement over time and of its likely future trajectory. While undertaken in one cultural area, the findings of this project have implications for understanding how other indigenous cultural revitalization and nationalist movements' progress over time and of the issues involved in keeping a younger generation involved in political activities.

Another major aim of this study is to systematically investigate the assumptions about gender that underlie the views of traditional Hawaiian society as portrayed in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance movement in order to determine what it is about these underlying assumptions that has enabled such a high level of women's involvement in leadership roles. A

third goal is to explore the extent to which the views of gender held by activists in the movement are also embraced by the young adults who participate in Hawaiian revitalization, and how these views affect their levels of participation in and commitment to the future of the movement.

The major goals orienting this research project were broken down into specific objectives that guided the collection of data. These were:

- 1) to determine how young adults active in the movement view or understand traditional Hawaiian society especially in relation to gender roles and how if at all this relates to women's leadership roles within the movement,
- 2) to determine what young adults see the main aims of the movement to be, particularly whether they view cultural revitalization, nationalism or both aims as central to the movement,
- 3) to identify the ways that young adults become involved in this movement and assess their levels of participation in various activities and groups within it with special regards to gender differences,
- 4) to explore how young people conceptualize or describe native Hawaiian identity in relations to themselves and others,
- 5) to assess the level of commitment to and proposed direction for the future of the movement among young adult participants.

Because this study was exploratory in nature, it was not guided by definitive hypotheses for all of the research objectives but rather by general expectations of themes that would be present in the data. It was expected that because the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance stresses a

return to the traditional, the ways in which young adults conceptualized these traditions and Hawaii's past would influence their participation and roles in the present. Similarly, the strong presence of women as leaders in the movement was expected to influence the perceptions of younger people to assume that women held important roles in traditional indigenous Hawaiian society. Involvement in the movement was anticipated to have an identifiable influence on how young people perceived Native Hawaiian identity, including their conceptions of what activities and mannerisms Native Hawaiians could be expected to exhibit. Finally, it was expected that the young people participating in this study would express a lifelong commitment to the future of the movement and eventually teaching these ideas to their own children.

While research has evaluated the methods employed and the effectiveness of language and cultural revitalization within the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement, the attitudes of participants have yet to be explored (Marshall 2006, Wong 2009). Understanding the conceptualizations and perceptions of the young adults will be extremely beneficial to scholars, activists, and even the movement itself for several reasons. Young adults make up a large portion of the participants and will ultimately be the future leaders. Thus, understanding their attitudes and beliefs is a vital first step in projecting the likely future trajectory of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement. Insight into participants' perceptions is also beneficial as a method for helping to improve solidarity within the movement. Academics and activist leaders have conflicting views about the role feminism should play in the movement. It will be important to determine how young people define feminism and the extent to which they see it as an important component of the cultural renaissance. Such an assessment may also enable women to conceptualize and analyze the needs that may be specific to their gender within the movement, and how they can be addressed in the future. Because the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance calls

for a return to the traditional, exploring conceptualizations of gender may help determine the extent to which present views are connected to perceptions of pre-contact ideologies and practices of Hawaiian men and women (Connors 2009, Linnekin 1983, 1998). These data may also provide an exploratory understanding about how young adults became involved with the Hawaiian Renaissance and how such participation affects the formation of Hawaiian identity. Finally, this study will help to illuminate the reasons why women have played such a pivotal role within this movement and enable a comparison to other indigenous movements around the world, potentially serving as a model for leadership for women in other native communities.

This research was conducted within the framework of Tribal Critical Race Theory (Brayboy 2005). The theory was formulated in order to better approach the topic of indigenous individuals in the field of education. While this theory was created for use among Native Americans, Kupo (2010) successfully applied this framework while investigating identity among female Native Hawaiian college students for her doctorate dissertation. Tribal Critical Race theory consists of nine tenants. Generally, it states that colonization is endemic to tribal society, narratives are where theories and truth exists for indigenous people, and policy related to these individuals is rooted in assimilation. The implication of critical race theory is that the researcher needs to situate him or herself relative to the native culture and should remain committed to the proposition that research. This theory also keeps the researcher mindful that his or her work among indigenous individuals should always be beneficial to them (Brayboy 2005). Personally, as a researcher and a human being, it was important that I be self-reflexive and situate myself culturally within my work. I am not a member of the Native Hawaiian culture. Ethnically, I am Caucasian and Hispanic. My father is Irish, French, Scotch, and German and my mother is Puerto Rican, Spanish, Colombian, and Romani. I was raised in central New Jersey, mostly

within the mainstream American culture, but is also absorbed some aspects of Hispanic culture. I completed my undergraduate education at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, and the four years I spent there introduced me to the Native Hawaiian community and its issues and concerns. My ultimate goal in undertaking this research was that the product be reflective of the voices of my informants. However, I do not pretend to be completely objective and I cannot ignore the influence that my own filter, views, and status as an outsider may have had on this work. While I am ethnically mixed, I am Euro American in appearance and as a result have been granted most of the privileges associated with this status. I am not from an indigenous background and have not been affected by colonization and its consequences. However, I made every effort during my research to try and remain as objective as possible. Disclosing who I am, and how I fit into my research will allow the reader to draw his or her own judgments and conclusions about how my identity affected the outcomes of this study. Above all, I hope that my research is in some way helpful to the Hawaiian community. In addition to conducting research during the summer of 2013, I also volunteered several times at both a fishpond and *heiau* which are part of the indigenous Hawaiian initiatives as a small way to give back to the community in which I resided. Many of my informants have asked why I chose to do this research and the answer is simple: I greatly respect the Native Hawaiian culture and think there is not enough awareness of the Cultural Renaissance that is occurring on the islands, especially on the East Coast where my university is located. For this reason I hope I can be an advocate and friend to the community which has given me so much in the past six years of my life.

In the following chapters, I review the literature on the history of Hawaii and the cultural renaissance movement; discuss my methods and research protocol as well as describe the sample

of respondents; present the main findings from the informant interviews and evaluate these in terms of the existing literature on social movements.

Chapter 2

Literature Review/Historical Analysis

In order to effectively conceptualize and understand the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement it is necessary to understand the history of the Native Hawaiian people themselves, if only in a general sense. This movement calls for a return to the traditional, so it is essential to first gain some insight into what is known about the organization and ideology of traditional Hawaiian society and how native beliefs and practices were shaped by key historical events starting with the arrival of Captain James Cook in the islands in 1778, until the subsequent Western business interests and fluctuations in Hawaii led to its Monarchy's overthrow in 1893. Following this overthrow, the severe population loss due to disease led to the decimation of Hawaiian culture and near extinction of the language. The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance emerges in the 1960s in response to these cumulative effects of culture contact.

Short History of Hawaii

The Hawaiian archipelago consists of eight islands and is one of the most isolated island groups in the world, more than 5,000 kilometers from any other major land mass (Earle1997:34). The Hawaiian Islands are designated as part of Polynesia, with the archipelago the most northern tip of the triangle. All of the islands and people with Polynesia share similar languages,

traditions, and cultures. The Polynesians are the descendants of “Southern Mongoloid groups with Australoid genetic mixtures who speak Austonesian languages” (Bellwood 1987:160). These individuals then came to “discover and inhabit the islands of Polynesia by around 1500 BC” (Bellwood 1987:24). The center of the Polynesian triangle is the Society Islands. According to Peter Buck (1938), this is where Polynesian culture originated and flowed from to the other islands within the triangle. In fact, many scholars believe that *Havaiki*, the Polynesia ancestral homeland, is reference to these islands.

The main food sources of the Polynesians were found in some variation on all islands evidently brought on the canoes in order to sustain the individuals in their new homes. Modern botanists have shown that the ways in which these plants all grow and are spread makes it evident that their presence in Polynesia must be attributed to men. Edible plants included coconut, breadfruit, banana, plantain, taro, yam, arrowroot, turmeric, and sweet potato (Buck 1938:314). While the majority of these plants can be linked to Asian and more Western Pacific origins of the Polynesians, the presence of the sweet potato is evidence that there was possible contact with South America (Buck 1938:321-22). The three main forms of livestock within the triangle were that of pigs, dogs, and fowl (Buck 1938:316). It is important to note, however, that not all of these food sources were present on all islands due to differences in climates, extinction, etc. Most islands did have at least one of the three animals, but fish remained the largest source of protein on all islands. The coconut was especially important for many atolls and ocean journeys, being the main source of hydration when fresh water was not present (Buck 1938).

There is some debate about the origin of ancestral Hawaiian peoples. While archaeological records point to a potential migration from the Marquesas and Society islands, legend points to origins from Tahiti (Bellwood 1987). Buck (1938) theorized that the original

settlers, known as *Menehune* were then replaced by the individuals who came from Tahiti at a later date. Historians and archaeologists debate the specific date, but it is believed the first wave of settlers arrived sometime between 300-500 AD and the second around 1000AD (Kirch 1989:77-79). When the first settlers arrived, they brought with them the food sources necessary to survive including coconuts, pigs, chickens, dogs, *kalo*, sweet potato, sugarcane and breadfruit. The islands' economic beginning was built upon fishing, localized irrigation, and rainfall horticulture (Bellwood 1987:108). Settlements began on the coast and moved inwards as populations increased and farming techniques evolved (Earle 1997:40-41). As the population grew, society became increasingly complex and stratified.

Ancient Hawaiian society was structured around the *kapu* system, a set of strict religious laws that dictated the behavior of everyone based upon gender, status, age, etc. There existed three classes of people: *Ali'i* or the rulers/chiefs, *Kahuna* or priests and tradesmen, and *Maka'ainana* or the commoners. Genealogy was a major element of identity in the islands. It was through lineage that rulers often determined their rule, and commoners were not allowed to keep a genealogy so that they could not distinguish themselves (Earle 1997:36). Chiefs were divided by ruling lineages for the major islands, with lower level chiefs designated as managers of the districts or *ahupua'as* within them (Earle 1997:35-36). Rulers were often warring to either defend or expand their land base and rule. Land was owned by the *ali'i* and tenured to the commoners. The lower level chiefs who ruled the *ahupua'as* would designate homesteads to each family, who in turn worked the land to support themselves and the *ali'i* (Earle 1997:36). The *Kahuna* class was the priests or individuals who specialized in an art or craft such as hula or feather weaving. By the time of European arrival, Hawaiian society was based upon a complex irrigation system. It was necessary for the commoners to work the land and maintain the

irrigation systems and taro fields in order to support the *ali'i*. While chiefs had gained power over one or more islands, they had never fully united Hawaii.

It is difficult to accurately describe the “traditional” Hawaiian culture in detail before contact, as sources are limited, varied, and often romanticized. Hawaiians had no written language (minus petroglyphs) prior to European contact, so nothing was recorded of their culture before 1778. Culture and traditions in the islands were oral and visual in nature. Genealogy and creation stories were memorized and chanted from memory; myths and legends were acted out and memorialized through hula and artwork (Castle 1915, Kuykendall 1961:12). After contact, the culture changed rapidly, and influence by foreigners and missionaries led to the destruction of many artifacts. As a result, much of what is considered traditional culture is some mixture of fact and fiction, with the line between the two often too blurred to decipher. This remains especially true of our understandings of gender roles in traditional society.

It is generally accepted that the *kapu* system had strong influence on the gender roles of individuals within ancient Hawaiian society. Women were considered *noa* or the opposite of *kapu*, and thus were often barred from engaging in certain activities, eating certain foods, entering specific places, etc. It was often feared that women could steal the mana or power of men, so their activities were separated. Men ate in a sacred men’s eating house called a *Hale mua*, while women ate in the *Hale aina* (Vacca 2010:39). Only men could prepare food in the *imus* or underground ovens. Generally however, men and women had similar statuses. Their work was separate but equal, with men working in the taro fields and fishing, while women pounded the tapa cloth and collected shellfish and seaweed (Earle 1997:37, Linnekan 1993).

Life on the islands was greatly changed by the influence and arrival of Europeans, as this led to the creation of a unified Hawaii. In 1810 Kamehameha the First conquered all the islands with the help of European firearms, uniting the archipelago for the first time (Earle 1997:38, Kuykendall 1961:25). Hawaii then established a monarchy based upon the English system, and became its own kingdom. Reign stayed under the Kamehameha lineage for five generations with all males ruling under the name of Kamehameha and their respective number, until the ascension of Lunalilo in the late 1800's (Kuykendall 1961). While all the official rulers until Liliuokalani were male, for almost the entirety of the Hawaiian kingdom the kings had a female advisor called a *Kuhina nui* whose power was equal to theirs (Kuykendall 1961:40). Kamehameha the First was succeeded by his son Liholiho in 1819, who reigned until his death from measles that he contracted while visiting England in 1824 (Kuykendall 1961). Kamehameha's younger son, Kauikeaouli then took throne at eleven years of age. Since he was too young to rule, his stepmother Queen Ka'ahumanu and then his half-sister Kinau maintained control as *kuhina nui*s until 1833 (Kuykendall 1961:52). Kamehameha the Third died in 1853, and was succeeded by his twenty year old nephew Alexander Liholiho. Known as Kamehameha the Fourth, he ruled until 1863 when he died from chronic asthma. His brother Lot Kapu'āiwa then took over, under the name of Kamehameha the Fifth (Kuykendall 1961:107). He would be the last of the line to reign as his sister who was heir died before him, and he named no successor before his death in 1872 (Kuykendall 1961:108). After Kamehameha the Fifth's death, there was the first opportunity in the Kingdom of Hawaii's history for the people to choose a king. Two frontrunners emerged in the election, William C. Lunalilo, and David Kalakaua. Lunalilo was the son of the first and second Kamehameha's *kuhina nui*, Kekāuluohi. David Kalakaua was also from a high ranking chief's family, or *ali'i* (Kuykendall 1961:138-140). Lunalilo eventually

won the public's choice, but his reign was short-lived when he passed away a year later in 1874 from tuberculosis (Kuykendall 1961:144). Kalakaua was elected to take his place, and reigned until his death in 1891. His sister Liliuokalani then inherited the throne, the first and only woman to officially hold the highest title in the Kingdom of Hawaii's history (Kuykendall 1961:173). Unfortunately however, her reign was short-lived as she was in power when the kingdom was overthrown in 1893.

The Missionary presence in the Hawaiian Islands after contact shaped many aspects of the society from that point forward. The first mission movement nicknamed the "Pilgrims of Hawaii" was organized in Boston in 1819 by a native Hawaiian named Opukahaia. He was brought to Connecticut in 1809, and after converting to Christianity wished to go back home and spread the Protestant religion to his people. Opukahaia never made to back to Hawaii as he passed away while enrolled in missionary school. The mission however was still organized and arrived in Hawaii in March of 1820. A large part of the success of the missionaries came from their timing. They arrived shortly after Kamehameha the First had passed away and Liholiho had overthrown the *kapu* system and discarded all traditional idols. This created a religious vacuum which allowed for the success of the mission (Kuykendall 1961: 44). In addition the chiefs were interested in creating a school system and thought the missionaries could aid them in this endeavor. The missionaries started first with interpreters, but eventually learned the Hawaiian language and began to develop a written grammar for it as well. They also created a mission press and printed Hawaiian translations of religious texts (Kuykendall 1961:45). Kaahumanu the *kuhina nui* at the time was friendly with the missionaries, and her power increased after Liholiho left for Europe and subsequently died from measles. It was due to her influence that native interest in Christianity and congregations grew (Kuykendall 1961:49).

The Catholic missions in Hawaii began after a Frenchman John Rives organized a plan for Business and religious expansion in the Hawaiian Islands upon leaving Liholiho's deathbed in England (Kuykendall 1961:56). The first Catholic missionaries arrived in 1826 against the wishes of the royal family, especially Kaahumanu. Boki, the governor of Oahu at the time disliked the *kuhina nui*, so he allowed the missionaries to stay. Eventually however, the priests were banished from the islands in 1831 due to pressures from the Protestants who held the sway with the chiefs and nobles (Kuykendall 1961:58). In 1839, the French who considered themselves the protectors of all Catholic missionaries in the Pacific essentially bullied the chiefs with the threat of war to allow for the free practice of the Catholic religion in the islands and land for a church. The first church was built in 1840, and schools quickly followed.

By 1840, Hawaii was officially considered a Christian nation and the missionaries were encouraged to stay in the islands and make their lives there. The church began to give them the lands, houses, and herds they had acquired up until this time (Kuykendall 1961:77). After 1840 when an edict for religious tolerance was issued, Mormon missionaries moved into the islands as well. They were successful because of their efforts to include native Hawaiians in the framework of their Church, and moved into all areas of the kingdom by 1854 (Kuykendall 1961:79). Much of the success of the missionaries in Hawaii had to do with the Hawaiians' desire to become literate. The majority of students within the mission schools in the beginning were adults rather than children. By 1832 more than half of the Native population had learned to read. Eventually the public school system was created out of the mission school system with David Malo, a Hawaiian Preacher and Antiquarian designated as superintendent (Kuykendall 1961:80). While the missionaries first promoted the Hawaiian language and the preservation of the nation, there was a push in 1845 for the English language to be taught in the schools as it became prominent

in business and government and the relationship with the US deepened. By 1854, there was a law issued for the “encouragement and support of English schools for Hawaiian youth” that eventually led to the abandonment of the Hawaiian language in the school systems (Kuykendall 1961:81-2).

