

## Indigenous Politics of Hawai‘i

POL377 H1F / AMS313 H1F

Factor-Inwentash Social Work, Room 548

Thursdays, 2–4pm



Kanaka Maoli blockade of Thirty Meter Telescope on July 17, 2019 (Photo by Dr. Maile)

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### COURSE DESCRIPTION

What you know about Hawai‘i, most likely, is untrue. A unique archipelago in Oceania, Hawai‘i has been contrived into an idea circulating across the world, attracting corporations, militaries, tourists, and settlers to the islands. It is a paradise produced through the dispossession, elimination, appropriation, and exploitation of Indigenous people, institutions, ideas, and practices. This course tells a truer story about Hawai‘i. We examine the Indigenous politics of Hawai‘i through interdisciplinary research by Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) scholars. Because ideas and narratives constructed about the politics, economics, law, ecology, and society of Hawai‘i are often dominated by non-Kanaka Maoli writers, we turn to Kanaka Maoli experts and their subjugated knowledge. The course surveys their critical research, from the 19<sup>th</sup>

century to present, and the truths advanced through it: the development of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its government, law and policy, and economy; the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom's government and subsequent US military occupation and annexation of its territory; legal constructions of race and concomitant techniques of gender and sexuality in the territorial period; the creation of the State of Hawaii amidst World War II and the Cold War; the birth and continuation of the modern Hawaiian sovereignty movement; contemporary Kanaka Maoli struggles with federal recognition, militourism, and development. In close engagement with Hawai'i, students learn about Indigenous politics, as well as US politics, comparative politics, and political theory.

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### **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

By the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Understand the political history of Hawai'i from 19<sup>th</sup> century to present
- Understand how Indigenous people, institutions, and practices shape the history and political present of Hawai'i
- Critically analyze formations of colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and neoliberalism
- Compare the Indigenous politics of Hawai'i to Indigenous politics globally
- Write effectively in the concentration of Indigenous politics

- Submit assignments on time
- Interact respectfully with peers and the professor
- Contribute positively to a safe course climate

### **PROFESSOR RESPONSIBILITIES**

For this course, you should expect me to:

- Provide enriching lectures
- Convey content, ideas, and material in clear ways
- Facilitate engaging discussions
- Respect each student's individuality as a learner and person
- Encourage excellence in reading, writing, and critical thinking

### **STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES**

For this course, I expect you to:

- Closely read required materials
- Attend and closely engage lectures

### **REQUIRED MATERIALS**

- All required materials are available in the Library Reading List
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### **COURSE POLICIES**

1. **Health and Safety:** This course follows U of T policy, rules, and protocols for health and safety. I strongly encourage everyone to remain up-to-date on vaccinations and upload your vaccination documents to [UCheck](#). Maintaining updated information on the vaccination status of our community will help inform future health and safety planning. It will also minimize disruption should conditions require vaccine requirements to be reimposed. If you are feeling unwell or experiencing any COVID-19 symptoms, you should stay home and self-isolate. [The provincial self-assessment tool](#) can help provide guidance and information for those that may have been exposed and/or have symptoms. While the current pause in our mandatory mask requirement continues, the use of a [medical mask](#) in high-density indoor spaces when physical distancing is not possible is strongly encouraged during the period when cases are rising in Ontario. U of T is a mask-

friendly environment, and we ask everyone to respect each other's decisions, comfort levels, and health needs. The COVID-19 pandemic is a rapidly changing public health crisis, which national and provincial governments as well as the university are responding to in real time. This course is designed to adapt to such responses and, most importantly, keep you and our communities healthy and safe.

