

Original Research

Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono: Cultural appropriation of the Hawaiian language in Hawaii Five-0

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Abstract: Most in Hawai'i are familiar with the phrase, "Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono," roughly translated as "the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness." However, the Western adoption of this phrase has resulted in its colonization and retranslation, devaluing its significance for Native Hawaiians. This project historically traces the phrase, focusing on: ea, aina, and pono. Of particular concern is how the phrase is translated/embodied for the consumption of a global audience as the title of an episode of the hit crime series *Hawaii Five-0*. We discuss the implications of the show's use of the phrase, specifically the appropriation of Hawaiian culture and language, and its resultant impact on understanding Hawaiian identity. We conclude that shows like *Hawaii Five-0* distort and/or prevent an accurate understanding of what is authentically "Hawaiian," by downplaying the uniqueness of Hawaiian identity in favor of its continued exoticization.

Keywords: textual analysis, cultural appropriation, representation, Hawaiian identity

1. Introduction

Most people in Hawai'i¹ have heard of or are familiar with the phrase, "Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono."² It is the Hawai'i state motto. It can be heard in various songs such as the infamous Israel Kamakawiwo'ole's, better known as Braddah Iz, *Hawai'i 78*. It can also be seen engraved on the 2008 circulated United States quarter, next to the image of King Kamehameha I and the Hawaiian Islands. Today, many translate it as "the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness." But how many truly know its meaning or origin? A deeper look at this commonly used phrase provides invaluable insight into the differences between Western and Hawaiian³ understandings of Hawaiian words.

By tracing the lineage of the uses of particular words such as ea, aina, and pono as well as their use in both Hawaiian and Western contexts we argue how the adoption of these words into the Western vocabulary, especially in film and television of Hawai'i and its people, are representative of the colonization of the words themselves. Furthermore, that these words have been/are appropriated in Western representations of Hawai'i changes their meaning when consumed by those unaware of the impact that such misappropriations propagate. Of concern then is the potential to devalue the significance of the phrase Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono for Native⁴ Hawaiians, and for Native

¹ Although it is considered to be grammatically correct to spell it either Hawaii or Hawai'i, in its Native language the okina, or glottal stop, between the two i's changes the pronunciation of the word. Recent efforts are being made to legally change the spelling to Hawai'i, so the authors will use this spelling to honor the traditional way it is spelled.

² Keeping with the recent movement to resist making the Native tongue appear foreign in writing produced in and about a Native land and people, we have decided not to italicize Hawaiian words in the text.

³ The concept of Hawaiian race defined by blood quantum is in large measure a product of a Western practice that has adversely impacted Native Hawaiians. When we speak in this project about Native Hawaiians, we attempt to avoid constructing them as a race to be identified by notions of biology. Thus, terms like Native Hawaiian, Hawaiian, and Kanaka Maoli are identifiers that we use synonymously.

⁴ Following the practice initiated by Trask (1999), we will capitalize Native when referring to the people who are Indigenous to Hawai'i. Trask recalls, "my usage is political on a geographic level we are Native to Hawai'i; on an ideological level we are neither Western nor Eastern but Native Pacific Islanders; and on a cultural level we are not transplants who are "new" to Hawai'i but an ancient people who have learned to live in and without place and whose culture is the least destructive and the most beneficial to the land (p. 7)

Hawaiian sovereignty initiatives. Moreover, there exists the possibility that skewed translations and conceptualizations of the phrase equally impact Western audiences. An example of this is the use of the phrase as a title for an episode⁵ of the relaunched hit detective action television series *Hawaii Five-0*. Debuting in 2010, and currently in its 10th season with 228 episodes to date, *Hawaii Five-0* follows Navy Lieutenant Commander Steve McGarrett as he leads his team of New Jersey detective Sergeant Danny “Danno” Williams, former Hawai‘i Police Department detective Chin Ho Kelly, and newly graduated police cadet Kono Kalakaua (the latter two are both identified in the show as being part Hawaiian) in a “no holds barred” approach to hunting down the state’s worst fugitives.

First, we provide a brief discussion of related literature about the effect of popular media and entertainment as they intersect with and frame representational issues. Moreover, for this project we discuss what a critical Indigenous textual analysis looks like in terms of addressing both Western and Native understandings of a given text. Next, we trace the history of the phrase *Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono* from its inception to the modern day, focusing on three substantial words within the phrase: *ea*, *aina*, and *pono*. Following a discussion of the historical context and cultural values of these words the second half of this essay analyzes via a case study of *Hawaii Five-0*, their particular translation of the phrase as expressed in the narrative of one episode where the phrase serves as its title. Finally, we discuss the potential implications of how the conceptualization of this phrase is done in this Western show. Specifically, we argue that Western use of *Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono* displays a cultural appropriation of Hawaiian culture and language. Consideration of the impact such has on language reclamation, education, and representations of Hawai‘i are made in the discussion and conclusion, suggesting that in writing this essay we ourselves directly confront the relational elements of language, culture, and Indigenous⁶ identity.

2. Media, race, and ethnicity

Media institutions are powerful. Children between the ages of two and seventeen watch an average of 22 hours of television each week; adults spend one-third of their time awake each day connected to media (more than 11 hours a day); 88 percent of homes in the United States subscribe to a cable TV company; and 79 percent of Americans have computers (Common Sense Media, 2017; Nielsen Company, 2018). The U.S. has the highest Internet penetration rate in the world, with an estimated more than 89 percent of the population being users (Pew Research Center, 2018). Gerbner, Morgan, Gross, Signorielli, and Shanahan (2002) suggest that the level of media consumption is related to how people perceive their world. Seeing oneself in media can aid in constructing a view of the self and of the world around the self (Merskin, 1998). At the same time, not seeing oneself, or viewing a skewed portrayal of the self, could also impact one’s identity. Such stereotypes can be used to legitimize hegemonic ideals of race and ethnicity.

