



MANA

Lāhui Kānaka

Mai nā kūpuna kahiko mai a hiki i kēia wā

By Kamana'opono M. Crabbe, Ph.D.
with Kealoha Fox, Ph.D. *and* Holly Kilinahe Coleman

Edited by Meredith Desha Enos, Lisa Watkins-Victorino, PhD,
RaeDeen M. Keahiolalo, Ph.D., Nicole Mehanaokalā Hind

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COVER ARTWORK: *Mana Means “Changing the Story”* © by Solomon Enos

ARTIST’S NOTE: *Mana Means “Changing the Story”* depicts many hands harnessing the sun to impede its arc across the sky. Referencing the mo’olelo of Māui, who slowed down the sun to benefit humanity, the historical and mythological mana within us all is present in the now and in the future. The change that is required for our future is a lesser challenge to that which we have already historically excelled.

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Dedicated in loving memory to

*Dr. Richard Kekuni Akana Blaisdell, a true kanaka leader
who created mana lāhui kānaka in everything he did;*

*Aunty Adelaide Keanuenueokalaninuiamamao “Frenchy”
DeSoto, for her impact on OHA and her commitment to
ho’oulu lāhui;*

*Aunty Abbie Napeahi, Aunty Malia Kawaiho’ouluohā’ao
Craver, and Richard Likeke Paglinawan, for their devotion to
our people through the teachings of Hawaiian spirituality and
ho’oponopono;*

*Rose Kalei Na’auao Pelayo, Robert Kaho’okele Na’auao, and
Rose Maka Na’auao Pelayo Crabbe, for instilling in me the
values and beliefs of our ancestors, which shaped me into the
kanaka and man I am today;*

*Hōkūlani Holt, William Kahalepuna Richards, Gordon “Umi”
Kai, and Earl Kawa’a, for being the manifestation of mana;*

*And to my daughter, Kalamakūokana’auao Emalia Kalawaia
Crabbe—may the legacy continue.*

Vision

“Ho’oulu Lāhui Aloha”—To Raise a Beloved Nation. OHA’s vision statement blends the thoughts and leadership of both King Kalākaua and his sister, Queen Lili’uokalani. Both faced tumultuous times as we do today, and met their challenges head on. “Ho’oulu Lāhui” was King Kalākaua’s motto. “Aloha” expresses the high values of Queen Lili’uokalani.

Mission Statement

To mālama (protect) Hawai‘i’s people and environmental resources and OHA’s assets, toward ensuring the perpetuation of the culture, the enhancement of lifestyle, and the protection of entitlements of Native Hawaiians, while enabling the building of a strong and healthy Hawaiian people and nation, recognized nationally and internationally.

Overview

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs is a public agency with a high degree of autonomy. OHA is responsible for improving the well-being of Native Hawaiians.

OHA is governed by a Board of Trustees made up of nine members who are elected statewide for four-year terms to set policy for the agency.

OHA is administered by Ka Pouhana (Chief Executive Officer) who is appointed by the Board of Trustees to oversee a staff of about 170 people.

**‘Ike no i ka lā o ka ‘ike;
mana no i ka lā o ka mana.**

*Know in the day of knowing;
mana in the day of mana.*

—‘Ōlelo No‘eau
(Pukui, 1983, p. 131, no. 1212)

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Introduction

What is mana?

How do we articulate the essence of mana in a contemporary era?

And how do we access and cultivate the mana of our people?

Our kūpuna had a clear understanding of the importance of mana to the Hawaiian identity. In my work as a cultural practitioner and as a clinical psychologist, I have seen mana in action, for both positive and negative forces; I have felt mana in people, places, and even concepts such as leadership and aloha 'āina. However, there has been an absence of the ways we have clearly articulated mana, especially for and by contemporary kānaka 'ōiwi.

Mana has always been the foundation of my hale, especially in regard to effective leadership. In 2010, I developed principles to outline a vision as a kanaka leader. I presented and published it as Kūkulu Hou. In 2012, I incorporated it as a way to enhance the mana of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) when I became its Ka Pouhana, Chief Executive Officer. By 2014-2015 I had refined that framework for its translation from research into programmatic design and organizational

framework building. The basis of Kūkulu Hou has always been mana. Mana has been intrinsically linked to each of my successes as a leader who endeavors to resurrect the status of our lāhui to its former prominence.

This book represents a framework to incorporate mana in the twenty-first century, and is just one tangible representation of our sophisticated identity—who we are as a living culture for the past, present, and future. I intend for this book to capture what we feel inside as a kānaka maoli, in a way that helps the reader understand various perspectives of this many-faceted mega construct: mana in Hawaiian history and literature; “mana” as understood in contemporary Hawai‘i vernacular; how social science has assessed concepts similar to mana; and how kānaka conceive of and live mana today. You will see, especially when you compare Chapter 1: Mana in History and Mo‘olelo with Chapter 4: Conversations and Modern, Lived Mana: Focus Groups and Photovoice, that the concept of mana resonates through time, space, realms, and norms. When we tell our story, we acknowledge that we are still shaping and shifting a firm foundation. We are simultaneously changing, while in many ways, we are steadfast to remain the same.

As one of our focus group participants noted:

[M]ana is from the womb to the tomb. It’s a journey. Mana... is the flowing of electrons, protons, and neutrons, and is eternity—is forever. We only use our portion of forever in that short space of time from the womb to the tomb. Mana is one—Sky Father, Earth Mother, is the positive, is the Sky Father, and the earth is the ground. And you have to have the two for the electrons, and protons, and neutrons flow. If you no touch um—and we the switch; us guys the human, off and on—the switch. But if the bugga no good, the connection no good between the positive and the ground, the mana in the person, the light, it blink ‘cause no more good connection. (Kanakanaka Group, Speaker 74, pp. 7-8)

Our Hawaiian ancestors were steeped in philosophical beliefs entwined with worldly elements known to mankind. They understood the delicate balance of mana: that is life giving but simultaneously battles dark elements that threaten who we are and where we come from. As you will see, our understanding continues to this day; moreover, as kānaka of this land, our Hawaiian culture is an ongoing obligation to that life force.

In order to begin to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this introduction, we came together as authors, advisors, and staff with commitments to this work:

- We honor Native Hawaiian cultural beliefs surrounding reciprocity, and as an expression of the high quality of service and knowledge provided by members for the project, which we believe will result in important findings for the lāhui.
- We engage in all activities of the project in a pono and respectful manner, respecting the elevated nature of the research material and individuals involved in the project.
- We maintain the ethics for any and all research findings resulting from the project and the phases that were completed.
- We constantly work to maintain the integrity of any and all participants as related to the project.

We intend for this book to be a positive view which, through connecting our kūpuna's words and ideas with contemporary understanding, can then move forward with assertive forward thinking built from the core of our cultural strength—the mana possessed by each one of us kānaka, mana that is 'ōiwi, the mana lāhui.





Mana in History and Mo'olelo

The body of literature on the concept of mana and its significance in Hawaiian society is limited. Implicit discussions of mana in mele [song and chant], mo'olelo [legends and histories], mo'okū'auhau [genealogy], and other elements of traditional oral literature are more common, but require cultural literacy for understanding. This review explores existing literature surrounding mana in Hawai'i. The intent is not to provide a single, static definition of mana. Instead, this review explores cultural parameters of mana, describes the characteristics of mana in historical contexts, and offers an understanding of the significance of mana in historical and contemporary Hawaiian society.

In *New Mana*, Niko Besnier and Margaret Jolly (2015) assert, "to understand mana and its workings in its various manifestations across time and space, we must shift our focus away from problems of translation and from attempts to 'match' meanings across languages, and instead engage with the social and

cultural practices that surround concepts.... This perspective allows us to understand not only the transformations that mana has undergone across time and space, but also the fact that change is inherent in the concept itself” (p. 353).

Several research concerns surfaced during the course of this project, the most salient of which are noted as follows. Particularly, every attempt was made to maintain the dynamism and fluidity inherent in the cultural conceptions of mana. Hence, this literature review should not be construed as an attempt to provide singular, comprehensive representation of mana. Indeed, the work contained in this review and in the project as a whole represents only a very small piece of the rich body of knowledge about mana.

Also, there is no English translation of mana that fully captures its meaning and significance from a Native Hawaiian perspective. Likewise, it is difficult to contextualize meaning from various sources without an understanding of Native

Hawaiian history and epistemology. Finally, limitations in scope and time restrict the breadth and depth of material included in this review.

There is no English translation of mana that fully captures its meaning and significance from a Native Hawaiian perspective

This literature review starts with a discussion of mana as a concept throughout the Pacific, then examines Hawaiian concepts of mana, which are the basis for the majority of

this literature review. The review is divided into sections about mana in kanaka (humans), then explores mana that existed in the Hawaiian environment. Three case studies are included: the first focuses mana in relation to heiau; the second discusses writings found in the Hawaiian language newspapers in the 19th century; the third includes discussions of mana in published mo’olelo. In part, this literature review seeks to increase understanding of historical events and shifts that may have altered concepts or functions of mana in Hawaiian society and culture. Above all, this literature review is offered as part of a foundation for future conversations about mana.

The Significance of Mana in the Pacific/Oceania

European and American scholars have been long fascinated with mana in the Pacific. They have studied the concept through various Oceanic cultures through lenses of power, generative potency, potential, charm or charisma, meteorological phenomenon, prestige, and effectiveness, often citing the source of mana as spiritual. Writing about Polynesian cultures, anthropologist Bradd Shore (1989) noted, “Without an understanding of mana and its related concepts, there is no path into Polynesian worldview” (p. 1).

Lorrin Andrews, a missionary in Hawai‘i, included mana in the dictionary he wrote in 1865, noting that it was a supernatural power attributed to the gods, power, strength, might, spirit, or energy of character. Anglican missionary and anthropologist Robert Codrington (1891) who lived in New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, believed that mana was a universal, invisible spiritual power or influence attached to people and things that was common to all the cultures of the Pacific. Other scholars such as Robert Marett (1929), Emile Durkheim (1965), as well as Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss followed suit. Mauss (1972) believed that mana was a magical force or talisman, a source of wealth that was authority and social superiority.

Ethnologist Raymond Firth (1940) worked in Tikopia in the Solomon Islands and challenged the assertions that mana was a pan-Pacific concept with universally similar meaning and cultural significance. Firth believed that mana was a sign of successful chiefly rule and was reflective of balance between the human, natural, and divine elements that manifested materially through a healthy and productive society. Linguist and anthropologist Roger Keesing (1984) argued against the notion of mana as spiritual power that could be gained or lost, instead believing that mana had a wide range of meanings that were aligned with the notion of human agency in specific contexts. Mana to Keesing was more of a verb than a noun. Linguist Robert Blust (2007) theorized that the word “mana” referred to meteorological phenomenon, such as a storm, and that as Oceanic-speaking peoples migrated Eastward across the Pacific, the meaning of mana changed to encompass meanings of unseen supernatural forces or agency.

Currently, mana continues to have meaning for Oceanic peoples and Pacific scholars. In the groundbreaking *Lagaga: A Short History of Western Samoa*, historian Malama Meleisea (1987) wrote briefly about mana in relation to ali'i titles and rank stemming from the gods. In his book *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*, Māori anthropologist Hirini Moko Mead (2003) reflects on mana as a principle or value in Māori culture, custom, knowledge, and philosophy. According to Mead, mana is a social quality that requires the recognition and respect of others. In her article "Mana Whakatipu" in the monograph *Whispers and Vanities: Samoan Indigenous Knowledge and Religion* (a book which the editors' note breaks tapu on sacred knowledge), Māori author Reina Whaitiri (2014) notes that mana defines relationships and behavior. *Whetu Moana* (Sullivan, Wendt, & Whaitiri, 2003) is the first anthology of contemporary indigenous Polynesian poetry in English edited by Polynesians, and includes many poems that directly or indirectly discuss mana. Mana is a common theme in contemporary Pacific literature.

Mana is also significant in questions about colonialism and decolonization. Scholar Haunani-Kay Trask (1999) highlights the centrality of mana to the practices and aspirations of a people engaged in decolonizing efforts. In writing about Hawaiian concepts of mana, historian Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa (1992) focuses on mana through a lens of mālama 'āina (caring for the land). Wende Elizabeth Marshall (2011) wrote of mana as a powerful concept for decolonization aligned with spiritual and physical well-being. The monograph *New Mana* (2016) edited by anthropologists Matt Tomilson and Ty Kāwika Tengan includes essays on mana written by prominent scholars of the Pacific, many of whom are indigenous themselves. Topics include mana in Hawai'i as seen through 19th century sources; mana and masculinity; mana, sports and collective identities; mana and related concepts in specific Oceanian societies, such as "pawa" or power; New Age concepts surrounding mana; mana as affected by Christianity, and more. Geographical areas include Hawai'i, Australia (and the Pacific diaspora), Sāmoa, Tonga, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands. According to Tomlinson and Tengan (2015), the authors of the essays in *New Mana* may write about diverse articulations of mana, but all converge on the point "that thinking about mana at this historical moment is ethnographically vital and theoretically promising in new ways" (p. 1).

Hawaiian Conceptions of Mana

Kame‘eleihiwa (1999) notes that the orientation of Native Hawaiians was firmly facing ka wā mahope, the past, which informed present and future action. Mana is one of the elements of Hawaiian culture that reinforced this orientation. For example, Hawaiians had to plan to ensure their offspring had mana that was built on the mana of past generations to maintain legacy.

Delineations of mana between the physical and the spiritual worlds, as well as the transmission of mana between individuals, were fostered by Native Hawaiian morality and managed under structures of socio-religious norms. Use of the word “mana” in literature was descriptive, but also actively inferred authority. Mana embodies authorization and privilege. The word “ho‘omana” (“ho‘o” is a prefix showing causation, transitivization, and pretense) means to worship, to deify, to place in authority, to infer privilege. Mana was part of a vibrant system that intertwined with many other important foundations of Hawaiian culture and identity, and was evident to Native Hawaiians through akua, and in their ali‘i, themselves, and their environment.

In ancient Hawaiian society, Native Hawaiians believed that the gods were both their ancestors and the primary source of the mana, which was embodied in the land, in objects and forces, and in kānaka (people/Native Hawaiians) themselves (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972).

In kānaka, some Native Hawaiian scholars have identified three piko, or spiritual centers, that were a fundamental aspect of Native Hawaiian cultural identity, representing connections to past, present, and future generations. A person’s manawa, or fontanelle, was understood to be a connection to the past and to the ancestors. A person’s piko, or umbilicus, was a connection to the present generation. A person’s ma‘i, or genitals, were a connection to future and to descendants. Native Hawaiians believed that an individual represented his or her ancestors, and was a personification of the accumulation of mana in a lineage, as well as a link between past and future generations. According to Pukui, Haertig, and Lee (1972):

In old Hawaii, one's relatives were both earthly and spiritual... Mana, that storehouse of supernatural power, was handed down within the family line...The Hawaiian, therefore, had not only a sense of belonging to the supportive, here-and-now unit of family; he also had clear knowledge of his ancestry and an emotional sense of his own link and place in time between his ancestors-become-gods in the dim past and his yet-to-be-born descendants. (p. 168)

Characteristics of the Native Hawaiian conceptualization of mana, such as its connection to place, resources, and life force is not the only way in which mana is understood. There are also many historical discussions of mana framed as a characteristic or trait of the ancestral gods and of *kānaka*. Historical records and scholars indicate that Native Hawaiians believed there were two sources of mana in *kānaka*: mana that was inherited genealogically and mana that was acquired through belief or practice (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). The distinctions between these sources of mana are addressed, though they likely did not exist and fundamental to the nature of mana in the lives of Native Hawaiians was the fact that there was a constant interplay between various sources of mana.

Inherited Mana: Genealogies

Many of the most important aspects in the mana of *kanaka* were thought to be inherited. Thus, *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogies) are incredibly significant to Native Hawaiians. In fact, genealogies were considered to be one of the primary sources of inherited mana among *kānaka*. In many ways, *mo'okū'auhau* are mana.

Mo'okū'auhau both preserved memory and facilitated the future presence of mana within lineage. In an oral society that relied on memorization rather than writing, *mo'okū'auhau* were a vital medium of recording and keeping history among ancient Native Hawaiians (Dibble, 1843; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Genealogies served as mnemonic devices for remembering relationships, interactions, and historical

events. Mo'okū'auhau allowed Hawaiians to trace the origins of their lineage and mana to the ancestral gods (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Through genealogies, Native Hawaiians also shared a familial and spiritual connection to the land and its resources.

Mo'okū'auhau recorded the accumulation of mana over generations and were themselves considered sacred, because of the mana they carried.

Mo'okū'auhau recorded the accumulation of mana over generations and were themselves considered sacred, because of the mana they carried. Mo'okū'auhau embodied mana, and were carefully protected for this reason. The 'ōlelo no'eau (wise saying) "Mai kaula'i wale i ka iwi o nā kūpuna," ("Do not dry out the bones of the ancestors") reminded Native Hawaiians not to freely discuss their ancestry with strangers, because it was akin to exposing their sacred bones and source of mana for all to see (Pukui, 1983, p. 252).

Mo'okū'auhau could be fluid and dynamic in comparison to strict conceptions of genealogy, and were complementary to Native Hawaiian conceptions of 'ohana (family). This can be seen in the practice of hānai (to feed or raise, to be adopted). A child might be hānai to a member of the same family (such as an aunt or uncle, a grandparent) or by an unrelated individual. According to Pukui, Haertig, & Lee (1972 v. 1):

Hānai, as it is most often used, means a child who is taken permanently to be reared, educated and loved by someone other than natural parents. This was traditionally a grandparent or other relative... Hānai traditionally functioned within the Hawaiian 'ohana. This was the "family clan" in which blood relationship was recognized and family loyalties and mutual responsibilities were extended even to what in modern terms could be called 13th or 14th cousins. (p. 49)

Once hānai, a child could then be claimed as a legacy of multiple genealogical lines, even if he or she was not related by blood. Once hānai, a child was then privy to the knowledges, rights, and responsibilities of their adopted family. As genealogy was considered to be shared by a child who was hānai, he or she also

was considered to have the inherited mana of the adoptive family. For example, the ali'i Ma'ilikūkahī was well known for his hānai of the sons of the maka'āinana (members of the general populace). Through hānai, Ma'ilikūkahī elevated the genealogical status of these individuals, enabling them to be educated in his court, and affording them the protection of his mana (Kalakaua, 1888). The ali'i Kalani'ōpu'u was the hānai of the chief Alapa'i, and was raised and trained as a warrior. He would later become one of Alapa'i's pūkahu (generals, war leaders) (Kamakau, 1996). The practice of hānai continued in both formal and informal ways into the 19th and 20th centuries, and continues to be practiced today.

Mo'okū'auhau were deployed strategically, depending on context. For example, when visiting a certain area, an individual could choose to highlight connections to the people and place to show kinship and ensure safe passage, to be hosted, or to gain access to certain people and resources. Genealogies could focus on instances or individuals who had increased the mana of the whole lineage, or downplay instances or individuals with decreased mana. Often, a chiefly genealogy emphasized illustrious individuals known for heroic deeds and actions, as well as the prosperous and effective rule of ancestors, while minimizing connections to individuals who suffered military losses or were poor rulers. However, such selections were balanced by both general and specialized knowledge of specific genealogies, both by family members and members of the general populace, and by professionals; these individuals could verify or dispute mo'okū'auhau considered untruthful.

Ultimately, mo'okū'auhau were a way of ordering ancient Hawaiian society that spanned geography, people and family groups by clarifying relationships and kuleana (responsibilities). Kame'eleihiwa (1992) notes that genealogy and lineage are "like a map that guides each Hawaiian's relationship with the world" (p. 2). In this respect, genealogies and the mana they embodied were lived daily, and were foremost considerations in many aspects of ancient society.

Mana and "Class" in Hawaiian Society

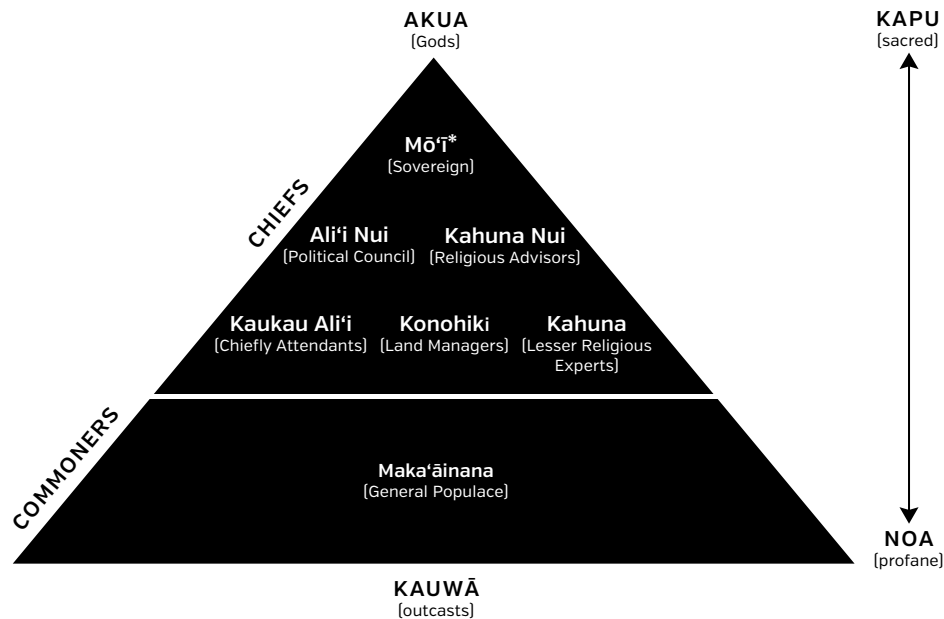
The structures of Hawaiian society reinforced the preservation, celebration, enhancement and transmission of mana between kānaka (people), the 'āina (lands, waters and resources), and the akua (gods). In many ways, society could be characterized by the interrelated nature of politics and religion, and ancient Native Hawaiian society was ordered according to inherited ranks that both determined and reflected the mana of individuals. Thus, Hawaiian society was primarily

defined by heredity intrinsically linked to spiritual beliefs than by a class system that was based on material economics.

For example, it was believed that the ali'i as a class of people had more mana than the maka'āinana (members of the general populace) by virtue of their genealogies. Ali'i could more directly trace their genealogies to the akua. That the gods were believed to be the original sources of mana is evident in the Kumulipo, a mele ko'ihonua (a cosmogonic genealogical chant) that has become one of the most famous and poignant mo'okū'auhau of the Hawaiian people. The Kumulipo was originally composed for the ali'i nui (high chief) Ka-Ī-i-mamao (who was also known as Lonoikamakahiki) of Ka'ū, by a prophet named Kealulumoku, and is more than 2,000 lines long (Beckwith, 1970). The akua Papa and Wākea are identified as one of the ancestral godly pairs in the Kumulipo. Although many Hawaiian genealogies extend further than these two individuals, they are usually referred to as "na kupuna mua o ko Hawaii nei lahuikanaka, a me na 'lii" ("the first ancestors of the Hawaiian nation/race, and the chiefs") and are credited as being the progenitors of both the Hawaiian Islands and Native Hawaiians (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, 4 August 1858). Godly mana and attendant kapu (sacred restrictions) were said to have passed through genealogy to chiefly descendants through this godly pair (Kapelino, 2007). Pukui, Haertig, & Lee (1972: v. 1) describe mana as "a genetic inheritance from god to king to king to king's descendant" (p. 150).

Simply put, a chief was considered a chief because of his or her genealogy: the higher ranking an ali'i, the more mana he or she was believed to embody, and vice versa. Kame'eleihiwa (1992) describes the Hawaiian system of hierarchy as "somewhat triangular in concept... those at the top were kapu, or sacred, and possessed of mana. Those at the bottom were noa, common or free from kapu and, by extension, without the necessary mana, or power, to invoke a kapu..." (p. 45-46). Thus, the distinctions among the socio-economic classes in ancient Hawaiian society were largely based on the purity of mo'okū'auhau, as well as the active preservation and knowledge of mo'okū'auhau (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). See Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1. Societal Structure in Ancient Hawai‘i



Adapted from Kame'eleihiwa, 1992. *See Andrade [2007] for a discussion of the origin of the term *mō'ī* versus *ali'i nui*.

The Ali'i and Inherited Mana

The importance of mana and maintaining mana for Native Hawaiians was one of the reasons that marriage among the ali'i was considered to be a highly spiritual and political act, as it had the ability to unite and enhance lineages into the future. An offspring with a high-ranking status was important, because he or she enhanced the mana of the entire lineage and was the foundation for future generations of descendants. Certain rights and responsibilities were also conferred on the basis of genealogically inherited rank, including governance. For example, only chiefs of the highest rank and mana could be considered part of the 'aha ali'i, a council of chiefs which provided political advice in matters of governance, war, and diplomacy. A high-ranking individual would seek a partner of equal or higher rank, so that any children of the union would have more mana and the genealogy of the entire family would be elevated (Malo, 1951). In this respect, special care was taken with the first unions of chiefs of high rank, and genealogists sought first partners of high rank. After the birth of a first child, other unions with lesser ranking individuals were permitted (Malo, 1951).

The significance of mo'okū'auhau to the ali'i and in Hawaiian society led to the specialization of individuals known as kū'auhau, who were expert genealogists and historians. These individuals maintained knowledge of genealogies and were important advisors who were essential to chiefly courts. According to Kamakau (1996):

‘O ka po’e kū’auhau, he po’e kaulana nō lākou, akā, he hapa wale nō ‘o ia po’e. Ua mālama ‘ia e lākou ka mo’o kū’auhau o nā ali’i, ka mo’o kahuna, ka mo’o kāula, ka mo’o kuhikuhipu’uone, a me ka mo’o kilo. ‘O ka mo’o kanaka a me ka mo’o kaua, ua na’auao nō me ka mākaukau loa. Inā he kū’auhau hemahema i ke kahuna. (p. 238. See also Kamakau 1992, p. 242)

As for the genealogists, they were renowned, although there were less of them than other occupations. They preserved the genealogies of the chiefs, the priests, the seers, the architects, and the readers of omens. They were also enlightened and versed in the genealogies of the people and the kauā.

The need to both preserve and enhance mana in descendants was the primary motivation behind consanguineous unions between individuals of the same chiefly family. According to Malo (1951):

A suitable partner for a chief of the highest rank was his own sister, begotten by the same father and mother as himself. Such a pairing was called a pi'o (a bow, a loop, a link bent on itself); and if the union bore fruit, the child would be chief of the highest rank, a nī'au pi'o so sacred that all who came into his presence must prostrate themselves. He was called divine, akua. (p. 54)

Unions between half-siblings (known as naha pairings) and unions between individuals of various degrees of relation were also practiced among high-ranking ali'i. Such pairings ensured the genealogical preservation of mana and mirrored the union of the akua Papa and Wākea, who were siblings, and Wākea with his daughter, Ho'ohōkūkalanī (Kame'eiehiwa, 1992).

Lesser-ranking individuals also sought higher-ranking partners in order to increase the mana and standing of their descendants. Although he was of a lesser rank, Kamehameha the Great (c. 1758–1819 CE) was able to ensure that his children would have the highest ranking and greatest mana by marrying Keōpūolani

(c. 1778–1823), a sacred *nī‘aupi‘o* chiefess. According to Kame‘eleihiwa (1992), the children of this union had an even higher status than Keōpūolani, because her mother and Kamehameha shared the same father; Kamehameha was essentially her uncle (or father according to Hawaiian beliefs) and their union replicated the sacred relationship between Wākea and his daughter.

The fundamental importance of genealogies with regards to inherited *mana* was also evident in the recognition of *po‘olua* (two heads). A child with two recognized fathers was known as a *po‘olua* and was considered to be especially sacred, as he or she could claim three genealogies as sources of *mana* (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992). The *ali‘i* Kalani‘ōpu‘u was considered to be *po‘olua*. His mother, Kamaka‘īmoku, had lived in close succession with Peleiōhōlani, an *ali‘i* of O‘ahu, and Kalaninui‘iamamao, an *ali‘i* of Hawai‘i Island (Kamakau, 1996). While incestuous pairings as a means to enhance *mana* were restricted to the highest *ali‘i*, the children of lesser chiefs and *maka‘āinana* could also be considered *po‘olua*.

Maka‘āinana and Inherited Mana

According to Native Hawaiian scholar Carlos Andrade (2008), Hawaiian society was established on a foundation made up of the *maka‘āinana*, who were the largest segment of the population and largely responsible for the prosperity and subsistence of ancient Hawaiian society. *Mo‘okū‘auhau* were also fundamentally important to the *maka‘āinana*, because they served as guides for social and economic interaction within families and communities. As such, it was important for an individual to know both maternal and paternal genealogies. Like the *ali‘i*, *maka‘āinana* inherited *mana* and *kuleana* through their genealogies. This largely encompassed parts of everyday living, such as occupation (such as farmer, fisher, etc.), as well as elements of worship, such as affinity with specific familial ‘aumākua (ancestral god). Individuals were privy to specific knowledges, areas of learning and skills based on their genealogies. The ‘ohana (extended family unit) was instrumental in the education and occupational training of children. In this way, genealogies were primary determinants of learning systems within a family, and genealogies naturally sorted students into “classrooms.” Pukui, Haertig and Lee (1972) note, “Within the ‘ohana, elders taught youngsters to fish, raise taro, weave and build. Here proper behavior was taught, and rituals and kapus (taboos) memorized. Here family history was maintained in handed-down chants” (p. 168).

Native Hawaiians also believed that certain traits of character, aptitude and ability relating to an individual's disposition and mana were inherited (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). This was true for both the ali'i and the maka'āinana. When these traits were honed through specific training, practice and education throughout the life of an individual, a person could enhance or acquire mana. Indeed, this link is one of the ways that best describes the distinction between inherited and acquired mana.

Kauwā and Inherited Mana

As mentioned, Hawaiian society was highly stratified, and genealogies and mana played a large role in this system. In addition to the ali'i, konohiki, and maka'āinana, there was also a group of people known as kauwā or kauā. According to Pukui and Elbert (1986), the kauwā were outcasts and pariahs, a group of people who lived apart from others and who were often used for human sacrifices. The discussion of kauwā in historical works remains somewhat controversial, partially because of ethnographic interpretations and translations, which may have replaced former understandings based on limited historical information in oral histories and other sources.

Early accounts by foreign observers, including members of the mission, characterized these individuals as slaves. The English missionary Reverend William Ellis (1979) noted that he was told that captives of war were “spared only to be slaves” and that “the wives and children of those whom [the chiefs and warriors] had defeated were frequently made slaves” (pp. 105–106). The belief that the kauwā were slaves was also fueled by the perception that they were “property” and that they were “treated with great cruelty” (Ellis, 1979, pp. 105–106). These understandings may have been based on missionary perceptions around the socio-economic position held by the kauwā in Hawaiian society; many American and English missionaries had made early comparisons between the status of the kauwā in Hawai'i and the dalit, or “untouchables” of India (*The Panopolist*, 1816). These perceptions fueled the idea of “slave” as a dominant contextualization of the term kauwā that may not have existed before.

In actuality, the kauwā were a group or “class” of Native Hawaiian individuals who had broken kapu (sacred restrictions), who were prisoners of war, or who lacked mana (spiritual power) (*Ka Lama Hawaii*, 1834). In *Kingship and Sacrifice, Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawai'i* and based on his readings of Native

Hawaiian scholars Davida Malo and Kepelino, anthropologist Valero Valeri (1985) argues that Hawaiian society equated cleanliness and purity with mana and with the ali'i, and that the kauwā represented uncleanness and impurity. Many historical sources suggest that there was a stigma associated with being a kauwā. According to Kamakau (1991: KPK), "The real kauwa were born outcasts from their ancestors' time. They were a people much despised... Chiefs who took a mate from among the kauwa because of beauty of person, inflicted a lasting scar of disgrace on their descendants. Rulers, chiefs, and people despised the kauwa; it was not proper to eat with them, or welcome them into the house, or sleep near them" (p. 8).

Like the ali'i and maka'āinana, kauwā were marked by their genealogies. Malo (1951) describes those who were kauwā by birth (p 68) and references their ancestry as being from Ha'akauilana, who was a kauwā to Wākea. After Wākea left his wife Papa, she lived with Ha'akauiluna and they had a son named Kekeu. Malo (1951) traces this genealogy to Makanoni, who is said to be one of the ancestors of the "actual and real kauwa in the Hawaiian islands" (pp. 69). Kauwā were said to have been marked with tattoos showing their status; Kamakau (1991: KPK) also suggests that their names also marked them as kauwā. Kamakau (1991) notes that terms such as "kauwā makawela" ("red-eyed outcasts"), "kauwā kuapa'a" ("load-carrying outcasts") and "kauwā laepuni" ("outcasts with tattooed foreheads") were used as denigrating insults for the kauwā. However, in notes from interviews with Native Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui, ethnographer Martha Warren Beckwith (n.d.) identifies many of these names (including the lōpā, makawela, kuapa'a and laepa'a) as being various groups or classifications within the kauwā. Perhaps because of the mandate that they remain separate from others, kauwā were sometimes given lands for their use; half of the land of Nīnole in Ka'ū, Hawai'i was said to have been given to the kauwā in this manner (Beckwith, n.d.).

According to Kamakau (1991: KPK), "The kauwā hid themselves until the time when the kapu akua, the gods' kapus, were overthrown, and the kingdom became a 'free-eating' one, ke aupuni ainoa [one without gods]. That released the kauwa" (p. 8). Despite this assertion that the kauwā were released with the ending of the kapu, social distinctions between the kauwā and other classes remained clear in Hawaiian society in the early nineteenth century (*Ka Lama Hawaii*, March 7, 1834). Stigma may be one reason why little historical information

about the kauwā exists. Indeed, questions remain: were kauwā considered to be part of the traditional Hawaiian societal structure or apart from it? Were kauwā bound to observe general kapu, rituals, and beliefs that were observed by much of the general populace if they were believed to be without mana?

Kamakau (1991: KPK) notes that one of the epithets applied to kauwā was kauwā ‘ainoa, or “free-eating outcaste,” a reference which perhaps indicates they did not follow the ‘aikapu. Did the kauwā have different conceptions of mana? Other than their separation, how similar were the lives of kauwā to that of others in Hawaiian society? The connection between kauwā and mana is an important area for further research.

Mana and Gender

One of the hallmarks of traditional Native Hawaiian spirituality and religion is that of balance between complementary forces. This is especially evident in traditional literature, where dualities based on light and dark, land and sea, male and female are commonplace, further illustrating the importance of balance in the Hawaiian worldview (Tengan, 2008). Gender was another aspect of Native Hawaiian identity that affected an individual’s mana. In particular, Native Hawaiians believed that there were spiritual differences in male and female mana. As in the case of genealogy and “class,” beliefs surrounding mana and gender underpinned the social, economic and political structures of ancient Hawaiian society.

Many Native Hawaiian beliefs and practices reflected the values embodied by divine ancestors. Papa and Wākea were believed to embody the archetypal female and male mana. Likewise Kū embodied masculine qualities and was considered to be the quintessential male and husband, while Hina embodied feminine qualities and was considered to be the quintessential woman and wife. That both Papa and Wākea and Kū and Hina embody the very essence of balance is evident in their names. “Wākea” refers to a broad expanse, as well as heavenly or metaphysical elements, while “papa” refers to a firm foundation or surface, the earth and physical elements. Likewise, “kū” refers to something that is rising, standing, or erect, while “hina” refers to something that is leaning, lying down, or prone. Both divine pairs were understood to be representative of fertility and harmony, and both were considered ancestor gods for the Native Hawaiians (Beckwith, 1971). In general, women were identified with the earth, terrestrial elements, and

natural cycles through the goddesses Papa and Haumea, which was manifested through things like menstruation and childbirth. Men were identified with the sky, celestial elements, and the spiritual realm through Wākea (Jensen & Jensen, 2005). Paired, male and female mana represented a balance and harmony that was considered vital in Hawaiian epistemologies. Without kāne, wāhine would not be balanced, and vice versa. Both masculine and feminine mana were essential to individual and societal well-being in traditional Hawaiian society.

Hawaiian society was characterized by the ritual separation of the sexes, which protected the inherent spiritual differences in male and female mana. For example, certain occupations and activities were considered masculine work

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(such as deep sea-fishing, cooking, implement-making, farming kalo), while others were considered female work (gathering food from the reef, weaving lauhala, making kapa, making cordage). However, there were exceptions to these divisions (see Malo, 1951; Handy & Pukui, 1950). Gods of both genders were worshipped by men and women, though there were specific deities for gendered tasks. Male and female mana were even considered with respect to healing and medicinal practices; the right side of the body was dedicated to masculinity and the god Kū, while the left side of the body was dedicat-

ed to femininity and the goddess Hina. Depending on the ailment, kahuna lā'au lapa'au (medicinal healers) would pick healing herbs with their right or left hand and administer treatments to either side of the body (Krauss, 1993).

The separation of men and women in certain settings was regulated through a system of kapu, or sacred restrictions, which were in place to protect male and female mana from imbalance (Malo, 1951). For example, because of their more active role in formal religious ceremonies, it was necessary for kāne to maintain their spiritual sacredness through the observation of kapu in ways that were not usually required of wāhine (Jensen & Jensen, 2005). This belief extended to things that embodied male essences or elements, such as rituals dedicated

to the worship of male gods or the offering of only male forms of animals and plants (Valeri, 1985). If a person did not follow gendered strictures, imbalance and even a loss of mana, as well as spiritual harm, would result. This usually manifested as a physical illness or ailment (Krauss, 1993).

Documented exceptions to conventionally male and female divisions in kapu and mana suggest that these divisions were not completely rigid or impermeable. Native Hawaiians understood a certain degree of flexibility in conceptions of mana pertaining to gender, or at the very least, made accommodations to religious strictures in favor of maintaining holistic balance. For example, the chiefess Keakealaniwahine became the mō'i (supreme ruler) of Hawai'i Island in the 17th century (Ii, 1950). Because of the purity and unrivaled quality of her genealogy, Keakealaniwahine was educated from childhood in ways that were typical of a ruling male ali'i.

Jensen and Jensen (2005) note that in addition to subjects learned by women of her class, such as history, philosophy, and genealogy, Keakealaniwahine was instructed in military strategy, political science, and all things connected with the administration of government. Most importantly, Keakealaniwahine was educated in the rituals and observances usually reserved for male ali'i of the highest status, genealogy, and mana. "Keakealaniwahine was one of the very few female rulers to have taken physical and spiritual custody of not only the heiau luakini po'okanaka, the state temples of her districts, but also those of the entire island of Hawai'i-or, at least, [she] had the privilege of conducting observances there" (Jensen & Jensen, 2005). In order to complete these rituals Keakealaniwahine was known to have worn a malo kea (white loincloth) and undergone certain ceremonies that released her from female kapu; such activities were necessary for female priests conducting masculine activities in a heiau of the highest order. Thus, Keakealaniwahine was able to offer the sacrifices necessary at the heiau to consecrate her authority as a mō'i and solidify her mana as a capable ruler (Jensen & Jensen, 2005).

Despite evidence of systemic fluidity and flexibility within Hawaiian society, historical interpretations of mana have been used by scholars during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as evidence of the unequivocally patriarchal nature of Hawaiian society, suggesting women held an oppressed or inferior status. In this way, scholars may be making interpretations relative to their

own sets of biases, including individual familiarity with structures of their own societies, cultures and contexts. This can be culturally damaging. For example, cultural concepts such as *la'a/kapu* (sacred; as applied to men and males) and *haumia/noa* (defiled, free; as applied to women and females) are understood by many scholars as strict dichotomies without the natural flexibility and balance inherent in Hawaiian understandings of such values. Ritual separation of the sexes, as well as gendered expectations of work and *kuleana*, have also been used as evidence to underscore the superiority of men and the inferiority of women in traditional Hawaiian society and culture. These scholarly translations oppose traditional position, power, and status of women in Hawaiian society, as well as contemporary understandings of Hawaiian culture and *mana*. As Jensen and Jensen (2005) note:

On the written page, Maoli women, representing half of their society and producers of all human life, ceased to exist as equal subjects—ignorantly excluded from the Whole... ill-chosen words to describe women's exclusive world became a handicap to postcontact analysis—misinterpreted particles difficult to extract to this day...The heresy of inferiority came later with the clash of cultures—misunderstanding and misinterpretation assisting in establishing a biased history and unrelated dogma. (pp. ii-iii)

Scholarship based on Hawaiian language sources by researchers with a deep knowledge of Native Hawaiian history and culture is now challenging commonly held dominant understandings of *mana*, *kapu*, and gender.

Traditional literature remains an important medium for illustrating conceptions of *mana* with regards to gender. For example, scholars such as John Charlot, Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa, Noenoe Silva, ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, and Puakea Nogelmeier have reexamined *mo'olelo* surrounding the goddesses Pele and Hi'iaka, analyzing the way that existing historical interpretations have altered our understanding of women's *mana* in ancient Hawaiian society. Silva (2007) and ho'omanawanui (2007; 2014) discuss the word and translation choices made by scholar Nathaniel Emerson for the Hi'iaka epic. They point to Emerson's stripping of the goddess' agency and *mana*, reframing her as "little," a "maiden," and a "girl" instead of a woman or a goddess. As these scholars note, the Hi'iaka epic is a celebration of women's power to break or nullify *kapu* and to neutralize sacred ritual spaces that were traditionally male, as well as to challenge the fundamental order of Hawaiian society (Charlot, 1998).

Acquired Mana

In addition to recognizing that mana was inherited by individuals through genealogy, Native Hawaiians believed that mana could be enhanced, acquired, amplified, diminished, or lost through a range of actions that were either aligned with or counter to socio-cultural and spiritual understandings of proper behavior. Inherited aspects of mana formed a foundation of mana that was to be maintained by an individual, but the enhancement or acquisition of mana was thought to be a social, political, and spiritual imperative for all Native Hawaiians.

Explaining “acquired” mana is challenging, because there seems to be a tendency to view the “acquisition” of mana in ways that are similar to the acquisition of material goods and wealth. In this way, mana viewed as a contemporary resource removes the spirituality and flexibility that was inherent in traditional Native Hawaiian understandings of mana.

Pono and Kuleana

Pono was previously discussed in the context of gender, but it is also a cultural concept that is fundamental to building an understanding of mana as acquired, enhanced or diminished. “Pono” refers to that which is right, proper, or good, or exemplifies balance, goodness, morality, excellence, and well-being (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The balance between male and female mana illustrates an iteration of pono. Pono can also refer to the true condition or nature of something, as well as something that is perceived as necessary. The balance embodied by pono was considered to be the essential, original state of something. To be in a state of pono or to exemplify pono was to exhibit and enhance mana. Actions that were disruptive to pono diminished mana. This all reflects the importance of pono as a key socio-cultural value.

Pono was also related to the concept of kuleana, or reciprocal responsibility. Kuleana could be inherited through mo’okū’auhau, and were related to factors such as family, place of residence, social standing, profession and more. According to Pukui and Elbert (1986) “kuleana” refers to a right, a privilege, an interest or claim, and authority. The existence of kuleana was both the evidence and manifestation of a relationship.

Like mana, concepts of pono and kuleana were not static, and there were socio-cultural factors that influenced their meaning and application throughout time. In considering what may be considered pono and kuleana, specific contexts and perspectives are important. For example, a woman would have different societal expectations and obligations than a man. The same was true in the case of an elder versus a youth, a fisherman versus a bird catcher. It might be considered hewa (wrong) or not pono for a person of a certain family, or who had a certain 'aumakua, to consume the flesh of certain fish; but for another individual, consumption of the same fish was not prohibited. Scholar Dennis Kawaharada (2006) notes:

Kapu on catching or eating a certain kind of fish might apply to a family if the family's 'aumakua, or ancestral god, had a fish form. For example, members of the mo'o, or lizard, lineage avoided eating 'o'opu, or goby fish, a sea form of the lizard, for fear of eating an ancestor or a family member whose spirit had entered the fish after death. Other families avoided eating shark or eel or other sea creatures or plants for the same reason. The breaking of the kapu was believed to cause sickness or death. (pp. xi-xii)

An individual had multiple and simultaneous kuleana to the land, to his or her family, to the community, and to the gods. Fulfilling kuleana by acting in pono ways was considered an important way for Native Hawaiians to maintain and enhance mana. Failing to act in pono ways, or failing to fulfill a kuleana, would result in diminished mana. As such, much of the foundation of ancient Hawaiian spirituality and morality consisted of the mediation, negotiation and actualization of pono and kuleana in daily life with respect to their effects on the mana of kānaka.

While there was great variability in these concepts due to social, political, and spiritual contexts, there were also elements of pono and kuleana that could be considered "universal" to all Native Hawaiians with regards to mana. Recalling the genealogical connections and mo'olelo connected to the akua Papa and Wākea, Native Hawaiian scholar Carlos Andrade points out:

The familial relationships established by the Papa and Wākea story place human beings as the younger siblings of the kalo (taro plant) and

the 'āina (islands) in the family of life. These relationships carry with the responsibilities and examples for proper behavior. The 'āina is the eldest sibling, and therefore responsible for protecting and feeding the younger ones. As younger siblings, Hawaiian people inherit a kuleana (responsibility) to mālama (keep, obey, pay heed to, care for) 'āina and kalo. (p. 25)

Thus, aloha 'āina (love for the land) and mālama 'āina (caring for the land) were considered cultural mandates for all Native Hawaiians, which were inherited familial kuleana and served to guide pono actions. Observing the cultural mandates of loving and caring for the land and resources were believed to enhance the mana of both the kanaka caretaker and the land and resources.

One of the ways understanding of pono and kuleana differed among kanaka in ancient Hawai'i was along the lines of "class." In order to preserve their status, individuals who had inherited more mana through genealogy (such as the ali'i) were usually expected to abide by a different, more rigid set of pono and kuleana. Acting in ways that were considered pono and fulfilling kuleana allowed an ali'i to enhance or acquire mana. There were a variety of ways for ali'i to enhance mana through pono leadership. Kame'eleihiwa (1999) describes two of the paths of mana among ali'i. The path through the akua Lono was accomplished through diplomacy and marriage. The path through the akua Kū was accomplished through warfare. Proper worship of the akua and observation of ritual ceremony were part of the kuleana of ali'i. Thus, an ali'i who was attentive to the spiritual aspects of rule was considered pono and religious activities enhanced mana. Care of certain gods necessitated certain actions on the part of the ali'i. For example, Kalani'ōpu'u cared for the war god, Kūkā'ilimoku ("The island snatcher"); his mana as a chief derived from his ability to be victorious in war. Andrade (2007) notes, "[G]ood ali'i were expected to be benevolent but firm elder siblings to the people" (p. 73). An ali'i was expected to maintain the peace and prosperity of his or her lands and people through the sustainable management of resources. This included the expectation that an ali'i would engage in successful kālai'āina (division of lands and kuleana), appoint efficient konohiki (chiefly land managers), and initiate the construction and maintenance of heiau (religious temples), 'auwai (irrigation ditches) and loko i'a (fishponds). An ali'i who was pono in these actions enhanced and maintained their mana as rulers, whereas ali'i who were not pono, diminished their mana and often lost the right to rule.

Actions that ran counter to ancient conceptions of pono leadership included unfairly seizing or taxing the resources and labor of the makaʻāinana, appointing konohiki who were cruel and failing to successfully serve as a spiritual leader by not observing kapu and sacred ceremonies. An aliʻi who did not listen to his counselors or heed the warnings of kahuna (priests), kilo (readers of omens), kāula (prophets) and other seers, failed in being pono. This was especially true when the consequences of this failure were negative for the akua, people, land, or resources.

An aliʻi who was unable to maintain his mana through pono action was often deposed or killed, often by his own people. For example, the people of Kaʻū, Hawaiʻi, were well known for being intolerant of the oppression of cruel chiefs. The ʻōlelo noʻeau (wise saying), “Kaʻū mākaheka” (“Kaʻū of the fierce fighters”) acknowledges this characteristic. Several moʻolelo recount the slaying of oppressive chiefs in Kaʻū and neighboring Puna: the chief Kohāikalani was crushed by a log set by his people during the building of Kaʻulakalani Heiau; the chief Halaʻea was drowned by his fishermen after demanding too many fish from the residents of Puna; and the chief Koʻihala was stoned after starving his people. In a moʻolelo of Honuaʻula, Maui, the high chief Kahekili rewarded his aikāne (favored companion) Kūkeawe by allowing him to roast any of his pigs in Kula, Maui, as needed (Pukui, 1986). Unfortunately, Kūkeawe also took pigs from the people of Kula, Honuaʻula, Kahikinui, and Kaupō, robbing and plundering as he pleased. Unable to stand such chiefly oppression, the people of Kahikinui, Honuaʻula, Wailuku, and Waiheʻe organized under a man named ʻOpu and fought the armies of Kūkeawe on the slopes of Haleakalā. Kūkeawe’s army tried to retreat, but were blocked by forces led by Kawehena, Kahoʻoluhina, and Kuheana. This uprising was called ʻAipuaʻa a Kūkeawe, and Kūkeawe was killed for abusing the people (Kamakau, 1992).

An aliʻi who was unable to maintain his mana through pono action was often deposed or killed, often by his own people.

Ways to Acquire Mana

Among Native Hawaiians, feats of great strength, intelligence, skill, and artistry were considered to be reflective of mana. Individual talents, predispositions, and gifts were usually thought to be inherited genealogically, but were actively cultivated in Hawaiian society through education and training (Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, 1972). It was through the acquisition of skills and knowledge that a person could “acquire” mana. Reaching the heights of skill, knowledge and practice was a highly admired personal quality; experts in every field were respected and renown as having great mana. The same was true of great athletes, winners in games and contests, and warriors on the winning side of a battle.

Thus, it was a cultural imperative for Native Hawaiians to *kūlia* (to strive, to be outstanding) and to become *hiapaʻiʻole* (foremost, expert). Traditional Native Hawaiian education reflected the high value of deft practice and honed intellect, but also reflected the importance of mana. Education and mentoring was not only an important means of passing on traditional knowledge, but also a highly spiritual process which allowed *kanaka* to gradually acquire mana.

Acquired Mana and Kapu

The mana of individuals was fundamental to Native Hawaiian identity, and therefore, protected and reinforced by the structures of Hawaiian society. One of the ways this was accomplished was through the system of *kapu*. According to scholars Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert (1986), *kapu* were taboos and prohibitions, as well as special privileges or exemptions. The existence of *kapu* reflected mana by indicating the presence of sacredness, holiness, and consecration.

Kapu protected the mana and sacredness of gods, people, places and objects. *Kapu* ensured *pono*, right actions were considered a burden or responsibility, as well as a right and privilege. There were many different types of *kapu*. Kepelino (2007) identifies the *kapu* of the gods, which fell over everything and the *kapu* of the chiefs, which was over *kānaka* (people). Certain *kapu* were meant to prevent overuse of resources. For example, a *konohiki* (land manager) could place a *kapu* on a specific type of plant or fish if they were not abundant or out of season (Malo, 1951). A *kapu* was also specific to place, as well as to people. The number and severity of *kapu* was applied differently to different groups of people

in ancient Hawaiian society and depended on a number of factors, including genealogy and rank, participation in religious ceremonies, place of residence, or familial tradition.

Mana, Kapu, and Class

Because ali'i were considered to be sacred spiritual and political leaders who were directly descended from the akua, chiefs usually observed many more kapu than members of the general populace. Further, to invoke a kapu, one had to have mana. Only ali'i had the mana necessary to invoke kapu, and certain kapu could only be invoked by or on behalf of the highest-ranking ali'i. The invocation and observation of these kapu was meant to safeguard both the mana of the ali'i and those around them.

An ali'i inherited a specific set of personal kapu (sacred restrictions) through genealogy, which sanctified him or her as a sacred and spiritual leader (Malo, 1951). These kapu included restrictions pertaining to the person or body of the ali'i (such as the kapu forbidding lesser ranked individuals from stepping in the shadow of an ali'i), as well as proper conduct in his or her presence, such as the kapu moe, which required those of lesser rank than the chief to prostrate themselves (Malo 1951). Violations of the kapu surrounding ali'i could lead to a loss of mana in the ali'i and exposure to harmful mana for maka'āinana. Observance of these kapu was mandatory. Marriage was one way for the ali'i to enhance the mana of their line; one of the ways this was accomplished was by producing children who were higher ranking, who had more mana and had the ability to hold higher kapu. Kepelino (2007) described the high and low ranking chiefs, noting:

He mau alii kapu na 'lii Hawaii nei. He ahi, he wela; he hahana a he haawe kapu okoa no ia na ke kapu, a e kaumaha'i kua i na haawe kapu o na 'lii Hawaii nei. (pp. 130-131)

Chiefs in Hawaii were tapu chiefs, like a fire, a heat, an intense heat, possessed of different grades of tapu each distinct from the other.

Malo (1951) discusses the various kapu inherited by nī'auipi'o chiefs, noting that the chiefly offspring of half siblings were known as a naha union; they inherited a kapuanoho (sitting kapu), a lesser kapu than the kapumoe (prostrate kapu), which was inherited by nī'auipi'o chiefs who were offspring of full siblings.

Many of the kapu surrounding the ali'i were said to stem from the traditions introduced by a priest named Pā'ao, who travelled to Hawai'i from Kahiki. Pā'ao brought chiefly insignia, such as feathered standards and capes, as well as pūlo'ulo'u (kapa-topped standards that proclaimed the presence of kapu) that were then consecrated as items of mana reserved for chiefs. Because 'ōpelu (mackerel scad) and aku (bonito) helped to guide his canoes on the voyage from Kahiki, he placed kapu on them during certain seasons. In addition, Pā'ao introduced kapu to preserve the purity of chiefly lineages by forbidding intermarriage between members of the ali'i class and the maka'āinana, and returned to Kahiki to bring a pure chief named Pilika'aiea (Malo, 1951; Kamakau, 1996). These activities resulted in the adoption of Pā'ao's kapu, which were thought to safeguard and enhance the mana of Native Hawaiians.