Like most indigenous populations, the numbers of the Native Hawaiians were greatly diminished by the arrival of Europeans and their diseases. One hundred years after contact, the population was 10 percent of what it had been before (McMullin 2005). Since James Cook first came upon the islands in 1778, foreign traffic was a constant in Hawaii. Foreigners began to exploit the resources of the islands, with different industries flourishing at different times. These changes in the economy would eventually lead to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893. Shortly after the arrival of foreigners in Hawaii, traders recognized the abundance of sandalwood on the islands and began exploiting the resource to trade with China. Sandalwood was overharvested and quickly diminished to the point that it was no longer a viable trade item (Kuykendall 1961:41-43). At this point, whaling became the new mainstay of the Hawaiian economy. Beginning in the 1830s, ports of the islands were teeming with whalers and traders from Europe and the United States. However, this too would quickly decline due to a shortage of whales and the advent of the Civil War, terminating locally by 1880 (Kuykendall 1961:117-118). The industry that would ultimately lead to the kingdom’s demise, however, was agriculture. As sandalwood and whaling ceased, agriculture was heavily encouraged among the islands. Sugar quickly emerged as the most successful and influential crop, increasing in exportation 38 times between the reigns of Kamehameha the Fourth and Fifth (Kuykendall 1961:119). Plantations began to develop all over the islands to exploit this new business. Since the native population was greatly decimated by disease, it was necessary for plantation owners to bring in migrant

workers to successfully plant and harvest their crops on the islands. Laborers were imported from China, Japan, Portugal, Europe, and other Pacific islands which accounts for much of the ethnic and cultural diversity in Hawaii that remains to this day (Kuykendall 1961:156-157). The success of sugar in Hawaii resulted in great political influence for the industry and its leaders. The missionaries' timely arrival in the islands and close relationship with the royal family meant that they had always held a lot of sway and power, and successive generations had used this to enter the business world of Hawaii. Sugar was almost exclusively traded with the United States, but was heavily taxed upon arrival. For this reason alone, there was much talk and debate about becoming part of the United States or creating a reciprocity treaty (Kuykendall 1961:115). These business interests eventually led to the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 during Liliuokalani's reign.

On January 17, 1893, a group of foreign businessmen backed by American marines performed a *coup d'état* at Iolani palace, overthrowing the monarchy (Kuykendall 1961:178). The majority of those involved in the overthrow were European or American businessmen with strong ties to or positions in the kingdom (Fuchs 1961). Because of their business interests, this group promoted the move to have Hawaii admitted to the United States. Queen Liliuokalani surrendered to avoid any bloodshed, and was placed under house arrest in the palace and stripped of her power. She appealed to United States president Grover Cleveland to right the wrong done, and reinstate her as Queen. Cleveland first supported the return of power to the monarchy but the issue got moved to Congress, where American business interests prevailed, and eventually Cleveland chose to recognize the "provisional" government that was formed (Kuykendall 1961:185). In 1898 the United States annexed Hawaii under new President William McKinley, against continued protest from Liliuokalani and the Native Hawaiian population

(Kuykendall 1961:188). In 1900 a territorial government was formed, among numerous pushes for Hawaii to become a state. Despite these efforts, the islands remained a territory for over 60 years (Kuykendall 1961:287). In 1959 due to both the pressures of the ethnically mixed residents descending from plantations and changes in politics and economy, Hawaii was finally granted statehood by Congress (Kuykendall 1961).

As would likely be expected, the effects of foreign influences and colonization on Native Hawaiians have been devastating over time. The population of Native Hawaiians was greatly diminished after European contact, and as a result many current descendants are ethnically mixed. According to Census data from 2012, 23% of the population of Hawaii is two or more races. This group is third only after Asian and White, which compose 38.3% and 26.1% of the population respectively. These statistical groupings also do not take into consideration the mixing of ethnic groups within the racial categories. Of the ethnic groups represented in the islands, however, native Hawaiians rank near bottom for all indicators of wellbeing. Members of this ethnic group have a 21.5 % chance of living in poverty as opposed to the nationwide average of 15.9 %. They are also less likely to obtain a college degree, with a 14.5% average vs. the 28.5% US average. They have higher rates of diabetes, obesity, smoking, and alcohol consumption than other ethnic groups in the islands, and a life expectancy which is 6.2 years lower than the state average (McCubbin and Antonio 2012, McMullin 2003, Department of Native Hawaiian Health 2013). They are the most disadvantaged group within their own lands. The culture and language of the Hawaiian people also suffered from the history of the islands after contact. Missionaries heavily influenced and changed cultural practices and ideas through Christianity, marking many traditions as heathen. While the missionaries encouraged the continuation of the Hawaiian language, as English became the language of business in the

islands it began to diminish in use. Eventually it was completely discouraged in schools, to the point that children were physically disciplined if they spoke it (Hall 2005: 410-411, Kuykendall 1961:81-82). The culture and people suffered greatly, and the full extent of the losses were felt in the late 1960s. Encouraged by the Civil Rights and American Indian Movements of the time, the Native population decided it was time to start their own movement. Major efforts would be needed in order to ensure the revitalization and continuation of native culture. Thus the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance movement emerged (Ito 1999, Linnekin 1983, Young 2004).

Emergence of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement

The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement can be traced to many beginnings, but it had strong roots within the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Like similar native movements of the 60s and 70s, many of the leaders were young, urban and college educated (Blackford 2004:55). In the beginning the movement focused heavily on cultural and language revitalization. There was a great interest and push in returning to traditional Hawaiian culture, rather than the tourist image of the culture that had come to be popularly known. Cultural arts such as hula and native music flourished. While the Cultural Renaissance is marked by several attempts to promote different cultural arts, some initiatives were more widely accepted. Although Hula had remained a popular image in the conception of Hawaiian culture, traditional or *Kahiko* was not as widely practiced as the more modern form. Men had also been distanced from the tradition due to the influence of Western culture's conception of the dance as feminine. The Renaissance movement called for a return of men to the practice and to the style of Hula *Kahiko*. This was heavily fostered by the establishment of the Merrie Monarch in 1964, a hula competition held every year in Hilo, Hawaii (Kanahele 1979). An interest in traditional Polynesian navigation was also promoted, with the sailing of the Hōkūle'a from Hawaii to Tahiti in 1976 by the Polynesian

Navigation society. The trip was made in a traditional double hulled canoe replica, without modern navigational instruments. No native Hawaiians had the knowledge enough at the time, so a navigator named Mau Piailug from Micronesia was hired to guide them. The success of the journey was a great inspiration and moment for pride to many Hawaiians, and also emphasized their connection to other Polynesians (Kanahele 1979).

In 1976, the first occupation of the island of Kaho'olawe was conducted. The Island is the smallest of Hawaii's main eight, and has been used for military munitions testing since early in the twentieth century. Residents of the island were forced off when the Navy commandeered it in 1941 for bombing practice, despite protest from the native population. In spite of Eisenhower claiming by executive order in 1953 that the military would return the land inhabitable condition as soon as it lost its usefulness to them, bombing continued (Blackford 2004:547). By the late 1960s, the environmental awareness that had emerged in the United States created political interest in saving the island. The Native Hawaiian community begin to seek a return of the island for a combination of environmental, cultural, and political reasons. They saw the island as an opportunity for continued revitalization of Hawaiian culture, and the potential base for sovereignty (Blackford 2004).

By the 1970s, several Native Hawaiian organizations had taken an interest in the island, including Life of the Land, ALOHA, and PKO. The strongest oppositional force was PKO or Protect Kaho'olawe, which was created after the first of five symbolic landings on the island between 1976 and 1977 (Blackford 2004:553). The first occupation was undertaken by nine young activists in January of 1976 when they illegally landed on the island to claim it for the Native Hawaiians. Seven of the nine activists were immediately arrested, but Noa Aluli and Walter Ritte escaped and remained for three days. The things they saw enlightened the native

population even more to the devastation caused to the island by the bombings (Blackford 2004:553). During the fourth occupation in 1977 two activists, George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, were unfortunately lost at sea (Blackford 2004:554). These incidents raised greater public and national awareness of the plight of Native Hawaiians, and are considered by many to have helped kindle the entire Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. In 1978, the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention was held in response to Kaho'olawe and the protests of Native Hawaiians. It was at this convention that The Office of Hawaiian affairs was created, and there was a push for major efforts to revitalize the culture, return lands such as Kaho'olawe, and right many of the wrongs done at the hands of the government since the overthrow (Kanahale 1979:9). These initiatives and others promoted an increased sense of identity and community for native Hawaiians that eventually led to political activism.

The Hawaiian Renaissance movement emerged with strong support and roots in the University of Hawaii campus. Hawaiian language and studies were strongly encouraged and fostered both within the university and the movement itself, with the department being established in 1977 (Kanahale 1979:8). Despite this, it took many years for these subjects to be considered legitimate and receive certification in the university system. The influence of academia on the movement is still evident among many of its current members. Hawaiian Studies and Language education remain pivotal to its continuation and membership in present day (Kanahale 1979). While the focus in the beginning of the movement was language and cultural revitalization, it shifted gears towards more political issues and sovereignty in the 1980s (Young 2004). The movement had fluctuations of radicalism much like many others through time, but remains much less so in the current times.

The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement holds a firm foundation of a return to traditional beliefs and practices. However, the effect that the political past had on these traditions and their conceptions cannot be ignored. Often what is seen as ancient and traditional is really just an amalgamation of both factual and fictional memories of the past. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) write that many cultural traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite modern in origin and are sometimes even invented. They further define an invented tradition as, "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (1983:1). The inventing of tradition seemingly occurs most often when a rapid transition weakens or destroys old social patterns such that the newly emerging patterns are no longer applicable to older ways of life. As such, we often find evidence of this among native groups that were colonized. When people are forced to cope with rapid changes, they may attempt to build unity by advocating a return to some set of values and practices that they believe to have existed in the idealized past. This unity and sense of tradition often serve a political purpose in nationalist movements, proving the legitimacy of indigenous individuals' rights to their culture and land (Keesing 1989). Scholars have demonstrated how the highland traditions of Scotland, the rituals of the British monarchy, and even versions of African traditional marriages were recently invented. Few, however, have focused on the ways that gender roles become reconstructed in indigenous movements. Yet commonly, indigenous groups attempt to distance themselves from the dominant society by emphasizing that traditional indigenous ways of life were more socially and politically egalitarian. Keesing (1989) actually considers this a product of Western ideologies of the wisdom and naturalness of indigenous cultures, which have then been absorbed by the members of indigenous groups themselves.

Members, moreover, are then encouraged to incorporate these idealized conceptions of past gender roles and activities into present-day movements

The Role of Gender in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance

While gender is a central component in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement, activists and academics have disagreed about the roles women played in pre-contact society. The general conception of traditional Hawaiian culture is that it was rather equal across gender lines. Men and women seemingly had separate but equal roles, much like many Native American tribes (Vacca 2010:43). Understanding of the specifics of women's traditional position and roles, however, is limited by the fact that many of the first recorders of Hawaiian culture were male. From these ethnographic accounts, however, we are able to get a general picture of gender roles and status. In traditional society Hawaiian men were in charge of the cooking, deep sea fishing, warfare, and most religious matters, whereas women were in charge of collecting shellfish, making *tapa* cloth, taking care of the household. Childrearing was seemingly equally shared by the sexes. While men and women did separate tasks, women's goods were actually valued somewhat more than men's. Most men's resources were perishable and not long-term, whereas women created the longer lasting and more retainable goods (Vacca 2010:42). While men were more likely to be chiefs or hold high positions through religion, women had a lot of power in controlling status. Women were "markers of status and points of access to rights to rank among the chiefs and to property among commoners" (Linnekan 1985:105, Vacca 2010:46). Women also had the flexibility to procreate with those from higher ranks in order to elevate the status of their children. In her Master's thesis, Vacca states that based upon ethnographic accounts, women were equal parts of the household and larger community as men (2010:49).

While earlier scholarship found aspects of traditional Hawaiian society demeaning to women, more recent works emphasize the strong role that women played in the political and social spheres prior to European contact. In her Master's thesis, Connors (2009) uses archaeological records to try and reconstruct women's position in early Hawaii. She argues that women had an active role in pre-contact society. For example, she uses data from the excavations of shell middens to argue that women gained a sense of economic independence by provisioning their households with shellfish. Her literature review also cautions that much of the early literature on Hawaiian society was written by either European explorers or Hawaiian men educated in a Western system and thus included the biases of patriarchal thinking. In her article on feather cloaks in pre-contact Hawaii, Linnekin (1998) argues that it is very probable that women created this high status item because of the cloak's use of materials and resemblance to the weaving techniques known to belong to the domain of females (272). She also critiques existing literature that focuses too much on the alleged spiritual impurity of women through the kapu and noa system, when in actuality women played important and active roles in social and political life (265). She points out that women could and did serve as high ranking chiefs in Hawaii. They also were often the means by which political ties could be created and strengthened through marriage and childbirth (266).

Historically, the status of women is often diminished in the advent of a state society. Sacks (1974) explains that the rise of a state level society often pushes women towards the domestic sphere, while men are given more power and mobility within the public domain. Since the ruling class takes many of the political rights out of the household into the public sphere, women suffer a loss of power. Production is also moved outside of the domestic sphere which means that women are isolated from it and must start to depend on men for access to it (Sacks

1979). Hawaiian women like many others suffered some of the ill effects of these changes. When Euro-Americans started to move into the islands they brought with them Western conceptions of gender roles. They also brought products and technologies that had ill effects on women. One of the main contributions that Polynesian women made to their communities was the creation of tapa cloth. All clothing was made from this, and it was a necessary commodity. With the arrival of Europeans and missionaries, cotton cloth was encouraged for clothing over “heathen” tapa. This not only meant that households no longer relied on this product made by women, but families now needed cash to purchase cloth, and men had much greater opportunities to earn money in the colonial period (Gailey 1980:310-311). The arrival of Christian missionaries brought many ideas about the “natural” roles for the genders. Women were encouraged to stay in the home and care for it and the children, while men were told to go out and earn a living. Many of the roles that Christianity considers women’s work, however, were those of men in Polynesian society. Women thus were forced to do work that was traditionally that of the opposite sex and was demeaning and shameful to them (Gailey 1980).

In certain societies however, women have been able to maintain or even assume positions of greater power after the advent of colonialism and a state-level society. A prime example of this would be the Tlingit. In traditional society, Tlingit women were expected to be charge of the manipulation and saving of money (Klein 1980:93). Even after contact with Europeans they maintained this role, with Tlingit men often refusing to trade with outsiders without the approval of their wives (Klein 1980:97). In more modern society, women have adapted these roles by possessing more skills in the Euro American world, which allows them to hold the more permanent wage labor positions whereas men’s jobs are often seasonal and less secure. By maintaining traditional values such as communal care, the Tlingit women are able to keep their

roles as mother and employee compatible (Klein 1980:104). Thus, despite the propensity towards diminished roles, some indigenous women are able to adapt and use conceptions of traditional roles both real and imagined to maintain their status in state societies. In the case of Hawaii when numerous changes in perception and roles after contact occurred, women were sometime the main proponents of them. This was especially true of women's roles in propagating Christianity. It was Queen Kaahumanu who first overthrew the *Kapu* system by openly eating with her son. Queen Keopuolani was openly baptized Christian on September 16, 1823 before her death, and the chiefess Kapiolani defied Pele by going down into Kilauea in 1824 to testify her faith in Christianity to the public (Kuykendall 1961:46).

These conceptions of traditional gender roles in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance have impacted women's involvement and activities within the movement. Contrary to other indigenous movements, the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance had woman at its helm since its inception (Castillo 1997, Kauanui 1998, 2008, Linnekin 1996, Trask 1993, 1996). In a landmark paper, leading indigenous activist and academic Haunani Kay Trask (1996) denies that feminism has any place within the movement, as she feels it will be a dividing force between the sexes. She argues, instead, that the movement must focus on solidarity between men and women, and a return to more egalitarian traditional Hawaiian gender roles. Native Hawaiian scholar J. Kehaulani Kauanui(2008) does not agree with Trask, arguing instead, that feminism has a very definite place in this movement. She contends that even if traditional culture was more egalitarian, Hawaii cannot just return to this form and automatically change all the patriarchal thinking and ideologies that have been created since contact. Kauanui has also addressed specific issues within the Hawaiian nationalist movement that apply to women, such as pressure to only have children with Hawaiian men so as to not dilute the blood quantum. Through this she shows

how Western ideologies have pervaded the thought processes of indigenous Hawaiians, as traditionally they determined their ancestry and heritage solely through genealogy (2007). Kauanui (1998) also specifically addresses the strong leadership role that women have played in the nationalist movement through the inclusion of quotations by Haunani Kay Trask. Trask (1993:121-122) relates their appropriation of leadership roles to women's traditional role as the life-givers in Hawaii. They are said to be the creators of the entire *ohana* structure and are connected to earth mother Papahānaumoku. Thus they are seen as powerful and caring. This corroborates with the fact that women's roles in nationalist movements are often related to traditionally feminine roles.