Past literature has shown that media continue to underrepresent, misrepresent, and skew representation of particular minorities, such as Asian Americans, Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Native Hawaiians (Kopacz & Lawton, 2011; Larson, 2002; Merskin, 1998; Tan, Fujioka, & Lucht, 1997). When depictions are present, they often show Native peoples through a narrow range of stereotypes that are considered to be subaltern (Poindexter et al., 2003). Negative depictions can be harmful to minorities, as Enteman (2011) contends, “stereotypes impose a rigid mold on the subject and encourage repeat use without revision... Stereotypes are ultimately used to stigmatize” (p. 20). Stereotyping converts real persons into artificial persons. Such stereotypes as appear in media may contribute to the discrimination of Native Hawaiians and other minorities (Gilliam, 1999; Kopacz & Lawton, 2011; Parker, 2016; Tan, Fujioka, & Lucht, 1997). In typecasting groups, people treat others different from themselves with fixed proxies. In short, often denying them their humanity. Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007) argue:

Prejudice’s power partly comes from its ability to propel people to action; partly from its capacity to coordinate an image of the “other.” Individuals who make up the “other” recede as individuals;

⁵ Indeed, every episode of the current run of *Hawaii Five-0* dons a title taken from the Hawaiian language.

⁶ As a sign of respect and solidarity, we capitalize the word Indigenous to acknowledge this community’s legitimacy and to identify with the community.

what remains is an image of a group...Seeing another as the "other" minimizes awareness of difference among them and maximizes perceptions of difference between "them" and "us." (p. 44) Thus, prejudice and discrimination magnify the dangers of stereotyping in that audiences tend to use these slanted generalizations of a group to form their knowledge of race.

Yet another consequence of negative portrayals of race in media is that people learn social, gender, race, and class roles from mass media portrayals that aid them in defining their own personal identity (Riffe, 2009). By comparing themselves with characters in media content, and modeling mediated behaviors and attitudes, individuals learn to become who they want to be, as well as what is deemed acceptable by society. The media culture has emerged to assist people in producing what constitutes their everyday lives. This shapes their political views and social behavior, as well as provides them with the materials to forge their own identity (Strelitz, 2008). Hence, media creates a dialectical relationship between culture as a lived experience and culture as a representation (Strelitz, 2008).

A means to understanding how culture, race, ethnicity, and language are portrayed, and from whose perspective they are being represented, is by evaluating television texts. As D'acci (2004) argues: Television representation, therefore, conjures up notions of one thing standing in for something else; and we typically contrast this representation to reality, believing, for example, that the electronic image of a man [sic] on the TV screen is a portrayal, a substitute, or a reproduction of flesh and blood man out there in the world of empirical reality. (p. 374)

Audiences, therefore, have the tendency to believe that what is on the screen is truth. Television as a medium, communicates the "everydayness" of reality (Gray & Lotz, 2012). Television narratives relays to the audience reality, representation, and ideology, and being a large, Western industry, Hollywood has the resources to create a skewed view of reality, representation, and ideology that would support their bottom line (Christian, 2018). Thus, when using culturally specific language, shows like *Hawaii Five-0* not only have the means to use language in what is best suited for them, but also have large audiences that are potentially receptive to adopting Hollywood's use of language. An Indigenous approach toward textual analysis may prove to be useful when analyzing such skewed depictions.

3. Critical Indigenous textual analysis

Haunani Kay Trask (1999) begins her book, *From a Native Daughter*, by stating, "When I was young the story of my people was told twice: once by my parents, then again by my schoolteachers" (p. 1). What Trask succinctly describes is how Kanaka Maoli exist between two distinct stories. It reminds us of Fish's (1980) idea of the interpretive community, where language is always perceived from a given social structure or point-of-view. As Fish (1980) notes:

...all objects are made and not found, and that they are made by interpretive strategies we set in motion...to the list of made or construed objects we must add ourselves, for we are no less than the poems and assignments we see are the products of social and cultural thought. (pp. 331-332)

People interpret a text within a given context, and with set preconceived notions based on experience and shared group-knowledge. However, if the perspective on knowledge seeking follows a universal and hegemonic point-of-view, our view is already skewed from the beginning.

Referred to as Braided Knowledge by Indigenous studies scholar Atalay (2012), everything has a connection, thus our scholarly methods should intertwine the best of all perspectives, to create a synergetic approach. This attitude towards scholarship is also seen in Hawaiian studies, as Trask (1999) poetically reassures us that, before we were born:

Kanaka (Hawaiian people) who came before us have been twinning stores of intellectual ropes for us to use...thus, we who consider ourselves to be Hawaiian studies practitioners are never really alone. Our kūpuna (elders/mentors) join us in our work, whether we recognize them or not. (p. 23)

What we attempt here is to intertwine the roles of researcher and practitioner, of scholar and protester, of Eurocentric tendencies of approaching a text and Indigenous perspectives, for this paper specifically the Hawaiian values and words of *ea*, *aina*, and *pono*.

Textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about how people make sense of the world. It is a methodology for those who want to understand the ways in which members of

various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live (Selzer, 2003). Importantly, by examining the various ways in which it is possible to interpret reality, we come to understand our own cultures better because we can begin to see the limitations and advantages of our own sense-making practices. Thus, we argue the emphasis on merging the best of Western and Indigenous perspectives and methods. Western culture is only one possible approach to sensemaking. Rather than seeing rational descriptions of the world as simply describing the “truth” of the world, we approach textual analysis and sensemaking attempts to view texts from multiple perspectives—from different forms of language. Next, we briefly introduce the current state of Hawai‘i and Hawaiian social movements.

4. The current state of Hawai‘i and social movements

Prior to contact with the West in 1778, an estimated one million Native Hawaiians lived in the Hawaiian archipelago. By 1892 this number had diminished to 40,000 (Dudley & Agard, 1993). In 1990 there were a mere 8,244 full-blooded Native Hawaiians left, 992,000 less people than before Western contact, a decrease of more than 99 percent (Dudley & Agard, 1993). Declining numbers of the Native Hawaiian population threatens the legacy of Hawaiian identity, culture, and livelihood. This dismal history, coupled with the persistence of Western colonization in the State of Hawai‘i today, has led to the creation of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement, a collection of land struggles, peoples’ initiatives, and grassroots organizations in the mid-1970s that remain true to the cause as of present-day. Hawaiian social movements have been, at their core, about protecting and energizing ‘Ōiwi (Hawaiian tradition) ways of life: growing and eating traditional foods, speaking the Native language, renewing relationships through ceremonies and chanting, making collective decisions, and simply remaining on the land that their ancestors tended (Goodyear-Ka‘opua, 2014).