2. **Accommodations:** If you require accommodations throughout the course, I will do my best to accommodate your particular needs. Register with Accessibility Services on the phone (416-978-8060), via email ([accessibility.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:accessibility.services@utoronto.ca)), or at their office (455 Spadina Avenue, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor, Suite 400, Toronto, ON, M5S 2G8). Contact me, or have a representative from Accessibility Services contact me, as soon as possible so you can be accommodated in a timely manner. Likewise, contact me if you require specific accommodations related to access to online course content.
  3. **Absences:** Students are expected to complete the Absence Declaration form, available on [ACORN](#), anytime they are absent from class. No additional information or documentation is required. In relation to the policy on health and safety, if you are not feeling well, you are highly encouraged to stay home. In that case, contact me for accommodations.
  4. **Academic Integrity:** This course follows U of T policy, rules, and protocols on academic integrity. According to the International Center for Academic Integrity's definition endorsed by the university, we should communicate and act in our class community and coursework with honesty, trust, fairness, respect, responsibility, and courage. You are required to understand and adhere to the Faculty of Arts and Science's Code of Behavior on Academic Matters. More information on academic integrity and what constitutes misconduct is available online: [governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/secretariat/policies/code-behaviour-academic-matters-july-1-2019](http://governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/secretariat/policies/code-behaviour-academic-matters-july-1-2019).
  5. **Submitting Assignments:** All assignments, with the exception of the final paper, are due on Sundays at 11:59pm. Assignments must be submitted electronically via [Querqus](#). Normally, students will be required to submit their papers to the university's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the university's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support and Innovation web site (<http://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).
  6. **Late Work:** Late assignment submissions are not accepted.
  7. **Remarking:** You may submit a formal request for remarking after receiving work back, but no later than 2-weeks after it was returned. The request, submitted through Querqus messenger, must include a rationale for remarking, which will be evaluated to determine if remarking is granted. I will remark the submission and return it no later than 2-weeks from the date remarking was granted. There is an appeal process that you can read more about online: [teaching.artsci.utoronto.ca/teachinginas/academichandbook-jitreminders/#remarkingpolicy](http://teaching.artsci.utoronto.ca/teachinginas/academichandbook-jitreminders/#remarkingpolicy).
  8. **Communication:** Use the Querqus messenger to contact me. Do not email me concerning the course. I will try my best to respond via Querqus within 24–48 hours after receiving a message during the week. If you are experiencing an emergency and need to be in touch with me, send me an email.
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### READING SUMMARIES — 20 total points

You are required to write and submit four (4) reading summaries throughout the semester. Each summary is worth 5-points. The objective of this assignment is to summarize a selected piece of required material in 1-page single-spaced. There are three (3) primary components to the reading summary: thesis (2-points), summary (2-points), and application (1-point). Each component is evaluated for *accuracy* and *completeness*. A detailed guide for the reading summary and sample are provided in Querqus. For each submission, select a *single required reading* to summarize—choosing just *one (1) book chapter or article*—from each block of material:

<b>Block #1:</b> (select one)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Dismembering Lāhui</i>, Ch. 1</li> <li>• <i>Aloha Betrayed</i>, Ch. 1</li> <li>• <i>No Mākou Ka Mana</i>, Ch. 1–4</li> </ul>
<b>Block #2:</b> (select one)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty</i>, Ch. 2–3</li> <li>• <i>The Kingdom and the Republic</i>, Ch. 1</li> <li>• “Hawaiian Capitalism and Kanaka Maoli Anti-Capitalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century”</li> <li>• “American Occupation of the Hawaiian State”</li> <li>• “Darkness over Hawaii”</li> <li>• <i>Aloha Betrayed</i>, Ch. 4</li> </ul>
<b>Block #3:</b> (select one)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Hawaiian Blood</i>, Ch. 3–4</li> <li>• <i>Possessing Polynesians</i>, Ch. 3</li> <li>• <i>Unsustainable Empire</i>, Ch. 3–4</li> <li>• “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement”</li> <li>• <i>A Nation Rising</i>, introduction</li> <li>• <i>Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty</i>, conclusion</li> </ul>
<b>Block #4:</b> (select one)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The Commerce of Recognition”</li> <li>• “Are Hawaiians Indians?”</li> <li>• <i>From a Native Daughter</i>, Ch. 9</li> <li>• <i>Securing Paradise</i>, Ch. 4</li> <li>• “The Militarizing of Hawai‘i”</li> <li>• “A Fictive Kinship”</li> <li>• “On Being Late”</li> </ul>

### QUIZZES — 20 total points

There are two (2) quizzes required to submit throughout the semester. Each quiz is worth 10-points. Quizzes consist of ten (10) questions that are multiple choice, true or false, fill in the blank, matching, and short answer. Each individual question is worth 1-point. Questions are designed to evaluate understanding of course content. The questions are constructed from required materials. This means that questions on Quiz 1 cover required materials and their content from Weeks 2–5, whereas questions on Quiz 2 cover required materials and their content from Weeks 6–11. Quizzes are available on Sunday, from midnight to 11:59pm, with a 60-minute time limit. This means that you may access a quiz at any time on Sunday and, once you open the quiz, the timer begins. Quizzes automatically closes after 60-minutes.