The Role of Women in Other Indigenous Movements

Women's roles in indigenous movements are usually based upon larger and culturally specific gender ideologies. Generally, women take on certain roles, that can be drawn from the following outlined by Sinha(2004:216) to include: "biological reproducers of ethnic groups, reproducers of boundaries of groups, transmitters of culture and ideology, signifiers of difference, symbols in ideology, and participants in struggles ." In many movements, women's roles and opportunities are limited by an overarching perception of them as primarily being nurturers and mothers. Nationalism is often viewed as a call to re-masculinize the nation, thus men and their perceived traits are emphasized, while women's are downplayed (Herr 2003 and Sinha 2004). Women are seen as valuable for perpetuating the nationalist attitude within their children and being the strength behind the men. In her study women in the Indian Nationalist movement, Thapar-Bjorkert(1997) found that women occupied positions in both the public and private spheres. Women were mostly encouraged to maintain traditional Indian roles as mothers and housekeepers. This was seen as a return to the traditional and a way to counteract the British

influence that discouraged young marriages and encouraged women to leave the household. Women perpetuated the nationalist and patriotic attitudes by instilling them within their children and keeping them center within their homes. They were also expected to be the support and backbone for men. By keeping everything organized within the home, men were free to participate in the public political sphere. Women however, did sometimes participate in the movement publicly, most often by taking over leadership positions when men were jailed.

According to Iseke and DesMoulins (2011), indigenous women in Canada have been major proponents in activism, combining their traditional roles with those they need to take on in the modern world. These women use their role as storytellers and imparters of wisdom to pass on knowledge, pride, and customs to their larger communities who are viewed as an extension of their family. They use their traditional roles within the private spirit and expand it into the public, through advocacy and activism in social causes such as welfare, education, housing, and the medical field (2011:28). Women are most often the major influence on the younger generations, who in turn will be the future leaders of their groups and movements.

In other areas of the world, the participation of women in nationalist movements has been greatly discouraged. Castillo (1997) found that women in Latin American movements who tried to engage in leadership roles faced sexual and physical violence from the men in their communities. This remained true even for women who were previously active or intimately involved with men that were leaders in the movements. In one case it was a male leader that murdered his wife whom he had gotten involved in the movement in the first place when she attempted to assume a leadership role among women (114). Women's association with the domestic sphere was seen as a reason to exclude them from all public movement participation, and men reacted against their attempts to assume roles they had decided were for their sex only.

The traditional culture did not encourage independence and public participation for women, and like many other nationalist movements a return to the traditional was emphasized. Thus women's attempts to participate in the political and public spheres of the movement were viewed as counterproductive and threatening to the masculinity and power of nationalist men. Women's bodies, as a representation of the culture are also often seen as a location in which to wage battles of nationalism, through reproduction, imagery, and sexual violence (Castillo 1997 and Herr 2003). While Nationalism and Feminism have been seen as complementary, because of these attitudes and approaches there are often many incongruities between the two. Often women are encouraged to put the nationalist agenda before a feminist one, and their issues are ignored or sidelined indefinitely. Perceptions of traditional gender roles also emphasize women as belonging at home, and challenging this is seen as challenging the nation as a whole. Thus, women are limited in their participation within the public sphere in general as result (Herr 2003). So what is it, then, about traditional Hawaiian society or the reinvented version of it that is different from other groups in enabling and even encouraging women to fill these leadership roles? This project attempts to answer that question.

Young Adults in Indigenous Movements

The specific roles of young people in indigenous and nationalist movements are not often discussed in the current literature. While some of the activists who participated in protests in the beginnings of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement were young adults, many were older academics or knowledgeable members of the community. More recent literature has mentioned the increased involvement of youth in indigenous movements, recognizing the change that they can bring even from a young age (Benally 2013). The area in which the importance of youth involvement has most been recognized is that of language revitalization. In order to save

these indigenous languages, groups begin with the youth, enrolling them in immersion schools and raising them with it. This helps to create new generations of speakers, as well as instill thinking and perceptions of the cultural views of that language within these younger generations. Children raised in these schools may take this knowledge for granted at first, but often later recognize its value and become advocates of its revitalization. They also form bonds with the elders who possess the knowledge and recognize the need to become the new generation of speakers and knowers, as the elders won't always be around (Wilson and Kamana 2009).

Ethnic Identity, Blood Quantum, and what it means to be Hawaiian

When considering the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement it is important to consider identity, especially Native Hawaiian identity. While this movement has strong ties to traditional Hawaiian culture, its strongest proponents are not always of Hawaiian blood themselves. Hawaiian identity, like other Indigenous identities, is complex and multifaceted. Indigenous identity often has intricate political connotations because of the colonial histories of these groups. The imposed and politicized conceptions of indigenous often still have real life implications on members' and non-members' own conceptions of their identity.

The concepts of race and ethnicity, while often used interchangeably, are two distinct subject matters. While race is often considered by many individuals to be something concrete and abstract that they can base on physical appearance and blood, it has been determined to be culturally constructed with no scientific backings (Grammond 2008:487). Ethnicity is more complicated as it often includes aspects of ancestry, but can also be a self-identification based upon personal culture, group identity, etc. These two concepts become further complicated when looking specifically at indigenous groups. Historically and even presently membership in an

indigenous group at the political level is often based upon concepts of race, especially that of blood quantum. These concepts become tangled in people's conception of ethnicity and group identity, which are better understood through multiple factors such as culture, self-identification, and group participation, as well as ancestry (Grammond 2008). A racial conception of indigenous identity becomes problematic in particular instances such as when an individual is adopted into an indigenous community but has no native blood (Grammond 2008:506). An individual may also have the ancestry or blood, but if they are raised completely separate from the culture, they may not identify as such.

Traditionally, Native Hawaiians identified themselves genealogically. Their entire sense of identity came from their connection to their ancestors and the creators Papa and Wakea. The indigenous conception of native Hawaiian identity is about the relationship and responsibility to your ancestors and the aina, and its core is genealogy (Hall 2005). After the arrival of Europeans, identity became about ethnic makeup or skin color. Identity was about differentiating between the white settlers and the native population, thus emerged the concept of the "Native Hawaiian" race. But this was an identity that was created by the settlers, who determined the rights and privileges of the people who were categorized by it (Kupo 2010:11). With this identity came the conception of blood quantum and being part or full, all colonial constructions that ultimately worked towards dividing Hawaiians (Hall 2005, Kupo 2010).

The plantation days only promulgated the conception of racial identity in Hawaii, as owners used these categorizations to divide and conquer their workers (Hall 2005:406). In her article on Hawaiian identity, Hall explains that historically whenever there has been a discussion about "blood" in the US it is because of an issue of property somewhere (2005:404). This remains true in Hawaii, where at the institutional level Native Hawaiians were officially

recognized by conceptions of blood quantum in regards to the Hawaiian Homelands Act in 1921. This act serves to try and return some of the crown land to Native Hawaiians in an effort to correct some of their past wrong doings. As Hawaiians don't have the same political entity status as some other indigenous groups in the United States, their identity is based purely on ancestry. This act defines native Hawaiians as "descendants of not less than one half part of the races inhabiting Hawaii in 1778", a definition that remains to this day (Grammond 2008:497, Hall 2005). This blood quantum is not realistic to the current makeup of Hawaii, as while there are more Hawaiians than ever the percentage of Hawaiian ancestry that most individuals have is lower (Schmitt 1967:74). This conception of Hawaiian identity referring solely to ancestry is still very much present in modern minds, as evident in pressure on native Hawaiians to "keep it in the blood" by only marrying and having babies with other Hawaiians (Kauanui 2007).

Sarah Maddison explains that in the past, indigenous identities were often imposed and racialized based upon blood (2013). Since there are now certain benefits or resources that may be available to individuals when they identify as indigenous and a lack of a specific identifier as such, both members and nonmembers often question the authenticity of those who claim this identity. Tourism and popular culture have also had an impact, creating a specific image of "indigenous" that people expect individuals to live up to in order to be authentic. Hall explains how tourism and popular culture have worked together to create an idea of Hawaiian identity and culture as kitsch which serves to undermine Native issues and concerns as serious (2005:409). Popular conceptions of native identity often overemphasize the traditional and pay little attention to the real and modern lived experiences of these individuals, especially in urban settings (Allen 2002). The influence of political categorization still remains and discrimination may also occur based upon blood quantum or skin color. Governments often still have some influence in

defining status as indigenes through benefit programs, and they support the ideas of it as akin to their own goals (Martinez 2005: 3). The fact remains that it is impossible to identify a universal determinate of an individual's status as indigenous. Hilary Weaver (2001) defines three facets of indigenous identity: self-identification, community identification, and external identification. Because of these facets, indigenous identity is made even more complex. It is multidimensional and may vary depending on context or relationships, as well as evolve over time. As a result, Weaver concludes that the search for the "right" criteria to determine indigenous status is counterproductive and damaging and another form of internalized oppression as a byproduct of colonization. Chadwick Allen explores the concept from a blood/land/memory view, tying it to the colonial past of present day indigenous people who struggle to define contemporary indigenous identities in mix-blood individuals and communities (2001:15). He thinks the solution, however, lies in indigenous individuals seizing control of meanings and liberating themselves from definitions of authenticity imposed by dominant settler cultures. Hawaii's circumstances make for a unique situation because it is so far culturally and geographically from the United States, that residents want to identify themselves separately. Yet many are not ancestrally Hawaiian. Many Native Hawaiians have issues with those who are not ethnically Hawaiian trying to appropriate the identity. There are debates about the concept of "Hawaiian at heart" something which individuals who are not ethnically Hawaiian, but have a respect and knowledge for the culture and/or language, may call themselves. The problem is that these individuals have not experienced the legacy of internalized fear, shame, anger, and guilt that those who are ancestrally Hawaiian have (Hall 2005:411). These continuing debates and the perpetual complexity of indigenous identity made it a facet that could not be ignored when researching the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement. In a movement that calls for a return

of rights and land to Native Hawaiians, it is then important to understand who is identified as such both on a political and individual level. With Hawaii's complex history and ethnic makeup the number of individuals with Hawaiian blood increases, but the percentage of native blood each individual has decreases. So the question remains what constitutes Hawaiian or indigenous identity in the modern world, especially in regards to the Renaissance movement? Is it blood quantum, way of life, or some combination of the two? Also, is there a place for individuals who are not Hawaiian in this movement?

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

This project presents the results of an exploratory study of the attitudes of youth toward the goals and future of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance. The first research step was an extensive review of the literature on the attitudes and ideas of the older generation combined with a qualitative study conducted with young adults between June 6th and August 8th 2013 on the island of Oahu. The exploratory nature of this study ensured that qualitative methods were most appropriate in order to elicit deeper and richer initial understanding of the research domain. From this understanding, shorter survey questions can possibly be formed in the future in order to engage in quantitative methods as well. Several researchers have explored the appropriate sample size for a qualitative study. The standard for most social scientists is to determine the number of respondents necessary to reach saturation. Saturation occurs when all themes in the data are reoccurring and thus additional informants will not shed any new light on the issue under investigation (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Saturation has been found to occur in relatively small sample sizes, especially when the group has a strong cultural consensus (Romney, Batchelder, and Weller 1986). Atran, Medin, and Ross found that in some studies, as few as ten informants were necessary to reach a consensus (2005:733). During their research in Africa

Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) found that even after studying sixty women, saturation was occurring sometimes after only six interviews. They concluded that in homogeneous populations, six informants may be enough to reach meaningful themes.

Given the limited two month time frame of this project's data collection period, and the need to both identify and do in-depth interviews with respondents, a target number of about 20 informants was determined in order to reach saturation. During the actual research period, a total of 14 in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with informants ranging in age from 21-80 years old. The sample was purposive, as an equal number of each gender was sought out and then divided the informants by age. The informants were grouped into two main age categories, young adults and elders. Within young adults two subcategories were created- informants aged 21-28 and informants aged 29-35. These subcategories were based upon differences in responses and opinions of the informants within these groups, as well as because of general differences of where most of them were in their lives at the time. While the original target sample size was not reached, a marked and identifiable pattern in themes did occur which made it quite evident that the number of informants was still adequate to reach saturation.

. Sample recruitment was conducted through personal networks of the researcher established both during her time as an undergraduate at the University of Hawaii at Hilo, as well as from volunteering during the research period. Snowball sampling was then employed, by asking for referrals to other potential informants from those first interviewed. In the last month of the research period, an email campaign was created and utilized in order to recruit more informants. Informants ranged in education level from GED to Doctorates, and all resided on either Oahu or the Big Island. All but one was ethnically Hawaiian.

The interview guide (see appendix C) was developed to meet the main objectives of the research project and questions are keyed individually to these objectives. The general background questions 1-8 allowed for the collection of some basic data to investigate factors correlated with differences in patterns of participation in and attitudes toward the movement. The second set of questions 9-10 asked respondents about their levels of participation in the movement and also helped to elicit a general idea of the individual's views on the goals that the movement should embrace. These items were designed to meet objectives two and three of the research project. The initial ranking activity item, No. 10, was a simple way to begin to gauge the informant's perception of the goals of the movement both currently and in the future, relating it to both the second and fifth research objectives. Question number 11 asked individuals about how they came to be involved in the movement, relating it to the third research objective. It was also useful for gaining general understanding about the specific values and causes within the movement that appealed most to the respondents, and how these related to their conceptions of personal identity. Item 12, which asked about personal identity, was designed to meet the fourth objective, how young people conceptualize Native Hawaiian identity and how this is related to the movement. Question 13 gathered more details information on the activities in which informants participated, helping to further explore objective three. Answers to this question also helped demonstrate the level of commitment respondents had toward the movement. Question 14 specifically addressed informants' perceptions of how participation in movement activities varied by gender and whether they related such perceived differences to aspects of traditional Native Hawaiian culture, tying back to the first objective. Question 15 explored aspects of objectives one, two, and three by attempting to uncover perceptions about the relationship between traditional gender roles and ideas about feminism's place within the movement.

Question 16 was designed to relate conceptions of traditional gender roles to women's current leadership positions, thus touching upon aspects of objective one. The responses also enabled further exploration of the gendered activity in the movement and conceptualizations of Native Hawaiian identity, aspects of both objectives three and four. Question 17, which asked who is a part of the movement, also explores conceptions of Native Hawaiian identity, and how this is determined by young adults within the movement. Answers to question 18, which asked how informants meshed traditional and mainstream culture, enabled further exploration of objectives one and four in helping to determine how traditional Hawaiian society and Native Hawaiian identity are conceptualized. Since the question also asked about the sources of respondents' information on Hawaiian culture (i.e., older members of the movement, texts, schooling, participation in movement activities and classes, etc.), answers were helpful for delineating the varying importance of different ideological orientations in influencing young people. Question 19 asked informants about which aspects of the movement were considered important to them and about their hopes and plans for its future. Question 20 asked them directly about their future hopes and directions for the movement. The follow-up questions, 21 and 22, allowed the informants to contribute anything they deemed important to the subject matter which may have been overlooked in the interview guide.

Prior to the start of the research, two pilot interviews were conducted in Hawaii with former acquaintances who are active participants in order to evaluate how well the interview guide and individual items were working. All questions were found to be effective in gaining the necessary data to help reach the research objectives they were keyed to. The only change necessary was to begin with question 11 instead of 10 in order to get the informant involved and interested in the subject matter, and let them start from the beginning of their involvement. It was

also necessary to explain to informants that there was no wrong or right answer for questions, but rather their opinions and personal experiences were what was desired. Some explanation was also needed in order to explain that the title Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement is used mainly to connect current involvement with that of the past, as most informants simply consider their involvement to be cultural revitalization.

The research protocol and interview guide were approved by the East Carolina University Institutional Review Board. All respondents were read the consent documents and asked to sign them before interview were conducted (see appendix B for a copy of the consent form). All interviews were audio recorded in order to allow for more extensive and complete documentation of respondents' responses than what could be gained from note taking alone. General observations from this time provided supplementary data to what was gained from the interviews alone.

Once data collection was completed, grounded theory was utilized to analyze the information. Interview transcripts were coded line by line (Bernard and Ryan 2010). Narrative analysis was also utilized, in line with Tribal Critical Race Theory's emphasis on their value for understanding the conceptions and theories of indigenous individuals (Brayboy 2005). Once initial coding was completed, the researcher converted all data to electronic format and entered results into the data management program Atlas TI. This program allowed for a more exhaustive and in-depth analysis of codes. From patterns in the codes, larger themes were then created. These themes allowed for a greater understanding of the concepts which were present within the informant's responses. Interpretations were then made from the analysis of research data collected, which were then compared and contrasted to existing literature on the older generation.