Since that day in January 1893 when the Queen ceded her authority, Hawaiians have initiated numerous social movements to protect their land rights and cultural heritage. As Goodyear-Ka‘opua (2014), Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa asserts:

These Hawaiian movements for life, land, and sovereignty changed the face of contemporary Hawai‘i. Through battles waged in courtrooms, on the street, at the capitol building, in front of landowners’ and developers’ homes and offices, on bombed-out sacred lands, in classrooms and from tents on the beaches, Kanaka Maoli pushed against the ongoing forces of U.S. occupation and settler colonialism that still work to eliminate or assimilate us. (p. 1)

The commercialization and orientalizing of Hawai‘i has drastically increased the cost of living for all Hawai‘i residents, but most pointedly for Native Hawaiians. According to the 2011 census, Hawai‘i was home to the highest percentage of millionaires in the nation, and currently stands as one of the top three most expensive states in the country (Goodyear-Ka‘opua, 2014). Native Hawaiian families in Hawai‘i have both the lowest mean family income and per capita income of all major ethnic groups. Over 15 percent of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders live in poverty when compared to the national average of 9.8 percent (Kana‘iaupuni, Malone & Ishibashi, 2006). In terms of education, Native Hawaiians are much less likely to receive a four-year college education compared to the national average (9 percent versus 28 percent) (Kana‘iaupuni, Malone & Ishibashi, 2006).

Because of various Hawaiian protest movements from the 1970s until today, water in Hawai‘i is protected as a public trust. Furthermore, cultural practitioners have secured access to natural resources and sacred sites (Goodyear-Ka‘opua, 2014). Native Hawaiians have also faced tremendous loss and challenges: highways have been built over familial burials and religious temples; families have been evicted from their ancestral homeland; Hawaiians are continually struggling to preserve their language and culture in the public school system; and most importantly, we have not yet been recognized as an independent people that provides us similar rights to Native Americans by the federal government (Goodyear-Ka‘opua, 2014).⁷ These reasons alone inspire Hawaiians to continue

⁷ The authors use first-person language in conjunction with third-person language, because one of us positions and identifies himself as an active member of the Hawaiian community and the other is recognized by the former as an ally of the Hawaiian community.

to fight, not just for their own self-identity, but also for the future of the next generation of young Hawaiians who will have to face their own share of persecution and prejudice.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s many Hawaiian movement leaders that emerged from earlier land struggles and cultural revitalization initiatives positioned themselves between two ideas of what sovereignty would look like. One notion sought some measure of justice within existing structures of the United States government, this is known as the nation-within-a-nation approach (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2014). This view seeks federal recognition from the U.S. as a domestic-dependent and ethnically defined people. The other notion fundamentally questions U.S. authority, and emphasizes the independence of Hawai'i as its own country (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2014). Though there may be numerous perspectives on what sovereignty looks like for Native Hawaiians, they all converge with the belief of *Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono*.

5. Ua mau ke ea o ka'āina i ka pono: Historical context and Hawaiian language use

Lord George Paulet, in charge of Her Britannic Majesty's Ship (HBMS) *Carysfort*, sought to protect the rights of British citizens in Hawai'i by demanding the cession of the Hawaiian Islands to British rule, granted at the barrel of his cannons on February 25, 1843 (Sai, 2011). As might readily be imagined, this was protested by the King, Kamehameha III, the ruling monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom at that time, who appealed to Paulet's superior officer, and even more ominously, to the United States, which sent several warships to challenge the British over dominance of these Islands, which would be annexed a little more than 50 years later after a pro-American coup overthrew the Native monarchy in favor of American interests. News of Paulet's actions reached Admiral Richard Thomas of the British Admiralty, and he traveled from Chile to Hawai'i on July 25, 1843 (Sai, 2011).

The British, no doubt displeased by Paulet's activities and not interested in a naval confrontation with the United States and with a restive local Hawaiian population, decided to respect Hawaiian sovereignty and the independence of the Islands on July 31, 1843 (Sai, 2011). At a grand ceremony on this same day, in a public speech to his people upon being restored to the throne after the brief British takeover, King Kamehameha III uttered the words which would become Hawai'i's national motto, "*Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono*." This phrase can be translated in various ways, most commonly, "The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness," or perhaps more accurately in the context it was given, "The sovereignty of the land is preserved through righteousness" (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2014). Because of the momentous events that occurred, July 31 is a Hawaiian national holiday—*Lā Ho'iho'i Ea* (Hawaiian Sovereignty Restoration Day). The State of Hawai'i had appropriated the motto of King Kamehameha III, *Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono*, while adopting their State constitution on their day of statehood, August 21, 1959 (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2014). This in turn changes the translation of the motto to fit a Western perspective. Thus accordingly, "the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness," as a translation appears accurate within the confines of a Eurocentric Western model.

It is widely understood that language conveys both power and ideology. According to Gray and Lotz (2012), the ultimate goal of semiotics is to "explore how ideology worked in society, and to see what texts might tell us about the work of power—about how certain notions calcified, and about how hierarchies were created between concepts" (p. 37). How language is used, and whose translations are used, shows a preference for that particular use of language often influencing audiences in their view of such interpretations and language use. Kimura (1983) notes, "whenever Hawaiian is translated into English, the English words used add cultural connotations to the idea conveyed, while eliminating the intended connotations and meanings of the original Hawaiian" (p. 182). Hawaiian scholars value multiplicity in meaning and often choose words specifically because many meanings can be derived from them (Silva, 2004).

The Hawaiian people have struggled under the United States' colonial tendencies for over one hundred years as both a territory and state, and another two hundred years prior to that by other Western empires/countries (Trask, 1984). As Christianity and Eurocentric pedagogy became the standard in Hawai'i, the Hawaiian language and culture were silenced. It was decreed that the use of Hawaiian, and the practice of Hawaiian culture, such as hula, was illegal and forbidden. English

was the only language allowed in schools (Warner, 1999). This parallels to the African experience⁸ as described by Wa Thiong'o (1994) that, "To control people's wealth... the domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonizing nations are crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonized" (p. 16). It is not surprising then that Hawaiian was banned by the United States when Hawai'i became its territory, and this ban was extremely successful.

