

Mapping Abundance on Mauna a Wākea as a Practice of Ea

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This article recounts the stand that Kānaka ‘Ōiwi and their allies took to protect Mauna a Wākea from the construction crews who tried to make their way to the summit on June 24, 2015. As Kānaka stood in lines across the road leading up the mauna, they chanted about the abundance that grows from their genealogical connectedness to Mauna a Wākea. The occupying state has long mapped Mauna a Wākea as a wasteland, and the proponents of the proposed Thirty Meter Telescope have employed the figure of a “threshold of impact” to depict the mountain as so “degraded” by existing telescopes that the addition of more would not have a significant impact. By contrast, the movement to protect Mauna a Wākea maps ancestral knowledge about the waters of life on Mauna a Wākea as part of an education in “ea,” a word meaning life, breath, sovereignty, and a rising. In this stand, the people are enacting a decolonial future on ancestral lands, and it is upon this abundance that the people of the lāhui are rising.

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O hanau ka Mauna a Wakea
O puu a‘e ka mauna a Wakea

Born of Kea [Wakea] was the mountain,
the mauna of Kea budded forth.

O Wakea, ke kane,
O Papa, o Walinuu ka wahine

Wākea was the husband,
Papa Walinu‘u was the wife.

Hanau Hoohoku, he wahine
Hanau Haloa he ‘lii

Born was Ho‘ohoku, a daughter,
born was Hāloa, a chief,

Hanau ka Mauna,
he keiki mauna na Wakea

born was the mountain,
a mountain-son of Kea.

(Poepoe, 1906, p. 1; Trans. by Pukui & Korn [1973], p. 23)

—Verses from “He kanaenae no ka hanau ana o Kauikeaouli,”
chanted by kia‘i mauna, protectors of Mauna a Wākea, on June 24, 2015

Nā Mo'okū'auhau: Genealogies

Mauna a Wākea is “ka makahiapo kapu na Wakea,” the sacred firstborn of the union of Papahānaumoku, She who is the foundation birthing islands, and Wākea, He who is the wide expanse of the heavens (Poepoe, 1906). As the highest point in the Pacific, Mauna a Wākea is “ka piko o ka moku,” the piko of the island in the many senses of the word (Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation, p. i). The mauna is the piko or summit where the earth meets the sky. The mauna is also the elder sibling of both the kalo plant and the Kānaka, the people, all fathered by Wākea. Through this mo'okū'auhau, this genealogy, Mauna a Wākea is the piko as the umbilicus, the cord that binds the people to their ancestors and all of their pulapula, the seedling descendants, all those who came before and all those who will come after. Mauna a Wākea thus embodies a profound sense of familial connectedness to the past, present, and future.

The genealogy of water on Mauna a Wākea also speaks of currents of connection and abundance. Water that collects on the piko of the kalo plant, which also refers to the junction of the stem and kalo leaf, is sacred because it has not yet touched the earth, and water on Mauna a Wākea is most sacred because it is the highest source of water that flows to the aquifer to feed the island (Nā Maka o ka 'Āina, n.d.). This water from Kāneikawaiola, Kāne of the life-giving waters, comes from the hau, the snow, and the lilinoe, the mists that gently meander over the mauna. Out of Kāne's great love for the summits were born the water deities of the mountain: his daughter, Poli'ahu, the woman wrapped in the snow mantle of Mauna a Wākea, and her sisters, Līlinoe of the fine mist; Waiau, of the swirling waters of the lake where Poli'ahu resides during the summer months; and Ka Houpo o Kāne, master kapa maker who

beats the brilliant, snow-white bark cloth. Ka Houpo o Kāne throws the waters on her kapa, which become the heavy rains, beating her kapa thunderously, and when she flips the bright new kapa over, this is the lightning flashing in the skies. In the winter months of ho'oilō, the sisters wear the kapa hau, the mantle of snow, and in the summer months of kauwela, they wear the kapa lā, beaten with the golden kukunaokalā, the rays of the sun (Haleole, 1863). Mo'oinanea is the reptilian water deity, the matriarch of mo'o akua throughout the islands, who watches over Poli'ahu in Waiau during the warm summer months. When the snow or the red dirt of the mauna glows with the rising or the setting of the sun, we see Poli'ahu's lover Kūkahau'ula embracing her, his cloak wrapped around her snow forms. These deities are manifested in the mauna itself and the water forms on the mauna—from the fine mists to the snowfall to all of the bodies of sacred water on the mauna.

I begin with these genealogies to foreground the connectedness and abundance of Mauna a Wākea in mo'olelo, reminding us of the intimate connections between Kanaka and akua, gods or elemental forms.¹ In the face of this abundance, the settler/occupying state has historically represented Mauna a Wākea as a wasteland, a barren desert. Through these representations, it has sought to profit from the construction of observatories on this sacred land. In 1968, the Land Board issued a lease for the construction of a single telescope, but since then, that one telescope has multiplied to thirteen observatories, or twenty-two, if we consider that some observatories house multiple telescopes (Pisciotta, 2015).

More recently, in 2010, the University of Hawai'i at Hilo filed a Conservation District Use Permit (CDUP) application on behalf of the Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT) Corporation for the proposed construction of what

would be the most massive observatory yet. The proposed telescope would be eighteen stories tall—taller than any existing structure on Hawai‘i Island—with a footprint of more than five acres, which would require excavating twenty feet into the northern plateau of the sacred mountain. In the permit application, the university argued that the TMT would meet the conditions of eight criteria for the Conservation District. Protectors of Mauna a Wākea immediately requested a contested case hearing. In a procedural error, the Board of Land and Natural Resources (BLNR) approved the CDUP for the TMT in February 2011 before the contested case hearing was held in August 2011, and in 2013, the BLNR confirmed its approval. A group of six petitioners, who came to be known as the Mauna Kea hui, or collective, took the case to the courts on the issue of both the procedural violation and the failure of the University of Hawai‘i to prove that the TMT would meet the eight criteria for the Conservation District. The case then made its way up to the Hawai‘i Supreme Court.

In this article, I begin with the stand that Kānaka and their allies took to protect Mauna a Wākea from the state officers and construction crews who tried to make their way to the summit on June 24, 2015. As Kānaka stood in lines across the road leading up the mauna, they chanted about abundance and their genealogical connectedness to Mauna a Wākea. I then examine the state forms of mapping that represent Mauna a Wākea as a wasteland and the ways proponents of the proposed TMT have employed a “threshold of impact” figure to depict the mauna as so “degraded” by existing telescopes that the addition of more would not have a significant impact. I turn to the impact these arguments have on Hawaiian well-being and the ways that the movement to protect Mauna a Wākea has been reconceived as a celebration of the abundance of Mauna a Wākea. I then turn to the

ways ‘Ōiwi have mapped the abundance of Mauna a Wākea as it extends from ma uka to ma kai, from the mountains to the sea, to mobilize the lāhui, the nation, the people, around the protection of the mauna.

In these arguments, I look at the mapping of ancestral knowledges of the abundance that is Mauna a Wākea as part of an education in “ea,” a word meaning life, breath, sovereignty, and a rising—the rising of the people to protect the ‘āina, the land that feeds physically, intellectually, and spiritually. The word ea is likened to the birth of the living land itself. Hawaiian language scholar Leilani Basham describes a beautiful image of ea: “O ke ea nō ho‘i ka hua ‘ōlelo no ka puka ‘ana mai o kekahi mea mai loko mai o ka moana, e la‘a me ka mokupuni” (Basham, 2010, p. 50). In her introduction to *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua sets the foundation for the collection by engaging Basham’s words. She explains,

Indeed, ea is a word that describes emergence, such as volcanic islands from the depths of the ocean. In looking to mele Hawai‘i—Hawaiian songs and poetry—Basham points out that the term “ea” is foregrounded within a prominent mele ko‘ihonua, or creation and genealogical chant for Hawai‘i: “*Ea mai Hawaiiuiakea / Ea mai loko mai o ka po.*” The islands emerge from the depths, from the darkness that precedes their birth. Basham argues that, similarly, political autonomy is a beginning of life. (Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, 2015, pp. 4–5)

Rooted in genealogy, the principle of ea also reminds us that life, breath, land, and political independence cannot be separated from each other. Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua further explains that when a British captain seized the

islands in 1843, the success of Hawaiian emissaries to restore the sovereignty of the kingdom was celebrated in the Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea national holiday, and Davida Kahalemaile’s 1871 speech on ea on that holiday continues to teach us about the richness of that word and its importance for a sovereign future.

No‘eau Peralto elaborates on the protection of Mauna a Wākea as a practice of ea. He describes Mauna Kea as the ‘ōpu‘u, the whale tooth pendant that must be recovered in the struggle for ea. He writes,

In 1959, the United States transferred control of these ‘āina [lands of Mauna a Wākea] to the state of Hawai‘i, establishing the Public Land Trust. Since this seizure occurred and American occupation began in these islands, control of the allodial title to these ‘āina mauna has framed the ongoing struggle by Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and many others to mālama this keiki mauna na Wākea, in the face of increasing pressure to impose further desecration upon its summit. Thus . . . our struggle to recover the ‘ōpu‘u that is Mauna a Wākea, parallels our enduring struggle to reestablish our ea in these islands. (p. 236)

Peralto goes on to explain that the genealogy of Mauna a Wākea tells of not only the birthing of the land but also the birthing of a unified Hawaiian consciousness.