The participants also supplied demographic data about themselves as well as quantitative data about the types of roles played in the movement and activities in which they are involved. These were counted and comparisons were made by gender to determine similarities and differences between male and female patterns, and whether these relate to sociodemographic factors. In addition to conducting interviews, the investigator also conducted participant-observation during the two months spent in Hawaii. The researcher resided with a local family with many ties to the community of the island of Oahu. Two weekends were spent volunteering with *Malama Loko Ea* helping to restore an ancient Hawaiian fishpond with many members of the local and Native Hawaiian community. The researcher also spent a day volunteering at Ulupo Heiau removing invasive species with a student group from California and the Kailua Hawaiian Civic club. The researcher went on a cultural tour around Kailua, visiting an archaeological site and learning about the cultural history of various locations. An alumni meeting at Kamehameha schools was also attended in which the researcher got to tour their new cultural center and meet many Native Hawaiian business owners on the island of Oahu. The investigator also visited the Bishop museum, specifically touring Hawaiian hall. Unfortunately, there were no specific cultural rituals or events in which the researcher was able to attend. However, the events just detailed, combined with engaging in local lifestyle and spending a large amount of time in nature, allowed for a deeper understanding of Native Hawaiian culture. At both occasions volunteering at Loko Ea, a Hawaiian chant was performed before beginning the work. A chant was also performed before volunteering at Ulupo Heiau. Regrettably the researcher did not have as many opportunities for participant observation as desired. While the movement does call for a return to the traditional, Hawaiian culture as all others is not static. One does not stop being Hawaiian if one is not engaging in traditional Hawaiian activities. A major way in which many

Native Hawaiians connect with their culture is through nature, so the investigator made an active effort to spend time outside both *mauka* and *makai*. Any data gained from participant observation was kept in minimal notes within a research journal. From participant-observation the researcher made some general observations about the community and revitalization. The first is that most revitalization efforts are a group effort. People participate with family or friends, and many individuals start young due to the influence of their parents. There is an emphasis on passing on knowledge and practices to the younger generations. The second was the importance of spirituality and culture. Participants still make active efforts to do traditional chants to their ancestors and Hawaiian gods and goddesses before they engage in these activities. Third, as mentioned before, is the importance of a connection to nature to connect to the culture. The ocean, mountains, and rainforest, are important places for Native Hawaiians to connect with their past. As a result, environmental conservation and efforts to protect these natural resources are paramount to the modern movement.

Description of Sample Recruitment and Demographics

The sample for this research was recruited primarily through snowball sampling. The researcher first contacted individuals she had former connections to who qualified as potential informants, and then asked for recommendations from each informant for potential others. Informants were also found through individuals met while volunteering at Loko Ea fishpond and Ulupo Heiau. There was some general difficulty in recruiting enough participants and some individuals agreed to participate but backed out or never got back to the researcher. In order to make the numbers needed for the study, in the last month of the research an email campaign was created. The campaign was then sent out to all past informants and anyone who might know others who would potential qualify in order to find the remaining needed participants. The parameters for the

informants were young adult individuals between the ages of 20 to 35 years old who identify themselves as active participants in Hawaiian cultural revitalization. As research was conducted, it was found that some older participants wished to be involved as well. Therefore, two interviews were conducted with individuals outside of the target age groups for a very basic comparison across generations. A total of fourteen participants were recruited, with seven members of each sex being represented in the sample. Seven of the informants fell within the 21-28 age bracket, five within the 29-35, and 2 within the elder’s bracket. Participants were rather well educated with all informants having attended at least some college, and the majority holding a college degree. All informants had studied Hawaiian language in some capacity. Another large trend in the informants was attendance to Kamehameha Schools, a private institution that gives preference to Native Hawaiians and is one of the leading proponents in language and cultural revitalization in the islands. Breakdowns of informants’ demographics are provided in the charts below:

Participant	Sex	Age	Native Hawaiian?	Level of Education	Attended Kamehameha?	Studied Hawaiian Language
01K011609	Male	24	Yes	Bachelors	Yes	Yes
01R012001	Male	21	Yes	Working on Bachelors	Yes	Yes
02M090512	Female	31	Yes	Masters	No	Yes
02E120209	Female	30	Yes	Some College	Yes	Yes
02J050301	Female	24	Yes	Bachelors	No	Yes
01I111221	Male	31	Yes	Bachelors	No	Yes
02M011901	Female	32	Yes	Working on PHD	Yes	Yes
01K011601	Female	62	Yes	Bachelors	No	Yes
01D010114	Male	35	Yes	Some College	No	Yes
01K011605	Male	25	Yes	Bachelors	No	Yes
01C080201	Male	80	Yes	Doctorate	Yes	Yes
02A111109	Female	25	Yes	Masters	Yes	Yes
01N150715	Male	26	Yes	Working on Masters	Yes	Yes
02K012105	Female	25	No	Bachelors	No	Yes

Age Group	Females	Males	Total
21-28	3	4	7
29-35	3	2	5
Elders >60	1 (62 years old)	1 (80 years old)	2

Young Adults 21-28

Sex	Age	Level of Education
Male	21	Working on Bachelors
Female	24	Bachelors
Male	24	Bachelors
Female	25	Bachelors
Male	25	Bachelors
Female	25	Masters
Male	26	Working on Masters

Young Adults 29-35

Sex	Age	Level of Education
Female	30	Some College
Male	31	Bachelors
Female	31	Masters
Female	32	Working on PhD
Male	35	Some College

Elders >60

Sex	Age	Level of Education
Female	62	Bachelors
Male	80	PhD

Chapter 4

Young Adults Mana'o (Thoughts/Opinions): Research Results

The interview guide for this study consisted of twenty-two questions, all of which were keyed into the five objectives of the research. After completing fourteen, semi-structured interviews with members of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement, data were carefully analyzed using Atlas Ti to code for themes and cross-check response patterns. Patterning based on the demographic variables of gender, age and educational levels was also investigated. While the sample was small in size, the interviews yielded detailed, in-depth information that provides important insights into the perceptions of younger movement members. Crucial to determining how young adults perceived the movement was an assessment of their views on what the key aims of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance should be. Their thoughts and feelings on this topic provide an important framework necessary to a subsequent discussion of how the impact of gender and age upon the members' roles and activities.

Hawaiian Language and Culture: "It Is All Interconnected"

The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement really consists of two separate but often overlapping central aims, Cultural Revitalization and Sovereignty. Cultural Revitalization consists of the efforts to perpetuate many of the native cultural values, traditions, and arts of

Hawaii. Also included within cultural is language revitalization, as many see language as equitable to culture. Sovereignty consists of the political battle of Hawaiians to regain power and control of their islands in response to the illegal overthrow of their kingdom in 1893. Intertwined in this is issues of identity and native rights. While the government has made some minimal efforts to right the wrongs of the past, it is often done in ways which are not conducive to the realities of modern day Hawaiians. A prime example would be the Hawaiian Homelands Act's, passed in 1921 which was designed to return crown lands to the native population., Unfortunately, the act designates only those with a fifty percent blood quantum or higher as native Hawaiian, which means that these claims are unobtainable for a majority of the native population (Grammond 2008:497, Hall 2005).

There are multiple opinions on and models for Hawaiian sovereignty, but the idea is generally that islands become politically independent and govern themselves. Often individuals will support both sovereignty and cultural revitalization, but sometimes they only support one. Informants for this research were specifically asked if they supported one or both of these aims. Thirteen of the fourteen respondents supported both aims of the movement. Only the 30-year-old female informant did not support sovereignty, stating "I support revitalization, but don't mind being part of America". It is interesting to note that this informant came from a military background, and was the only individual not born in the islands which probably influenced her ideas on sovereignty. While the majority supported both aims, most were quick to discuss how sovereignty was still in the distant future. Some specific themes occurred in regard to the concept of sovereignty. First, many informants explicitly referred to the lack of cohesion within the movement which does not presently allow for sovereignty. When asked if he supported nationalism, cultural revitalization or both, a 24-year-old male informant explained:

Both... it's iffy. When it comes to Hawaiians, a lot of people are one sided. Very sovereign, it's good, but a lot of it is impractical. We need to adapt to the new environment that surrounds. Positive change and positive interaction- we need to work together. Change can't come to outside if we can't work together within.

Informants also discussed the need for more cultural and self- awareness in order to create a firm foundation for sovereignty. When asked about what she supports, one 31-year-old female informant explained

Both, but I'm not sure what it would look like. If Hawaiians could have more say in what happens in terms of development and natural resource management, things would be a lot different. Make people aware that they can be involved in it regardless if we are ruling.

The informants' statements indicate that while sovereignty is important, there are still many changes that need to occur within individuals and the movement itself before it can occur. As the thirty-one year old male informant put it "With sovereignty, we need a foundation first. Need to understand ourselves first and what it is to be Hawaiian. The knowledge and thinking made sense. Without changing mentality, sovereignty is not possible".

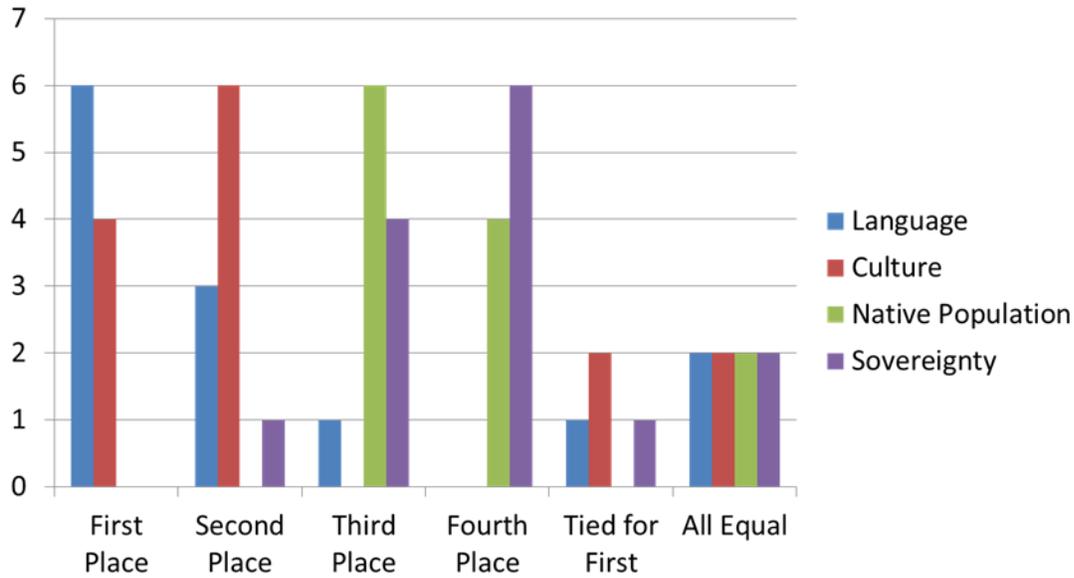
While many informants agreed that sovereignty would eventually become a reality, they also discussed the uncertainty of what form it would take. The older male informant explained:

Sovereignty in case of Hawaii would mean expression of people to govern themselves as an ethnic group. It may take three or four models of sovereignty, and that is being debated. And with Hawaii, it's a very particular case. As it is nation within a nation is most preferable at this point, I believe. We'd have the benefits of US citizenship and manage assets, existing lands we have. Maybe a commonwealth nation like New Zealand or the Cook Islands - Retain economic and defensive support of US, or independent country as it was before overthrow. Sovereignty will come to be in whatever form it takes, these are the first steps.

Sovereignty is very obviously something which is on the mind of the informants, but for most it is not at the forefront. Informants are supportive of this aim, but still unsure of the shape in

which it will take. The current emphasis is working on the issues within the community, and then working outward to bigger political issues such as sovereignty.

In order to better gauge what the participants consider most important in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance movement, the interview guide asked them to rank four things often considered movement aims: Cultural Revitalization, Language Revitalization, Native Hawaiian Population Revitalization, and Sovereignty. Cultural Revitalization in this instance was separated from language revitalization. It refers to all efforts to perpetuate and return to the thinking, traditions, arts, and lifestyles of Native Hawaii, most often those considered traditional. Language revitalization refers to the major efforts that started with the renaissance movement to revitalize the Hawaiian language. This includes immersion schools, language programs at Kamehameha and in the UH system, and any general efforts to better instill the language into daily life in Hawaii. Native Hawaiian Population revitalization came about mostly as the result of conceptions of blood quantum and the history of ethnic mixing in Hawaii. Some individuals feel that it is important to try and maintain a certain blood percentage, and as a result choose to only marry and reproduce with those who also have Hawaiian blood. Finally, Sovereignty refers to efforts to restore political autonomy to the Hawaiian Islands and its people, especially in response to the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893. Since each respondent was asked to rank the four in order to importance, I tabulated these and constructed a graph to show the sum total of how many times each aim occurred in a specific ranked placement based upon informant data.



Some very specific trends appear in the graphed data. While there were some outliers, the four aims have well-positioned spots in the rankings. Language revitalization comes in first, then cultural revitalization, followed by native population revitalization, and then sovereignty. It is interesting to note that in all six instances in which language was ranked first, the remaining aims were ranked in the exact same order. This ordering was: Language, Culture, Population, and Sovereignty. In the three instances that informants chose to switch the positions of language and culture, population and sovereignty were also switched, i.e.- Culture, Language, Sovereignty, Population. Two informants, one male and one female ranked the aims as all equally important. Two female informants considered two of the four aims as equally important. They first ranked language and culture as tied, followed by sovereignty and then population, and the second ranked culture and sovereignty as equal, then population and language. The biggest outlier was one female informant who ranked the aims as culture, sovereignty, language, and then population. This is perhaps a result of her being the only informant who did not attend either Kamehameha

or a UH school. She was deeply involved in cultural revitalization as a result of her family and upbringing, but did not speak the language. This would potentially explain why she considered culture important, but did not connect it to language like those who attended these school systems. Her family's involvement may have also been more political in nature, making sovereignty more important to her than some of the other informants.

It is clear from these data that language and culture are the two most important aims of movement to the respondents in the study. It is interesting to note that all individuals who listed either language or culture first, made some reference to the two aims being intimately connected. This conception of language as being equitable with culture and being so central to the movement very likely is a result of the approaches that have been taken within the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement so far. From the beginning, language revitalization has been a central aim of the movement, with strong incorporations of it in the educational sphere of the islands. Immersion schools were created, and native language education has strong holds within both Kamehameha and the UH school systems. Every informant interviewed who attended Kamehameha schools ranked language and cultural revitalization as either their first or second aims, minus one individual who ranked all aims as equal. Any individual who rated language or culture as their first and did not attend Kamehameha was connected to the UH school system in some way. The curriculum of these schools would seemingly stress the connection between these two concepts, and most of the literature on the movement discusses the efforts of language revitalization within some of Hawaii's schools. In fact, these efforts have been so successful, that many other indigenous groups have traveled to Hawaii to study their methods of language revitalization to apply to their native tongues. It is interesting to note that the only individual who ranked language as least important of the aims was the older female informant. While she speaks

the language and did attend UH Manoa, she was the only informant that learned Hawaiian through her family rather than school. All outliers of having language and culture as either their one or two spot in the ranking were in their thirties or older, and the individuals who had much more specific and political involvement in the movement.

A major theme that the informants discussed in relation to aims of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance movement was the perpetuation of the language and culture among the younger generations. Eleven of the fourteen informants specifically referenced the role of older individuals influencing and passing on knowledge to the younger generations, and their own responsibility to do so as well. Eight of the eleven mentioned it on at least two separate occasions during their interview. This then was equally represented among the sexes with six females and five males mentioning it. As the 24-year-old male informant explained while discussing his hopes for the future of the movement, “Engage younger generations and let them be who they want to be, not who you think they should be. Imagination fostered in youth, it had as much good as in technology. Secure a foundation before, that’s where we lose connection with generation. When they’re older it’s worse”. The twenty-five year old male informant used a metaphor of taro, something so strongly related to the Hawaiian culture to discuss his perpetuation to younger generations:

Taro, in my position I am the core (core, stem, leaves). I have knowledge to give small leaves (new generation), the core holds things together. I am a Hawaiian cultural practitioner at the Four Seasons Resort, I explain to guests about culture. I feel like the *kalo*, able to pass on my knowledge to others so they know about Hawaii.

The thirty- two year old female informant discussed this topic, specifically referencing how women are able to combine their roles as mothers and teachers with their involvement in the movement by perpetuating it to the youth “Great examples of women balancing all aspects of

life, involved children in it. Not a separate thing, which is great for a lot of people within the movement. It is all interconnected”.

A final aim of importance to respondents was to increase awareness of Hawaiian language and culture in the islands, as well as around the world. This theme once again ties back to the goal of the movement to dispel the tourist and one-dimensional view of Hawaiian culture. This concept was brought up by six informants. Females were twice as likely as males to bring it up with four females mentioning it, while only two males discussed this subject. The 21-year-old male explained how he wanted Hawaiian culture to be mainstreamed, even if it came about only through representation in popular culture. He stated

I guess I just want more people to know about Hawaii- people that don't know about the state. Not just the touristy view, that's a lame image. You see it more now, more people going to TV and reality shows from Hawaii, more representation. One actor from Game of Thrones and Conan getting popular and the Rock. Stuff like that to get people introduced to Hawaiian culture.

The 30-year-old female informant discussed the concept of awareness with more emphasis on Hawaiian youth specifically, stressing the importance of knowing where they come from:

My hopes are that people speak fluent Hawaiian and know about the culture- the royal line, history of when Captain Cook came. Hoping future generations will not be selfish and have more respect for elders, it's a big thing. More pride, I feel like the younger generation is all me, me, me and technology. Don't think of where they came from or their roots.

An important subtheme in the interviews was the benefits in current society of understanding traditional Hawaiian values and practices. For example; one 25-year-old female informant discussed something she'd change in Hawaii:

I would have to say ...I think, for better education about Hawaii's history overall. So many, majority in Hawaii but outside as well, that need a better understanding of that. Not just what the textbook says. Research and accessibility to things, old stuff- journals and primary source documents, letters, and newspapers. We need

to know, understand, and respect them more. This would solve a whole lot of stuff. If people understand what is tradition and what is not, and that nature is important for survival.