The movement to revitalize the Hawaiian language began around the late 1970s and was a part of a larger Hawaiian culture renaissance (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2016). In 1984, in fact, the State of Hawai'i Department of Education made learning about Hawaiian history, culture, and language a general education requirement for all public schools (Warner, 1999). A critical issue facing most Hawaiian language revivalists involves how colonialism has/continues to oppress Native Hawaiians. Indeed, Non-Hawaiians have appropriated and are still actively appropriating the rights, responsibility, and authority from Hawaiians in making decisions regarding the Hawaiian language (Warner, 1999). Much of the rhetoric surrounding the issue of Hawaiian revitalization speaks of saving the language because of its "beauty" or "value," in turn exoticizing Hawaiians and their language by staking claim to something that is not theirs. This in turn also changes the translations of the language to fit more suitably a United States model.

The phrase *Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono* is a prime example of this, first appropriated by the U.S. government, and now by Hollywood. Within this phrase three words are seen to be of the utmost value to Hawaiians: *ea*, *aina*, and *pono*, a brief description of each follows after which we engage with these terms as they appear on the show *Hawaii Five-0*, specifically the episode that shares its title with the above phrase.

5.1. *Ea*

David Kahalemaile's (1871) poem visualizes the imperativeness of *ea*, describing it as something vital that we cannot live without.

Ke ea o ka i'a, he wai.	The ea of fish is water.
Ke ea o ke kanaka, he makani.	The ea of the person is wind.
Ke ea o ka honua, he kanaka.	The ea of the earth is the person.
Ke ea o ka moku, he hoeuli.	The ea of the ship is the steering paddle.
'O ke ea o ko Hawai'i Pae 'A'ina,	And the ea of the Hawaiian Islands is our-
'o ia no' ka noho aupuni 'ana.	-independent governance.

(Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2016, p. 6).

In Hawaiian, *ea* has several meanings. First, it refers to political independence and is often translated as "sovereignty." However, it also carries meanings of "life" and "breath," among numerous others. Thus, *ea* means independence as well as life, and connects the two together. As *ea* refers to the environment that sustains life for all creatures; it is both the water and air that sustains life; it is also the optimal environment for people to thrive, in thinking of both nature and politics (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2014). To live, to breathe, is to be free; to be free is to live and to breathe. "Like breathing *ea* cannot be achieved or possessed; it requires constant action day after day, generation after generation" (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2014, p. 4). *Ea* is essential for survival. It is the environment in which we thrive. All things are living, and in order to sustain life people are needed to take care of the land and its inhabitants.

Unlike Western philosophical ideas of sovereignty, *ea* is based on the experiences of people on the land, on bonds created through the process of remembering and caring for ancestral traditions (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2016). *Ea* is the mutual interdependence of all life forms and is a driving force for the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. It is important, however, as previously discussed, to understand the multiple meanings and uses of the word. In addition to meaning 'life,' 'ea' also means 'breath', as well as 'sovereignty'. As such, the phrase, *Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono*, must be understood in the traditional Hawaiian as meaning: "The sovereignty of the land continues in what is best for the people." Silva (2004) provides an excellent description of alternate meanings of this

⁸ Our use of comparison by means of the African experience as opposed to the Native American one is intentional insofar as the experience of Hawaiians should first and foremost be understood as uniquely experienced by Hawaiians and separate from that of the Native American experience.

statement. In her description, she states: “‘Ea’, which can mean ‘life’ or ‘breath’ as well as ‘sovereignty’, in its original context when spoken by King Kamehameha III was clearly meant to signify sovereignty” (p. 42).

5.2. *Aina*

Hawaiians consider the *aina* to be an entity, which works in harmony with life. Thus, *aina* does not strictly translate to merely “land” but rather should be conceptualized as “sustenance” or “that which feeds” (Beamer, 2013). This concept or belief is recognized as *aloha aina* (love of the land) or *malama aina* (caring for the land). Knipe (1989), a Hawaiian cultural historian, expresses that Hawaiians respect the tradition of nature’s deities and inherits this *mana* (spirit). Accordingly, Hawaiians are the human form or representatives of these deities which include: “Wakea, Papa, Ho’ohu Kulani, Hina, Kane, Kanaloa, Lono, and Pele. The sky, the earth, the stars, the moon, water, the sea, natural phenomenon such as rain and steam as well as Native plants and animals” (p. 31). *Aloha aina* then comes to be spiritually recognized during the course of life and death. Knipe (1989) states that:

The land is religion. It is alive, respected, treasured, praised, and even worshipped. The land is one Hawaiian, sands of our birth, and resting place for our bones. The land lives as do the spirits of our ancestors who nurtured both physical and spiritual relationships with the land. (p. 33)

Furthermore, Kanahale (1986) notes that, when reviewing the relationship of Mother Earth and *aina*, if the earth is considered to be a living entity, so must be *aina*. Additionally, he states:

Hawaiians, therefore, did not regard land as a lifeless object to be used or discarded as one would treat any ordinary material thing. As part of the great earth, land is alive—it breathes, moves, reacts, behaves, adjusts, grows, sickens, dies. (Kanahale, 1986, p. 187).

Malama aina is the spirit that connects the land to Native Hawaiians. The land is a part of the Hawaiian—a part of Hawaiian identity. *Aina* therefore cannot be viewed as a commodity but rather as the foundation of the cultural and spiritual identity of Hawaiians. Shared ancestry with the natural environment provides Native Hawaiians with a responsibility to protect the land and its resources for current and future generations; one major initiative of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement.

5.3. *Pono*

As discussed earlier, there is no direct match between Hawaiian and English words. The word *pono* is often translated in English as “righteous” or “proper,” but is, in reality, deeper, broader, and more complex, as evidenced by its definition in two of the most complete Hawaiian language dictionaries. In Pukui and Elbert’s 1986 dictionary, *pono* occupies nearly three-quarters of a column:

Goodness, uprightness, morality, moral qualities, correct or proper procedure, excellence, well-being, prosperity, welfare, benefit, behalf, equity, sake, true condition or nature, duty; moral, fitting, proper, righteous, right, upright, just, virtuous, fair, beneficial, successful, in perfect order, accurate, correct, eased, relieved; should, ought, must.

Lorrin Andrews’ 1865 dictionary suggests a similar awareness of the complexity *pono* where it occupies over half of a column:

PO-NO,

- v. 1. To be good; to be right; to be just; to be morally upright.
2. To be good; to bless; to be for the comfort or convenience of one.
3. To be well, i.e., in bodily health.
4. To justify one suspected of wrong; to clear or acquit, as an accused person.
5. To avenge an injured person.
6. To ordain; to appoint.
7. To use, as money; to trade.