I myself do not have the genealogy of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, nor am I from Hawai‘i Island. As a fourth-generation Japanese settler ally, I grew up in Pukalani, Maui, on the slopes of Haleakalā, learning aloha ‘āina by growing pili to the ‘āina mauna, close to the mountain lands of Haleakalā. As a settler ally, I work for the restoration and affirmation of Hawai‘i’s independence through both

statist and non-statist forms of self-governance. That is, I work to support both actions to establish state-centered independence as well as community-based actions enacting land-centered independence without a governing state entity.

There has been much discussion and debate about the term “settler” and whether people of color who have suffered from racism and discrimination can be positioned as settlers. Haunani-Kay Trask explained that it is settler colonialism itself as a set of political conditions that institutes the genealogical distinction between Natives and settlers (2000, p. 21; 2008, p. 47). She was the first to identify people of color as “settlers of color,” but she also opened up a space for settler allies by reminding us, “For non-Natives, the question that needs to be answered every day is simply the one posed in the old union song: ‘Which side are you on?’” (2000, p. 20; 2008, p. 62). This question emphasizes that as settlers, people of color have agency and can choose whether to identify with the settler state or as settler allies in decolonial struggles for independence.

Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua expands on Trask’s question and discusses the importance of settler allies who exercise settler kuleana, the responsibilities, rights, and privileges given to them, but do not lose sight of their settler privileges. She writes, “Perhaps, such a positioning might be thought of as a *settler aloha ‘āina* practice or kuleana. A settler aloha ‘āina can take responsibility for and develop attachment to lands upon which they reside when actively supporting Kānaka Maoli who have been alienated from ancestral lands to reestablish those connections and also helping to rebuild Indigenous structures that allow for the transformation of settler-colonial relations” (2013, p. 154).

In writing this article, I have asked myself, what is my settler kuleana in writing about Mauna a Wākea? I feel the pain deep in my own core as I have stood with Kānaka and other settler aloha ‘āina, bearing witness to the unjust processes of the settler state that amended the legislative language of HB1618 CD1 from requiring the BLNR to have a seat for a member with expertise in native Hawaiian traditional and customary practices in order “to better administer the public lands and resources with respect to native Hawaiian issues and concerns” to a seat for a “cultural expert” who does not represent Hawaiian concerns.³ The governor subsequently appointed an Asian settler to this seat on the BLNR, a board member who voted to approve the permit for the TMT on three separate occasions.

Instead, settler kuleana is about sharing the ‘eha—the ‘eha in the na‘au, the pain that Kānaka and settler allies feel to the very core of our being when we see Kānaka ancestral knowledges being discredited by settler decision-making boards, the ‘eha of standing in boardrooms, quasi-judicial meeting rooms, and courtrooms and listening to the degradation of ancestral knowledges and the disregard for the health and well-being of Kānaka, the ‘eha of seeing aloha ‘āina being handcuffed and arrested like criminals in front of their children for protecting the sacred mauna.

This is why I call myself a Japanese settler ally, a settler aloha ‘āina: because non-Hawaiians are still trying to seize places meant for Kanaka cultural experts, and as settler allies, we need to work against that theft. As Asian settler allies, we can help bear that ‘eha by doing the difficult work that Kānaka do, such as taking our places on the front lines of decolonial struggles in toxic boardrooms and courtrooms and standing for the kulāiwi and the ‘āina. This means exposing and working

toward lifting that ‘eha by growing ea, cultivating life, breath, and political independence.

In this way, I see the term “settler ally” as one that opens up possibilities. The term has its own capaciousness, one that grapples with the social processes of US occupation, one that contains the seeds within itself of a decolonial future. The term “settler ally” engages settler colonialism so that we never lose sight of those conditions or the privileges we derive from them, even as we seek to rearticulate our own positionalities. In this way, “settler ally” encompasses the *imaginative possibilities* for our collaborative work on ea and growing a land-based lāhui.

As a member of Huaka‘i i Nā ‘Āina Mauna, I have walked with our alaka‘i, our leader, Kūkauakahi, on the ancient kuamo‘o, trails, of Mauna a Wākea since 2012. We walk across the uplands of Mauna a Wākea in the traditional Hawaiian practice of ka‘apuni māka‘ika‘i, the practice of traveling on spiritual huaka‘i, or journeys, taken as occasions to view, remember, and teach the mo‘olelo of the wahi pana, or celebrated places. On these huaka‘i, we walk in the footsteps of Kamiki, the warriors of ‘Umi, the kupua Māui, and Queen Emma to different parts of the mauna, all of which are sacred, and all of which are related to other land formations through both view planes and genealogies. As Kūkauakahi explains, walking across Mauna a Wākea changes us:

We go up there to learn about the mountain and how we can learn to live with its most intimate moods and attributes. We go up there to discover who we are and to learn about our special inner workings—and each other. The lines of sight and the land formations you see will become mapped in your na‘au. Being able to experience the

intangibles, to experience the experiences of the ancients, brings the kind of special intimacy of real feelings and identification. It's all beautiful.³

The mauna is not just mapped in the mind but in the na'au, the gut, the deep visceral core of our knowledge and emotions, for all of us as 'Ōiwi and as settler allies.

In the quiet of Mauna a Wākea, with only the sound of the Kīpu'upu'u wind whipping our jackets and the crunch of our footsteps on lava cinders, we have walked in Kamiki's footsteps, making our way down loose, flat rocks, stacked tiles forming gorgeous mosaics of gray, blue, red and gold, shifting ground beneath our feet. We have looked out over nā 'āina mauna, the mountain lands, the steeply sloping terrain of rocks, and we have seen the land open up to a stunning vista as the late afternoon sun casts a golden light on the yellow, grassy slopes below, evoking a vision of Poli'ahu and her sisters, Lilīnoe, Waiau, and Ka Hopou o Kāne, wearing the golden kapa pounded by the rays of the sun. We have seen a view of red pu'u, cinder cones, below us, rising out of a rolling surf of clouds like Kānehūnāmoku, the twelve hidden islands of Kāne guarded by Mo'oinanea.

We remember the fourteenth-century mo'olelo of Kamiki, telling of the travels of two supernatural brothers, Kamiki and Maka'iole, on a huaka'i around Hawai'i Island along the ala loa and ala hele, the ancient trails and paths, competing with 'ōlohe, experts in running, fishing, debating, or solving riddles (Wise & Kihe, 1914–1917). They were empowered by their ancestress Kauluhenuihikoloiuka, who instructs Kamiki to travel along "ke ala kapu," a sacred trail, to the home of Poli'ahu, one of their elder relatives, to collect the sacred water of Kāne for 'awa. Kamiki creates the springs below when the water overflows from Hōkū'ula, the 'awa bowl.

We have walked to these springs, Houpo o Kāne spring, Kawaihūakāne, and Lilīnoe below it.⁴ At Houpo o Kāne, the water streams down from a massive moss-covered boulder that is the breast of Kāne. From there, we have looked out over the plains of Pōhakuloa to imagine the springs that stretch out across military-occupied lands all the way to Hualālai, the springs of Waiki'i near Pu'u Ke'eke'e, Anaohiku at Hanakaumalu, Honua'ula, and Kīpahe'ewai on the slopes of Hualālai.

Kūkauakahi teaches us the cultural practice of ka'apuni māka'ika'i to enable us to bear witness to extraordinary beauty, and he also teaches us that this practice of ea comes with the kuleana of documenting and testifying to the devastation of these places. Kūkauakahi has been a petitioner in both the 2011 and 2016–17 contested case hearings against the proposed TMT. He is also a plaintiff in a case against the renewal of the BLNR permit to the US Army and its use of Pōhakuloa for live-fire training exercises at the Pōhakuloa Training Area at the base of Mauna a Wākea, 133,000 acres across which the springs from Waiau extend.

From these sacred places on Mauna a Wākea, we recall and visualize other wahi pana and wahi kapu, the many places celebrated in mo'olelo for the life-giving waters of Kāne. It is the mapping of this abundance in our na'au that sustains us in our daily practices of ea as we seek to bring into being a rich and fertile decolonial future for the pulapula.

"Kū Kia'i Mauna!" Standing for Mauna a Wākea on June 24, 2015

Kanaka 'Ōiwi practitioners, environmentalists, and others have stood as protectors of Mauna a Wākea since the

construction of the first telescope in 1968. Although the media has sought to cast them as “protesters against astronomy,” “telescope detractors,” or “opponents,” each phrase is a narrow description that centers astronomy and positions certain people against it. The people who stand for Mauna a Wākea have made it clear that there is a distinction between protesters and protectors: “Protester” centers astronomy, while “protector” centers the mauna and protection of Mauna a Wākea. Shelley Muneoka, an outreach coordinator for KĀHEA: The Hawaiian-Environmental Alliance, who has presented testimony on O‘ahu at every BLNR meeting regarding the TMT, explains, “The mo‘okū‘auhau, the genealogy of this movement doesn’t start with people fighting UH, but with people loving Mauna Kea, which extends even further back than that.”⁵

In the first 2011 BLNR contested case hearing, the Mauna Kea hui intentionally emphasized the word “protector” to describe themselves. The hui includes Kealoha Pisciotto of Mauna Kea Anaina Hou, E. Kalani Flores and B. Pualani Case of the Flores-Case ‘Ohana, Clarence Kūkauakahi Ching, Paul Neves, Deborah J. Ward, and Marti Townsend, assisted by Bianca Isaki, Lauren and Shelley Muneoka, and Miwa Tamanaha, representing KĀHEA. Later, as the movement to protect the mauna grew across the islands and around the world, the rallying call, “Kū Kia‘i Mauna!” (Protectors Stand for the Mountain!) helped to convey what it means to stand for the mauna and to affirm ea.