She felt that if people were more aware of the traditional ways of life in Hawaii, especially regarding respect and conservation of nature as well as aloha spirit, it would solve many of the current issues in the world.

Gender: Past and Present: “Women Have Something Different Than Men Do”

Women have always been leaders and key participants in the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. Therefore, I hypothesized that I would find differences between how male and female respondents understood the reasons for women’s high levels of participation in the past and how they viewed the future of the movement. In actuality, I discovered that there no real differences by gender in either perceptions of women’s roles in the movement or in terms of rates and types of participation in the present. Instead, age was a more significant factors. I will discuss each of these in more depth in the following two sections.

The first objective for this project was to determine how young adults active in the movement viewed or understood traditional Hawaiian society, especially with regard to gender roles. My goal was to try and determine if young people thought that women’s traditional roles connected to the fact that women have played major roles within the movement. Four questions on the interview guide were related to this objective. Any reference that informants made to Hawaiian women in the past tended to be regarding their high status. A 30-year-old female informant when asked if the movement had gender differences responded, “We don’t, even in Ali’i, when we had a king and queen and princess. King and queen were equals. Everyone loved two equally- everyone had their say”. A 26-year-old male informant also discussed the gender differences in Hawaii’s past, especially in reference to modern romantization of the culture:

Women get mad at me when I say *kapa* making and *wahalo* wearing are their things. *Lua* is men's thing. People get mad at me. If we are gonna be traditional, that's what it's like. Women had much more freedom than Western 20th century. We pick and choose with things. Romanticization is ridiculous.

Informants also mentioned the gender divisions that existed between the sexes in ancient Hawaii, but often emphasized that it was separate but equal. As a 31-year-old female explained in reference to the subject:

When you think about the roles, from what I understand of the trend it doesn't appear hierarchical, just different. In certain things women were maybe a little less powerful- eating restrictions. Different roles, men fish, and women make *kapa*- their major responsibilities. Roles fairly equal, but different. Interesting in our modern day people want things to be equal across the board, men and women operate differently fundamentally.

A twenty-four year old female informant had very similar views, stating "In ancient Hawaii, gender roles were very different, kind of more of a balance. Men and women had things they could and could not do- the duality of men and women within." So clearly, while informants felt that the genders had very specific roles within ancient Hawaii, their opinions about their power and position are that it was relatively high.

Informants connected the role of women in ancient Hawaii to that of modern women in the movement thought essentialist views of women. Ten out of fourteen informants agreed that women had a strong leadership presence within the movement. The reasoning provided was that women's inherent attributes and cultural roles allowed for this. For example, seven of the fourteen informants made an explicit reference to the strength of either Hawaiian women or women in general. One 24-year-old male informant said:

Women have something different than men do. Women had more power than men did. If man and woman stood next to each other and same rank the woman was higher. Ability to give birth and stand all of that deserves for women to be higher, and Hawaiians understood and respected that.

A 32-year-old female informant also referenced the strength of women, with specific reference to pre-contact society:

One of my suspicions is that Hawaiian women have been huge leaders, even back in the day. When *kapu* was banished, it was done by women. Other side of fight-women ate with men, fought to replace religion with Christianity. The resistance to it was also women; women have had a political voice throughout time.

Others referred to conceptions of the inherent strength of women making a more universal argument based on female biology. For example, a 30-year-old female informant simply stated: “I think it is women are more passionate and emotional. Hawaiian women are very strong.” A male informant aged twenty six agreed explaining: “I think you would get a totally different answer if you asked a woman. They have very strong voices and their own concerns. Women are very strong and will easily overwhelm men.” Informants seemingly used both cultural connotations as well as essentialist gender views in their conception of women’s leadership in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement.

Informants also used post-colonial realities in combination with their cultural ideologies in explanations of women’s leadership in the Movement. They cited women’s strong leadership position within Hawaii during both its chieftdom and monarchy periods, as well as in the present.

One 32-year-old female informant stated:

In lots of stories, it was the women or grandmother that had all the knowledge. Elder, usually female or wife or mother, is the one with wisdom. Monarchy period- women were extremely powerful and strong. In DNA or history women part of the political scene, no doubt that their relationship is there. Part of us since the beginning of time, no question it will continue.

It is interesting to note, however, that these references made little or no mention to the position of commoner women in pre-contact society.

Western influence was also exhibited through discussion of the contemporary social issues which resulted from colonization. These issues have often made it necessary for Hawaiian women to take the reins. Some of the social issues mentioned included domestic abuse, drugs, prison, and homelessness. The thirty-one year old male informant cited the prevalence of incarcerated men as the reasoning for women's leadership roles. He remarked "A lot of men were incarcerated, big percentage within the prison. After a certain time, certain roles were taken away and others were expected. Didn't know where to or how to get away, so they landed in jail. Women then took the reins and fought for causes." The 35-year-old male informant agreed when explaining why women filled most leadership roles within the movement "Mostly because all the men went to work, war, jail, etc. They were somewhere else. In lieu of no offense, defense stepped in as offense."

Informants often justified women's leadership roles by referring to Western conceptions about sex roles, specifically that idea that men are the breadwinners and women's role is childcare and tending to the emotional. It is interesting to note, however, that none of these informants addressed how women are able to have such a large role in the public or political domain as leaders in the movement, if their current roles have an emphasis in the home and private sphere. This could perhaps be explained as Hawaiian culture not dichotomizing these spheres, and not viewing motherhood and nurturing as incongruent with the public and political. One twenty-four year old female informant explained:

In some ways as... there's a lot more women teachers than men teachers in Hawaiian studies. They already want to be teachers- nurturing and supportive, a more feminine role. Maybe that's why there are more females and feminine men. Men think their role is to do more manly jobs- more fulfilling, more money. For women, this is not really the case. In ancient Hawaii, the gender roles were very different, kind of more of a balance. Men and women had things they could and could not do- the duality of men and women within. There is a balance perhaps

from men in revitalization, they found their balance and are accepted by Hawaiian people. Traditionally man goes out and works, the money maker role is more modern and not tradition.

This informant, however, contradicts herself in her response as she first says men as the breadwinner is a more modern conception, but then says men traditionally go out and work. A twenty-six year old male informant had similar ideas stating:

Men are the breadwinners, providers. Work and job, things you don't need to learn. There's less pressure for women to provide, not that they don't. A lot more female leadership, especially in Nationalist movement, and when there's male leadership, the wife is the real leader. It's interesting.

Both informants brought up the concepts of masculine and feminine, and how this affects involvement in the movement. The same male then brought up an important effect that colonization had on the Hawaiian culture- it was highly feminized. He explains:

Traditional culture was feminized. Men don't participate because they see a lot as feminine with the exception of surfing, fishing, farming, etc. When revitalization began in the 60's women were the last practitioners. Women had more free time in that part of history, especially with hula. Women kept it alive.

As Hawaiian culture was highly feminized after contact, it became the domain of women and their responsibility to try and maintain. Men were sent into the wage labor workforce and discouraged from participating in "feminine" practices such as Hula, so it was often grandmothers who remained the cultural practitioners and individuals who would pass down the knowledge to younger generations. As discussed earlier, a big part of the early days of the Renaissance was a call for men to return to the tradition of hula, especially the *Kahiko* form. The boom of the tourist industry in Hawaii in the twentieth century created an image of the native culture as happy hula dancers who smiled and kissed the foreigners as they put flower leis around their neck. A major goal of the Renaissance movement has been to awaken the public's mind to a more true and realistic conception of the Hawaiian culture- not just this highly

feminized and generic view. This feminization remains true in the fact that the third gender present within the Hawaiian culture, the *mahu* (most often individuals who are biologically male but dress and behave in way that Western culture considers feminine) has been highly present within the cultural arts. Two informants specifically referenced these individuals. One twenty-four year old male informant alluded to this in regards to his father's apprehension with his participation in hula as a result of colonial and Western influences on gender conceptions. He explained "My Dad was bothered by the dancing. In my Dad's generation they say dancing hula is *mahu*. Dancing was first men; women revitalized it after Western contact. It's a time where it is okay again, mentality that it is okay". The informant recognized the role cycling that has occurred due to colonization and revitalization, and discussed the differences between just one generation- his and his father's, in perceptions of a cultural art. The thirty-five year old male informant addressed the strength of all genders in the revitalization movement explaining "Gender thing is only a thing or crutch if you let it be. Don't mess with *mahus*- they are strong women".

While it's evident that themes arose in the topic of gender, responses regarding gender roles both old and new often had some sense of contradiction or confusion contained within them. Of the fourteen informants interviewed, five contradicted themselves explicitly when discussing gender in their interviews. This contradiction was most often specifically in reference to the power that women had in pre-contact society as opposed to the present. For example, one 21-year-old male respondent stated: "Traditionally women didn't have too big of a role- pretty equal I think. Women would do more house things and farm, men hunted and fished. Nowadays I think women have a bigger role- a lot of women major in Hawaiian Studies". This statement embeds a contradiction. Although he asserts that women did not have too big a role to play in

pre-contact society, he also says they were pretty equal. Yet in moving to the contemporary scene, he says that women play a bigger role in the movement than men.

The thirty-year old female informant expressed that class differences could affect women's roles and equality in her responses to the questions about gender. When discussing the difference in participation by gender within the movement, she said "We don't, even in *ali'i*, when we had a king and queen and princess. King and queen were equals. Everyone loved two equally, everyone had their say. No differences in participation of sexes, education would be difference". But her response to the question about gender roles past and present shows how she does not reference the *z* class and the level of power its women had in the past; instead she mentions the increased level of education most Hawaiian women have obtained in the present: "A lot of things have changed in the past millennium- women are more educated, women have pushed having families back- career and passions first. So many women who can do both- Family, career, and master's degree". Contradiction was also present in the response mentioned earlier by the twenty-four year old female informant regarding men's roles as breadwinners past and present.

The most obvious explanation for this prevalence of contradictions would be the lack of reliable resources on pre-contact Hawaii, especially those regarding gender. As Hawaii had no written language before contact, the culture was rapidly changed before it could be recorded. Even when it was, it was often by individuals that were male and educated within Christian Missionary schools, factors which would both influence the ways in which these men were portraying the culture and its people. Thus most informants' conceptions of women in pre-contact are based on some amalgamation of fact and fiction, and often contain contradictions.

They are told that women had high status, but often do not have the facts in order to effectively back it up. Thus, they often contradict themselves when they attempt to discuss this subject.

Young Adults' Involvement in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement

Imperative to understanding young adults' participation in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement was the identification of the paths they pursued in becoming members. Thus, the first fully open ended question of the interview guide asked respondents to talk about how they got involved with the movement. Two definite paths emerged from the data: young people became involved either through family and *kupuna*, or through school. While some informants named both as influences to their involvement, all of them named at least one of the two. Many of the individuals also discussed how they felt a yearning or emptiness inside them that they did not understand until they got involved in the culture and revitalization.

Four female informants and two male informants specifically named their families as their path to involvement and as their source of knowledge about Hawaiian culture and identity. When asked about where she thinks knowledge of Hawaiian identity comes from, the 31-year-old female informant explained "From their families. A lot of women I know came from family who were leaders. Kupuna, master story tellers, musicians, and supported them to become active or get higher education. Family is huge. If parents are good surfers, they are more likely to become good surfers". So this informant saw the families as pivotal not only to people's understanding of Hawaiian identity and culture, but to getting them involved in the movement as well. The thirty-one year old male informant explained how his involvement came primarily from the females who surrounded him growing up:

Growing up, it's what I knew, not a lot, but a good amount of understanding that I was Hawaiian, Chinese, and Haole too. Being here and being around it. Aunties

are *Kumu* hula and mom danced hula, culture in land of hula. Fish ponds and *lo'i*, I wasn't involved in early. Little things mom passed down when I was younger, foundations built on to where I am now.

Often the two influences of education and family overlap. In some instances the parents are choosing to send their kids to the schools with strong Hawaiian language and studies programs to educate them on what was not available to their generation. They also frequently get children involved in cultural arts and practices from a young age, such as hula or paddling. The 32-year-old female informant explained how her mother went to UH Manoa to learn about the culture so she would have the knowledge to pass down to her children, even though it was her father who was native Hawaiian. She was brought along to the classes that eventually led to her involvement:

I would say when my mom went to get Masters in Pacific language and culture-Hawaiian language and culture did not have graduate degrees. Went to classes with mom when I was 8/9 years old, got to go with mom. Meeting people involved in the movement, language leaders at the time. I was meeting them because of her educational pursuits. Going to protests in Waiahole, farmers protesting water diversion, and Kahoolawe. Awakened me to movement and own identity development, I started dancing hula and taking language few years later. Put me on road to accept responsibility to be a part of the movement.

So not only was this female influenced by her mother, but also by her mother's education and peers. This dual influence is something that was reported by four of the six informants.

Education as a gateway to involvement was mentioned by eleven of the fourteen informants. The education mentioned came in a variety of forms from primary school, Kamehameha schools, College, or the UH system. Often, the informants got involved later in their education either in college or high school. The 21-year-old male informant recounted how college had opened up the doors to his involvement "I guess I got into it through college, Uh Hilo has the biggest Hawaiian Studies department and focus on language revitalization. I was always interested in doing Hawaiian studies and going to a Hawaiian school". Informants' first

full connection and understanding of Hawaiian culture often came to them through education, as the 31-year-old female explained “I attended a Kamehameha program for kids who do not go there, a week long crash course in culture. Hands on and fun- paddling, hula, ipu, make friends and meet kids from all over Hawaii. This is when I was first conscious that Hawaiian kids are everywhere. It was fun and we were removed from our families at the campus- 5th grade”. The twenty-five year old male informant talked about how the influence of a teacher in college led him to become involved in the movement “One of my Hawaiian language teachers, one of my first. Really made teaching interesting, wanna keep pursuing. His way of teaching created pursuing, his way of teaching created interest. In High School I wasn’t interested, I was into sports not about being Hawaiian”. This examples ties in the influence of a *kupuna* with that of education to eventually lead to involvement in the movement. One 25-year-old female informant discussed how learning about her culture and language through a required class made her realize the importance being involved and knowing about her background:

When I first started learning Hawaiian just for the credit (language requirement), it really influenced me a lot. It was a personal choice, not one individual, and became a life’s work. Being a Hawaiian and not having the cultural connection, the connection to language hit home and I started feeling of responsibility within myself. I didn’t grow up with it and I want the future generations to.

Alternatively, some informants were influenced to join the movement through their own roles as teachers. It is not surprising that many members are involved in or interested in teaching, as it allows them to combine their conception of the importance of education in the movement with the importance of passing it on to younger generations. The older male informant explained how education helped him become part of the movement “It goes back to my academic career as a science teacher, natural sciences and my teaching career at Kamehameha schools for 35 years. Taking students into the community to extend their learning experiences, not only scientific

studies, but cultural as well”. Since twelve of the fourteen informants attended either Kamehameha schools, a school in the UH system, or both; it is not surprising that they have noted the influence of education on their involvement. Both of these school systems have been pivotal to Hawaiian Cultural and language revitalization since the beginnings of the renaissance, positions they maintain in the present day.

The inevitable effects of colonialism also understandably had their influence on young adult involvement in the movement, with several informants referencing how an emptiness inside them or things that did not make sense to them swayed them to become involved. As the 35-year-old male informant explained:

It was both a personal choice, and the way I was raised. At some point I started to participate, rather than just be a part of it. I grew up in a community in Waianae and a lot of things did not make sense. Half farm, half supermarkets, low income without TV. It was a community trying to be Western, processed food was desired. I had emotions, anger, and resentment that I shouldn't have had as a youth. The Queen's story caused me to investigate path. More unanswered questions, but her path 100% discredited US' claim to Hawaii. The little part of my heart that beats for love/passion cannot be free or beat as part of US.

Age Differences in Types and Levels of Participation in the Movement

To further gauge involvement in the movement, informants were questioned specifically about which sort of organizations they belonged to, as well as about the activities in which they engaged in that they considered to be related to the movement. While the data showed there were no major differences between the sexes in terms of types of involvement, there were some differences between age groups. All but one of the respondents in their twenties named three types of organizational memberships: Hawaiian or cultural clubs at their school, Clubs or schools for a cultural activity they participated in such as hula, or no membership in any one organization just general volunteering. They averaged 1.1 memberships and never named more than three

total. The one informant, who was in her twenties and cited her participation in an organization that did not fit these categories, a non-profit, was employed by them.

Individuals in their thirties and the two older age bracket informants had much different trends in activities. The informants in their thirties named a variety of organizations, including those mentioned by younger people as well membership in more politically centered clubs. The informants in their thirties averaged 2.8 club memberships. The two eldest informants had the most specific memberships in clubs, organizations, and boards, with six and seven respectively. They both also had involvement with political councils or boards. It is clear when examining their involvement that the older individuals would seem to be much more politically minded. In fact, the only informants who mentioned physically protesting were both females in their thirties. This pattern correlates strongly to the tendency of the older respondents to rank sovereignty as higher priority goal for the movement than younger respondents did. The only participant in her twenties who ranked sovereignty in her top three, was the sole informant not of native Hawaiian ancestry. This fact perhaps influenced her decision to rank Native Hawaiian Population revitalization as less important than sovereignty, as it is something she cannot relate to.