Traditionally, Hawaiians had laws that governed social norms that predated contact with the West. These were called *kānāwai*. One such law of the *kānāwai* concerns *pono* and *hewa* (wrong doing). As Kamakau (1993) identifies, decisions made by royalty, especially concerning the life or death of individuals, must be grounded in balancing *pono* and *hewa*. Thus, everything is based on

the foundation of pono, where pono must be sought and achieved in all transactions between people, including their interactions with the spiritual world and the aina (land/environment). As such, pono was essential to the rule of any Mōʻī (royalty). Charlot (1985) explains the role of pono in the reign of the Mōʻī:

Pono is a key word in Hawaiian political-religious literature and has been defined very widely from moral righteousness to a correctness in practical terms that leads to success. In Hawaiian thinking, pono seems to incorporate both aspects: the right person must act rightly for the proper effect. (p. 35)

Hawaiian historian Silva (2004) further explains the significance of pono's influence on any Mōʻī, stating that, "in the ancient Kanaka world, pono meant that the akua (deities), aliʻi (chiefs), kahuna (elders), makaʻāinana (people of the land), and aina (land) lived in balance with each other, and that people had enough to eat and were healthy" (p. 11). Tracing the use, influence, and transformation of pono with the introduction of Westerners and Western ontology, Kameʻeleihiwa (1992) contends that, "by 1837 Christianity had so transformed the definition of pono that the Mōʻī and Aliʻi Nui were obliged to conform to the advice of their new kāhuna, regardless of their personal opinions" (p. 141).

The importance of pono in governance continued to be recognized and asserted by the descendants of Kamehameha. It was his son, Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, who asserted this upon his utterance of the phrase, "Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono," upon the re-establishment of the Hawaiian Kingdom in July of 1843, following the temporary cession of his sovereignty to Great Britain. As previously mentioned, the phrase is often translated as "The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness" (Goodyear-Kaʻopua, 2014). Though the word pono has a multiplicity of meanings, it has been appropriated by missionaries and government officials as a means of translating the Christian concept of righteousness/justice. In the mōʻī's (Hawaiian royalty) phrasing, it likely corresponds more closely to "justice" and, more broadly, what is good or beneficial for the people. Simultaneously, it is an assertion that the mōʻī's government was the appropriate and correct one. Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 under Queen Liliʻuokalani, assertions of pono continued to be central to conceptions of the nation and the kingdom, and as such are a central theme of the mele lāhui (Hawaiian national anthem) composed in response to the overthrow (Goodyear-Kaʻopua, 2014).

While every aspect of life in Hawaiʻi was prominently affected by Western ideology, including the creation of a constitution and codified laws, some form or understanding of pono nevertheless remained a core value for the Native people. According to Silva (2004):

The constitution and laws in Hawaiʻi, while European in form, also reflected Kanaka Maoli ideas of what was pono in government. This is seen especially in the inclusion of women in government in the early years. Aliʻi wahine (female chiefs) had always been part of government and for some years they continued to be⁹. (p. 38)

As noted, here the notion of pono stretches beyond gender-lines, encapsulating the essence of what is morally and politically just. This spirit of pono remains predominant within the Hawaiian sovereignty movements of today. Moreover, the translation of pono to merely a Western/Christian notion of "righteousness" or "justice," as appropriated by the missionaries and government officials in Hawaiʻi, is further exemplification of the reduction of an understood multiplicity of meanings in the Hawaiian language to a single meaning in English, with a different set of connotations altogether (Silva, 2004). With continued influence, and the increasing power of American colonial institutions of the state government and the military, and the continued emphasis of tourism as the predominant means of income, the conceptualizations and translation of the use of ea, aina, and pono have changed. In the following, we turn to an analysis of *Hawaii Five-0's* episode titled "Ua mau ke ea o ka ʻāina i ka pono" which showcases the extension of these cultural terms, which potentially affects how audiences understand their meanings, and further undermines the significance of these terms to Native Hawaiians.

⁹ In this instance pono is concerned with the balance of male and female governance, a subject best suited for another paper in which the importance of pono here can be adequately articulated and defended.

6. Hawaii Five-0: Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono (Season 7, Episode 25)

This particular episode was a continuation of the previous episode as both pertain to a narrative about sex trafficking. While the preceding episode seemed to resolve the issue with the rescue of a young girl who was abducted by a sex trafficking operation, in this episode it turns out that there were another ten young girls who were suddenly moved from the house where they were held captive and thus the narrative continues. Miller, the sex trafficker, is spotted driving a "Pineapple Express" semitrailer on the H-1 Highway, the largest interstate highway in Hawai'i that circumnavigates the island of Oahu. Hoping to make a quick escape, he heads for the Kalaeloa Airport, also known as John Rodgers Field, located in a rural part of the island. Miller tells McGarrett, "Try to stop me, and I will drive this truck off a cliff." Although there are numerous possible ways of stopping Miller without harming the girls in the truck, one of which would be to simply wait till the truck runs out of gas being that they are on an island and there is nowhere for Miller to go, McGarrett and company strategize and develop a new plan, one that involves McGarrett putting his life in lethal danger demanding the action packed, no holds barred, unconventional and exciting *Hawaii Five-0* that audiences expect.

McGarrett tells everyone his plan is to force the truck from the H-1 Highway to the H-3 Highway, which goes through the Tetsuo Harano Tunnels, where he will jump on top of the still moving semi-trailer. Everyone is appalled at McGarrett's plan, however in traditional Five-0 fashion McGarrett gets his way, and is soon positioned on top of the tunnel exit with Jerry, the resident tech, coordinating the exact moment he should jump on top of the truck. Meanwhile, detective Grover, driving a large Chevrolet Suburban, comes up beside Miller as he approaches the H-3 turnoff. McGarrett manages to jump on the truck successfully. He then pulls out a blowtorch and starts to cut a hole in the trailer's roof. But there is a convict inside who uses his machine gun to spray the ceiling with bullets. McGarrett loses his balance and hangs off the edge of the truck for several seconds, yet recovers and drops through the hole just as the bad guy inside is facing in the other direction. A struggle between the two occurs, but of course McGarrett overpowers the lackey hurling them out the truck's back door.