As compared to the ali'i, maka'āinana were considered to be noa, or free of kapu and restrictions. Kepelino (2007) notes that one of the names for the maka'āinana was "noa." Maka'āinana were not believed to possess the necessary mana to invoke, place and enforce kapu (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Thus, the lives of maka'āinana were not as restricted by kapu and ritual to preserve mana as were the ali'i.

Mana, Kapu, and Gender

As with Hawaiian conceptualizations of mana and "class," the application of kapu also differed according to an individual's gender. Jensen and Jensen (2005) suggest that the lives Native Hawaiian women were "unconfined" by kapu and that their mana was such that they were not required to observe rituals in the same way as men. Kame'eleihiwa (1996) considers the interaction of women and kapu in a similar way, noting that men were subject to observing certain rituals and kapu to maintain their spiritual health, but women were not. These restrictions were part of a system of beliefs and practices meant to foster pono and spiritual balance.

One of the most visible and well-known ways the preservation and balance of male and female mana was accomplished was through the 'aikapu or sacred eating; one of the sources of this kapu was thought to be Papa and Wākea (Malo, 1951; Kamakau, 1992). This set of restrictions prohibited women from consuming certain foods, including pork, most types of bananas, coconuts, certain types of red fish and others consumables (Malo, 1951). These foods embodied male

gods or male essence and were believed to be harmful to a woman's female mana (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Hawaiians who observed the 'aikapu would prepare and consume men's and women's food separately (Tengan, 2008). Accommodation of these beliefs was reflected in the planning and architecture of villages and communities. The kauhale (family compound) consisted of separate structures where gendered activities occurred. Individuals of both genders and all ages would sleep together in the hale moe. However, women and young children of both sexes ate together in the hale 'aina or hale noa. The hale mua was the men's eating-house, which also housed the family gods, revealing that it was considered a sacred space. In the hale mua, food was consecrated to the god Lono, and the consumption of food by kāne was understood to be part of sacred ceremony. It was here that kāne ritually fed and cared for the gods (Tengan, 2008). The movement of a young boy, usually around six years old, from the unconsecrated eating and the physical/spiritual space of the hale noa to the sacred hale mua was marked and facilitated by a ceremony known as kā i mua, which can be translated as "thrust into the men's eating house" (Pukui, Haertig & Lee, 1972). The kā i mua was significant for many reasons; not only did it mark the physical move of a boy from eating in different hale, but it also represented going from an unconsecrated noa space to a consecrated, sacred and kapu space; from boyhood to manhood; and from free eating to restricted ritual eating (Malo, 1951).

Notable exceptions to the observance of kapu and 'aikapu have been documented. The goddess Pele, her family and her followers did not follow many kapu that were put in place for male gods, such as those known collectively as the 'aikapu. Pele and her followers were known for 'aikū, which referenced their free eating (ho'omanawanui, 2007). Maka'āinana who lived in the backcountry or in areas far from the courts of the ali'i also lived more freely than those who lived in closer proximity to religious and political centers (Malo, 1951). The term "aiā" was sometimes used to describe individuals who did not follow the kapu, or who were considered those that did not follow the will of the gods.

Mana as a force for 'Ino and Hewa

Thus far, this review has focused on the supportive, creative, and generative aspects of mana. However, it is important to mention other characteristics of mana that could be used to hinder, harm, defile, or destroy. Here, mana is not a dichotomy of good and evil or positive and negative. Rather, traditional mana is reflective of fluid, robust and intact cultural exchange. Cultural concepts related to pono and balance are particularly critical, because aspects of mana were understood to be “good” or “bad” and fell into a spectrum in between those two polarities. Actions, effects, or consequences could be known as hana 'ino (evil deeds or practice, harm), hewa (wrong) and 'ino (wrong, bad, or evil), and were conceptual opposites to hana pono (acting properly) and pono. All of these conceptions and understandings were vital to the spirituality and daily living of Native Hawaiians and their culture.

Certainly, more research can be conducted to expound on issues of traditional Hawaiian morality as related to mana, kapu, kuleana, pono, 'ino, and hewa. During the course of this research, it was difficult to find detailed information about the “negative” aspects of mana. This may be the result of a historical reluctance to openly discuss what could have been considered spiritually dangerous and kapu; this reluctance largely remains today (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). Mana as a force for destruction, harm and death is evident in traditional literature. Beckwith (1970) notes, “Hawaiian sorcery has never been studied in relation to its actual functioning in different localities or its influence upon mythology and the priesthood in particular aspects” (p. 105). Beckwith's studies of Hawaiian mythology led her to note that if the 'aumakua of a family was neglected and its kapu forgotten or disregarded, it would seek to harm in vindictiveness (Beckwith, 1970).

Evidence of mana that is wielded by antagonist characters is also present in mo'olelo. In the mo'olelo of Kaulula'au, the island of Lāna'i is inhabited only by lapu (ghosts) and malevolent spirits, and people are afraid to travel and live on that island, because of the mana there (Nakuina, 1904). In the mo'olelo of Hi'iakaikapoliopole, Hi'iaka encounters an evil mo'o who is the guardian of

sacred forests Paliuli of 'Ōla'a and Kea'au on the Big Island. A famous 'ōlelo no'ēau describes Moloka'i as "Moloka'i pule 'ō'ō," "Moloka'i of the piercing prayers" because of the island's strong association with sorcery and its many powerful kahuna (Pukui, 1983). The kalaipahoa, supernaturally poisonous trees that grew in Moloka'i and were then carved into akua kumuhaka (poisonous gods) and used by kahuna were famous throughout the Hawaiian Islands (Kamakau, 1991).

Individuals who used their mana as to hinder, harm, defile, and destroy may have been feared by some, but they were also respected for their mana and considered an essential part of Hawaiian society. As noted above, this was the case where a warrior might be admired for his death-dealing skills. In particular, religious kahuna were perhaps most well-known for their more active and frequent interaction with mana (Malo, 1951).

According to Fornander (1880), the 'oihana kāhuna (priesthood) consisted of ten branches or disciplines, some of which were considered to be more aligned with what we might consider dark or evil forces and sorcery. Disciplines considered to be aligned with negative sorcery to cause harm or death included the 'anā'anā (praying to death), ho'opunipuni (telling falsehoods) and ho'o'una'una (sending sickness or harm upon others). Fornander notes that all of these disciplines were connected with sorcery through prayer for the death or injury of another. Each of the ten fields of 'oihana kāhuna was subdivided into classes and occupations and connected with specific gods, religious rights and sacrifices. For example, Malo (1951) lists Ku-koae, Uli and Ka-alae-nui-a-Hina as akua worshipped by kahuna who practice 'anā'anā. According to Kamakau (1991), the great chief Hua's son Kuheilani and daughters Uliikai and Uliiuka became 'aumakua for the kahuna 'anā'anā and the kahuna 'anā'anā kuni; Niho'aikaulu is another akua wahine worshipped by kahuna 'anā'anā.

Interestingly, in ancient Hawai'i, an individual was not considered to be a kahuna nui (master at the highest level of kahuna knowledge and practice) until he had mastered the practice of all ten disciplines. Hence, it was necessary for all kahuna nui to be familiar with and to have practiced sorcery, using mana that had negative consequences. Training for many of these disciplines and for achieving the status of kahuna nui, necessitated engaging in all the aspects of the occupational practice, including killing people. Here, substitutions of animals or fowls for offerings were not acceptable (Fornander, 1919).

Still, there were distinctions between those kahuna who used mana for more positive outlets, such as healing or purification, and those who used mana for harm. For example, a kahuna whose mana was “tainted” by the nature of their practice, such as those who had prayed others to death, were not able to conduct certain rituals associated with purification in heiau (Malo, 1951). And although a kahuna may be associated with negative or nefarious applications of mana, they were still considered to abide by certain protocols and rules associated with discipline common to all of the kahuna orders.

Fornander (1919) notes:

O ke kanaka i kapa ia he kahuna anaana, he kanaka ia i hoohiki e malama loa i na kanawai o ka oihana kahuna. No ka mea, aole no e hiki ana I kekahi kea o i ka anaana, ke ole oia e hoohiki mua e malama i na kanawai o ka oihana kahuna (E pono paha e hoakaka iki aku). Ua papa ia ka huhu, ka opu ino i ka mea e ao ana i ka anaana. O ka mea malama ole i ke kanawai no ka oihana kahuna, ua kapa ia a he “kahuna aihamu.” A o ke kahuna i olelo ia he aihamu, aole e loihi kona ola ana, a make aku, no ka mea, o ke akua no e make ai, o ke akua no o ka oihana kahuna. (pp. 73-74)

A person who was called an anaana priest was one who had vowed to strictly observe the laws of the order of priesthood, for a person could not learn anaana unless he first made a pledge to observe the ordinances of the order. A brief explanation is perhaps necessary. A person who was learning the practice of anaana was warned against anger and jealousy. He who did not observe the laws of the priesthood was called a remnant-eater (aihamu) priest, and those priests who were called “remnant eaters” did not live long, but died, because the god that caused their death was the god of the order of priesthood.

Kamakau also describes kahuna ‘anā’anā ‘aihamu as operating outside the protocols usually associated with being a kahuna ‘anā’anā by stealing wealth, handsome spouses, and children; they were also known as kahuna po’oko’i because, kahuna of this type were often beheaded with a stone adze.

According to Malo (1951), the number of ali'i and common people who were prayed to death was about the same. A person might be prayed to death because of jealousy of his or her accomplishments, acclaim, affection, or property. Death in this manner was often gruesome, and included symptoms of poisoning, fevers, swelling, blisters, boils, bloody fluxes, vomiting and broken bones. A kahuna 'aihamu would draw out the processes associated with death, sometimes taking a year or more to prolong suffering, while the kahuna who used ho'opi'opi'o, hi'u, kaina, apo leo, or alelo puu killed quickly. These individuals had command of the spirits of death (Kamakau, 1991).

Attempts to guard against hana 'ino that occurred when an individual sought to use their mana in a negative way manifested in Native Hawaiian cultural practices and beliefs that may still be familiar to people living in Hawai'i. Hawaiians were warned that wishing and speaking ill of another person could result in harm, because the speaker as well as their words and thoughts had mana (Pukui, 1986). It was a practice to name a child a derogatory name (such as "Pupuka" or "Ugly") so that he or she would not be taken or coveted by others, including spirits (Green & Beckwith, 1924).

Like 'anā'anā, ho'opiopio was considered sorcery and a use of an individual's mana to kill or hurt another (Fornander, 1919). However, Kamakau (1991) expressed reservations about kahuna who were trained in ho'opiopio, asserting this field of knowledge was more modern and that "there was mana in the old days, and those people who were correctly taught had real mana... but the way in which kahunas are taught in these days is perhaps not correct" (p. 122).

People familiar with killing methods were often employed by an ali'i to fend off spiritual attacks (Fornander, 1919). Interestingly, Kamakau noted (1991) this type of work provides greater insight to the understanding of balance Native Hawaiians held towards mana:

'Anā'anā can be the most evil of evil deeds (hana 'ino); evil spirits of darkness become friends of men, and devils and demons (diabolo me na daimonio) and "ghosts of the night" (lapu o ka po) empower them, But to a humble man who is pure in thought, 'anā'anā is a virtuous profession

(‘oihana hemolele); it is a means of absolution (he pu‘u kalahala) and of dispelling troubles, The gods will help such a man until he “walks with a cane, has eyes blurred like a rat’s, and grows white as the sugar cane tassel” (a kani ko’o a haumaka’iole, a ulu ko kea). (p. 119–120)

This discussion of mana in kanaka represents a small examination of the multidimensional and multi-faceted nature of mana. Mana that could be inherited and acquired shaped the daily lives of Native Hawaiians, and was one of the foundations of their cultural identity in ways that continue to be relevant today. In sum, the literature reveals that mana was present throughout the Native Hawaiian world and was not a quality found only in humans.

Mana in the Native Hawaiian World

This section explores aspects of mana that were embodied by places and objects in a Hawaiian worldview. Mana was connected to place and resources. Mana existed, but could also be ascribed by virtue of actions or deeds that occurred in a place, or in the function of an object. This review of mana as related to place or objects is not extensive and future research is encouraged.

Mana in Places

In a traditional Hawaiian context, nature and culture were intertwined. “The ‘āina (land), wai (water), kai (ocean), and lewa (sky) were the foundation of life and the source of the spiritual relationship between people and their environs” (Maly, 2001). It stands to reason, then, that places and resources were believed to hold, impart and embody qualities of mana.

Wao: Realms of Mana

Many people are familiar with the Hawaiian divisions of land based on ahupua’a—sections of land and sea that encompass everything needed for life with natural

geological formations, such as valleys or reefs; by virtue of typically running from the mountain out into the sea, these were usually vertical (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Less familiar are the divisions known as wao or realms. Wao usually cut horizontally across the land, sea and atmosphere, and these were divisions that reflected the use of the land by humans and gods, as well as environmental characteristics of the place (Malo, 1951).

In *Native Planters of Hawai'i* (1972), Mary Kawena Pukui and anthropologists E. S. Craighill Handy and E. G. Handy recount the traditional significance of wao. They say:

Wao means the wild—a place distant and not often penetrated by man... The Hawaiians recognized and named many divisions or aspects of the wao: first, the wao kanaka, the reaches most accessible, and most valuable, to man (kanaka); and above that, denser and at higher elevations, the Wao akua, forest of the gods, remote, awesome, seldom penetrated, source of supernatural influences, both evil and beneficent. (p. 56)

As compared to the wao kanaka, the wao akua was a place of mana. Native Hawaiians lived in the wao kanaka, and most of the functions necessary for survival (such as fishing and farming) could be completed entirely in the wao kanaka. The vast majority of people did not venture into the wao akua because of possible exposure to spiritual harm. Certain individuals of specialized professions, such as the *kia manu* (bird catchers) and *kālai wa'a* (canoe carvers) were able to venture into the wao akua to gather resources. For example, *kāko'i* (adze makers) traveled to quarries on the summits of Haleakalā and other locales found in the wao akua across the islands (McCoy, 1977). For these individuals, entering the wao required spiritual preparation and prayer, often specialized prayers.

Other Sacred Spaces of the Gods

There were many other spaces considered to have mana. Like the wao akua, they were partially considered sacred, because they were home to gods and spirits. The *lewa* (the sky, atmosphere and upper heavens) was divided into regions much like the land and sea, and held the celestial bodies essential for wayfinding and navigation, planting and fishing, prophecy and much more (Kepelino,

2007). Directions and places oriented in certain directions had mana. Ha'eha'e is known as the easternmost area on Hawai'i Island and was famous in mele and oli as a sacred place where the sun rose. The same was true of the island Lehua, thought to be the westernmost area where the sun would set. Both places were invoked in poetry to show the breadth of the Hawaiian Islands (Pukui & Elbert, 1986; Emerson, 1909).

Milu shared its namesake with a god from an underworld where spirits travelled after death and fed on moths and butterflies (Kupahu, 1865; Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Milu was known to have various entry points that were places of mana, such as trees or cliffs, which represented leaping points for the spirits known as leina akua, leina o lono, or leina ka 'uhane. At Kama'oma'o on Maui, there was a breadfruit tree known as 'Ulu-leiwalo. If a person's soul climbed to the branches of this tree, then they died. But if it was snatched back by an 'aumakua, they would live again (Kupahu, 1865). Citing several other scholars, Beckwith (1970) names Kama'oma'o and Keka'a on Maui, Makahanaloa, Kukuiope'e, Kumukahi, and Waipi'o on Hawai'i. Kaimalolo, Ka'ena and Moanalua on O'ahu, Kapapaki'iki'i on Ni'ihau, Mauloku on Lehua, Hanapēpē on Kaua'i, Wainēnē on Moloka'i and Hōkūnui on Lāna'i as famous leina sites.

Wahi Pana

The strong relationship between Native Hawaiians and the 'āina played a significant role in guiding their interactions with the land and resources. Historian Davianna McGregor (2007) noted, "The land and nature, like members of the 'ohana or extended family, were loved" (p. 5). The relationship between the 'āina and Native Hawaiians is genealogical in nature. On a fundamental level, mo'okū'auhau established a definitive familial connection between Native Hawaiians and the 'āina. Historian David Malo (1951) notes that in the Puanue, Kumuhonua, as well as the Papa and Wākea genealogies, the Hawaiian Islands were birthed by the akua (gods) and they were the progenitors of the kānaka (Native Hawaiian people). As previously noted, in some mo'olelo, Hawaiians are the younger sibling of the kalo plant (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

An elevated level of reverence and importance was associated with wahi pana, which are storied or noted places. Often, wahi pana were distinguished as places of mana. Wahi pana included heiau (places of worship), shrines, burial caves and graves, as well as "geographic features associated with deities and significant

natural, cultural, spiritual, or historical phenomena or events” (McGregor, 2007, p. 291). Places that were the subject of mo’okū’auhau (genealogies), ka’ao (legends), mo’olelo (histories), mele (songs), oli (chants) and other forms of traditional literature were also considered to be wahi pana with mana (ho’omanawanui, 2007).

Mo’olelo contain many vivid descriptions of places thought to have mana imbued in them by the gods. In Hawaii, its People Their Legends, Native Hawaiian legal expert and ethnographer Emma Nakuina (1904) writes:

Every nook, cliff, valley or plain, as well as strip of coast, headland or stretch of water, had its story or legend formerly, and was noted for some heroic deed either performed by a hero or heroine of long ago, or was perhaps the scene of the hapless loves of some unfortunate youth or maiden. Lacking these, they were peopled by strange, supernatural beings, who took on human form at will and exercised great power for weal or woe over the human inhabitants of that locality. (p. 16)

For example, the god Kāne was known to have hidden islands that he moved on the sea. ‘Uala ka’a (or Ulu ka’a) and Kānehūnāmoku are two such islands (Green, Pukui, & Beckwith, 1926). Paliuli was a mythical place of beauty and bounty that was home to Lā’ieikawai (Haleole, 1918); Kahiki was the mythical homeland of a host of akua, including the goddess Pele and her family (Emerson, 1909).

Many places were considered sacred to specific akua, kupua (demigods) and ‘aumākua (familial or ancestral spirits). Kīlauea was a sacred place full of mana; the home of Pele and other deities, where Native Hawaiians seldom ventured there, though many mo’olelo described the environs associated with the volcano. The border between the open kula plains and the beginning of forest marked the realm of Kāne-ku-pahu’a (“man-standing-at-the-forest-border”), who had the bird form of an owl (Handy, 1941 in Emory, 1942). Mo’o who are often described being female and having reptilian features or secondary forms; they were well known to be guardians of different fresh water areas, particularly fishponds (Beckwith, 1970). After her death, an ali’i wahine of Maui became known as the mo’o Kihawahine, frequenting locales such as Moku’ula in Lahaina and the mo’o Hauwahine frequented the marshy fishpond areas of Kawainui and Ka’eleopulu (Beckwith, 1970). The male mo’o Pana’ewa was a guardian of the forest of Puna that shared his namesake; the goddess Hi’iaka encountered him on her epic journey across the Hawaiian Islands (Ho’oulumāhie, 2008).

Consecrated Places

Certain places were considered to have mana, particularly after being consecrated by kanaka for specific spiritual purposes. Often, the mana and sacredness ascribed to a place stemmed from the activities or people associated with it, and was often reflected in the placement of kapu of varying severity. Many of these contexts were similar to the conventions of mana among kanaka, including rank and gender. For example, the presence of an ali'i of great mana could consecrate a place, and was often marked by natural phenomenon (such as a rainbow, or a red mist) or by insignia such as the pūlo'ulo'u (tapa ball topping a stick) or lepa (flags) denoting whether kapu were in effect for the protection of individuals of low and high rank (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Maka'āinana would not enter the dwelling compounds of the ali'i without first being invited, as the places and spaces the ali'i occupied became sacred. Wailua in Kaua'i became known as a place of mana that was kapu, because the ali'i traditionally resided there. The same was true of Kualoa on O'ahu. In both places, lower ranking individuals typically did not venture freely (Fornander, 1916–1917).

Places known to have mana, because of activities that occurred there, were not limited to those associated exclusively with the ali'i. In the kauhale (family compound), women would not enter the hale mua, used by men for sacred eating ceremonies and housing the family gods (Tengan, 2008). Likewise, men and boys would not enter the hale pe'a where women would go while menstruating. These places were imbued with the mana of kāne and wahine respectively as a result of being set aside for certain activities (Malo, 1951).

Places could also impart mana to Native Hawaiians. For example, the chief Kahekili was known for lele kawa, cliff diving, and Kaunolu on Lāna'i and Pu'u Keka'a (Maui) were two places where his feats were accomplished. Following Kahekili's leap, his warriors tested their bravery by making the same leap. Their mana was enhanced by virtue of their successful dive off Kaunolu. Kūkaniloko on O'ahu is a birthing stone site that was used for generations by the ali'i. To ensure that their child would be imbued with mana, ali'i women would travel to Kūkaniloko and other similar places like to give birth. Heiau were often built next to these sites, and the rank and status of the ali'i to be born would determine the level of ceremony and protocol observed by attendees. Birthing stones are found throughout the islands. The birthing stone site known as Holoholokū on Kaua'i was also home to a heiau (known as both Holoholokū and possibly

Kalaeokamanu), as well as a sacred coconut grove (Bennet, 1931). Many of these places became important destinations for Native Hawaiians, including customary places for ali'i when they travelled around the islands. When the national system of kapu was abolished in 1819, more Native Hawaiians were able to visit a wider range of wahi pana, and visiting these locales was an important way of getting to know the character of the place and its peoples.

Mana in the Native Hawaiian World: Conclusion

That places and objects in a Native Hawaiian worldview were imbued with mana remains pertinent today. Efforts to repatriate funerary artifacts, as well as iwi kūpuna demonstrate this. The decades-long controversy surrounding improper care of Mauna Kea and the proposed construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope culminated in worldwide protests in 2015, and were often framed in the context of the mana of Mauna Kea as a wahi pana.

CASE STUDY:

Heiau and Mana

Heiau represent some of the most complex religious and political structures in traditional Native Hawaiian society, and were usually considered to have great mana (E. Kanahele, 1991). Commonly understood to be a temple or shrine, heiau can consist of simple earthen terraces, as well as elaborately constructed platforms set aside by Native Hawaiians for specific and often elevated forms of worship. McAllister (1933) noted that although many of his Native Hawaiian informants used the term loosely, there was a distinction between heiau and other shrines and places of worship (p. 15). Writing in the nineteenth century about traditional Native Hawaiian cultural practices and beliefs, Native Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau (1976) described ko'a (fishing shrines) as a type of heiau (133).

An examination of the word heiau illuminates some aspects of the function and significance of these sites with particular consideration of Native Hawaiian epistemologies. The word hei was spoken and used in place of the word hai, which means “sacrifice.” Au in this sense refers to a specific region or place. One understanding associated with heiau/haiau is a place for sacrifices. Sacrifices could be offerings of prayer, crops, fish and other oceanic yields, as well as human lives.

The intended function of a heiau informed its location, construction and the complexity of religious-political ceremonies performed, as well as the sacred nature of the site (Kamakau, 1976, pp. 129-144). Malo noted that while any ali'i (chief) was free to construct a variety of agricultural heiau and those dedicated to Lono, only an ali'i nui (high chief) was able to build luakini (sacrificial war temples) (1951, p. 160). Native Hawaiian historian Kepelino observed:

Aole i like ke ano o na heiau o na aoao hoomana o ka wa kahiko. He heiau huinahali ke kahiko, a o ko Kane heiau ia. He heiau poepoe ke kahiko, he heiau kii ia. O koa no hoi na heiau nui, a me ka hanohano: na na 'lii ia e hana. (Kepelino, 2007, pp. 58, 59)

Not all heiau belonging to the different branches of worship in old times were built alike. Some were square, as were Kane's heiau; rounded heiau were built for images. Large heiau varied in the honor in which they were held: they were built by the chiefs.

The function and type of heiau dictated the observation of different sets of ceremonies and kapu (regulations and restrictions) (Malo, 1951). For example, the number, stringency and rarity of kapu and ceremony associated with a heiau reflected, protected and enhanced the mana of the place. Hence, heiau used for elevated political and religious purposes were often associated with kapu that were strict in nature and rigorously observed.

Modern Native Hawaiian scholars and cultural practitioners have also posulated that the other meanings evoked in the word heiau illustrated the significance and function of heiau in Hawaiian society. The word hei can refer to the act of “netting or snaring” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). According to Kanahēle et al. (2011), Native Hawaiians understood the movement of the universe and the earth in various layers, realms, planes, or foundations; therefore, heiau were places that enabled Native Hawaiians to snare and pull down part of the mana of the lewa (atmospheric layer associated with the akua, or gods) to the realm of kānaka (2011).

Mana in Objects

In a circuit of Hawai'i Island developed in 1823, the English missionary Reverend William Ellis recorded ethnographic information about the people and places he encountered. At Nīnole in Punalu'u, Ka'ū, the kama'āina of the area noted that the nearby beach Kōloa was a wahi pana that was famous for supplying stones for a variety of uses, including to make adzes, as sling-stones during times of war, for the black and white stones used in kōnane (a strategic game) and stones used in hula (Ellis, 1824). Kōloa was most noted as a wahi pana, however, for 'ili'ili hānau (birth pebbles), stones that were believed to reproduce and grow, and were used to represent the akua in heiau, on family altars and during special events like births and games (Ellis, 1827). It was said that this place was the mother of all the rocks of Ka'ū (Beckwith, 1970). According to Ellis (1827):

We had not travelled far before we reached Ninole, a small village on the sea-shore, celebrated on account of a short pebbly beach called Koroa, the stones of which were reported to possess very singular properties, amongst others, that of propagating their species...When any were removed for the purpose of being transformed into gods, one of each sex was generally selected, and were always wrapped very carefully together in a piece of native cloth. After a certain time, they said a small stone would be found with them, which, when grown to the size of its parents, was taken to the heiau or temple. (p. 158)

The ‘ili‘ili hānau of Kōloa illustrate the linked nature of mana and place, and the existence of mana in materials, resources and objects. For Hawaiians, the ‘ili‘ili hānau were distinguished from other stones because of their mana, which allowed them to reproduce and grow.

Mana in Objects from the Akua

Mana was present in objects that had been created by, belonged to, used by or were in contact with the akua, ali‘i and kānaka. Famed Maori anthropologist Sir Peter S. Buck, also known as Te Rangi Hīroa (1957), noted that an object or resource was imbued with mana through the prayers and rituals surrounding its use. The category of objects and things that could be imbued with mana included what anthropologists and other academics have termed “material culture.”

One of the reasons mana was present in much of the natural environment and resources was that akua often had many kinolau (a multitude of forms), which included natural materials, such as plants and rocks (Beckwith, 1951). These resources became embodiments of the gods, and were thus imbued with mana. When these resources were used by Native Hawaiians and crafted into implements, ki‘i (idols), and other objects, their mana was enhanced. Kamakau (1991) recounts the story of the goddess Haumea, who agreed to help the chiefess Mūlei‘ula in childbirth in exchange for the flowering tree named Kalauokekāhuli. Haumea took the tree from Kahiki to Waihe‘e, Maui, where she set it down. Eventually, a man Nakohola chopped the tree down, but a storm washed away its timber, which washed up at Niukūkahi in Waiehu, Maui. According to Kamakau, parts of this tree were made various items (such as a rack for bowls named Kahakaiki); one branch landed

at Oneawa in Kailua, O'ahu, where it was followed by schools of fish; this branch became Mākalei, a god, which was taken inland in Kailua and followed by schools of fish that entered Kawainui Pond.

Certain materials were known to be especially receptive to gods, or to be kinolau for certain gods. The nīoi (*Eugenia reinwardtiana*) wood of Maunaloa, Moloka'i was known to have a great deal of mana and was often used in ceremonies and heiau (Beckwith, 1970). Other materials were rare and therefore, valuable. Consequently, access to certain raw materials and resources that were believed to have mana was restricted by kapu. Specialized materials were often kapu, such as palaoa (whale ivory) and hulu (feathers), such that only the ali'i could use them. Certain places were kapu because of the resources that could be found there. Although Kualoa, O'ahu was mentioned previously because it was the residence of the ali'i, it was also considered to have mana because whale ivory often washed up due to the nature of the tides and currents (Landgraf, 1994).

Mana in Objects Connected with the Ali'i

Like those objects connected with the akua, the objects connected with the ali'i were believed to have mana. As reflected through their genealogies, ali'i were especially sacred. This concept of sacredness and mana extended to the shadow, uttered name, and belongings of an ali'i (Kaawa, 1865; Westervelt, 1916).

‘Ahu ‘ula (feathered capes), kāhili (feathered standards), lei niho palaoa (carved whale bone necklaces) and other insignia of the ali'i symbolized their high rank and power, but were also imbued mana on their own. One reason was that a great amount of skill usually went into making these items, and only an ali'i of high rank could command the level of skill and kinds of resources necessary for their creation (Kapelino, 2007). The utilitarian items of an ali'i, such as cups, bowls, eating utensils, sleeping mats and other things were also sacred and imbued with the mana of the ali'i through contact and use. For this reason, chiefly attendants had the sole care of the spittoon or later the tobacco pipe of the ali'i, for example, and an ali'i might have attendants for his personal belongings, such as a person who held his fly catcher, kāhili, or spittoon (Kalākaua, 1888). Many of these items were imbued with even more mana through the incorporation of other sacred

materials. A chief's weapon, for example, may be inlaid with the teeth of his enemy, fishhooks may be carved from the bone of an ancestor who excelled at fishing and lei niho palaoa were made with the hair of other beloved ali'i (Buck, 1957).

Mana in Objects Connected with a Person

In ancient times, Native Hawaiians greatly admired individuals of great skill and intellect. For example, for a time, the blind chief 'Īmaikalani of Ka'ū was known as a warrior without comparison. His stroke with the newa (war club) never missed, and his abilities and success lent to his mana (Fornander, 1916). Native Hawaiian ideals of beauty focused on the unblemished and unmarred, which reflected a type of mana because such perfection was often associated with divinity. The 'ōlelo no'eau, "Pali ke kua, mahina ke alo," ("The back is a cliff, the front is the moon") conveys this ideal (Pukui, 1986).

Items that were connected with the body were considered to have mana. Personal possessions, clothing, body parts and even exuviae of the body were considered to be inextricably tied to the individual. These things contained the mana of a person, and were not to be disposed of lightly; a kahuna (priestly expert) could use these pieces of a person as maunu (bait; something molted off the body) to direct misfortune to them (Pukui, 1983; Fornander, 1919). For this reason, Native Hawaiians were fastidious about cleanliness and would bury or hide nail clippings, hair, excreta and other byproducts of the body (Pukui, 1983). For example, when a child was born and its piko (umbilical cord) fell off after birth, great care was taken to hide it where it could not be obtained (Pukui, 1989; Beckwith, 1970).

Like a person's piko, a person's iwi (bones) contained that person's mana. After death, sometimes someone sought to do harm, and so taking care of iwi was paramount. Sand dunes, caves and heiau were appropriate places for storing iwi. Hiding the bones of an ali'i was especially important. In fact, if a chief was high ranking enough or beloved enough, a person would volunteer as a moepu'u, a death companion who would also be responsible for hiding the bones of the deceased ali'i (Malo, 1951). The fundamental link between iwi and mana is still recognized today, and is one of the reasons Native Hawaiians continue to protest disturbance of burials by development and through mishandling of Native Hawaiian remains by institutions and government agencies.

In sum, the mana of a person was imbued in his or her possessions and was one of the reasons the possessions of the ali'i were considered to have mana. The belief that things associated with an individual had mana also extended to clothing. This was part of the reason men did not wear a woman's pā'ū and women typically did not wear men's malo, as these items of clothing were imbued with male and female aspects of mana, as well as the mana of the individual to whom the clothing belonged. The sacredness of clothing extended to designs and design motifs, as well as colors. In some cases kauwā were not allowed to wear a malo (loincloth) and had to wear morning glory vines instead; they were sometimes restricted from using kapa that was printed or had any form of decoration (Pukui in Beckwith, 1980).

CASE STUDY:

Nūpepa, The Hawaiian Language Newspapers

Nūpepa, or Hawaiian language newspapers, provide researchers with a body of historical resources that have been largely underutilized by academics. According to scholar Puakea Nogelmeier (2010), between 1834 and 1948, Hawaiians filled approximately 125,000 pages in nearly 100 different newspapers with their writings, an amount equal to well over a million letter-sized pages of text. As one of the largest indigenous language corpora in the world, the nūpepa represent one of the most important repositories of Native Hawaiian and indigenous knowledge.

The nūpepa are important resources for consideration in this literature review, and it is essential to utilize Hawaiian language newspapers. Such resources should be met with the same primacy as those of Euro-American origin (such as ship journals, missionary letters, etc.). Drawing from nūpepa ensures the proper framing of historical knowledge. The evolution of concepts, understandings, and usages surrounding mana during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be found in the nūpepa. Much of the material that informs contemporary discussions of mana were recorded in the nūpepa. The following section provides an analysis of the word and descriptions of mana in the nūpepa over time.

The History and Evolution of the Hawaiian Language Newspapers

The Hawaiian language newspapers had beginnings as a school project at the Lāhainaluna Seminary in 1834 (Day & Loomis, 1973). Under the direction of missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), several Native Hawaiian students were involved in the production of the newspapers. These students worked as sources of information, writers and translators. They were also responsible for the engraving, printing and setting of the papers.

Originally initiated as an educational tool, the first nūpepa was also considered vital for efforts to strengthen the missionary agenda established fourteen years earlier in 1820. Newspapers allowed for the dissemination of religious ideas, hymns, scripture, the teachings of the missionaries, and American culture and values. Through the newspapers, missionaries had a greater reach with their rhetoric—beyond the close circle of ali'i (chiefs) who were friends of missionaries. And, beyond individuals who attended mission schools or who were members of a church, or in areas surrounding the mission stations. Through the newspapers, the missionaries were able to reach a broader Native Hawaiian public (Bingham, 1847).

The role and purpose of newspapers in Hawaiian society changed fairly quickly. In the late 1830s and 1840s there was an expansion of the newspaper industry to include papers not directly affiliated with the American missionaries. Businessmen and other foreigners in the Islands began import their own commercial presses through secular papers. Newspapers in languages other than Hawaiian also quickly appeared. For example, the first English language paper appeared in 1836 (Day & Loomis, 1973).

High literacy rates among Native Hawaiians during the mid-nineteenth century were the result of early edicts by the ali'i who required the maka'āinana to be educated. Coupled with the increase in the number and quality of mission-sponsored schools and the eventual institution of mandatory public instruction in the Kingdom beginning in the 1840s, literacy rates among Native Hawaiians were remarkably high. Statisticians suggest that by 1853, nearly seventy-five percent of Native Hawaiians over the age of sixteen could read the Hawaiian language (Schmitt, 1977). The high literacy in the Kingdom cemented the importance and critical success of the nūpepa (Nogelmeier, 2010). Indeed, Native Hawaiians were avid readers of the newspapers; it is said that papers were passed from one person to another, sometimes with entire villages sharing one paper (Chapin, 1996).

The evolution of newspapers in the Islands led to the diversification of the presses, in terms of content and focus, as well as in control or ownership of the papers. Increased readership also affected the nūpepa. Although the presses themselves were very diverse, scholar Helen G. Chapin (1996) proposed four categories to describe newspapers in Hawaiian history; though,

she noted that these groupings were flexible, depending on the shifting contexts of the papers over time. These categories are establishment, opposition, official and independent. This is extremely helpful for framing and contextualizing articles and newspapers. See Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2. Nūpepa Type

CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
Establishment	First and most numerous type of nūpepa; also called mainstream or commercial press
Opposition/ Resistance*	Alternative press, including some Hawaiian nationalist press
Official	Newspapers sponsored by the Government
Independent	Newspaper that were not allied with special interest; smallest category of newspaper

*Silva [2007] replaces the term “Opposition” with “Resistance” in recognition that newspapers in this category were often Hawaiian national presses in the years following 1861.
Source: [Chapin, 1996].

The Nūpepa as a Medium of Preservation, Transmission, and Generation

The early Hawaiian language newspapers were modeled on American-style newspapers, particularly in terms of their format and the type of content included (Chapin 1996). However, Native Hawaiians quickly adopted the newspapers as an important medium, and began employing them in ways that were distinctly Hawaiian. For example, many more articles celebrating Native Hawaiian history and culture began appearing in the papers, especially from the 1860s to the 1900s. Although the early nūpepa included elements of Hawaiian culture, the second half of the nineteenth century saw an explosion of this kind of content (Silva, 2007). In 1861, a group of Native Hawaiian aliʻi and makaʻāinana formed a newspaper publishing association known as the ʻAhahui Hoʻopuka Nūpepa Kūikawā o Honolulu and began printing nūpepa as part of a Hawaiian nationalist press. Scholar

Noenoe Silva (2004) identifies the nūpepa as sites of discursive struggle where Native Hawaiians, through pride in their ways of life and traditions, actively engaged in anticolonial resistance. This change occurred in conjunction with greater contribution and control of the newspapers by Native Hawaiians in response to shifts in social, economic, and political structures of the Kingdom. This period also marked a critical shift in the significance of the nūpepa within Hawaiian society (Chapin, 1996; Nogelmeier, 2010).

Cognizant of the potential loss of 'ike Hawai'i (cultural and historical knowledge), Native Hawaiians consciously engaged in the printing, publishing, writing, reading and discussion of the nūpepa as activities that would help to preserve their practices and beliefs. Mo'okū'auhau (genealogies), mele (songs and chants), kanikau (grieving chants), nane (riddles), mo'olelo (histories), ka'ao (stories) and other components of 'ike Hawai'i that had traditionally been maintained through memory and oral transmission within Hawaiian society were included in the nūpepa. Native Hawaiians intentionally sought and recorded 'ike Hawai'i pertaining to specific cultural practices, knowledge of the land and waters of Hawai'i, as well as resources and their use. For example, a Native Hawaiian fisherman named David Kahaulelio from Lāhaina wrote a series of articles on fishing customs, sources of fish, and fishing methods, which appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in 1902. The editor of the paper, D. Kānewai, wrote in an introduction for the series:

Ua huli ia na koa i'a o kakou e na kupuna i hala mua aku me ka hoomanawanui, a ua hoi ke ia aku ia mau koa i ka lakou mau keiki, a pela aku ana, a he mea maikai e huli aku kakou i kekahi o keia mau koa a hooaopopo no ko kakou pomaikai o keia mua aku. He kakahikahi loa paha ka poe e lawaia nei i keia mau la i lawa maoli ma keia oihana, a he mea minamina loa hoi ia na makou ka nalo aku o keia ike i huli ia me ka hoomanawanui e na kupuna o kakou. (Kahaulelio, 2006, XIV-XV)

Our fishing grounds were sought by the ancestors with great patience, and those spots were revealed to their children, which is how that knowledge was passed down, and it is worthwhile for us to seek and come to know some of those special fishing grounds for our own future benefit. Rare indeed today are the people that are fishing who are truly expert in this field, and it would be very regrettable to us if this knowledge, so patiently acquired by our ancestors, should be lost.

The newspapers also became sites of transformation and discourse, wherein traditional Hawaiian orature was deliberately written down and published as literature (Silva, 2004). Indeed, the transformation of Hawaiian society from oral and memory-based to written literature as an extension of oral tradition is best evidenced in the nūpepa. As a result of this process, the nūpepa began to reflect many of the characteristics of traditional Hawaiian oral culture. One of the most notable ways of demonstration is through the high level of discourse within the nūpepa. Community members used the nūpepa to engage in dialogue with one another; the nūpepa were sites of vigorous debates on a variety of issues over a period of time (days, weeks, years). Some debates even stretched across newspapers. Nogelmeier (2010) notes:

While literacy was at its highest, Hawaiians embraced the Hawaiian-language newspapers as the main venue for news, opinion, and national dialogue, but also as an acknowledged public repository for history, cultural description, literature and lore... the contents of those papers span a period when noted historians, expert genealogists, skilled storytellers, and cultural specialists were numerous, and their knowledge was intentionally recorded in writing. Editorials pleaded for those with expertise to submit material for publication so that it would be available for the future... The ongoing dialogue documented a century of change, the continual negotiation of the Hawaiians' perspectives with the transitioning world around them. (p. xii)

Nūpepa were also sites for the creation of new knowledge, particularly reflecting an amalgamation of traditional and new influences. Native Hawaiian authors, poets, composers and storytellers published and circulated their works through the newspapers. In the nūpepa, dialogue about the changing social, political and economic structures of the nineteenth century is very evident.

Nūpepa and Mana

The nūpepa became recognized sites of mana for Native Hawaiians. During the nineteenth century, the nūpepa sustained many functions of traditional Hawaiian society that had preserved, transmitted and even generated mana. As repositories for 'ike Hawai'i, the nūpepa were imbued with mana that was

connected to both the kapu (sacred) nature of materials that were intentionally recorded and published, as well as the mana that was associated with “carrying” or “housing” such material.

Native Hawaiians believed that there was mana in language, particularly spoken language. This is recognized through the often quoted ‘ōlelo no‘eau (wise saying), “I ka ‘ōlelo no ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo no ka make,” (In language there is life, in language there is death). During the transformation of Hawaiian orature to literature during the nineteenth century, mana which was traditionally attributed to language and the spoken word was carried forward in literature. Scholar Noelani Arista (2007) noted, “The publication of oral knowledge more importantly extended the oral tradition and its authority into written form” (p. xi). Part of the mana attributed to nūpepa was because of its role as a medium for language.

In traditional Native Hawaiian belief, possessing and sharing knowledge was a kuleana (reciprocal responsibility), since mana that was associated with knowledge and knowledge transmission. Many of the traditional processes and functions of knowledge transmission, which may have occurred between a kupuna (elder) to a child or from a kahuna (expert) to an apprentice, were moved to the nūpepa. Over time, at least part of the mana that was inherent in traditional teaching and learning processes evolved into writing and reading about them in the nūpepa.

Deep knowledge of sacred practices and beliefs, the genealogies of sacred chiefs, mele inoa (name songs), mele ma‘i (genital or reproductive chants), descriptions of sacred rituals and other forms of cultural expression that may have traditionally been considered kapu or sacred, began to be conveyed and recorded in the nūpepa. The nūpepa carried the mana of these kapu materials.

As sites of mana, the nūpepa transformed the concepts, functions and roles of mana within Hawaiian society, and gave Native Hawaiians access to mana, allowing them to now interact with mana in a different way. Individuals now gained access without requirements of status, genealogy, training, age, gender, place of origin or residence, or personality. The nūpepa allowed Native Hawaiians to have greater access to elements of ‘ike Hawai‘i with deep mana.

There is considerable historical evidence suggesting that the nūpepa and certain aspects of mana were linked; further analysis would be fruitful. For example, Native Hawaiians composed mele and other works praising and celebrating the newspapers, in much the same manner as was done for beloved places and people. Dialogue in the nūpepa during the latter half of the nineteenth century included editorials from Native Hawaiians who were concerned about decisions to publish and circulate information of a kapu nature. Examination of these issues within a lens or framework of mana would likely yield interesting and important information.

Access to Newspapers and Research Methodology

In the past, researchers who wished to access the nūpepa had to physically visit multiple archives and other repositories. This was time consuming, labor intensive and cost prohibitive, further constraining the use of the nūpepa as primary and historical resources. Access to the nūpepa is much easier today, as a result of efforts to digitize the newspapers for online use. By scanning the pages and using optical character recognition (OCR) technologies (the usage of which was instrumental in the digitization of Māori language newspapers in New Zealand), a large proportion of the nūpepa have been made word-searchable, allowing researchers to quickly find information using keywords. This has revolutionized access a wealth of information.

Two notable online databases house nūpepa: Ho'olaupa'i is a Hawaiian-language newspaper digitization project that involves cooperation and participation among Alu Like, Hale Kuamo'o, and the Bishop Museum, and has produced an extensive database of searchable Hawaiian-language newspapers available at nupepa.org. The Papakilo Database (papakilodatabase.com) of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs also includes the nūpepa, through a partnership with Ho'olaupa'i.

Research Limitations and Future Research

It should be noted that many of the same limitations of nūpepa exist for physical archival sources and digital copies. For example, archival collections do not always include all issues from a paper. And although significant efforts have been made to mitigate the natural deterioration of physical copies of the nūpepa through the years, many of the nūpepa (some of which are over 100 years old) are fragile have been damaged by wear, mold, water, and other threats which decrease readability. There are also limitations relating to the digitization and OCR processes, such as missing scans, poor readability in scans, and bad OCR processes (where the wrong letters are identified and substituted for the correct letters, resulting in inaccuracies in the texts produced).

Due to the time limitations, articles about mana in the nūpepa were retrieved primarily through word searches. Databases include scans of the nūpepa that have not undergone the OCR process completely and are therefore, not entirely word searchable. For the most part, (with the exception of the nūpepa that included the “Ka Hoomana” series), these nūpepa were not read through to manually identify discussions of mana. Articles discussing aspects of mana without using the word “mana” were not identified by initial word searches, although limited content searches to identify such sources was used. Reading through nūpepa for content describing mana without using the word “mana” would undoubtedly identify a larger corpus of material in the nūpepa.

As of March 2014, approximately two-thirds of the nūpepa had been digitized. In 2015, an estimated 20,000 more pages underwent the OCR process and were made available online. Efforts to digitize and OCR nūpepa, while improving readability continue. An expanded pool of information about mana in the nūpepa will likely be available to researchers in the future.

The nūpepa represent a limited source of Hawaiian knowledge in time. For example, not all ‘ike Hawai‘i was recorded in the nūpepa and should not be considered above Native Hawaiian oral histories or other related historical sources. Authorship should also be considered. Most of the authors in the nūpepa were male, educated, and residents of Honolulu, which was a major publishing hub. There are exceptions to these generalizations including: Emma Nawahī, who was an important female contributor to the nūpepa; many individuals wrote in to the nūpepa on behalf of non-literate friends or relatives; and other places in the islands, such as Hilo, had their own nūpepa. Representation and context should be considered when seeking information in the nūpepa.

Word Searches

As noted above, keyword searches were used to identify the corpus of nūpepa discussing mana.

Multiple search terms were used. This method returned large numbers of results for each search, which were then read through for relevance to the project. For example, a search for “mana” returned 3,338 pages and a total of 9,888 word appearances. Because the nūpepa did not use the modern orthography of Hawaiian words with ‘okina and kahakō, and digital sources do not often account for these

markings, the keyword search for “mana” in the nūpepa included returns with instances of “mana” (spiritual power and authority), “māna” (a chewed mass; a trait believed to be acquired; short for haumāna, student) and “mānā” (arid, desert; a native fern, *Pteris irregularis*) (Pukui, 1976). Boolean searches using the common terms and phrasings associated with mana, including “hoomana kahiko,” (ancient worship) “he mana” (a power or authority) and “he mana ko” (power or authority belonging or attributed to) were used. The keyword search method allowed for survey of the different ways the word “mana” was employed in the nūpepa, and provided a sense of changes in the use of the term over time.

Analysis and Findings

Most expressions of the word “mana” in the nūpepa appeared in religious or political contexts that were once derivative of traditional Native Hawaiian understandings of mana, but somewhat removed. Generally, discussions of mana that reflect more traditional Native Hawaiian understandings appeared in articles that were ethnographic, cultural or historical. Often, these articles did not use the word “mana,” but were identified as talking about aspects of mana by someone who was culturally literate.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Native Hawaiian understandings of mana were expanding to include new, non-traditional concepts and contexts. Likewise, usage of the word “mana” in the nūpepa shifted over time, in many ways reflecting the changes in the newspapers themselves, as well as overall transformations occurring in Hawaiian society. This is evident when looking at the growth of the newspaper industry in Hawai‘i, which was partially driven by the interests and desires of the overwhelmingly Native Hawaiian readership. By the mid-nineteenth century, Native Hawaiian readers increasingly sought cultural and historical material, leading to greater secularization and diversification of the press. This prompted the publication of several nūpepa by Native Hawaiians themselves, ultimately encouraging growth of the nūpepa as repositories of ‘ike Hawai‘i.

Christian Religious Connotations

Mana had many traditional Native Hawaiian connections to spirituality. During the early nineteenth century, the word “mana” became associated with specific religious understandings of power and authority. Namely, the male New England Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionaries of the ABCFM were represented.

The strong Christian religious associations of the word “mana” in the nūpepa are understandable, considering that the earliest newspapers were initiated and sponsored by American missionaries. Although it is difficult to determine authorship in unsigned articles in the early nūpepa, most non-Hawaiian and Native Hawaiian contributors to the early newspapers were directly part of the growing religious community in the islands. The first nūpepa, *Ka Lama Hawaii* (*The Hawaiian Luminary*), was printed by the mission at Lāhainaluna and edited by Reverend Lorrin Andrews, appearing semi-monthly from February to December 1834. (Two more issues were published in January of 1841). A second semi-monthly paper, *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (*Hawaiian Teacher*) was also printed by the mission from November 1834 to May 1839 and edited by missionary Reuben Tinker (Chapin, 2000). These two papers contain the earliest mention of mana in the nūpepa.

In *Aloha Betrayed*, scholar Noenoe Silva examines the appropriation and transformation of the word pono and its related concepts by the American missionaries during the early nineteenth century. Similarly, missionaries purposefully linked traditional Native Hawaiian understandings of mana to their own religious objectives, particularly as related to conversion of the Native Hawaiian people to Christianity.

Placed within historical and political contexts of the early nūpepa, it is evident that the articles deliberately employed the word “mana” and were intended to be used beyond simply information. Rather, they were meant to serve as moral guides for Native Hawaiians, especially the aliʻi and others in positions of leadership. In many ways, the use of the word “mana” was meant to legitimize American religious ideals, and to bridge traditional and new concepts of mana. By living according to American religious ideals included in the nūpepa, it was implied that Native Hawaiians would have mana and be pono. As a religious and educational newspaper, the original and primary purpose of *Ke Kumu Hawaii*

was to actively influence some of the political, economic and social decisions made by Native Hawaiians, both individually and as a lāhui (race, nation). The very name *Ke Kumu Hawaii* established the nūpepa as a teacher and source of knowledge. The intended role of the newspaper was reinforced by two phrases printed in the nameplate of every issue. The first phrase designated *Ke Kumu* as “He pepa hoikeike i na mea e pono ai ko Hawaii nei,” or “a paper to illustrate the things proper/necessary for Hawai‘i” (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, November 12, 1834).

In the early nūpepa, the word “mana” was most often used to describe God’s power of creation. One of the first appearances of the word “mana” in the nūpepa was in the second issue of *Ka Lama Hawaii* (February 21, 1834) in a piece titled “He Mele no ka Hookumu ana i ka Honua.” This mele (song, chant) was written about the Christian God’s creation of the world. God’s mana is described by using the word hohola, referring to a spreading, unfurling, diffusing kind of power. God’s power of creation was the reason the world had been made and filled:

O ka mana kona mea i lehulehu ai,
His was the power to multiply things,

Lehu, a kini, a nalowale,
To make them numerous, until there were multitudes, until there was an infinite number,

A piha ka lani, piha no ka honua,
And the heavens were filled, the earth was filled

Piha i ka pono, i ka mana, i ka maikai,
Filled with righteousness, power, goodness,

I ka nani, i ka hemolele i ke ahonui,
Beauty, purity and patience,

He mea nui wale no nana.
It was a common thing for him.
(*Ka Lama Hawaii*, February 21, 1834)

There was a fairly significant use of words with similar connotations signifying, such as *lehulehu* (multitude, innumerable) and *kini* (multitude). This was meant to impress upon the reader the immensity of God's power. The word "nalowale" is especially interesting, as it is considered one of the highest series of numbers, signifying that a person can go no further and that the mind fails to comprehend any greater number (Andrews, 1865). Thus, the mana of the Christian God is described as being an infinite, limitless and incomprehensible power.

Other early articles linked Native Hawaiian beliefs about mana to celebrating God's powers. One article describing the Christian God's mana titled "No ka mana o ke Akua" ("Concerning God's power") included the phrase, "No kona mana, ua malama ia mai kakou a hiki ia nei. Nolaila, e huli ae kakou ma kona mana" ("Through his mana, we have been cared for until the present. Therefore, we convert in his power") (*Ka Lama Hawaii*, February 28, 1834). This phrase is meant to bring the concept of being sheltered or protected forward, as well as provide for the mana of god in a way that is strikingly similar to understandings of the belief that the *malu* (lit., shade) or protection an *ali'i* provided was due to his or her mana. Inclusion of this phrase in the article is telling, particularly as the word *huli* has connotations of turning towards, of changing opinion or manner of living, or reforming. "No ka mana o ke Akua" encourages Native Hawaiians to convert because of the mana of God, and is part of a larger corpus of writings urging Native Hawaiians to convert to Christianity.

Other Christianized understandings of mana in the *nūpepa* were included. In reference to Jesus, one article contained the phrase "ka mana o kona alahouana," referring to the power of his resurrection (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, December 24, 1834). Another described the mana of religious signs and miraculous happenings under the mana of the Holy Spirit (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, December 9, 1835). The phrase "hana mana" (powerful works, or "actions filled with mana") is commonly used to describe the works of Jesus or God (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, February 4, 1835).

The *nūpepa* also included discussions of the mana of Satan as an individual who personifies evil and temptation in opposition to the Christian God. Particularly, discussions of Satan's mana often focused on the worship of idols and related practices of Native Hawaiian *kahuna*, which were of concern to the missionaries. According to one article, it was the mana of Satan that allowed other beings to

become empowered and worshipped as gods (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, January 6, 1836). In an article about the worship of idols, it is said:

Kalai ke kahuna i ka laau a ku i ka helehelena i makemakeia, alaila kau ka mohai, a pule, a hana i na oihana a pau, a mana ua laau la i kalaiia'i. No ke komo ana mai o ka uhane o ke akua, nolaila ka mana, i ko lakou manao. A pule aku lakou i ua kii la, manao lakou o ka uhane maloko o ke kii ka mea e lohe mai i kana pule...Ina he mana ko Satana, alaila nona ka uhane i noho mai iloko o na mea a pau i hoomanaia, a nona io no ka mana a oukou i ike ai, a o kela uhane o kamea i make, ua hoi aku no i ke Akua maoli, a ua hoomana no oukou ia Satana m. (*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, March 13, 1839)

A kahuna would carve wood with a visage as desired, place sacrifices, pray, and perform other deeds of their occupation to the wood. A spirit would enter the god, and that was the mana, according to their thoughts. And these kahuna would pray to the aforementioned idol, thinking that there was a spirit within the idol that would hear his prayers.... If it is a power of Satan, then his is the spirit residing in everything being worshipped, and it is truly his power that they are seeing, and of that spirit of the one who died, it is turned indeed to a true god, and they have worshipped Satan and his followers.