Age Group	Average Number of Memberships related to Movement
21-28	1.1
29-35	2.8
Elders>60	6.5

While the younger generation is seemingly less politically active in the movement, all individuals regardless of age had similar views on what makes you part of the movement. While a few indicated that people could self-identify as part of the movement, they still maintained that to be “real” members, people had to be involved in some form with the activities of the

movement. The type of involvement could vary from learning the culture or language, to volunteering with groups or organizations, or even protesting. As the 24-year-old male informant explained, “Watch the actions. Today, a lot of people talk. To me, it’s not your words, it’s your actions”. The 35-year-old male informant also emphasized action, both positive and negative “How you tell if people are part of the movement is like how you determine who is paddling in a canoe. If your canoe is not moving, someone is not paddling”.

Native Hawaiian Identity and the Movement: The Importance of Blood and Ancestry

The concept of identity, especially native Hawaiian identity, is intimately connected to the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement. When you fight for the rights, language, and culture of Native Hawaiians, the question becomes who is considered a native Hawaiian. Who can be a part of this movement, and what factors or activities does identity itself depend on? The interview guide approached the concept of identity from two different perspectives. In addition to the discussion above about people who were part of the movement, informants were also asked to define their own identities, and how these related specifically to levels and types of participation. Respondents were also asked how they specifically determined if someone was Hawaiian or not.

Identification as Hawaiian was extremely prevalent within the interviews. When asked about ethnicity for demographics, twelve of the fourteen informants identified as Hawaiian. Ten of those twelve named it first. The female informant who did not name Hawaiian as an ethnicity said she “was 100% Japanese,” and the male informant identified himself as Pacific Islander. In terms of the question regarding personal identity and involvement in the movement, Hawaiian was often mentioned again. Ten of the fourteen informants specifically referred to themselves

once again as Hawaiian. Even when they did not explicitly name it, they made reference to their identity as such. Informants often related their identity as Hawaiian to their involvement in the movement, by stating that they wanted to learn more about their culture and people. As the 24-year-old male informant explained “I’m American, but Hawaiian first. I am a cultural practitioner or steward of the land. I’m just a person that wants to learn about my people, it has everything to do with my involvement”. The 21-year-old male informant stated “I consider myself Hawaiian and I guess it relates to my involvement because I’ve wanted to be more knowledgeable about my culture, just a general interest”. Informants also talked about how their identity as Hawaiian meant that they had a responsibility to perpetuate the culture and use the culture as a foundation for aspects of their lives. The 24-year-old female informant who is a mother explained how knowledge of the culture and language was important for her to pass down to her daughter “As a mother, when pregnant I always thought I’d be speaking Hawaiian to her. There’s a foundation to perspectives and values through the language, she’ll grow up with them. It’s her own choice whether or not to continue it”. The twenty-five year old male informant explained how his Hawaiian identity related to his involvement through metaphors:

I see myself as part of a foundation to begin revitalizing the culture. When you build rock walls, you start with a foundation so it does not knock over. See myself that way. I’m 25, young, and have the opportunity to continue my culture through my language I learned in college and through my music. When I sing Hawaiian music, revive songs that haven’t been sung for many, many years. From singing, to working in taro patches, building rock walls, and speaking Hawaiian equals being able to practice and ways to revitalize culture.

Informants explained that while their other ethnicities were important parts of their own identities, the needs of the movement and the Hawaiian community meant that the Hawaiian component must take precedence. The 24-year-old female informant explained “Hawaii in general, people have lots of ethnicities and learn one for passion. People in the movement

identify as Hawaiian first, then other ethnicities”. The thirty-two year old female informant agreed stating: “ I definitely identify as Hawaiian and native to this place. I don’t disregard that I’m also Chinese and Haole, but identify more with Hawaiian. Ally with Hawaiian in movement, responsibility and why we do it is different”.

“Hawaiian at Heart”: The Role of Outsiders in the Movement

Respondents were specifically asked if they felt it was necessary to be of native ancestry to be part of the movement. The majority of the informants clearly stated that it was not essential to be Hawaiian to be involved in the movement. Five informants referenced how large of part non-Hawaiians had played, or even named a specific individual who they considered a member of the movement. Once again they emphasized the importance of action, as well as thought process and respect. As the twenty-one year old male informant stated, “You don’t have to be Hawaiian to be a part of it. One of the head people in Hilo is not Hawaiian, he’s white and helped write the book we use. It’s all about your involvement. Show by your actions, it’s not about ethnicity”. The 24-year-old female informants agreed stating “I just think that people who are interested in continuing and perpetuating culture are in the movement, not necessarily sovereignty. Don’t have to be Hawaiian to be interested in culture, there were people in my classes from the mainland and Japan”. The thirty-two year old female informant agreed, emphasizing how non- Hawaiians are an important part of the movement, but also cautioned that they maintain certain roles “Need allies and help from other indigenous groups, local Haoles. But it’s a different role. You need to personally, if you’re not Hawaiian, you shouldn’t be the leaders or calling the shots- bridge between other groups. Uncomfortable when they begin to speak for us”.

The concept of Hawaiian at Heart was brought up by seven of the fourteen informants, especially in reference to non-Hawaiians involved in the movement. This term is often used to refer to an individual who is not ethnically Hawaiian, but has a respect and knowledge of the culture or language and often engages it in their everyday lives. The 25-year-old male informant explained his stance on the concept by explaining:

You don't have to have the blood, but you care about the culture. If you volunteer and help the people, you have inside you, if you care and you do something that distinguishes you as a Hawaiian at heart. If you take the time to learn the language and workshops, blood or not you are revitalizing. Blood, yes is good, but the people at heart that really care about the culture I take my hat off to you. It distinguishes you as a Hawaiian at heart.

The twenty-five year old female informant who was not of Hawaiian blood talked about her difficulties in defining her own identity and the concept of Hawaiian at heart. With others it was easier for her to accept it, but harder for her to consider herself as such:

People who are Hawaiian tell me I'm more Hawaiian than whoever because I care and give. I Wish I was Hawaiian. Makes me feel nice that they accept me without blood quantum.-my cousin is Hawaiian. Tells me "You are more Hawaiian than me". I do struggle with it. To some extent they are right, my friends would say I'm more Hawaiian than a person with the blood who doesn't care, but I don't want to distance them from that as well. As a country- nationality would be Hawaiian- we all would be. It's hard to say I'm Hawaiian- other people are to me if they're into the culture and language, but not me myself.

This informant wanted to be accepting and open to all individuals who are participants of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement, but struggled with conceptions of identity especially related to Hawaiian blood. She recognized that Hawaiian was more than just blood, but did not think it was acceptable for her to take on the identity without it.

When it came to the question of what distinguishes someone as Hawaiian, aspects of the colonial past of the islands were brought to the forefront. Informants blurred the lines between ethnicity and race, and almost always mentioned the concept of blood. Physical characteristics were rarely mentioned in responses, but blood or lineage was central. Thirteen out of the fourteen informants mentioned the concept of blood in their interviews, and the one informant who did not still referred to lineage. Most informants were quick to state that non-Hawaiians can be “Hawaiian at Heart” and are often part of the movement. When questioned further, however, they would admit that blood was necessary to be considered truly Hawaiian. The twenty-four year old female informant explained:

One of my *kumus* from Kamehameha used to discuss whether or not you can be ‘Hawaiian at Heart’. You don’t just make yourself love the culture or language; you’re born with it and find the spark within you to go after it. The teacher was from Japan, but in a way more Hawaiian than many people who have Hawaiian blood. Native Hawaiians by blood wouldn’t call non-blooded Hawaiians Hawaiian. Practice culture and in movement, but native Hawaiian equals blood.

The 25-year-old male informant explained how he felt guilty for not liking the concept of Hawaiian at Heart, but to him only blood meant you were Hawaiian:

Hawaiian blood is something else; I don’t like Hawaiian at heart. But even having the blood you need to care and do a part. Why blood isn’t enough or Hawaiian at heart is not enough. If a person does things Hawaiian, it’s helpful but they’re not Hawaiian, need to evolve at societal level. Feel bad for feeling that way, but I do.

The 35-year-old male informant explained how he recognized the effect that colonialism had on basically creating the conception of blood quantum in Hawaii “Lots of people identify through lifestyle and practices not their blood. May not be a choice, but placement. Heading into a new day and age where questions will get more complicated, it was never a problem before the US stepped in”.

Native Hawaiian Identity: Blood and Lineage Alone Are Not Enough

What becomes evident in looking at the data on identity is that while informants consider blood and lineage necessary to being Hawaiian, these alone are not enough. Through their narratives it becomes apparent that the Hawaiian identity consists of ways of thinking, living, and doing; rather than just lineage alone. Several of the informants brought up the importance of engagement, action, and lifestyle in terms of Hawaiian identity, especially in relation to the movement. As the 24-year-old male informant explained about his culture:

To Hawaiians, talking is simple... simple minded. The things that you say will manifest. The energy you put out will come back. Say at appropriate time. When you speak, it is out in the universe. Thinking is energy as much as wind. They did not speak much, but rather, showed in actions.

When asked specifically about Hawaiian identity, the 35-year-old male informant stated:

If you're Hawaiian, you are unique to inspire those around you through living lifestyle of your ancestors and their hard work. Look at what they eat, what they do in their life, see if they understand the difference between living Hawaiian and being Hawaiian, and what the responsibilities are for both. What you eat and what you do are two different types of responsibilities, you have no excuses. There's environment that shapes and creates identity within community. Lots of people identify through the lifestyle and practices, not their blood.

The older female informant explained some of the current issues with the younger generation in the movement. Mainly, that they are too focused on just simply having the knowledge, but they are not practicing the culture or engaging in activities to help the movement.

She explained:

All for revitalizing, but how are you as an individual revitalizing? Academic's influence is self-promoting. What are you doing to help our land, air, water, sacred sites, etc.? These are all living things to our culture, personally and consciously, you need to be practicing that knowledge.

Hawaiian identity was also referred to frequently as a mentality, foundation, or spirit within oneself. It seems evident that to the informants, being Hawaiian should influence aspects of the person you are and how you go about living your everyday life. The 21-year-old male informant explained how he felt this concept is what allowed some individuals to be Hawaiian at heart:

To determine identification as Hawaiian, the basic way would be to just ask them if they are part Hawaiian; it's more of a mentality. A lot of people who are and who aren't, but people lived here long enough that they have the mentality from being around and knowing the culture.

When asked about how he meshes traditional with mainstream culture and technology, the 31-year-old male informant explained how he accepts the new, but uses the traditional to shape his general mentality "Nowadays it is the way you gotta go. If they had it back then, they would have used it. Integrating and utilizing, but still foundation of Hawaiian function and mentality".

The concept of a Hawaiian spirit was also brought up by four informants in relation to identity. The older female informant explained how the Hawaiian spirit is more important to identity than knowing the language or cultural practices. She said: "Understand who we are as a people. Hawaiian is not defined by our language, our dance, our chants; it is the heart, mind, and spirit of our people. For too long we have had other people define us". The older male informant had a similar opinion, explaining how the uniqueness of Hawaiians was not in their blood or physical appearance but rather their spirit:

Spirit or concept of Aloha- accepting of people makes us different- can be its detriment. It goes back as a Hawaiian, it doesn't have to be through a blood quantum (debate >50% to be Hawaiian) doesn't take into account genetic factors, you would find some would not be that aren't, and others have more but look less. Blood quantum is offensive and archaic. I believe that there are differences- many full blooded who look Hawaiian are not Hawaiian in their ways. Many who have less blood quantum but if they maintain cultural values concepts and practices and demonstrate them in their lives, they would be Hawaiians.

The Future of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement

From the data already presented, it becomes quite clear that the young adult informants, as well as the two older participants, are very committed to the movement and its future. As discussed previously, eleven of the fourteen informants stated a strong desire and responsibility to perpetuate the Hawaiian culture, language, and values to the younger generations. A couple even made reference to their hopes and plans to pass these values to their own children. Clearly, the informants are focused on and invested in the future and making sure that revitalization continues with the coming generations.

Language revitalization is still very much a main priority to the young adult informants, much more so than to the older participants. When asked about their perceptions of the future of the movement, these younger informants often referenced the need for more or improved language education for the youth. At the end of the interview, they were asked if they could change any three things in Hawaii what these would be. The question following that one asked about their hopes for the future in Hawaii. As would be expected, many themes between these two questions overlapped. In both sets of answers, half of the respondents referenced the need for either more language use, education, or both. Many expressed their desire that the language become more mainstreamed and part of a living culture. They wanted it to move outside the classroom, and start being engaged in everyday life in Hawaii. As one of the 25-year-old female informants explained:

My hopes are that we can move past our old goals. We're 30+ years in, let's start setting new goals. Leaders still fixated on old goals and the older generation. They're worried about putting speakers out there, and not treating it as a living language. Goals shift to make it more mainstream. Not just teachers and speakers. Incorporate into other careers, etc.

So while the younger generation is still very much focused on language, their emphasis and goals have changed. They feel language skills now need to be taken outside of the classroom and academia and brought it into everyday mainstream life. Thus, no longer want to revitalize the language but to live it.

These younger adults also want the values of Hawaiian culture to be embedded in everyday life. Since the language to many is an extension of culture, with widespread language usage comes immersion into Hawaiian values and thinking. The young adults also talked about the need for increased awareness of the language, history, and values of Hawaii by outsiders as well as residents of the state. One 25-year-old female informant explained how she wished to see a higher prevalence of the Hawaiian concept of aloha not just in the islands, but around the world as well:

More aloha- not just Hawaii, but whole world. I have such trouble with that- showing aloha- surrounded with so much I don't-two worlds. Society says is right or what I want- more aloha for what other people choose for their lives and for each other. Road rage before seemed happier. As a kid there was more aloha, everyone would say hi, catch up, and talk story. My Dad, he's Mr. Aloha. Everyone knows him and talks to him, he's friendly outgoing, and will always talk story. More open, it's hard some ways, don't always wanna talk to people or sometimes we still judge on appearances. Wish all people could see change and have more aloha for each other.

The 31-year-old female informant explained why felt understanding and utilizing traditional knowledge was so important for the future of Hawaii, as it would take care of people in the end:

Just that people, Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians can come back to the land and realize that it takes care of us in the end. People here good understanding, they could have potential to change things. Benefits of working with land and outdoors, so many things you can learn from traditional knowledge. Take some of that expansive knowledge and learn from it.

The informants also specifically referred to alternative forms of education that exist within the Hawaiian culture that may have been devalued over time due to Western influences.

The 31-year-old male informant explained the benefits of community gardens and the values it could teach children “I would create more community gardens. A big garden to grow own food, having an area where they know it’s coming from and children can gain an appreciation for it. Relationship with land and growing it yourself, you come to understand math, science and history through it”. The 24-year-old male informant discussed the need for increased focus on the arts to foster the spirit within children:

I would change the school system-move arts to the front of the line, mandatory for all students to learn. They say the problem starts at this point, and grows along. Try to fix from new problem, and work our way down. We need to start from root. Everything else has happened, but we need to change root so we change what will happen. Fix the source, the school. Our kids are the new generation. Fix them now and put them in appropriate environment now, instead of trying to change them later. All about spirit, not your physical being.

Technological advances have made many changes and improvements within the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement over time. As would be expected with the increased usage and popularity of social media, many informants referred to its potential for helping the movement. Five of the informants specifically referred to utilizing technology for spreading and perpetuating the movement. The 31-year-old female informant explained that while traditional values and ways of life were beneficial, it is also necessary to embrace technology and move the culture forward:

I think the mainstream culture and technology allows us to explore our culture that much more. Just living today we to automatically do that, just because it’s hard to determine what is true. How culture is, the way we live our lives, we’re not the same, we cannot go back to exactly the ways our ancestors were. For instance, paddling, there are amazing new canoes that are under 200 pounds. Evolution (normally 4-500lbs) – living canoes, blows my mind every time we see them. Hold on to what we have, move forward and perpetuate it, don’t be stuck.

The 31-year-old male informant had a very similar opinion stating:

Nowadays it is the way you gotta go. If they had it back then, they would have used it. Integrating and utilizing, but still the foundation of Hawaiian function and mentality. Use Ipads to get culture out there. It's the computer age, teach others through technology. How we see things, newer things make things easier.

Informants also referenced the open and eager attitudes that their ancestors had in the past towards technology. As the older male informant explained:

Constant learning takes place. Hawaii has changed since the 1800's tremendously. When it became a monarchy, it was one of the most Western monarchies in the Pacific. It had electricity and phone system before Washington DC. Innovative and adaptive, cultural values need to preserve. Not all traditions you want to preserve. 80-90% of Hawaiians became literate and became Christians. Hawaiians have always been adaptable with new technology. When Western cotton cloth was introduced, they stopped *tapa*. Metal introduced, no longer made adzes. Mainstream fits in, in order to do the kinds of things that need to be done.

A 25-year-old female informant gave some specific examples of how technology had personally helped her in participating in the movement and perpetuating the Hawaiian language “Personally, I look at Facebook, using something modern, statuses in Hawaiian or posting something about Hawaiian culture. YouTube- worked with program for native Hawaiian kids and taught them about culture, writing stuff in Hawaiian and putting it out there”.