In June 2015, as attorneys were preparing for the August 27 Hawai‘i Supreme Court hearing on the legality of CDUP issued to the TMT, the kia‘i mauna, protectors of the mauna, learned that the TMT was planning to commence construction, despite the fact that the court case had not yet been resolved. Three months prior to this,

there had been thirty-one arrests of kia‘i on Mauna a Wākea on April 2, when kia‘i were protecting the mauna from construction crews. The kia‘i had linked their arms and chanted on the northern plateau, preventing the construction crews from doing any work. Although these efforts had halted work temporarily, workers were scheduled to begin construction once more. The protectors sent out the kāhea, the rallying call, and many of us flew to Hawai‘i Island to stand for the mauna.

On June 24, 2015, at 4:00 in the morning, hundreds of us gathered at Hale Pōhaku on Mauna a Wākea under the dim glow of lights from the Visitor Center. One of the kia‘i, Kaho‘okahi Kanuha, explained that the strategy would be to have sixteen lines of kia‘i on the state road. Some of the kia‘i would first gather at the Legendary Crosswalk, or the Aloha ‘Āina Checkpoint, located on the county road in front of the Visitor Center. This became the focal point where the kia‘i practiced kapu aloha, the highest form of love and respect extended to one’s opponents, even as they stood kūpa‘a, steadfast, against construction crews for months.⁶ Sixteen lines would then be positioned above the county road on the graded state road, each with an alaka‘i, to line up about fifty feet apart to the summit. The county police and state officers would have to explain their rights to every line of protectors before any arrests could be made. As Kanuha spoke, I could see in my mind’s eye what the Legendary Crosswalk would look like, multiplied sixteen times up the mauna on the state road. He later explained that the sixteen lines of protectors corresponded with the wā, or eras of the *Kumulipo*, the ko‘ihonua chant of the creation of the world: “I wanted sixteen lines, to represent the sixteen wā of the *Kumulipo*. The county and state officers would have to get through the seven wā of Pō [night] before they got to other wā of Ao [day]. We try as much as possible to ground our

resistance in cultural understanding, hence the idea of sixteen lines and sixteen alaka'i [leaders] representing each wā of the *Kumulipo*.⁷

The kia'i called for volunteers to be legal observers to ensure that the Division of Conservation and Resources Enforcement (DOCARE) officers were following procedures. As an older Japanese woman who would remind the DOCARE officers of their aunts and schoolteachers, and as a university professor, I knew settler privileges would enable me to intervene if kia'i were being mistreated. As a legal observer, I planted myself with the first line of kia'i on the state road.

By 7:00 a.m., Hawai'i County police arrived at the Aloha 'Āina Checkpoint in front of the Visitor Center. Kia'i there had improvised and had added additional lines on the county road in advance of the sixteen rows on the state road. Rows of kia'i chanted in lines twenty feet apart up the quarter mile of county road. The officers were greeted by children who extended kapu aloha to them with lei lā'i, ti leaf lei, to ensure that all would be safe. For three hours, police talked with multiple lines of hundreds of protectors who stretched across the expanse of the county road leading to the state road, explaining their rights to them, as protectors chanted oli in ceremony. Lines of protectors on the county road were able to delay the police for three hours, resulting in only one arrest.

At 10:00 a.m., we saw protectors making their way up to the state road where I stood. We all watched as DOCARE Hawai'i Island Branch Chief Lino Kamakau approached Lākea Trask, the alaka'i of the first line, and talked with him about their needing to stand down. They talked for forty-five minutes before the line dispersed only to move up to support the line of protectors behind it. At

the second line, Kaho'okahi Kanuha stated clearly, "I give you my word. I will not block traffic. I *will* block desecration." When the DOCARE officers realized that there were more lines ahead, they pushed forward more aggressively and began arresting the kia'i.

Line after line, the protectors stood in red kīhei tied over one shoulder and red shirts, holding their ground as long as they could. In the mana wahine line (fig. 1), Nohea Kawa'a-Davis, Kaleinohea Cleghorn, Alohilani Keohulua, Mehana Kihoi, Ku'uipo Freitas, Naaiakalani Navas, Hōkūlani Reyes, and many others stood with arms linked, holding a long lei lā'i, chanting "Mālama mai Ka'ū" in powerful unison, calling together the peoples of the different districts of Hawai'i Island in the building of a canoe sealed together by Mauna a Wākea. Everyone felt the enduring strength of mana wahine that day, and this photo continues to be circulated to rally kia'i at times when Mauna a Wākea is most in need of protection.

In the 'ōpio line, Movement for Aloha No ka 'Āina (MANA) organizer Kerry Kamakaoka'ilima Long led young people who were growing into their own leadership kuleana. The DOCARE officers moved forward aggressively, arresting eleven people along the way, including Kaho'okahi Kanuha, Kaleikoa Ka'eo, Hualālai Keohulua, and Andre Perez, leaders in the Hawaiian independence movement. These leaders sat on the ground when arrested and, as the DOCARE officers carried them away, the people wailed "Auē!" out of grief and concern.

With the mists of Līlīnoe enveloping us and the icy, black, biting Kīpu'upu'u and Kuauli rains⁸ warding the crews away from the summit, the officers were stopped at the eleventh line, where 'Ohulei Waia'u led the kia'i,



Figure 1. The mana wahine line. Photo courtesy of Te Rawhitiroa Bosch.

who chanted and danced to “He kanaenae no ka hanau ana o Kauikeaouli” (cited in the opening of this article) to assert the genealogies of Mauna a Wākea and Kanaka. The *kia’i* who stood in that line, Pumpkin Waia’u, ‘Olu-lei Waia’u, Leialoha Kaleohano, Winter Ho’ohuli, Kini Kaleilani Burke, and Michelle Tomas, chanted in rhythmic unison, their voices ringing strong and clear in the mist and the rain (fig. 2).

This powerful moment illustrates the fullest expression of *ea*, an upsurging of a sovereign people profoundly connected with the world and the surrounding elements. The *mana*, or life force of the rain, the stones, and the people converged as genealogy was chanted: the *ua*, the rains, and the mists watering the *Kānaka*,

the *pulapula* seedlings of Papahānaumoku and Wākea; the *pōhaku*, who embodied Papahānaumoku, standing as *kūpuna*, as ancestors, with their descendants that day; the *Kānaka* who chanted their genealogical relationship to the *mauna*, steadfast in their protection; and the *mauna* itself. In this powerful moment, the *kia’i* faced a modern threat but stood for Mauna a Wākea, firmly rooted in their ancestral knowledges, offering their *leo*, their voices, up to the *akua* of the *mauna*. All of these things stopped the convoy from continuing up the mountain.

The state officers gave different reasons for calling off construction that day. They initially said the rain and the lack of time would make it difficult for construction

crews to work. Then they said the pōhaku, stones, that had been planted in the road were the deterrent. They refused to acknowledge the power of the unified leo of the people and the ancestral elemental forms that stood with them that day.

The Occupying State and Its Mapping of Wastelands

Maps generated by the occupying state and developers seek to erase and empty out wahi pana and wahi kapu, to produce wastelands for the development of settler homes, infrastructures, and industries. The state does so through static maps paralyzed in time, two-dimensional documents that abstract and encode the intimacies of land into lines, dots, grids, letters, and numbers, as well as tax map keys, degrees, minutes, seconds, decimals, and other geographic coordinates. As the substance of land is abstracted in this way, the state then condemns abundant lands as “wastelands” to pave the way for urbanization and industrialization.

My own critical settler cartography foregrounds the settler state’s use of what I refer to as the logic of subdivision: the occupying state’s erosion of the integrity of land and its continuities to produce wastelands as a part of the ongoing process of land seizure in Hawai‘i. Under the conditions of a capitalist economy, the state and developers engage in the structural operations of subdivision, producing terra nullius, “land belonging to no one,” eviscerating land of history and meaning. In a settler colonial system premised on the logic of subdivision, the state and developers draw red boundary lines around isolated “parcels” of land, fragmenting wahi pana and wahi kapu into smaller and smaller isolated, abstracted spaces that have no continuities and thus,



Figure 2. *The eleventh line.* Photo courtesy of Te Rawhitiroa Bosch.

they claim, “no cultural significance.” The occupying state must compulsively seize land through this piecemeal process to secure its own future; however, precisely because the state never completely captures the occupied territory, there is always the possibility that this territory will escape the state’s grasp. It is this precariousness of US occupation that is leading to its own demise while enabling an Indigenous futurity.

By mapping abundance, we identify what settler colonial capital fears. David Lloyd has argued that it is precisely the fear of abundance that is inscribed in colonial capital. Abundance raises the possibility of just distribution, conditions of satiation and fullness, which threaten a capitalist economy. Capitalism depends upon stories of hunger, the competition for limited resources, the production of markets and profits; thus, capitalist production depends on desiccating abundance to manufacture conditions of scarcity. Lloyd writes,

Perhaps, then, we need to recognize that precisely what neoliberal capital fears is abundance and

what it implies. Abundance is the end of capital: it is at once what it must aim to produce in order to dominate and control the commodity market and what designates the limits that it produces out of its own process. Where abundance does not culminate in a crisis of overproduction, it raises the spectre of the redistribution of resources in the place of enclosure and accumulation by dispossession. The alibi of capital is scarcity; its myth is that of a primordial scarcity overcome only by labor regulated by the private ownership of the means of production. (Lloyd, 2016, p. 209)

I would add that capitalist economies offer us instead ideological regimes of excess that proffer an imaginary plenitude. Such plenitude takes monetary form as well as the form of international “recognition” in the annals of science. Yet the interests of capital behind this imaginary plenitude are not the same as an ancestral abundance that feeds or sustains us for generations. If capital’s fear of abundance produces a narrative about the conditions of people competing for scarce resources, then an economy of abundance is what creates a space for a radically different kind of economy, one of mā’ona, fullness, that comes from sharing, trading, conserving, and adapting. The processes of restoring abundance, of course, will still contend with globalized and militarized capitalism. Practitioners of this economy of abundance strive to balance critical analyses of the circuits of globalization with the mo’olelo about the currents of the ocean, winds, and rains that teach us to better care for the planet. In this commitment to restoring abundance, Kanaka Ōiwi stand with other Indigenous peoples who are on the front lines against global climate change.

The settler/occupying state has actively worked to produce wastelands through mapping practices leading up to

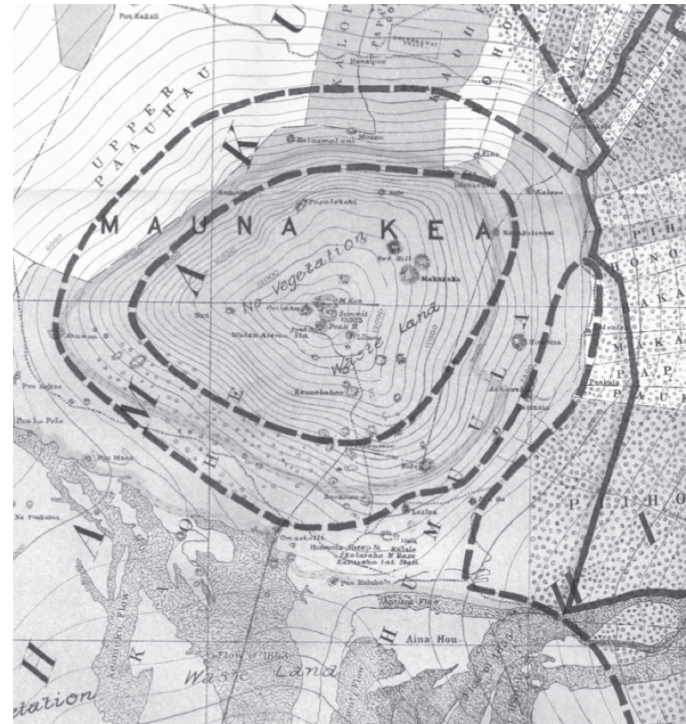


Figure 3. Detail of 1901 Hawai'i Territory Survey map

and continuing after the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian government and the illegal annexation of Hawai'i in 1898. An early 1891 map by American surveyor C. J. Lyons inscribed Mauna a Wākea with the words, “Barren Rock and Sand” (Lyons, 1891), illustrating American perceptions of this sacred place as land that did not conform to capitalist notions of agricultural productivity. A decade later, a Hawai'i Territory Survey map (Donn, 1901) labeled Mauna Kea as a “Waste Land” (fig. 3).

This designation is reminiscent of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's assertion about the cultural bomb that extends imperialism into colonialism by making Native people see their past as a wasteland:

But the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. (Ngugi, 1986, p. 3)

The seizure of land through the designation of wastelands reveals that it was precisely land that was at stake in the erasure of Hawaiian forms of knowledge. In the larger historical context, settler colonial depictions of the land as “lying in waste” were aimed at seizing political control over both people and land and to erase a vast ‘Ōiwi knowledge base.

The condemnation of lands on Mauna a Wākea signaled that the location was already being seen as scientifically valuable. Cartography went hand in hand with astronomy, as can be seen as early as 1889, when E. D. Preston, an astronomer with the US Coast and Geodetic Survey, began correspondence with W. D. Alexander, and in 1892, both traveled to the summit with a small telescope and a pendulum for the purpose of perfecting the survey of the summit lands and setting up a gravity and magnetic station for determining the mean density of the earth (Maly & Maly, 2005, p. 176). By 1901, then, this Territory Survey map had already marked a place for the “Waiau Astron Sta.” The pretense for condemning land as wasteland, in agricultural terms, paved the way for the settler state to make such “public lands” available for increasingly industrial astronomical uses.

Representations of the summit of Mauna a Wākea as a wasteland persist into the present. For example, in the second contested case hearing in 2017, the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo and TMT International Observatory stated, in their filing of “Joint (Proposed) Findings of Fact,” that nineteenth-century ‘Ōiwi historian Davida Malo had called Mauna Kea a wasteland: “He made no mention of traditional or historic practices atop the summit of Mauna Kea and reported that it was considered wasteland or the realm of the gods” (University of Hawai‘i at Hilo & TMT International Observatory, 2017, p. 102, #646).⁹ I tracked their quotation from *Hawaiian Antiquities: Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i* and found that it provides only Nathaniel Emerson’s English translation. The phrase “waste places” appears not in the translation itself but in Emerson’s *footnote*. Emerson’s translation reads,

12. The belt below the *wao-eiwa* was the one in which the monarchs of the forest grew, and was called the *wao-maukele*, and the belt below that, in which again trees of smaller size grew was called *wao-akua*, [sic], and below the *wao-akua* comes the belt called *wao-kanaka* or *mau*. Here grows the *amau* fern and here men cultivate the land.¹⁰

As W. D. Alexander’s “Introduction” to the book explains, the footnotes were written by Emerson.¹¹ This is Emerson’s footnote 6:

⁶Sect. 12. In the phrase *wao-akua*, which means wilderness of the gods, we have embodied the popular idea that the gods and ghosts chiefly inhabit the waste places of the earth.

Emerson could articulate only a settler colonial imaginary in which the realm of the gods is conceived of as the “waste places of the earth.”

Malo himself never said that Mauna a Wākea is a wasteland. Malo's text is not about Mauna a Wākea; it provides an account of "Ke Kapa Ana i Ko Loko Mau Inoa o ka Moku" (The Naming of What is Found on the Islands), a description of the different realms on the islands. Malo describes the wao akua as the places on the land where vegetation grows through the cultivation of the gods, the elemental forms. Here are Malo's own words and a translation by Malcolm Naea Chun:

12. O kahi o na laau loloa e ulu ana makai mai o ka wao eiwa, ua kapa ia aku ia, he wao maukele ma ia poai, ao kahi makai mai, o ka wao maukele e liilii hou iho ai na laau, ua kapa ia aku ia he wao akua, ma ia poai kahi makai mai o ka wao akua e ulu ana ke amau mau, he wao kanaka kahi inoa, he mau kahi inoa oia poai, kahi a na kanaka e mahiai ai.

12. The place where the tall trees grow seaward from the wao eiwa is called wao maukele where it encircles the kua mauna. Seaward from the wao maukele, where the vegetation is small with new growth is called wao akua.³ [sic] Seaward of the wao akua grow the 'Ama'uma'u fern and it is called wao kanaka. There are several terms for the area where people farm. (Malo, 2006, p. 12)

Malo's own words define the wao akua, the realm of the gods, as the places where vegetation grows through the elemental powers of the akua, in contrast to the wao kanaka, where vegetation must be cultivated by people. The fact that the university and the TMT attorneys failed to consult Malo's Hawaiian language text and consulted only the English translation illustrates both their own inability to read 'ōlelo Hawai'i and their disregard for 'Ōiwi knowledges.

From these contrived depictions of Mauna a Wākea as a wasteland emerges one of the most egregious logics of the occupying state: the construction of a "threshold of impact." In preparing the final environmental impact statement, project manager James T. Hayes, of the firm Parsons Brinckerhoff Americas, was mandated by a previous ruling to assess the cumulative impact of the TMT on Mauna a Wākea. NASA's final environmental impact statement for the Keck Outrigger Telescopes project in 2005 states unequivocally that "From a cumulative perspective, the impact of past, present, and reasonably foreseeable future activities on cultural and biological resources is *substantial, adverse, and significant*" (NASA, 2005, p. xxi, emphasis mine). The TMT final environmental impact statement, prepared for the University of Hawai'i, attempted to counter NASA's finding of adverse impact by establishing what it calls "Thresholds Used to Determine Level of Impact" (University of Hawai'i at Hilo, 2010, p. 3-3). The section concludes that all of the activities on Mauna a Wākea have a significant and adverse impact on the summit and that the threshold of adverse impact has been crossed; therefore, the summit lands are so "degraded" by industrialization that the addition of the eighteen-story, industrial TMT to the Conservation District will have an effect that is "less than significant." The final environmental impact statement states:

In general, the Project will add a limited increment to the current level of cumulative impact. Therefore, those resources that have been substantially, significantly, and adversely impacted by past and present actions would continue to have a substantial, significant, and adverse impact with the addition of the Project. For those resources that have been impacted to a less than significant degree by past and present actions, the Project

would not tip the balance from a less than significant level to a significant level and the less than significant level of cumulative impact would continue. (University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, 2010, p. S-9)

In a rhetorical move of smoke and mirrors, Parsons Brinckerhoff, the multinational corporation that prepared the environmental impact statement for the University of Hawai‘i, attempted to dissipate the adverse impact of the TMT through the figure of a “threshold,” what it constructs as the “tipping point” of impact. In this way, the final environmental impact statement attempts to bury the TMT’s impact under the existing impact of the thirteen other telescopes, while manufacturing a false narrative of the mauna being irreversibly wasted by degradation.