In particular, the mana of the Christian God was portrayed as greater than that of Native Hawaiian gods. In an article published in the government newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii* (*The Hawaiian Flag*, 1856–1861), Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the son of a prominent missionary, celebrated the political “progress” of the Hawaiian Kingdom by invoking the adoption of Christianity and the rejection of the traditional Native Hawaiian religion. The author states:

O na Akua o ko oukou mau kupuna ua lilo imea ole, a ua ike oukou i keia manawa, ua hoomanao oukou ia manawa i na mea laupawale [sic]. Auhea o Pele me kona mana huhu? Auhea o Kukailimoku me kona ikaika—aole! Ua puehu aku laua i ka makani me he opala la, i ka hiki ana mai o ka Lono oiaio a me ka naauao.” (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, May 23, 1860)

The gods of your ancestors have become as nothing, you know that at this time, you remember those times and the worthless things. Where is Pele with

her wrathful mana? Where is Kūkaʻilimoku with his strength—no! They have been dispersed in the wind as if they were refuse, with the coming of the true Lono (true God) and enlightenment.

Christian religious connotations of the word “mana” continued in the nūpepa of the mid- and late nineteenth century. For example, *Ke Alaula* (*The Dayspring*, 1866–1873) was a religious nūpepa for children issued under the Hawaiian Board by former missionaries Charles Forbes, Lorenzo Lyons and Peter Gulick. An article taken from children’s lesson book asked, “He aha ka hana a Iesu?” (“What is the work of Jesus?”). The answer given was: “E hoola i kana poe kanaka mai ka mana o Satana” (“To save his peoples from the power of Satan”) (*Ke Alaula*, July 1, 1867).

Changing Political Connotations

During the 1840s and 1850s, newspapers in the Hawaiian Islands included greater articulation of the interests of commercial sectors, the Kingdom Government and other groups not specifically affiliated with the mission. These interests changed the content, tone and function of the papers, making them increasingly secular. Changes were also visible in nūpepa that had begun as missionary efforts that evolved into more secular viewpoints. In these papers, the word “mana” was increasingly used in non-traditional political contexts.

Traditional associations of the word “mana” with political authority, particularly as connected to the aliʻi, were deliberately employed during the transformation of Hawaiian governance during the nineteenth century. In many ways, these usages reflected a process of continual negotiation and mediation between traditional and new concepts related to governance. For example, one of the earliest instances of the word “mana” in the nūpepa as a descriptor of political power is in a retelling of a biblical history of Babylon and Assyria with descriptions of King Ninus and his consort, Semiramis (*Ka Lama Hawaii*, May 2, 1834). In the account, Ninus is described as “he aliʻi mana,” (“a powerful ruler”) because he successfully increased the territories under his control while beautifying and strengthening the city of Nineveh. It is likely that use of the word “mana” was meant to engage both a non-Hawaiian understanding of power and authority, as well as a Native Hawaiian understanding of an aliʻi whose actions enhanced his mana. The application of the word “mana” to a non-Hawaiian ruler in this context would have reflected and facilitated new understanding of power, rule

and authority that were linked to traditional concepts of mana. This demonstrated that as “he alii mana,” Ninus was to be considered an effective and powerful ruler, who had significant mana in the minds of Native Hawaiian readers. Articles like these were also meant to model a specific type of governance for Native Hawaiians.

The word “mana” was used to describe the political power of governments, including those of other countries. In an article published in the October 3, 1843 issue of *Ka Nonanona*, mana is ascribed to the British Empire as a governing entity. As with the description of the mana of the ruler Ninus, the word “mana” to describe the British Empire was meant to evoke both traditional and non-traditional understandings of political power. This is an important consideration in recognition of the historical contexts of the 1840s, when members of the Kingdom government were using Great Britain and the U.S. as models for Hawaiian governance, and engaging in international diplomatic missions to negotiate treaties with foreign countries to protect Native Hawaiian sovereignty. Using the word “mana” to describe countries like Britain was significant. Countries and governments were also described as lacking mana. Following the Mexican American war, a news update published in the May 21, 1856 edition of *Ka Hae Hawaii*, Mexico was described as “he aupuni mana ole” (“a government or nation without mana”).

Mana was eventually used as a substitute for non-Hawaiian concepts of “power” and “authority” in contexts that more closely reflected non-traditional Native Hawaiian understandings of power. However, the Hawaiian spiritual aspects of mana, which were connected to traditional understandings of power, were never really removed from use of the word. For example, by the mid-nineteenth century, members of the Hawaiian government began to consciously integrate Euro-American secular legal frameworks within the Kingdom’s governance structures, transitioning from chiefly rule based on spiritual and political rank to a constitutional monarchy (Osorio, 2002). Concepts related to mana were part of this transition. “Mana” became associated with the power of law, with formal offices, cabinets and other positions of political authority in the Kingdom government. Kingdom laws, the kumukānāwai (constitutions of the Hawaiian Kingdom), ke koho paloka ‘ana (“choosing ballots,” or voting by ballot) and other governmental frameworks and processes were described as having mana. The word “mana” was used to describe the binding nature of legal documents and allodial land titles (*Ka Elele Hawaii*, September 18, 1848).

Although the use of the word “mana” in the instances did not always carry the same spiritual sense of mana that was present in other contexts, it is nonetheless evident that some of the authority afforded to traditional governance of Hawaiian aliʻi were transferred to new elements of governance, both linking and legitimizing them. Traditional understandings of mana continued to be a crucial component of new contexts in Kingdom governance, which was reflected in the nūpepa. An article about a celebration of Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea (Restoration Day) noted that sovereignty was restored to the Kingdom government following the infamous Paulet incident, “[A]ole me na pu, aole me na pahi kaua, ka hoihoia mai o ke aupuni, no ka mana a me ka lokomaikai nui wale no” (“[T]he restoration of the nation was achieved not with guns, not with swords, but with only mana and grace”) (*Ka Nonanona*, September 3, 1844). Another article published in the July 14, 1848 issue of *Ka Elele Hawaii* celebrated Kauikeaouli’s (King Kamehameha III) changes to the Kingdom governance, particularly in the adoption of the constitution and distribution of power:

O keia hana a ka Moi, ua ku i ka lokomaikai maoli; mamua ua haawi oia i kau wahi o kona mana i na makaainana, ma ke Kumukanawaiwia, a me na kanawai hoi. (*Ka Elele Hawaii*, July 14, 1848)

This deed of the King, it was an utmost example of true generosity and graciousness; some part of his mana was placed in the people, in the Constitution, and the laws.

Traditional Understandings of Mana in the Nūpepa

By the mid-1800s, these nūpepa formed a powerful counter-narrative to historical events (such as threats to the Kingdom’s sovereignty) and literature (in other nūpepa and publications) denigrating aspects of Native Hawaiian language, culture and history. Such material was actively sought by editors for publication, and was meant to celebrate Native Hawaiian identity. The publication of Native Hawaiian cultural and historical material in the mid-nineteenth century led to a “reclaiming” of Native Hawaiian identity, and the word “mana” was used with connotations more directly referring to and celebrating traditional concepts and contexts. Often, these articles were meant to instill pride, spiritually uplift, and strengthen Native Hawaiians. For example, Lot Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V)

began his speech to the Agriculture Committee by acknowledging that traditional farming skills of Native Hawaiians under the mana of the chiefs of ancient times allowed kanaka to live to old age (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, May 28, 1856). This address was particularly poignant, considering the unprecedented depopulation among Native Hawaiians during the mid-nineteenth century.

Although *Ka Hae Hawaii* was a paper that tended to have conservative or “establishment” content and was believed to be ghost-edited by Richard Armstrong (a former missionary who became the Minister of Public Instruction for the Kingdom), it began to publish more Native Hawaiian historical and cultural information in the late 1850s (Chapin, 2000). Under the guidance of the missionary Sheldon Dibble, students at Lāhainaluna, including David Malo, Moku, and “na kanaka noiau e ae” (“others who were wise and skilled”) collected and wrote down oral histories, which were then published in the book *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii* in 1838. The book was extremely popular and well read, but largely unavailable by 1858. Excerpts from the book were corrected by the missionary in John F. Pogue (1814–1877), and subsequently printed in a series of approximately fifty articles in *Ka Hae Hawaii* between 1858 and 1859. This series examined mana indirectly through varied discussion of Native Hawaiian histories, beliefs and cultural practices. The series also directly discussed mana. Helu 10 (Number 10) of the series pertained to ka hoomana kahiko (ancient religion) and discussed male and female akua, as well as the mana of the kaula (prophet) Pa‘ao (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, June 16, 1858).

Ka Mooolelo in Ka Hae Hawaii was part of the push among nūpepa to print cultural and historical material, indicating a recognition of the value of Native Hawaiian epistemologies. The article announcing the forthcoming publication of the series explained the importance of printing Hawaiian cultural and historical material in the nūpepa:

Ninau mai paha kekahi, heaha ka waiwai nui o keia Mooolelo Hawaii?
He nui ka waiwai i ka poe heluhelu me ka noonoo. Malaila ike kakou i
ke ano kahiko o na kupuna o keia lahui, mai a Papa mai, a ma ke ano o
ka noho ana mamua, i ka wa hiki ole mai na haole, a me ka pono o ke
Akua. Lealea ka manao o ka poe naauao ma ia mea; olioli no hoi; no ka
mea, o na kupuna ia o keia lahui pono no, e huli a ike kakou i na mea a
pau iloko o ka mooolelo kahiko o Hawaii nei, no ka laha ana o keia lahui,

no ke kaua ana o na'lii, no ka mahiai, lawaia, hana hale, kalepa, kalaiwaa, hoomanakii, mare ana, kanu kupapau ana, me na kapu oolea, a me na kuauhau alii, a me ka holo ana ma ka moana, a me ke kalaiaina, a pela aku, a pela aku... Nolaila, e na kanaka Hawaii, ina ike oukou, i ka Moolelo Hawaii ma ka Hae, e heluhelu me ka noonoo, a me ka malama no hoi i na pepa, e heluhelu hou ia mahope, i makaukau oukou ma na mea kahiko o keia lahui. O ka poe opiopio nae, iloko o na kula, ka poe pono ke huluhelu nui i keia moolelo; no ka mea, mamuli nalowale ia oukou, na mea maloko, ke makaala ole oukou." (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, April 7, 1856)

Some might ask, of what great value are these Hawaiian histories? There is great value to thoughtful readers. It is here that we see the ancient character of the ancestors of this nation, from Papa, and the character of life before the arrival of Euro-Americans, and the righteousness of God. The musings of people who are knowledgeable in these subjects is made thoroughly clear; rejoice indeed, because pertaining to the aforementioned ancestors of this truly righteous nation, we seek to know all the things within the ancient histories of beloved Hawai'i, for the purpose of circulating the histories of this nation, concerning the wars of the chiefs, farming, fishing, the building of houses, trading, canoe carving, worship of idols, marriage, burials, the rigid kapu, the chiefly genealogies, sailing on the ocean, the division of lands, and so on, and so on...Therefore, people of Hawai'i, if you see the Hawaiian histories in Ka Hae, read them with contemplation, and preserve each paper, read it again after, so that you will be versed in the antiquities of this nation. Youths who are in schools also, they are the ones who should read these histories; lest they be lost to you all, the things in these papers, if we are not vigilant.

Although nūpepa from the first half of the century contained articles on traditional Native Hawaiian history and culture, the emergence of a Hawaiian nationalist press in the 1860s marked a definite shift in content. While the Hawaiian nationalist presses were diverse, they shared several basic themes that distinguished them from other papers, including a great love for their land and pride in the Hawaiian nation.

Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika (1861-1863) was the first Hawaiian language paper produced solely by Native Hawaiians. The editors of this paper solicited Native

Hawaiian cultural material and regularly printed articles that celebrated Hawaiian history and practices (Silva, 2007). The fact that Native Hawaiians were publishing their own newspaper was celebrated by implying that ka mana hoopuka nupepa (the mana of publishing newspapers) was not be reserved for haole (non-Hawaiian, specifically referring to caucasians of American and parts of Europe) and religious or government interests (*Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*, September 26, 1861).

The increasing presence of Native Hawaiian material in nationalist presses proved to be a valuable selling point. *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* quickly gained and held the largest circulation, garnering the majority of readers of any other paper of the time (Chapin, 1996). Later nationalist presses would also have a great impact on shaping other papers. *Ke Au Okoa* (1865–1873) ran tables of important dates in Hawaiian history, a feature that was adopted by other Hawaiian language newspapers into the twentieth century. There was resistance, however. Certain individuals wondered whether it was proper to publish chants, mele and other cultural pieces in the newspapers. Silva (2004) traces a debate on the obscenity of a mele between “Puni Ma’ema’e” (“Chastity/Purity Lover”) and “Puni Nūpepa” (“Newspaper Lover”), that were published in 1861 in *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* and *Ka Hae Hawaii* (Chapin, 1999). As Silva notes, Native Hawaiians defended their publications against allegations of impropriety or inappropriateness, and continued to actively seek and print cultural material. In spite of resistance, popularity around these materials increased and this drove other newspapers to publish similar material.

“Ka Hoomana Kahiko,” Ancient Hawaiian Religion

Ka Nupepa Kuokoa (*The Independent Newspaper*, 1861–1927) was the longest running Hawaiian language nūpepa. Started by Henry Whitney (a son of former missionaries) and partially funded by the Mission Board, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* was an establishment paper meant to be a counterpart to Whitney’s English-language *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Chapin 1999). Silva (2004) argues that the paper was meant to continue the colonizing influence of *Ka Hae Hawaii* and

was established to compete with *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*. Nonetheless, *Kuokoa* “documented the Hawaiian language, culture and customs, and genealogy, thus providing a rich storehouse of Native Hawaiian history and life” (Chapin 2000). *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* contained one of the most comprehensive and continued discussions of mana as related to Hawaiian religious practices and beliefs. “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” (“The Ancient Religion/Worship”) was a set of articles printed in the paper between December 3, 1864 and April 14, 1866.

Under the missionary editor Luther Hasley Gulick (1828–1891), an article titled “Na Mea Kahiko o Hawaii Nei” (Antiquities of Hawai‘i) ran in the December 3, 1864 issue of the *Kuokoa*. Attributed to “Hulikahiko” (“Seeking the old ways”), the article was a solicitation for Native Hawaiian information in an effort to preserve traditional knowledges and practices:

Ke nalo aku nei na mea ike i ke ano o ko Hawaii lahui i ka wa kahiko, a i ole e kakauia a paa ia mau mea, e nalo ioa auanei. Nolaila, ke paipai aku nei au i ka poe ike, e kakau koke lakou a hoolohe aku, i ike na hanauna ma keia hope aku i ke ano o ko kou poe kupuna. (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 3, 1864)

The ancient knowledges of the Hawaiian race are being lost, and if these things are not written down and made secure, they will be lost now and forever. Therefore, I am rousing knowledgeable people, that they will quickly write in and listen, so that the generations that follow can know the character of their ancestors.

The article outlined several subject areas, including the ancient gods, elements and leaders of religious worship, classes of people and more. (See Appendix A in the digital version for the full list of subjects solicited).

On December 20, 1864, missionary William Alexander (1805–1884) who was head of a theological seminary in Wailuku, Maui, wrote a letter to Gulick concerning the paper’s solicitation for information (Kirtley & Mookini, 1979). Alexander’s Native Hawaiian students had prepared thirty-four essays on Hawaiian religion for publication in the paper as a series. Gulick agreed and the articles were edited and printed under the title “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” (Kirtley & Mookini, 1979). Alexander sent two more essays on Ancient Hawaiian astronomy and cannibalism in the following months. As a result, nearly all of the topics outlined in the December 3, 1864 solicitation were covered by essays authored by the seminarian students. (See digital copy, Appendix A).

Although historians have noted that supporters of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* often denounced cultural and historical materials appearing in rival *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* (see Silva, 2004), evidence suggests the series was quite popular. Articles typically appeared on the first or second pages of the papers. Some were split into two and published one week after another, due to length. Many of the authors acknowledged that they had learned from other individuals by conducting interviews as part of their research, often with elders who had witnessed or knew about specific practices. (See for example, Helu 11 from *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 23, 1865 or Helu 20 from *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 16, 1865). The series predated more extensive discussions by Samuel Kamakau, who explored cultural beliefs and practices in greater depth, largely through the lens of histories connected to Kamehameha I. Kamakau's materials were published from 1866 to 1871 in *Ke Au Okoa* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.

Access

Accessing the full series of “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” was difficult in the past. However, the series is available in separate Bishop Museum holdings and other historical archives with nūpepa. Currently, there is no full translation available. Partial translation of the articles may have been completed by Thomas G. Thrum. Mary Kawena Pukui may have also translated parts of the articles for the Bishop Museum's Hawaiian Ethnological Notes. In 1964, a typescript of the series (Helu 2–Helu 34) was commissioned by the Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art, and Culture at the University of Hawai'i. Today, copies of this typescript are available through the university library system. Nine articles were translated and annotated by Bacil F. Kirtley and Esther T. Mo'okini, using the partial translations from the Bishop Museum. They were published in Volume 13 (1979) of the *Hawaiian Journal of History* in an article entitled, “Essays upon Ancient Hawaiian Religion and Sorcery by Nineteenth-Century Seminarists.” Word searches were completed to isolate all articles in the series, and images of for the articles were also accessed in the Papakilo Database. All articles in the series have undergone the initial OCR process, making them word searchable, but must still be reviewed and corrected.

“Ka Hoomana Kahiko” and the Nūpepa Discourse

The first article printed in the series was Helu 2, “Ua Moolelo o Kane ame Kona Mana, ame Kana Mau Hana” (Helu 2, “The story of Kāne, his power, and his works”). It was authored by “Naimu” and published in the January 12, 1865 issue of *Kuokoa*; the article was numbered the second of the series. It is believed that the first article of the series was the initial December 3, 1864 article by Hulikahiko soliciting information. (See Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3. The First Topical Article [about the god Kāne] in “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” [1864–1866]

Eia ka moolelo no keia mau akua, o Kane ke kaikuaana, o Kanaloa kona keikaina, a o Kaneapua ko laua pokii. Mai Kukulu o Kahiki mai lakou, a noho ma Hawaii nei. A ua hoomanaia e ko Hawaii nei lahuikanaka, i ka wa kahiko i mau akua no lakou. Penei ka lakou hanaana: Kanu mua lakou i ka ai a o-o, ka lua a mo-a, alaila, kaumaha aku la penei. “Eia ka ai e ke akua e Kane e Kanaloa, eia ka ai, eia ka i-a, e ola ia'u ai ka'u mau pulapula, a kanikoo a palalauihala, i mahi ai, i lawai-a, i kukulu hale nou, i kaumaha ai nau ma ke akua.”

A ina hoi he wahine, penei kana kaumaha ana, “Eia ka ai e ke akua, eia ka ai, eia ka i-a e Kane e Kanaloa, e ola ia'u ai ka'u mau pulapula, a kanikoo a palalauihala, i mahi ai, i lawai-a, i kukulu hale nou no ke akua, ai kaumaha ai hoi.”

NO KONA MANA.

Eia kona mana, ia laua e hele ai i kaapuni ia Hawaii nei, a hiki i kahi wai ole. O aku no o Kane i kona kookoo, a puka mai la ka wai, a ua kapaia ka wai-o a Kane ma laua o Kanaloa.

In the next issue of the paper, a letter from an individual using the pseudonym “Imikahiko” (“Seeker of the ancient knowledge”) was published, praising the first article and seeking more information:

He Ninau. Auhea oukou, e na kanaka noiau, akamai na mea kahiko? Ua heluheiu au me ka oluolu ina helu manao i paiia ma ka aoao mua o ke Kuokoa no ka Hoomana Kahiko. Aka, ke ninau aku nei au, ua pau anei? Aole paha, aole anei o Kane ke pookela o na akua kahiko? Aole anei na laua me Kanaloa i hana na laau ulu, na mea kupono i ka ai ia e kanaka a me na mea awaawa? E hai mai kekahi, no ke aha la i olelo ai ka poe mele ia lakou e mele ai no ka poe make, “ua hala i ka poli o Kane?” No ke aha lakou i olelo ai, “na ao polohiwa a Kane? Mahea la ko Kane wahi noho? He aha kona ano, he huhu paha, he oluolu paha? He makua anei kona? Mai kinohi mai paha ia?! Auhea oukou, na kanaka noiau, na kahiko i he-lea poohina, na hoa o Kamehameha ekahi? E hai mai oukou. Imikahiko. (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 19, 1865)

An Inquiry. Greetings, enlightened people, who are wise in ancient knowledges. I read with gladness of spirit the thoughts enumerated and printed on the first page of the Kuokoa for Ka Hoomana Kahiko. But, I ask, is it finished? Perhaps not, for is it true that Kāne is the foremost of the ancient gods? Isn't it true that he and Kanaloa made the breadfruit tree, the things which are good for eating as well as bitter things? One should tell, why is it said by singers who are singing for people who have died, “they have passed into the bosom of Kane?” Why do they say “passed into the dark clouds of Kane?” Where is Kane's place of dwelling? What is his disposition, is he angry perhaps, or is he kind? Does he have parents? Is he perhaps from the beginning of time? Listen, enlightened people, elders who have become grey-headed, the contemporaries of Kamehameha the first? Please tell me. Imikahiko.

The articles were popular and well-read, enough to foster intellectual discourse among Native Hawaiians that was typical of other series in the nūpepa, and were an integral component of reinforcing accurate narratives in oral traditions. In an article published on the front page in the February 23, 1865 issue of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, J. M. Kapihenui sought to make a correction about the story of Pele, which had been published the previous week as Helu 6 of “Ka Hoomana

Kahiko.” Three lines of a prayer had been wrongly attributed to Pele when they were actually for Kahuakaiapaoa, a companion of Lohi’au:

O keia mau mele ekolu, ke hoole aku nei au me ka wiwoole, aole ia he pule no Pele, he mele ia no Kahuakaiapaoa, no ka make alua ana o kana mea’loha he aikane, oia hoi o Lohiau, Puukani o Kauai, o ka nui o keia mau mele a Kahuakaiapaoa, 8, lakou. O ka moolela o Pele, aole i pili keia mau mele ilaila. Piha keia mau mele ika moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopole, ke oluolu ia Luna o ke Kuokoa, e hoopuka hou ia ia moolelo, no ka mea, ua hoopuka au i ka moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopole ma Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika, aole i pololei ka hoopuka ana a ka Pakipika, ua molowa no. A o na mele loloa ua hoopokoleia, aole like me ke kope. (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 23, 1865)

These three songs, I repudiate them without fear, for they are not part of prayers for Pele, they are songs for Kahuakaiapaoa, for the second dying of his beloved, his companion Lohi’au, the handsome one of Kaua’i; they are the greatest of these songs of Kahuakaiapaoa, of which there are eight. As for the story of Pele, these songs are not part of it. These songs are connected to the story of Hi’iakaikapoliopole; please editor of Kuokoa, reprint this story, because I printed the story of Hi’iakaikapoliopole in Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika, and it was not printed correctly in the Pakipika, as a result of laziness indeed. The very lengthy songs were shortened, not printed as they were on the copy.

Kapihenui urged *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* to make a correction to the story based on his knowledge of the traditions of Pele and Hi’iaka. However, Kapihenui not only sought to correct the article in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, he also made sure readers knew that his original submission to *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* had been revised. In the context of the very public battles for readers occurring at this time between *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*, such public censure was very significant. Kapihenui challenged *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* to surpass what he had felt was the result of moloā (laziness) that had occurred in the *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*, asking them to not only correct the Pele story, but to reprint Hi’iaka’s entire story in their paper. Native Hawaiians looked for resolution in future editions of both papers, and perhaps favoring the paper that best addressed the concerns outlined by Kapihenui. Kapihenui’s spoke for his rights as an author, demonstrating concern for accuracy and proper representation. Accuracy was

important, because of the significance of the mele and mo'olelo, and the different mana represented. Kapihenui's desire to see Hi'iaka's story republished in its entirety represented such concern; by shortening mele or specific parts of the mo'olelo, mana is altered or diminished.

Themes and Examples Pertaining to Mana in “Ka Hoomana Kahiko”

“Ka Hoomana Kahiko” covers concepts relating to mana, but does not explicitly use the word “mana” for specific meaning, use and significance. Rather, the articles describe religious, and cultural beliefs and practices reflecting mana, or diminishing and enhancing mana. For example, the use of the pseudo-prefix ho'o reflects causation, pretense or similarity in the Hawaiian language. While mana refers to spiritual or political power, authority or worship, ho'omana refers to the act of ascribing spiritual power or authority and divine honors, the act of worshipping or causing one to have regal authority (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). While the title of the series “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” likely refers to ancient religion or worship, it could also refer to an examination of beliefs and practices that ascribed or enhanced mana.

It was common for the authors of the articles in “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” to demonstrate meaning through explanations that employed a specific mo'olelo or historical occurrence. For example, in Helu 33 concerning the astronomers and prophets of ancient Hawai'i, author D. S. Kupahu acknowledges the appearance of a star known as Ikaika (Kaawela, Iubita; Jupiter) in the sky with a star belonging to the ali'i nui of Kaua'i, Kaumuali'i. This is said to have led Kamehameha's astronomer to warn of the certain failure of any attempt to control Kaua'i through war (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 30, 1865). As can be inferred from this short example, these mo'olelo can reflect mana in ways that connect to other important mo'olelo for a fuller understanding of mana.

Mana and the Akua

The great number of gods and other supernatural beings in Hawaiian religion emerged as a prominent theme in “Ka Hoomana Kahiko.” These articles make it clear that there were akua, as well as rituals, prayers and beliefs that were specific to every area of life for Native Hawaiians. In an article on sending gods, J. Waiamau outlines categories of the multitude of gods:

He nui, a lehulehu wale na Akua o Hawaii nei ; a ua maheleia lakou i na apana pakahi, a me na inoa pakahi no hoi. Eia kekahi mau apana i maheleia'i. Na akua lapu, na akua heleloa, na akua unihipili, na aumakua, na akua hanai kalaiwaa, akua mahiai, akua hoolana waa, akua hoounauna, a pela wale aku. (Helu 9, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 2, 1865)

There were many, a great number of gods of Hawai'i; they were divided in separate portions, with separate names indeed. Here are some of the divided portions. The ghostly gods, the traveling gods, familiar spirits, ancestral guardian spirits, gods patronizing canoe-carving, farming gods, gods who right canoes which are overturned, sending gods, and so on.

S. Ekaula suggested that the word 'aumakua reflected the great number of gods worshipped by Native Hawaiian ancestors ("au" refers to plural in number), and listed the various 'aumakua specific to kahuna 'anā'anā (sorcerous priests), po'e kanu 'ai (farmers), lā'au lapa'au (medicinal healers), kahuna heiau (temple priests), poe lawai'a (fishermen) and nā ali'i (the chiefs) (Helu 12, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 30, 1865). The diversity of gods related to various occupations suggests that certain aspects of mana were specialized and specific.

The Human Origins of Akua and the Role of Rituals and Worship

The akua (gods and goddesses, deities) are a common topic of focus in the articles from "Ka Hoomana Kahiko." Several articles are devoted to exploring specific akua, including Kāne, Kū, Pele, Milu, and Keawenuikauohilo. These articles include discussions of their nature, their works, and their mana or powers. The human origins of many akua are often noted in these articles, emerging as an important theme in the series. For example, Naimu's account of Kāne in Helu 2, which also includes discussion of Kāne's godly brothers Kanaloa and Kāne'apua, asserts that the gods were originally humans but were worshipped by Hawaiians and became gods as a result (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 12, 1865). In Helu 3, Waiamau reaffirmed that Kāne and Kāneloa (Kanaloa) were human who then were worshipped as gods after traveling from Kaua'i to Kohala on Hawai'i Island. There, they lived at Mo'okini Heiau. Because they lived at this heiau (temple, place of worship), they were offered sacrifices and prayers, and were worshipped and called to gods (Helu 3, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 19, 1865). D. S. Kupahu

noted that although the god Milu was of the lāhui (race or nation) of gods, he originally had been a human ali'i:

O Milu, aole ia o kona inoa i kona wa e ola kino ana ma keia ao, aka, ua pili ia inoa iaia mahope iho o kona make ana. Penei ka hoomaopopo ana ma ia ano: O Ku, he wahi kino ano Akua ia, a he kino ano kanaka no hoi, a no kona ai ana i na kanaka make i pilau a eu ka ilo, i kapaia'i kona inoa o Kuwahailo. Oiai oia e ola ana ma keia honua, he Alii no kona ano, a make aku oia a hoi ilalo, ua kapaia o Milu. Aka, ua pili keia inoa o Milu no ka ai ana o Ku i na mea pilau, a eu ka ilo, i kapaia'i o Milu. (Helu 7: *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 16, 1865)

As for Milu, this wasn't his name while he had a living body in this realm, however, the name became connected to him after his death. The following description will aid understanding: Kū had a body of a god, a body of a man also, and because of his consumption of dead people who were rotting and crawling with maggots, his name was Kūwahailo (Kū of the maggot mouth). While he was living on this earth, he was a chief. And when he died and descended, he was called Milu. This name "Milu" was tied to Kū's consumption of rotting things.

In Helu 8, the goddess Keawenuikauohilo was not an ancient akua but was once an ali'i woman. "He wahine oia i make a hoomanamanaia, a lilo i akua, a oia kekahi akua o Hawaii nei a hiki i keia wa" ("She was a woman who died and then was worshipped, she became a goddess, and she is one of the goddesses of Hawai'i to this day") (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 23, 1865). Likewise, the fishing deities Kū'ula, Hinapukui'a, and 'Ai'ai were a human family who came to be worshipped as gods (Helu 10, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 16, 1865).

In articles describing the supernatural and divine nature of Hawaiian gods and goddesses, the emphasis on their original humanity is interesting. It is possible that stringent monotheism advocated by the American missionaries was reflected in the emphasis of the original humanity of the akua in these articles, which were written by seminary students who may have believed that Hawaiian gods were not actually deities, but elevated to the level of gods by Hawaiians. Regardless, all of these articles emphasize rituals and prayers as the important factors enhancing or reflecting mana, particularly when considering the deification of an individual who was once human.

Mana and Nature

One theme that emerged in “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” was the close relationship between mana and the natural world. For example, one way the mana of an individual was manifested was through an affinity or control over flora, fauna, geography or the elements. Such associations were demonstrated in numerous examples throughout the series. In the article about Milu (Helu 7), a man named Hiku lived with a woman named Kawelu, his wife. Upon returning to his home in the upper forests, Hiku caused the path behind him to be entangled with ‘ie and ‘uluhe ferns, maile pahaka, and maile ha’iwale shrubs so that Kawelu could not follow. Unable to bear the sadness of being left behind, Kawelu hung herself, and her spirit went to Milu. Realizing what happened, Hiku travelled to Milu and used a vine rope swing to retrieve Kawelu’s spirit and bring her back to life (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 16, 1865). Hiku was able to cause vines and other plants to obstruct his wife Kawelu’s path. As mentioned before, Kāne and Kanaloa created springs in otherwise dry landscapes (Helu 2, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 12, 1865).

The disposition and mood of akua and other supernatural beings were reflected in nature as well. Pele was described as hot-tempered and unpredictable, which mirrored her volcanic home at Kilauea and the physical manifestations of her presence. Pele’s mana allowed her to consume the forests of upper Hilo and turn evil people to stone (Helu 5, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 2, 1865; Helu 6, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 8, 1865).

The ‘aumakua were a class of gods who served as personal or family gods, often becoming guardians for communities. These gods were inextricably tied to nature, often inhabiting the physical forms of animals and plants. In an article on the traditional disposal of corpses, E. Kekoa noted that after death a person could be elevated to an ‘aumakua and that these gods dwelt where their earthly remains were placed (Helu 21, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 30, 1865). Corpses thrown into Kilauea were said to become fire and lava, and were worshipped. Remains placed in the sea were said to change into a shark or eel, or would turn into mo’o (a water spirit, often reptilian in description) when placed in fresh water springs (Helu 11, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 23, 1865). Kekoa provided several examples of the docility and helpfulness of the ‘aumākua, noting that a shark ‘aumakua could be petted and fed ‘awa (Piper methysticum), and would come to the aid of someone whose canoe had overturned. A pueo (owl) ‘aumakua

was similarly helpful: “Ina ua pepehiia ke Kahu o ka Pueo a make loa, ua kanu ia i ka lepo, n aka Pueo no e kii, a kahili i ka lepo me kona mau eheu, a loa ke kino, a haawi I ke ola, a ola hou kona Kahu” (“If the caretaker of the Owl is beaten to death and is buried in the earth, the Owl will come to get him. He will brush the earth with his wings, then finding the body, he will revive it and bring his caretaker back to life”) (Helu 11, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 23, 1865).

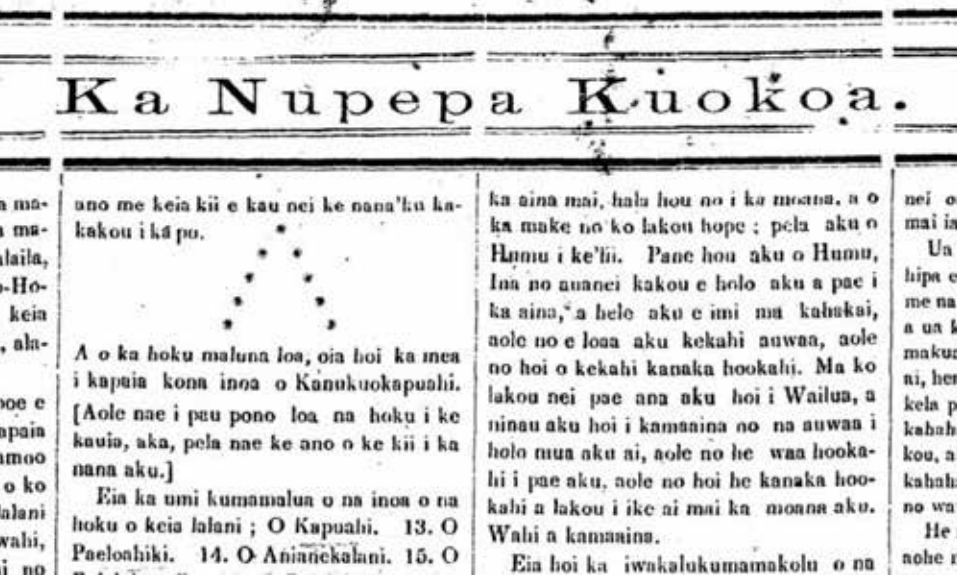
Similarly, kupua were known for their wondrous strength, agility, intelligence or other attributes that represented their mana and made them extraordinary. In his article, P. W. Kaawa noted that the birth of individuals known to be kupua was often marked by extreme marvels in nature:

Eia kekahi ano o ke Kupua: He poe i hanauia ma ke ano o na la, a he kupanaha loa no hoi ke ano o kona hanau ana. He poe i alohaia e ka lani, kui ka hekili, ua ka ua, nei ke olai, ku ka punohu ula, a he ano e ka honua, he auhulihia na Moku. (Helu 16, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 4, 1865)

Here is a characteristic of a Kupua: For a person so beloved by the heavens, thunder roars, rain falls, the earth shudders, red mist rises up, the earth acts strangely, the islands overturn). Hawaiians believed that children with a kupua nature were often born as other creatures, including fish, birds and eggs.

As previously noted, the articles in “Ka Hoomana Kahiko” included a great deal of information about the observations Native Hawaiians made about the natural world as related to spirituality, religion and mana. For example, in his article on the names of the stars and prophecies associated with the stars, Kupahu included a diagram of a group of stars known as Kanukuokapuahi (Hyades) (See Figure 1.4). This diagram is one of only two graphics included in the series; the other is a diagram of three stars known as Mūlehu (also as Poloahilani, and Poloula; Caph), which appears in the same article (Helu 33, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 30, 1865).

Figure 1.4. Diagram of the Stargroup Kanukuokapuahi (Hyades) in “Ka Hoomana Kahiko,” Helu 33



**The Balance and Duality of Mana
as Related to Life and Death**

The dual nature of mana and its strong association with life and death was another theme found in the body of articles in “Ka Ho’omana Kahiko.” Mana is described as the power or ability to give or take life, to create or destroy, and to heal or sicken. Individuals who were capable of acts of life- or death-bringing were often considered to be akua, ‘aumakua, kupua or very skilled kahuna (priestly experts), because of the high level of mana necessary for such acts.

As described in the mo’olelo of Hiku, Native Hawaiians believed that part of the mana of certain individuals in their ability to travel between the realms of life and death. The power restore life was also recognized as a manifestation of an individual’s mana. The akua Kāne is described as having the power to bring a person back to life (Helu 2, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 12, 1865).

A number of articles in the series describe gods with the mana to take lives. Poison gods, such as Kalaipahoa and Kiha, as well as 'aumakua who were sent by kahuna to possess and devour a person from the inside, such as Kapo, are described in the article about Keawenuikauohilo (Helu 8, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 8, 1865). There is an article about sending gods (Helu 9, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 2, 1865), and an article about 'aumākua (Helu 11, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 23, 1865). Illness in a person was believed to be a manifestation of the displeasure of an akua ho'ounauna or 'aumakua (Helu 8, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 8, 1865).

The dualistic nature of mana as connected to life and death was reflected among Native Hawaiians responsible for caring for and interacting with the akua and 'aumākua. They were known as kahuna and kahu (caretakers). These individuals could use their knowledge and skills to give or take life. For example, a kahuna or kahu 'anā'anā (one who practiced evil sorcery) would perform rituals and prayers to send sickness and death to others (Helu 18, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 18, 1865). Although they were not necessarily a diametric counterpart to a kahuna 'anā'anā, individuals known as kahuna lā'au lapa'au (medicinal healers) could heal physical and spiritual sicknesses or ma'i.

Mana was discussed through examples that affected well-being and quality of life for Native Hawaiians. For example, the akua Kāne and Kanaloa travelled throughout Hawai'i and pierced the ground in places where there was no water to form springs; they also built a fishpond in Honua'ula (Helu 2, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 12, 1865). These life-giving activities were believed to demonstrate and enhance an individual's mana, and would be imitated by ali'i, many of whom sought to develop irrigation systems and build fishponds as part of their kuleana (responsibilities) to ensure the well-being of people and lands under their care. Other akua are known for their destructive qualities as part of their mana. For example, in the mo'olelo about Pele, she was known for destroying the fishpond of Kamehameha I at Kīholo, Hawai'i after he angered her (Helu 5, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 2, 1865). This illuminates mana in several important ways. First, Pele's mana was such that she was able to destroy an entire fishpond by sending lava over it. Second, Pele chose to destroy a fishpond that served to enhance Kamehameha's mana as a ruler, limiting that aspect of his mana. Although not explicitly stated by any author, it is evident that balance was an integral aspect of mana. While there were akua who could take life, there were

also those who could restore it. An 'unihipili, or spirit, could be sent to kill a person, could also be sent back to kill the sender by a skilled kahuna (Helu 9, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 2, 1865).

Changes in the usages, contexts and meanings of mana began in the late 1700s. By the mid-1800s, mana acquired connotations linked to Christian and Euro-American concepts of power, authority and spirituality. However, traditional understandings of mana were never completely subsumed. Beginning in the mid 1830s, Hawaiian language newspapers became an important medium of communication. Discussions of mana in the nūpepa are critical points of analysis, showing the ways in which the concept of mana changed and was used in the nūpepa during the nineteenth century. In particular, the usage of the term moved from traditional contexts to increasingly Christian and political ways. For instance, a series of more than thirty articles on Ancient Hawaiian religion ran in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* from December 1864 to April 1866 under the title *Ka Hoomana Kahiko*. This series contained many discussions of Hawaiian spirituality, as well as cultural practices and beliefs related to mana.

For Native Hawaiians, the inclusion of a greater number of historical and cultural pieces in the nūpepa during the mid-nineteenth century formed a powerful counter-narrative to assertions that all things Native Hawaiian were inferior to Euro-American society. These articles reinforced the pono or “rightness” of traditional Native Hawaiian language, history and culture. Understood in this context, the word “mana” was deliberately employed to reaffirm, engage, celebrate and convey the traditional strength, power, and authority of Native Hawaiian identity. In this way, the nūpepa themselves became powerful sites of mana and repositories for 'ike Hawai'i.

CASE STUDY:

Hawaiian Literature, Mo'olelo

'Ike Hawai'i was traditionally recorded, preserved, and transmitted in ancient Native Hawaiian society without a writing system. Oral traditions formed a body of literature that was as significant and sophisticated as those found in text-based societies. The idea that literature consists of textual works and is inherently tied to reading and writing has been standard until more recent years. Today, scholars recognize that oral societies maintained complex traditions known as "orature," or "oral literature," acknowledging validity of these traditions. ("Orature" was coined by the Ugandan linguist Pio Zirimu in the 1970s. According to Kenyan scholar Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o, Zirimu intended to "counter the tendency to see the arts communicated orally and received aurally as an inferior or a lower rung in the linear development of literature" and was rejecting the term oral literature. See Thiongo, N. W. (September 2007) "Notes Towards a Performance Theory of Orature" in *Performance Research* 12(3) pp. 4-7).

The introduction of writing in the early nineteenth century led to a rapid transformation of Hawaiian literature. Native Hawaiians and others began consciously to record 'ike Hawai'i, creating a corpus of texts in the form of newspapers, journals, manuscripts, books and other mediums. However, the transition to reading and writing did not erase Hawaiian oral traditions. ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui (2005) notes that many scholars have acknowledged "a Hawaiian language-based orature prior to western contact as the foundation on which the postcontact literary traditions were formed, from the 1820s onward, once writing was established" (p. 30). The nineteenth century was a time of great intellectual and cultural development in Hawai'i, and postcontact Hawaiian literature was produced within the broad cultural, political educational and religious currents of the time (Arista, 2007).

Various literary forms of 'ike Hawai'i in the newspapers included mo'olelo (literature, histories, stories, narratives) which chronicled the interconnected beliefs, activities and events surrounding the akua (gods and godly beings), kānaka (people) and wahi pana (storied places). Though the published mo'olelo had their basis and roots in oral traditions, they were also constructs

of authors who were negotiating widespread changes (Silva, 2009; Arista, 2007). These narratives, which had held an amalgamation of traditional and new cultural and moral coding, were part of a developing national literature, and a manifestation and a driver of a growing national consciousness.

Although the specific subject matter and length of mo'olelo published in the nineteenth century nūpepa was diverse, serialized narratives and epics concerning the lives and deeds of godly, supernatural and chiefly individuals are particularly significant and relevant to discussions of mana. This section analyzes concepts of mana as they are conveyed in select mo'olelo and ka'ao.

Mo'olelo as Hawaiian "Literature"

The word "mo'olelo" and the older word "mo'o'ōlelo" refer to individual historical narratives and the collective practice of telling of histories. Within the word mo'olelo, the word 'ōlelo refers to speech or speaking, illustrating the primacy of orality as the method of transmitting histories among Native Hawaiians. The word "mo'o" has important and interconnected meanings, including "succession," "series," "to follow a course," "a small fragment" and "path" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The presence of "mo'o" suggests that these concepts have originating or foundational sources, as well as an element of growth or progression through time and space. "Mo'o" also suggests that there is a path that informs present and future beliefs or activities. In short, use of the term "mo'o" implies that each event, individual, belief or practice is one small part of the larger succession.

As continuous or connective narratives of events, and "succession[s] of oral traditions," mo'olelo chronicled the interconnected beliefs, activities and events surrounding the akua, kānaka and wahi pana (Andrews 1865, McGregor, 2007, p. 19). Mo'olelo were especially important because they contained 'ike (wisdom and knowledge) of one's ancestors (Young, 1995). Mo'olelo constitute an exceptionally broad body of knowledge and included other traditional genres of literature and literary practice, such as mo'oku'au-hau (genealogies), mele (song, chant, poetry), kākā'ōlelo (oratory), nane (riddles) and even the practice of naming individuals and wahi pana (noted places) (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). (For more extensive discussions of what constitutes Hawaiian literature, see Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972; Charlot 1985; Silva 2007). Visual and performance arts, material culture and other means of non-textual cultural expression could be considered part

of Hawaiian literature. (That non-textual forms could be considered literature is evident in the example of wampum belts of Native Americans of the Northeast North America, such as the Cherokee, Algonquin, and Iroquois. These belts were trade items, but also functioned as mnemonic devices, legal documents, treaty agreements and historical communicative devices (LeFebvre, M. D. C. "A (Re)Connaissance of Wampum Belts for Traces of 'Herstory,'" presented at WIPC:E 2014.) For example, in the preface to her book on Hawaiian mythology, anthropologist and folklorist Martha Warren Beckwith (1977) wrote, "The whole range of story-telling is included in the term mythology" (p. 2).

While mo'olelo resemble modern academic understandings of folklore, myths and legends, Native Hawaiians did not draw the same strict distinctions between literature and history that have existed in western academia. Many academics consider literature to be a personal retelling or narrative artistic form, while history is understood as facts. A problem arises when applying "literature" or "history" as strictly exclusive categories, rendering mo'olelo as "lesser." This phenomenon is explored by scholar Cristina Bacchilega in *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place* (2007), "Because "folklore" was and is often viewed in the science-centered West as an outmoded or "false" way of knowing, this classification has unfortunately also provided an opening to view the mo'olelo as "untrue." As belief narratives, legends and myths maintain a relationship with history for scholars, but more generally "legend" is interpreted as fanciful or undocumented history. This has resulted in erasing the meaning of "history" carried in the Hawaiian word and genre, with mo'olelo being translated and understood only or primarily as "story" (p.9).

As Bacchilega notes, mo'olelo were traditionally considered a fundamental literary and historical medium without the tension found in modern academic categories of "objectivity" or "truth." Linguist Samuel Elbert explored this in a series of journal articles entitled "The Hawaiian chief in Mythology," which compared interpretations of culture and history related to chiefs (the ali'i), mythology (oral traditions as found in published newspaper articles and gathered mo'olelo) and ethnography. As Native Hawaiian scholar George S. Kanahele (1986) notes:

If we are to understand the concepts, practices, and related values of traditional and modern Hawaiians, we must expunge from our minds the notion of myth as falsehood...Traditionally, mo'olelo referred to a true narrative either about historical figures or about the gods, or both. Insofar as it tells of the akua, it is a sacred story—a true myth. However, the word was also used to refer to secular narratives dealing with folklore, such as legends and family stories. Although they were often based on historical and factual accounts, they were not holy or sacred. This dual use of the word suggests that perhaps the line between the secular story and the sacred story was not always clearly drawn. (pp. 49–53)

Like mana, the term “Hawaiian literature” does not have a single definition. Its boundaries, content, confines and rules are still contested within modern academic circles. Hawaiian literature cannot be separated from other areas of Hawaiian study and intellectualism. Bacchilega (2007) resists the tendency to categorize mo'olelo as only literature and urges scholars to critically examine mo'olelo using interdisciplinary methodologies from both literary scholars and folklorists, stressing the intertextuality and dynamism of mo'olelo. Consequently, critical analysis of mo'olelo is complex, and it is necessary to engage multiple cultural literacies in order to fully engage these texts. (Appendix C in the digital report contains a selection of mo'olelo and collections of mo'olelo published in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries).

Mo'olelo and Ka'ao

Mo'olelo as a literary genre are closely linked to ka'ao, which are considered to be tales, stories or histories. There is a distinction between mo'olelo and ka'ao, but more scholarly work is required to explicate the relationship between the two genres. For example, many narratives referred to as mo'olelo today were titled as ka'ao and vice versa. A handful of narratives were published as “moolelo kaao.” Although, an examination of definitions in the two of the most commonly used Hawaiian language dictionaries reveals the linked meanings between mo'olelo and ka'ao. (See Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5. Definitions of Mo’olelo and Ka’ao

WORD	DICTIONARY AUTHOR	
	Andrews [1865]	Pukui & Elbert [1986]
Mo’olelo	None	A story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, yarn, fable, chronicle, record
Mo’o’ōlelo	Discourse, a continuous or connected narrative events; a history, a tradition	Same as mo’olelo
Ka’ao	A legend, a tale of ancient times, a traditional story, a fable, a history in the Manner of a story	A legend, a tale, novel, romance, usually Fanciful; fiction, storytelling
Mo’olelo Ka’ao	None	None

While these classifications appear flexible depending on context, mo’olelo were more deliberately historical, intellectual or formal in nature; ka’ao could be historical, but was told as a story or for entertainment. According to Beckwith:

Hawaiians use the term kaa0 for a fictional story or one in which fancy plays an important part, that of moolelo for a narrative about a historical figure, one which is supposed to show historical events. Stories of the gods are moolelo. They are distinguished from secular narrative not by name, but by the manner of telling. Sacred stories are told only by day and the listeners must not move in front of the speaker; to do so would be highly disrespectful to the gods. Folktale in the form of anecdote, local legend, or family story is also classed under moolelo. (p. 1)

Both mo'olelo and ka'ao were meant to instruct and educate. Both made use of kaona (hidden meaning), elevated language and Hawaiian poetical devices. Evidence suggests that mele (chants, songs) and mo'olelo were intertwined as historical narratives; chants and songs were interspersed throughout a mo'olelo and were integral to the telling, preserving, communicating, transmission and recording of history. As observed by ho'omanawanui (2005), most body of literature surrounding Pele is contained in poetic (mele) rather than prose (mo'olelo) forms. Scholars note that although in today's text-based society, mele are usually considered to be part of the genre of Hawaiian music, they were traditionally (and should still be) considered a part of Hawaiian mythology (Kanahele, 1986). Interestingly, the terms mo'olelo, ka'ao, and mo'olelo ka'ao were used by contributors and editors of the newspapers to describe narratives that had been translated from other languages published from around the world (such as *The Arabian Nights* and *Robinson Crusoe*) (Arista & Bacchilega, 2007; *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 1860-1861). For the purposes of this project, distinctions between mo'olelo and ka'ao as genres of Hawaiian literature will not be considered as a significant factor contributing to narrative content or structure in discussions of mana.

Mana and Mo'olelo

Mo'olelo were repositories of cultural insight and foundations to understand history and origins that were often presented as allegories to interpret or illuminate contemporary life (Nogelmeier, 2006b). Mo'olelo traditionally described the mana of sacred places, people and historical events. For example, mo'olelo often included mele and mo'okū'auhau that held the mana of chiefly and godly lineages, connecting people to places. Some mo'olelo were not widely told, and were kept among families or between people of a certain place, because the information and attendant mana was not meant to be widely known (Kame'eleihiwa, 1996).

As a medium for sharing sacred information, mo'olelo were believed to have mana; their utterance reinforced and carried forward the mana of the narrative subjects to an audience. Acts of storytelling, listening, memorizing and composing mo'olelo all were considered to have mana. A skilled storyteller was able to elevate the level of imagery, allusion and kaona (hidden meaning) in a given mo'olelo. Such intellectual dexterity in the telling reflected the mana of the storyteller as well as of the mo'olelo itself. Although stories could be told for casual pleasure at all levels of society, "Those entrusted with

traditional accounts of history, cosmology, or legend recited their narratives in highly formal settings, sometimes taking days to recount a complete saga” (Nogelmeier, 2006b: p. 430).

In the early 1800s, students at the newly formed school at Lahainaluna were encouraged to record information about their history and culture. “Intellectuals involved in ‘imi moolelo’ [seeking histories] were in some cases inheritors and practitioners of the traditions they acquired orally, they also adapted and experimented with new ways to collect, critique, and publish Hawaiian traditions” (Arista, 2007). Mo’olelo were increasingly written down in manuscripts and other venues. During the mid-1800s, the Hawaiian language newspapers became an important outlet for the publication of mo’olelo, which would change Hawaiian literature and the transmission of mana in many significant ways. For one, the oral nature of Hawaiian mo’olelo and ka’ao had allowed many versions of the same story, wherein the storyteller could interweave elements relative to the specific audience or setting. This allowed for a much more dynamic relationship of mana between the speaker, the audience and the narrative (Bacchilega, 2007). When mo’olelo were written down, much of the mana attached to the face-to-face interplay and oral telling was made static, and a single version of a mo’olelo became dominant, despite the intent or effort of the author, otherwise. As Nogelmeier (2006b) acknowledges, the act of writing mo’olelo down “also arrested the processes of change, suspending the story’s form in the historical moment” (p. 430). On the other hand, the publication of mo’olelo in the newspapers fostered the growth of mana in writing.

While not all nūpepa published mo’olelo, the astounding popularity of mo’olelo and ka’ao in newspapers became apparent, as they were often featured on the front pages. Publications included traditional Hawaiian mo’olelo that were recorded in writing from oral traditions, contemporary Hawaiian mo’olelo or those that were influenced by Western genres or themes, and foreign mo’olelo translated into Hawaiian from other languages and cultures (ho’omanawanui, 2007). Including mo’olelo became one way that to increase the commercial viability of nūpepa. According to Kame’eiehiwa (1996), as editor of *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, J. E. Bush ran the Kamapua’a epic as a way to get people to buy the paper and read his “feisty political editorials” (pviii). Writing to the editor of *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* in the November 28, 1861 issue of the paper, a man named W. D. Smith inquired:

Aloha oe. Eia ka ninau ia oe. Auhea ka Moolelo o Kawelo, a me ka Moolelo o Kaililauokekoa. Heaha ka mea e hoopuka ole ia mai nei, i keia mau hebedoma? Ua haule paha, ina aole i haule, e hoopuka mai ma keia Helu. No ka mea, he mau no ka makemake e ike mau ia mau Moolelo, aole i hoowahawahaia ia mau moolelo, e hoopukaia mai no.