The concern that almost all informants brought up which hasn't been at the forefront since the movement's beginnings was that of conservation and sustainability. Eight of the fourteen informants specifically discussed the need for increased sustainability and conservation in Hawaii. After language it was the most referenced theme when discussing things informants would change for the future of Hawaii, with eight of the fourteen informants mentioning it in response to either or both questions. Informants often alluded to the need to control development and invasive species in order to not only preserve native species, but the land and natural resources for traditional purposes. The 31-year-old female informant dedicated two of her three changes to conservation explaining:

First, budget a lot more money to take care of the invasive plants threatening our native species. Actively manage areas taken over and preserve areas in good shape. I didn't realize how crazy invasives were till I went *mauka* while living on Molokai. Irreplaceable, it teaches about who we are, land and plants, and animals. Enforce rules about bringing in more. Second, make land use commission- listen to board of informed Hawaiians (panel) to make informed decisions about development in an effort to preserve the way of life we have here and what's important. So they can't develop agricultural lands left and right, seems like it is happening.

The 35-year-old male informant had a similarly strong opinion regarding sustainability and conservation, dedicating all of his changes to the topics "First, have 100% of everything recycled. From asphalt to ash to underwear- everything. Second, to restore 100% stream flow- desalinate or make own water. Finally, work on setting up competitive, Malama aina policy, control of land goes to those who could take care of it best, not the opposite".

A subtheme that emerged was how a return to traditional knowledge, lifeways, and values would help to work on these issues since conservation and sustainability were intimately embedded within the culture. Informants often referenced how concepts of conservation and sustainability were rooted within the traditional Hawaiian culture. As the older male informant explained about his role in the movement, "Supporting revitalization in all areas. From my perspective, bringing in the ecological. It goes back to the conservation values of Hawaiians- Aloha the *aina*, *Malama* the *aina*" The 35-year-old male informant discussed how he felt traditional values could help not only Hawaii, but the rest of the world with some of these issues: "Mainstream world is evolving at an extreme pace and doesn't have values like sustainability. There's a lot that Hawaiian cultural practice and culture can build on". The logic of respondents was sometimes circular; however, as they also discussed the need to conserve the natural and cultural resources in the first place in order to perpetuate the traditional values and knowledge. The 21-year-old male informant spoke of his hope for increased conservation in the future to

continue the education of youth in traditional values and practices “Another, a lot of conservation of Hawaiian places. Fish ponds used to teach kids on my side of the island. Farms to teach kids to make poi, pound *kapa*, and plant taro. The traditional ways to do things”.

As health has been a major issue for the Hawaiian population, it is not surprising that five of the informants made a reference to the need to work on this in the future. Over time it has been determined that one of the most effective ways to deal with the ill health of Hawaiians, especially issues with diabetes and obesity, has been a return to traditional food sources. The 24-year-old female informant explained how she would change Hawaii under these guidelines to improve native health:

First, I'd make us less dependent on imported items. Have people grow their own food. It is Hawaiian's ancestral right to farm, both on land and in ocean. If there was a market for sustainable products, it's more likely with that maybe the health would change. For Hawaiian people to know and practice better eating habits to be healthy.

Informants voiced their desire not only for increased physical health, but for better mental and societal health as well. Hawaii has suffered many social issues such as drug abuse, domestic abuse, and high levels of imprisonment among its people as a result of colonialism, something informants want to start to work on remedying. As the older male informant explained:

Compared to all other ethnic groups in Hawaii, Hawaiians have the highest prison rate for men and women, the highest health issues, lowest educational obtainments, and lowest economic income compared with other indigenous and minority groups. That's what needs to be addressed in revitalization, programs to reduce these factors.

The 32-year-old female informant discussed her hope that these things would improve in the future: “Try to get healthy again. Health issues and abuse within the native communities that make us lash out at self and others, anger and pain because of colonization. We need a positive place to channel”.

Finally, while informants made it clear through the ranking of the aims of the movement and their narratives that sovereignty was not at the top of this list, they still thought it was important to the future of the movement. The majority of informants still supported sovereignty and talked about it being a long-term or far-off goal for the movement. The 31-year-old male informant explained how he felt sovereignty would have to wait, as people are not where they need to be in their thinking in order for it to be successful. He said, “Sovereignty, we need a foundation first, need to understand self first and what it is to be Hawaiian. The knowledge and thinking made sense. Without changing our mentality, sovereignty is not possible”. The 31-year-old female informant explained how she thought that increased awareness of tradition and lifestyles would be the key to people living sovereign, bill or no bill: “In general people become more aware. They have a choice; don’t need a recognition bill. Live sovereign and good honest life now!” Evidently, this is an issue that is important to the members the movement; but major changes have to first come in the aforementioned areas before it can ever become a reality.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

This exploratory study regarding young adults' perceptions and participation in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement provided some interesting insight into the five objectives which it sought to explore. Five key themes emerged from the data related to the objectives. The first theme was the presences of contradictions and romanticizations in the understanding of pre-contact Hawaii, especially in terms of gender roles. These historical and cultural connotations tied with modern ideologies proved to be what has allowed Hawaiian women to obtain the leadership roles they have in the movement. The second major theme emerged when gender differences were analyzed. It became apparent through the data that there were no significant differences between young adult male and female informants' participation and perceptions. It did emerge however, that differences in opinions and participation were occurring between age groups. The third theme that arose was the importance of perpetuating cultural knowledge and practices to younger generations. Even though Western education was important to the young adult informants and proved to impact their ideologies and participation, they still valued the traditional passing down of knowledge. The fourth theme was the re-emerging emphasis and focus on conservation and sustainability within the movement. Finally,

the fifth theme was the importance and complexity of identity of the movement members. Identity within the movement proved to be based upon both ancestry as well as way of life and mentality. Any discussion about the significance of findings from this project must be prefaced by a frank acknowledgment of the limitations of generalizing from such a small, convenience sample. Nonetheless, the detail and richness of these 14 interviews, provides crucial exploratory data that can begin to illuminate some of the issues in the study of cultural movements and suggest directions for future research.

A major goal of this study was to systematically investigate the assumptions about gender that were embedded in the views of traditional Hawaiian society portrayed within the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance movement and to determine what it was about these underlying assumptions that has enabled such a high level of women's involvement in leadership roles. A second goal was to explore the extent to which the views of gender held by activists in the movement are also embraced by the young adults who participate in Hawaiian revitalization, and how these views affect their levels of participation in and commitment to the future of the movement. Because women have held such highly visible and important roles in the movement, it was surprising to discover that the informants had very little specific knowledge about women's past roles in native society and that there few gender differences in the activities of young people involved in the movement.

Because of the conditions surrounding Hawaii's colonial past, the contradictions and romanticizations that were evident in many of the informants' responses were not surprising. As Hobsawm and Ranger (1983) explain, invented traditions and the emphasis on an egalitarian past are often present in the current movements of groups who were colonized. Informant answers tended to emphasize the equality of women in pre-contact Hawaii, but most were unable to

explain the basis for this equal status or how it was manifested in any detail. They often contradicted themselves as a result, bouncing between saying women were more or less powerful in the past and present. When they did provide an explanation, it was often simply that women just were powerful innately or culturally. Seemingly, the informants were combining what knowledge they did have from what is known about pre-contact, with understandings from cultural stories. Both Western knowledge and cultural stories are combined then to be equally valid and valuable in the informants' conceptions. The lived experiences and ideologies of the informants, then, true to the concept of invented traditions, seemed to be an amalgamation of both fact and fiction based on both forms of knowledge.

Informants' responses in relation to concepts of gender often were understandable after evaluating the existing literature on the subject. There was evidence of both the positive and negative outcomes on gender roles after colonization in their narratives. Respondents recognized that women often had elevated status prior to contact, but could not really explain why or how it had diminished. Seemingly even if they did not recognize it as such, informants were cognizant of the negative effects that colonialism had on women's roles. However, they also discussed the more recent victories and accomplishments that women have experienced nationwide.

Historically, native Hawaiian women experienced many of the trends that are common in the advent of a state society of colonization. Women's roles were pushed more into the domestic sphere, and production moved from the household into the public realm and a money-based economy (Gailey 1980; Sacks 1977, 1979). In the case of Hawaii, this was most evident with the switch from tapa cloth to cotton. The young adult informants often mentioned this concept in their explanations for why women had such a strong leadership role in the movement. They explained that since men were now expected to go out and earn money for the family, women

had more free time to pursue education and activities within the movement and its goals. Women's role in childcare also meant that they were in a better position to take the reins in passing on the knowledge to children. In this way the experiences of Hawaiian women were similar to those of the Tlingit in North America as documented by Klein (1980). The Tlingit were able to use their traditional roles as the money handlers and negotiators to maintain control even when outsiders tried to trade with men. Since men were often hired for seasonal jobs, the women were the ones who ventured more into the Western world and held stable jobs. The women were able to successfully hold jobs with children by keeping traditions of caring for one another's children alive and not dichotomizing their roles as mothers and workers. The knowledge and abilities they established as a result of their jobs combined with their more stable salaries, meant that they were able to maintain equality and leadership positions in their communities (Klein 1980). Examples of combining childcare roles with roles with more public ones often also existed in the literature on women and nationalist movements. Women's roles in the household meant that they became the main transmitters of culture and ideology to younger generations (Sinha 2004). Hawaiian women like the Tlingit, however, have been able to expand these roles outside the private sphere into the public, because of Hawaiian culture's emphasis on perpetuation of cultural knowledge between generations and respect for kupuna. Perhaps even post-contact, the Hawaiian culture does not create the dichotomy between the two spheres that we so often see. Women have also been able to assume leadership roles due to some of the social issues such as drug use and imprisonment that have resulted from colonization. Like the Nationalist movement in India, this has created opportunities for women to assume leadership positions in the movement due to men's absence (Thapar-Bjorket 1997). Informants mentioned this concept several times.

The limited knowledge of women's roles in Hawaii's history also seemingly helps to set an example for strong positions and roles in the current movement. While the specifics are unknown, it is commonly accepted and rarely questioned that women in pre-contact had strong roles in all aspects of Hawaiian society. This conception has helped to allow women to maintain strong roles into the future. Even when Hawaii formed a monarchy based upon that of England's, they created the kuhina nui, an advisory position similar to a prime minister designated to only women (Kuykendall 1961). There are numerous examples of women chiefs and rulers exhibiting their strength and power over the Hawaiian people, especially in encouraging conversion to Christianity. It was due to the influence of Kaahumanu that the kapu system, which many consider the biggest suppressor of women in ancient Hawaii, was overthrown. It was also due to her influence, as well as Keopuolani and Kapiolani's, that Christianity really spread amongst the Hawaiian people (Kuykendall 1961). Thus it appears that the current strength and leadership of Hawaiian women with the Cultural Renaissance Movement is made possible through their clever combination of historical and cultural connotations with current ideologies and situations.

This research sought overall to understand gender differences in perceptions and participations of young adults involved in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement. In the end, however, the data showed that there were no real differences present between the genders in these areas. For example, men and women informants are participating in similar ways within the movement and have similar ideologies as well. They all consider language, perpetuation of culture, conservation, and "living Hawaiian" essential to the movement. Women have been able to maintain strong leadership roles alongside men because of their ability to combine their current situations and roles with cultural connotations in a productive manner. The current needs of the movement mean that concepts of practices that one or the other sex did in the past, are not

rigidly followed in the present day. The more important thing is that individuals who are Hawaiian make an active effort to engage in and practice aspects of the culture in their everyday lives, in order to ensure the perpetuation of the culture. The only real gender difference mentioned by any informants was that Hawaiian language and Studies classes tend to be only about a quarter men. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that individuals felt women had more freedom to go out and seek an education; as men's job was to work and provide financial support.

Alternatively, age differences proved to be more significant than expected in shaping the patterns of participation in the movement, and the perceptions of respondents about movement goals. The 62-year-old and 80-year-old male informant had much formal and political involvement in the movement. They were members of seven and six groups or organizations respectively, both of which included positions on committees or councils. Even between the younger informants this remained true, as the informants in their thirties had more varied and official membership than those in their twenties. While all but one informant supported sovereignty, the only ones who ranked it in second or higher in order of importance to them were those in their thirties or older. This follows general trends in today's young adults, who have become increasingly less politicized as of late. The informants who were educated within the Kamehameha or UH School systems put the most emphasis on language revitalization; proving the effectiveness and emphasis of these institutions' curriculum. The older informants were more focused on living within the cultural practices and values of Hawaii; although this was important to young adult informants as well. It would seem that participants are strongly influenced by education in their perceptions and participations within the movement, and that they tend to become more politicized and specialized over time.

The differences between the young adults and the older informants' opinions and participation are understandable when you explore the movement from a historical view. The older informants learned about their culture and the language from their families and their kupuna much more than they ever did from a school system. They were raised in a time where publicly embracing your culture was not widely accepted in the islands. As such, they put more emphasis on the living with the Hawaiian spirit and mentality rather than learning the language or culture within the school systems. The older generation is more political, because they had to be. They were the pioneers and the first to begin the movement and start demanding the rights for the Hawaiian people. The political fervor of the movement has slowed down a lot, and while sovereignty is still a major cause, most of the younger members think there is too much to focus on in the present to worry about it now. Time has allowed the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement to grow immeasurably; however it also has led individuals to become less unified. What is important to remember about the Hawaiian people like all other groups, is just because they are a group does not mean that they all have the exact same thoughts and feelings. Many of the young adults recognize the fracturization that has occurred within the movement over time, and acknowledge that this must be dealt with before sovereignty can become a reality.

Another goal of the project was to find out what aims young people identified as crucial to the movement. One of the major themes present across all informant responses was the importance of perpetuating Hawaiian language and culture, and passing it on as a living tradition to younger generations. When we analyze this from a historical perspective it becomes understandable, as Hawaiian culture had no written language until after contact. The culture had a history of passing on knowledge to the next generation through genealogies, chants, music and dance (Kanahele 1979; Kuykendall 1961). The push for assimilation and bans on Hawaiian

language and culture in the past also meant that without intergenerational passing down of knowledge, all cultural knowledge would have been lost. While Western academic practices and knowledge have been added to the mix of revitalization, the movement calls for a return to the traditional and thus these practices are continued. As the informants explained, it was not enough to be ethnically Hawaiian; people also needed to possess a certain mentality or spirit and live a certain kind of life. While young adult informants value and appreciate Western and academic knowledge about their culture and language traditions, they still recognize the need for first-hand knowledge passed along by elders. They also recognize the necessity of not just learning about these subjects, but utilizing and incorporating them into their everyday life and practices. Thus perpetuation of the language and culture remain critical to the revitalization movement as well as the lives of the participants themselves.

The importance of education was also evident throughout the interviews, and most individuals were formally educated in Hawaiian language or culture. This perhaps had some connection to the past, as historically education has always been imperative to the Hawaiian people. When the missionaries arrived, their success was based largely on the chiefs' interest in educating their people. Hawaiians were so willing to learn, that within twenty years of the missionaries' arrival, fifty percent of the native people were literate (Kuykendall 1961). The emphasis on education within the movement is conceivably also tied to its beginnings which had strong support and connection the University of Hawaii system, where Hawaiian language and cultural studies departments first formed in the 1970's (Kanahele 1979). The Hawaiian people recognize the value of combining traditional and Western knowledge to best equip their people to perpetuate and continue their culture.

A more unique and reemerging emphasis among younger people in the movement was on the importance of conservation and living a sustainable life. As Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) point out, invented traditions also often emphasize native culture's harmony with nature and the environment. While Hawaiian culture does have many aspects of conservation and sustainability within it, these can sometimes be overstated. One 26-year-old male informant recognized this, stating:

As a member of the community, everyone is responsible for trying to make the world a better place especially with conservation. Acting the role of a researcher and searching for the truth of the history. Lots of misinformation of the past, romantic idealizations, but the truth is important. We need to know an honest form of what are ancestors were and who we are today.

The focus on conservation, especially in reference to its capabilities in improving native health, was not surprising considering the ill health overall in the Native Hawaiian community. Native Hawaiians have higher rates of diabetes, obesity, smoking, and alcohol consumption than any other ethnic group in the islands. They also have a life expectancy which is 6.2 years lower than the national average (Department of Native Hawaiian Health 2013; McCubbin and Antonio 2012; McMullin 2003). As such, it would be expected that individuals involved in improving Native Hawaiian life would be concerned with working to improve these conditions. In this way, participants are able to apply their knowledge and participation in the movement in order to work on contemporary issues within the Native community. The young adult informants were seemingly very cognizant of the needs of their community, and the efforts that must be made in order to secure its future.

Conservation and sustainability were not so much a topic of the movement in earlier years, but this has shifted, as the focus has worldwide, towards living greener. There have of course been individuals in Hawaii who have utilized these traditional concepts and ideologies in

their everyday lives through their work as fisherman or farmers. One of the criticisms within the movement in recent times is the emphasis on those members who have academic knowledge, rather than the kind of individuals who live the traditional practices and are raised within them. There has been a recent shift however, for all members to begin to focus on these concepts. In their responses, informants seemingly were able to combine Hawaiian cultural values and practices of respecting and caring for the *aina* and apply them to current issues in overdevelopment and sustainability. Participants are starting to realize much more the need to conserve not only the culture and the language of Hawaii, but its natural resources as well. Hawaiian culture depends on a spiritual connection to the land. The health of the people also depends on changes in diet and lifestyle to those which are more natural and organic. I believe these will continue to be prime concerns of participants for many years to come, as they are prime concerns in the larger world. Future studies would benefit from an expanded informant population which includes individuals who work and live from the land, as well as those from more academic backgrounds to a perspective of their understandings on conservation and its role in the movement.