Chin Ho and Kono (the two professed Native Hawaiians) are following McGarrett in what looks like some kind of farm vehicle with an overhang above the cab. They drive up behind the trailer and half of the 10 girls manage to escape. But Miller, realizing what is transpiring, steps on the gas, foiling the rescue attempt of the other five girls. McGarrett then climbs up to the roof of the truck through the hole he made and drops down to the platform behind the truck where the trailer is hooked up and he manages to unhook the trailer, which then separates from the truck. Miller stops the truck, gets out, and is promptly shot dead by McGarrett, who having saved the day, rescues the remaining five girls.

Although this episode exudes the idea of American "justice," in terms of *ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono* there is next to no relation with its original translation. Instead, this episode provides an otherwise new conceptualization of the phrase. During the entire episode, not a single use of the words *ea*, *aina*, and *pono* or their corresponding English translations *breath/e*, *life*, *sovereignty*, *land*, *sustenance*, *righteous*, *virtue*, *moral*, and *justice* were uttered.¹⁰ The closest resemblance to one of these words, was the word "right" which was spoken 59 times throughout the episode, but were used as non-fluencies, or as markers of confirmation (i.e.: "I have to do something, I got to do it right now;" "You all right? Huh? Yeah, I'm all right;" "We will have rate of acceleration, right, Jerry?"). As Biesen (2001) states of the original *Hawaii Five-0*, and could arguably be mirrored in the re-launched version:

Hawaii Five-0's production and representation signifies a dichotomy between the effort to engage in issues of local culture/regional industry, and the effort to construct, commodify and consume Hawai'i as a feminized and fetishized Western ideal of 'Oriental' island exile and regional ethnicity as 'other' is to perpetuate the exotic myth of travelogue, of a remote tropical Pacific paradise promoting tourism via global Hollywood television narrative. (p. 89)

¹⁰ The authors not only watched the episode more than four times, but also obtained a copy of the script of this episode and conducted word searches.

Audiences of the series then see a dichotomy of those who are “just” and those who are not, McGarrett, though violent and ethically questionable, is the face of justice. On the other hand, characters like the criminals, most often seen as Hawaiians or locals, are then depicted as in need of correcting, and other Hawaiians like Kono and Chin Ho are best viewed as suitable sidekicks to the main hero. As aforementioned, the “othering” of some communities then creates an “us versus them” mentality, declaring that of the two only one perspective is valid, in this case, McGarrett’s.

Shows like *Hawaii Five-0* embrace ideals of the military-industrial complex. Furthermore, the idea of the military-industrial complex can be expanded to the entertainment business in what Konzett (2017) terms the military-entertainment complex. Here, the police activity appears to be exciting, fair, and overall just. The Hawai‘i military-entertainment complex, or paramilitary context, serves to further historicize and mythologize Hawai‘i (Britos, 2002). This adds a level of verisimilitude to the messages produced about Hawai‘i by Hollywood, which is typical in the police action genre. Verisimilitude is the likelihood or probability of an idea to be true or reflected as reality (Neale, 2000). Neale (2000) contends:

Cultural verisimilitude is characteristic of Hollywood genre. This has implications for conventional notions of realism...Certain genres appeal more directly and consistently to cultural verisimilitude. Gangster films, war films, and police procedural thrillers, certainly, often mark that appeal by drawing on and quoting “authentic” and (authenticating) discourse, artifacts, and texts: maps, newspaper headlines, memoirs, archival documents, and so on. (p. 159).

In the case of *Hawai‘i Five-0*, the use of Hawaiian for episode titles, and of Hawaiians within the shows themselves are used to add a level of verisimilitude to the series, but also affords producers of the show to use discourse to fit their own means and implications. The episodic drama of *Hawaii Five-0* lends viewers a pedagogic and idealized status quo.

Paramilitary TV allows for an exploration of law and order issues in a controlled environment, with a predictable level of resolution. Like the proto-hero McGarrett and Dano all carry pistols into battle, extend and consolidate the frontiers of far-flung empires, are the agents of secret missions and elite societies, represent and wield cutting-edge technology as Euro “gods” in Hawai‘i space, and inevitably resolve crises in a timely manner. (Britos, 2002, p. 104)

Additionally, police action dramas based in Hawai‘i have three additional functions: 1) the Hawai‘i television hero is on a mission to prevent foreign infiltration; 2) the protection of American lives in Hawai‘i and their property from threats, and 3) to promote Hawai‘i as a safe place for tourism, adventure, and romance (Britos, 2002). As Halualani (2002) contends, historically representing Hawaiians as naturally benevolent and willing to share everything, such as their land and culture, extends this notion that non-Hawaiians can have a share of Hawai‘i, reifying Western dominance over Kanaka Maoli.

Trask (1999) contends that, because of its geography, ever since Western infiltration, Hawai‘i has been used as a militarized outpost of empire. As a result of the aftermath of World War II, militarism and mass tourism became the leading political economies in Hawai‘i. With the use of television, as aforementioned by Britos (2002), Sasaki (2016) asserts, “Hawai‘i’s present state as a tourist’s paradise, a land seen as attractive, welcoming, and safe, is partly a result of the confluence between the tourism and military industries” (p. 643). Coined militourism by Teaiwa (2016), militarization and tourism work in complex and interlocking ways to ensure a hegemonic, White, standard. Although Hawai‘i is considered to be the most militarized state in the nation, the violent histories of colonialism against Hawaiians is rendered invisible through the everyday narrative of the “aloha spirit” and touristic hospitality (Sasaki, 2016). On the capital of Hawai‘i, Oahu, the military controls 25 percent of the land area; statewide, they have 21 installations, 26 housing complexes, eight training areas (including the whole island of Kaho‘olawe), and 19 miscellaneous bases and operating sites (Goodyear-Ka‘opua, 2016). Hawai‘i is home to the largest port of nuclear-fueled ships and submarines in the world. The United States Navy’s Seventh Fleet, which patrols the Pacific, is stationed at Pearl Harbor (Konzett, 2017). Today, the United States Pacific Command (USPACOM) stationed in Hawai‘i, comprises of nearly 700,000 contractors and soldiers, representing one-fifth of the total U.S. military strength

(Wright & Balutski, 2013). Militarization is inextricably tied to colonization of the Pacific, especially Hawai‘i. Since becoming a territory of the United States in 1898, the United States has treated Hawai‘i as its personal base and weapons testing laboratory (Wright & Balutski, 2013). Struggles and protests such as that over Kaho‘olawe, as well as other demilitarization efforts, such as those in the Mākua Valley, are a testament to the ongoing battle that Kanaka Maoli face over ancestral lands.