Greetings. Here is a question for you. Where are the Mo'olelo of Kawelo and the Mo'olelo of Ka'ililauokekoa? What is the reason they haven't been published, these past few weeks? Perhaps they have been dropped; if they have not been dropped, please print them in this upcoming issue. The reason being, our desire to know about these mo'olelo continues; these mo'olelo aren't contemptible/dishonorable so please continue publishing them.

The editor (likely G. W. Mila) responded:

E W. D. Smith, Ke hoike aku nei ka Lunahooponopono o ka Hoku Pakipika ia oe, aia a hoopuka hou aku i keia pule ae. Aka, aole no ka Lunahooponopono keia puka ole ana aku i keia mau pule i hala aku nei, no ka poe nona ua Moolelo la, aole waiho mai i na kope i ka Lunahooponopono.

Greetings W. D. Smith, the editor of Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika, will show you, they will be published again this upcoming week. However, it was not because of the editor that it was not published these past few weeks, it was that the writers of the mo'olelo did not leave copies for the editor.

The exchange is humorous, and it shows the interest people had in the publication of mo'olelo, and that they were willing to write to encourage the continuation of a mo'olelo in the newspaper. The exchange also illustrates the strain on writers required to submit weekly. Smith's assertion that the mo'olelo was appropriate for printing was likely a reflection of the ongoing controversy faced by *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*, which was the first Native Hawaiian controlled nūpepa.

Committing traditional mo'olelo to paper required mana. While all members of Hawaiian society had participated in the perpetuation, preservation and transmission of mo'olelo and ka'ao, there were formalized occupations for genealogists (kū'auha), composers (haku mele), orators (kākā'ōlelo), prophets

(kaula) and historians (haku mo'olelo). Individuals who made up these occupations were considered to be among the most learned and intellectual in Hawaiian society, and were recognized for their abilities to memorize, listen, orate, and compose (Malo, 1951; Kanahele, 1986; Kame'eleihiwa, 1996). The deft practice and intellectual prowess of these individuals was understood to be reflective of their mana.

During the mid-1800s, individuals who wished to write down traditional mo'olelo for publication had to navigate the task of translating oral histories to a serialized print medium. Scholars suggest that the narrative prose and literary devices found in many mo'olelo arose from the need to adapt traditional methods of storytelling to written publication in a serialized form. Hawaiian writers of the time were adept in adapting and applying literary devices and mechanisms to suit the traditional structures of mo'olelo (Kame'eleihiwa, 1996; Bacchilega, 2007). In many ways, they had to figure out how mo'olelo would carry mana on paper. Silva (2004) notes that mo'olelo published in *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* was a way to preserve practices like hula (dance). She says, "recording and enacting the culture on the page, when it was difficult or impossible to do that any other way" preserved tradition because of bans or changing notions of social propriety (p. 26).

Individuals like Kapihenui, Ho'oulumahiehie, Pa'alua, Davida Malo, Samuel Kamakau, John E. Bush, S. N. Haleole, Joseph M. Poepoe, John K. Mokumaia and others emerged as premier Hawaiian intellectuals during the mid-nineteenth, particularly after the emergence of a Hawaiian nationalist press in the 1860s, and into the early twentieth century through retellings of mo'olelo. Other Native Hawaiian contributors published anonymously, indicating a marked hesitancy to be referred to as "authors" of the mo'olelo (Kame'eleihiwa, 1996; Bacchilega, 2007). Alongside the publication of mele, mo'olelo and ka'ao in the nūpepa, was a great deal of discourse and debate mirroring oral tradition, particularly around the accuracy of the retelling and recounting (Silva, 2007; Nogelmeier, 2010). As Kame'eleihiwa noted, "people from every class and background, and with varying degrees of eloquence, seemed compelled to write down what they knew, and often challenged the opinions of fellow Hawaiians in heated letter-writing debates" (p. xiv). Multiple versions of the same mo'olelo were printed in the newspapers over the years by different authors. Readers familiar with these stories or who may have known different versions, often submitted

corrections or additional information. These individuals represented a mo'ō (fragment) in the genealogy of Hawaiian intellectualism, and their contributions were part of a growing Hawaiian legacy of national literature. Arista (2007) acknowledges:

The writings they left were shaped by plural intellectual traditions of Hawai'i, Europe, and America. And because their writings emerge out of their negotiation of multiple intellectual traditions, their texts will continue to be compelling sources not only to enrich our own knowledge of the Hawaiian past, but also as a window unto the multi-layered present in which each author lived.

That writing down and publishing mo'olelo were acts of aloha (love, generosity, kindness) towards past, present, and future generations is clearly evident. Nogelmeier rightly characterizes the push to publish traditional mo'olelo beginning in the 1850s as "serving a populace that loved mo'olelo of every kind," especially when considering how newspapers solicited mo'olelo for publication and writers of mo'olelo who urged others to document their own versions or even corrections for perpetuity. (pp. 429-430)

During the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, Native Hawaiians had lived through many historical events that were the subject of mo'olelo and ka'ao, such as the reign of Kamehameha and the abolition of the national kapu. These recollections were very popular for publication. Mo'olelo were also about Hawaiian heroic figures, deeds and events that were meaningful to Native Hawaiians and those who maintained cultural literacy. The power of stories celebrating agricultural or fishing knowledge and the prowess of Native Hawaiian ancestors, narratives about benevolent chiefs and kīnī akua (the countless spirits and gods, often expressed in literature as the popular invocation of 4,000, 40,000, and 400,000 gods) is understandable considering the disease and rapid depopulation of Native Hawaiians in the nineteenth century. Subjects of mo'olelo explicitly linked to Hawaiian places and other Pacific cultures are interesting when considering international diplomatic envoys, and King Kalākaua's (1836-1891) attempts to create a pan-Pacific federation in the 1880s. Recording knowledge of wahi pana and traditional land usage in mo'olelo become more poignant as huge acreages of land are used for sugar plantations in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The importance of mo'olelo becomes very apparent when looking at publications of mo'olelo in emerging nationalist newspapers, in response to the loss of political power and independence surrounding the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 (Dudoit, 1999). These mo'olelo were published as resistance literature, where values of aloha 'āina (love for the land, Hawaiian identity, and patriotism) were articulated in ways that required cultural fluency (Silva, 2004). Viewed through the lens of mana, it becomes clear that mo'olelo were selectively written, published and read as part of a vast cultural and political agenda that spanned decades. The newspapers were a way to consciously remember and celebrate Hawaiian vitality and strength, to restore or safeguard kanaka maoli (lit. "true people," Native Hawaiians) identity and pride, and to shape and reify national consciousness within the Kingdom of Hawai'i. These efforts represented acts of love, and attempts to reduplicate mana through the telling and celebration of mo'olelo.

Appropriation of Mo'olelo and Ka'ao

Mo'olelo published in the nūpepa became the foundation for subsequent versions, including those in English. Translations or summaries of mo'olelo and ka'ao were often published in English language publications shortly after they appeared in the nūpepa, including *The Friend*, *The Paradise of the Pacific*, *The Mid-Pacific*, *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual*, *Historical Society Reports*, *The Advertiser* and *Star Bulletin* (Westervelt, 1915). In some cases, this was facilitated by the fact that Hawaiian and English language newspapers shared the same publishers and some of the same staff (see for example Henry M. Whitney as the publisher of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*) (Chapin, 2000).

Significant erosion of Native Hawaiian social, economic, and political institutions was greatly accelerated with the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and subsequent transition of the islands to a U.S. territory in 1898. Based on the theories of colonialism proposed by activist Ngūgī Wa Thiong'o, Native Hawaiian scholars Noenoe Silva and Leilani Basham have characterized the early twentieth century as "the era of the cultural bomb" (Silva and Basham, 2004). During this time, fundamental paradigm shifts devalued and denigrated elements of Native Hawaiian identity, inhibiting the ability of Native Hawaiians to practice their culture. For example, English-only instruction was established in 1896, which Kamanā

and Wilson note “had devastating effects on literacy, academic achievement, and the use of standard English among Native Hawaiians” (in Benham and Heck, 1998, p. 261). The legislation restricting the use of the Hawaiian language in schools would also have a deep impact on wider Hawaiian society, nearly extinguishing Hawaiian-language fluency.

The loss of elders with significant cultural and historical knowledge alongside the depopulation of Native Hawaiians resulted in a belief that Hawaiians were in danger of becoming extinct. Some academics in the expanding fields of folklore, anthropology, history and ethnology used this belief as means of self-promotion and validation of their work to record and translate ‘ike Hawai‘i, positioning themselves as knowledgeable intermediaries or even cultural “insiders.” For example, in the preface to his version of the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo, Emerson (1915) wrote:

The material for the elaboration of this story has, in part, been found in serial contributions to the Hawaiian newspapers during the last few decades; in part, gathered by interviews with the men and women of the older regime, in whose memory it has been stored and, again, in part, it has been supplied by papers solicited from intelligent Hawaiians. The information contained in the notes has been extracted by viva voce appeal to Hawaiians themselves. These last two sources of information will soon be no longer available... Thanks, many thanks, are due from the author-and from us all-to the men and women of Hawaiian birth whose tenacious memories have served as the custodians of the material herein set forth, but who have ungrudgingly made us welcome to these remainder biscuits of mythological song and story, which, but for them, would have been swallowed up in the grave, unvoiced and unrecorded. (pp. v-vii)

Individuals like Abraham Fornander (*An Account of the Polynesian Race*, 1878; *Fornander’s Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities*, 1916–1918), William Alexander (*A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, 1894), Thomas Thrum (*Hawaiian Annual*, 1875–1923; *Hawaiian Folk Tales*, 1907), William Westervelt (*Legends of Maui*, 1910; *Legends of Old Honolulu*, 1915; *Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes*, 1916), Nathaniel Emerson (*Hawaiian Antiquities*, 1903; *Unwritten Literature of Hawai‘i*, 1909; *Pele and Hi‘iaka*, 1915), William Hyde Rice (*Hawaiian Legends*, 1923) and others became authorities on Hawaiian culture and history, though in some cases they were simply translating the

previously published and widely read works of Native Hawaiian writers. These individuals mentioned above were often contacted by intellectual institutions for their expertise, including universities, academic societies and museums around the world. They wrote in journals and created a body of scholarship that was built on translating and interpreting mo'olelo as cultural and historical authorities that mediated Hawaiian knowledge in ways that could be consumed by Euro-American academia. Instead of Native Hawaiians as authorities of their own culture, non-Hawaiian scholars were sought and validated as authentic sources of knowledge. For example, in 1922, when the legislature of the Territory of Hawai'i formed a commission on myth and folklore, the famous Irish poet Padraic Colum was selected to collect Hawaiian mo'olelo and rewrite them as stories for children (Colum, 1997).

While such works have sustained Hawaiian knowledge, these interpretations were privileged and in some cases, may have completely replaced Hawaiian usages and understandings. In fact, over time, original sources in the Hawaiian language was subsumed by by the writings of non-Hawaiian authorities. Nogelmeier (2010) notes:

The most familiar English translations have developed into a canon of chosen texts, meaning that collectively, they have become the authoritative basis for reference. The books that make up this powerful canon are problematic at best, and yet flawed as they are, they have been the foundation of Hawaiian knowledge for most readers, teachers, and researchers for generations. Not only do these translations inadequately represent even the originals from which they were taken, but the further compound the problem by eclipsing the larger body of original writings that remain unrecognized. (p. xiii).

This kind of academic colonialism, where scholars in post-colonial states are dependent on international academic language structures based in the culture of their colonizers, results in continued subversion of indigenous culture and epistemology. In such cases, colonial actors become academic authorities in areas like authenticity, while natives are simply not engaged or deliberately ignored (Trask, 1990). This occurs unconsciously and consciously, both of which results in the subversion of indigenous authority and epistemology. Bacchilega's work, *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place* (2007), analyzes how the production of post-annexation Hawaiian

legends in English delegitimized Hawaiian narratives and traditions, while at the same time constructing them as representative of Hawaiian culture. She writes:

After annexation, Hawaiian mo'olelo, or connected (hi)stories that were identified as "legends," served-like raw materials-to imagine and market within popular and scholarly venues a new product, legendary Hawai'i, a space constructed for non-Hawaiians (and especially Americans) to experience, via Hawaiian legends, a Hawai'i that is exotic and primitive while beautiful and welcoming. This new product of the imagination was at the turn of the twentieth century valorized through the ubiquitous colonial practice of translation and the new technology and photography. (Bacchilega, 2007: p. 5)

Unfortunately, this process resulted in gross oversimplification, portraying mo'olelo as folklore, legend and myth in ways that stripped away historical validity and cultural relevance. As a result, the meaning of the word "mo'olelo" was transformed to become associated with fictional legends and folklore. In the process, the legitimacy of mo'olelo as a medium of recording, preserving and perpetuating history was negated. Furthermore, many translations contained "simple" errors of spelling or grammar (Silva, 2004; Perreira, 2009). Authors often made significant editing choices that affected the cultural integrity of mo'olelo, such as the removal of names of individuals or places thought to not matter to the central story. And, shortening of chants for brevity or the alteration of gender role portrayal further erased original meaning. Mo'olelo were sometimes recast in ways that made them more commercially or socially acceptable to a Euro-American English-speaking audience. In some cases, Hawaiian mo'olelo were modeled on Greek myths, Euro-American folktales or Biblical stories. Mistakes and omissions commonly led to the erasure of Native Hawaiian narratives and interpretation (ho'omanawanui, 2007).

Careless translations of mo'olelo from Hawaiian to English failed to capture subtle and emotional nuances, and removed kaona or concealed meaning. In her analysis of the mo'olelo of Kamapua'a, Kame'eleihiwa (1996) describes the sophistication of kaona as an element upon which traditional Hawaiian poetry and narrative were critically judged. She says:

In the highly developed art of Hawaiian storytelling, there are always several levels of kaona in any good example of Hawaiian prose. There is the tale at its face value... An additional level is introduced by innumerable allusions to ancient events, myths, Gods, and chiefs that have become metaphors in their own right. This includes the use of place names and the symbolism attached to the names of winds, rains, plants, and rocks, evoking a certain emotional quality on many levels... Chants and proverbs enhance the story with an additional shade of meaning as they, too, are interpreted on their surface value and also refer to a more ancient time and perhaps more profound event for which they were originally composed. There may even be a fourth level, conveyed by the manner in which the story is told, known only to the raconteur and one or two special members of the audience, perhaps a lover or close friend, while everyone else remains oblivious to the message. (p. xiii)

Alterations of mo'olelo that changed the content, structure and interpretation diminished mana by removing significant cultural associations with people, places and events. Nevertheless, in the past century, scholars have renewed attempts to critically restore the content of historical Hawaiian literature.

Reclaiming Mo'olelo

The last Hawaiian-language newspaper ceased publication in 1948. Despite this, communities maintained Hawaiian language fluency and resources, as well as cultural practice and knowledge. Scholars such as those already mentioned and including Dorothy Barrère, Martha Beckwith, Laura Green, Theodore Kelsey, Mary Kawena Pukui, Lāhila Webb and others worked to translate Hawaiian documents into English in ways that introduced mo'olelo to new audiences and carried them forward to new generations. This work included clarifying ambiguous traditional Hawaiian to English (Perreira, 2009).

In the 1960s, the Hawaiian Renaissance yielded widespread recognition about the importance of Hawaiian language, practice and knowledge coalesced. The movement resulted in the 1978 Constitutional Convention, allowing Hawaiian language to be formally taught in schools. Following the amendment, the growth of Hawaiian-language immersion schools, Hawaiian-focused charter schools and Hawaiian curriculum in public and private schools flourished.

In the past ten years, the digitization of the Hawaiian language newspapers and publication of rigorous academic study have made mo'olelo more widely available in both English and Hawaiian. Today, contemporary scholars considered cultural and historical authorities like John Charlot, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Puakea Nogelmeier, Noenoe Silva and ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui, conduct literary analysis of mo'olelo in ways more sensitive to the integrity of the source material being translated. These scholars make it a point to include annotations with information about cultural allusions, while noting editorial choices explicitly. These works have elevated the role of mo'olelo in academia and contemporary Hawaiian society. To truly understand mana as described in mo'olelo, simple Hawaiian language fluency is not enough. Cultural literacy and "insider" knowledge that pulls from numerous Hawaiian intellectual traditions is required. Today, even those who are conversant in Hawaiian must conduct extensive additional research to understand figurative expressions based in mele and mo'olelo (Silva, 2004).

Mo'olelo: the Pele and Hi'iaka Literature

Today, mo'olelo provide ethnographic information about the lives of Native Hawaiians, including their practices and beliefs. One of the most significant narratives is that of Hi'iakaikapoliopole, sister to the goddess Pele and a powerful goddess of mana in her own right. The story of Hi'iaka is told as an epic, a mo'olelo of significant length that when published in the nūpepa, was serialized over many issues. It was also an important work within the body of literature that reaffirmed the mana of Native Hawaiians. According to ho'omanawanui:

Everywhere Hi'iaka mā travel, they encounter kanaka engaged in meaningful activities—farming, fishing, making kapa. They are active and healthy, enjoying life—sharing an abundance of food, making love, and engaged in fun activities such as hula and kilu, and sports of all kinds—surfing, pūhenehene, pūheo, 'ulu maika... The depiction of a vibrant and healthy kanaka society alone is a political assertion of identity. These are not helpless natives in need of paternalistic intervention to save them from heathenism as the missionaries sought to characterize them. These were people who worked hard, played hard, demonstrated pride in their heritage and 'āina. (p. 410)

The Pele and Hi'iaka literature was also significant for its place settings and travel across ka pae 'āina o Hawai'i, the Hawaiian island chain. As Charlot (1998) notes:

The two great traditions of Pele's migration and of the saga of Pele and Hi'iaka covered, as few stories did, the whole of the Hawaiian chain. They could thus be used to develop a national literature that corresponded to the development of a national consciousness through the 19th century. Because that literature inculcated pride of place as well as awe before the power of the gods, it could be used to support Hawaiian morale and cultural confidence. (p. 58)

There is a significant and large body of literature about the goddesses and has been termed, the "Pele and Hi'iaka" literature. This corpus includes countless mele, mo'olelo and ka'ao.

According to Nogelmeier (2006) Pele and Hi'iaka were briefly mentioned in the early Hawaiian newspapers shortly after they began publication in 1834. However, ho'omanawanui (2007) notes that such mentions were rare until the Native Hawaiian-owned independent presses were established in the 1860s. Many long narratives about Hi'iaka were published in the following years. More than a dozen versions were printed in the Hawaiian language versions. While many were reprints that added new information, some were unique compositions. The first long account was published from 1861-1862 in *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* by M. J. Kapihenui. In 1893, a partial version was published by John E. Bush and S. Pa'aluhi, although it switches to reprint Kapihenui's version. Another version was published by Ho'oulumāhiehie beginning in July 1905 in *Hawaii Aloha*. After *Hawaii Aloha* stopped in November, it was picked up by *Ka Nai Aupuni* and ran from December 1905 to 1906. Joseph M. Poepoe published a version of Hi'iaka in *Kuokoa Home Rula* in 1908-1911 (Nogelmeier, 2006).

Ho'omanawanui (2007), who has studied the Pele and Hi'iaka literature extensively, has acknowledged that "not all of the Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo contain all segments...Nor do they tell the mo'olelo in the same way—there is no agreement across the mo'olelo about when every character, place name, or action appears" (p. 97). As evidenced in other mo'olelo, writers often embellished and added specific cultural and historical knowledge. For example, Charlot (1998) notes that a version of the Hi'iaka saga that was collected

(likely from an author from Kaua'i) and translated by William Hyde Rice, emphasizes Kaua'i so that these sections are larger and more detailed than in other versions of the mo'olelo. Also, whereas other versions may belittle or minimize his character, in Rice's version Lohi'au is portrayed as a highly intelligent and beloved chief of Kaua'i, with important ritual knowledge and genealogical connections that are central to the plot.

Although there are many observations made by contemporary scholars about the corpus of Pele and Hi'iaka literature and its significance, many of these reviews highlight two related characteristics of these mo'olelo that apply to the discussion of mana. The first is that the Pele and Hi'iaka literature, like the akua wahine themselves, "always work against the mainstream constructive tendency of Hawaiian thinking...[remaining] oppositional, challenging fundamental ideas and practices of Hawaiian culture" (Charlot, 1998, 57). The Pele and Hi'iaka literature contain an extraordinary body of oli huluhia, which are chants that speak of overturning established order. This represents deeply political significance. For example, this mo'olelo included a marked difference from the order established in the Papa and Wākea genealogies, wherein the islands were born in order from Hawai'i to Kaua'i. When Pele travels to Hawai'i from Polapola/Kahiki, she travels from Kaua'i to Hawai'i. Pele and her followers were also believed to be exempt from many kapu that were put in place for male gods, including those collectively known as the 'aikapu, which included the well-known restrictions for men and women eating together and the consumption of certain foods by women. Pele and her followers were often known for 'aikū, which referenced their free eating (ho'omanawanui, 2007). From the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, publication of Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo encouraged pride in Native Hawaiian identity and resistance to Western colonization (Silva, 2004, ho'omanawanui, 2007).

The second observation made by contemporary scholars about the Pele and Hi'iaka literature is its uncompromising portrayal of mana wahine (feminine power), of women as active agents and political players in ancient Hawaiian culture, as well as the importance and position of women in Hawaiian society. As ho'omanawanui notes, "The concept of mana wahine is multiply-layered and intertwined within the Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo. It is exhibited in the power Pele and Hi'iaka both have over kāne, both godly and human, over the 'āina and the (re)shaping of it, as well as the ability to call on elements of the 'āina (thunder, lightning, wind, rain, and various vegetation), which are also the kinolau (multiple body forms) of members of their large 'ohana.)

Ho'oulumāhiehie Version of Hi'iaka

The version of Hi'iaka briefly examined in this literature review is that of Ho'oulumāhiehie as published in *Ka Nai Aupuni* (1905–1906). Texts that appeared in the nūpepa can now be found in both Hawaiian and English translation books that were completed by editors and translators Puakea Nogelmeier, Todd Sahoā Fukushima and Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada by 'Awaiaulu Press in 2006. Ho'oulumāhiehie is credited in several newspapers in the early 1900s as a writer and translator who worked on several significant mo'olelo, including a version of Kawelo. Although he or she was quite prolific in the nūpepa, not much is known about his or her identity. Nogelmeier (2006) asserts that there appears to be a strong link to J. M. Poe. Describing the Poe's writing style, and perhaps by extension of Ho'oulumāhiehie, Charlot (1998) notes:

He seldom uses the classical structure of single stories—introduction, narrative, and conclusion—but tends to turn stories into episodes of a continuous narrative. As a result, much of the narrative takes on a modern, aimless character, the individual sections not achieving clear results as in the classical literature. Similarly, single stories can be inserted into others, and stories and minor characters can be strung out over long stretches of the narrative as unifying devices. The author uses many Western literary devices, like recalling earlier sections, flashbacks, and revealing information in informal conversations... The author does, however, cleave to certain traditional practices and concerns. For instance, he is notably careful to discuss and compare critically his sources, both written and oral. He follows the classical Hawaiian practice of gathering all the relevant traditions, criticizing them, and then making his choice. (p. 63)

In his retelling of the Hi'iaka epic, Ho'oulumāhiehie sought to consolidate multiple versions of the story, relying on information shared by kūpuna and existing manuscripts. In the text itself, Ho'oulumāhiehie illuminates areas where his version differs from other versions and explicitly discusses many of his sources and editorial decisions.

Pele and Hi'iaka Analysis

The Ho'oulumāhiehie version of Hi'iaka opens with the journey of Pele and all of her brothers and sisters from Kahiki until they reach Kīlauea in Puna, Hawai'i. It is here that the family makes their home. One day, Pele and her sisters travel to the ocean. Pele falls asleep and her spirit is lured by the sound of drums and travels to Kaua'i. There, she meets the handsome ali'i Lohi'au, who is adept at hula. When she awakens in Puna, Pele asks each of her seven sisters to bring Lohi'au to Puna, but they all refuse. Pele's favorite sister, Hi'iakaikapoliopole, agrees on the condition that Pele protect her aikāne (intimate companion) Nānāhuki (Hōpoe in other mo'olelo), who taught Hi'iaka hula and who resided in the extensive lehua groves at Nānāhuki. Pele agrees and after some reluctance, provides Hi'iaka with a companion Pā'ūopāla'a, who girds Hi'iaka with a lightning pā'ū (skirt) of greenery that held great power. Pele provides Hi'iaka with a powerful hand called Kīlauea, as well as 'Awihikalani, a critical eye to discern things that are normally hidden or unknown (such as the true nature or body form of a god).

After Hi'iaka and Pā'ūopāla'a leave their crater home, they meet Wahine'ōma'o, an ali'i wahine of Hilo. Wahine'ōma'o becomes Hi'iaka's aikāne, and the three women travel towards Kaua'i. Along the way, they meet many obstacles, including other deities and mo'o. Hi'iaka is called upon to physically and intellectually battle with enemies, as well as heal and advise those in need. Using the powers given to her by Pele, she frequently calls upon her ancestors for aid. The mo'olelo follows the journey of these companions across the Hawaiian Islands to bring Lohi'au to Pele.

Because Ho'oulumāhiehie's account of Hi'iakaikapoliopole is so robust, this review offers a limiteid analysis of mana. Reading through of the entire mo'olelo, eight mana themes that appeared throughout the piece are highlighted. Other scholars have written about these themes in other contexts. For example, the ability of a character to excel in areas of knowledge and wit are common in other mo'olelo (Charlot, 1998). The method of identifying specific incidents and connecting them to the mana themes gives a better understanding of what kind of contexts, behaviors and beliefs surrounded each conceptualization of mana. For instance, for the mana akua theme (which happens to be the most common theme, as the Hi'iaka herself is an akua), we see that Hi'iaka's ability to eat raw lū'au leaves was one thing that revealed her to be an akua to others.

Mana wahine was included among the eight identified themes, although arguably the entire mo'olelo is about this aspect of mana, perhaps more so than any other mo'olelo published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Looking through a contemporary lens, the female characters in the story have a great deal of agency. Hi'iaka is often acknowledged as the most powerful akua, male or female, and her companions are each powerful and active in the storyline in their own ways. There were clearly strong examples of mana wahine, often presented in a comedic fashion (such as the incident where Hi'iaka tricks a fisherman into making love to a rock). Certainly, this mo'olelo presents a landscape filled with dynamic akua, ali'i and other wahi-ne, as well as strong female relationships (Silva, 2004). The episodes in this mo'olelo highlight a fact that has often been erased in colonialist, revisionist and patriarchal versions about Hawai'i and Hawaiian culture. Namely, that among our kūpuna, there was little doubt that women were strong and powerful, and had mana.

The mana themes identified are described in Figure 1.6. Following this identification, fifty episodes that appear chronologically in the mo'olelo are highlighted in the themes of mana illustrated in the section. Some description of why the incident revealed the particular themes of mana was included, although these descriptions are cursory compared to the wealth of information in the mo'olelo itself. (See Appendix D in the digital copy of this report for a table of this analysis).

Figure 1.6. Selected Mana Themes from Ho'oulumāhiehie's Version of Hi'iakaikapoliopele

MANA THEME	DESCRIPTION
Mana Akua	An akua had mana that no other being in Hawai'i had; their awe-inspiring powers included the power to revive people from the dead, to heal, to kill and much more. Mana Akua is one of the most robust themes in the mo'olelo. Hi'iaka had the ability to stand on a mountain on Maui or O'ahu and see what was happening on the Big Island. She could make food being prepared ready in an instant and much more. Some of Hi'iaka's enemies have the ability to call forth ghosts and spirits, and Hi'iaka has the ability to call upon her ancestors. Hi'iaka and other akua in the story are also able to hide their true forms or take on other appearances or kinolau.
Mana 'Āina	The 'āina and its resources was an important source of mana. In the mo'olelo, Hi'iaka is accompanied by Pā'ūopāla'a, who throughout the story takes on her fern form to protect the companions from the attacks of their enemies. Hi'iaka herself knows things about the lands she visits and is able to use that knowledge to her advantage.
Mana Ali'i	An ali'i was considered to have mana that the maka'āinana did not possess. This included having purer genealogies that were closer to those of the akua, having certain privileges such as special foods, clothing and retainer, etc. In the mo'olelo, Hi'iaka is often hosted by ali'i. In several instances, Hi'iaka calls upon the ali'i to place kapu. When she is going to revive Lohi'au, she asks that there be a kapu preventing anyone from entering the mountains or the sea for an extended period of time.

MANA THEME	DESCRIPTION
Mana ‘Ohana	There is mana in family, genealogy, and familial connections. Throughout the mo’olelo, Hi’iaka is aided by her family members [such as her brother Kānemilohae]. In other incidents, Hi’iaka’s knowledge of the genealogies of those who oppose her allow her to be successful where they fail.
Mana ‘Ike	There is mana in knowledge and being wise, which is demonstrated in rhyming, riddling, and other contests of wits. According to Charlot [1998] intelligence and knowledge are powers of both Pele and Hi’iaka, whose usual epithet is no’eau “wise.” Both women have knowledge of the nuances of the places they visit that rivals or is even better than that of the natives of the area. Hi’iaka has expert knowledge of fishing, healing, and riddling and in the mo’olelo it is often noted by other individuals that they cannot overcome her through tests of wit.
Mana Pule	Pule and oli were considered powerful mediums of mana, where the chanter, the words, the intention, the order of chants, etc. all had power and significance. Throughout the mo’olelo, Hi’iaka uses pule and oli to accomplish her ends, sometimes using them to heal and revive and other times, using her chants to defeat her enemies. For Native Hawaiians, Hi’iaka’s extensive knowledge of and deft use of chants illustrates her status as an akua and her great mana.

MANA THEME	DESCRIPTION
Mana In Objects	Certain objects were believed to have mana imbued in them. Often times, these objects were mythical in nature, belonged to an ali'i and were named. For example, Hi'iaka is gifted with a skirt that has the power to heal and to kill, and various objects throughout the mo'olelo are used in ways that demonstrate they have mana. For example, when healing Lohi'au, Hi'iaka uses special oils.
Mana Wahine	Women had mana that could differ from that of men (for example, a woman's pā'ū had mana while a man's malo had mana. However, it could also be the same; women were admired for their strength, Bravery and wisdom.

Mo'olelo remain an important historical and literary medium today. Jamaica Osorio (2014) encourages Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians to seek the mo'olelo of Hawai'i for a more intimate understanding of how to live in Hawai'i. Mo'olelo are critical to gaining a better understanding of the concept of mana. The analysis of mana in Ho'oulumāhie's version of Hi'iakaikapoliopole reveals the dynamism and importance of mana.

Mana and Historical Shifts in Hawai‘i

Mana was dynamic and shifting, even in ka wā kahiko. For example, wars and marriages, the building of heiau or successfully caring for land and people, were all activities considered to enhance or diminish mana. The arrival of Pa‘ao in Hawai‘i and the introduction of kapu affected articulations of mana. Mo‘olelo reveal that the akua shaped the landscapes, resources and peoples of Hawai‘i with their mana. Particularly powerful ali‘i, such as Mā‘ilikūkahi who implemented the ahupua‘a system and excelled at land stewardship, had mana-ful and long-lasting impacts on Hawaiian culture and belief. However, the late 1700s with the beginning of contact with Europeans and Americans, a series of changes would fundamentally alter Hawaiian society. These transformations led to a shift in beliefs surrounding mana, as well as the mana of certain aspects of Hawaiian culture. This section briefly explores a few historical instances where conceptions or understandings of mana shifted.

In *Islands and Beaches*, Greg Dening (1988) examines cross-cultural interaction and transformation in Marquesan society and finds that cultural worlds (islands) and boundaries become more fluid during these first encounters. This provides helpful insight into the kinds of interactions that occurred among Native Hawaiians, and European and American sailors. For example, the arrival and death of Captain James Cook in Hawai‘i has long been analyzed as a moment in history that pivoted conceptions of mana. This included a shift in the mana of akua (from that of Lono to that of Kū) to the scholarly debates as to whether Cook was apotheosized by Native Hawaiians (Sahlins, 1994; Obeyesekere, 1992; Trask, 1999). In an article recounting Captain Cook, author Iosepa Kalapauahiole notes that the chief Palea attempted to steal a skiff from Cook because “manao lakou he mana ka haole” (“they thought the white foreigners had mana”)(*Ke Kumu Hawaii*, November 7, 1838).

Interactions between Native Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians during this time would impact certain aspects of Hawaiian culture, including understandings of and structures that reinforced mana, such as kapu. Bushnell (1993) notes:

In almost every action of his life, even in those which relieved his body's needs, a Hawaiian was required to remember the respect he owed to the mana, the spirit power, in himself, in each person around him, and in the kīno lau, the embodiments, of all the gods in all the places and things they inhabited. (p. 13)

European and American sailors did not follow the same strictures of Hawaiian culture such as eating freely with Native Hawaiian women.

There are records of non-Hawaiians living in Hawai'i prior to the arrival of the British explorer Captain Cook in 1778, but it was the escalation of travel and the establishment of regular trade routes within the Pacific that led to the formation of small populations of foreigners and beachcombers within the Hawaiian Islands by the opening of the 1800s (Kamakau, 1868; 1992). This period marked the beginning of an extended period of Native Hawaiian diaspora, where significant portions of the Native Hawaiian population moved abroad (Chappell, 1997). These interactions, combined with other pressures (such as unprecedented population loss through introduced diseases), ultimately resulted in the breaking of the 1819 'ai kapu (eating restrictions) and the subsequent 'ai noa (free eating) by Liholiho, Keōpūolani and Ka'ahumanu mā (Ka'ahumanu and her supporters). These actions greatly impacted the practice of the formal Hawaiian religion and ended one of the ways mana was regulated and protected in Hawaiian society; ultimately this would undermine one of the sources of chiefly authority (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

The arrival of the Sandwich Island Missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and the introduction of Christianity in 1820 significantly altered mana. The word "ho'omana," which traditionally meant "to worship or deify and ascribe sacred and/or political authority," became more closely tied to Christian iterations of religious worship through the deliberate efforts of the American missionaries. Words like "luakini" (a heiau that was used for human sacrifice) became associated with a Christian church or temple. The concept of "akua" was transformed into Ke Akua, the Christian God, as the supreme akua with the most mana. The missionaries instigated a host of changes from the introduction of reading and writing in Hawaiian to encouraging men and women into gender roles that mirrored those found among New England missionaries. Traditional structures that shaped mana were changed and undermined.

The support of the Native Hawaiian ali'i (chiefs), who had traditionally been the sources of political, social and spiritual authority, was especially important for the long term stability and viability of the mission. However, the deaths of Keōpūlani, Kaumuali'i, as well as several other powerful ali'i who had advanced many of the missionary causes in the late 1820s and 1830s, resulted in a loss of support for the mission among Native Hawaiians like Ka'ahumanu who sanctioned the work of the missionaries and gave many of their initiatives support, including efforts to spread literacy. Ka'ahumanu provided protection and the impetus for advancement of the missionary objectives through the passage of laws that included prohibitions on alcohol, gambling and prostitution. Under Ka'ahumanu's guidance, Native Hawaiian ali'i would increasingly incorporate elements of the mission's teachings into their governance structures.

Ka'ahumanu's death allowed Kauikeaouli to seek greater political autonomy as king, and he attempted to consolidate his power and chiefly authority as ruler. One of the ways he would do this was to revoke or loosen many of the religious laws that had been put in place during the reign of Liholiho, which were supported by many of the chiefs who had been proponents of Ka'ahumanu and the missionary causes. The years 1833 to 1834 became known among the missionaries as Ka Wā o Kaomi for the alleged "debauching" influences of Kaomi, the half-Tahitian confidant and aikāne (intimate companion) of Kauikeaouli. During this time, many traditional activities that had been deemed immoral by the missionaries, such as hula (dance), were revived and openly practiced (Bingham, 1847). Many chiefs had continued to follow, uphold and enforce the religious laws, and had constantly pressured Kauikeaouli to reinstate them. Ka Wā o Kaomi was a political struggle that threatened the stability of the Sandwich Islands Mission (Tracy, 1842). In particular, traditional Native Hawaiian sources of chiefly authority, legitimacy and mana clashed with the religious conceptualization of morality and good governance urged by the missionaries.

Whereas many of the religious chiefs had sought the input from and guidance of the missionaries, Kauikeaouli initially relied on the counsel of Kaomi and the hulumanu, a group of young men who were favorites of and advisors to the chief. Because the missionaries relied on the support of influential ali'i to effect change in belief and practice among the general populace, Kauikeaouli's disregard for their teachings was a major obstacle (Bingham, 1847). The missionaries

strongly associated the loss of the religious laws and what they understood to be the declining morality of the Native Hawaiians as a great threat to the stability of Kamehameha's government (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, September 11, 1861).

Ka Wā o Kaomi was one of many instances that illustrated the depth of systemic changes occurring in Hawaiian society during the 1830s and 1840s. Ka Wā o Kaomi reflected shifts in what constituted “ideal” Native Hawaiian behavior, especially among the aliʻi. The concept of a pono aliʻi and the basis of his or her mana was shifting away from traditional Hawaiian behaviors and beliefs to encompass aspects of missionary teachings on morality, governance and more (Silva, 2004; Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992). Kamehameha effectively ended Ka Wā o Kaomi by distancing himself from Kaomi and the rest of the hui in 1834, although the political struggle over chiefly authority continued to plague him and the monarchy for decades.

The growth in foreign nationals corresponded with growing commercial activities within the Islands, and vice versa. Beginning in the 1850s and 1860s, the massive importation of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Puerto Rican and Portuguese contract laborers for the sugar plantations led to the expansion and diversification of non-Hawaiian populations in Hawaiʻi (Beechert, 1985). Whereas Native Hawaiians maintained highly productive economies that were carefully regulated by the aliʻi, Euro-American commercial ideals and activity would redirect the basis of the Hawaiian economy to one of capitalism, placing a new emphasis on accumulation of material wealth and personal property (Hitch, 1992). The far-reaching effects of commerce in the Islands were especially apparent with the increasing urbanization of Native Hawaiians during the 1800s. The concentration of economic opportunities in the commercial trading centers, such as Honolulu and Lāhaina, prompted many Native Hawaiians to leave rural areas of the islands. This was a process that ultimately altered ties among families, communities and places. During the mid-19th century, the laws that authorized the privatization of land in Hawaiʻi—collectively known as the Māhele—altered relationships between Hawaiians and land, creating subsequent land alienation and loss of access to resources that impacted mana (Kameʻeleihiwa 1992; Beamer, 2014; Van Dyke, 2008). In many ways, these changes permanently affected mana, especially as people lost the connections to place that reinforced their mana as kamaʻāina.

By the mid-nineteenth century, members of the Hawaiian government began to consciously integrate Euro-American secular legal frameworks within the Kingdom's governance structures, transitioning from chiefly rule based on spiritual and political rank to a constitutional monarchy (Osorio, 2002). Concepts related to mana were part of this transition. Laws, elections and ballots were written said to have mana. New governing structures, such as the House of Nobles and the House of Representatives, were thought to have mana. "Mana" was used to refer to official authority, authorization and power. "Mana kūpono" was used in legal documents to refer to "proper authority" (Lucas, 1995). The increasing incorporation of western frameworks into the governance structures of the Kingdom changed the relationships between ali'i and maka'āinana. Authority and mana of ruling shifted away from the ali'i and into the laws and procedures put in place during the monarchy. Some laws that were heavily influenced by Euro American religious and social mores outlawed or discouraged the performance of certain cultural activities, such as the practices of the kahuna lā'au lapa'au (Chai, 2005) and hula (Silva, 2000).

While the increase of non-Hawaiian populations was remarkable, the decrease of the Native Hawaiian population was even more dramatic and rapid. The introduction and spread of highly infectious diseases, such as cholera, venereal diseases, smallpox and leprosy decimated the Native Hawaiian population (Bushnell, 1993). Considered by many academics to be a population collapse, the rapid depopulation among Native Hawaiians affected the practice, transmission and perpetuation of traditional culture and values, further fragmenting traditional support systems that reinforced mana in people and places. Collectively, many of these changes disrupted the flow of knowledge and support within Hawaiian society, creating breakages in the systems that had preserved and perpetuated Native Hawaiian history, culture, and identity; this often came with devastating long-term effects. The loss of language impacted Native Hawaiian historiography, and significantly altered conceptions of culture (Nogelmeier, 2010). Cumulatively, these and other changes resulted in the transformation of Native Hawaiian culture from one that was practiced and valued daily to one that had to be actively recovered and revitalized. These losses continue to our understandings of mana today.

Conclusion

During the mid and late 1700s, the ali'i Kalani'ōpu'u engaged in countless battles, particularly with Kahekili, an ali'i nui of Maui. Losing battles at Waikapū and Wailuku, Kalani'ōpu'u's forces were decimated. He sent his sacred son Kīwala'ō through the battlefield to appeal to Kahekili for peace. Kīwala'ō's mana and kapu was such that warriors of both sides of the conflict had to cease fighting and prostrate themselves (Kamakau, 1996).

This literature review has explored mana as a force, a power, a feeling, an authority, and more. As a concept, mana is omnipresent in almost every Oceanian culture, although each group of people articulated and negotiated mana in unique ways. Among Native Hawaiians, mana was present in kānaka and was inherited through genealogy or acquired through acting in accordance with the norms of Hawaiian society. Mana was present in the environment, in the resources and in the objects created and used. Along these lines, historical events also shifted or transformed Native Hawaiian conceptions of mana. In short, mana was dynamic.



PIERRE FAYARD
1950
MONTROUILLON



2

Contemporary Usage of “Mana”:

Hawai‘i Newspaper
Analysis, 1996–2012

As the nūpepa were integral in forming an acculturated understanding of mana for traditional and 19th century Hawaiians, so can contemporary Hawai'i newspapers help us understand how mana is viewed now by society.

Articles from 1996–2012 in contemporary English language newspapers, including the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, *Honolulu Advertiser*, and *Honolulu Star Bulletin* were reviewed if they contained the word “mana” in the title or content. Sources ranged from current event news stories, opinion pieces, letters from readers, and human interest stories to reviews of music, movies and books. A total of 208 articles were reviewed.

The newspaper articles tended to discuss mana in the context of:

- Specialized cultural practices (skilled trades and artistic endeavors such as canoe building, performing arts, visual arts, music, and writing);
- Sports (athletic competitions, teams and athletes);
- Places (physical places in Hawai'i; Generally, beaches, valleys and islands);
- General cultural activities (festivals that encompass more than one specific cultural activity);
- Sacred entities (objects of historical significance such as Native Hawaiians' bones, remains, names and artifacts); and
- People (individuals as well as a collective, organization or group).

Mana was discussed in a variety of other contexts, including the mana of the Hawaiian people as a collective, mana and political power, how plants have mana and how names possess mana.

This current analysis of articles relates a contemporary, generic understanding of mana, not necessarily a cultural understanding of mana; there were times that contemporary usage does not reflect what Hawaiians feel mana to be. This section is more of the dominant culture’s understanding of an indigenous culture, as opposed to an analysis of when the term was used accurately. The question then becomes how Hawaiians perpetuate and promote a concept that is only partially understood by the dominant local culture (i.e., the rest of the residents of the state).

Figure 2.1. Frequency of Newspaper Articles that Use the Word “Mana” by Year (1996–2012)

YEAR	TOTAL
1996	1
1997	9
1998	9
1999	6
2000	5
2001	6
2002	8
2003	21
2004	21
2005	31
2006	29
2007	13
2008	13
2009	11
2010	13
2011	7
2012	5

As previously noted, the newspaper articles tended to discuss mana in the context of specialized cultural practices, sports, places, cultural activities, sacred entities, and people. Mana was also discussed in a variety of other contexts, including the mana of the Hawaiian people as a collective, mana and political power, how plants have mana and how names possess mana.

Of the 208 articles reviewed, 55 discussed mana in terms of specialized cultural practices. Discussions about canoes and other works of art centered on the way these artifacts imbued the mana of the maker. Articles also focused on how canoes gain mana from great success. For example, the voyaging canoe, *Hōkūle'a*, was said to have mana because of its construction and restoration by Hawaiians who imbued mana; and, because of its great success in voyages, which were be attributed to the skills of the voyagers. In one story, the crew encountered unstable weather and natural forces, but overcame those challenges together. This left them with “a strong sense of mana, the spirit of the canoe” (Kreifels, 1999). Hula was a common topic discussed in the articles, particularly around the ways that mana emanates from performers of traditional Hawaiian dance—mana comes from performers’ “understanding [of] how to relate to the audience” (Adams, 2010). Paintings and photographs or their subjects were described as having mana. One article discussed a technique that could fill a painting with “subconscious mana” (Farmer, 2005). Music, both its creation and performance, was presented as a source of mana; musicians infused their mana into their products, performances or instruments. A musician’s mana could enhance stage presence in a music contest (Harada, 2003). Written works, such as books, could have mana—in one foreword, the author stated that the reader will feel “uplifted and fortified with mana, the essence of Hawaiian spirituality” (Arcayna, 2003).

About one-fourth of the articles (n=51) referenced mana in the context of a place—how places both have mana because of what happened in the past, and how entities or events have mana because of where they took place. For example, one article discussed how the return of ancestral remains from a museum to a burial site restored mana because “the decomposition restores mana (energy) back to the land” (Kreifels, 1998). In another case, mana was attributed to a type of beef because the cattle were nurtured in Hawai‘i (Enomoto, 1998). In another case, Moloka‘i gave mana to a canoe race (Dayton, 2005). Articles also referenced how Hawai‘i is a place for replenishing the mana of individuals—a professional golfer from Hawai‘i discussed how he used a trip home to reconnect with his mana

and “go back to his golf roots” (Miller, 2011). Preservation of a place’s mana was discussed in an article about a fire at a military reservation, noting the Army “[failed in] its role as a steward of Mākua Valley” and the fire damaged its mana (Hoover & Chang, 2005). Another article discussed how a park’s mana would be changed if a high-rise development were allowed there (Ohira, 2006).

Thirty-five articles discussed mana in the context of sacred entities by re-telling stories and histories, or by referencing commonly accepted facts about Native Hawaiian remains and current disputes over remains and artifacts. Great mana was attributed to Native Hawaiian artifacts, in that one could “feel as if [he or she has] experienced something of great significance and power” (Letters and commentary, 2006). Preservation and proper protocol in exhibiting artifacts was discussed as a means of allowing their creators’ mana to endure (Cook, 2010). How names possessed mana was also discussed—from politics (democrats looking

Names and naming practices were thought to be very serious because of the mana that went into the process of naming, and the name itself

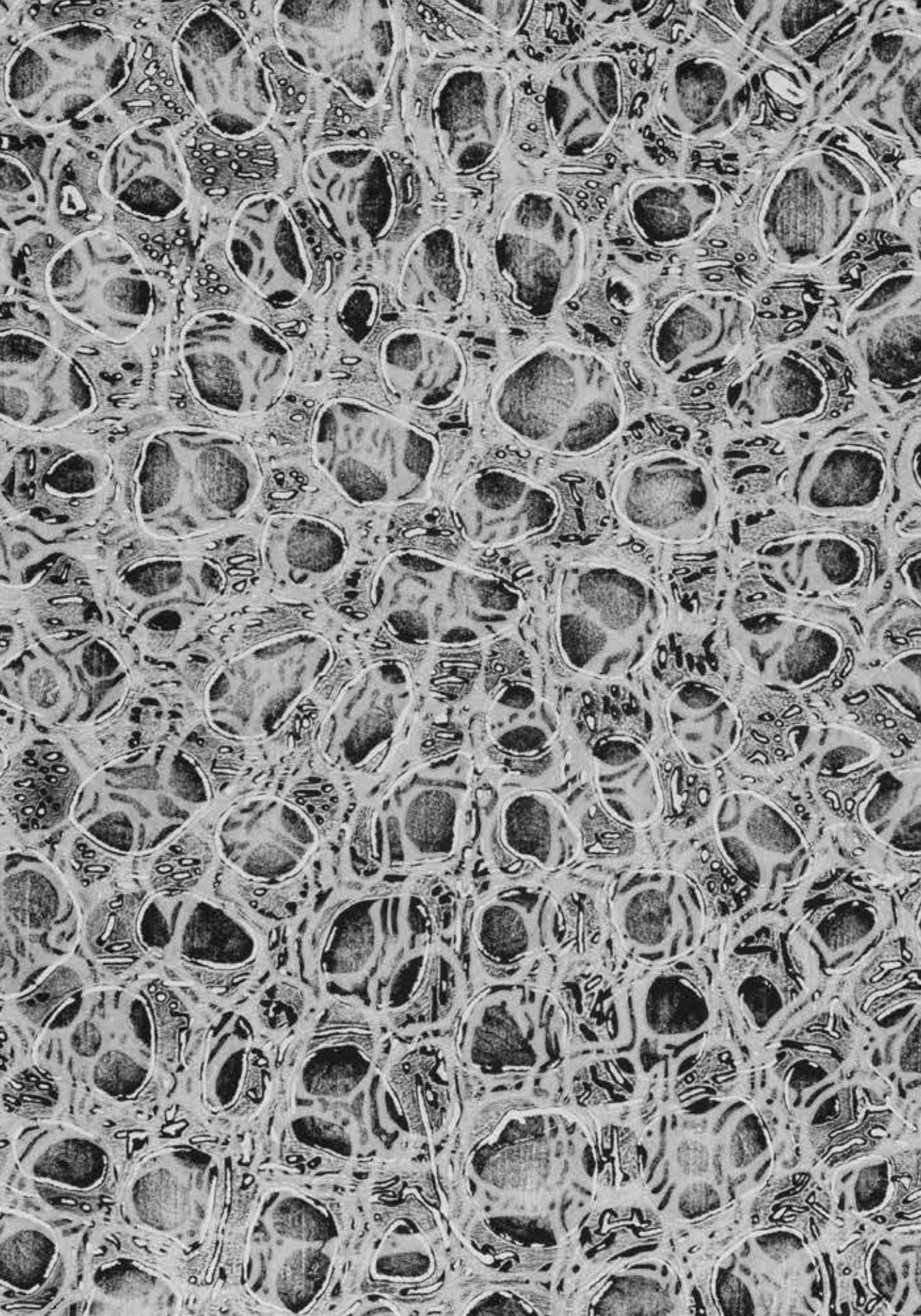
for “a name with enough mana to hold up their ticket next year” (Cataluna, 2005) to naming a training center after an Army Lieutenant. Names and naming practices were thought to be very serious because of the mana that went into the process of naming, and the name itself (Nakaso, 2007).

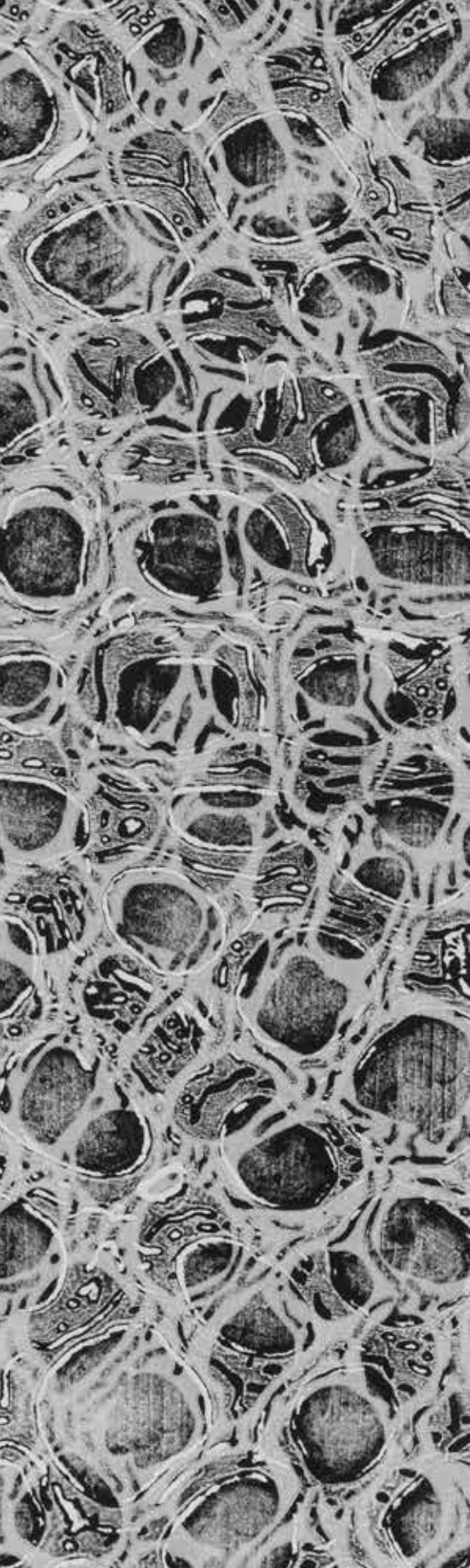
Twenty-four articles attributed mana to specific people, groups of people or ancestors. One article referenced a woman who received an award for “successfully combining Hawaiian cultural values and practices with modern medical standards in treating people battling cancer and addictions,” and “her mana is the overriding reason why [they] can think of no better person to fulfill the vision of [the] award” (Adamski & Fujimori, 2000). An organization, La Mama, which hosts a workshop called “The Power of Hula” in New York City was referred to as having mana (Harada, 2010). Another article referred the lineage of family trees and its branches as having mana (Oshiro, 2010).

A smaller subset of articles (n=13) discussed mana in the context of competitive sports and sports teams. Canoe competitions, football, baseball and surfing were discussed. In football, the importance of the 2008 Sugar Bowl team was not about winning or losing, but about the “mana of the team, the spirit” (Roig, 2008). An article about a surfing contest described the contest as a way for “people to share their mana for the island” (Masuoka, 2004). Four articles referenced general cultural activities, such as participating in festivals, engaging in a set of traditional Hawaiian customs and practices in an organized group, and gathering and marching together to bring back “[their] mana, or pride, by walking as [their] ancestors did with a torch to cleanse” (Tighe, 1998).