At base, any study of a social movement must explore the identifications of those who participate. This issue of identity is of even greater centrality in Hawaii because of its complicated colonial past. This project set out to explore how young people conceptualized or described native Hawaiian identity in relation to themselves and others. The results of the interviews revealed that the conception of Hawaiian identity was extremely complex and multifaceted among informants. This comes as little surprise as the population in Hawaii is extremely mixed, with 23 percent being two or more races. While most informants were themselves ethnically mixed, they emphasized the need to focus on their Hawaiian ancestry to

help with some of the aforementioned issues and needs within the community. The confusion between race and ethnicity that was evident in the informants' responses regarding identity are not surprising considering Hawaii's colonial past. Concepts of indigenous identity often entangle concepts of both ethnicity and race because of this (Grammond 2008). The imposed and racialized concepts of Hawaiian identity developed in its past and even currently are still internalized within its members (Hall 2005; Kupo 2010). The concept of a blood quantum equaling designation as native in the Hawaiian Homelands Act is something that is seen in numerous native communities around the world. These imposed conceptions and quantum almost always appear in relation to property or benefits rights for native peoples (Hall 2005; Maddison 2013; Martinez 2005). Weaver (2001) recognized the complexity of identity in indigenous communities and suggested they incorporate aspects of self, community, and external identification. The informants of this research explained how they thought Hawaiian identity was more than just blood, but the racialized ideologies of the past were still evident in their responses. They considered ancestry or blood necessary to be considered Hawaiian, but did not proscribe a necessary blood quantum. The ability to look past percentages of racial identity is very likely the result of the aforementioned propensity of ethnic mixture present in the islands. While many of the informants recognized and acknowledged the concept of "Hawaiian at Heart", they still did not consider these individuals truly Hawaiian. One 25-year-old male informant actually took issue with the concept, but in the end still felt guilt about it:

Hawaiian blood is something else. I don't like Hawaiian at heart, but even having the blood you need to care and do a part. Why blood isn't enough or Hawaiian at heart is not enough is because a person who does things Hawaiian, is helpful but not Hawaiian. We need to evolve at societal level. I feel bad for feeling that way, but I do.

This is not surprising as cultural and identity appropriation is something most Hawaiians are not comfortable with, because those outside their ethnic group have not experienced the same internalized shame, fear, and guilt due to Hawaii's Colonial past (Hall 2005).

From the informant's responses, it is clear the identity is a huge part of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance movement. The needs of the movement mean that those who have Hawaiian ancestry must put that first, and that non-Hawaiians are welcomed as well. However, only those with the ancestry can ever really be considered Hawaiian and hold leadership positions. Hawaiian identity however is more than just blood; it is a spirit, a foundation, a mentality, or a way of life. This is why being part of the movement and connecting with the Hawaiian culture is so important to these informants. As such, I expect that it will remain central to the movement in years to come. While concepts of blood identity are shaped by Hawaii's colonial past, I do not think that anyone without Hawaiian blood will ever be considered Hawaiian. I do however think they will always be welcomed and embraced in the movement within particular roles.

From the research, it became evident that most of the expectations of themes were correct. While conceptions of traditional gender roles did not really affect present participant involvement in terms of what men or women should be doing, it did allow women to establish strong roles within the movement. As was expected, informants often cited the strong positions of women historically in Hawaii as the reason for their leadership position in the present. However, what was not anticipated were the references that informants made to the inherent strength of women. Involvement in the movement also proved to have an effect on conceptions of identity, as members felt you could not truly be Hawaiian without having the mentality and incorporating aspects of the culture into everyday life. Finally, it was shown that members were

very committed to the movement and its future, and planned to perpetuate the ideologies and practices to the next generation.

The Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance has thrived for over forty years, and it will no doubt continue to do so for many years to come. From the responses of the informants it is clear that language, perpetuation of culture, and identity are the central components of the movement. While sovereignty is still a concern, is not at the forefront of the agenda for most younger people. Many see it as impractical; others feel that there must first be progress in working together and embracing the Hawaiian spirit before it can become a reality. In order to unite the older and younger generations, it is necessary that those from the younger generations do not place a higher value on Western knowledge and learning than indigenous ways of thinking and living within the Hawaiian culture. Without the health of the people and land, there can be no future for Native Hawaiians, something that the young adult participants have really started to understand. As such, conservation and sustainability have also begun to shift to the center of the movement, and will likely become increasingly emphasized within the future. Finally, the movement must continue to progress past its old goals and work to instill Hawaiian language and culture in mainstream life. The major mechanisms have been put into place to save the language and culture, and now the movement participants want goals to shift towards living the culture and the language rather than just learning and teaching it.

The findings from the study suggest several directions for future research. As there were seemingly larger differences in perceptions between age groups than between the genders, the influence of age and generation could be explored further in the future. A study similar to this one with a larger sample sizes that targeted broader and more representative groups involved in the movement would provide the data to either confirm or refute some of the tentative patterns

discovered in this study, particularly those related to emerging differences between older and younger participants in their aims and activities in the movement. Expanding the sample to include informants from more varied backgrounds who live and work on the land, such as fisherman and farmers, could also potentially lend to our understanding on participants' values and perceptions, especially in relation to ideas about conservation, native identity and health. Since education was found to be a large factor in influencing participation, further investigation into participants who have attended schools with strong Hawaiian curriculums, including immersion schools, would be beneficial. Investigating the opinions and participation of those without formal education for comparative purposes would be crucial in order to ascertain how much enrollment in Hawaiian language and culture programs impacts commitment to the movement. Finally, as identity is such an intrinsic element within the movement, it would be advantageous to gain some further insight into more participants who do not identify as Hawaiian and their ideologies and conceptions of identity as related to the movement. With further research and exploration into the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement investigators may be able to help lend to the unity and understanding of the participants themselves, as well as help to expand awareness of the Hawaiian culture and movement to the rest of the world.

It remains evident that the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement is imperative to the people of Hawaii. It has only gained strength as it has continued since its beginnings over forty years ago, and will likely continue for many years in the future. The strength of the movement lies in the strength of the Hawaiian people, and their ability to adapt and grow with the world around them. With time and continued effort, the movement will hopefully reach its goals and allow the Hawaiian language and culture to join the mainstream and live on forever within its peoples' hearts, souls, and lives.

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Appendix A- IRB Approval Letters



EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY
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Notification of Initial Approval: Expedited

From: Social/Behavioral IRB
To: [Shannon Christy](#)
CC: [Holly Mathews](#)
Date: 5/20/2013
Re: [UMCIRB 13-001176](#)
Gender Perceptions and Participation in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement

I am pleased to inform you that your Expedited Application was approved. Approval of the study and any consent form(s) is for the period of 5/19/2013 to 5/18/2014. The research study is eligible for review under expedited category #6, 7. The Chairperson (or designee) deemed this study no more than minimal risk.

Changes to this approved research may not be initiated without UMCIRB review except when necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the participant. All unanticipated problems involving risks to participants and others must be promptly reported to the UMCIRB. The investigator must submit a continuing review/closure application to the UMCIRB prior to the date of study expiration. The Investigator must adhere to all reporting requirements for this study.

The approval includes the following items:

Name	Description
Draft Interview Guide.docx History	Interview/Focus Group Scripts/Questions
New consent form.doc History	Consent Forms
thesis proposal.doc History	Study Protocol or Grant Application

The Chairperson (or designee) does not have a potential for conflict of interest on this study.



EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY
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Notification of Amendment Approval

From: Social/Behavioral IRB

To: [Shannon Christy](#)

CC:

[Holly Mathews](#)

Date: 7/29/2013

Re: [Ame1 UMCIRB 13-001176](#)
[UMCIRB 13-001176](#)

Gender Perceptions and Participation in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement

Your Amendment has been reviewed and approved using expedited review on 7/29/2013. It was the determination of the UMCIRB Chairperson (or designee) that this revision does not impact the overall risk/benefit ratio of the study and is appropriate for the population and procedures proposed.

Please note that any further changes to this approved research may not be initiated without UMCIRB review except when necessary to eliminate an apparent immediate hazard to the participant. All unanticipated problems involving risks to participants and others must be promptly reported to the UMCIRB. A continuing or final review must be submitted to the UMCIRB prior to the date of study expiration. The investigator must adhere to all reporting requirements for this study.

Approved consent documents with the IRB approval date stamped on the document should be used to consent participants (consent documents with the IRB approval date stamp are found under the Documents tab in the study workspace).

The approval includes the following items:

Document	Description
email campaign.docx(0.01)	Recruitment Documents/Scripts

The Chairperson (or designee) does not have a potential for conflict of interest on this study.

IRB00000705 East Carolina U IRB #1 (Biomedical) IORG0000418
IRB00003781 East Carolina U IRB #2 (Behavioral/SS) IORG0000418

Appendix B- Consent Forms

East Carolina University



Informed Consent to Participate in Research

Information to consider before taking part in research that has no more than minimal risk.

Title of Research Study: Gender Perceptions and Participation in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement

Principal Investigator: Shannon Christy

Institution/Department or Division: Anthropology

Address: 465 Vine St Brick NJ 08723

Telephone #: 732-674-0897

Study Sponsor/Funding Source: N/A

Researchers at East Carolina University (ECU) study problems in society, health problems, environmental problems, behavior problems and the human condition. Our goal is to try to find ways to improve the lives of you and others. To do this, we need the help of volunteers who are willing to take part in research.

Why is this research being done?

The purpose of this research is to determine the perceptions and participation of young adults in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance movement in relation to gender, identity, and understandings of tradition. The decision to take part in this research is yours to make. By doing this research, we hope to learn how young adults are participating within the movement and how this relates to gender and conceptions of traditional Hawaiian society, what young adults see as the main aims of the movement, how young adults describe Native Hawaiian identity, and their goals and commitment for the future of the movement.

Why am I being invited to take part in this research?

You are being invited to take part in this research because of your active involvement in the movement. If you volunteer to take part in this research, you will be one of about 30 people to do so.

Are there reasons I should not take part in this research?

I understand I should not volunteer for this study if I am not an active participant member of the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement, or uncomfortable with talking about my involvement and culture in anyway.

What other choices do I have if I do not take part in this research?

You can choose not to participate. If you are still interested in the study you may request a copy of the research once it is completed regardless of participation.

Where is the research going to take place and how long will it last?

The research procedures will be conducted at a location and during a time of your choosing. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer for this study is between 1-2 hours in a one-time interview.

What will I be asked to do?

You are being asked to do the following:

Complete a semi-structured interview that will be audio-recorded. You may ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any time, and skip any question that makes you feel uncomfortable. Respondents may decide at any time, even after the interviews are completed, to withdraw from participation. If they do so, their audiotapes and transcripts will be destroyed. All participation within the study will remain voluntary and confidential

What possible harms or discomforts might I experience if I take part in the research?

There are possible risks (the chance of harm) when taking part in this research. They are minimal and include potential psychological discomfort or distress from memories brought up by the questions asked.

What are the possible benefits I may experience from taking part in this research?

We do not know if you will get any benefits by taking part in this study. This research might help us learn more about indigenous and nationalist movements, gender roles within these movements, feminism, indigenous identity, and the invention of tradition. Understanding how women have successfully gained leadership roles within the movement could potentially help women within other movements elevate

their positions and roles. The research could potentially help create further cohesion and identification of gender issues within the movement. There may be no personal benefit from your participation but the information gained by doing this research may help others in the future.

Will I be paid for taking part in this research?

We will not be able to pay you for the time you volunteer while being in this study.

What will it cost me to take part in this research?

It will not cost you any money to be part of the research.

Who will know that I took part in this research and learn personal information about me?

To do this research, ECU and the people and organizations listed below may know that you took part in this research and may see information about you that is normally kept private. With your permission, these people may use your private information to do this research:

- The University & Medical Center Institutional Review Board (UMCIRB) and its staff, who have responsibility for overseeing your welfare during this research, and other ECU staff who oversee this research.

How will you keep the information you collect about me secure? How long will you keep it?

All information will be stripped of identifiers. Participants will all receive an identification number which will be associated with their information, rather than their name. All data, including interview transcripts and audio recordings will be kept under my possession at all times. As soon as research is completed in the summer of 2014, all data will be destroyed.

What if I decide I do not want to continue in this research?

If you decide you no longer want to be in this research after it has already started, you may stop at any time. You will not be penalized or criticized for stopping. You will not lose any benefits that you should normally receive.

Who should I contact if I have questions?

The people conducting this study will be available to answer any questions concerning this research, now or in the future. You may contact the Principal Investigator at 732-674-0897, between 12pm-12am.

If you have questions about your rights as someone taking part in research, you may call the Office for Human Research Integrity (OHRI) at phone number 252-744-2914 (days, 8:00 am-5:00 pm). If you would like to report a complaint or concern about this research study, you may call the Director of the OHRI, at 252-744-1971

I have decided I want to take part in this research. What should I do now?

The person obtaining informed consent will ask you to read the following and if you agree, you should sign this form:

- I have read (or had read to me) all of the above information.
- I have had an opportunity to ask questions about things in this research I did not understand and have received satisfactory answers.
- I know that I can stop taking part in this study at any time.
- By signing this informed consent form, I am not giving up any of my rights.
- I have been given a copy of this consent document, and it is mine to keep.

Participant's Name (PRINT)	Signature	Date
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Person Obtaining Informed Consent: I have conducted the initial informed consent process. I have orally reviewed the contents of the consent document with the person who has signed above, and answered all of the person’s questions about the research.

Person Obtaining Consent (PRINT)	Signature	Date
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Appendix C- Interview Guide

Thank you for taking the time to speak with me. Today I would like to talk to you about your involvement in the Hawai'ian Cultural Renaissance Movement. Your knowledge will help me to better understand young adult's participation and perception of the movement as a whole. I want all questions to remain as open-ended as possible. Feel free to take the answers where you think they should go. You can choose to skip any question or end the interview at any time if you feel uncomfortable. (Intro adapted from Kupo 2010)

Before we begin can you tell me a little general information about yourself

1. Sex:
2. Age:
3. Ethnicity:
4. Place of Birth:
5. Current Residence:
6. Level of Education Completed:
7. Studied Hawaiian Language/ Attend Immersion School- Yes No Number of Years:
8. Groups or Organizations involved in related to movement:
9. Do you support Cultural Revitalization, Nationalism, or both?

10. Can you rank these aspects of revitalization in order of importance to you:

- Language Revitalization :
- Cultural Revitalization:
- Native Hawaiian Population Revitalization:
- Sovereignty:
- explanation of ordering:

11. Can you tell me how you first came to be involved in the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement?

- Was your involvement through the influence of another individual or purely a personal choice?
- What attracted you to the movement?

12. How would you personally identify yourself?

- How does this relate to your involvement in the movement?

13. In what ways do you personally participate in this movement?

- Do you think this in anyway relates to your gender?

14. Do you feel there are differences between the ways men and women participate in this movement?

- Why or why not?
- Does this relate to Hawaiian Culture?

15. Do you think there are any concerns or issues within the movement specific to women?

- If so how do you think they should be addressed?

16. Why do you think there have been so many women leaders within this movement?

17. How do you determine who is the part of the movement and who is not?

- How does this relate to being Hawaiian, and how do you determine an individual's identity as such?

18. How do you mesh mainstream culture with traditional Hawaiian culture?

- Where does your understanding of traditional culture come from? (Kupuna, School, etc)

19. If you could make any three changes in Hawaii, what would they be?

20. What are your hopes for the future of the movement?

21. Is there anything else that you feel I have not touched upon that is important for me to know about in regards to the Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance Movement?

22. Do you have any questions for me?

Appendix D - Hawaiian- English Translations (Adapted from wehewehe.org)

ahupua'a- Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea

‘āina- Land, earth

akua- god, goddess, spirit, higher power (also referred to as ke akua)

ali‘i- Royalty, Chiefs, royal line

aloha- love, compassion, mercy, sympathy, hello, goodbye

imu- Underground oven

ipu- drum made of one or more gourds commonly used to accompany hula

iwi- bones

kahuna- Priest, sorcerer, magician, wizard, minister, expert in any profession

kalo-taro

kanaka- human or person, usually referring to someone Native Hawaiian

kapa- Tapa, as made from wauke or māmakī bark, native cloth

kapu- Taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo; sacredness

ke- Article often translated as the

kumu- Teacher

kupuna- grandparent, ancestor, elder

lā.‘au- Traditional medicine

lo‘i- irrigated terrace, often for taro

lomi- massage or squeeze, usually used in reference to traditional massage techniques

lua- Traditional hand to hand fighting

mahalo- thanks or gratitude

māhū- third gender of Hawaii

makai- ocean, oceanside

mālama- to care for, protect, or preserve

mana- power, authority, supernatural power

mana‘o- thought, idea, or belief

mauka- inland

na‘au- gut, affections of the heart or mind

Pele- Hawaiian volcano goddess

pono- goodness, uprightness, morality, proper procedure