I would dispute Parsons Brinckerhoff’s analysis by pointing to the logarithmic, exponential nature of environmental impact. As we are seeing with global climate change, a mere two-degree Celsius increase in global temperatures above preindustrial levels will have catastrophic effects, including loss of sea ice, sea level rise, acidification of the ocean, species extinction, droughts, hurricanes, and heat waves. Although Parsons Brinckerhoff is attempting to minimize the appearance of impact by calling it an “incremental impact,” the point here is that environmental impacts are systemic and involve entire ecological systems. These impacts are what scientists call cascades, meaning that a small change multiplies in effect, from trophic cascades downward as well as upward cascades. In the case of the TMT, cultural practitioners and environmentalists testified to tremendous, extensive impacts that are cultural and natural, beyond any institutional attempts to contain impact to a “limited increment.”

This formula of “threshold of impact” has larger implications as an assertion of the inevitability of settler colonialism as a foregone conclusion. Like the trope of the “vanishing Indian,” this argument isolates colonization to a past point in time as the threshold that has already been crossed, and in this way the settler state and its agents seek to foreclose the possibility of decolonization. This occupying state formulation for settler colonial inevitability must shore itself up, however, precisely because of the movement of Native resurgence, which is demanding decolonization.

It is within this Indigenous resurgence that we see Ōiwi challenging the settler colonial argument about tipping points of impact, pushing back against such rhetorical fallacies, and standing for the restoration of Mauna a Wākea and Hawai‘i’s independence. In response to the argument that Mauna a Wākea has been laid to waste by the current observatories, petitioner Kūkauakahi Ching points to an irreducible fact: The addition of an eighteen-story industrial complex to a conservation district can only add significant impact. In his closing argument in the first contested case hearing, he stated, “While mental hocus-pocus, along with alchemy and witchcraft, might have attained credibility in the Dark Ages, my modern mind tells me that one cannot subtract or mitigate by adding” (Ching, 2013, p. 98). Petitioner Kealoha Pisciotta further explains that this “increment,” emphasized by the TMT, would not only cause irreparable harm to the mauna and to the people but would also become an enormous falsehood that will expose and crush the fragile juridical underpinnings of the state: “If the BLNR allows the legal limits to be exceeded, they will be in breach of trust in excess of their authority. And in any case, the TMT is not only the straw that breaks the camel’s back, it’s the elephant that will cause the entire system to break down” (Pisciotta, 2013, p. 124).

We can further see the state's logic of subdivision in the way that the final environmental impact statement's proposed location for the TMT, known as the "13N site" within "Area E" within the 525-acre "Astronomy Precinct," already provides a visual illustration of abstracted land in nested subdivisions, one within the other. A total of 263 historic properties are identified on the northern plateau, but the TMT final environmental impact statement recognizes only three places of significance, stating, "The TMT Observatory will be placed at the 13N site where it will not be visible from culturally sensitive locations, such as the summit of Kūkahau'ula, Lake Waiau, and Pu'u Lilinoe" (University of Hawai'i at Hilo, 2010, p. P-3, S-13). The impact, therefore, appears to be limited to the red boundary lines drawn around these three sites and their singular view planes to the TMT.

However, as cultural practitioners have argued, all of the mountain lands of Mauna a Wākea, including the northern plateau itself, are sacred. In their testimony against the TMT project, Kanaka cultural practitioners emphasized repeatedly that the Mauna a Wākea summit cannot be subdivided because of the integrity of these sacred lands. The 'āina mauna, or mountain lands were historically not divided precisely because they were not for human use and, as the realm of the akua, represented the highest expression of the integrity of land. For example, Victoria Kamāmalu relinquished these lands as *undivided* lands to Kauikeaouli at the time of the privatization of land with the Māhele in 1848—lands that became the government lands, later seized at the time of the overthrow and "ceded" by the settler oligarchy of the Republic of Hawai'i to the United States at the time of annexation (Kauikeaouli, Na Lii, & Kalama, 1848, p. x).

Kealoha Pisciotta, a cultural practitioner who has stood for Mauna a Wākea in contested case hearings and courts

for the past twenty years, points to the problems that occur when the state maps these pu'u and limits their extent to the boundary lines drawn around them or the view planes from these three bounded sites alone. She reminds us that such mapping obscures the fact that the entire summit is the body of Poli'ahu. As Pisciotta explains,

And then one day I walked out and the snow had been perfect and there was a cloud bank, a typical cloud bank that always is on the mountain, and right there you could see her whole body, her face, her hair, her shoulder, and her arm, her nene [nipples of a woman's breast] and then of course the telescopes are right there by her 'ōpū [belly, stomach] and her nene and then you go down and then two pu'u on the mountain that if you look from Hilo side, like looking from Moku'ula is a good way to see, and then you can see her two feet. Then what happens is that she floats like a cloud of the tree line. (quoted in Simonson & Hammatt, 2010, p. 143)

Pisciotta's description recalls Herb Kāne's paintings of Poli'ahu, which depict ancestral knowledges of Poli'ahu as embodying all of the snow on the mountain, her body draped over Mauna a Wākea, far exceeding the red boundary lines that attempt to contain single cinder cones in isolation. In the mo'olelo of Mauna a Wākea, we see the mauna come alive as the akua embody the entire summit.

To emphasize an expansive 'Ōiwi perspective, Pisciotta submitted a new map (fig. 4) as Exhibit C-5 in the contested case hearing in 2011. Drawn by Community by Design, a planning group from the University of California–Berkeley, this map depicts traditional Hawaiian view planes (Pisciotta, 2011). It is a partial map

that also provides a visual representation of some of the solstice and equinox ceremonies.

Pisciotta refutes the university's claims that the view planes would not be affected by the TMT. She explains,

Most of our practices rely on some kind of view plane, because they are about the relationship between Papa and Wākea (our relationship with and to the earth and the celestial bodies and heavens). For example, we have repeatedly included concerns for the impacts on various ceremonies exercised on Mauna Kea, such as the solstice and equinox ceremonies that we along with many other Hawaiian groups collectively participate in throughout the year on Mauna Kea and other sacred sites around the islands. . . . The ceremonies I just described are specifically dependent upon our ability to observe and track the motion of the sun and other celestial bodies in order to find our way and to determine when and how to perform certain things for the care of the land and sea. Our traditional resource management models are dependent on these ceremonies. Our ancient knowledge relating to our relationship to other Pacific peoples is also a part of this knowledge. And lastly our sacred prophecies are based in this knowledge. (Pisciotta, 2011)

Based on this deeper cultural understanding, the TMT would be in the direct line of sight of Maui from the north-western plane used for ke ala ao solstice and equinox ceremonies. The map extends out from Mauna a Wākea as the center, connecting to Poli'ahu heiau on Kaua'i, Ahu a 'Umi Heiau, Pu'u Koholā Heiau in Kawaihae, and even beyond to Moku Manamana (Necker Island) in Papahānaumokuākea, or the Northwestern Hawaiian

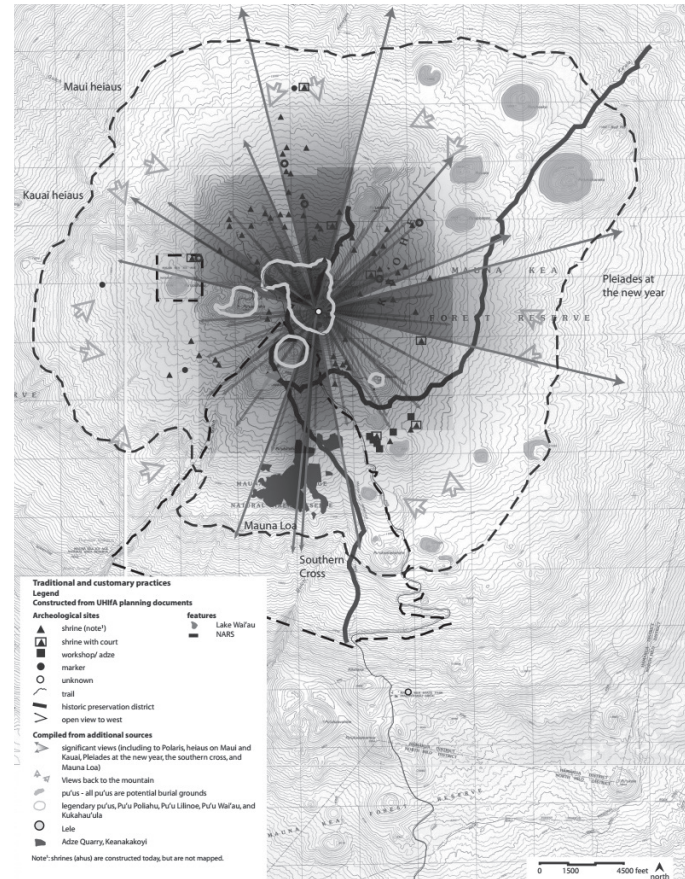


Figure 4. Traditional Viewsheds from Mauna Kea (partial map). Map by Community by Design.

Islands. The view planes look out from Mauna a Wākea, and to Mauna a Wākea, from these different places across the island and extending across the archipelago. The view planes not only direct our vision and ceremony, they also chart channels of energy that run between these sacred places. E. Kalani Flores, a petitioner in both contested case hearings representing the Flores-Case 'Ohana, has shifted the frame of reference of these hearings from an American context to one that honors

the knowledge base of Mauna a Wākea. His family has consulted with the akua, kupua, and kūpuna of Mauna a Wākea, and he explains, “Sacred mountains such as Mauna a Wākea, due to their geological composition and extreme height, are a piko (portal) that allows for the transference of energy from one source to another” (Flores, 2016, p. 20).

Not surprisingly, the university attorneys’ interpretation of the expansive view planes demonstrated by Pisciotta’s map attempted to contain these continuities once more by arguing that it presented view planes from a single isolated spot on the summit, thus further deploying the logic of subdivision. The hearing officer presiding over the contested case hearing reiterated these arguments, concluding that “all of those view planes emanate from a single point: the actual summit of Mauna a Wākea, located on Pu‘u Wekiu. It is undisputed that the TMT Observatory will not be visible from Pu‘u Wekiu” (Aoki, 2012, p. 66, #379). In the state’s mapping of Mauna a Wākea, not only were the sites themselves cordoned off and contained, the cultural practitioners were also depicted as being so limited in their practice that they engage in it only at a single place on the summit—despite repeated testimony that practitioners engage in practice all over the summit.

In their response, the Mauna Kea hui pointed to the untenable premise of the university attorneys’ claims. Pisciotta explains,

Now, when we practice on Mauna Kea, we don’t only go to the summit as the university would have everyone believe. Practices are dependent on the reason for the ceremony being conducted, and the hundreds of cultural and historical shrines placed around the summit region

demonstrate practice is widespread. View planes, viewscapes, are public trust resources. The TMT being placed in the middle of the ring of shrines that contains hundreds of these sites will totally impact our practice. (Pisciotta, 2013, p. 123)

Hawaiian customary and traditional practices show us that places on the mauna cannot be isolated from each other. Hawaiian practices take place over the entire mauna, not just the summit.

Against Colonial Despair: Mapping Joy in Standing for Mauna a Wākea

For those familiar with the genealogy of Mauna a Wākea and all the deities who reside on the mauna, he ‘āina kamaha‘o, a sacred land of wonder, it is painful to witness Mauna a Wākea described as a wasteland. The very proposal to build a massive, industrial structure on Mauna a Wākea fills people with ‘eha and kaumaha, a heavy sadness. As many who were interviewed for the Cultural Impact Assessment of the TMT explain, this ‘eha is intergenerational. It is the ‘eha of hearing again and again the dismissal of not only the genealogy of this mauna but also an expansive ‘Ōiwi knowledge base. In the pro-TMT arguments that the observatory represents progress and the future, we hear the voices that claim ‘Ōiwi scientific knowledges to be “backward” and that relegate these knowledges to the past.

The proposed TMT also violates Hawai‘i Revised Statute 711-1107 on “Desecration,” which defines desecration as “defacing, damaging, polluting, or otherwise physically mistreating in a way that the defendant knows will outrage the sensibilities of persons likely to observe or discover the defendant’s action.”¹²

The statute states that “A person commits the offense of desecration if the person intentionally desecrates” “(b) A place of worship or burial.” J. Kēhaulani Kauanui stated in her testimony for the 2011 contested case hearing,

The telescopes are a constant reminder of the State’s willing degradation of Hawaiian culture, religion, and therefore, the well-being of the Hawaiian people. They are a legacy of a continuing process of colonization that fractures communities who live in Hawai‘i. As the 1993 Apology Resolution correctly recognizes, “the health and well-being of the Native Hawaiian people is intrinsically tied to their deep feelings and attachment to the land[.]” (Joint Resolution, US Public Law 203-150). The existence of an eighteen-story structure that takes up the area of nine football fields in Wao Akua, the home of our gods, our ‘Aumakua (ancestral beings), and the place of the conception of the Hawaiian people by Papa and Wākea is the most atrocious violation of our attachment to the entire archipelago. (Kauanui, 2011, p. 2)

Hawaiian well-being, then, has been documented in Public Law 103-150, the Apology Resolution, as being tied to the land: when the land suffers, so do the people.

For the thirty-one *kia‘i* arrested on April 2, 2015, twelve arrested on June 24, eight arrested on July 31, and eight arrested on September 9, their arrests testify to the great love they have for Mauna a Wākea and the lengths they will go to protect the mauna. Mehana Kihoi, who had been handcuffed on April 2 and was a petitioner in the second contested case hearing against the TMT, asked the TMT project manager in that hearing,

Would there be any outreach provided to our Native Hawaiian children who have been emotionally, physically, mentally, and spiritually traumatized by this project? More specifically, my child who was present for the arrest on the mountain, who saw me being handcuffed while I was in *pule* [prayer ceremony] on the summit of Mauna Kea by the very DLNR officers that fill this room. What does your project have in place to address her concerns, her pain, and her suffering? I am speaking on behalf of my daughter who is here with me today who does not have a voice. I am her voice. (Kihoi, 2016, pp. 216–217)

The trauma that Mehana described points to the intergenerational trauma that the augmented desecration of Mauna a Wākea would have—the far-reaching genealogical consequences as trauma is passed down through generations.

A beautiful Facebook post by Pua Case to the family of Mauna a Wākea protectors reminds us there is joy, too, in these practices of growing *ea*. Pua explained that we have to be healthy, that we cannot be driven to anger or rage or depression, because our children will look to us to see what they should do, and we have to stand for the mauna with joy. This movement will have longevity and will be intergenerational:

Although we are seriously strengthening ourselves and standing steadfast . . . we honor the healing, the joy, and above all the laughter . . . for we must remain healthy and our children must see that we are in harmony and balance and as we stand as leaders and in service, and as we work hard we remain in peace within ourselves and we breathe the same breath as Mother Earth . . . and we will not let anyone drive us to anger or rage, to

depression. For our children, let us remain light-hearted, in peace as we move onward and forward . . . Idle No More . . . Eō!¹³

As Pua suggests, desecration has intergenerational effects for all Indigenous peoples. In the full post she connects the struggles of the *kia'i* at Mauna a Wākea to the Indigenous water protectors around the world, to the First Nations peoples and their allies in the Idle No More movement in Canada, and to the many American Indian tribes and their allies who came together at Standing Rock to protect the Missouri River from the Dakota Access Pipeline. As she further explains, however, the practices of *aloha 'āina* also have intergenerational effects that are necessary to the longevity of these movements for *ea*.

In the face of colonial despair, the protectors of the mauna have turned to mapping the collective protection offered in joyous celebration of the mauna. One of the *oli* that has come to represent this collective effort is “*Mālana mai Ka'ū*” (see fig. 1 above), which has been chanted to celebrate the genealogy of the voyaging canoe *Hōkūle'a*. “*Mālana mai Ka'ū*” is a map that describes the people of the different districts of Hawai'i Island—from Ka'ū, Puna, and Hilo, to Kona, Kohala, Hāmākua, and Waipi'o, to Waimea, Kawaihae, to Mauna a Wākea—who gather together, each a different part of the canoe being built, with Mauna a Wākea being the sealant that binds us all together (“*Mālana mai Ka'ū*,” 2001). This chant is particularly important because it counters colonial despair with the articulation of a collective, decolonial joy. When Pua Case teaches this chant to those who stand for Mauna a Wākea, she focuses on the final line, “*Ohohia i ka hana 'ana aku e / Rejoicing at the activity, the building of the canoe.*” She explains, “The most beautiful word is in that last line. The first word ‘*ohohia*’ [‘to rejoice’]

is going to remind us what feeling, what spirit we are in. We are in the joy of being in the mauna, in the joy of being aware, conscious enough to know that we remember our mauna is sacred and the joy in that” (Case, 2014). *Ohohia* is an integral part of *kū'ē*, resistance: it is what sustains people in struggle, what brings us together again and again as a collective, rather than the colonial despair and attrition that can happen when there isn't a recognition of joy in protecting land, people, and *lāhui*.

Mapping the Abundance of Mauna a Wākea through EAducation

Central to the restoration of Hawai'i's independence is the restoration of the health of the land and the health of the people, which are mutually dependent. Under the pressures of US occupation that has sought to seize land by burying Hawaiian knowledge systems, we are seeing now a great flowering throughout the islands and across the globe that has been brought about by Mauna a Wākea and the abundance of the *pulapula*, the new generations of leadership that are being planted on Mauna a Wākea and the rising of the *lāhui* through a revival of these knowledge systems, as well as the ways that knowledge systems are interrelated.

As more and more people traveled to Mauna a Wākea to support the *kia'i* mauna, we have seen the emergence of what Hawaiian-medium preschool teacher Kaho'okahi Kanuha has termed “EAducation,” a philosophy of education that directs educational projects on the Hawaiian historical and cultural foundations for political autonomy. Kanuha organized the Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina series of EAducation workshops on the mauna, which have grown into a widespread movement to educate people about *ea*, political sovereignty, Hawaiian history, and politics.

“EAducate” is a word that I used at the beginning of the Mauna Kea movement. On September 20, 2014, I started Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina, a monthly series of free presentations for the community in Kona. I made Aloha ‘Āina messaging on T-shirts to support this series financially. Our first shirt was “a hiki i ke Aloha ‘Āina hope loa (until the very last Aloha ‘Āina).” These were the words spoken by James Keauiluna Kaulia in a speech against the annexation of Hawai‘i by the United States where he famously stated that Kanaka would stand for Hawai‘i’s independence until the very last aloha ‘āina, the very last patriot of the lāhui, the nation. The idea was to EAducate, a philosophy of education that would give the lāhui the ability to rise, to ea. EAducation is about learning your culture, your history, your language, your stories. That is what will empower the lāhui. EAducation is what will return breath and life to our lāhui, it will give us the ability to have sovereignty, rule and independence over all the decisions we make and over the future of our lāhui.¹⁴

Kanuha’s work has conditioned the soil for a strong foundation for the EAducational movement as ea workshops and events have been planted in other communities across the islands. These workshops give us visual image of the ea that is flourishing and bursting through the cracks in the concrete institutional structures of settler colonial education.

Ku‘uipo Freitas, another kia‘i mauna of this new generation of leaders, who was arrested twice on the mauna and is a teacher at Pūnana Leo o Kona, explains how EAducation has grown:

It has developed into a free Hawaiian educational series that aims to overcome the indoctrination, denationalization and Americanization of our people that has been occurring ever since the illegal overthrow of our queen Lili‘uokalani on January 17, 1893. It is comprised of various presentations and lectures on anything related to Hawaiian history and culture. There are many meanings to the word “ea.” These include sovereignty, life, air, breath, to rise and to swell up. All of these meanings are goals for Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina, to raise awareness and knowledge that the history we thought we knew was in fact all lies. We are in a time of great change, and so I believe the meaning of this slogan “EAducate” is to educate in the Hawaiian way; to see things the same way our kūpuna saw things. It’s an amazing time to be witnessing this. (Quoted in Hermes, 2016)

As Freitas has explained, there has been a shift and, now is a time of ea, a time of ‘Ōiwi resurgence that has transformed our understanding of the terms of this struggle.

Kanuha taught schoolchildren about ea at the very site of struggle: at the basecamp on Mauna a Wākea. He speaks to the haumāna about the reason why the kia‘i are standing for Mauna a Wākea in the larger picture of US occupation in Hawai‘i. He explains,

The reason for our being here, for all these pilikia, development, not just on Mauna Kea . . . is due to the fact that we are not able to govern ourselves and determine for ourselves what is pono and unpono for our people and our ‘āina. So I’m going to get into a political realm, but it’s not so much politics as ‘oia‘i‘o, as it is the truth of the matter. And so we determined that instead of trying to

pick the fruits of the tree, instead of trying to trim the leaves and the branches, let's huki this whole kumu out of the ground, and let's get the roots out of it. The source of this pilikia is an illegal occupation by the United States of our people dating back to the overthrow in 1893. Again, I teach preschool, so I try to keep it basic as possible. I teach it to those keiki as well. (Kanuha, 2015)

As Kanuha suggested, ea grows out of an education in 'oia'i'o, truth, and that kind of education must question the very foundations of education in occupied Hawai'i. An EAducation is one that is rooted in the abundance of ancestral knowledges, bearing the fruit of children who will be able to choose a future that is pono, right, balanced, and sovereign.

'Ōiwi maps are kīpuka, a term referring to oases of old forest growth during a lava flow that are seedbanks for the future, and we can look to the ways that visual artists create maps that are kīpuka of ancestral lessons about ea that are rooted in particular places. I want to turn

to the work of an artist who maps a visual illustration of ea through the genealogy of Mauna a Wākea. Haley Kailiehu, an artist from the 'ili 'āina of Kukuipuka in the ahupua'a of Kahakuloa on Maui, has done much to help us remember the abundance of Mauna a Wākea. She works to "allow the current and future generations of Kanaka 'Ōiwi to (re)learn and assert their kuleana, (re)establish connections to our mo'olelo and kūpuna (ancestors) and (re)affirm our rightful place in our homeland."¹⁵ On October 12, 2013, with 'Ilima Long, Andre Perez, and other members of HauMANA, a student arm of the Hawaiian independence group MANA, she organized a community-painted mural at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo to call public attention to the university's role in supporting the construction of the TMT and to mobilize the community against the DLNR's renewal of the university's leases for the Mauna Kea Science Reserve. More than a hundred students, faculty, and people from different communities gathered over the course of one weekend to contribute to this mural (fig. 5). In this mural of Mauna a Wākea, Kailiehu focuses on the beauty of the mo'olelo that inspires a shared vision



Figure 5. Photo courtesy of Haley Kailiehu.

of a decolonial future. The mural is a kīpuka that maps the genealogical path of the waters of Mauna a Wākea.

The painting depicts the sacred water streaming down the mountain from Waiau, shaped as a kalo leaf, feeding the Kānaka as plant people, siblings of the kalo, their leafy arms outstretched to Wākea, Sky Father, their malo the corm of the kalo. At the center of the mural is a visual illustration of the genealogical chant that stopped the construction crews, beginning with Papahānaumoku and Wākea. To the right of them is their daughter, Ho‘ohōkūkalani, holding a baby in her arms. Her first child by her father Wākea was born as an unformed fetus and when buried, grew into the kalo plant, Hāloanakalaukapalili of the long stem whose leaves tremble in the wind. The second child she carries in her arms is Hāloa the ali‘i, the younger sibling to the kalo, and also to Mauna a Wākea. These ancestors fill the land in the mural, reminding us of the genealogical descent of Mauna a Wākea, kalo, and kanaka from Papa and Wākea, all fed by the life-giving waters of Kāne at Waiau, the mural a reminder of their familial relationships and their kuleana to care for each other.

The text accompanying the mural criticized the university for representing the Thirty Meter Telescope:

UH CANNOT BE A
HAWAIIAN PLACE OF LEARNING
WHILE LEADING THE DESECRATION
OF MAUNA A WAKEA.
HEY UH . . . BE ACCOUNTABLE
BE A HAWAIIAN PLACE OF LEARNING . . .
STAND WITH THE PEOPLE . . .
STOP THE DESECRATION . . .
STOP THE THIRTY METER TELESCOPE!

After the completion of the mural on Sunday, a *Ka Leo* staffer painted over the message, then printed “Ka Leo Arts Fest” over the above message. HauMANA quickly organized a protest attended by over two hundred students, faculty, and staff who were outraged by the censorship. Kailiehu reflects on the power of the mural:

I feel an overwhelming sense of hope. I can recollect the experience as if it happened just yesterday. I can remember the people, the keiki with parents, friends with more friends, and the kūpuna, who we were all there painting together. Our Mauna a Wākea mural was an attempt to convey our message to the rest of society, to bring awareness to a concern that we felt all people should understand and know fully. Our Mauna a Wākea mural was a venue where people from within the scope of consciousness and others, not so much aware, could come and learn and actively engage in taking a stance.¹⁶

In this way, the mural’s moon, in her Hoaka crescent phase, also sets the intention of the mural as the unification of the people. As Katrina-Ann R. Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira notes, Ka Pae ‘Āina Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian archipelago resembles the Hoaka moon phase, and Kailiehu’s image of the moon in this mural appears in Oliveira’s *Ancestral Places: Understanding Kanaka Geographies* as an illustration (Oliveira, 2014, p. 46). In the mural, the evocation of the Hoaka moon is a way to inspire all the people of Ka Pae ‘Āina Hawai‘i to be united through Mauna a Wākea in a greater vision of a sovereign future.

Another one of Kailiehu’s pieces, “Huliau,” depicts a turning point where the pulapula, the new generations of leadership, are being planted on Mauna a



Figure 6. "Huliau," by Haley Kailiehu.
Image courtesy of the artist.



Figure 7. The Legendary Crosswalk. Photo courtesy of Naaikalani Navas.

Wākea (fig. 6). As children join their parents and families in the struggle, they lift up the Hae Hawai'i (fig. 7), the Hawaiian flag that was lowered at the time of the overthrow and cut to pieces when Hawai'i became a republic. The children are the huli, the kalo tops who are planted in what became the Legendary Crosswalk for the protection of Mauna a Wākea. "Huliau" also refers to a turning point, and Kailiehu illustrates this turning point through the image of the children being EAducated, huli taking root, their young, green abundance busting through the asphalt of the crosswalk that represents capitalist economies that industrialize sacred lands. The huli represents knowledge, ideas, all the people of the lāhui. Such abundance cannot be contained, covered over, or stifled. Kailiehu writes in her artist's statement for the piece, "The huli has already been planted, and it will continue to grow. This one is for the poe aloha aina maintaining a continuous presence at the aloha aina crosswalk checkpoint. Mahalo for planting the huli for the huliau in us all."

Personal stories can also become powerful 'Ōiwi maps that illustrate different kīpuka. One such example comes from the eleventh line, where TMT construction workers were stopped. 'Ohulei Waia'u, the alaka'i who led the kia'i in chanting "He kanaenae no ka hanau ana o Kauikeaouli," describes a beautiful mapping of the lines of protectors on the mauna that day. She explains,

We were in line II and from our perspective, we could see all of the lines and we heard about what was happening below us. Once they got past one row, the next row would come up. We heard that our strong leaders Kaleikoa, Kaho'okahi, and Hualālai were taken and that everybody was afraid because we knew they had been hand-picked for arrest as our leaders, but I said to them,

“Don’t worry, we’re like the teeth of the manō. When one shark’s tooth falls out, there’s always another to replace it.” Not like, watch out, we’re going to bite you. No, what we realized is that there are always many, many rows behind that front, many, many leaders who are coming into their own and are willing to step up to lead us. (Waia‘u, 2015)¹⁷

The lines of protectors, then, were rows of shark’s teeth, resilient, regenerative, and abundant. Sharks tear their prey so violently that they break or lose their teeth daily. New teeth are continuously growing in rows that move forward, up to seven rows of replacement teeth and as many as thirty thousand teeth. The teeth are as the lehulehu, the multitudes that stand for Mauna a Wākea—the four hundred, the four thousand, the forty thousand, the four hundred thousand protectors being regenerated in the ‘ōpio on the mauna.

This image illustrates what Kūkauakahi describes as the *decentralization* of organizing on Mauna a Wākea, the suppleness of this organizing structure, and when the leaders have been arrested, others have stepped in to take their places, including the ‘ōpio who have come into their own as leaders, and still others who have taken the lead in organizing ‘Aha Aloha ‘Āina gatherings in their own communities across Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i, to grow relationships, economies, systems, and structures for independence. This nonhierarchical, horizontal leadership is also mapped along the land, illustrating a land-based conception of the lāhui. Waia‘u’s words present us with an example of indigenous cartography that illustrates the visual mapping of the independence movement on Mauna a Wākea premised on ‘Ōiwi economies of abundance, connectedness, and regeneration.



Figure 8. “ReKALOnize Your Na’au,” by Haley Kailiehu. Image courtesy of the artist.

Kailiehu also represented this image of the lines of kia‘i on Mauna a Wākea in a way that maps a genealogical return to the piko as the source of ea. In July 2015, Kailiehu depicted the lines of kia‘i in a piece entitled “ReKALOnize Your Na’au” (fig. 8). In this image, Kailiehu inverts the process of colonization by depicting the lines of protectors on the mauna on a spiraling path back to the source, to the kalo leaf, an image reclaiming the na’au, the mind and the inner core of one’s being, from colonization. The kia‘i hold the lei lā‘i before them, in lines reaching up to Waiau, which is depicted as the leaf of the kalo. This image brings together the piko as the point where the stem attaches to the kalo leaf from which veins radiate out, the piko as the summit and as the umbilicus that connects past generations of kia‘i to future generations. Kailiehu writes,

This image depicts our *kia'i* mauna standing in lines up on the mauna walking together to the piko of our ea, ka piko o Wākea, at Waiau. The shape of Waiau, I often see as similar to that of the kalo leaf. And like the piko of the kalo leaf, the piko of the mauna connects us to our 'āina and akua, the sources of our ea. It is thus in our returning to the piko to strengthen these ancestral connections that the consciousness of our lāhui is re-kalo-nized, re-centered, and re-born.¹⁸

Thus, reKALOnizing the na'au is an act of ea and indigenous resurgence that turns inward. Waiau is the po'owai, the place from which the headwaters and 'ike, knowledge, flow to the people and to which the people return to regain ea, life, breath, and political sovereignty.

"ReKALOnize Your Na'au" gains further resonance when we look at the June 24, 2015 images of the pōhaku, or rocks that were planted in the road near the summit to protect the mauna. One of the *kia'i*, Kaukaohu Wahilani from Puea, Wai'anae, was above the eleventh line and describes what he saw:

Līlinoe covered both our lāhui and DLNR, however, where we were higher up, it was clear and sunny. We could only hear the chanting and cries of our lāhui. We were all waiting for our lāhui to join us, and that is when this older *kāne* spoke and said, "Hui lāhui! Looks like nā kūpuna are ready to come down the mauna and join us!" As soon as those words left his mouth the lāhui started to halihali the pōhaku and place them on the road! It was amazing. From pōki'i to kūpuna, everybody was doing the hana lima!¹⁹

The pōhaku were planted in the road, some here and there, and others in low rock walls that formed

a labyrinth through which people, but not vehicles, could pass. Kailiehu's image, then is also a mapping of mo'okū'auhau, from the keiki in the first line on the county road, through to the 'ōpio line, and other lines up the mauna and to the pōhaku above, the pōhaku as kūpuna, as the last lines of ancestors standing for Mauna a Wākea. On that day, the *kia'i* stood with the kūpuna in the lines leading to the piko of Mauna a Wākea. Jada Anela Torres was planted there on Mauna a Wākea (fig. 9) with her older brother Jonah and her parents, Meleana Smith and Kaleo Torres, as an 'ohana, a family, standing with their kūpuna pōhaku that day.

The hearing officer in the second 2016–17 contested case hearing has recommended to the BLNR that it reaffirm its approval of the Conservation District Use Permit for the TMT. Richard Naiwi Wurdeman, attorney for the Mauna Kea hui, stood kūpa'a for the mauna in both Supreme Court cases. On September 30, 2018, the Hawai'i Supreme Court majority opinion affirmed the BLNR's approval of the Conservation District Use Permit issued to the TMT. In his lone dissenting opinion, Justice Michael Wilson (2018) points to the ways this conclusion is "fraught with illogic" (p. 14), and that the



Figure 9. Jada Anela Torres with the kūpuna pōhaku, June 24, 2015. Photo courtesy of Etihu Keeling, with permission of Jada Anela Torres and Meleana Smith.

majority decision authorizes a dangerous new “degradation principle” that “dilutes or reverses the foundational dual objectives of environmental law—namely, to conserve what exists (or is left) and to repair environmental damage” (p. 4).

One thing is certain: We will continue to fight for Mauna a Wākea a hiki i ke aloha ‘āina hope loa (until the very last aloha ‘āina). We stand fast, ‘onipa‘a, knowing that the kūpuna pōhaku, and the myriad other forms the kūpuna take, are protecting the mountain, and that we will be standing there with them when the construction crews try to make their way back up the mountain. The movement to protect Mauna a Wākea has rippled out to

become part of a unified global movement against the capitalist economies driving climate change. As late settler capitalist economies in crisis are beginning to wither away in their manufactured wastelands of scarcity, we are collectively transforming the conditions of US occupation and settler colonialism, looking to the kīpuka provided by Kanaka ‘Ōiwi maps, rebuilding social relationships and cultivating the land base that is both the ‘āina momona, the abundant lands, and the ‘āina kama-ha‘o, the wondrous land. We are bringing into being a decolonial future on the abundant ancestral lands—the national land base—and it is upon this abundance that the people of the lāhui are rising.

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1. For a discussion of akua as elemental forms, see Kanahele, 5.
 2. For HB1618 CD1, see: https://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/session2014/bills/HB1618_CD1_.HTM. For the current language of the Hawai‘i Revised Statute, see <https://codes.findlaw.com/hi/division-i-government/hi-rev-st-sect-171-4.html>
 3. K. Ching, personal communication, July 18, 2012.
 4. Kepā and Onaona Maly note that the name for the spring is spelled “Houpokāne” (Maly & Maly, 2005, p. 450), but after consulting with Hawaiian language speakers, I will spell it “Houpo o Kāne” for clarity. The name of the deity sister of Poli‘ahu is spelled as “Kahoupokāne,” so I am recording her name as “Ka Houpo o Kāne.”
 5. Speech at Mauna Kea rally, ‘Iolani Palace, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, April 13, 2015.

6. For a discussion of how the checkpoint became a place where kia'i engaged others in dialogue, see Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (2017).
7. K. Kanuha, personal communication, October 28, 2017.
8. These rains are identified in Ahuena (1931).
9. UHH Exhibit A-130 quotes Emerson's footnote from *Hawaiian Antiquities: Mo'olelo Hawai'i* at p. 38. <https://dlnr.hawaii.gov/mk/files/2017/01/UHH-Exhibit-A-130.pdf>
10. Emerson's English translation of Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 17.
11. See Alexander's "Introduction" in Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, xvii.
12. https://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/hrscurrent/Vol14_Ch0701-0853/HRSo711/HRS_0711-1107.htm
13. Facebook post, December 30, 2012.
14. K. Kanuha, personal communication, October 30, 2017.
15. See Haley Kailiehu, "Artist Bio," <http://www.haleykailiehu.com/community-art.html>
16. See Kailiehu, "Community Art," <http://www.haleykailiehu.com/community-art.html>
17. 'O. Waia'u, personal communication, June 25, 2015.
18. This quotation is from the artist's statement for "ReKALOnize Your Na'au," which was previously available on Kailiehu's website.
19. K. Wahilani, personal communication, May 21, 2016.