With the reboot of *Hawaii Five-0*, which first aired in 2010, audiences return to viewing a mostly white melodramatic crime drama, with very few accurate depictions of Hawaiian culture and language, or even the multicultural diversity of Hawai‘i. The casting is by far more unauthentic, if not indifferent to Hawaiians, as two Korean American actors who are not from Hawai‘i take on the roles of Chin Ho, the Hawaiian Chinese detective, and Kono Kalakaua, the presumably Hawaiian police officer. Actual Native Hawaiians are more than likely to be cast as loveable, obese, operators of food trucks (Konzett, 2017). Under the leadership of McGarrett, who has a distinct military past, and his second-in-command Danno, who is a veteran police detective from New Jersey, strong notions of militaristic justice direct the team. It is through this justice that the audience is exposed to problematic interpretations of *ea*, *aina*, and *pono*.

In terms of *ea*, the closest interpretation of this term that could be seen as being remotely connected to the *olelo* (Hawaiian language) would be “life.” The lives of the young girls remain in the hands of McGarret and his team. He is willing to put his life on the line to ensure the safety of these girls, and following his out-of-the-box strategy he accomplishes this goal. In connection to this militarized version of *ea* is *pono*. As aforementioned, *pono*, along with the Hawaiian language in general, has multiple meanings, and loosely translated it means “to do that which is right, moral, just, and virtuous for the people of the land.” When introduced to Western ideology, the term *pono* is adopted and changed to conform with a strict translation of white, Christian military, “justice.” Led by an overtly militarized white male, this translation of *pono* is exuded from the very being of McGarret and Danno. Following the successful rescue of the girls, Miller, the perpetrator, is appropriately shot and killed, in an act of “you reap what you sow,” which further exemplifies this notion of white justice. There is no remorse for the loss of his life because he justly deserved to die.

Regarding *aina*, if the trajectory of “white justice,” or what might be termed *Haole Pono*,¹¹ is accepted, the shows translation of *aina* might loosely suggest “of the land” instead of precisely “land.” Combining these terms in line with the title of the episode, *Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono*, might in this instance be more appropriately translated as “of those who live here, they should live a life perpetuated and protected by justice.” However, when stating “of those who live here,” “here” might imply the United States more broadly instead of Hawai‘i in particular. Indeed, since the show is produced in Hollywood and broadcasts primarily for a Westernized audience, it makes sense for the titular characters to be White Americans. This culturally appropriated translation of *Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono* also parallels the popular American phrase “with liberty and justice for all,” as stated in the American Pledge of Allegiance and connects similarly to the United States motto, “In God We Trust.”

What then are the major implications of such a reading? First, the motto “In God We Trust” and lines within the Pledge of Allegiance such as “one nation under God,” serve as daily reminders of the tragic history experienced by the Hawaiian people at the hands of colonization and the indoctrination of American ideology, led by white missionaries and military officials who were influenced by Protestant Christianity. In the centuries that followed, the Kanaka Maoli were forced to adopt Eurocentric ideas, and were forbidden to practice their culture for nearly two hundred years. Second, connecting *Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono* to “for liberty and justice for all,” further showcases the cultural appropriation of the Hawaiian culture and language. Although the show attempts to maintain a sense of “American” unity, it accordingly downplays the uniqueness of Hawaiian identity. Thusly, it counters those Hawaiian sovereignty movements wanting of recognition as a people and a country, turning the very phrase that they recognize and use as a commitment to uphold their sovereignty against them.

¹¹ The term *haole* originally translated as being a foreigner, but since the late 1880s became to be loosely used to describe White Americans. The term *haole pono* does not exist in the literature on Hawai‘i, and is coined by the authors.

What is equally concerning, following the trajectory of haole pono, is the militarization of the aina. As Trask (1999) comments, “Whenever the U.S. goes to war, the military takes more of our land” (p. 64). During World War II, the military seized vast tracts of land for its operations, resulting in the alienation of Kanaka Maoli from their ancestral lands. This *Hawaii Five-0* episode showcases the staunch difference of a Western perspective regarding land, as McGarrett uses the land and his surroundings as tools for saving the young girls and bringing the traffickers to justice. He does not show sympathy for utilizing the land, nor do the criminals, as both are willing to spread gun fire everywhere, with no concern for the pollution and collateral damage that they may cause.

This disregard for the environment in the episode can translate to the militarization of Hawai‘i in reality, as the U.S. military is arguably the largest industrial polluter in Hawai‘i (Kajihiro, 2009). The 2004 Defense Environmental Restoration Program report to Congress cited 798 military contamination sites in Hawai‘i (Kajihiro, 2009). Military training exercises prove to be extremely destructive to the Hawaiian ecosystem, in which 82 percent of Native species are found nowhere else on the planet (Kajihiro, 2009). Lastly, military pollution poses the greatest threat to Kanaka Maoli, as most live in low-income areas that tend to be near the contaminated sites (Kajihiro, 2008; Kajihiro, 2009).

Moreover, the use of the word aina, or its corresponding English translations of “land” or “sustenance,” were not verbally used throughout the episode, yet the multiple landscape transition and cutaway shots are enough to remind the viewer that all these events are taking place in Hawai‘i. This is a strategic move by the tourist industry and Hollywood. An integral means of reifying and reinforcing this idea of Hawai‘i being a “paradise” is mass-based corporate tourism, the largest industry in Hawai‘i (State of Hawai‘i Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism, 2017). Hawai‘i has been marketed as a beautiful and exotic location that serves tourists’ every whim. Thus, landscape shots of Hawai‘i within the episode and across the program align with the cultural appropriation of Hawaiian culture and language. As Trask (1999) contends, “to most Americans, then, Hawai‘i is theirs: to use, to take, and above all, to fantasize about long after the experience” (p. 136). On average since 2000, Hawai‘i has been visited yearly by eight million tourists (six times as many Hawai‘i residents), resulting in more than \$14.4 billion in revenue each year (Hawai‘i Tourism Authority, 2016).

Trask (1999) would further equate the colonialism and corporate tourism of Hawai‘i to prostitution as she argues for calling it cultural prostitution:

Prostitution in this context refers to the entire institution that defines a woman as an object of degraded and victimized sexual value for use and exchange through the medium of money...

The pimp is the conduit of exchange, managing the commodity that is the prostitute while acting as the guard at the entry and exit gates, making sure the prostitute behaves as a prostitute... My purpose is not to exact detail or fashion a model but to convey the utter degradation of our culture and our people under corporate tourism. (p. 140)

Shows like *Hawaii Five-0* add to this victimization and exoticization of the culture by making it their own. In addition to seizing the Hawaiian culture and draining resources, tourism also reproduces a service-based economy for Hawai‘i in which residents are economically bound to the instability of a tourist economy (Wright & Balutski, 2013). Thus, tourism is a part of the larger context of living in Hawai‘i that may have direct or indirect impacts on influencing Hawaiian identity. Ironically, this particular episode of *Hawaii Five-0*, and much of the series in general, could have taken place anywhere, but is set in Hawai‘i. Furthermore, the social issues addressed in the show are not Hawai‘i specific—they are global issues. In keeping with the overall argument of this paper it is not to say that matters like human trafficking are not important, or not nearly as important as issues of Native Hawaiian cultural appropriation and colonization. Indeed, both are significantly imperative concerns that audiences deserve to be made aware of. Nonetheless, the aforementioned episode presents the network’s prioritized view of both issues, by eclipsing one with the other.

7. Conclusion

While the Native Hawaiian population has seen a sharp decline since Western contact, the 2000 Census provides some optimism for the future of Hawaiians. Since allowing participants to identify as more than one race, numbers of identified Hawaiians have increased. According to 2013 census estimates, the Native Hawaiian population in Hawai'i stands at 298,000. Also, there are more than 560,000 Americans, nationwide, who identify as being at least part Hawaiian (Goo, 2015). Research by Kamehameha Schools' Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment suggests that the total Native Hawaiian population in Hawai'i is projected to be about 500,000 by 2045, and 675,000 by 2060 (Kahakalau, 2002). This increase in numbers heightens the urgency of preserving Hawaiian culture and land in order for this next generation of Hawaiians to have a tradition in which a part of their identity relies on.

The identities of Indigenous peoples are linked to our languages. Embedded in Native language are our epistemology and ontology, our worldviews and cultures. Olelo (Hawaiian language) carries nuances and multiple layers of meaning that are uniquely kanaka (Native Hawaiian) and that can only be appreciated by those who are immersed in the culture, whether they are Hawaiian or allies (Oliveria & Wright, 2016). As Warner (2001) cites a Native Hawaiian columnist:

"I ikeia no ke kanaka no kekahi lahui ma kana olelo. Ina e nalowale an aka olelo makuahine o kekahi lahui, e nalo hia aku ana no ia lahui... I keia la, ua nalohia aku ko kakou kuokoa, a i ka pau ana o ka kakou olelo makuahine, o ka pau ana no ia o ka lahui Hawai'i" (p. 135)

(Indeed the language of a person reveals their nationality. Should the mother tongue of a nation be lost, so too will the people... if the Native tongue of Hawai'i goes extinct, so too will the Kanaka people)

This statement laments the tragic realities that Indigenous people face.

Hawaiians need to learn their language, culture, and heritage because these things interrelate and are integrally linked to each other, and to the Hawaiian people (Warner, 2001). Language as a means to describe one's environment, thoughts and emotions, is an expression of one's worldview and is a medium that people use to transmit culture and history. The Hawaiian language taught and learned out of context, distinct from the culture and its people, becomes a new language that evolved from the original (Warner, 2001), as is seen in the Hawai'i State motto, and in this particular episode of *Hawaii Five-0's* use of *Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono*. This is not to suggest that non-Hawaiians cannot or should not learn Hawaiian, or advocate for Hawaiian cultural revitalization. Most within the community would warmly welcome allies. Of utmost concern in writing this paper, in the context of colonization and cultural appropriation, is that Hawaiian people deserve to be made whole again, that they be empowered to be themselves Hawaiian, to know themselves as Hawaiian through the knowledge and practice of their language, their culture, their history, their heritage, their pride in themselves, their own land. So, it is imperative for Hawaiians as a Native people who were forcibly separated from all things Hawaiian to learn the language, their culture, and heritage. Non-Native peoples can assist other Indigenous and minority peoples by not just learning about the history of the culture, but by learning the culture itself. They can take the initiative to advocate for silenced and misrepresented voices to help create awareness of such issues. A good first step then is becoming aware of the problematic assumptions popular media make and propagate when it comes to profiting off the lush landscapes and deep cultural meanings of the Hawaiian language.

This paper attempts to reveal some of the ways in which Western, Hollywood productions, otherwise obfuscate or mute Native voices. Trask (1999) asks that non-Natives cease all discussions of Native Hawaiians. She writes: "There should be a moratorium on studying, unearthing, slicing, crushing, and analyzing us" (p. 172). It now seems to us that acceptance of Trask's request would lead to non-Hawaiians ignoring Native voices. Trask's moratorium would seem to ask non-Natives, for example, to refuse to read or discuss Trask's and other contemporary Native Hawaiian's articles and books. We try in these pages to develop a third alternative, one that neither subsumes Native productions within Eurocentric/Westernizing epistemologies, nor maintains that Native texts should be avoided by non-Native scholars. As authors of this essay it is our hope that such collaborative opportunities like those that exist in writing this paper are indicative of the type of relationships and

understanding that can be developed between people (one Native Hawaiian, the other is not) who do not share the same language, or indeed the very ontological foundations that would allow such an understanding. Yet, we two people came together in respect and acknowledgment of both positions, recognizing that the time is now and has been ripe for quite some time to suggest a proper way forward, together. In an empathetic effort to show compassion, a non-Hawaiian missionary once wrote, “it is to be hoped that the time will soon come when Hawaiians shall be permitted to speak of themselves in their own way” (Malo, 1893, p. 121). Nearly a hundred and eighty years later, Hawaiians are still hoping that this time will arrive. Though it has become more possible than ever to achieve this, shows like *Hawaii Five-0* make it a bit more difficult for audiences to weave through what is authentically “Hawaiian”.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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