## FINAL PAPER — 60 points

The final paper is a required assignment worth 60-points. The main objective of the assignment is to research a historical event, covered in the course content and required materials, and explain its significance over time. In other words, what is the effect and consequence of a historical event in the present? Events should be considered a law, court decision, military intervention, war, protest, to name a few examples. There are two parts of the main objective: (1) *deeply describe* the historical event and its political circumstances, motivations, and actors; (2) *critically analyze* the event's impact over time on Indigenous politics in Hawai'i and globally. While you are expected to use required materials to describe and analyze a selected historical event, you are also expected to research it further. Utilize books, journal articles, essays, and news articles for secondary sources beyond required materials. The critical analysis in the paper, discussing the legacy of a historical event in Hawai'i, ought to develop a main argument, or thesis, regarding Indigenous politics. This assignment is assessed for four main criteria: development of thesis (10-points), description of historical event (20-points), critical analysis (20-points), and organization, spelling, and grammar (10-points). It is required to be 10–12 pages (~3,000–3,500 words) not including a bibliography with a 1-point deduction for each page under/over the requirement. Papers should be written in Chicago 17<sup>th</sup> edition format with 1-inch margins, double-spaced, and endnotes.

### MARKING SCHEME

<i>Term Work</i>	<i>Due Date</i>	<i>Weight in Percentage</i>
Reading Summaries	Sep. 25, Oct. 16, Nov. 6, Dec. 4	20%
Quizzes	Oct. 9, Nov. 20	20%
Final Paper	Dec. 7	60%

### GRADING SCALE

Percentage	Grade	GPA Value	Grade Definition
90-100	A+	4.0	Excellent
85-89	A	4.0	
80-84	A-	3.7	
77-79	B+	3.3	Good
73-76	B	3.0	
70-72	B-	2.7	
67-69	C+	2.3	Adequate
63-66	C	2.0	
60-62	C-	1.7	
57-59	D+	1.3	Marginal
53-56	D	1.0	
50-52	D-	0.7	
0-49	F	0.0	Inadequate

### COURSE SCHEDULE

	<i>Topics and Readings</i>	<i>Assignment Due</i>
Week 1: Sep. 8	<b>Introduction</b>	Complete introductory tasks in Querqus
Week 2: Sep. 15	<b>Indigenous Politics of Hawai'i</b>  Jonathan Osorio, <i>Dismembering Lāhui</i> , Ch. 1, p. 1–23 Noenoe Silva, <i>Aloha Betrayed</i> , Ch. 1, p. 15–44	

	Suggested viewing: <a href="#">An Act of War</a>	
Week 3: Sep. 22	<b>Hawaiian State &amp; National Sovereignty</b>  Kamanamaikalani Beamer, <i>No Mākou Ka Mana</i> , Ch. 1–4, p. 1–153	Reading Summary 1
Week 4: Sep. 29	<b>Land &amp; Property in the Kingdom</b>  Kēhaulani Kauanui, <i>Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty</i> , Ch. 2–3, p. 76–152  Suggested viewing: <a href="#">Talk by Dr. Donavon Preza</a>	
Week 5: Oct. 6	<b>Hawaiian Political Economy</b>  Noelani Arista, <i>The Kingdom and the Republic</i> , Ch. 1, p. 18–51 Uahikea Maile, “Hawaiian Capitalism and Kanaka Maoli Anti-Capitalism in the 19 <sup>th</sup> Century”	Quiz 1
Week 6: Oct. 13	<b>Overthrow &amp; Occupation</b>  Keanu Sai, “American Occupation of the Hawaiian State” Williamson Chang, “Darkness over Hawaii” Noenoe Silva, <i>Aloha Betrayed</i> , Ch. 4, p. 123–163  Suggested viewing: <a href="#">"The Ku‘e anti-annexation petitions of 1897"</a>	Reading Summary 2
Week 7: Oct. 20	<b>Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Territory</b>  Kēhaulani Kauanui, <i>Hawaiian Blood</i> , Ch. 3–4, p. 99–143 Maile Arvin, <i>Possessing Polynesians</i> , Ch. 3, p. 96–124	
Week 8: Oct. 27	<b>Statehood &amp; the Cold War</b>  Dean Saranillio, <i>Unsustainable Empire</i> , Ch. 3–4, p. 100–170  Suggested viewing: Panel on <a href="#">Unsustainable Empire</a>	
Week 9: Nov. 3	<b>Modern Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement</b>  Haunani-Kay Trask, “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement” Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, introduction to <i>A Nation Rising</i> , p. 1–33 Kēhaulani Kauanui, conclusion to <i>Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty</i> , p. 194–201	Reading Summary 3

Week 10: Nov. 10	<b>Fall Reading Week: No Class</b>	
Week 11: Nov. 17	<b>Hawaiian Recognition in International &amp; Federal Law</b>  Julian Aguon, “The Commerce of Recognition” Uahikea Maile, “Are Hawaiians Indians?”  Suggested viewing: <a href="#">“What Would It Take To Achieve Hawaiian Sovereignty”</a>	Quiz 2
Week 12: Nov. 24	<b>Tourism, Militarism &amp; Demilitarization</b>  Haunani-Kay Trask, <i>From a Native Daughter</i> , Ch. 9, p. 136–168 Vernadette Gonzalez, <i>Securing Paradise</i> , Ch. 4, p. 116–145 Kyle Kajihiro, “The Militarizing of Hawai‘i,” in <i>Asian Settler Colonialism</i> , p. 170–194	
Week 13: Dec. 1	<b>Development &amp; Indigenous Decolonization in Hawai‘i</b>  Iokepa Casumbal-Salazar, “A Fictive Kinship” Uahikea Maile, “On Being Late”  Suggested viewing: <a href="#">Like a Mighty Wave</a>	Reading Summary 4  (Final Paper due next week on December 7 at 11:59pm)

## REQUIRED MATERIALS

- Aguon, Julian. “The Commerce of Recognition (Buy One Ethos, Get One Free): Toward Curing the Harm of the United States’ International Wrongful Acts in the Hawaiian Islands.” *‘Ohia: A Periodic Publication of Ka Huli Ao Center for Excellence in Native Hawaiian Law* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1-69.
- Arista, Noelani. *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai‘i and the Early United States*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.
- Arvin, Maile. *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai‘i and Oceania*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Beamer, Kamanamaikalani. *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014.
- Casumbal-Salazar, Iokepa. “A Fictive Kinship: Making ‘Modernity,’ ‘Ancient Hawaiians,’ and the Telescopes on Mauna Kea.” *Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association* 4, no. 2 (2017): 1-30.
- Chang, Williamson. “Darkness Over Hawaii: The Annexation Myth Is the Greatest Obstacle to Progress.” *Asian-Pacific Law & Policy Journal* 16, no. 2 (2015): 70- 115.
- Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, Noelani. Introduction to *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, 1-33. Edited by Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika‘ala Wright. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.

- Gonzalez, Vernadette Vicuña. *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai‘i and the Philippines*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013.
- Kajihiro, Kyle. “The Militarizing of Hawai‘i: Occupation, Accommodation, and Resistance.” In *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*, edited by Jonathan Y. Okamura and Candace Fujikane, 170–194. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008.
- Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018.
- Kauanui, J. Kēhaulani. *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Maile, David Uahikeaikalei‘ohu. “On Being Late: Cruising Mauna Kea and Unsettling Technoscientific Conquest.” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 45, no. 1 (2021): 95–121.
- Maile, David Uahikeaikalei‘ohu. “Are Hawaiians Indians?” In *Biopolitics-Geopolitics-Life: Settler States and Indigenous Presences*, edited by René Dietrich and Kerstin Knopf. Durham, NC: Duke University Press (forthcoming).
- Maile, David Uahikeaikalei‘ohu. *Nā Makana Ea: Settler Colonial Capitalism and the Gifts of Hawaiian Sovereignty* (preparing for submission Fall 2023).
- Osorio, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole. *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002.
- Sai, David Keanu. “American Occupation of the Hawaiian State: A Century Unchecked.” *Hawaiian Journal of Law & Politics* 1, no. 1 (2004): 46-81.
- Saranillio, Dean Itsuji. *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai‘i Statehood*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018.
- Silva, Noenoe K. *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Trask, Haunani-Kay. “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O‘ahu.” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 21, no. 1 (1987): 126–153.
- Trask, Haunani-Kay. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999.