Thirty-one articles referenced mana in a different context not previously mentioned. Here, mana and human behavior in the context of myths, politics, and skills is broadly discussed. Discussion about mana in regard to myths centered on explaining away their falsehoods—the sun doesn’t actually pass directly overhead each day when personal mana is believed to be greatest (Ali, 2010). Another article discussed Pele’s curse and how bad luck happened to people who take rocks from Hawai’i. In this case, the story was made up by a National Park Services employee to keep visitors from taking rocks as souvenirs to protect the environment (Dawson, 2003). Dawson reported that the practice of telling this myth “largely diminishes the cultural significance of Pele and the associated mana that Native Hawaiian tradition ascribes to the volcanic area.” Some articles discussed mana in the context of politics and political power such as an article discussing the governor’s \$6 million re-election campaign expenditures, and a member of the opposing party stating that the campaign was about the “mana, not the money” (DePledge, 2005). Mana also was referenced in regard to skill or power such as in a report about the life and death of a Zen master, Tanouye Tenshin Rotaishi, whose mana could “help the down-and-out turn themselves around” (Leidemann, 2003).

The years from 2003 to 2006 had the greatest number of references to mana in newspaper articles, possibly reflecting public emphasis on activities and events related to mana during that time. Clearly, mana has remained a contemporary topic of discussion in current times.





3

Measuring Mana- Related Concepts:

Review of
Instruments

Manulani Aluli Meyer (2003) and other scholars have long held that it is impossible to understand the Polynesian worldview without understanding mana as central to contemporary Native Hawaiian identity. Mana is often felt, seen and experienced, rather than described in words; moreover, there are ways to gain and lose mana through behavior. Here, mana is part of the spiritual world, but felt in the material world. In Western terms, it might be described as power, or an essence of a god or godliness. In some Polynesian languages the literal meaning of mana is “thunder, storm, or wind” [Shore, 1989, p.140].

In Aotearoa (New Zealand), the term *mana whenua* describes having power over a land or territory (Iti, 2015, 1:51). Māori activist and scholar Tame Wairere Iti (TED Talk, June 17, 2015) said:

Mana is knowing who you are, where you come from, and your connection to your land. *Mana* grounds you, *mana* makes you solid. *Mana* roots you to your past, present, and future. We don't have to always agree, *mana* can be tested and even challenged but with respect and an understanding of one another's *mana* we are all equal.

Iti's talk emphasized the importance of mana in contemporary and everyday contexts across Polynesia. Mana is dynamic and requires stewardship and recognition from others. It has multiple meanings, and multiple ways of identifying its presence and expansion.

This section identifies ways in which mana or similar constructs have been assessed through research. The review provides a baseline to assess traditional and contemporary concepts of mana to create an instrument guide and toolkit. As discussed in the literature review, mana is both inherited and acquired, and can grow or diminish over time, based on behaviors of and recognition from others.

For this instrument review, we focus on acquired rather than inherited mana, though the two clearly affect each other. The concept of acquired mana is derived from the literature review, Advisory Board discussions, and a thematic mapping of core concepts. The research team mapped the core concepts of mana to ensure an exhaustive instrument search. The process is discussed in the methods section.

NOTE: Inherited mana embodies genealogy and ancestral markers, but was outside the scope of this assessment review. Future research on inherited mana might use a set of open-ended questions that ask about ancestral history, and incorporate information from vital statistic records, registry programs, and ali'i lineage documents.

Methods

This inquiry into assessing mana is theoretically situated within the broader context of indigenous research, and comes from the need to decolonize research methodologies for aboriginal, indigenous, and native peoples (Smith, 1999). Given the historical, social, and political contexts of research, assessment, and evaluation, the process must empower participants, particularly historically marginalized and disenfranchised groups (Freire, 1982). Meyer (2006) calls for the “triangulation of meaning” as an indigenous Native Hawaiian way of conducting research. Here, research integrates the body (objective), mind (subjective), and spirit (cultural). For example, understandings of the word “‘ike” can guide an approach to research: ‘ike (to see), ‘ike (to know), and ‘ike (revelations).

“The spirit part of triangulating meaning,” writes Meyer, “is all about the purpose and reason of our lives. It will help you think of your research as something of value and keep you at the edge of wonder with how it will shape who you are becoming” (p. 274). Indigenous research—in this case Native Hawaiian assessment—shifts the lens.

Many evaluation and assessment instruments use a deficit and achievement bias (Lopez & Snyder, 2003). Psychological and educational research with indigenous groups and ethnic minorities tend to focus on risk factors such as drug use, academic disengagement,

teenage pregnancy, and poverty (Holliday & Holmes, 2003). Indigenous researchers have critiqued the deficit and risk-based model for its causal-correlation fallacy between ethnic minority status and negative outcomes, and for its racist bias (Holliday & Holmes, 2003; McLoyd, 1999; Smith, 1999). For example, negative outcomes actually have a higher correlation with poverty than with ethnic minority status (Thorne & Giesen, 2003). This raises the need for cultural and strengths-based inquiries. There is a growing movement among researchers to focus on strengths and draw from existing cultural resources to guide

Here, research integrates the body [objective], mind [subjective], and spirit [cultural].

evaluations (Borofsky, 2008; Kana'iaupuni, et al, 2005; Leong & Wong, 2003). Decolonizing methodologies and rethinking assessment for disenfranchised groups includes shifting from a deficits-based model to a cultural, strengths-based model (Kamehameha Schools, 2014; Meyer, 2006). These methodologies include collaborative research design and evaluation, where participants draw from their ancestral and strengths. Here, assessment and evaluation become a space to restore, advance and empower individual and collective Native Hawaiian strengths.

The research team conducted the following steps:

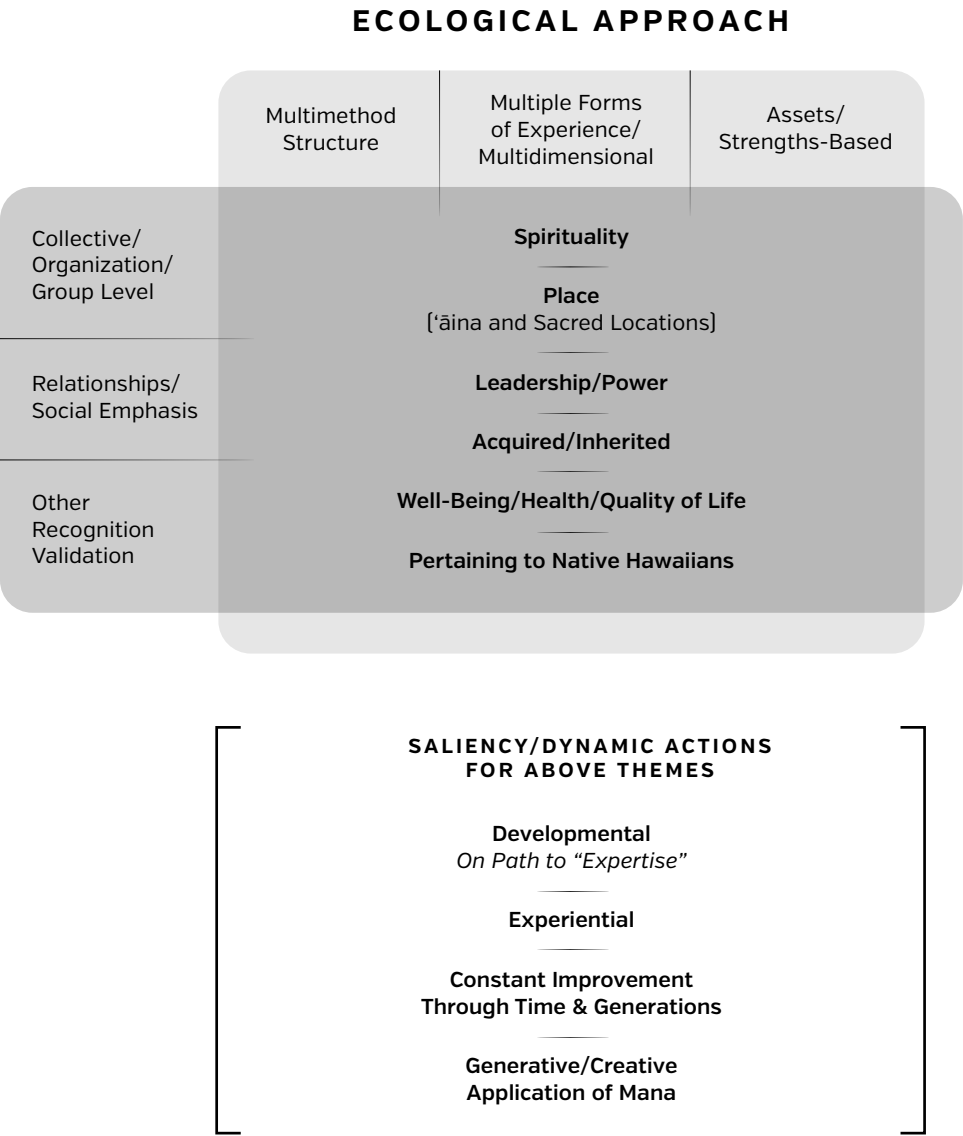
1. Concept mapping
2. Development of rubric for instrument search
3. Instrument search results
4. Summary of select instruments; and
5. Identification of commonalities and gaps, and discussion.

The literature review and group discussions with the Advisory Board, stakeholders, and researchers guided the search process. The project team conducted a concept mapping exercise by mapping themes and characteristics of mana—based on these discussions and the review (see Appendix E in the digital book for a graphic representation of the concept map). Researchers then developed the instrument review rubric (see digital copy Appendix F: Instrument Review Rubric and Category Description, as well as description in section below) using themes from the concept map to review instruments found in the search. Key information about the instruments and their relevance was summarized using the rubric criteria. This allowed for a systematic method and a consistent approach to analyzing all instruments.

1. Concept Mapping

For mana, determining which concepts to explore started with a concept map. Themes in the concept mapping exercise included words like spirituality, saliency, place, leadership, power, collective, developmental, relationship-focused, well-being, generative, actualization, ecological, experiential/doing, multidimensional and Native Hawaiian. See Figure 3.1 for the final Concept Map used in the instrument review process.

Figure 3.1. Final Assessment Concept Map



2. Development of Rubric for Instrument Search

Based on the mapping, categories were created to assess relevancy to mana. Rubric categories included: psychometric properties, potential for use, and topics of the instrument reviewed. Reference article, type of measure, reliability and validity information, assessment type, norm groups, domains captured, relationships, saliency, theoretical perspective, Native Hawaiian knowledge, and keywords were also included.

To establish interrater reliability, a second researcher reviewed a sample of ten of the same instruments against the rubric. Across all rubric categories for the ten instruments, Cohen's kappa [1] was .91. Next, keywords were used to reference all the instruments reviewed against the rubric and made publicly available to interested Native Hawaiian organizations on a web-based platform.

Of the fifty-eight assessment instruments, twenty-one were chosen for discussion. An instrument from each relevant category was chosen for the following key areas:

- Spirituality
- Native Hawaiian Culture
- Leadership
- Collective self-efficacy
- Connection to Nature
- Civic Engagement
- Political Power

Together, these areas represent various aspects of overall well-being of the individual and/or organizations or entities. These twenty-one assessment instruments were selected for discussion, based on those assessment measures that met the highest number of categories measured against the rubric.

Themes in the concept mapping exercise included words like spirituality, saliency, place, leadership, power, collective, developmental, relationship-focused, well-being, generative, actualization, ecological, experiential/doing, multidimensional and Native Hawaiian. Based on the mapping, categories were created to assess relevancy to mana. Rubric categories included psychometric properties, potential for use and topics of the instrument reviewed. Reference article, type of measure, reliability and validity information, assessment type, norm groups, domains captured, relationships, saliency, theoretical perspective, Native Hawaiian knowledge and keywords were also included. To establish interrater reliability, a second researcher reviewed a sample of ten of the same instruments against the rubric. Across all rubric categories for the ten instruments, Cohen's kappa[1] was .91. Next, keywords were used to reference all the instruments reviewed against the rubric and make them publicly available to interested Native Hawaiian organizations on a web-based platform.

Mana is dynamic and requires stewardship and recognition from others. It has multiple meanings, and multiple ways of identifying its presence and expansion.

3. Instrument Search Results

Based on the themes developed in the concept mapping (December 2014–April 2015), a search of the academic databases EBSCO, ERIC, ProQuest Social Sciences, Academic Search Premier, SAGE Education Journals, Taylor and Francis Education Journals, JSTOR, dissertation abstracts and Google Scholar was conducted. The first search term used to identify assessment instruments was “spirituality.” Search terms were continually expanded by matching keywords back to the literature review through a circular and exhaustive process. This was meant to cast a wide net and capture as many assessment instruments possible for review. Twenty-seven search terms (see Figure 3.1) yielded 665 abstracts that discussed measurement. Of those, 432 abstracts included unique measures and assessments. Fifty-eight of the 432 were included in the final assessment instrument review (see Appendix H in the digital version of this report). No specific date range was used. Peer-reviewed, published studies were sought along with instruments of interest provided by stakeholders.

Figure 3.2. Search Terms for Assessment Review ^{1, 2}

TERM	NUMBER RETURNED ^{3, 4}	NUMBER OF UNIQUE MEASURES/ ASSESSMENTS IN THE ABSTRACTS ⁵	NUMBER ASSESSED AGAINST RUBRIC ⁶
Civic engagement	36	25	1
Collective efficacy	45	33	1
Collective	14	9	1
Community health	31	14	1
Community service	26	12	4
Connection to land	13	8	3
Cultural homelessness	9	4	0
Empowerment	42	16	2
Environmental stewardship	8	5	1
Hawaiian	25	5	1
Health development	9	2	1
Indigenous	27	11	2
Indigenous health	13	2	1
Leadership	38	26	1
Māori Spiritual	18	3	2
Native/Aboriginal /First Nation	46	34	5
Native well-being	21	21	4
Organizational health	48	31	0
Organizational well-being	29	24	0

TERM	NUMBER RETURNED ^{3, 4}	NUMBER OF UNIQUE MEASURES/ ASSESSMENTS IN THE ABSTRACTS ⁵	NUMBER ASSESSED AGAINST RUBRIC ⁶
Personal responsibility	27	19	1
Place attachment	15	14	1
Political Power	20	8	4
Positive Psychology	17	17	6
Racial/Ethnic identity	41	18	1
Sense of place	10	5	0
Spirituality	37	66	8
Total	665	432	52

¹ All searches were conducted separately for “assessment” and “measure” in conjunction with the search term specified.

² Other instruments were identified by the project team and Advisory Board that were not identified in searches in this figure.

³ Some instruments were duplicated in different searches and across abstracts; numbers do not reflect unique number of instruments.

⁴ Not all abstracts returned utilized an instrument or assessment.

⁵ Some abstracts contained multiple instruments related to the search term; numbers are unique for the search term, but not across all search terms.

⁶ These numbers represent unique numbers of instruments assessed against the rubric; six additional measures provided by stakeholders were reviewed against the rubric.

Native Hawaiian measures provided by the Advisory Board and other stakeholders were reviewed in the same way that the peer-review abstracts were. Because this was an iterative process, researchers also scanned the abstracts and full articles to identify additional search items (all search terms are included in Figure 3.2). Each search term directly or indirectly pertained to the concept of mana as determined through the concept mapping or through terms from first set of searches. Figure 3.3 summarizes the terms and their respective purpose:

Figure 3.3. Search Terms and Their Purposes

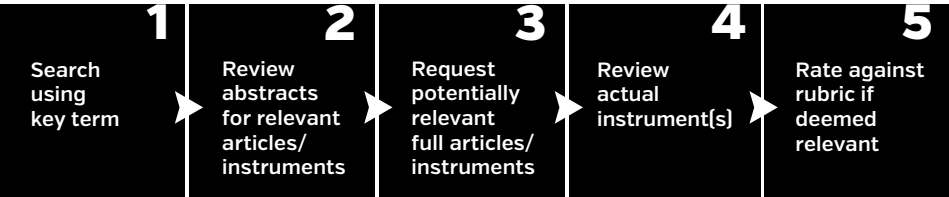
SEARCH TERMS	PURPOSE
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spirituality	Broadly looked at different kinds of spiritual assessment instruments ¹
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spirituality: Animism	Tapped into the idea of mana found in inanimate objects and nature
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spirituality: connection to land• Spirituality: place attachment• Spirituality: sense of place	Looked at the importance of nature and place
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Civic engagement• Collective efficacy• Community service• Environmental stewardship• Leadership• Personal responsibility	Looked at assessing the benefit of mana for common good
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hawaiian• Māori• Native• Indigenous	Located the importance of an indigenous perspective

SEARCH TERMS	PURPOSE
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Positive psychology	Captured the importance of strengths-based assessments
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Political power• Empowerment	Drew on the influential power of mana
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Collective efficacy• Collective• Organizational health• Organizational well-being	Explored communal and collective mana
¹ Yielded predominantly Christian measures	

A majority of instruments found in the first searches were individualistic and self-assessment questionnaires.

Each search yielded a set of article abstracts. Figure 3.4 demonstrates the steps taken for each search term. Abstracts were reviewed for relevance based on concepts validated in the literature review, and for an actual instrument or assessment method contained in the article. Abstracts had to meet the following criteria: 1) depict an instrument or construct, 2) pertain to the concept of mana as identified in the literature review, and 3) tap into at least three dimensions identified in the rubric. To be included for review against the rubric, the instrument must also have been utilized in a published study or publicly available source. In other words, items had to be available through public access or through the academic databases utilized. Where possible, instruments were requested from authors (though not all requests were fulfilled). Instruments that required payment were not reviewed, because of the potential for copyright infringement. Abstracts were eliminated if they did not include a measure of a search term, they replicated a measure already discussed in a previous abstract, had poor validity and/or reliability evidence, or were overly specific to a particular context. For example, many organizational health measures were created for specific organizations and the place-based measures were designed for a specific place.

Figure 3.4. Steps for Identifying Instruments to Review Against the Rubric



Of the 432 abstracts that included measures, 175 articles and instruments were pulled for potential assessment against the rubric. An additional 15 articles provided by stakeholders were reviewed. In total, 190 articles and full instruments were reviewed. Of those, 131 were deemed irrelevant based on: 1) not having all items available for review, 2) having poor evidence of validity and/or reliability, or 3) not meeting a sufficient number of the rubric categories. A total of 58 unique and relevant measures were included in the final instrument review. This included six instruments identified by stakeholders. The rubric provided a robust method for identifying the relevancy of abstracts and final assessment measures.

Search terms were broad, producing a number of irrelevant abstracts and instruments. For example, the search on “animism” resulted in a total of eleven abstracts, all of which focused on assessments for elementary-age children and referenced a natural environment not found in Hawai‘i. For the search on “homelessness,” the measures focused on groups coming from somewhere else to a new place outside of their culture. This would not be the case for Native Hawaiians in Hawai‘i. The search term for “Hawaii,” which included “Hawai‘i” and “Hawaiian measures” yielded few actual assessment measures. This is likely because most Native Hawaiian measures have not been published in peer-reviewed journals. The Native Hawaiian measures reviewed in the rubric came primarily from stakeholders. Organizational health and well-being focused on burnout and stress at work, which did not meet rubric criteria. The “racial identity” search returned assessment instruments focused on specific racial groups (primarily African-American, Latino, and Caucasian). The one measure that was reviewed was the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992), which is easily adaptable and used frequently with Native Hawaiian populations. The “sense of place” search showed specific place-based assessments, such as attachment to a particular neighborhood, community or geography. The search on “spirituality” yielded the most relevant assessment measures for review.

Instruments that had potential issues with copyright infringement were not reviewed. The Mental Measurements Yearbook (MMY) was not accessible. However, it is possible that this database may be useful for future searches. Some searches did not reveal any relevant instruments, and consequently did not capture that search domain in the analysis. Spirituality, and indigenous assessment and evaluation are growing areas for future research; future searches may yield more instruments. The 58 assessment instruments reviewed against the rubric are included in Figure 3.5 below:

Figure 3.5. Instruments with Full Review ¹

Note: **Bold** indicates the instrument is discussed further in the narrative of this document.

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Spirituality Assessment Scale	Howden, J. W. [1992]. <i>Development and psychometric characteristics of the Spirituality Assessment Scale</i> [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Texas Women’s University, Houston, TX.	Spirituality
Spiritual Orientation Inventory	Elkins, O. N., Hedstrom, L. J., Hughes, L. L., Leaf, J. A., & Saunders, C. [1988]. Toward a humanistic-phenomenological spirituality: Definition, description, and measurement. <i>Journal of Humanistic Psychology</i> , 28[4], 5-18.	Spirituality
Spirituality Scale	Delaney, C. [2005]. The Spirituality Scale: Development and psychometric testing of a holistic instrument to assess the human spiritual dimension. <i>Journal of Holistic Nursing</i> , 23[2], 145-167.	Spirituality

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Spiritual Health and Life-Orientation Measure (SHALOM)	Fisher, J. [2010]. Development and application of a spiritual well-being questionnaire called SHALOM. <i>Religions</i> , 1, 105–121.	Spirituality
Charismatic Inventory	Burke, K. & Brinkerhoff, M. B. [2001]. Capturing charisma: Notes on an elusive concept. <i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i> , 20, 274–284.	Charisma
Spiritual Involvement and Beliefs Scale	Hatch, R. L., Burg, M. A., Naberhaus, D. S., & Hellmich, L. K. [1998]. The spiritual involvement and beliefs scale. Development and testing of a new instrument. <i>Journal of Family Practice</i> , 46, 476–486.	Spirituality
Faith and Civic Engagement Scale	Droege, J. R., & Ferrari, J. R. [2012]. Toward a new measure for faith and civic engagement: Exploring the structure of the FACE scale. <i>Christian Higher Education</i> , 11[3], 146–157.	Civic Engagement
Spirituality in the Workplace	Liu, C. H., & Robertson, P. J. [2011]. Spirituality in the workplace: Theory and measurement. <i>Journal of Management Inquiry</i> , 20[1], 35–50.	Spirituality
Meaning in Life Questionnaire	Steger, M. F., Frazier, P., Oishi, S., & Kaler, M. [2006]. The meaning in life questionnaire: Assessing presence of and search for meaning in life. <i>Journal of Counseling Psychology</i> , 53, 80–93.	Well-being

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Hawaiian Culture Scale - Adolescent Version	Hishinuma, E. S., McArdle, J. J., Miyamoto, R. H., Nahulu, S. B., Makini, Jr., G. K., Yuen, Y. C., Nishimura, S. T., McDermott, Jr., J. F., Waldron, J. A., Luke, K. L., & Yates, A. [2000]. Psychometric Properties of the Hawaiian Culture Scale-Adolescent Version. <i>Psychological Assessment</i> , 12[2], 140–157.	Hawaiian
Nā Mea Hawai'i Scale	Rezentes W. C. [1993]. Na Mea Hawaii: A Hawaiian acculturation scale. <i>Psychological Reports</i> , 73[2], 383–393.	Hawaiian
Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure	Phinney, J. [1992]. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for user with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. <i>Journal of Adolescent Research</i> , 7, 156–176. Revised by Takayama, B., & Ledward, B. [2009]. <i>Hawaiian cultural influences in education (HCIE): Positive self-concept among Hawaiian students</i> . Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Research & Evaluation.	Ethnic identity
Hawaiian Cultural Connectedness Scale	Hawaiian Cultural Connectedness Scale Tibbetts, K. A., Medeiros, S., & Ng-Osorio, J. [2009]. Field-test findings of the nā Ōpio: Youth development and asset survey. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Research and Evaluation. Native Hawaiian	Native Hawaiian
Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership Inventory	Kaulukukui, G., & Nāho'opi'i, D. K. [2008]. The development of an inventory of exemplary Hawaiian leadership behaviors. <i>Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being</i> , 5, 95–151.	Native Hawaiian, Leadership

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Native Hawaiian Leadership Scale	Borofsky, A. R. H. [2010]. Measuring Native Hawaiian leadership among graduates of Native Hawaiian charter schools. <i>Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being</i> , 6, 169–185.	Leadership, Native Hawaiian
Multi-dimensional Model of Maori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE)	Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. [2010]. The multi-dimensional model of Māori identity and cultural engagement. <i>New Zealand Journal of Psychology</i> , 39, 8–28.	Maori, Cultural Beliefs
Hawaiian Ethnocultural Inventory (HEI)	Crabbe, K. [2002]. <i>Initial psychometric validation of He 'Ana Mana'o o Na Mo'omeheu Hawai'i A Hawaiian ethnocultural inventory (HEI) of cultural practices</i> [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Hawai'i, Manoa. Retrieved from https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/3011/uhm_phd_4239_r.pdf?sequence=2	Native Hawaiian, Indigenous
Sense of Well-Being Index	Center for Training and Evaluation Research in the Pacific [CTREP]. [2006]. Indigenous Sense of Well-Being Index.	Native Hawaiian, Indigenous
Collective Self-Esteem Scale	Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. [1992]. A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. <i>Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin</i> , 18, 302–318.	Collective
Collective Self-Efficacy Scale	Carroll, J.M, Rosson, M.B., & Zhou, J. [2005]. Collective efficacy as a measure of community. Center for Human-Computer Interaction.	Collective Self-Efficacy, Empowerment

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Community Service Self Entitlement Questionnaire [CSSEQ]	Hoffman, A., & Walsh, J. [2007] Reducing Self-Entitlement Attitudes through Service Learning. <i>Community College Enterprise</i> , 13, 81–91.	Community Service
Native Identity with a Multi- dimensional Model	Gonzalez, J., & Bennett, R. [2011]. Conceptualizing native identity with a multidimensional model. <i>American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research: The Journal of the National Center</i> , 17, 22–42.	Native identity, American Indian, Alaskan Native
Cultural values and beliefs scale among Dakota/ Nakota/Lakota people	Reynolds, W. R., Quevillon, R. P., Boyd, B., & Mackey, D. [2006]. Initial development of a cultural values and beliefs scale among Dakota/Nakota/Lakota people: a pilot study. <i>American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research: The Journal of the National Center</i> , 13, 70–93.	American Indian, Alaskan Native, Cultural Beliefs and Values
Spiritual Life Maps	Limb, G. E., & Hodge, D. R. [2007]. Developing Spiritual life maps as a culture-centered pictorial instrument with Native American clients. <i>Research on Social Work Practice</i> , 17, 296.	Spirituality, Native American, American Indian, Cultural competence
Sense of Coherence Scale	Antonovsky, A. [1993]. The structure and properties of the sense of coherence scale. <i>Social Science Medicine</i> , 36, 725–733.	Coherence, Well-being

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Mindful Attention Awareness Scale [MAAS]	Brown, K. W., & Ryan, R. M. [2003]. The benefits of being present: Mindfulness and its role in psychological well-being. <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> , 84, 822–848.	Mindfulness, Well-being
The CIVVICS Observation Tool	Stolte, L. C., Isenbarger, M., & Cohen, A. K. [2014]. <i>The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues, and Ideas</i> , 87, 44–51.	Civic Engage- ment, Empower- ment
My Culture, My Family, My School	McMahon, T. R., Kenyon, D. B., & Carter, J. S. [2013]. “My culture, my family, my school”: Identifying strengths and challenges in the lives and communities of American Indian youth. <i>Journal of Child Family Studies</i> , 22, 694–706.	American Indian, Indigenous
Adult Hope Scale [AHS]	Snyder, C. R., Harris, C., Anderson, J. R., Holleran, S. A., Irving, L. M., Sigmon, S. T., Yoshinobu, L., Gibb, J., Langell, C., & Harney, P. [1991]. The will and the ways: Development and validation of an individual-differences measure of hope. <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> , 60, 570–585.	Hope, Well-being
Inspiration Scale [IS]	Thrash, T. M., & Elliot, A. J. [2003]. Inspiration as a psychological construct. <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> , 84, 871–889.	Inspiration, Motivation
Satisfaction with Life Scale	Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larson, R. J., & Griffin, S. [1985]. The satisfaction with life scale. <i>Journal of Personality Assessment</i> , 49, 71–75.	Well-being

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Gratitude Questionnaire-6 [GQ-6]	McCullough, M. E., Emmons, R. A., & Tsang, J. [2002]. The grateful disposition: A conceptual and empirical topography. <i>Journal of Personality and Social Psychology</i> , 82, 112–127.	Gratitude, Well-being
Curiosity and Exploration Inventory [CEI-II]	Kashdan, T. B., Gallagher, M. W., Silvia, P. J., Winterstein, B. P., Breen, W. E., Terhar, D., & Steger, M. F. [2009]. The Curiosity and Exploration Inventory-II: Development, factor structure, and initial psychometrics. <i>Journal of Research in Personality</i> , 43, 987–998.	Curiosity, Motivation, Openness to Experience
Personal Growth Initiative Scale [PGIS]	Bartley, D. F., & Robitschek, C. [2000]. Career exploration: A multivariate analysis of predictors. <i>Journal of Vocational Behavior</i> , 56, 63–81.	Well-being, Personal growth, Actuali- zation
Rating Tool on Health and Social Indicators for Use with Indigenous Communities	Daniel, M., Cargo, M., Marks, E., Paquet, C., Simmons, D., Williams, M., Rowley, K., & O'Dea, K. [2009]. Rating health and social indicators for use with indigenous communities: A tool for balancing cultural and scientific utility. <i>Social Indicator Research</i> , 94, 241–256.	Indigenous, Health, Well-being
Hawaiian Indigenous Education Rubric	Kanaiaupuni, S. M., & Kawaiaaea, K. C. [2008]. E Lauhoe Mai Nā Wa'a: Toward a Hawaiian Indigenous Education Teaching Framework. <i>Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being</i> , 5, 67–91.	Native Hawaiian, Cultural knowledge, Stewardship
Personal Social Capital Scale	Chen, X., Stanton, B., Gong, J., Fang, X. & Li, X. [2009], Personal social capital scale: An instrument for health and behavioral research. <i>Health Education Research</i> , 24, 306–317.	Health, Well-being

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Growth and Empowerment Measure (GEM)	Haswell, M. R., Kavanagh, D., Tsey, K., Reilly, L., Cadet-James, Y., Laliberte, A., Wilson, A., & Doran, C. [2010]. Psychometric validation of the growth and empowerment measure [GEM] applied with Indigenous Australians. <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry</i> , 44, 791-799.	Empowerment, Aboriginal, Indigenous, Well-being
Synergy Scale	Jones, J., & Barry, M. [2011]. Developing a scale to measure synergy in health promotion partnerships. <i>IUHPE – Global Health Promotion</i> , 18, 36-44.	Health Promotion, Partnerships
Death Transcendence Scale	VandeCreek, L., & Nye, C. [1993]. Testing the Death Transcendence Scale. <i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i> , 32[3], 279-283.	Death, Transcendence, Spirituality
The Connectedness to Nature Scale	Mayer, S.F. & Frantz, C.M. [2004]. Connectedness to nature scale: A measure of individuals' feeling in community with nature. <i>Journal of Environmental Psychology</i> , 24, 503-5515.	Environmental Connectedness, Nature
Place Attachment Inventory	Semken, S., & Freeman, C. [2008]. Sense of place in the practice and assessment of place-based science teaching. <i>Science Education</i> , 92, 1042-1057.	Environmental Connectedness, Nature
Nature Relatedness Scale	Nisbet, E. K. L., Zelenski, J. M., & Murphy, S. A. [2009]. The Nature Relatedness Scale: Linking individuals' connection with nature to environmental concern and behavior. <i>Environment and Behavior</i> , 41, 715-740.	Environmental Connectedness, Stewardship, Nature

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Servant Leadership Assessment Instrument	Dennis, R., & Bocarena, M. [2005]. Development of the servant leadership assessment instrument. <i>Leadership & Organization Development Journal</i> , 26, 600–615.	Leadership, Community Service
Apache Hopefulness Scale	Hammond, V. B. S., Watson, P.J., O'Leary, B., & Cothran, L. [2009]. Preliminary assessment of Apache hopefulness: Relationships with hopelessness and with collective as well as personal self-esteem. <i>American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research</i> , 16, 42–51.	American Indian, Alaskan Native, Well-being
Spiritual Ecograms	Hodge, D. R. [2005]. Spiritual ecograms: A new assessment instrument for identifying client's strengths in space and across time. <i>Families in Society</i> , 86, 287. Hodge, D. R. & Williams, T. R. [2002], Assessing African-American spirituality with spiritual ecomaps, <i>Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services</i> , 83, 585–595.	Spirituality
Spiritual History	Hodge, D. R. [2001]. Spiritual assessment: A review of major qualitative methods and a new framework for assessing spirituality. <i>Social Work</i> , 46, 203.	Spirituality
Spiritual Lifemaps	Hodge, D. R. [2005]. Spiritual lifemaps: A client-centered pictorial instrument for spiritual assessment, planning, and intervention. <i>Social Work</i> , 50, 77–88.	Spirituality
Measuring Public Service Motivation	Perry, J. L. [1996]. Measuring public service motivation: An assessment of construct reliability and validity. <i>Journal of public administration research and theory</i> , 6, 5–22.	Motivation, Community Service, Leadership

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Community Service Attitudes Scale	Shiarella, A., McCarthy, A., & Tucker, M. [2000], Development and construct validity of scores on the community service attitudes scale. <i>Educational and Psychological Measurement</i> , 60, 286–300.	Community Service, Leadership
Multidimen- sional Scale of Perceived Social Support	Zimet, G., Dahlem, N., Zimet, S., & Farley, G. [1988]. The multidimensional scale of perceived social support. <i>Journal of Personality Assessment</i> , 52, 30–41.	Well-being, Social support
Sociopolitical Control Scale	Zimmerman, M.A., & Zahniser, J.H. [1991]. Refinements of sphere-specific measures of perceived control: Development of a sociopolitical control scale. <i>Journal of Community Psychology</i> , 19, 189–203.	Leadership, Political Power
Spiritual Well- Being Scale	Paloutzian, R. F., & Ellison, C. W. (1982). Loneliness, spiritual well-being, and quality of life. In L. A. Peplau & D. Perlman (Eds.), <i>Loneliness: A sourcebook of current theory, research and therapy</i> . New York: Wiley.	Spirituality, Well-being
Scanlan Well- Being Survey	Scanlan, K. [2012]. <i>The relationship of cultural affiliation, cultural congruency to depression, anxiety and psychological well being among Native Hawaiians</i> [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Columbia University: New York.	Native Hawaiian Cultural Affiliation, Well-being

INSTRUMENT TITLE	CITATION	RELEVANT CATEGORY
Measurement of Political Opinion Leadership	Singleton, G., & Andersen, P. A. [1980, February]. <i>The measurement of political opinion leadership</i> . Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Speech Communication Association, Portland, OR.	Political Power, Leadership
Role for the African American Church in Urban School Reform Survey	Middleton, J. A. [2001]. A role for the African American church in urban school reform. <i>Urban Education</i> , 36, 426–437.	Political Power, Leadership
Political Skill Inventory	Ferris, G. R., Treadway, D. C., Kolodinsky, R. W., Hochwarter, W. A., Kacmar, C. J., Douglas, C., & Fink, D. D. [2005]. Development and validation of the Political Skill Inventory. <i>Journal of Management</i> , 31, 126–152.	Political Power, Leadership
Other-Reports of Political Skill	Meurs, J. A., Gallagher, V. C., & Perrewew, P. L. [2010]. The role of political skill in the stressor-outcome relationship: Differential predictions for self- and other-reports of political skill. <i>Journal of Vocational Behavior</i> , 76, 520–533.	Political power, Leadership

4. Summary of Select Instruments

Of the 58 assessment instruments, twenty-one were chosen for discussion. The twenty-one articles chosen had at least one instrument from the following key areas:

- Spirituality
- Native Hawaiian Culture
- Leadership
- Collective self-efficacy
- Connection to Nature
- Civic Engagement
- Political Power

Together, these areas represent various aspects of overall well-being of the individual and/or organizations or entities. The 21 assessment instruments were selected for discussion, based on those assessment measures that met the highest number of categories measured against the rubric. Additional instruments that captured unique domains were also captured. For example, the Spiritual Life Map provided a pictorial qualitative assessment and unique observational measures. The commonalities and gaps for the 21 instruments can be found in Appendix G (in digital version only). Individual items and theoretically relevant articles are also briefly reviewed. The final rubric (Appendix H-digital version) includes a full description of all 58 relevant assessment instruments, all of which may have relevance to the discussion of *mana* assessment. Discussion of the selected 21 instruments is provided below, and further psychometric information can be found in the original articles, which are referenced in the Bibliography.

1

Spirituality Scale

[DELANEY, 2005]

is a 21-item measure that assesses beliefs, institutions and lifestyle choices, as well as practices and rituals representative of human spirituality designed to guide spiritual interventions. It has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.94, indicating good reliability (internal consistency). It is a survey that focuses on beliefs using a Likert-type scale. It was tested on Caucasian adults with chronic diseases, and measures the relationship between self and a higher power. It is designed to be a

holistic measure of spirituality. This three-factor model includes self-discovery, eco-awareness and relationships. Sample questions for the factor of self-discovery include: “I have a sense of purpose,” “I see the sacredness of everyday life,” “Prayer is an integral part of my spiritual nature.” Sample questions for the factor of eco-awareness include: “The earth is sacred,” “I believe that nature should be respected.” Sample questions for the third factor of relationships include: “I am able to receive love from others,” “I believe there is a connection between all things that I cannot see but can sense.” As with most of the assessment measures, the Spirituality Scale focuses on an individual rather than a group, on beliefs more than behaviors, and relies on self-assessment rather than observation. The scale is multidimensional, tapping into personal, ecological and relational definitions of spirituality. Some items such as “I have a sense of purpose” appear more directly relevant to the concept of mana than others such as “I meditate to gain access to my inner spirit.” Items could potentially be rewritten for relevance to Native Hawaiian-serving organizations.

2

Spiritual Health And Life-Orientation Measure (SHALOM)

[FISHER, 2010]

is a 20-item scale with five factors related to the quality of relationships each person has with themselves, other people, and the environment and/or God in personal, communal, environmental, and transcendental domains of spiritual well-being. The title SHALOM was chosen to represent the Hebrew word, which means “completeness, wholeness, health, peace, welfare, safety, soundness, tranquility, prosperity, fullness, rest, harmony, and the absence of agitation or discord” (Fisher, p. 4). All five factors are considered “developing” and assessed in three columns for the following: 1) “ideal for spiritual health,” 2) “how you feel,” and 3) “help needed.” This is assessed on a Likert-type scale ranging from *very high* to *very low*. Questions center on “a love of other people,” “a connection with nature,” “self-awareness,” “joy in life,” “peace with God,” “prayer life,” “thinking at a higher level” and “a sense of quest in the environment.” This measure is unique, because it first looks at whether the person values a specific domain, then how they feel about it, and lastly if they need more help in this domain. The measure looks at spirituality not as present or absent, but developed over time. As with the majority of assessments reviewed, SHALOM looks at individual spirituality, uses a self-assessment Likert-type scale format and focuses on beliefs. It stood out as unique when compared to the other spirituality measures, because it used a developmental perspective.

3**Spiritual Life Maps**

[LIMB & HODGE, 2007]

is a process-oriented hand-drawn qualitative assessment tool. The instrument facilitates a smooth transition from assessment to exploring and planning interventions. It provides a series of questions to inform a process-oriented inquiry. Examples of questions include: “What does your faith teach you about trials?” “Are there certain rituals or regular spiritual practices that help you cope with life’s trials?” “Are some rituals particularly effective in certain situations?” A case study is presented to demonstrate how the instrument might be used in clinical settings. No validity or reliability information is available. The author is Native American, and developed the instruments with Native American clients and communities. This is an indigenous, relational and multidimensional measure. It is strengths-based. It is qualitative, and the pictorial approach allows for individual and group processes to measure thoughts, behaviors, individuals, knowledge, skills, and behaviors. The author’s other assessment tool, *Spiritual Eco-grams*, uses a similar approach but focuses on a genogram rather than a life map. According to the author, this qualitative, spiritual mapping approach was culturally relevant for use with Native Americans.

4**Death Transcendence Scale**

[VANDECREEK & NYE, 1993]

is a 26-item scale with Likert-type rating and includes the following subscales: Mysticism, Religion, Nature, Creative and Biosocial. The Mysticism subscale included items such as “I have had an experience in which I felt everything in the world to be part of the same whole,” “I have never had an experience in which I became aware of the unity of all things” (reverse scored). The Religious subscale included items such as “My death does not end my personal existence,” “I believe in life after death.” The Nature subscale includes items such as “Only nature is forever,” “Streams, trees, and people are all one in nature.” The Creative subscale includes items such as “It is important for me to do something in life for which I will be remembered after I die,” “To be creative is to live forever.” The Biosocial subscale includes items such as “Without children, life is incomplete,” “My life may end, but that which is important will live on through my family”

(reverse scored). It is multidimensional and strengths-based and touches on relationships, actualization and spirituality. It does not look at Native Hawaiian culture, leadership, political power or recognition from others. It focuses on beliefs. Normed on white college students, Cronbach's alpha for the five subscales and the whole scale ranged from .79 to .74. A Confirmatory Factor Analysis found some redundancy and the scale has since been shortened to 15-items. A unique component of this measure was that it assessed the concept of legacy.

5 Charismatic Inventory

[BURK & BRINKERHOFF, 2001]

is a set of 10 opposite word pairs looking at charismatic leadership as measured by followers. In contrast to most of the measures reviewed, it involves an observational third-party rating. Cronbach's alpha was .83. Validity was assessed by examining mean scores when individuals rated well-known charismatic and non-charismatic leaders. It was found to be adequate in differentiating the two leaders identified. Word pairs include words such as "Creative-Unimaginative," "Respected-Unrespected," "Powerful-Weak." The measure is multidimensional, non-Likert and non-self-report. It assesses leadership in a multidimensional, strengths-based and spiritual way. The measure includes relationships with other entities, actualization, leadership and recognition from others. It does not include political power or Native Hawaiian concepts. The current word pairs do not capture Native Hawaiian leadership, but lend themselves to adaptation.

6 Hawaiian Cultural Connectedness Scale – 'Ōpio form

[HCC: KAMEHAMEA SCHOOLS, 2015]

captures cultural connections not found in the Western measures reviewed. This measure was developed for Kamehameha Schools and is part of the larger Nā 'Ōpio: Youth Development and Assets Survey ('Ōpio Survey). It includes six subscales (connection to 'āina, cultural values and attachment, connection to 'ohana, cultural knowledge and practice, cultural issues engagement and Hawaiian language) that assesses youth connection to Hawaiian culture and practices on 4-, 5-, and 7-point Likert-type scales. Example items include "Taking only what you need from the ocean or forest without wasting resources," "Chanting oli," "I strive to show aloha for everyone I interact with." The instrument was validated with nearly 3,000 'ōpio in grades 6-12. The report which uses the HCC (Tibbets, Medeiros, & Ng-Osorio, 2009) specifies that the instrument is

meant “to assess impact of programs or services on youth development (with appropriate controls and repeated measurements)” and “to support research on healthy youth development” (p. 4). Validity evidence consists of the finding that youth who are enrolled in Hawaiian culture-based programs show higher levels of connectedness to Hawaiian culture. The survey is multidimensional and includes relationships, actualization, leadership and political power. While the majority of assessment measures focused on beliefs, this assessment also includes behaviors, skills and knowledge. It does not include perspectives from others, but does capture the majority of the categories on the rubric. The author should be contacted to learn more about internal consistency and validation.

7

Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership Inventory

(KAULUKUKUI & NĀHO'OPI'I, 2008)

is a third-party Q-sort inventory used to distinguish Native Hawaiian from non-Native Hawaiian leaders. It has over 90 items loading on one of four Native Hawaiian leadership traits (factors): acknowledgement of Hawaiian culture as the source of leadership, authority through responsible behavior, Hawaiian worldview and personal aptitude for leadership. The authors conducted a validation study with 276 adult Hawaiian community members (50% of the validation sample was over the age of 56). The instrument discerned exemplar Hawaiian leaders from exemplar non-Hawaiian leaders. The five items with the largest mean in differentiating between Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian leaders included: “Demonstrates grounding in core cultural values of their Hawaiian ancestors, especially aloha, lōkahi, and ‘ohana,” “Acknowledges teachings from ancestors,” “Draws upon the legacy of their ancestor’s strengths, successes, failures, and limitations in fulfilling their own fate and destiny,” “Treasures and participates in Hawaiian cultural activities, embraces them as his/her own, and demonstrates an understanding of the importance of their proliferation,” and “Is concerned with the greater good of the Hawaiian community.” The inventory is observational, skills-based, includes self and other, qualitative, multidimensional and tested with a Native Hawaiian sample. It includes actualization, leadership, political power, recognition from others, and Native Hawaiian knowledge, beliefs and behaviors. One critique is that it may take a long time to complete, because of the large number of items. Another limitation is that it may need to be updated to include the proliferation of various kinds of Native Hawaiian leaders, not only those in hula and chant, but also in fishing, taro cultivation, carving and other exemplary areas (K. Chan, personal communication, June 20, 2015).

8**Native Hawaiian Leadership Scale**

[BOROFSKY, 2010]

is theoretically based on the Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership Inventory. This is a 10-item self-report measure used to assess Native Hawaiian leadership. The instrument was tested with 47 Native Hawaiian young adults. The Cronbach's alpha for this measure is .86; no validity or factor analytic information was available. Questions include: "I am guided to lead by my ancestors," "I lead in hula and chant," and "I serve as a role-model to the younger generation." The instrument assesses domains of skills and beliefs. It is strengths-based, spiritual, relational, multidimensional and Native Hawaiian beliefs focused. For widespread use, the measure would need more psychometric testing on a larger sample, including a factor or similar analysis.

9**Hawaiian Ethnocultural Inventory**

[CRABBE, K., 2002]

is a five-factor, 80-item self-report survey that uses a Likert-type scale. It assesses Hawaiian Ethnocultural identity along 27 cultural practices. The five factors are as follows: Beliefs in Hawaiian Cultural Practices, Knowledge of Hawaiian Cultural Practices, Frequency of Performing Arts, Frequency of Ocean Traditions, and Frequency of Spiritual and Family Customs. Example items include: "To what extent do you believe ho oponopono or cultural meditation/healing process helps to connect with the Hawaiian culture?" "How strong is your belief in carrying on the practice of raising animals as part of Hawaiian culture?" "How knowledgeable are you regarding the practice of hanai?" "How much do you know about various mo olelo or stories about your genealogy?" "In the past year, to what extent did you participate in lei making activities?" and "In the past month, how often did you and your family practice family gatherings, caring for others, respecting elders, and sharing a part of your life?" The measure is comprehensive, theoretically sound and examines: 1) knowledge of a particular cultural practice, 2) belief in a cultural practice, and 3) frequency of practicing that cultural practice. It is Native Hawaiian normed and focused. It is also multidimensional and taps spiritual, relationship, leadership, actualization, political power and Native Hawaiian knowledge, beliefs, and behavioral dimensions. In contrast to other Native Hawaiian assessment measures, this inventory is unique in that it assesses the frequency of each behavior. It would need to be tested using a larger sample, and the number of items should be reduced for common use.

10 **Multidimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE) Māori Cultural Efficacy**

[HOUKAMAU & SIBLEY, 2010]

is a 46-item self-report survey using a Likert-type scale to assess six distinct dimensions of identity and cultural engagement in Māori populations. The multidimensional factors are: 1) group membership evaluation, 2) socio-political consciousness, 3) cultural efficacy and active identity engagement, 4) spirituality, 5) interdependent self-concept, and 6) authenticity beliefs. It has a Cronbach's alpha $>.70$ and validity in that Māori score higher than non-Māori. Sample items from each of the six factors include: "I reckon being Māori is awesome," "For me, a big part of being Māori is my relationships with other Māori people," "I believe that *Tupuna* (ancient ancestors) can communicate with you if they want to," "I don't know how to act like a real Māori on a *marae*," (reverse scored) "I stand up for Māori rights," "Real Māori put their *whanau* first." So far, this measure has only been used with Māori populations and would have to be re-written for other indigenous groups, including Native Hawaiians.

11 **Collective Efficacy Scale**

[CARROLL, ROSSON, & ZHOU, 2005]

is a 17-item self-assessment using a Likert-type scale. It is based on Bandura's construct of self-efficacy, which has been shown to be a theoretically more sound measure of well-being than self-esteem. This measure focuses on the ability of a group to have a locus of control and to work together to influence change, politically and culturally. The authors developed a computer-based collective efficacy scale specific to a Caucasian community in Virginia. The measure demonstrates good validity (those high in community collective efficacy demonstrated more activist behaviors in their communities and had stronger feelings of belonging) and reliability (Cronbach's alpha ranged from .69 to .83). However, items are specific to a Virginia community and the issues they face. Example items include: "I am confident that our community can create adequate resources to develop new jobs despite changes in the economy" and "Our community can greatly improve the quality of education in Montgomery County without help from the Commonwealth of Virginia." It is a self-assessment, strengths-based survey that is secular and relational. Compared to the majority of the assessment

measures reviewed, this scale is unique in that it is a group rather than an individual assessment. It is empowerment-focused, and includes collective political power and influence. The author also created a collective efficacy scale for teachers, which includes items such as: “As teachers of this school, we are able to reach even the most difficult students because we are all committed to the same educational goals” and “I am convinced that we, as teachers, can guarantee high instructional quality even when resources are limited or become scarce.” A strength of this measure is that these items look at the ability of a group of people to create and effect change.

12

Indigenous Sense of Well-Being Index

(CENTER FOR TRAINING AND EVALUATION RESEARCH IN THE PACIFIC, 2006)

is a 30-question survey that uses a Likert-type scale to assess indigenous well-being. It focuses on sense of security, sense of belonging, sense of resilience, sense of family and sense of culture. It was tested with 121 respondents from a 2006 cohort, including 46 Native Hawaiians. (2007 and 2008 cohort data were collected, but not reported). Example questions included: “Given that you have adequate housing, health, food, and clothing—how important are the following to your well-being? Rate the factors below from 1-20,” Response options included “spirituality,” “a better education,” “knowing family history” and “knowing about and exercising my rights as an Aboriginal person,” among others. The index has adequate reliability for four of the five domains with Native Hawaiians (between .68 and .88 for sense of security, sense of belonging, sense of resilience and sense of family). However, the Cronbach’s alpha for sense of culture was .51. The sense of family domain was low for the Native Hawaiian sample, which may be due to different conceptions of family. It is validated against an indigenous measure that included Native Hawaiians. It is also multidimensional, strengths-based and looks at relationships, actualization and leadership. It does not measure spiritual and relational domains or political power. A limitation is that the index has yet to be validated with larger samples.

13

Rating Tool on Health and Social Indicators for Use with Indigenous Communities

[DANIEL, CARGO, MARKS, PAQUET, SIMMONS, WILLIAMS, ROWLEY, & O'DEA, 2009]

is a rating tool to assess the scientific utility and cultural appropriateness of community-level indicators for application with indigenous populations. Indicator criteria proposed by the U.S. Institute of Medicine were culturally adapted through review of the literature, and consultations with academic and indigenous stakeholders. Pre-testing and collaborator feedback drove the iterative development of the tool with indigenous stakeholder groups in Canada, Aotearoa and Australia. Pilot testing with 17 raters from different countries involved rating the same selection of six health and social indicators, using a six-point ordinal scale. The final version of the rating tool includes 16 questions within three domains: importance, soundness and viability. Example items include: "Would this [health] indicator be useful for indigenous people (your community)?" "If the condition represented by this indicator changed, would health change?" "Is the concept represented by this indicator related to indigenous knowledge, values, or beliefs?" and "Should this indicator only be measured by indigenous researchers?" This set of questions can assesses how valuable a particular indigenous group finds an assessment tool. It is a bottom-up, process-based tool that is multidimensional, strengths-based, relational and indigenous. It does not include the domains of spirituality or political power. However, it is a unique tool, because it was tested with a large indigenous sample and is process-based.

14

Servant Leadership Assessment Instrument

[DENNIS & BOCARENA, 2005]

was built from Patterson's servant leadership theory and aims to measure the constructs of this working theory (love, humanity, altruism, vision, trust, service and empowerment). Three separate data collection periods were used for the development of this instrument, reducing the 71-item scale to 42 items yielding five factors: empowerment, love, humility, trust and vision. Sample scale items from each factor include: "My leader is genuinely interested in me as a person," "My leader empowers me with opportunities so that I develop my skills," "My leader has sought my vision regarding the organization's vision," "My leader knows I am above corruption" and "My leader is not interested in self-glorification." This

measure is uniquely compared to many of the other measures, because it is a bottom-up observational assessment, rather than a self-assessment. It has strong validity and reliability, and is intended to be completed within ten minutes. On the rubric, it matches the criteria of being strengths-based and assessing spirituality, actualization, relationships, political power, recognition from others; it also taps the domains of behavior, beliefs, and knowledge. This measure could be paired with other leadership measures and adapted to a Native Hawaiian context.

15

Personal Social Capital Scale

[CHEN, STANTON, GONG, FANG, & LI, 2009]

is a survey that focuses on social factors related to health and behavior. The instrument contains ten composite items based on 42 items for assessing personally owned social capital, including bonding and bridging different capitals. Questions are asked about people in six categories: family members, relatives, neighbors, friends, coworkers and other acquaintances/former classmates. The scale asks 10 questions about these people such as the number of people in each category, the number of people with whom the respondent has routine contact, the resources controlled by people in each category, participation in community groups/organizations, and power and influence of different groups and organizations. The instrument was assessed using cross-sectional survey data collected among 128 participants (64 women and 64 men) with a participation rate of 95%. Results from correlation and confirmatory factor analysis indicated adequate reliability and internal consistency. The scale scores significantly predicted a number of theoretically related factors, including people skills, being sociable, social capital investment, informational support, instrumental support, emotional support and collective efficacy. This instrument provides a new tool for cross-cultural research to assess personally owned social capital. It is a survey self-assessment using a Likert-type scale. It aligned with domains for multidimensional, strong validity and reliability, normed on diverse populations (Chinese and American), strengths-based, relational and actualization.

16 Growth and Empowerment Measure

[HASWELL, KAVANAGH, TSEY, REILLY, CADET-JAMES, LALIBERTE, WILSON, & DORAN, 2010]

is a measure developed to capture change in dimensions of empowerment as defined and described by Aboriginal Australians. The measure includes the following: 14-item Emotional Empowerment Scale (EES14) and 12 Scenarios. It also includes two questions about angry and happy feelings. No sample items were available. The measure was tested with 184 Aboriginal Australians involved in social health activities. Results indicated a two-factor solution for the EES: Self-Capacity and Inner Peace. The scenarios fell on two factors, including Healing and Enabling Growth, and Connection and Purpose. On the rubric, the measure met criteria as multidimensional, having reliability and validity information available, being strengths-based and indigenous-normed, and including spirituality, relationship, actualization and leadership.

17 Synergy Scale

[JONES & BARRY, 2011]

This scale was developed to assess synergy in health promotion partnerships. It was a robust national study with five focus groups for scale development. The scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha of .91. The scale measures performance and direct experience of organizational partnerships. The Synergy Scale consists of eight questions on a Likert-type scale that examine how health organizations are partnering with one another to increase overall health outcomes. Questions on a 1-5 Likert-type scale included: "Feelings of energy, excitement, and passion," "All partners are benefiting from the activities of the partnership" and "The skills and unique perspectives of the partners complement each other." From the instrument searches, it is one of the only relevant organizational measures found. It is a survey measure, assessing other groups and organizational partnerships. On the rubric, it is strengths-based, spiritual and relational, and focuses on actualization, political power, recognition from others, partnerships, and includes behaviors with attitudes and beliefs.

18 Connectedness to Nature Scale

[MAYER & FRANTZ, 2004]

is a 14-item self-assessment that uses a Likert-type scale. It measures individual's levels of emotional connection to the natural world. The scale has strong validity and reliability across multiple studies, and high correlations with subjective well-being. Example items include: "I often feel a sense of oneness with the natural world around me," "When I think of my life, I imagine myself to be a part of a larger cyclical process of living," "My personal welfare is independent of the welfare of the natural world" (reverse scored) and "I often feel part of the web of life." On the rubric, it is strengths-based and includes nature, spirituality, relationships and actualization. As with the majority of the assessment measures, it looked at beliefs, but did not address behaviors and knowledge. Other place- and nature-based measures used items too specific. The Connectedness to Nature Scale emerged as one of the measures that tapped into a non-specific domain of place. However, it was not normed with an indigenous population.

19 Community Services Attitude Scale CSAS

[SHIARELLA, MCCARTHY, & TUCKER, 2000]

is an instrument for measuring college students' attitudes about community service. The CSAS was based on Schwartz's 1982 helping behavior model. Scores on the scales of the CSAS yielded moderate to strong reliability evidence (Cronbach's alphas range from .72 to .93). Principal components analysis (a variant of factor analysis) yielded results consistent with the Schwartz model. In addition, the CSAS scale scores were positively correlated with gender, college major, community service experience, and intentions to engage in community service. Sample items include: "Contributing my skills will make the community a better place," "I am responsible for doing something about improving the community," "It is important to help people in general," "When I meet people who are having a difficult time, I wonder how I would feel If I were in their shoes," "I would experience personal satisfaction knowing that I am helping others," "Lack of participation in community service will cause severe damage to our society" and "I will participate in a community service project in the next year." Following factor analysis, researchers pared the instrument to a single scale. The final scale itself was not available, but from the description provided, it focuses on the domain of beliefs and the individual. The scale was tested with a sample of Caucasian college students. It is multidimensional, strengths-based and secular, and taps relationships, actualization, leadership and political power.

20 Role for the African American Church in Urban School Reform Survey

(MIDDLETON, 2001)

This eight-item survey was developed to assess 75 African American Church leaders' perceptions of the role of the African American church in urban school reform. It could easily be adapted to address other political issues for other groups. The questions are open-ended, focus on education and provide qualitative information about the most important issues in respondents' communities, as well as critical events in the last six years. This survey addresses organizational power and the ability of an indigenous or ethnic organization to exert that power in their communities. This survey is unique in that it is qualitative and tested solely with African Americans. The open-ended questions include: "Which educational issues have been particularly important to the African American community?" "What has the African American church leadership done in relation these issues?" "What educational issues in the future will be important to the African American church?" and "What have been the most critical events in the last 6 years involving African American church leadership?" Elements that make this survey unique are that its questions are open ended, and it focuses on a group and on political issues that could be modified to a Hawaiian local context.

21 Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-R)

(PHINNEY, 1992)

The author originally developed the MEIM, a 14-item instrument to assess ethnic identity across diverse groups. The MEIM has consistently shown good reliability across studies with alphas above .80 across a wide range of ethnic groups and ages (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Psychometric analyses of the MEIM revealed that the questions address two main factors of exploration and commitment (Phinney & Ong). The MEIM-R includes six items using a 5-point Likert-type scale. Example items include: "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs" and "I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me." Two additional questions could be added to the measure, as used in past research using the MEIM-R with Native Hawaiian groups (Borofsky, 2008). These two questions are: "Being Hawaiian is important to me" (salience construct) and "It is important for me to know my genealogy from both my parents" (genealogy construct).

5. Identification of Commonalities and Gaps, and Discussion

The above-referenced 21 measures look at different aspects of mana identified as important from the literature review. As a whole, this set of measures covers the domains of spirituality, cultural connectedness, collective agency, leadership, sense of place, service and overall well-being. All measures were strengths-based, included the spiritual domain (broadly defined) and accounted for relationships in some capacity. Some of the measures were tested with indigenous groups, predominately Native American and Māori. Some of the selected measures, particularly for culture and leadership, focused on Native Hawaiians.

A few of the unique measures assessed previously unexplored domains. This included a process-based measure of indigenous assessment, a developmental measure of spirituality, a qualitative mapping tool, and depicting Native Hawaiian behaviors and contexts. The spirituality searches yielded the most varied and relevant results, but because they focused on Christian-based faith, they required the most filtering and review prior to analysis against the rubric.

Gaps

Overall, the search revealed a set of instruments that were largely individual, psychologically-focused and grounded in an epistemology reflecting “Western” ways of knowing. The majority of the assessments are paper-and-pencil based self-assessments that use a Likert-type scale, and focus on knowledge and beliefs rather than skills/knowledge and practice/behaviors. If a measure did focus on a behavior, it did not usually assess how often that behavior occurred. Measures of leadership and political power, which are important components of mana, were largely self-assessments. A theme in the literature review was that an important piece of indigenous leadership and political power comes through recognition from others. Therefore, more instruments should utilize the perspective of others, both known and unknown, in assessing leadership and political power. Many of the spirituality measures reflected a Christian view. While some items addressed the natural world, no relevant measures of animism or Native Hawaiian spirituality were located. Most assessments did not include political power. A search was added to cover this construct, providing four additional measures for review using the rubric. Upon examination of all measures reviewed against the rubric, the majority of assessment measures were tested with mostly Caucasian

samples of college students in the United States. Those measures that were tested with indigenous populations had small samples, indicating a need for larger norm groups. A measure of mana would need to address the gaps by: 1) testing with a large indigenous population, 2) adapting to Native Hawaiian contexts, and 3) including individualistic and collective domains, self and other assessment, political power, and beliefs, behaviors and knowledge.

Relevant Items

Of the 58 instruments that were aligned with the rubric, 24 coded as “maybe” relevant had related items. These include, the Apache Hopefulness Scale (Hammond, Watson, O’Leary, & Cothran, 2009), Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006), Spiritual Involvement and Beliefs Scale (Hatch, Burg, Naberhaus, & Hellmich, 1998), Faith and Civic Engagement Scale (Droege & Ferrari, 2012), Gratitude Questionnaire (McCullough, Emmons, & Tsang, 2002), Personal Growth Initiative Scale (Bartley & Robitschek, 2000), and the Nature Relatedness Scale (Nisbet, Zelenski, & Murphy, 2009). The four measures that scored the most relevant or possible relevant items are discussed below.

From the Apache Hopefulness Scale (Hammond, Watson, O’Leary, & Cothran, 2009), a Likert-type self-assessment scale, the first three questions related to family, education and occupation: “I see myself having good relationships with my family members in the future,” “I do not think I will ever be able to improve my education status from the point I am at now” and “I feel hopeful that I will be self-confident in my future jobs.” However, the overall measure focuses on self-esteem more than self-efficacy. Family, educational connections and aspirations may be important domains to study.

The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (Steger, Frazier, Oishi, & Kaler, 2006), like other spirituality measures, looked at individual self-assessment beliefs. Some relevant items included: “My life has a clear sense of purpose” and “I understand my life’s meaning.” The Spiritual Involvements and Beliefs Scale (Hatch, Burg, Naberhaus, & Hellmich, 1998) included possibly relevant items such as: “Participating in spiritual activities helps me forgive people,” “Some experiences can be understood only through one’s spiritual beliefs” and “I can find meaning in times of hardship.” The Faith and Civic Engagement Scale (Droege & Ferrari, 2012) included relevant items such as: “It is important to me personally

to influence social values,” “It is important to me personally to become involved in programs to clean the environment,” “It is important to me personally to participate in a community action plan,” “It is important to me personally to help promote racial understanding” and “It is important to me personally to become a community leader.” The majority of the spiritual assessment measures contained domains already assessed by other instruments with stronger psychometric properties. This means that when grouped together, some instruments may have had items that were stronger indicators of one construct, or had larger samples in which they were validated or showed evidence of predicting outcomes one would expect. Many limitations of instruments related to psychometrics are often due to the author’s approach in examining psychometrics, not having funding to do additional research on the measures and/or not central to the published article (e.g., psychometric testing may have been done, but not reported in-depth). Future users might develop a new spirituality measure combining the strengths of each assessment, and culturally adapting it to suit their particular organizational needs. However, it is important to keep in mind that psychometric analyses are important to determine whether the measures are reliable and valid. While all the measures were reviewed against the rubric, there may be some aspects and items that are relevant in other contexts.

Articles of Theoretical Relevance

Some of the articles did not have assessment measures, but offered useful theoretical constructs. One examined factors associated with successful educational outcomes for Native Hawaiian students in the public school system (Coryn, Schröter, & McCowen, 2014). The factors for successful schools serving Native Hawaiians included the following: collaborative school governance structures, linked decision structures and data, a well-established and dedicated teaching force, focused learning communities, engaged leaders, shared accountability among staff for their students’ learning, a staff commitment to continuous learning, and effective supplementary and after-school programming. These same factors might be relevant not only to public schools, but to other Native Hawaiian-serving organizations as well.

Many Native Hawaiian researchers and scholars have emphasized the importance of a holistic view. For example, Noreen Mokuau (2011) summarized the holistic perspective of health, whereby all parts of the individual (biological, psychological, cognitive, social, spiritual) and world (individual, family, community,

Culturally based solutions for Native Hawaiians draw upon the strengths of the culture, with core elements of spirituality, values and practices, and the inclusion of Native Hawaiians in the process of design, implementation and evaluation.

environment) are considered. This speaks to the need for indigenous assessment to embrace a holistic, ecological approach. Culturally based solutions for Native Hawaiians draw upon the strengths of the culture, with core elements of spirituality, values and practices, and the inclusion of Native Hawaiians in the process of design, implementation and evaluation. This aligns with theoretical themes for indigenous assessment in other countries.

The article *Australian Perspectives on United Nations Global Frameworks* (Taylor, 2007) looks at how global reporting frame-

works should be assessed by incorporating greater recognition of indigenous concerns, interests, and interpretations of development and well-being. The author writes, “[I]ndigenous peoples’ own perceptions and understandings of well-being are seen to extend beyond and sometimes conflict with conventional reporting frameworks with the latter constructed more around processes of governmentality than indigenous priorities” (p.1). The article *Māori Approaches to Assessment* (Rameka, 2007) emphasizes the need to use proverbs and Kaupapa Māori Theory and Practice in assessment. The author emphasizes the need for strengths-based empowerment assessment approaches, and recommends moving away from ethnocentric, universalist and deficit-based ideologies. These publications make the case for indigenous assessments to be all-inclusive and relational, and for them to include domains of culture, family, community, caring/hospitality, sovereignty/self-determination, storytelling, spiritual power and authority. The need to acknowledge the mana inherent in each person as a part of the assessment process is emphasized.

Reframing Evaluation: Defining Indigenous Evaluation Frameworks (LaFrance & Nichols, 2010) is a comprehensive effort to develop an “Indigenous Framework for Evaluation” that synthesizes and combines indigenous ways of knowing and

Western evaluation practice. Cultural experts, Indian educators and evaluators shared concerns and described how evaluation fits within a cultural frame-work. The authors summarized focus group discussions using the key principles of indigenous ways of knowing and core values common to tribal communities. The core values that were important in the context of indigenous knowledge creation were a sense of place, recognizing our gifts, centrality of community and family, and tribal sovereignty.

Discussion

The searches and instrument reviews against the rubric provide a depiction of how contemporary researchers have assessed concepts similar to mana within the framework of psychological assessment instruments. Fifty-eight (Appendix H, digital version) (52 from searches plus six additional from stakeholders) assessment instruments were identified as having relevance, and 21 (Appendix G, digital version) were reviewed more in-depth. Taken as a whole, these instruments help move us toward a fuller understanding of how mana, or approximations of mana and its associated concepts, might be identified in various assessment formats previously created and published.

Overall, the searches demonstrated a need to combine a set of existing assessment instruments to create a toolkit for indigenous evaluation. All the assessment instruments captured various domains of the predicted effects of mana, but none came close to the whole concept. Identified domains focused on spirituality, cultural connection, collective agency, leadership, sense of place and service. The majority of the instruments were tested in the Continental United States on majority-Caucasian samples. They would need to be re-normed on indigenous—and specifically—Native Hawaiian populations. These instruments use broad terms that might need to be replaced with specific Native Hawaiian terms. For example, with the Nature Relatedness scale, an adaptation might include replacing the word “land” with the word “āina” or including a specific valley or mountain. Those that were utilized with Native Hawaiians and used Hawaiian language terms had small samples and/or were not factor analyzed, so further validation would need to be conducted.

The spirituality measures yielded the most robust results offering multidimensional, developmental and transcendental aspects, but they did not tap into the cultural domains. The spiritual and cultural assessment instruments did not

overlap. Spiritual assessments tended to focus on Western, Christian viewpoints or a broad, general transcendental relationship with a higher power. Cultural assessment instruments tended to focus more on identity, behavior and belief systems that may or may not have included spirituality. It may be helpful to explore a spirituality measure that includes culturally relevant components of Native Hawaiian akua.

The majority of measures rely on self-assessment, which could be valuable. However, they could be made stronger if paired with an observational tool and/or a peer and group assessment to connect self, family and community. This is part of creating a more robust assessment methodology that can triangulate meaning (Meyer, 2005). Rather than having only one vantage point for assessment, there would be at least three allowing for makawalu, or multiple perspectives. Mana cannot be fully captured with one self-assessment and one point of view. A set of assessments and different observational measures is needed to provide a fuller picture. Relying only on a self-assessment runs the risk of an inflated or deflated self-view of one's own mana that may or may not reflect their actions and how the community views them. There would need to be a teacher, group, peer and/

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or community assessment as well. The majority of assessment instruments focused on beliefs, which needs to be expanded to include the importance of particular knowledge(s) and behaviors. The results also showed the importance of making assessment instruments dimensional and developmental so that mana is not assessed as a static concept (wherein someone does or does not have it).

There were nine instruments that were developed and tested with Native Hawaiians in mind. It is important to acknowledge what these instruments intended to measure (as is detailed in Appendix F, in the digital version of this report), and the reasoning behind their development. The design of instruments is often based on a rationale for why a construct is important and how the information will be used. These nine instruments are detailed in Figure 3.6 with a description of the reason(s) why they were developed and/or have been used. Overall, the instruments were developed with the goal of improving outcomes for

Native Hawaiians. This objective aligns with this project, which seeks to understand how to identify mana using an indigenous assessment or toolkit to enrich outcomes and processes for contemporary Native Hawaiian-serving organizations to ultimately empower and improve the well-being of Native Hawaiians.

Figure 3.6. Native Hawaiian Instruments and Reasons for Development Use

INSTRUMENT NAME	REASONS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND USE
Hawaiian Culture Scale [Hishinuma et al., 2000]	To measure the degree to which adolescents practice, know, believe in and value elements of traditional Hawaiian culture, ultimately addressing the health and achievement gaps of Native Hawaiian youth. One study utilized the measure, because research suggests students enrolled in culture-based education have better academic outcomes [see Kana'iaupuni, Ledward, & Jensen, 2010]. Here, the measure was used to assess whether students outcomes align with objectives of culture-based education.
Nā Mea Hawai'i Scale [Rezentes, 1993]	A “cultural measure of Hawaiianness in addition to blood quantum” [Rezentes, 1993, p. 383] was used to assess acculturation that differentiates between Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians to improve counseling processes.
Hawaiian Cultural Connectedness Scale [Ōpio form; Kamehameha Schools, 2015]	To identify positive Native Hawaiian student assets for ultimately understanding school and program contribution to these assets, and to identify ways to strengthen student positive assets [Tibbetts et al., 2009].

INSTRUMENT NAME	REASONS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND USE
Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership Inventory [Kaulukukui & Nāho‘opi‘i, 2008]	To understand and identify leadership from a Native Hawaiian perspective to “create leadership curricula that are keyed to Hawaiian cultural values and identify Hawaiian cultural values-based leadership behaviors in emerging Hawaiian leaders and candidates for leadership positions” [Kaulukukui & Nāho‘opi‘i, 2008, p. 96].
Native Hawaiian Leadership Scale [Borofsky, 2010]	To identify Native Hawaiian youth assets related to leadership to aid in evaluating whether Native Hawaiian charter schools are meeting goals and objectives, and to highlight program successes [Borofsky, 2010].
Hawaiian Ethnocultural Inventory [Crabbe, 2002]	To assess the degree to which individuals have knowledge of, beliefs in and engage in cultural practices of Hawaiian heritage. The tool was developed to be useful in research related to the health of Native Hawaiians (e.g., intervention, evaluation, and improvement) [Crabbe, 2002].
Sense of Well-Being Index [Center for Training and Evaluation Research in the Pacific, 2006]	Overall goal of the Achieving the Dream [ATD] project was to eliminate the achievement gap in community colleges between underrepresented and under-achieving populations. One target population was Native Hawaiians. The Sense of Well-Being Index was developed by the State of Hawai‘i Department of Health Monitoring to examine Native Hawaiian health and well-being, with the ultimate goal of providing better services to Native Hawaiians [Wong-Wilson, 2010].

INSTRUMENT NAME	REASONS FOR DEVELOPMENT AND USE
Hawaiian Indigenous Education Rubric [Kana'iaupuni & Kawai'ae'a, 2008]	To assess the degree to which teachers are using Native Hawaiian indigenous knowledge and practice in their curricula and classrooms to inform teacher practice and improvement, ultimately benefitting student outcomes [Kana'iaupuni & Kawai'ae'a, 2008].
Scanlan Well-Being Survey [Scanlan, 2012]	To understand protective factors such as cultural affiliation and congruity in Native Hawaiian mental health and psychological well-being; findings may be used to improve counseling for Native Hawaiians [Scanlan, 2012].

Based on the limitations of the instruments, recommendations for how they might be utilized in the development of new instruments are below:

1. Adapt existing indigenous instruments to include self-assessment, observational assessment and peer assessment. Strive to include as many different vantage points as possible.
2. Conduct more rigorous psychometric studies on Native Hawaiian measures to assess validity.
3. Develop instruments in the Hawaiian language.
4. Combine instruments to create one that includes Native Hawaiian spirituality and cultural knowledge and practice together, and takes into account different perspectives, not just the self.
5. Use a developmental perspective to allow for a continuum in assessing growth in mana.
6. Use a multidimensional perspective to capture as many domains as possible (e.g., physical, mental, spiritual and self, family, community).

7. Culturally adapt and test instruments using Native Hawaiian language, cultural and geographical terms. Adapt and test relevant measures from the Continental United States tested on Caucasian populations for Native Hawaiian populations.
8. Include the domains of beliefs, behaviors and knowledge (rather than just beliefs) on the assessment. Include the frequency of these behaviors and the specificity of the knowledge. Explore non-Likert-type methods of identification of *mana* (e.g., Q-sorts, word pairs, pictorial maps).

Despite limitations and potential future directions for continuing this research, the current set of assessment instruments provides a foundation toward a strengths-based, culturally responsive and indigenous toolkit to identify mana. As a whole, this review contributes to an overarching Native Hawaiian indigenous assessment approach and set of tools. In line with indigenous evaluation, the focus remains on cultural strengths rather than deficits. In the process of re-remembering, we restore our strength and reconstruct our collective mana. The ideal assessment measure would be used as an intervention to ho omana, or develop and strengthen mana over time. The eventual development of an assessment instrument of mana would be dynamic, dimensional, developmental and diverse. It would be grounded in an indigenous worldview, specifically Native Hawaiian, making the future of assessment potentially powerful.





4

Conversations and Modern, Lived Mana:

Focus Groups and
Photovoice

Although archived and printed materials are important in understanding culture, also important is the lived experience and understandings of contemporary Hawaiians, as a living culture grows and evolves. Thus, it was important to collect information and facilitate discussion amongst knowledge-bearers of our time, and so it was decided that the best way to get those viewpoints was through focus groups.

Researchers facilitated focus groups, engaging a diverse set of non-Native Hawaiian, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, and multiethnic participants with cultural and historical knowledge about mana to discuss its meanings and representations in their lives and communities (see Appendix I in digital copy for more information about focus groups).

This provided a critical space for voice and knowledge from primary sources—and reflects the historical primacy of oral tradition for Native Hawaiians. By conducting focus groups, understanding was furthered of what mana means in contemporary Native Hawaiian culture, particularly how people frame their views on the properties, stewardship, and acquisition of mana. In addition, knowledge acquisition from participants contributed to specific process goals, including:

- Creating spaces where participants share their knowledge and perspectives on mana;
- Gathering as diverse a set of responses as possible—not to seek a “right” answer, but to gain multiple answers and perspectives—knowing that the most common or frequently occurring responses are not necessarily the “best” or “truest” responses;

- Creating positive momentum for the Mana Project through participants' participation in and support of the project; and,
- Initiating an intentional collection of people who talk and think more about mana in their own daily settings, and thereby, encourage others to do the same.

The focus group discussions were guided by two major questions:

1. What is mana?
2. How do we access and cultivate the mana of our people?

The first was a guiding question to identify perspectives about mana. This question was intended to gain descriptive information; facilitators were not attempting to arrive at a common definition of mana. The second question was related to the overarching goal of the project, which is to understand how Native Hawaiians as a people can access and raise their individual and collective mana.

Project Team

The focus groups project team included staff members from OHA, McREL International (McREL), and Dr. Aukahi Austin Seabury and Mr. Kihei Nahale-a (see Appendix J in digital version for staff names and bios). McREL subcontracted Dr. Seabury and Mr. Nahale-a to facilitate the focus groups, provide input into the participants and their own organizations, and develop and organize the participant group lists. Dr. Seabury and Mr. Nahale-a's culturally relevant research expertise was intended to complement McREL staff's (Dr. Katie Andersen and Dr. Sheila Arens) Western research training and expertise. Dr. Seabury and Mr. Nahale-a's experience facilitating focus groups with Native Hawaiians and other indigenous groups, both in terms of stimulating dynamic discussions and establishing trust with the participants, was critical. With input from Dr. Seabury, Mr. Nahale-a, and OHA, Drs. Andersen and Arens wrote the focus group protocol and analyzed the transcripts. OHA staff coordinated logistics related to travel, scheduling, and details (such as childcare and a Hawaiian meal).

Recruitment and Participation

In part, participants were chosen based on their social, cultural, and professional roles as well as cultural expertise, age, gender, Hawaiian-language knowledge, and place of affiliation. Criteria for participants included being over the age of 18 and having a demonstrated cultural knowledge related to mana. Individuals were excluded from the participant list if they were OHA, McREL, or “ali‘i trust” full-time-equivalent employees. Individuals were assigned to twelve groups, each reflecting what the project team believed would have the most generative conversations, while representing a range of knowledge and backgrounds.

Information from research texts, such as contemporary Hawai‘i newspapers and peer-reviewed journal articles, revealed a number of different perspectives on mana from a range of scholars—Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, and Western, and this information was then used to determine the makeup of the groups. For example, kūpuna with great skill in arts and music, and those with kuleana connected to the land and sea or those with salient roles in Native-Hawaiian-serving organizations, community and in the preservation and cultivation of mana were listed as potential participants. Groups were created to represent the themes produced through the research, and individuals with common elements were assigned to groups with like-minded participants.

Groups were formed on the basis of common interest or background to create a level of comfort that would allow for a more active and nuanced conversation about mana. The project team envisioned groupings that would foster cooperation and creativity above conflict, competition, and debate. Groups were also designed to create space for individuals to have the best opportunity to share their knowledge and perspectives. For example, individuals who viewed mana through a Christian lens were placed together to maximize participation through similar religious beliefs, points of reference, connections, and experiences. In another example, the organization of two groups of particularly esteemed kūpuna loea (expert elders), such as individuals who trained or worked under Pua Kanahele and Larry Kimura, was intended to elicit expertise through traditional lines of knowing and sharing. Here, group formation honored traditional ways of passing knowledge from one generation to another.

Photovoice

In addition, Photovoice was employed to capture data for those who wanted to participate but could not physically attend the meetings. Photovoice is a participatory-action research method, allowing participants to contribute toward social action and transformation through the use of photographic technique. Individuals take photographs and annotate them with captions explaining how the images represent perspectives, context, or constructs related to the project. Photovoice is unique, because it is a form of advocacy and research (Hesse-Biber, 2008). Photovoice is not intended to be objective. Instead, the technique is representative of participants' voice, community, and experiences (Ibid). Caroline Wang and Mary Ann Burris (1997) developed the concept of Photovoice as a participatory-research strategy to include individual and community voices.

They intended three primary goals:

(1) to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important community issues through large- and small-group discussion of photographs, and (3) to reach policy makers. (p. 370)

Drawing from Paulo Freire's (1970) problem-posing education method, the authors believe that Photovoice enables people to reflect, create common dialogue, and engage in community action. Wang and Burris also cite Maguire's (1987) feminist critique of Freire's male bias, suggesting his model of participatory research methods make women invisible. Freire (1970) and Maguire (1987) affirm Wang and Burris' theory that Photovoice is inclusive and affirming of participant voices. Wang (1999) defines five key Photovoice concepts: we learn from images; photos are influential; community participation shapes policy; the process allows for unique perspectives; and community action is emphasized. Photovoice is not only a source of information, but also a way through which change is activated.

For the Mana Project, participants contributed a visual representation and written narrative that explained how and why the photo, or the subject of the photo, represented mana for them. Specifically, participants were asked to answer the following in one text box:

1. What does mana mean to you?
2. Briefly describe the photo. (e.g., What is happening? Who is in it [do not give specific names]?)
3. How does this picture show or represent mana?
4. Why did you take or choose this photo?

The response rate was low (7.8 percent), but the images and narratives present another way to identify and discuss mana. Consent was given to utilize participants' responses. Photovoice responses have been incorporated into the Analysis. More information about Photovoice is available in Appendix L (available in digital version only).

Participation

Generally, people declined to participate due to travel, health (e.g., birth of daughter), physical limitations, scheduling conflicts (e.g., other community events), or the timing of the focus groups (e.g., summer vacation, school/work, family responsibilities, etc.)—not because they disagreed with the topic. Others opted out because they did not believe they could add to the discussion based on their understanding of mana. Of those who agreed to participate, twenty-five percent (25%) were provided with air and ground transportation to and from O'ahu. Of these participants, one was unable to attend, because the only flight to O'ahu that day was canceled. Extensive efforts were made to accommodate geographic representation and to include a diversity of 'ike across the Hawaiian Islands. The groups and participation rates, are in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. Number of Participants by Group Type

GROUP	NUMBER INVITED	NUMBER PARTICIPATED
Academics / Scholars / Intellectuals (Kāne)	17	10
Academics / Scholars / Intellectuals (Wāhine)	17	7
Non-profit Native Hawaiian-serving organization leaders (Mākua)	17	8
Pacific Islander / Polynesian	15	7
Native Hawaiians who identify as Christians (Haipule / Halepule)	13	5
Artists / Musicians	18	7
Cultural practitioners with specific ties to land-based or sea-based practices and wisdom (Kupa'āina)	19	8
Kūpuna	17	6
Non-Native Hawaiians who were trained by Native Hawaiians in cultural practices (Koho'ia)	18	8
Pōki'i: Kanaka'ole (Kanahele led)	15	11
Pōki'i: 'Ōlelo Hawai'i (Kimura led)	12	10
Ni'ihau residents	8	
Photovoice		4
TOTAL	179	87

Procedures

Consent procedures were introduced by the focus group facilitators. All participants provided written and verbal consent prior to the focus group session. They consented to the use of the audio and video transcripts or notes taken for research analysis. If participants indicated they wanted their names identified, their names were added to an aggregate list of all the people who contributed to the conversations—no identifying information is presented with particular themes or quotes. Prior to the day of the focus group, participants were given a participant guide (Appendix J, digital version), which outlined the Mana Project and focus group procedures (e.g., what to expect, list of group members and focus group questions).

Materials were provided to demonstrate the credibility and integrity of the work, to build confidence and trust among participants, and to be transparent with information about the project. More specifically, the project team wanted to provide evidence of their commitment to conduct the work with integrity and respect, and to demonstrate intent to honor information shared by groups. OHA staff was available for questions via phone and email for several weeks prior to each session; this aided participants in their decision-making with regard to attendance and preparation. Most asked questions related to why they were chosen and whether they were an appropriate fit for the dialogue. In addition to providing travel to and from geographic locations as needed, childcare, free parking, disability access, makana (handmade gift) and honoraria were provided. Each participant was encouraged to bring a representation of mana (i.e., an article or object) to share as a talking point, if they wanted. Focus groups lasted approximately three hours, and discussions were conducted in native languages and English. The groups were audio and video recorded by 'ŌiwiTV, and recordings were transcribed by Dr. Seabury's staff, de-identified, and provided to McREL for analysis and identification of themes related to mana.

Focus group settings

The setting for each focus group was chosen carefully, including the physical setting and place, and time of day. Cultural knowledge of the project team, as well as research texts, indicated the significance of place and time. The focus groups were held May 18–July 2, 2015 at: St. Anthony’s Retreat Center; St. Damien Hall; Bishop Lambert Hall; Kōkua Kalihi Valley, Ho’oulu ‘Āina; Bishop Museum, Atherton Hālau; and Hilo Yacht Club.

Analysis

Focus group data were analyzed by McREL researchers, Drs. Andersen and Arens, using MAXQDA, a data-analysis software that assists in the analyzing text and narrative. The researchers used the grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) method to analyze the discussions. This approach was particularly useful to analyze data to develop a coherent understanding of the phenomenon being studied—in this case, mana. Here, data distinctively guide the understanding of the subject, rather than having the understanding guide the analysis. Depending on the guiding questions, different results can be found. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that other researchers may “interrogate the data” using alternative questions or “sensitizing concepts” (see the Assessment, Blueprint, Limitations and Future Directions section for further discussion).

The grounded theory approach involves multiple iterations of coding and analysis. Researchers read the transcripts, looking for phrases and descriptions about mana and labeled (or coded) them, naming these codes accordingly. They first divided portions of text into similar groupings related to the guiding questions. Then, categories were re-examined and amended if necessary, and codes were assigned. The codes represented the themes identified in responses to the guiding questions.

The two researchers shared their codes with supporting samples of text, then discussion among the team reconciled differences until consensus was reached for two transcripts. Transcripts were then divided between Drs. Andersen and Arens for coding and analysis. Finally, selective coding was conducted to organize and integrate themes and categories into a coherent understanding of the identification and cultivation of mana, and contextualized by text reviews conducted earlier for this project. Drs. Andersen and Arens chose quotes to represent thematic codes that represented different members in each of the groups and what the researchers believed best captured the thematic code. As previously noted, Drs. Andersen and Arens were not present in the focus groups. Also, they did not have the same extensive background knowledge of the people participating in the groups that OHA staff and facilitators did. Consequently, OHA staff and facilitators provided input for contextualizing the findings.

Ten of the eleven transcripts were coded. The Pōki'i "person of a younger generation" group was led by Kimura, and was spoken entirely in Hawaiian. This transcript was not analyzed by McREL. Only transcripts in English were analyzed. Some transcripts included Hawaiian and other languages, and these portions will be analyzed in the future.

Codes included mana as being **dynamic**—changing over time, being pulled in and pushed out—and **subjective**—based in genealogy, experience, and understanding—not a "one size fits all," i.e., a place has mana for all people (Figure 4.2). Mana was associated with and identified through many different entities, people, and places. In discussing how they recognize mana, participants shared information about how mana is accessed and cultivated; there was substantial overlap between the responses to the two guiding questions. Codes related to accessing and cultivating mana were related as that which is **inherited, acquired, or invoked**. Participants also shared that ways of accessing mana required a certain openness, empowerment, growth and fulfillment of potential by being the best that one can be.

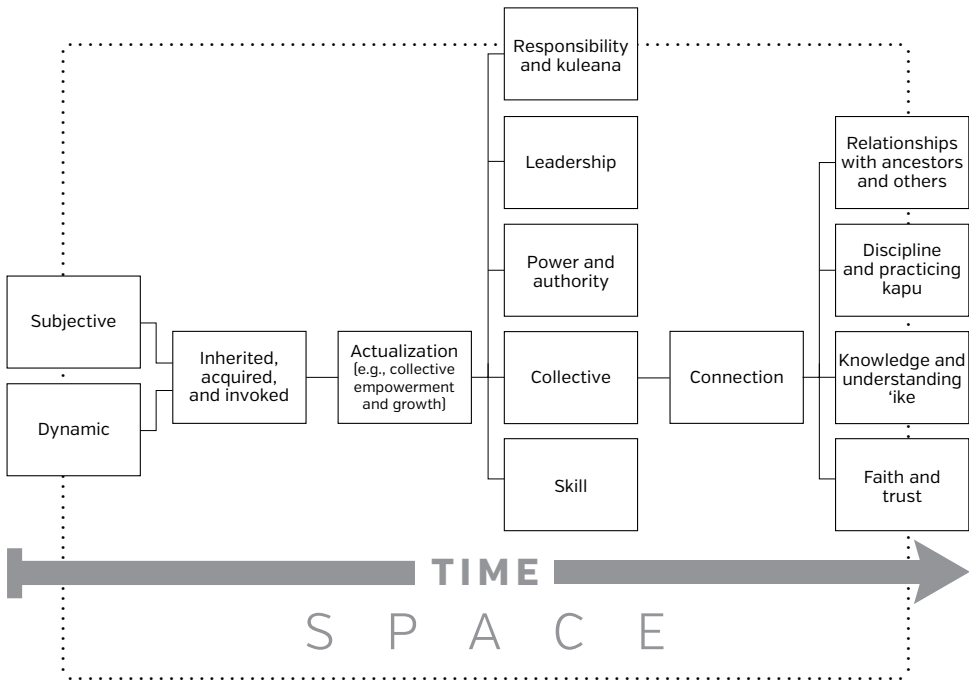
The researchers considered the descriptions akin to the term "**actualization**." Though similar to Maslow's (1943) "self-actualization," rather than growth of the individual to fulfill the individual's highest needs, the actualization code was used when speakers discussed growth of an individual to fulfill the highest needs and purpose of others—a collective unit. "Others" could be living and

non-living. An example was carrying the responsibility of one's name by fulfilling the meaning of that name, as well as honoring past and future generations (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 35). Here, actualization refers to engaging in certain practices for access to ancestral knowledge and inherited mana, and one needs to promote experiences for others to acquire mana.

The process of fulfilling one's purpose is facilitated when they understand **kuleana**; kuleana includes **leadership**, **power** and **authority**, **collective** experience and responsibility, and **skill**. It is through **connection to mana** that the person or collective realizes their destiny. Connection includes a tie or bond among and between the self, the 'āina (land), akua (gods), kūpuna, 'ohana (family), others, and experiences. This connection is developed through **relationships with one's ancestors**, having **discipline** and practicing **kapu** (restrictions), gaining **'ike** (true knowledge), and having **faith** and **trust** in something greater than the self that directs or creates opportunities.

Finally, although Figure 4.2 is linear, these aspects of mana interact through time and space as one carries out his or her kuleana, or empowerment of others and the self becomes reality and in turn, more is realized about kuleana, leadership and authority. Kuleana is also realized through relationships with others, but fulfilling kuleana deepens those relationships. See Appendix K (digital version) for a hierarchy of codes with definitions.

Figure 4.2. Coding Hierarchy



Results

The results of the focus groups are organized around the thematic codes in Figure 4.2. The following include broad and common mana‘o across groups, as well as more unique ‘ike. To maintain anonymity, participants’ quotes are cited by which group they were in (per Figure 4.1), and their speaker number.

Mana is subjective: definitions

All focus groups recognized mana as subjective, based on both genealogy and experience. Researchers found that although common themes emerged across the focus groups, individuals described different experiences when they identified mana.

Participants recognized that there are “many doors into understanding mana” (Pacific Islander/Polynesian, Speaker 32, p. 7) and that mana can be different according to place—“mana [in Hawai‘i] might be different to our mana that we need in Aotearoa” (Pacific Islander/Polynesian, Speaker 30, p. 17). The importance of personal experience and genealogy in the interpretation and identification of whom and what has mana, and when and where there is mana, was threaded throughout the focus groups. Both genealogy and human experience direct mana in unique ways.

Likewise, another participant noted:

Mana is an essence or energy, and an entity in its own right. Mana can be spiritual, intellectual, or physical. It powers, empowers. Mana is intangible, but its manifestations are tangible. Mana can be imbedded [sic] in or transferred to something else. Mana is intrinsic, but it can be increased or diminished. Mana grants authority and defines status. (Wāhine, Speaker 26, p. 13)

Mana can be positive or negative and takes on different feelings, determined by how it’s used; it is neither inherently positive nor negative. A participant reflected, “Water is mana. If it’s good in, then it’s going to be good out” (Kupa‘āina, Speaker 60, p. 11).

Others considered mana similar to truth. One participant used the metaphor of looking into a mirror and really examining the truth of what you have done to examine mana and the truth in it.

For example, for me as a farmer, I look at my land as my mirror. If it's full of weeds and the grass is too long, and it's not taken care of, that's a mirror that shows me that I haven't done what I'm supposed to do. So it's more than just looking at yourself. It's looking at what you've, what kind of surroundings you create. Not just the physical, but the social, the familial, all those things; how you create the life around you. (Koho'ia, Speaker 40, p. 4)

Mana was also likened to a light, with its importance intertwined with action—"and you can use that light to go forward, not use it and go backwards, or stay like the pōhaku and go nowhere" (Kupa'aina, Speaker 56, p. 9). Along this line, mana is dynamic because it's "something that comes beyond us. Something that we cannot control but we can help bring into people's lives that hopefully are there to help them, not hurt them" (Kāne, Speaker 8, p. 22). This particular quote also reflects a belief that mana exists separate from the individual and is not something one inherently has.

As one Māori group member said, "Mana is about affording [respect]; is about affording respect of your ancestors, of people now, and of the future generation to come" (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 30, p. 3). Another speaker discussed the way that mana can be felt:

[It's an] invisible force that you just kind of feel and you sense in someone's presence or in a place. So in a person, in a place. To me, it has the countenance of life and death. Sometimes it can be spooky and sometimes it can be, you know, something that feels light and very powerful. (Wāhine, Speaker 20, p. 8)

Perceptions of mana were also influenced by what people saw in each other and in things:

What is mana? I think back to our 'ōlelo and how it gets used in our 'ōlelo, and how we see mana come up in words that deal with streams, how the streams go off into different mana. And how we have, when the kūpuna would talk about kalo and the different kinds of kalo, they would just use, they would just say, "He mana kēlā." "He mana." And you may think, "Woah." As a second-language learner, you think, "Whoa. What does that

mean, ‘He mana?’” Why is it mana for variety?...And it goes back to what everybody has been saying. It’s the connectivity of everything, and how things trace itself back...And then how when you look at somebody...you say, “Oh, that’s Hilo.” You can see Hilo in that person, you can see Kaua’i in a certain person, you can see different things in different people. And that’s a mana of that person who you see, but then that’s also a mana that you have as a seer to see those things. (Kāne, Speaker 3, p. 14)

In short, throughout the focus groups, participants perceived mana differently, and the expression of mana varied. As one member stated, “Mana is a life force that we all have; everyone is born with mana. How one expresses it is what makes us different” (Kupa’āina, Speaker 57, p. 8).

Mana is inherited, acquired, and/or invoked

Participants tended to agree that mana is something everyone (all indigenous people) is born with:

Mana, when healthy, is at least eight different things, some of which contradicts the others. It can be likened to the fluids within our body; blood, cranial, stomach acid, embryonic, etc. Some mix, some should never mix. And yet they are all bound within the singularity of one body. (Photovoice)

Participants agreed that mana has dynamic movement and can both emanate from one’s genealogy and be built or layered over time. Many participants suggested that mana moves through inheritance: “So I really believe we just inherit it for a little while, and then we pass it on” (Mākua, Speaker 14, p. 18).

It can also come from the particular genealogy of ali’i: “[W]hen I think of mana, I think of something beyond that, that our ali’i were born with mana and the higher you were, the more mana you had” (Kūpuna, Speaker 64, p. 15).

Beyond ali’i genealogy only, connection to ancestors was considered particularly important—through those ancestors, individuals gather ‘ike which helps them understand and fulfill kuleana. Another discussion around fostering connections was ritual—not just formal ritual, but also repeatedly returning to the same place to foster human and ‘āina connections. Emphasis was placed on

promoting connection to cultivate mana—“restoring the pilina between people and place and restoring place and the things that go on in that place” (Koho‘ia, Speaker 43, p. 23).

But what is that “know”? Where does that “know” come from? Maybe it comes from—well, those of us, I believe, in this room who believe in ancestral memory and ancestral knowledge, know it comes from there. But I think it also comes from experience. That which we live through reinforces in us that recognition of mana. We also know when it’s not there. So, (brief pause) you know, “the spirit that dwells in everything and everyone...” (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 47, p. 4)

When I think of the mana within me, I think of the three piko and my kuleana to all aspects—to generations unborn, to present generations, and my kūpuna. And I feel them standing with me, guiding my words. I also feel it from the ‘āina and the kūpuna’s bones upon which I stand. And when the kūpuna are fine in the ground and then the ‘āina is happy, that’s when I feel the presence of mana and I can draw upon that, and I guess reaffirm my connections to my different piko. (Wāhine, Speaker 20, p. 2)

[T]he reason why I do what I do is because these names, these names call. If you didn’t find your kūpuna yet, I would certainly advise you to find them, because when you find them, they call you. They’ve been sitting on a shelf someplace for over a century, and they actually like being remembered. So when I think about mana—I not thinking about a head thing, really, I’m think of a gut thing—that calling. (Wāhine, Speaker 24, p. 2)

And so this name—you know, people always tell me, “You personify your name. You know, you are this image of happiness when you up there on stage or whatever.” And you know, deep inside I think, “I wish—if you only knew it’s my father’s name.” I think that it is a blessing. So I think for us, as Hawaiians, when we think about all those inoa, whether it’s inherited—inoa kupuna—or in my case, my father’s name was an inoa h’omana’o, this commemorative name that is bequeathed to me, and now it’s an inoa kupuna, and maybe someday it’ll live on. I have a brother,

a half-brother, also named [SPEAKER NICKNAME]. And as simple as the name is and in its meaning, it now has a new story and meaning to me because I know Grandma's mo'olelo. To me, that's mana. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 35, p. 22)

Kūpuna, especially, were invoked in relation to mana. For example, the Haipule, Kāne Scholar, Pacific Islander and Polynesian, and Kūpuna groups identified mana in their grandmothers quite often; most participants in these groups focused on their grandmothers (tūtū wāhine/kūpuna wāhine) as the springboard for their discussion of mana. One participant reflected on his grandmother as an exemplar of mana as power and, hence, a source of 'ike:

She had such a powerful influence on us in terms of making us understand that we had a role in the world. Not necessarily to rule or to be very powerful, but to have authority. And to be responsible for the authority we had. (Kāne, Speaker 7, p. 5)

One participant discussed *mana tūpuna* (mana from ancestors) and *mana tangata* (mana in people, leadership), "What you do as a person to enhance the mana of your family, of your iwi, your place... *mana tangata* could be oratory, could be strategy, could be warfare" (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 29, p. 20).

It was emphasized that inherited mana must be cultivated or acquired, or it stays dormant:

We may be born into whichever family we come from. We may be born to the particular land that our families come from and have been for generations. However, if we do not activate our mana, if we do not cultivate our mana, and if we do not nourish and nurture this mana, or if we are not raised to embrace this mana, we may find ourself in a quandary. (Pacific Islanders/Polynesian, Speaker 27, p. 10)

I think that mana at this time in my life is something that you help invoke in other people. Mana is something you can give something, or you can have it. You can invoke it... my work right now is about helping communities see each other, recognize the power that they have in themselves, and then seek to find it together. (Koho'ia, Speaker 45, p. 9)

The Pōki'i group (Kanahele led) expressed great certainty in the right to use inherited mana—"I know that I have every part of my ancestors living within me, and I inherited that, and it's always my right to use that" (Pōki'i, Speaker 68, p. 4).

The basic characteristics of mana and its sources appear to be inherently intertwined with how mana is accessed and cultivated. The Kanaka'ole group identified mana as inherited, noting the importance of action to release mana from a dormant state: "the activity of mana is only as dynamic as we require it to be individually. And because it's potentially latent until we actually begin to move it" (Kanaka'ole, Speaker 73, p. 4).

Connections to land and to others comprise a source of mana as well as a responsibility:

Mana is something that we're all born with, and we're all born with because it's part of our DNA, and it's a part of our ancestral line, wherever our ancestors come from and whoever they were. They left a portion of themselves with each of us is born from them. And we have to be able to know when the right time is, and fearlessly pull it out and use it. So to me, that's inherited mana. Each of us inherit our mana. What we do with it, it's strictly up to us. (Pōki'i, Speaker 68, p. 4)

Actualization: fulfilling the highest needs of purposes of others

Participants identified mana as authority and power—not in the Western sense—but rather, actualized through leadership that has been confirmed by others. Hawaiian leadership is not self-proclaimed and is held for the benefit of the greater good of the collective group (e.g., community, family, nation, church). At times, authority is not formally held, "but we can still speak with authority because of that mana.... And where we wanna head to is to have both; have that strength [and authority]" (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 31, p. 6). When considering mana as leadership, one respondent clarified:

[Y]ou can have that power and authority, but it's just kind of... how it's being nurtured. How it's being fostered. How we live and breathe what we do in terms of feeding it to leadership and the power that we do have. (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 33, p. 6)

Mana also works through both the self and the group: “[Mana] allows you to go through change to transform—to transform individually and then somehow brings all these different individual pieces together and then melds it together” (Mākua, Speaker 15, p. 5). Each person in a group can also add mana. For example, one person can pick up a piece of green waste and, with the right tools and the right kind of energy, it becomes something with a little bit more mana because we added our own layer to it. We put ourselves and our energy into it, and then from there until the next layer of, as a hula person, of course wearing it. And then what happens after it’s worn, to maintain and mālama that energy and that life force into the future. (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 52, p. 8)

Tying together both the collective nature of mana and responsibility associated with mana, one participant expressed:

Grandpa [FIRST NAME] and Grandma [FIRST NAME]. They never said it specifically, but I hope that they’re captured through the programming—is that you’re responsible for the mana you bring into the room. In any space you go, the mana you bring with you defines you, defines your whole mo’okū’auhau. And ultimately it’s not an individual pursuit, therefore it’s how your mana, like the Māori said, you are weaving mana together by being there—to create a whole greater than the sum. (Mākua, Speaker 14, p. 33)

Understanding kuleana

It was reflective of a common belief that individuals have kuleana—what they are meant to do—and that kuleana was not by chance. Participants in the wāhine group reinforced this, acknowledging that something greater than themselves pulls them toward their responsibilities:

[B]ecause somebody’s calling me... there’s not words to express the call. It’s just like, “Do this, do that, do this, do that.” And so you know, you charge ahead and you hope to hell that this is what we’re supposed to be doing, and then you wait for some sign to say “Yes” or “No.” (Wāhine, Speaker 24, p. 5)

It was a clear ringing voice that resonated deeply inside of me. So for me, mana is all things; the good, the bad, the ugly, the universal forces that act upon us, the earth that we stand upon, the elements that impact our bodies and our minds and our spirit. It's all mana. And then so I look at my interaction and my kuleana with what is given to us, which is everything... I look at the kuleana that I've had all my life in nurturing and raising up a healthy, happy, beautiful 'ohana. And I look at the work that I do in the world that I live in, regarding to a healthy, happy, nurturing earth. Aloha 'āina has been a papa for me in how to interact and express myself in ways that heal and bring the well-being back to where they need to be. And so mana is your ability to see what is your kuleana to do, and do it, and do the best that you can with it. (Pōki'i, Speaker 77, pp. 9-10)

[W]ithout feeling that sense of kuleana to do those kinds of things, then it can go awry... It can go wherever; it may not be in the best interest of our people. And so, to me, that's so important: is understanding what our responsibility is to our people, and that's what mana is for me. (Mākua, Speaker 19, p. 8)

Kuleana embraces a collective responsibility and helping others; it is not only "something that can heal or empower you, or help you to help others, help you, your 'āina" (Kupa'aina, Speaker 56, p. 9), but in "[building] mana, you take care of your community. You teach your people all that you know so that they, too, can stand strong and begin to share" (Koho'ia, Speaker 42, p. 20).

And to me, continuing that means I know what my role is, what my responsibility is to the people that we serve—through the things that I do every day—to my own keiki, to my own community. And I always think about those two things when I think about my work and my leadership responsibilities. It's about that. What am I doing? Because without that discipline, without feeling that sense of kuleana to do those kinds of things, then it can go awry, like you said. It can go where ever; it may not be in the best interest of our people. And so, to me, that's so important; is understanding what our responsibility is to our people, and that's what mana is for me. (Mākua, Speaker 19, pp. 7-8)

Discussions among the wāhine, and artists and musicians groups centered on “mana in knowing what is your kuleana, but also what is not your kuleana” (Wāhine, Speaker 22, p. 7). This speaker gave the example of not being a kalo person, but her kāne was, so that was his kuleana.

Others spoke of kuleana in terms of ethical behavior: a participant stated that it is important “to understand that my words and my intentions have mana, and I have kuleana to be careful with my words and my actions” (Wāhine, Speaker 20, p. 26). Another stated, “I think it’s a spiritual. You know, there’s always the question in your mind, “Am I doing the right thing? Am I making the right choices?” (Kūpuna, Speaker 62, p. 22)

Mana in leadership; power and authority

Kuleana is a tapestry of behaviors, genealogical ties, and spiritual connections that depict what leaders ought to do to improve their community:

And when I reflect on mana, and I had shared, it is about leadership. That’s one facet of it, but that’s a big facet. Whether we leaders of our organization, whether we leaders of our community, or we are mākua in our ‘ohana. You know, mana is definitely, you know, kind of like just part of us. And with that kuleana, I think that what comes to mind is, you know, that nirvana concept of kanaka makua which we strive for. And I think we all trying to—I think you was saying imbue. We try to emulate. We try to be the product of our parents, our kūpuna. (Speaker 11, p. 39)

Mana in leadership also involves “ability to allow people, or to make people want to learn from you, to follow you” (Kupa’aina, Speaker 57, p. 1), which is tied to great skill and having authority to change:

When I think of mana I think of energy, and it can be a human energy where a really good leader can get people to do things, or you know, a really good chanter can get the elements to do things. So it’s that energy that moves things. (Kanaka’ole, Speaker 70, p. 2)

There’s, when you’re in a room, it’s, you know who you respect... And so that’s another level of mana that we have, is part of that respect. And where does that respect come from? It’s usually then what you said about

it's something that they do to move all of us forward. It's a collective movement. And then that's a value that we respect, and then therefore you get that respect, you know? And so it's ongoing. It's something from the past, it's something you do right now, and it's something that you wanna push, push forward. (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 31, p. 24)

"[Mana] is not a selfish force, but it's a force and when you block it, it pops things open, it knocks things down" (Mākua, Speaker 14, p. 5). Another participant stated that a leader with mana is "someone that I see that has a good vision for the future, who has somewhere in their own lives served their people, and has been real enablers where they've grown and nurtured their people" (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 30, p. 20). These quotes touch on both the importance of kuleana to take care of one's people, and to share knowledge that is involved in kuleana.

Kuleana manifests itself in different ways for different people and is intimately tied to leadership, but:

You don't develop [leadership]; you expose it. You take away the rubbish from people so that they can see, for themselves, where their leadership is. And I thought—and that's what mana is. It's not that you ask a priest to tell you where it is and if you have it, to validate that you have mana. But you figure out a way to remove the rubbish so that you can see for yourself, and that others can see also. But we don't make it; it's there. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 34, p. 17)

Leadership can take many forms. In many cases, responsibility to others and community was situated within the larger social and political context. As one participant noted, "[W]e're always reminded of our kuleana of having to stand tall and walk tall in the face of colonization" (Kūpuna, Speaker 67, p. 29).

For other participants, leadership was found in other sources. One participant gave an example of the national rugby team, the All Blacks (though some disagreed with this example) because they "[inspire] mana amongst the lāhui. It's amazing in New Zealand how sports icons sort of gather their mana" (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 29, p. 19).

Another participant gave an anecdote about a church official giving a sermon, which points to the great skill (leadership) to move people and the importance of others to recognize their mana:

Like what he said and how he delivered [his sermon], you know, was—you could feel it. You could just feel the mana in his—I mean, it was just like the feel. And, you know, of course he was the—I mean—I don't know if, like, if call fire brimstone, but when he pule, I felt like, ho, heaven and earth went shake. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 11, p. 41)

One participant's grandmother showed her mana by providing to her grandchildren "such a powerful influence on us in terms of making us understand that we had a role in the world. Not necessarily to rule or to be very powerful, but to have authority" (Kāne, Speaker 7, p. 5).

Another participant discussed the importance of risk taking in leadership:

I think mana takes a certain degree of courage. And we got to trail blaze. And if we can just tap into that kind of essence of our kūpuna, I think there's tremendous hope for our hanauna. You know, to me, I was really inspired by this group because I think in the work that I do is really preparing for one day, the next generation going be prepared to run our lāhui. I don't know when that is, but—just like you—I feel an urgency that we got to prepare them now with the skills, with the mindset, with the connections, with the belief, with the know-how, to prepare them—not just for twenty-first century Hawai'i—but globally. Because, you know, globally, things are changing. And I do think that is responsibility of ali'i, as leaders, that we got to have that foresight and that vision to know what's beyond our borders, and prepare our people for that. And to 'awe'awe; to spread forth and learn all you can, but come back to regenerate the lāhui. No forget where you come from. And to me, that's part of what, not just the kānaka mākua's does, but in order to know you one kānaka mākua, you got to have some personal insight where you at in life, too. You know? But I think about that because I think that's what is so valuable about our lessons from our kūpuna—that they helped prepare us for today, today's challenges. (Mākua, Speaker 11, p. 40)

The Pōki'i group (Kanahele led) suggested that collectively people need to rally for change, but that the younger generation may misunderstand what they know and what their role ought to be: "And it's hard to be—I guess like in hula—if you're in the second row and you never had the opportunity to be in the front, you're not gonna do it (Pōki'i, Speaker 75, p. 32); "You look what you have that's like the general. And what if the general no show up?... Then step up" (Pōki'i, Speaker 73, p. 33). However, accumulating 'ike and experience is necessary—alluding to a kind of developmental trajectory of mana:

There's a mindfulness and a discipline that we have all learned for years that have given us the strength and the okay and the portal from the gods themselves, from that kind of presence that doesn't take a second of learning a pule. You know, so the structure that we're looking at, in case, you know, all of this we have... We practiced that for years, and only seen victory in that practice. Victory. But that takes discipline. That takes deep mindfulness, focus, commitment, dedication. That's not just, you know, a free-for-all, good fun, let's go, you know, lovely hula hands kind of mentality. So it's bringing consciousness, to that, to what's there, so that they have firmer grounds to stand on when they stand up there. So we do, too. (Pōki'i, Speaker 77, p. 31)

For Speaker 31, mana confers the strength not only to lead, but also move forward with forgiveness:

[M]ana gives you that power to forgive. It doesn't mean just forgive and be like a placemat, people walk over you or whatever, but just forgive and let go. And then, and also mana then gives you the power to focus your energy on moving forward in a very meaningful and productive way. But first you have to forgive. Because a lot of things happened to us in the past, still happening to us right now, but it takes somebody or something greater than myself to go on that path. (p. 7)

Pacific Islander and Polynesian and Koho'ia group members agreed that sometimes mana is about a great leader knowing when to step down and let the younger generation lead. For example:

[O]ften a great leader will step down and let somebody else take over 'cause they know there's others. And I think in terms of increasing the mana of our people, there's times when even those leaders who have been there for a long time step back and let our young ones, you know, those hot ones in front taking the camera shots, you know. (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 30, p. 39)

It also involves a kind of leadership tied to experience and knowing how to help others find their own kuleana:

[W]hat's exciting about is it's telling me it's transcending all these different structures. Mana can play in hana keaka, mana can play in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, mana can play in politics. Mana doesn't need a degree. And maybe you can see mana in the keiki that came from a disadvantaged background; stands up and takes care of his 'ohana. You can see that. And so, you see mana in leadership, and we need more of it. (Kāne, Speaker 8, p. 24)

Collective experience and responsibility

Collective mana was not viewed as only familial, regional, or national mana—it is far-reaching, across oceans and places, requiring people to “be multi-lingual in how we forward it through... Our space is really an Oceanic space, and we have to begin to contribute to that level” (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 32, p. 28).

One participant cited the common origin for all Hawaiians as the basis for collectivity:

And then collectively, it's that collective power of the collective pule of the unification of our collective spirit and our collective mana that we were able to accomplish what we did... What are the main things that we agree on? This is our 'āina. We belong here. We're born out of these lands. We're born out of these—you know, we have the same mo'okū'auhau,

regardless of what mo'okū'auhau you have. We all come from Hāloa. We all agree on those things. That's where we start, and that's how we build our nation. And for those places where we disagree, then leave it aside. We don't have to on everything right now. That's the way I think, and that's why I think if we could all agree on the larger issues, it's going to be so easy to build that lāhui. Just take the bigger issues and leave the small, manini things aside. You know, you kūkākūkā about those manini things at another time, but on the big issues, what we agree on, this is where we start. That's our first kuleana. (Kūpuna, Speaker 67, p. 32)

One critical component of kuleana is having a collective perspective and realizing that “our collective, past, present, future is all that matters. And that mana can flow all the way through to make the best of what we have” (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 36, pp. 27-28).

Another participant discussed the good of a common people with diverse talents:

We need those, as a broad people, we need those kinds of skills of working with each other because when people get together and work with each other, then it becomes stronger, and there's more power behind it, you know. More mana behind it, if you wanna use the term. (Kupa'aina, Speaker 61, p. 25)

And not once did we [cohort of students] talk about mana, but I feel like in the words that they were saying that that's really what we're trying to cultivate at that moment. Now, there's, you know, a long history we hope, and relationship we hope, to build with that community, with our community, but it was a step. And it was very powerful because you could see that there was a rootedness where maybe never have. But we know that it does exist. So now they're rooting themselves to each other and to what this journey is, which is about mahi'ai and mo'olelo. (Kupa'aina, Speaker 58, p. 4)

Also, some individuals are needed to “help to weave the mana of different individuals, and present it as a collective” (Mākua, Speaker 15, p. 20).

And the only reason why it exists is because a collective group of people put their mana out there and entrusted it to whoever would help them stay together, and build trust, and talk as long as it takes to find the common places where they can make a difference together. And the things we do, since we're talking about what we do in our work, is we try to bring them together, take their hands and go to one person's community, and do something little to heal that community physically. And then they spend time developing and creating something together. (Koho'ia, Speaker 45, p. 25)

Skills development

Mana also comes from great skill; using that great skill translates from someplace or into something. For instance, one participant attributed his mana to carving, stating that the mana he used to carve came from his dad. Carving was not a great skill until the participant had greater kuleana, including a family and kids. He gave the example of his father passing the canoe carving skill to him when his father felt he was ready to receive the 'ike and understand kuleana—

'What's wrong?' He says, 'Nothing.' I said, 'Then what's going on?' He says, 'It's your turn.' So I looked at him, I said, 'My turn?' 'Yes, it's your turn.' 'But, but, but, I don't know anything. I mean, I'm just helping you.' He said, 'Well, that's it. You've been helping me and this is where you are.' Well, that was when I started my role to mana, that my love for canoe just spun. (Kupa'aina, Speaker 54, p. 5)

Part of developing skill involved having the right attitude and pushing oneself to practice with those more skilled in order to develop 'ike and cultivate mana:

To be able to say, "No, I'm going to play, I'm going to play with those who are greater than I," is an act of ho'omanamana—Your ambiance and your attitude, and your behavior, by saying, "I want to play with you, I'm the baby over here, I cannot learn—" and then mai kēlā, e 'ike aku ka mana, ka 'ike maiā lākou. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 37, p. 27)

Oh. 'Ae, 'ae, 'ae, pololei. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 38, p. 28)

So your attitude and behavior, out of that comes 'ike then comes mana.
With that 'ike comes mana. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 37, p. 28)

Yes, that's right. Because where there's knowledge, there is power.
(Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 38, p. 28)

Participants noted that mana is cultivated and accessed, and different practices become mana for different people:

I think hearing Papa's and Auntie's over here, when it comes to mana, like being a college student myself, and doing *kālai lā'au*, or wood carving, I think whatever we feel that we can grasp through like culture, or whatever we do, like certain practices, that becomes our mana. For example, as a carver, I'm really good with my hands. Probably get it from his side of the family (gestures to Speaker 54), but it's like working with bone, wood, or stone, just makes me feel comfortable. And then, like, with all of us here, like, we have people who can tell stories, and that can be their mana. (Kupa'āina, Speaker 55, p. 5)

And so I thought about it and I thought about mana in individuals, and I think it is... you find your thing. If you are a songwriter, or a woodcarver, a storyteller, or a teacher, that is a way to express your mana; to bring it out, to let it help or make a difference. And I think the worst thing you can do is *pohō* the mana; is not let it flow and let it make a difference. (Kupa'āina, Speaker 56, p. 9)

Further, taking these skills and then building and cultivating them in others is related to "generational impact" (Mākua, Speaker 16, p. 22) and "generational restoration" (Mākua, Speaker 17, p. 22). These were discussed as important to restoring the Native Hawaiian people—building the bridge between generations. However, there was acknowledgment that the road to this restoration required figuring out how to remove the hesitancy some people have, because they don't understand or know cultural practices. Having stories of only greatness intimidates some, inhibiting their engagement: "It's not the quantity but the quality" (Mākua, Speaker 18, p. 28) when it comes to engaging *kānaka* through programs.

Connections to mana

Connections are essential to accessing and cultivating mana, both connecting “with everyone that came before” (Kupa’āina, Speaker 57, p. 8) and immediate connections among a group. In the words of one participant, “mana can’t exist without interaction of individuals... and equal interaction for it to balance” (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 30, p. 39). The importance of relationships in identifying mana was discussed. Participants agreed that mana was influenced through relationships. One participant pointed out that different people see things differently, depending on whether they have a relationship or not (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 50, p. 5).

Participants view connection as the way for facilitating movement of mana:

We can’t just transfer mana. Because maybe some of us have it in some kind and we can transfer it, but how do we recognize it and let it grow? Because there’s something essential to it, and to me the essence is the connection with the natural world—whether it be the ocean or the land or whatever. It comes out of that, somehow. That’s why we can’t recognize it, we can’t define it. Because it’s something that is a connection we just can’t put our fingers on. (Koho’ia, Speaker 40, p. 29)

Spiritual connections

In contemporary Hawaiian society, spirituality means various things, and can be accessed in numerous ways. Presumably, because of their belief in the Christian God, many members of the Haipule and Halepule group attributed mana to Ke Akua (Christian God). In this group, mana was referenced as a force of “energy” that relies on the individual choosing how to use or redirect it—for good or bad. One participant echoed the theme: mana “is projected or people perceive or whatever comes from my connection and my close relationship with Ke Akua” (Haipule, Speaker 36, p. 25). The participant also said that prayers have mana by way of recognizing Ke Akua’s mana. The connection between the individual and Ke Akua was thought to transmit Ke Akua’s mana.

Members of other groups also expressed belief in mana from Ke Akua. A member of the Kāne group asserted his belief in Ke Akua and distinguished between traditional and contemporary beliefs. He described mana as subjective based on the source; sources, apart from akua can be personally meaningful or special:

And I think that's why today we seem to—and you talked about the traditional as well as the contemporary, so I'm not saying one is right and one is wrong—but we seem to now have changed that understanding that mana from akua to something special, as we talked about. Our grandparents, our ancestors, objects; we make it personal, and it has mana. And so that adds something to that, as in Pukui and Elbert one, two, three, four. It adds to it; it doesn't diminish it. (Kāne, Speaker 8, p. 21)

The Pōki'i and Haipule/Halepule groups also emphasized the importance of silence to get away from distraction. This method was used to develop a greater sense of understanding and connections to access mana. For example, one participant shared:

And I witnessed and participated in the power, or the mana, of our traditional practices, standing up for our 'āina, our traditions, our kūpuna, all the things that we hold sacred. I was witness to the mana overturning that obstacle, and I was—I couldn't believe it. And I was totally convinced that the reason why it worked was because it was done in a spiritual manner. And I was totally committed to that. It changed my life. But right around that time, the other things that were happening that we were being asked to do—well, not asked; we were required to do—was to research your genealogy, to learn the pule, to prepare in the rights and the rituals, to participate in the ceremony. And every time I was exposed to that, it became much more comfortable for me. So what it did for me was it connected me back to my ancestral origins. And through that experience, it opened up the door to give me that push and that opportunity to reconnect with my kūpuna, with our akua. (Kūpuna, Speaker 65, p. 30)

Another participant referred to “reaching out to that higher power,” which “helps [him/her] connect on a different level without explanation” (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 31, p. 1). This participant mentioned a Psalm from the Bible as mana, noting a reconciliation between Christianity and beliefs about mana through hymns and chants.

Connection to ‘āina

Another prevalent theme was the connection between mana and the land. Relationships with the ‘āina and the connection fostered by those relationships were highlighted in the groups. Mana is in the interaction of humans and the natural environment, primarily the ocean and the land. For some, it is a specific place that has significance: one mākuā speaker said, “I got to be around—not just ‘āina, but ‘āina I familiar with” (Mākuā, Speaker 11, p. 15). A Photovoice submission with a photo (permission to display photo not given) of the ocean on Lāna‘i stated, “I come from generations of ocean people. The sea has always been a place of sustenance and spiritual discernment and renewal... we have thrived as people of the sea” (Photovoice).

Another shared:

[M]y tūtū was [GRANDMOTHER’S NAME], and our family comes from the ahupua‘a of Wahiawa, so they were all born in Wahiawa, they were raised in Wahiawa, and many of them were buried in Wahiawa. We still take care of their places where they were buried. It was the area where the hula heiau, Kaulualono, was formally located. So they were all connected and associated with kuleana with that particular hula seminary. (Kūpuna, Speaker 65, p. 5)

One participant’s organization “[teaches] how it is to be pono with one another and with ‘āina.” (Kupa‘āina, Speaker 58, p. 4). This person shared an experience of observing a girl who was transformed in a process of sharing who she is, where she is from, and who she aspires to be, and that was a “transformation of mana” (Kupa‘āina, Speaker 58, p. 4) for not only her, but the group too. That transformation and the deliberate practices to facilitate the transformation “help the mana to be part of their connection, part of that transformation of energy” (AAS, p. 4).

Another shared a similar experience:

[U]sually I take my students to Moloka'i, and I take um to places where they're not going to be exposed to such heavy mana...what essentially happened was a lot of my students were really impacted. They felt the kaumaha of that place... so I started making friends with the kūpuna of that land... So I was kind of transported to that period, and I could feel what they were thinking at that moment of death... they said, "Hold onto that love. We are here—you are the culmination of us and we'll always be here for you. And you can pull us to you, as we are strengthened and emboldened by seeing you as we pull you to us. And so cherish that love." And so I was told to share that message with my students, so I did. And then a lot of them were impacted by that, and some were Hawaiian students who had all these ideals of how they wanted to be part of building the lāhui, but then they got stuck in this Western way of adversarial-ness and litigiousness that they started to lose their focus and started to feel like their life was purposeless. And so they cried and they told me, "You know, I don't know if I have it within me to return to how I was and to the ideals that I've had." And I said, "By you asking those questions, you're already there," you know. And I said, "That's why our kūpuna are there for us—to help and guide us." So that's kind of that collapsing of time and that connection, you know?... So I teach the law, but I also teaching the cultural aspects and the spiritual aspects. Because all those things have mana, and you cannot distill it or kind of water it down. You have to be true in that because you raising the next generation and they have to know what they up against. And they have to awaken that mana inside of them. (Wāhine, Speaker 20, pp. 10–11).

Different 'āina resonates with different people based on their connections:

But for me, I think it's that feeling and that recognition of the mana, yeah? It's that connection. Like when I'm someplace and I recognize something of beauty or of power, I recognize the mana; I feel that mana. I can recognize it. I can't see what it is, but to me, it's that power that you can recognize, or that connection that you can recognize. And in going to sacred places or certain places, you can elevate that mana, yeah? Like how [Speaker 74] was saying, certain places you go, you can make that connection a lot easier. I don't know why. That place is manaful. (Kanakā'ole, Speaker 78, p. 11)

And it gets overwhelming and frustrating to always have to be the one to encourage my kumus about what you think would be so basic, is the connection to 'āina. And like we said, some of them is just, "Okay, connection to 'āina. Let's, on the ho'opa'i slip, let's put 'pull weeds in the lo'i kalo." And is that what it is? Oh we're gonna pull weeds? And is that connection to 'āina? Your ho'opa'i? So in getting our keiki today, and allowing them the space to connect to their 'āina is what I feel like I have to do. And in an educational setting it can be really hard, because— especially if you're the only one that—like my father was saying, you can see when somebody can hear the ocean and you see when they don't. (Pōki'i, Speaker 75, p. 32)

I think the difference between me and my colleagues is that I grew up in a different environment. I grew up in the 'āina, you know, [SPEAKER 72] used to come over and we would roam. We went to the beach. We had rules and we had palenas, but we had the ability to gain these experiences. And we—[SPEAKER 72] was saying—we were liberated, we were allowed to explore these things. And so when I look at my colleagues, I think that I'm different from them because I have those experiences. And when I discuss with them about these ideas in the classroom, they come from an experience, they don't come from reading it. Some of my colleagues, they'll do research about, "Okay, here's the mea Hawai'i and this is how we should teach our kids." When I brainstorm with them, I look inward and I think, "Okay, what do I know or what are my experiences?" And I think that one of the frustrations we're having with our keikis today is that they don't have that familial connection and they don't have that mana coming through them from their parents and in their experiences where they come from. I think there's a stop in it." (Pōki'i, Speaker 75, p. 16)

The 'āina held great importance to individuals as a place for renewal, re-centering, and connecting with ancestors and their mana. Throughout the conversations, learning with and from the 'āina was considered a primary source of accessing mana:

There comes a time when something happens that ignites the spirit and the hearts of the po'e. You know, that comes from our 'āina, that comes from the land. And it's a voice that we all pick up collectively and we hear, and we work in the capacity that we're meant to work to address what is happening." (Pōki'i, Speaker 77, p. 30)

... I believe that mana comes and goes from the pō. It flashes through the ao, and we're manifestations of it at this point in time. And it doesn't come to us through people first, it comes through the land. So it's space specific. All you got to do is watch nature, quote unquote, 'cause there's no 'ōlelo Hawai'i for that, to understand what mana is. And then we adapt it, and follow suit. And I think that when we interpret it, we feel it, we act upon it, it engages our Kū and our Hina. So things grow and things are defended. But it acts like water—the moment you try to make it nalu, like my mana, the moment you lose it, and it has—it teaches wonderful lessons. It's loving because it's patient, and it's enduring. And it sees us as keiki sometimes screwing things up, it slaps us, keeps slapping us until we make sometimes, but then will embrace us again, when we ho'i. But its manifestations is, the physical manifestations is, things growing, is abundance. Mana to me always going be abundance, a collective abundance. It's the strength of the 'auamo, not the different. (Mākua, Speaker 14, pp. 17–18)

The significance of connections built through pilina and the 'ike formed through those relationships also influence understanding of mana:

[Y]ou can find mana in people, you can find mana in things that have been pilina to people, you can find mana in the places that those people have been, or things have happened. It's part of the pana of a wahi so that if you're in a place and you understand the, or you've heard of the mo'olelo that's been around that place, that's part of the mana as well. Because unless you have a grasp of that which connects people and things and

activities to the place, then you are likely to go unconsciously through that place. So, but the opposite of that, you know a place, you know what happened in that place, you know the names of the objects and the winds and the rains of that place, you know the people of that place, you know some of the history of that place; and when you recognize, when you see someone who is that way in that place, then you recognize them as someone with more than what the usual person would have. So part of it is 'ike. (Koho'ia, Speaker 39, p. 3)

Consciousness of place and, for Hawaiians, a consciousness of their islands and the gods who created it, was raised as a way to connect people back to 'āina:

... a lot of people, they come to Hawai'i, do not come from islands. They come from continents. So land is land to them, okay. Within us, we have a consciousness that we live on islands. That's why Pele is important; that's the builder of islands. And islands will eventually erode back into the ocean and it become part of the ocean. So one of the things that I'm thinking about is that we need to be conscious about reestablishing that thinking, that we live on islands. That's why 'āina is important to us. Okay, we go around and we say mālama 'āina and all of that, and we think that we're taking care of the land, but really it's the land that's taking care of us. (Pōki'i, Speaker 68, p. 45)

Connection to objects

Other participants discussed how different objects signified mana. Objects included books, lei, a puka shell, mele (song), chants, Wilikoki plates, bananas, and a cane. Pōhaku (rocks) were introduced by members of the koho'ia, haipule, wāhine, kāne, and mākua groups. One participant shared about the way that genealogy and pōhaku were related:

I brought out this pōhaku ku'i 'ai. So I asked [the group of kānaka], "Oh, what do you see?" They said, "Oh, we see one poi pounder," "Oh, that's one rock." I said, "Oh, okay." Okay so they had different mana'o. And then I said, "When I look at this, I see my great-grandfather. His name is [GRANDFATHER'S NAME]. And this is his pōhaku ku'i 'ai when I see it." I know where it is exactly at my house. And, when I see it, I see his

parents before him. And when I see them, I see Kohala, I see Kipahulu, I see Hāna, Maui, I see Ka'uiki. You know. And when I see them, I want my daughter to know that when she sees this, this is her kūpuna, even though she cannot see them. (Mākua, Speaker 11, p. 9)

And it just, there was something in that connection of, of my kino to this pōhaku, and the pōhaku to the board and the kalo, that it was like a “zing.” You know, like you feel that. That you can't really describe. And I think—so there's a bunch of things like that teaches me about mana, which is that mana can reside in things or people or you know, beings, but that there's something about connections and also about rhythm, and being back in a particular rhythm that activates or enhances that exchange of mana. (Wāhine, Speaker 22, p. 7)

As one participant expressed, mana exists in different spaces and may change depending on how it is cared for (mālama):

Mana goes two ways, too. There's the unseen mana and then there's the physical aspects of mana. There's certain things, physical things, that have mana. And there's that part that you can't see. You know, mana runs in families too. You know, there's certain welo. Certain families have certain traits that, you know, have mana. And then, in the physical things, you know—maybe not so much as a ko'oko'o, but if you come to my house, I have a ku'ula on the shelf, you know. It's ancient. It has mana in it. I have different rocks and things in my house that I still have—an ipu, that's, you know, hundreds of years old. My house not spooky or anything, I don't wanna, you know—but it's just that these things have mana in it. And how to use these things and tap into these things, that is mana in itself. Like the ku'ula I have, I don't fish. I don't know how to use it, but it's there on the top shelf. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 38, pp. 32-33)

It was also expressed that an image of the card game Huli! (Appendix L) reflects a different way to teach about money—“to think of careers and methods of changing the flow of money into localized and decentralized systems” and working to “turn mana [which is now tied to money] back into water.” Some of the more specific comments about mana are included below.

Mana can be put into objects. For one kapa maker, mana is imbued to kapa (fabric made from trees often made into a quilt or blanket) by weaving significant stories into the kapa and when the kapa is given away to a new home, “that’s sad because you know, your keiki is leaving, but happy because you know it’s going to a place where it will be loved” (Kupa’aina, Speaker 59, p. 6). Another participant agreed:

Right? That’s how like, I guess even with my pieces, that’s how I feel. It’s just that when we—I guess we put all, I guess, all of our time or energy into something, when we actually give it away, it feels like, yeah, we’re giving a little part of ourselves, or like our child, but it’s going to somewhere where we believe it should be, in a weird way. (Kupa’aina Speaker 55, p. 7)

Connection to others

As has been discussed, mana is both subjective and dynamic, depending on genealogy (what is inherited) and experience (acquired and given), as “we have all nurtured mana, inherited mana, acquired mana, and we activate mana, and the different combinations—because of the people we represent and the places that we represent” (Mākua, Speaker 15, p. 17). How mana is cultivated or used was also important in the discussions of mana. For example, one member of the wāhine group asserted that “Keōpūolani had inherited mana... and then Kamehameha built the structure to uplift that mana to even higher” (Speaker 25, p. 3).

Another participant noted the centrality of relationships in mana:

One of the things I saw was problematic in the institution is this idea of the individual. That was so hard. When you start thinking of yourself as an individual as opposed to a part of a group, relationships are less important. I mean, it’s about you, right? It’s about you, how you’re going to succeed, things you gotta do to make it. And all the other stuff gets less

attention. And I bring that up because this idea of being an individual and being guided by your own individual self, there's an assumptions that what we do as individuals is we reach back to our kūpuna. I think that's backwards. I think actually they're reaching to us, but our focus on being an individual person here as opposed to part of a larger group that goes forward backward in time, keeps us from really making the connection—we reject it. (Wāhine, Speaker 24, p. 11)

This mana can reconnect back by having a good relationship with the person to whom you give the item, so the mana exchange is reciprocal. There is a give and take, and push and pull to mana. “There's an ebb and a flow with mana, and that we do cause action onto things and we receive reactions from other things, whether it's intended or not” (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 45, p. 9).

We choose who we feel have mana... we recognize... because they have knowledge, because they have experience, they have talent; whatever—whatever it is. We choose they have mana. And so if we—we the lāhui, we each other's practice, we whoever we are, recognize that and value that, and bring that forward, then the non-mana people will fall away—will fall away 'cause they don't have it. We have chosen. We have chosen, “These people have mana, and I will support these people because they have mana and because they can contribute to my welfare, to the welfare of my family, to the welfare of my lāhui, to the welfare of the generations to come.” I think if we understand mana and we see it, we know that's what we do when we support the mana person. Because we know they're doing it 'cause they have the passion. They have the love, and they have spent the years doing it. And we must support that. (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 47, p. 45)

Discipline and kapu

Kapu (prohibition, exemption) is considered important for cultivating and accessing mana. “Mana is discipline, is having that kapu, having that order” [Mākua, Speaker 18, p. 7]. It is mutual respect coupled with knowing what to do and how to do it (e.g., ceremonies, order). Participants discussed the importance of kūpuna in kapu. They agreed kūpuna are leaders with authority who were “in that leadership role that have set that kapu that have set that discipline for the rest of us to begin to follow” (Mākua, Speaker 18, p. 7).

Examples of the importance of how kūpuna in set kapu were shared:

I believe that our kūpuna were very deliberate in making those connections, and actually teaching our keiki how to behave, what to know, you know. Why you got to sit that way, not that way. Why you gotta scoop the poi this way and not that way. (Mākua, Speaker 11, p. 9)

Okay, so, it is hedged in because the knowledge always came with kapu—I’m sorry to say it... [T]he thing that we were taught when we’re warding knowledge—like you were saying, connecting with this information—is it came with certain restrictions. How you gotta act. Yeah, you don’t act like a gatekeeper, you don’t act like a gatekeeper. You open access to everybody, but there are certain people who ‘a’apo wale a ‘ike lākou. A kohu mea kēlā ‘ike iā lākou. Me, genealogy, forget it. I’m not a genealogist and I don’t try. I don’t try. But there are people who, they just grab something and they go—they go with it. And I’m not questioning them, but we have protocols when we were trained by all our different teachers. You have to treat knowledge a certain way, or it will not treat you nicely. And that’s a kūpuna thing. (Wāhine, Speaker 21, p. 25)

One means of transferring mana was through ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) as “one of the more significant aspects of mana” (Kāne, Speaker 3, p. 15). The participant discussed that he finds “a lot of spiritual peace in speaking Hawaiian” (Kāne, Speaker 3, p. 15), and that he has a kapu for his family—they only speak Hawaiian in their home. This discipline was a way of giving his family mana.

And who's come out of that burst is these young Hawaiians, these are young kānaka on the front lines. I got to kind of sit with him this past week, you know, these kānaka. And, you know, we have that kapu aloha and these things, but to me, I really seen that as—and in the schools that we're talking about, and the programs, what we are instilling in our people again is discipline. We saw it from today with the start of pule, the oli. It gives order, the ceremonies that we all partake in, and that cultivates mana, I believe. And I think without that kapu—that our kūpuna were very conscious of, to cultivate mana—that without the kapu, mana can also be used in a totally different way. And I think we see our people, historically have, and still to today, still embrace that. But I think sitting around here is very beautiful because knowing each of you folks and the work that we're all doing, it is really, to me, it's about putting that order. But I think when you start putting the discipline and the kapu into it, it becomes much easier for us to identify. (Mākua, Speaker 18, p. 7)

‘Ike and passing along knowledge

Groups discussed the importance of ‘ike and how it's different from mana'o ("opinion"); only through ‘ike can one truly understand the connection between the past, present, and future; and, act in ways that demonstrate an understanding of the difference. Conduits to ‘ike include kūpuna as well as knowledge "imparted... by... kumu or your 'ohana" (Pōki'i, Speaker 69, p. 12).

So [kūpuna and ancestors] recognized those that had mana at a very young age, and they trained them. So you were selected. You were selected because you had the ‘ike, you had the potential for developing that mana. And not—you know, in a family that's big, that large, not everybody has the same mana. You have keiki that you know you going develop in a certain way because they have, they exhibit the traits, the qualities. And our kūpuna recognized that. (Kūpuna, Speaker 67, p. 17)

Knowledge—you have to have guidance with that. And I think it's a spiritual. You know, there's always the question in your mind, "Am I doing the right thing? Am I making the right choices?" And when you don't have the guidance of the Creator who made us, we're bound to make mistakes. And it becomes an experiment maybe, and it's not fulfilling. 'Cause I know when I would do my mother's work, I had to learn a lot because my profession was a nurse. But when I went away to school, I always remembered she always used the Hawaiian herbs. And so when I worked in intensive care, I said, "Okay, this is good, but there's the herbs," and our culture had a lot to do with healing. You could have all this modern medicines, but it's not the same as Hawaiian herbs because you deal with the side effects. (Kūpuna, Speaker 62, pp. 22-23)

But those who are without discipline end up as observers:

He never had that discipline, that training. He only stood by and like watching a movie, he know all of that goes on in the movie, but he wasn't in there in the process. So the process and the discipline is quite important, I think, in all aspects of exemplifying or perpetuating that mana that we maybe have. (Kūpuna, Speaker 63, p. 14)

The wāhine group referred not only to ancestral knowledge, but also to allowing themselves to grow and develop their own 'ike:

And we also gotta be okay about evolving into new ways and not saying that "only this is Hawaiian." So long we carry the essence of our kūpuna's teaching and understandings, and that is Hawaiian. So that's why we gotta be kind to ourselves and we gotta allow ourselves to grow and evolve and bring forth our own 'ike and understanding to add to each other. (Wāhine, Speaker 20, p. 28)

For one participant, 'ike was more significant than mana'o: "You know, people need tools. People need 'ike. They don't need mana'o" (Pōki'i, Speaker 77, p. 30).

Mana is not about just knowing, but it is transformed through experience and understood through work. Participants spoke about the importance of and challenges in passing on knowledge.

And so part of that mana also is experiencing the ability to impart that knowledge onto someone else, and seeing that someone else carry out the teaching that Uncle [Pōki'i, SPEAKER 68 HUSBAND'S NAME] and [Pōki'i, SPEAKER 68] taught us. And understanding like, you're not gonna appreciate what they taught you because you know, fear. You're going through it yourself so you're not really appreciating what you're doing. But man, the ability to see someone else that you taught in action the doing exactly what Uncle [SPEAKER 68 HUSBAND'S NAME] had envisioned thirty-something years ago, for me that's mana. (Pōki'i, Speaker 69, p. 13)

We will share the hula Peles later on, and the hula pahas, but I don't want to share that to a mind that's not prepared for it. That can take all that and actually mālama the kuleana of the essence that goes with it. So which then needs, then, you need the 'ōlelo for it so that you can have the ho'omaopopo. You can understand it. And then you have to have the tools to actually produce it. So then, what happens then and this particular knowledge, I don't want it to go downward. I want to make sure that we pass it on to people that will kind of excel it or that will maintain it; maintain the excellence of it. And so we create this kind of rubric of what that kind of haumāna should be in hālau. In the education system, I'm just teaching my students how to reflect. Please reflect. Look at your language ability, make a reflection. Where are you in this class? If you need help, make the reflection to go and get help so that you can get better. It's all to push towards excellence. (Kāne, Speaker 2, p. 41)

I think also, you know, we talk about supporting apprentices. And I think there aren't a lot of practitioners that—my Auntie [AUNTY NAME] told me something. She said, "Ma mua o kou a'o 'ana i kekahi mau po'e 'ē a'e, pono 'oe e mālama iā 'oe iho." And there a lot of practitioners that are not at the point of—they gotta work. They gotta work. (Speaker 51, p. 42)

(Hums of agreement)

And so they cannot focus in on what they really have their passion for doing. And I've seen this over and over again. And you know, I feel sorry because I have a job that I think is great, but when I'm sitting down on a mat and tapping away, I wish I never need wake up tomorrow morning early for go work. (Speaker 51, p. 43)

As one participant noted, success in action is about being “very, very disciplined. You don't fool around. There are some things you don't mess around with” (Kūpuna, Speaker 63, p. 12).

Recognizing a lack of discipline in youth was met with frustration:

That's a—you know, this is a perfect situation already because you have them engaged in this discipline. And see, a lot of the keiki out there are not disciplined. They don't have discipline. And so that's—how do we get them involved? And sometimes we think, maybe we just gotta push. You know, just grab um by the neck and just—because otherwise they don't have that exposure to discipline. And if you're not in that discipline, how are you even gonna get to that point where you are the chosen one? (Koho'ia, Speaker 42, p. 27)

To tell you the truth, it's frustrating for traditional teachers to continue teaching in the kind of situation that we have today with the different learning styles. I don't care about that but it's frustrating because they don't learn, you know? It doesn't go in, they're not paying attention, and you know, all of that. All of that. They're not willing to put in the time, they don't spend—all of that. And so I go, “Bah bah bah bah bah...” (symbolic of scolding voice) You know? Then you, “Okay, [SPEAKER NAME]. Is this about you or is it about them? I'm going try one more week.” You know? And next year makes forty years. So each week, it was, “We goin' try one more week.” (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 47, p. 16)

And that is the pilikia with our children. Is that they have not learned discipline. We are giving them so many activities that they keep on moving around, moving around, that we don't give them time to sit with kūpuna. Even kūpuna no more time to sit and talk to you, keiki, the way they used to. Right? So, no more that time. And I really think

that that is something that we need to give to them—to sit and to learn how to ho‘olohe, and to be respectful of people who are talking, and to know how. And not to give them an out. You know, I see today, sometimes I see mothers bring in coloring books, whatever it is, to keep their keiki quiet in the church. Okay, do whatever you gotta do, but they also have to learn how to just noho. (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 36, p. 53)

By being still and learning through observation, participants were able to respectfully receive the mana that was being transferred:

But what I did—and none of this makes sense until I’m in my twenties—but in looking back, I realize that that stillness, the quietness, learning without formally being told and taught, that the discipline is—the discipline also comes with respect and humility. And that’s necessary in order to just open up all of your senses so that you can receive whatever it is that’s being shared or transferred. It made me a faster learner, I think. I watched a lot. You know, the elders didn’t have to, you know, explain things, like three, four, ten times... you learn by listening and paying attention. (Kūpuna, Speaker 65, pp. 14–15)

Passing knowledge, understanding and skill can be very structured or informal. A tattoo artist shared about discipline in the process of teaching traditional tattooing methods to apprentices:

For me, I’ve had maybe about fifteen students for tattooing. One, maybe two, will learn more. But I’m done teaching, as far as bringing in new apprentices. But I got some that are like in their twenties, early twenties. But the thing is they leave their ego at the door, and they wanna learn old processes, you know? And they’re very respectful of things. I have not graduated anybody because it wasn’t right. I might graduate one, maybe. Maybe. But that decision isn’t made yet, until you see how they react, not for me, but for our people; what they do, how they do it, and if it’s within the path of the tradition that I have been taught. And to me that’s real important. And I think that’s important for everybody. Everybody comes from a tradition that you uphold, that you really kia’i, yeah? And I think if it wasn’t for us guys upholding that tradition, then our teachers picked the wrong people. (Arts and Musicians, Speaker 51, p. 26)

A canoe navigator, on the other hand, shared how his or her informal approach to cultivating mana was life changing for friends:

Maybe, we have come to a time in our, in Hawai'i, where we may have to start sharing more so that it's not lost completely, but I think we need to be able to share it with the people that will take it and make a difference. And hopefully the ones that we have chosen will make that difference. I had some Cali friends came over to Moloka'i and... " So I said, "Okay, I gonna treat you like my fourth graders, and we're gonna go up, and I'm gonna show you our forests." And we spent the entire day up [in Kamakou] and it was spectacular. We went all the way to Pelekunu, and Pelekunu is hardly ever open like that... They never had an experience like that. I didn't know. And we came down and later on they thanked me and they said it was life-changing. And so you never know when you're gonna make a difference, or how you're gonna affect people or change their lives, but you have to be willing to share and you have to be willing to make the time, or take the time to do that. And I think that because I had that opportunity to be with Hōkū at that time, in '76, I feel like it's my kuleana and it's, I'm being held accountable by her (laughs). You know? "Eh, you better not pohō this. You better go do the right thing." And I hope, I hope, that Hōkūle'a knows that I have been at least trying to do the right thing. (Kupa'āina, Speaker 56, p. 21)

Another spoke about the role of 'ohana in passing on cultural practice:

It's not only to save this for our family so that we have this 'ike, but also kind of save this kind of practice of how you gather this 'ike and this mana so that it's a skill; one of those things that we can use as our own 'ohana tries to evolve and carry on from this time forward. So I still have this in my office, and I always try to remember that when working with, particularly when I'm trying to work with our kānaka students and what it is I'm trying to pass on to them. (Kāne, Speaker 5, p. 7)

Many participants agreed that in order to move back to more traditional ways where students listen and are directed by kumu, participants acknowledged that youth need to be paired up with the right kumu and right practices. They must also "leave their ego at the door, and wanna learn old processes" (Artists and

Musicians, Speaker 51, p. 26). Youth have to have the discipline. Who does the choosing is important—the kumu must choose, not the haumana, for it is the kumu who must “recognize the skill of the haumana has reached a certain level” (Koho’ia, Speaker 39, p. 26) to trust and pass the reign, as well as challenge someone else who is ready but doesn’t necessarily recognize it. Teachers should guide and direct students to “the space that you need to be nurtured so you can actually channel what you need to channel” (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 53, p. 22).

Participants also considered who should be passing on mana. Overall, the Wāhine group emphasized their own responsibility and knowing what to pass, when, and to whom. Artists and musicians focused on helping youth find their kuleana noting that not everything is for everyone. Kūpuna and Pōki’i (Kanahele led) group members recognized the responsibility of both the older and younger generations to understand their kuleana. In particular, the older generation should help youth understand what their roles should be in helping to move people forward, and leaders need to maintain their mana through being dynamic and responding to changes brought with time.

Kuleana not only involved identifying who mana was for, but also the right time to pass on mana:

I think about this person also that had buried this pōhaku. So I’m not a kalo person really, but my kāne plants and teaches about lo’i restoration, and what his insight was that—he said that, he feels like what often would happen was that if somebody didn’t have someone to pass it on to, that they would just bury it back in the ‘āina, and when the time was right it, you know—like I think about the ring, like Lord of The Rings. The ring finds an owner. Yeah. So anyway, I think about that person who, again, also was thinking about inter-generationally. Like, “Okay, my time with this pōhaku is over and I don’t have someone to give it to, so I’m going to reconnect it back to this ‘āina and there will be a time when someone will be able to use it again.” So those are just some of the things that come up for me. (Wāhine, Speaker 22, p. 7)

Wāhine Speaker 22's expression above, "if somebody didn't have someone to pass [mana in the form of pōhaku] on to, that they would just bury it back in the 'āina, and then when the time was right...the [pōhaku] finds the owner," reflects a theme identified in other groups—that mana withstands the test of time, not ever being destroyed, but sometimes saved instead by connecting it back to the land, and allowing it to find the right owner at the right time.

Another Wāhine speaker noted:

It's just like—it's just lauhala that's weaved around it, and it's just, it's just kapu. So they—and you know, it's a beautiful stone, and I mean, they have it. I've seen it before. And I guess in this conversation, it helps me to feel better that—like we have been saying in different ways—that you know, mana and kuleana, sometimes it's okay not to have to pass things on, or sometimes it's okay that I can feel better that some things have not been passed on, and that's the way it was meant to be. You know, because sometimes we're—I know I'm always trying to find, you know, answers or just everything that our kūpuna did—simple things. You know? How did they just make kapa? How did that kapa stay stained and water-resistant? And you know—all of these things. I mean just everyday things, and that's just one example. And so that pōhaku ku'i 'ai allows me to feel better about the fact that there are going to be some things that just weren't meant to be passed on. And even though they have so much mana in it. (Wāhine, Speaker 23, p. 9)

Cultivating and moving mana forward does require education. However, participants acknowledged that in education, not everyone is treated equally and not everyone desires an educational pathway. Everyone has different needs. They also acknowledged that sometimes it was important to acknowledge when education was not for someone and "people need to learn to be okay... to know that that's not for me" (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 53, p. 21).

In the context of transferring leadership to the next generation, one person said he/she creates mana by “letting go” (Koho‘ia, Speaker 45, p. 25) and letting others lead. It’s about building trust and sharing responsibility together, getting at the collective effort needed to transfer leadership and ability to cultivate mana to the next generation. The kumu must “recognize the skill of the haumana has reached a certain level” (Koho‘ia, Speaker 39, p. 26) to trust and pass the reins and challenge someone else who is ready, but doesn’t necessarily recognize it. One speaker gave the example of his or her kumu:

... so Kumu [KUMU NAME] who taught me, certainly was recognized as a person of great mana and ‘ike. And he shared so freely, you know? And with that sharing came this unspoken kuleana. He would rely on you more and more. And I wore one of the shirts that was kind of famous for him, you know? People would say, “Oh, why are you gonna do that?” And the answer was, “I ‘ōlelo maila ke kumu.” Right? And so we wanted to do a second version of this thing, because on the back it would say, “Aia iā ‘oe.” You know? Because after a certain amount of training, you would go to Kumu and say, “What do I do, Kumu?” And he would say, “You know what to do.” You know? And so that—there was this certain phase in which the learning turned into kuleana to make your own decisions, use the ‘ike that he shared with you, the foundation that he built, that he helped you build, and then now you make those decisions, “‘cause I know you will do the right thing.” (Koho‘ia, Speaker 39, pp. 23–24)

The importance of the relationship—the collective energy—was “that recognition of...that reciprocity or that desire to be together and do something more magical together than either of you would ever be able to do individually or by yourselves.” There is an acknowledgment “that together we’re going to share and grow, and we are going to produce something or going to create something” (Artists and Musicians, Speaker 48, p. 18) that results from relationship.

Faith and trust in something greater than the self

Other groups commonly associated with mana spiritually, and having faith and trust in something beyond oneself. The koho'ia group brought up the idea that things happen for a reason if you are open to taking chances. Speaker 46 gave an example of being open to a canoe voyage to Japan and welcoming a Japanese man who went on a different leg of the voyage to visit Kaua'i. The voyager's openness led to a great relationship and his/her ability to teach others to navigate the waters without instruments. This was an example of transmitting mana through openness and action, and it emphasized how faith or trust sometimes came in hindsight:

[S]ometimes you don't need to know what you're doing in order to be in the practice of or in the gaining of mana. I don't think that mana is gained in a specific moment and known; that it is realized as you look back on something. (Koho'ia, Speaker 41, p. 20)

Another participant echoed this speaker's comments about the abundance of mana, but also shared that mana is waiting to be tapped and that listening is required to tap it:

I have a problem with this idea of everybody having limited access to mana or limited mana, because I don't think we're in the center. I think the mana is unlimited, and then there's a way to charge. You just get it. And I don't think it's about us going out and getting it; I think it's being offered constantly. I think they're doing like broadcast call, "I need you guys. Come out and help, and we'll make way for you to get what you need."... They've been calling us for so long, and we have not been listening because we don't know how. But as soon as we start listening and as soon as we kind of tap in, that mana flows. You got it. And it enables you to do everything and anything you ever wanted to do, as long as it fits in with the program—they got the program. So the calling is not us to them, it's the other way around. And we kind of look at things in that way, the way we do, because we think we're the center of the universe. Because we think individually we are like hot. We can do this, this, this, and this, and this. And we forget that, as a matter of fact, we're lucky to

be able to draw on that stuff if we wanted to. But—so from my point of view, it's everywhere. That mana is everywhere, it's just waiting. It's in the land, it's in the air, it's everywhere, it's in our history, it's in our kūpuna. And really, it's just kind of like, waiting for the invitation. Call um. They've been calling us for a long time. Say, "Okay. I'm gonna do that." And then it just comes... Something's calling them and they're paying attention, and now they are imbued with the energy and the mana to do what needs to be done, whether they know intellectually what it is. They don't have to know. What they have to do is acknowledge the fact that somebody is calling them. That's my view of what the mana is. (Wāhine, Speaker 24, pp. 24–25)

Mana is dynamic

From the perspectives of the focus group participants, mana is dynamic—ebbing and flowing, having valence, and moving through time and space. A question that arises from this analysis is whether mana is something that is separate from the individual in that it is something that is passed through actions and knowledge (like the Kāne group of scholars mentioned) or if it is part of the individual, part of one's DNA (like the Kanaka'ole group reflected).

In reflecting on the multidimensionality of mana, the kūpuna group discussed the interplay among discipline, knowledge, understanding, traditional practices, kūpuna and mana:

Any kind of, you know, mana, basically, we have an understanding of that particular term. And it was interesting because quite a number of years ago, whoa, was many years ago, I heard some of my aunties and uncles, who were all native speakers, arguing about mana, about what mana is. And they all debating about—well, but it came to the point where basically, whatever you do, whether you running a camera, over there on the computer, it takes a degree of mana to know and understand that. And it takes a lot of discipline to do whatever we do. (Speaker 63, p. 11)

I've been long convinced that the pule, and the focus, and the discipline, and that humility, and that constant connection, and even continuing to feed and nurture that relationship with our kūpuna that have already passed. So I pule all the time and for me, like my pule doesn't necessarily—it's sometimes very ritualistic and sometimes—a lot of times my pule is just holding conversations. And I'm very grateful for that because I know that they hear, that they engage, that they support and they kōkua, and I've had wonderful mentors, and teachers have taught me how to understand. Not only how to communicate, but to receive affirmation that I am in that communication groove and cycle. So 'ike and mana, to me, the most profound levels of it has to be hand in hand. (Speaker 65, p. 31)

One participant talked about mana and how it changes over time as part of an evolving self-acceptance process as “an evolutionary being,” (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 32, p. 8). In other words, recognizing that we “can evolve” is important. S/he compared this to the account of Pele finding “her purpose—her mana” (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 32, pp. 8-9) in Hawai'i away from her home of Kahiki, where she found balance, reflecting that this is the process of accessing mana and of realizing potential.

The dynamic nature of mana is based in what one actually does:

The activity of mana is only as dynamic as we require it to be individually. And because it's potentially latent until we actually begin to move it. And it doesn't come from—I think that movement comes from a balance of ecological relationship between who is my wailua, and who is all the other wailuas interacting with me. (Pōki'i, Speaker 73, p. 5)

The theme of the importance of connection among past and present was further evidenced by a Sāmoan participant noting that the closest word to “mana” in Sāmoan is “manatua,” and it's a:

word for reflection. So it's a reflecting back on that, that essence that was there as you bring it. That's how you bring it forward; when you remember actions, when you remember things you're proud of. So mana is bringing that mana forward. (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 31, p. 24)

Another point raised about the dynamic nature of mana is that mana exists in different spaces, and is different over time:

So it helps us to think of mana, not only spatially, but temporally as well. So, you know, maybe this particular mana will never be—well, not never but—it's unique to this time and space. (Mākua, Speaker 15, p. 17)

Mana moves through time and space, and manifests itself in many places: Speaker 61 (Kupa'āina, p. 15) talked about mana as something that “has this life”—it keeps going like an old song that you hear on the elevator one year, and you hear it again 40 years later. In this way, mana moves and bears multiple facets, as intimated by a member of wāhine group: “[a]nd you mālama it” (Haipule/Halepule, KC[1], p. 33).

Regarding future mana, a wāhine group member talked about the new akua, Kūkia'imauna, and how with the creation of a new akua “is a creation of new mana in a way. I mean, it's sort of recapturing old, or building on what's old, but also creating something new” (Wāhine, Speaker 22, p. 14). While other groups talked about mana manifesting and transforming, the idea that new mana can be created was something unique to the wāhine group.

For one participant (Kupa'āina, Speaker 61), moving mana forward meant abolishing fear in others and “[exercising] that mana muscle...like faith; if you don't exercise faith, it atrophies” (p. 17). It's important to encourage others to be open to all that is being offered and to “jump”:

I think if you put the fear aside and believe in that life, you know, believe in life, believe in mana, believe in Ke Akua Mana Loa, you never know where it's gonna take you. Take you to places that you never even dreamed you could go, your best dreams will come true and then some. (Kupa'āina, Speaker 61, p. 19)

Mana as both a positive and negative force

Mana can both grow and decrease, based on actions, and these examples demonstrate mana as neutral, but taking on power when utilized. They also point to the importance of connection in accessing or cultivating mana, or mana as neutral but used for positive or negative purposes.

An essential piece of kuleana was understanding how mana should be directed—“And a good leader is that; can, decides which fights to fight, which fights not to fight” (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker, 30, p. 23).

Another participant stated:

Because mana taken to an extreme—and we have lots of mana, many many mana-ful people. But what happens when that mana goes overboard or is taken in a different direction? I think that’s the core of some of what we’re challenged by, yeah? Is that we all want to move our lāhui forward, but we have different ideas about what that means and then we abuse that. Because our people, we have, we are full. We have much mana, much. But where is it being directed? And many of it is being directed in purposes that are counter to us and to ourselves, and sometimes we do that. I’m sure at sometime, all of us have done that to our family, to ourselves, to our organizations, our communities, and sometimes by accident, and sometimes probably just by being a little bit lazy, or a little bit self absorbed in being able to wield that. (Mākua, Speaker 12, p. 11)

The mākua group emphasized that a sense of worthiness was required to act:

That we’re creating these places but then have people, like, feel able to be fed. And so how do we—and I do believe mana moves and it can grow and it can be diminished—and how you—you know, based on what I was talking about earlier. How many of our people, how many people do we know, how many people are we trying to serve with what we’re doing that don’t feel worthy of being fed? Don’t feel like they have mana, that there’s been mana in their family for generations because what they got passed was brokenness.

(Hums of agreement)

And they don't feel worthy, they don't feel—and I think we all feel elements of that. I don't know, maybe there are people in this room, and God bless you that you don't feel those moments where—hey, it could've been me. I'm not worthy of that. That's not what I deserve, that's not what I was passed down, that's not what my kūpuna did. And how do we have a readiness, how do we build that? Because we can make all the 'āina everywhere that are already abundant, right? Flowing. Full. But if nobody's eating... because they don't feel worthy. (Mākua, Speaker 12, pp. 23–24)

A unique point that the kūpuna group stated was that mana needs to be dynamic and respond to time and change—one must take care of his or her own mana. For instance:

So I'd like to akin for them that mana is like a battery and we like the flashlight. So eventually you gotta change the battery. So whether you change it through knowledge, through pule, through all of this kind of stuff, you gotta change the battery, because when the light start getting dim and the mana start going down, the battery going ooze, and going ooze one acid, and going corrode the flashlight, and then the flashlight no good anymore. So we gotta watch for those kinds of things that let us know that our battery going down. And we gotta recharge that battery and change um, otherwise, the flashlight corroded. And I think we can see it in a lot of our leaders, yeah? And it doesn't have to do with their age, their chronological age; it has to do with their mana. The thing is going down, and the thing oozing acid, and it's corroding the flashlight. So word to the wise, take care of your mana, keep it good, so you no corrode your flashlight. (Kūpuna, Speaker 66, p. 35)

Participants recognized that misuse of mana could change levels of mana. For example, "... if you misuse mana, you lose it. And as a people, we've been misusing so much mana that as a people, we're losing our mana as Hawaiians" (Haipule/Halepule, Speaker 38, p. 40), and alluded to the notion that mana changes as a result of the integrity of one's actions:

But to me, it's about the truth, you know. There's maybe mana in ho'opuni-puni, but it's, to me, it's fleeting. It's egress for mana. It's egress for something, but once it's gone out, to me, the mana is gone. You may have accomplished something, but it wasn't done in a way that really represents the same of kind of mana that truth does. (Koho'ia, Speaker 44, p. 4)

Discussion

Themes that surfaced through the focus groups are reflective of themes identified in the English text reviews. These texts revealed mana as inherited and acquired, dynamic, and dictated by genealogy, place, age, gender, family, and recognition from others. Acquired mana is reflected in experience, great skill, knowledge, discipline, and connection with others, 'āina, and gods. Mana is connected to spirituality and power, and is manifested in many different places, people, and entities in many different ways, making it subjective. That being said, the focus groups allowed for a deeper and richer exploration of mana, one that was informed and driven by the lived experiences of the participants.

The overarching goal of the focus groups was to understand what mana means in contemporary society, both understanding how it is identified and how to cultivate it. Ultimately, this goal will help reach the larger project goal of understanding ways to identify and recognize mana as a means to move it forward for the empowerment of Native Hawaiian communities. The focus groups demonstrated that mana is difficult to define, and some participants questioned whether it should be defined at all or to what level of specificity. However, they showed that mana can be identified and described through stories and metaphors. Participants shared stories of students actualizing, and of their grandmothers embodying power and authority as ways of identifying mana and sharing ideas about cultivating mana. Participants powerfully contributed narratives that situated concepts through lived experience. Mana was not discussed in simple descriptions of behavior. Rather, participant narratives offered detail that enabled listeners the ability to discern intent. Participants' stories of relationships amplified the theme of connectedness and interrelatedness.

Another way participants expressed themselves and their understanding was through use of metaphors. Metaphors are a means of conveying complex topics in simple and comprehensible ways. Metaphors were presented in both traditional and contemporary examples and contexts to illustrate specific statement. Focus group participants used metaphors like "peeling away the rubbish," layers, weaving, extension plugs with USB ports, flashlight, and energy to describe mana and its dynamic characteristics. Groups, in general, expressed that they wanted to keep the conversations going, and some offered support and advice

for developing an instrument to identify mana in others. These participants emphasized the importance of having others evaluate and recognize mana. An individual cannot say, “I have mana because I did this.”

Based on the themes identified in the focus groups, any assessment of mana needs to include multiple perspectives, including the self, peers, teachers, and kūpuna. Perspectives should provide information related to connection to ‘āina, others, and kūpuna (understanding genealogy), ‘ike, skill (e.g., leadership, artistry, land cultivation, providing for others, etc.), and fulfillment of kuleana. In addition to focusing on the individual, because mana is very much about connection to a collective effort and layering of experience and ‘ike, an assessment of mana should also be possible at the group or organizational level to capture the cumulative nature of mana. Any assessment of mana should also consider readiness to transfer, as well as readiness to accept, leadership and responsibility. As our lāhui thinks about using assessment to cultivate mana, the transfer of mana should be considered, as it is important to the growth of mana in space and time, particularly as younger generations become older and kūpuna pass on.

Focus group participants expressed that a certain level of faith and trust in oneself and in their connections is important to discovering kuleana, which goes hand-in-hand with leading in the ways that individuals are destined to lead. Another important take away is that mana is subjective—both the experience and identification of it. Therefore, any assessment should allow for personalization of items or indicators in such a way that permits the respondent to specify the skill or the source of ‘ike, for example. These aspects should not be specified for the respondent. An item would not be about a specific practice or specific place, but rather one that is meaningful to the respondent or the individual or entity being observed.

...in conversations with experts who have deep cultural and historical knowledge about mana—it was a chance to complement a developing understanding of mana...

As previously noted, focus groups represent only one of the data collection methods employed in the project. However, as the team began planning for the group discussions, the significance of these sessions became increasingly evident; this was a chance to engage in conversations with experts who have deep cultural and historical knowledge about mana—it was a chance to complement a developing understanding of mana primarily grounded in written texts. The conversations afforded the team an opportunity, a “window” into the ways in which a diverse set of non-Native Hawaiian, Polynesian, Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, and multiethnic participants gave significance to a deeply meaningful and culturally important construct. Perhaps equally important, the conversations provided participants a forum in which their perspectives and voices were being respectfully sought out. Here, rather than imposing meaning(s), the discussion allowed the participants—the cultural experts—to shape the researchers’ understanding of mana. As such, there is much to be learned from the way these focus groups were conducted.

In planning for the focus groups, the online RSVP system seemed to be useful for communicating date, time, and place, as well as understanding any needs of the participants. However, individual communications were required to further clarify the purpose of the focus groups. Human interaction and conversation were vital to communication about this sensitive and cultural topic. As noted previously, the spaces utilized for the focus groups were carefully selected to make the participants most comfortable, and participants were encouraged to bring an item that represented mana to them for discussion. Researchers allocated three hours for the discussions—a longer timeframe than typically allotted for such work. However, several went longer than three hours, which indicates that at least three hours should be dedicated for future focus groups on similar topics. The focus groups also allowed for participants to speak in languages with which they were most comfortable. Although most used English, it was important to have bilingual facilitators.

The facilitators were chosen carefully. In part, because they were individuals with whom many of the participants were acquainted, and therefore, focus group members were comfortable with their presence. Also, the facilitators hold deep connection and commitment to Hawaiian culture, and have the ability to identify the nuances of situations and contexts, the ability to engage in meaningful and respectful dialogue about individual and collective contributions, and

understand the project and capacity to engage with participants as they “talked story.” The cultural knowledge and experience of the facilitators was critical for understanding what was shared, so that relevant and meaningful follow-up prompts could be asked. The note takers were also fluent in Hawaiian and had cultural knowledge to contextualize their notes. During the focus groups, some members introduced themselves by going through the process of stating their name, their ‘āina, and a kūpuna they brought with them, helping to establish a greater sense of who they were to each other if unknown. The facilitators also opened and closed the focus groups with an oli or mele.

These processes helped establish the setting for the discussions most appropriate for the groups assembled. The processes established a respectful and safe place to share. The research team gained additional insight into the need for advanced planning for a myriad logistics—if participants are older and/or need to travel to or from islands or international places, accommodations may be necessary. For instance, participants may require a travel companion to assist with health or physical limitations, or the availability of transportation options (limited flights) may affect participation. Finally, the research team spent considerable time determining appropriate ways to both ensure invitees could participate and ways to acknowledge their contributions. As a result, participants were reimbursed for travel costs and offered makana and an honorarium.

Limitations

Several limitations are worth noting as there is the possibility that they have impacted the analysis and findings of this report. While these limitations are not specific to the focus groups reported herein, they relate to the method used for this project. The focus groups offered a method to facilitate a rich dialogue among diverse groups about mana. The focus groups were intended to explore the knowledge and understanding of individuals who demonstrate knowledge about mana and interest in cultivating and representing mana in their daily lives. Another limitation is that our analysis is based on transcripts and does not take into account visual cues (apart from nods of agreement noted by the transcribers).

During analysis, we attempted to use stated words of consent, no indication of dissent, and nods or “hums of agreement” as a proxy for agreement by the group. Additionally, group discussions may encourage behavior, because of social desirability—peer pressure may lead to some participants agreeing or not speaking up when there is a point of disagreement. Finally, the validity of the data derived from group discussions lies in the capacity of the facilitators who are charged with (1) enabling all participants’ equal opportunities to speak (discouraging some participants from dominating the conversation); and, (2) using probes that do not introduce bias into what participants articulate.

Future Directions

The data collected from these focus groups are valuable primary source data that represent ways of knowing from a diverse group of contemporary cultural experts and practitioners. These data can be further analyzed to answer other research questions related to mana, and its identification and cultivation. As with the grounded theory method that was chosen, other guiding questions may be utilized to code and analyze the data. For example, researchers may conduct further analyses to answer questions related to differences and similarities between groups that consisted of individuals from younger versus older generation, or comparing and contrasting the Polynesian and Pacific Islander perspectives with those of Native Hawaiian groups. Researchers may have more questions that result in light of the results from these focus groups; and, may consider holding follow-up focus groups to take a deeper dive into the differences identified among groups, such as the topic of kapu and discipline, the role these have in cultivating mana in the next generation, or the idea that some ‘ike or skill may go with kūpuna and not be passed to the next generation. There could be longer discussions about how individuals or groups facilitate youths’ realization of their kuleana. The major task at hand is to further this work by asking more questions, and digging deeper into what has been said to gain greater understanding of

how to identify mana or widening the reach to include a greater number of participants. Ultimately, the knowledge from current and future focus groups can be used to raise the mana of Native Hawaiian peoples through collective listening to generate strategies for mana to multiply.





5

Future Mana:

Recommendations and
Possible Directions

To review our process thus far:

- The diverse set of published texts on mana (including Hawaiian language newspapers [nūpepa], contemporary English language Hawai'i newspapers, and Hawaiian and English language journal articles, books, and theses and dissertations) enabled an initial understanding of the concept.
- The assessment instrument review examined ways in which mana and similar, modern constructs—such as stewardship, political power, and spirituality—have been assessed through formal research to date.
- A review rubric was then developed using information gleaned from the text reviews, and instruments were reviewed against the rubric to provide a systematic view of measured strengths and shortcomings to consider for use.
- The foregoing sections set the stage for a collection of Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander perspectives, through focus group discussions. These “contemporary” views were grounded in participants’ experiences and direct knowledge. Photovoice was also used to gather mana’o from those unable to attend the focus groups.
- Although the instrument review revealed numerous areas in which extant instruments were insufficient for capturing a robust construct of mana, the review—coupled with the other data sources—provided a solid foundation for the following assessment blueprint recommendations.

Assessment Recommendations

Any assessment of mana should be strengths-based, culturally responsive, dynamic, multidimensional, developmental, and grounded in an indigenous worldview. Moreover, assessment also has the potential to help develop and strengthen mana over time, providing a formative look through a Hawaiian worldview.

The assessment blueprint, a guide to help think about the assessment of mana in contemporary culture, is useful for understanding how culturally appropriate evaluations of education, health services and community well-being can be designed. Certainly, assessment is a critical feature in a myriad of practices. For instance, in education, assessment drives teaching and learning. In organizations, assessments are used to systematically examine performance and provide information on strengths or needed adaptations to reach success. Foundations rely on assessments to determine the performance of grantees' outcomes relative to their intended goals. Appropriate practices associated with assessment include: (a) diagnostic feedback about performance that can be useful to both the assessor and the assessed (individual or group); (b) information about individual or group progress toward goals; and, (c) information that helps motivate improvement.

Inferences can be drawn from valid assessments. However, creating instruments that facilitate such inferences is challenging. Most would agree that a fundamental problem in measurement is error or bias. The error may result from how a construct was framed, construct over-simplification, or inadequate data sampling. The lens through which we view the knowledge, skill, behavior, or event to be sampled clearly impacts the way in which assessment is framed—e.g., the phenomenon of “parenting” differs when viewed through a professional lens versus a bureaucratic lens. Purpose and results will invariably differ. Because experts and non-experts may hold “plural and often fundamentally contradictory beliefs and values over the meaning” of these or other terms, the suggestion that a single assessment or appraisal could comprehensively capture ability or aptitude seems untenable (Berlak, p. 15). Using “teaching” as example, the varied metaphors or conceptions of “teaching” (for instance, teaching as labor, teaching as a craft, teaching as a profession, teaching as an art) may lead to varied

forms of—or beliefs about—its assessment. Combine these challenges with an assumption that there are most likely multiple ways to demonstrate ability or aptitude and the notion of a simple, one-size-fits-all assessment enabling valid inferences becomes improbable.

The data collection methods for this project revealed that mana is steeped in relationships and reciprocity, and accuracy depends on multiple perspectives. Findings from the project's assessment instrument review, focus groups, Photovoice, and literature reviews will be helpful in future framing of the direction for the assessment blueprint. For instance, searches revealed a need to combine existing assessment instruments to create a toolkit for indigenous evaluation. Although the range of assessment instruments captured various domains of mana, none captured the entire construct. Moreover, Native Hawaiians who used Hawaiian language terms mainly relied on self-assessment (which—as noted—may provide a biased self-view of someone's own mana); most focused on beliefs rather than particular knowledge(s) and behaviors; and, most assumed the construct assessed was static.

The themes identified in the focus groups suggest that an assessment of mana should include many perspectives. This variety of perspectives can inform areas as diverse as connection to 'āina, others, kūpuna, 'ike, skill, and fulfillment of kuleana. Interrelatedness is at the core of mana; collective efforts and layering of experience and 'ike are critical features. Based on the focus group findings, mana includes a readiness to transfer knowledge, as well as readiness to accept leadership and responsibility. As evidenced in the literature review and during the focus groups, mana is subjective, both in experience and identification.

Blueprint

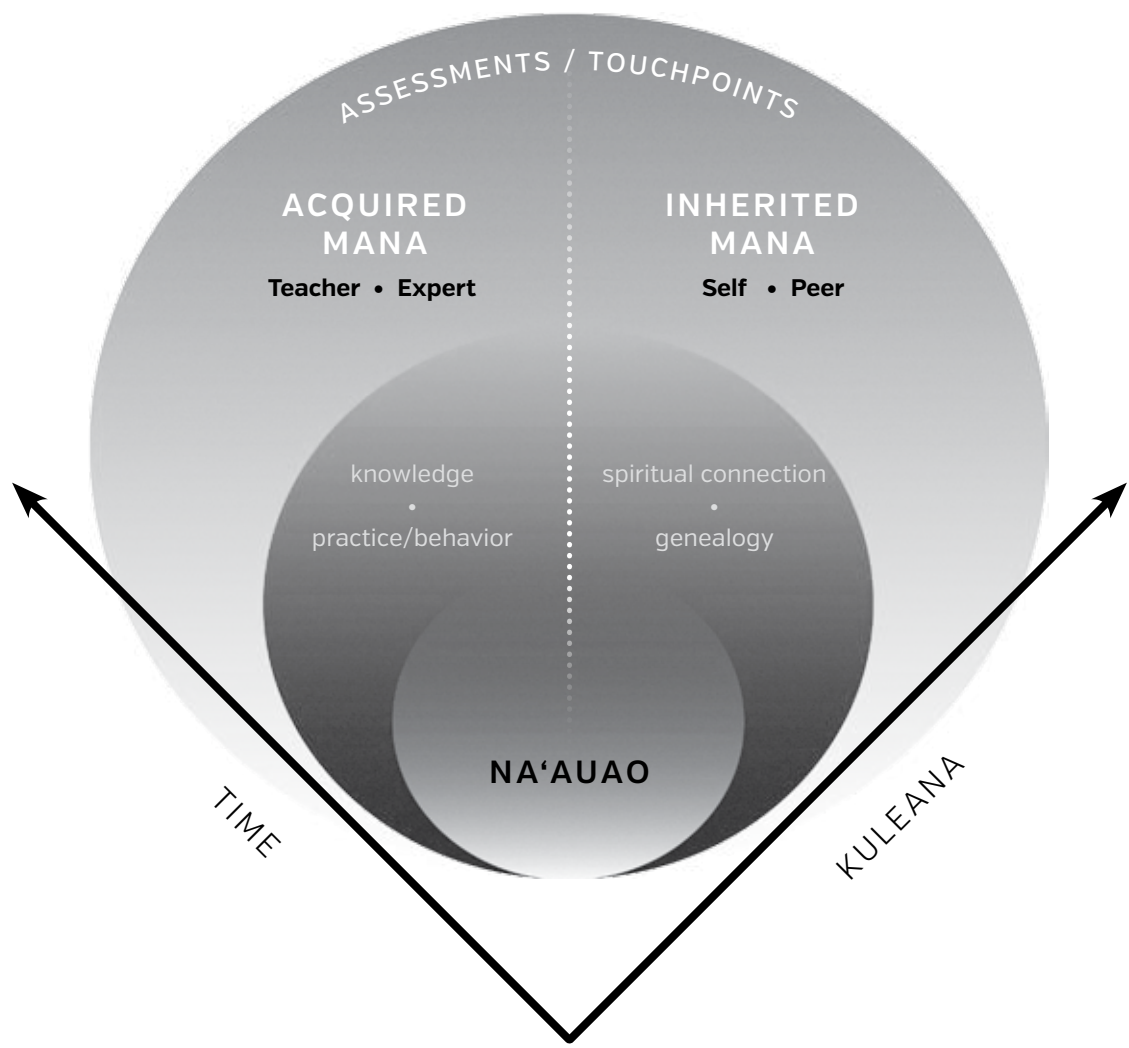
Data from Photovoice reinforced the dynamic and collective nature of mana; both kūpuna and self are sources of mana, and mana is displayed in power and authority, balance, and understanding and fulfilling one's potential. In other words, assessing mana requires a multi-dimensional approach informed by a variety of sources—the assessment of mana requires many different perspectives covering different domains. For these reasons, mana is not likely to be captured by a single assessment. Instead, an assessment toolkit is proposed. This would provide flexibility in how mana is defined, enable multiple ways of assessing mana and triangulation of data (collecting at least three points of data from different measures or different sources toward the end of verification), and enable measurement with as little error or bias as possible.

Mana could be construed as a disposition, a set of behaviors, beliefs, knowledge, experiences, or a combination of any of the aforementioned. A single measurement tool from a single perspective will likely prove inadequate. Mana is dynamic in space and time in terms of valence, level, activation, and holder, and can be displayed differently. Mana can also be assessed by any number of individuals.

Figure 5.1 shows a conceptual model for the assessment of mana. The figure depicts how different perspectives (self, teacher, peer, and expert) in various domains such as knowledge and understanding, emotional and/or spiritual connection, practice and behavior, and genealogy may be captured. The instruments are sensitive to time, allowing for measurement of growth and development, and self-assessment and observation. The reciprocal nature of relational interactions is also indicated.

In addition to individual measures, measures of collective efforts (such as efficacy) may be included to understand a group or entity. The use of multiple measures enables a robust picture of mana for the specific instance being assessed, enabling the most valid inferences possible. The toolkit's instruments should be validated with adequate sample sizes to ensure representativeness of Native Hawaiians or subgroups of Native Hawaiians. (Validated means that the instrument would be correlated with and/or predicted by or predictive of variables that are theoretically related).

Figure 5.1. Conceptual Model for Mana Assessment and Toolkit Components



The more time that is invested by and into someone or something, the greater the kuleana that individual or program has to others. As mana is cultivated in various ways, regular assessment from different groups furthers and refines understanding.

Figure 5.2 provides an overview of the types of tools and sources that might be considered for an assessment of mana. Although the types of evidence collected by external data collectors remain constant (observations, for instance), rated assessment, projective tests, observation and interview items or questions will vary depending on who is conducting the assessment. Even when similar sources and methods or protocols are used, resulting data may vary, depending on the level of experience and knowledge of the assessor.

Figure 5.2. Methods and Tools to be Considered for Assessment and Sources of Evidence

GENERAL AREAS FOR ASSESSMENT AND SOURCES OF EVIDENCE		
	Internal	External
	SELF-REPORTED (INDIVIDUAL or GROUP)	PEER, TEACHER/ INSTRUCTOR, EXPERT, ELDER (as individuals or groups/panels)
Rated Assessment [Might include scaled items that require respondents to rank order, agree, or indicate feelings toward an item; items that require yes/no responses—for instance, a checklist; items that require knowledge-based responses; or viewing images, reading text]	Survey with items related to attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, or characteristics; Diary or log with checklist of behaviors; Knowledge assessment; Skills-based assessment	Survey with items related to behaviors or characteristics

Projective Test [Might include sentence completion tests, picture arrangement tests, or word association tests]	Individual responds to ambiguous stimuli (e.g., picture, audio, text) with their own picture, audio, or text; Responses are analyzed for meaning inductively	N/A
Observation [Vary in terms of observer engagement (participant/non-participant); observer role (overt, covert); duration of the observation; focus of the observation; structure of observation (structured, open-ended)]	Self-reflection tool following protocol completion	Observation protocol related to relevant disposition and behaviors (may include checklists or skills-based assessments, open-ended areas for field notes and direct quotes)
Individual [Interview or Dialogue using protocol: Structured (list of all questions; includes cognitive interviewing) or semi-structured (using guiding questions)] or Group [eg., focus groups, think-pair-share, jigsaw, fishbowl, dot-voting, world café; using structured or semi-structured protocol]	N/A	Conversation protocol related to dispositions, behaviors, beliefs, knowledge, and experience; Instructions for facilitating group work and documenting outcomes

The recommended toolkit contains different types of data collection methods appropriate for individuals or groups to complete about themselves (no‘u) and those to be completed by others (peers, kumu, elders, kūpuna or other experts). Recommended types of instruments include observations of practice or behavior, measurements of understanding (‘ike), assessments of emotional and spiritual connections, and genealogical assessment or reporting. Different types of assessments can be used for different dimensions of interest, including dispositions, behaviors, beliefs, knowledge and experience. For instance, observations of individual or group/collective mana would be useful for examining behaviors—but may not be useful for understanding or examining beliefs. Selecting which data collection tools to use will depend on the individual or group conducting the assessment. The administration of self- or group-assessments is necessary to gain insight into non-observables (for instance, beliefs or knowledge). Supplementing with observational data (for instance, observations of a cultural practice conducted by an expert) is a more robust approach that enables triangulation, resulting in increased credibility of the findings.

Limitations and Future Directions

As a starting point, researchers limited primary data collection for the this project to adults, focusing the instrument review with individuals or groups of individuals older than eighteen. As such, generalizability of findings is limited. A recommended future direction to expand this work may include youth (e.g., dimensions appropriate for members of the sub-18 age group). To deepen understanding, focus group participants reflected on how mana might be shared with future generations, and future facilitated groups may explore the younger generation’s perceptions of mana and understanding of role of ‘ike, kuleana, and kapu. Likewise, the use of Photovoice with a younger generation may reveal nuances in understanding of mana. Hence, designing age-appropriate instruments will account for developmental trajectories—both in terms of the kinds of leadership

or skills younger individuals would be expected to have, and in terms of the format of self- or group-administered rated assessments. For instance, very young children might require an instrument with few words, but many photographs or pictures.

There are also opportunities to explore the use of secondary data as sources of information. In addition to surveys and observations, extant data such as graphical representations of a program's mission or photographs of a program's participants engaged in cultural practices would provide a different window for understanding mana. In this case, secondary data would exist as one source—among many—in the overall assessment of mana.

Final Thoughts

One way we validate the work we do in programs and organizations is through rigorous development of our tools, measurements of how we look at well-being, academic achievement, and mauili ola. However, even though mana as a transformational force can be used in specific applications such as curriculum development, health and well-being, land and resource management, educational standards and guidelines, it is more vital to shift the concept and adaption of mana to have primacy in perspective. Once mana becomes once again a foundational element in the Hawaiian worldview, then the alignments within specific industries will flow naturally.

We used to use Western knowledge to inform us about ourselves; it later became important for scholars and cultural practitioners to be able to “walk in both worlds”; but we are evolving as a people to start from our own cultural identity, and use the Hawaiian worldview as the foundation, from which to incorporate or supplement with other's thoughts and experiences. Mana can give us the foundation and rudiments for us to determine how we define our future.

We have reaped the benefits of those who have gone before, in terms of cultural rejuvenation, rights to our land and resources, and the thriving of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. But, as a focus group participant so eloquently said:

That generation is passing. And, and at one point we have to wake up and we’re not the little kid waiting to fulfill the dreams of the kūpuna. We’re the dreamers. And we now have to provide—and that’s what hula teaches us. We dance—hula, they’re dream dances. One generation has a dream; they create the hula to give the dream a body. And then that dream and a form of the hula is passed down. But the process is that when we dance these dreams, we begin to learn how to dance our own dreams. But you can’t just create a dance without a dream. The dream is a vision, and the vision has, doesn’t only go forward. You have to really pull from the back forward. (Pacific Islander and Polynesian, Speaker 32, p. 29)

It is our further kuleana to help those serving our people to better understand mana, cultivate mana, and to better appreciate and measure through multiple modes the transformational nature of mana. With the indigenous movement throughout the world, what Hawaiians have to share will be at the forefront for discussions internationally.

As many of the focus group participants noted, mana is dynamic in that it requires constancy—positive friction—to nurture it, or it will dissipate. It challenges us, but must be developed, through acquiring knowledge and experience. Kānaka and mana then cultivate each other. Mana helps us have the determination to thrive in the face of fear; we become more enlightened through inherited/genealogical past, and we connect with our ancestral wisdom and knowledge, which then gives us greater confidence, courage to act and face challenges. All these traits, we pass on to the next generation, whose connection to the past allows them to be liberated. It is my hope that this work stimulates dialogue, engages new and experienced leaders to elevate their commitment, inspires researchers and scholars to give attention to the transformational power of mana, and provides insight to those developing and evaluating programs that serve our people.





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Chapter 5: Assessment Recommendations, Blueprint, and Final Thoughts

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Contributors

Advisory Board

Embarking on a project that seeks to explore a cultural concept like mana poses a myriad of special challenges to contemporary researchers and writers. In particular, there are special considerations in order to ensure accurate and ethical representation of information about mana. It became imperative that this work proceed in ways that are both culturally and academically appropriate by assembling an advisory group to vet all aspects of the work.

The role of the Kūkulu Hou Advisory Group was to work with OHA staff to provide feedback, guidance, and expertise on the research design, project plan, implementation strategies, and findings. They are recognized as experts and community authorities in various academic and cultural fields.

Advisory group candidates were identified according to their fields of expertise, (including past experience with quantitative and qualitative research methodologies), their standing in the community, and their cultural knowledge. Any individuals serving in an advisory capacity were not able to participate as members of any focus groups. Attempts to balance representation on the advisory group (in terms of gender, cultural knowledge, academic knowledge, etc.) were made.

We extend a heartfelt mahalo to the Advisory Board members for honoring us with their time and ‘ike to enhance this multi-phase project:

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Native Hawaiian Health Consortium

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Focus Group and Photovoice Participants

We are happy to share the following list of study contributors based on their focus group participation. These individuals consented for their names to be listed as contributors as part of the project and gifted their 'ike here with personally inherited mana, and the mana of those who made them acquire status as important community leaders, experts, educators, scholars, and mentors today.

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Staffing and Personnel

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Ha'alilio Williams-Solomon

Visual Artists

It was essential to the authors and editors that this book use visually imagery to guide the reader in their exploration of mana. Such pieces underscore the main idea concept of the report: how mana occurs in various ways and is observed in multiple formats among Hawaiians. These ‘ōiwi artists brought their gift and talent together to tell a story that is simultaneously concrete and abstract, tangible and elusive. We thank them and the mana they possess as they wield mana with the beauty of their handmade pieces.

They are listed here in order their artwork was used in the book:

COVER ART

Mana Means “Changing the Story” © by Solomon Enos

INTRODUCTION

‘Eke © by Marques Hanalei Marzan

CHAPTER 1

3 Spirits – Journey to Our Ancestors © by Maile Lu‘uwai

CHAPTER 2

Procession Through Pohukaina © by Cory Kamehanaokalā Holt Taum;
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He Hō‘ike No Ke Ola II © by Abigail Kahilikia Romanchak

CHAPTER 4

High Tide © by Tamara Leiokanoe Moan

CHAPTER 5

‘O Māui Ka ‘Iwakilomoku © by A.R. Kupihea

BACK MATTER

Kaua Poai Hale O Kahalu‘u © by Cory Kamehanaokalā Holt Taum

APPENDICES (DIGITAL REPORT ONLY)

The Mana of Pele © by Kau‘i Chun

About The Authors

Kamana’opono M. Crabbe, Ph.D. has focused his personal, academic, and professional career toward improving Native Hawaiian well-being. He is a licensed clinical psychologist and was the Director of Psychology Training at the Wai’anae Coast Comprehensive Health Center. In 2006, he established the non-governmental organization, ‘Aha Kāne: Foundation for the Advancement of Native Hawaiian Males. A Native Hawaiian, Dr. Crabbe also serves his community as a ho’oponopono practitioner, master chanter, and expert in Hawaiian ceremony and protocols. In 2009, he joined the Office of Hawaiian Affairs as its Research Director, focusing on demography, land, culture, and history projects. In March 2012, Dr. Crabbe was appointed the Chief Executive Officer for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. He has grounded the organization in Kūkulu Hou, his vision to reestablish and rebuild the mana of kānaka maoli. Dr. Crabbe directs OHA’s efforts in addressing its strategic priorities of ‘Āina (Land & Water), Mo’omeheu (Culture), Ea (Governance), Ho’ona’auao (Education), Ho’okahua Waiwai (Economic Self-Sufficiency) and Maui Ola (Health). He is the recipient of numerous distinguished awards and fellowships, including the American Psychological Association Minority Fellowship Program Predoctoral Fellowship and the Hawai’i Psychological Association Patrick H. Deleon, Ph.D. Lifetime Achievement Award. Dr. Crabbe’s executive leadership is demonstrated through civic positions like 2016 IUCN World Conservation Congress, Steering Committee Member; Chairman of Nā Limahana o Lonopūhā Native Hawaiian Health Consortium; and Vice-Chair of The Native Hawaiian Justice Task Force. Uplifting the mana and maui ola of the Hawaiian community through transformation and indigenous excellence are pillars of his leadership values.

Kealoha Fox, Ph.D. is charged with supporting the Executive Offices of OHA’s CEO as Executive Manager. She directs agency initiatives for Maui Ola (Native Hawaiian Health) and the Administration’s priorities that address the social determinants of well-being among the indigenous people of Hawai’i. As a Native Hawaiian scholar, Kealoha is guided by the proverb, “E lawe i ke a’o a mālama, a e ‘oi mau ka na’auao.” *[S]he who takes his teachings and applies them increases knowledge.* Dr. Fox was a 2017 National Institutes of Health/Health Disparities Research Institute Scholar, 2016-2017 Mellon-Hawai’i Doctoral Fellow, and a 2016 Sorooptimist International Founder Region Dissertation Fellow. Her award-winning original research study, “Kūkulu Ola Hou: Rebuilding Native Hawaiian Health by Reconnecting Ancestral Practices of Traditional Medicine”

triangulates strategies of research, policy, and practice that strengthen a healthier lāhui and improve the longevity of Native Hawaiian wellness. Kealoha received her PhD in Biomedical Sciences from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa John A. Burns School of Medicine specializing in Clinical Research. She has a Master's degree in Clinical Psychology and undergraduate degrees in Psychology, History, and Hawaiian/Pacific Studies. When not researching, she enjoys supporting various Native Hawaiian non-profit organizations like Nā Limahana O Lonopūhā Native Hawaiian Health Consortium, 'Aha Kāne and Hui Maui Ola, and spending time with her beloved 'ohana.

Holly Kilinahe Coleman is a Native Hawaiian researcher and scholar. From 2010 to 2015, she served as a Research Analyst in the Land, Culture, and History Section of the Research Division at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. She obtained a Master's of Arts Degree in Hawaiian History from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and specializes in archival research of Hawaiian language manuscripts and newspapers. She was selected as one of twelve fellows for the inaugural Smithsonian Institute for Museum Anthropology and was a fellow in the Kamehameha Schools First Nations Futures Program, where she conducted ethnographic research on Community-Based Marine Resource Management on Hawai'i Island, Maui, Moloka'i, O'ahu, and Kaua'i. Holly was also a cultural consultant for the book, *Humehume of Kaua'i: A Boy's Journey to America, An Ali'i's Return Home* (Kamehameha Publishing, 2008). She currently works for the Kamehameha Schools.

About the Editors

Meredith Desha Enos is the Publications Editor of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. She has several years' experience in various communications forms, including advertising, public relations, graphic novels, journalism, editing, e-publishing, film and theatre, curriculum development, and online learning. She holds an M.A. in English with a creative writing concentration from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and is a past Abernethy Fellow for *Mānoa Journal*, as well as a Ka Palapala Po'okela Award-winning editor (*He Leo Hou, a New Voice*, with Bamboo Ridge Press). She is a founding member of the 'Ahahui Haku Mo'olelo, a professional association for Native Hawaiian journalists, and also does community outreach and education in improvisational theatre and creative writing.

Lisa Watkins-Victorino, Ph.D. is the Research Director for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Her responsibilities include collecting reliable data critical to the OHA's ability to engage the Hawai'i Legislature and others in the organization's work. Her staff conducts and shares research intended to guide decisions and ensure that OHA's efforts are based on solid information. She came to OHA from the Department of Education, where she was an educational officer/evaluation assistant in the agency's Systems Evaluation and Reporting Section. Before that, she was a junior specialist/program assistant with the University of Hawai'i's Social Welfare Evaluation and Research Unit. She has been a member of the Hawai'i Pacific Evaluation Association since its founding in 2006. Additionally, she currently serves as the Chair of the Native Hawaiian Education Council.

RaeDeen M. Keahiolalo, Ph.D. has been a freelance editor for over 20 years. She focuses primarily on areas that advance policy, education and community justice. She received her Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 2008. Her work to help formerly incarcerated Native Hawaiians transition to life beyond prison through a political reintegration curriculum has received national and international acclaim. She has trained community members to teach her curriculum, and continues to educate public and academic communities on concerns of inequity among kānaka. Dr. Keahiolalo is the recipient of several awards and distinguished prizes for her scholarly and community work, including being a recipient of both an Open Society Institute Soros Justice Fellowship and a Sorooptimist International Founder Region Dissertation Fellowship in 2007. Her grant-funded research agenda traces the criminalization and incarceration of Native Hawaiians to their colonial history. Her background spans a wide range of disciplines, including strategy and policy, research and evaluation, community education and social justice. Dr. Keahiolalo's business mission is to broker strategic opportunities and promote transformational impact in every project, for every client, and with every community she engages.

Nicole Mehanaokalā Hind is the Community Engagement Director for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Her current responsibilities include building widespread public support for OHA's efforts, improving public profile of Native Hawaiians and keeping key audiences involved and strongly attached to the organization's priorities. She has extensive experience in the University of Hawai'i and community college systems, charter schools, Native Hawaiian non-profits, immersion schools, and other Native Hawaiian-serving organizations and trusts. In

addition, she is a Kumu Hula and Native Hawaiian cultural practitioner skilled in hula and oli. She descends from the hula lineage of Kumu Hula Leina‘ala Kalama Heine and earned the rank of Kumu Hula in 2009 when she completed the ‘uniki rites set forth by her Kumu. She has been trained in mele oli from some of Hawai‘i’s master chanters. A graduate of Moanalua High School, Mehana attended Honolulu Community College before getting her B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

About the Cover Artist

Solomon Enos is a Native Hawaiian artist and self-described “intelligent optimist.” Born and raised in Makaha Valley (O‘ahu, Hawai‘i), Solomon has been making art for more than 30 years. His work demonstrates artistic expression in a wide variety of media including oil paintings, book illustrations, outdoor murals (both painted and in glass mosaic), and mixed-media sculptures. Solomon’s art expresses his own aspirational vision of the world at its best, which is, at times, deployed through Poly-fantastic (indigenous science fiction) narratives. His work touches on themes of ancestry and identity, the human relationship with the Earth, and the future of Hawai‘i, its people, and its resources. Solomon has exhibited in *Biennial X* (Honolulu Museum of Art), *6th Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art* (Queensland Art Gallery), *CONTACT* art exhibitions, and others. His work is held in private collections and in the public collection of the Hawai‘i State Art Museum. He has participated in various community mural projects and has received numerous art commissions for upscale hotels, corporate offices, public buildings, and schools in Hawai‘i. He also explores new and emerging technologies—digital, virtual, gamification, and analog—to build new modes of expression and community connectedness.

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Appendix A. Topics Solicited on December 3, 1864 for Publication in
Ka Nupepa Kuokoa

INFORMATION SOLICITED BY HULIKAHIKO	TRANSLATION
1. Na akua kahiko o Hawaii nei. Kane, Kaneloa, Kukaili, Pele, Lono, Milu, Hiiaka, Pepekauila, Keawenuikauohilo, ke kaahela ana o na akua i ka po, na akua hoounauna, na aumakua, na kumupaa, na lapu	1. <i>Ancient gods of Hawai'i, Kāne, Kaneloa, Kūka'ili, Pele, Lono, Milu, Hi'iaka, Pepekauila, Keawenuikauohilo, the traveling gods of the night, the sending gods, the family guardians, the principle gods, and ghosts/specters.</i>
2. Na luna alakai i ka hoomana ana. Na kahunapule, na kaula, na kilo, na kupua.	2. <i>The leaders of worship. Priests, prophets, seers, and supernatural beings.</i>
3. Na mea hoano. Na heiau, na dala, na kuahu, na mohai.	3. <i>The things that are Revered. Temples, [currency? Perhaps a word meant to refer to an idol?], altars, and sacrifices.</i>
4. Na kapu.	4. <i>Restrictions.</i>
5. Na hana hoomana. a. Ka hoomana hooluolu aku: i na akua. b. i ka lapaau ana c. i ka hele anai ka lawaia d. i ka hele ana i ke kaua e. i kahanau anaona keiki f. kanu ana i ke kupapau' g. kaahela loihi loa ana h. ka pule anaana.	5. <i>Worship/Religious activities.</i> a. <i>Worship to appease: the gods</i> b. <i>healing</i> c. <i>related to fishing</i> d. <i>for going to war</i> e. <i>for birthing children</i> f. <i>for burial of corpses</i> g. <i>long journeys</i> h. <i>evil sorcery/prayers</i>

**INFORMATION SOLICITED
BY HULIKAHIKO**

TRANSLATION

6. Na lealea.

- a. Na ahaaina.
- b. Ka hula ame ka haa.
- c. Ka pili waiwai.
- d. Ka heenalua.
- e. Ka lelekawa.
- f. Ka holua.
- g. Ko kukini.
- h. Ka mokomoko.

6. Enjoyments/Amusement.

- a. Feasts.
- b. Dance and ha'a [Dance with Bent Knees].
- c. Gambling
- d. Surfing.
- e. Cliff diving.
- f. Sledding.
- g. Racing.
- h. Boxing.

7. Na mea ino maoli.

- a. Ka aihue.
- b. Na powa.
- c. Ka lua.
- d. Ka umi kamalii.
- e. Ka aikanaka ana.

7. Truly harmful things.

- a. Theft.
- b. Aggravated robbery/ plunder.
- c. Bone-breaking.
- d. Infanticide.
- e. Cannibalism.

8. Na mea hoonaauao.

- a. Na kuauhau.
- b. Na moolelo.
- c. Na kaao.
- d. Na haku mele a me na mele.

8. Enlightening things.

- a. Genealogies.
- b. Histories.
- c. Stories.
- d. Compositions and songs/chants.

9. Na mai a me na ahulau.

9. Sickesses and Epidemics.

10. Na oihana.

- a. Na mahiai.
- b. Na lawaia.
- c. Na kukukapa.
- d. Ke kalai ana i na waa.
- e. Ke kukulu hale ana.

10. Occupations

- a. Farmers.
- b. Fishing.
- c. Making barkcloth.
- d. Carving canoes.
- e. Building houses.

11. Na papa o kanaka.

- a. Na alii.
- b. Na makaainana.
- c. Na lopa.
- d. Na hu.
- e. Na kauwa.

11. Orders/classes of people

- a. Chiefs.*
- b. General populace.*
- c. Tenants.*
- d. The masses.*
- e. Kauwa ["Slaves"].*

12. Ka hoopalau me ka hoao ana.

12. Betrothals and Marriages

Appendix B. “Ka Hoomana Kahiko Series,” Published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* [1865–1866]

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 2	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Ka Moolelo o Kane, ame Kona Mana, ame Kana Mau Hana</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The story of Kāne, his Power, and his Works</i></div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>Naimu</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>January 12, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650112-01.1.1&srpos=3&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		
Helu 3	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Ka Moolelo no Kaneloa, Kona Mana a me kona mau Hana</div>	2	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Story of Kanaloa, His Power and his Works</i></div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>J. Waiamau</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>January 19, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650119-01.1.2&srpos=5&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #
Helu 4	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Ka Moolelo no Ku, Kona Ano a Me Kana Hana</div>	1
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Story of Kū, His Character and His Works</i></div>	
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>Kauhane</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>January 26, 1865</div></div>	
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650126-01.1.1&srpos=9&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>	
Helu 5	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Ka Moolelo No Pele; Kana Hana, Kona Mana, A Me Kona Noho Ana</div>	1
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Story of Pele, Her Works, Her Power, and Her Life</i></div>	
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>P. W. Kaawa</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>February 2, 1865</div></div>	
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650202-01.1.1&srpos=11&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>	

SERIES #	ARTICLE		PAGE #
Helu 6	TITLE Ka Moolelo No Pele; Kana Hana, Kona Mana, A me Kona Noho Ana		1
	TRANSLATION <i>(continued from previous issue)</i> <i>The Story of Pele, Her Works, Her Power, and Her Life</i>		
	AUTHOR P. W. Kaawa	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A February 9, 1865	
		
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650209-01.1.1&srpos=13&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		
Helu 7	TITLE O Milu, Kona Mana, A me Kona Hana***		1
	TRANSLATION <i>The Story of Milu, His Power, and His Works</i>		
	AUTHOR D. S. Kupahu	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A February 16, 1865	
		
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650216-01.1.1&srpos=15&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#		

***Translations of Articles appear in Kirtley & Mookini [1979].

SERIES #	ARTICLE		PAGE #
Helu 8	TITLE Keawenuikauohilo, He Akua Kahiko o Hawaii Nei***		1
	TRANSLATION <i>The Story of Keawenuikauohilo, An Ancient Akua of Hawaii</i>		
	AUTHOR Naimu [newspaper says naumu]	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A February 23, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650223-01.1.1&srpos=17&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		
Helu 9	TITLE Ka Manao o ka Poe Kahiko i ke Kaahele Ana o Na Akua i ka Po***		2
	TRANSLATION <i>Thoughts of the Ancient People on the Traveling of Gods of the Night</i>		
	AUTHOR S. N. Holokahiki	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A March 2, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650302-01.1.2&srpos=19&e=-----en-20-KNK-1-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#		

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 9	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Akua Hooounauna o Hawaii Nei****</div>	2	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>(continued from previous issue)</i> <i>The Sending Gods of Hawai'i</i></div>		
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>J. Na Waiamau</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>March 9, 1865</div></div>		
	<div>.....</div>		
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650309-01.1.2&srpos=21&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		
Helu 10	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Akua o ka Poe Lawaia, A Me Na Oihana Hoomana ika Hele Ana i ka Lawaia</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Gods of Fishermen, and Religious Rites for Fishing Trips</i></div>		
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>Holokahiki</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>March 16, 1865</div></div>		
	<div>.....</div>		
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650316-01.1.1&srpos=23&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		

***Translations of Articles appear in Kirtley & Mookini [1979].

SERIES #	ARTICLE		PAGE #
Helu 11	TITLE Heaha na Aumakua ma ka manao o ka Poe kahiko***		1, 2
	TRANSLATION <i>What Were the Guardian Spirits in the Thoughts of the Ancient People?</i>		
	AUTHOR S. Ekaula	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A March 23, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY (PAPAKILO DATABASE) http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650323-01.1.1&srpos=25&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		
Helu 12	TITLE No Na Aumakua		1
	TRANSLATION <i>[continued from previous issue] Guardian Spirits</i>		
	AUTHOR S. Ekaula	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A March 30, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY (PAPAKILO DATABASE) http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650330-01.1.1&srpos=27&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 13	<div>TITLE</div> <div>No Ka Ai Kanaka o Hawaii Nei</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div>Cannibalism</div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>S. Ekaula</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>April 13, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650413-01.1.1&srpos=29&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		
Helu 14	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Lapu o Hawaii Nei</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div>The Ghosts of Hawai'i (Continuation of Article never printed)</div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>S[amuela]. Ekaula?</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>April 20, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650420-01.1.1&srpos=31&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		

***Translations of Articles appear in Kirtley & Mookini [1979].

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #
Helu 15	<div>TITLE</div> <div>No ka Lua, a me Ka Powa</div>	1
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>Bone-Breaking and Murder [Continuation of Article never printed]</i></div>	
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>S. Ekaula?</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>April 27, 1865</div></div>	
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650427-01.1.1&srpos=33&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#</div>	
Helu 16	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Kupua Kahiko o Hawaii Nei****</div>	1
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Demigods of Hawai'i</i></div>	
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>P. W. Kaawa</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>May 4, 1865</div></div>	
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650504-01.1.1&srpos=35&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#</div>	

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 17	TITLE Na Kaula Kahiko o Hawaii Nei***	2	
	TRANSLATION <i>The Ancient Prophets of Hawai'i</i>		
	AUTHOR Kupahu		DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A May 11, 1865
		
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650511-01.1.2&srpos=37&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#		
Helu 18	TITLE Na Kahunapule i ka Wa Kahiko***	1	
	TRANSLATION <i>The Praying Priests of Ancient Times</i>		
	AUTHOR Naimu		DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A May 18, 1865
		
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650518-01.1.1&srpos=39&e=-----en-20-KNK-21-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#		

***Translations of Articles appear in Kirtley & Mookini [1979].

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #
Helu 18	TITLE Ka Pule Anaana	2
	TRANSLATION <i>[continued from previous issue] Sorcerous Prayers</i>	
	AUTHOR Kaawa	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650525-01.1.2&srpos=41&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#	
Helu 19	TITLE Na Mohai Kahiko o Hawaii Nei, a me na Hana o ke Kaumaha ana ia Mau Mea, a me Na Pomaikai i Imiia Ilaila	1
	TRANSLATION <i>Ancient Sacrifices of Hawai'i, and the Ceremonies and Burdens of those Things, and The Blessings Sought There</i>	
	AUTHOR Kupahu	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650615-01.1.1&srpos=43&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#	

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 20	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Oihana Hoomana a me ke Kilokilo Ana i ka Hoomakaukau ana e Hele Loihi i ka Moana, e like me ka Holo ana mai Hawaii a Oahu a Kauai Paha</div>	2	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Religious Ceremonies and Prophecies for Preparing for a Long Ocean Voyage, Such as Travel Between Hawai'i and O'ahu or Kaua'i Perhaps</i></div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>J. Waiamau</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>September 16, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650916-01.2.9&srpos=45&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#</div>		
Helu 20	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Oihana Hoomana i ka Hele ana i ke Kaua</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>Religious Ceremonies For Going To War</i></div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>Naimu</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>September 23, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650923-01.1.1&srpos=46&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#</div>		

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 21	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Oihana Hoomana i ke Kanu ana o ke Kupapau</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div>Religious Ceremonies for Burying Corpses</div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>E. Kekoa</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>September 30, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18650930-01.2.5&srpos=48&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		
Helu 22	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Ka Hoopalau a me ka Mare I ka wa kahiko</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div>Engagements and Marriage in Ancient Times</div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>E. Kekoa</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>October 7, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651007-01.1.1&srpos=49&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		

SERIES #	ARTICLE		PAGE #
Helu 23	TITLE Na Oihana Hoomana i ka Hanau ana o na Keiki o Hawaii Nei I ka Wa Kahiko		4
	TRANSLATION <i>Religious Ceremonies for Birthing Children in Hawai'i in Ancient Times</i>		
	AUTHOR E. Kekoa	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A October 14, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651014-01.1.4&srpos=53&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		
Helu 24	TITLE Ke Umikamalii		1
	TRANSLATION <i>Infanticide</i>		
	AUTHOR S.N. Holokahiki	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A October 21, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651021-01.1.1&srpos=55&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#		

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 25	TITLE Na Ahaaina i ka Wa Kahiko i Malamaia e ka Lehulehu	1	
	TRANSLATION <i>Feasts in Ancient Times Practiced by the Masses</i>		
	AUTHOR S.N. Holokahiki		DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A October 28, 1865
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651028-01.2.5&srpos=57&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		
Helu 26	TITLE Ka Oihana Lapaau, Me ka Puaa Hiwa me ka Moa Keokeo. Na Hana Hoomana I ka Lapaau Ana Ma ka Aoao Kahiko	1	
	TRANSLATION <i>Healing with Black Pigs and White Chickens. Religious Ceremonies for Healing in the Ancient Side</i>		
	AUTHOR S. Ekaula		DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A November 4, 1865
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651104-01.2.4&srpos=58&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 27	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Papa a Kanaka, Na 'Lii, Na Makaainana, Na Lopa, Na Hu, Na Kauwa</div>	4	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Classes of People, the Chiefs, the General Populace, the Tenants, the Masses, and the Slaves</i></div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>J. Waiamau</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>November 11, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651111-01.2.29&srpos=59&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		
Helu 28	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Ka Loulou, Ka Ooihe, ka Honuhonu, ke Kuikui i ka Wa Kahiko</div>	1	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>Finger-Pulling Contests, Spear-Throwing, Unseating Contests, and Boxing in Ancient Times</i></div>		
	<div>AUTHOR</div> <div>NA</div>		<div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div> <div>November 18, 1865</div>
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651118-01.1.1&srpos=60&e=-----en-20-KNK-41-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		

SERIES #	ARTICLE		PAGE #
Helu 29	TITLE Ka Loulou, Ka Ooihe, ka Honuhonu, ke Kuikui i ka Wa Kahiko		1
	TRANSLATION <i>Ancient Restrictions of Hawai'i</i>		
	AUTHOR P. W. Kaawa	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A November 25, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY (PAPAKILO DATABASE) http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651125-01.11&srpos=62&e=-----en-20-KNK-61-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		
Helu 30	TITLE Na Kapu Kahiko o Hawaii Nei		2
	TRANSLATION <i>[continued from previous issue]</i> <i>Ancient Restrictions of Hawai'i</i>		
	AUTHOR P. W. Kaawa	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A December 2, 1865	
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY (PAPAKILO DATABASE) http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651202-01.1.2&srpos=64&e=-----en-20-KNK-61-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		

SERIES #	ARTICLE		PAGE #
Helu 30	TITLE Na Kapu Kahiko o Hawaii Nei		1
	TRANSLATION <i>[continued from previous issue]</i> <i>Ancient Restrictions of Hawai'i</i>		
	AUTHOR P. W. Kaawa	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A December 9, 1865	
		
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651209-01.1.1&srpos=66&e=-----en-20-KNK-61-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		
Helu 31	TITLE No ka Hula a Me ka Haa ana		1
	TRANSLATION <i>Dancing And Dancing With Knees Bent</i>		
	AUTHOR D. S. Kupahu	DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A December 16, 1865	
		
	URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE] http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651216-01.1.1&srpos=68&e=-----en-20-KNK-61-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----		

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #
Helu 31	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Kuauhau, na Hakumele, na Hakumoolelo a me na Kaao</div>	1
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>[continued from previous issue]</i> <i>Genealogists, Composers, Storytellers and Tales</i></div>	
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>P. W. Kaawa</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>December 23, 1865</div></div>	
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651223-01.1.1&srpos=70&e=-----en-20-KNK-61-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>	
Helu 32	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Paani Kahiko o Hawaii Nei, Oia Hoi ka Heenalu, Lelekawa, Heeholua, Piliwaiwai a me ka Mokomoko</div>	1
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>Ancient Games of Hawai'i, Such as Surfing, Cliff-Jumping, Sledding, Gambling and Boxing</i></div>	
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>J. Waiamau</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>December 23, 1865</div></div>	
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY [PAPAKILO DATABASE]</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651223-01.1.1&srpos=70&e=-----en-20-KNK-61-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Ka+Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----#</div>	

SERIES #	ARTICLE	PAGE #	
Helu 33	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Inoa a ka poe kahiko I kapa ai i na hoku a me ke kilokilo ana I na hoku</div>	4	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>The Names the Ancients Called the Stars and Prophecies of the Stars</i></div>		
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>D. S. Kupahu</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>December 30, 1865</div></div>		
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY (PAPAKILO DATABASE)</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18651230-01&e=-----186-en-20-KNK-1--txt-txIN%7ctxNU-mana-----#</div>		
Helu 34	<div>TITLE</div> <div>Na Akua i Hoomana ia</div>	4	
	<div>TRANSLATION</div> <div><i>Gods Who are Worshipped</i></div>		
	<div><div>AUTHOR</div><div>D. S. Kupahu</div></div> <div><div>DATE PUBLISHED IN KŪ'OKO'A</div><div>April 14, 1866</div></div>		
	<div>URL/ONLINE AVAILABILITY (PAPAKILO DATABASE)</div> <div>http://papakilodatabase.com/pdnupepa/cgi-bin/pdnupepa?a=d&d=KNK18660414-01.2.23&srpos=92&e=-----en-20-KNK-81-byDA-txt-txIN%7ctxNU-%22Hoomana+Kahiko%22-----</div>		

Appendix C. Selected Mo'olelo Published 19th–21st Century

DATE	MO'OLELO	LANGUAGE
1861	TITLE He Wahi Moolelo [about Pakaa/Kuapakaa]	Hawaiian
	MEDIA TYPE <i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i> April 17–June 19, 1861	
	AUTHOR S. K. Kuapuu	
1869–1871	TITLE He Moolelo no Pakaa	Hawaiian
	MEDIA TYPE <i>Ke Au Okoa</i> and <i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> from 1869–1871	
	AUTHOR S. M. Kamakau	
1884–1889	TITLE Keaomelemele	Hawaiian
	MEDIA TYPE <i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i>	
	AUTHOR Manu, Moke	
1888	TITLE <i>The Legends and Myths of Hawaii</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Kalākaua [Daggett Rollin M. Edit]	

DATE	TITLE OF WORK	LANGUAGE
1902	TITLE <i>Moolelo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Kuapakaa</i>	Hawaiian
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Nakuina, M.	
1905–1906	TITLE Ka Moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopele	Hawaiian
	MEDIA TYPE Nupepa: <i>Ka Nai Aupuni</i>	
	AUTHOR Hooulumahiehie	
1907	TITLE <i>Hawaiian Folk Tales: A Collection of Native Legends</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Thrum, Thomas G.	
1909	TITLE <i>Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: Sacred Songs of Hula</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Emerson, Nathaniel Bright	

DATE	TITLE OF WORK	LANGUAGE
1909–1910	TITLE Ka Moolelo Hiwahiwa o Kawelo	Hawaiian
	MEDIA TYPE Nupepa: <i>Kuokoa Home Rula</i>	
	AUTHOR Hooulumahiehie	
1910	TITLE <i>Legends of Maui-A Demi God of Polynesia and of His Mother Hina</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Westervelt, William D.	
1915	TITLE <i>Legends of Old Honolulu</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Westervelt, William D.	
1915	TITLE <i>Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Emerson, Nathaniel Bright	

DATE	TITLE OF WORK	LANGUAGE
1916	TITLE <i>Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes: Collected and translated from the Hawaiian</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Westervelt, William D.	
1916–1920	TITLE <i>Fornander collection of Hawaiian antiquities and folk-lore</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Fornander, Abraham [Thos. Thrum Edit]	
1923	TITLE <i>Hawaiian Legends</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book/Journal [BPM Bulletin 3]	
	AUTHOR Rice, William Hyde	
1937	TITLE <i>Legends of Hawaii</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Colum, Padriac	

DATE	TITLE OF WORK	LANGUAGE
1970	TITLE <i>Hawaiian Mythology</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Beckwith, Martha Warren	
1991	TITLE <i>Wind Gourd of Laamaomao</i>	English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Nakuina, M. [edit Esther Mookini and Sarah Nakoa]	
2002	TITLE <i>Keaomelemele</i>	Hawaiian and English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Manu, Moke [trans. Pukui and Nogelmeier]	
2008	TITLE <i>Ka Moolelo o Hiiaka/The Epic tale of Hiiakaikapoliopole</i>	Hawaiian and English
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Hooulumāhiehie [edit Nogelmeier, Marvin P.]	

DATE	TITLE OF WORK	LANGUAGE
2009	TITLE <i>Ka Moolelo Hiwahiwa O Kawelo</i>	Hawaiian
	MEDIA TYPE Book	
	AUTHOR Hooulumāhiehie [edit Perry, Hiapo K.]	

Appendix D. Analysis of Mana in Ho‘oulumāhiehie’s
“Epic of Hi‘iakaikapoliopele”

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA ʻĀINA	MANA ALIʻI	MANA ʻŌHANA	MANA ʻIKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
1.	Pele leads her family from Kahiki to Hawaiʻi. The ability to travel across the ocean and navigate takes skill and mana.	X	X		X	X			X
2.	Pele and her family seek a new home in Hawaiