

## Indigenous Politics of Hawai‘i

POL377 / Spring 2024 / Dr. Uahikea Maile

Thursdays / 1–3pm



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

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### COURSE DESCRIPTION

What you know about Hawai‘i is most likely untrue. An archipelago in Oceania, Hawai‘i has been locally constructed and globally consumed as a tropical paradise for pleasure and play, attracting tourists, settlers, corporations, and military forces to the islands. It is a fantasized paradise produced through the dispossession, elimination, appropriation, and exploitation of Indigenous people, institutions, worldviews, and practices. This course tells a truer story about Hawai‘i by examining the Indigenous politics of Hawai‘i. Because ideas and narratives crafted about the history, politics, economics, law, ecology, and society of Hawai‘i are dominated and often distorted by non-Indigenous writers, we turn to Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) scholars to learn from their subjugated knowledge. The course surveys interdisciplinary research, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present, and excavates the truths advanced through it: the development of the Hawaiian Kingdom and its government, political order, economy, and society; the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government and US military occupation and annexation of its territory; legal constructions of race and techniques of gender and sexuality in the territorial

period; the creation of the State of Hawaii amid World War II and the Cold War; the birth and evolution of the modern Hawaiian sovereignty movement; and contemporary Kanaka Maoli struggles with federal recognition, militourism, and technoscientific development. In close engagement with Hawaiian Studies, 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
- Comprehend how Indigenous people, institutions & practices shape the history and present of Hawai'i
- Critically analyze formations of US imperialism, colonialism & capitalism
- Compare Indigenous politics of Hawai'i to Indigenous politics globally
- Write effectively in the concentration of Indigenous Politics

### STUDENT RESPONSIBILITIES

For this course, I expect you to:

- Closely read required materials
- Attend lectures & participate in discussions
- Submit assignments on time

- Interact respectfully with peers & professor
- Contribute positively to a safe course climate free from discrimination, hate & intolerance

### PROFESSOR RESPONSIBILITIES

For this course, you should expect me to:

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

### REQUIRED MATERIALS

- Required materials are available in the Library Reading List in Querqus
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### COURSE POLICIES

1. **Health and Safety:** This course follows U of T policy, rules, and protocols for health and safety. It is designed to adapt to potentially shifting policy, rules, and protocols and, most importantly, keep you and all our communities healthy and safe. Although the COVID-19 pandemic may seem over, it remains a health and safety concern which the federal and provincial governments as well as university continue evaluating and responding to. In this context, I strongly encourage students to remain up-to-date on COVID-19 vaccinations and wear face masks as needed to prevent the spread of airborne viruses. As your instructor, I will test weekly for COVID-19 to contribute to protecting the health and safety of our classroom.
2. **Accommodations:** If you require accommodations in 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.

3. **Absences:** If you become ill and it affects your ability to do your academic work, consult me right away. I will ask you for documentation in support of your specific medical circumstances. This documentation can be an Absence Declaration or the University's Verification of Student Illness or Injury (VOI) form. The VOI indicates the impact and severity of the illness, while protecting your privacy about the details of the nature of the illness. If you cannot submit a VOI due to limits on terms of use, you can submit a different form like a letter from a doctor, as long as it is an original document and contains the same information as the VOI including dates, academic impact, practitioner's signature, phone and registration number. For more information on the VOI, see <http://www.illnessverification.utoronto.ca>. For information on Absence Declaration Tool for Arts & Science students, see <https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/absence>. Lastly, if you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.
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. **Generative AI:** Usage of Generative Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools such as ChatGPT is permitted in limited instances. Students may only use AI as a learning aid to create outlines for the construction of the reading summaries and final paper. These written assignments must be original work produced by individual students alone. Students may not copy or paraphrase from any AI tools for the purpose of completing written assignments in this course. Use of AI tools is prohibited during quizzes. The knowing utilization of AI tools, apart from creating outlines as learning aids for written assignments, may be considered an academic offense in this course.
6. **Submitting Assignments:** All assignments are due on Sundays at 11:59pm. Assignments must be submitted electronically via [Querqus](#). Typically, 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 here: <http://uoft.me/pdt-faq>.
7. **Late Work:** Late submissions for assignments are not accepted.
8. **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 via Querqus messenger, must include a rationale for remarking, which will be evaluated to determine whether remarking is granted. I will remark submissions and return them 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-jitreminers/#remarkingpolicy](http://teaching.artsci.utoronto.ca/teachinginas/academichandbook-jitreminers/#remarkingpolicy).

9. **Communication:** Use Querqus messenger, instead of email, 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, send me an email: [uahikea.maile@utoronto.ca](mailto:uahikea.maile@utoronto.ca).

### 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 select 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 reading summary sample are in Querqus. For each submission, select a *single required reading* to summarize—choosing *one (1) book chapter or article*—from each block of material:

<b>Block #1:</b> (select one)	<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Dismembering Lāhui</i> , Ch. 1 <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Aloha Betrayed</i> , Ch. 1 <input type="checkbox"/> <i>No Mākou Ka Mana</i> , Ch. 1–4
<b>Block #2:</b> (select one)	<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty</i> , Ch. 2–3 <input type="checkbox"/> <i>The Kingdom and the Republic</i> , Ch. 1 <input type="checkbox"/> “Hawaiian Capitalism and Kanaka Maoli Anti-Capitalism in the 19 <sup>th</sup> Century” <input type="checkbox"/> “American Occupation of the Hawaiian State” <input type="checkbox"/> “Darkness over Hawaii” <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Aloha Betrayed</i> , Ch. 4
<b>Block #3:</b> (select one)	<input type="checkbox"/> <i>Hawaiian Blood</i> , Ch. 3–4 <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Possessing Polynesians</i> , Ch. 3 <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Unsustainable Empire</i> , Ch. 3–4 <input type="checkbox"/> “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement” <input type="checkbox"/> <i>A Nation Rising</i> , introduction <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty</i> , conclusion
<b>Block #4:</b> (select one)	<input type="checkbox"/> “The Commerce of Recognition” <input type="checkbox"/> “Are Hawaiians Indians?” <input type="checkbox"/> <i>From a Native Daughter</i> , Ch. 9 <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Securing Paradise</i> , Ch. 4 <input type="checkbox"/> “The Militarizing of Hawai‘i” <input type="checkbox"/> “A Fictive Kinship” <input type="checkbox"/> “On Being Late”

### 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 based on the required materials. Questions on Quiz 1 cover required materials and their contents from Weeks 2–5, whereas questions on Quiz 2 cover required materials and their contents from Weeks 6–11. Quizzes are available on Sunday, starting at midnight and until 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 it, the quiz begins and 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*, from 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? Laws, court rulings, military interventions, wars, and protests can be considered events, to name a few examples. There are two parts of the main objective for this assignment: (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 a minimum of four (4) pieces of required material to describe and analyze a selected historical event, you are also expected to research it further. Use books, journal articles, essays, and news articles for secondary sources in addition to 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 thus 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	Jan. 28, Feb. 18, Mar. 17, Apr. 7	20%
Quizzes	Feb. 11, Mar. 24	20%
Final Paper	Apr. 21	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>
<u>Week 1:</u> Jan. 11	<b>Introduction</b>	Complete opening tasks in Querqus
<u>Week 2:</u> Jan. 18	<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>	
<u>Week 3:</u> Jan. 25	<b>Hawaiian State &amp; National Sovereignty</b>  Kamanamaikalani Beamer, <i>No Mākou Ka Mana</i> , Ch. 1–4, p. 1–153	Reading Summary 1
<u>Week 4:</u> Feb. 1	<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>	
<u>Week 5:</u> Feb. 8	<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
<u>Week 6:</u> Feb. 15	<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
<u>Week 7:</u> Feb. 22	<b>Spring Reading Week — No Class</b>	
<u>Week 8:</u> Feb. 29	<b>Race, Gender &amp; 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	

<u>Week 9:</u> Mar. 7	<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>	
<u>Week 10:</u> Mar. 14	<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 J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, conclusion to <i>Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty</i> , p. 194–201	Reading Summary 3
<u>Week 11:</u> Mar. 21	<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
<u>Week 12:</u> Mar. 28	<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	
<u>Week 13:</u> Apr. 4	<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 April 21

## 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.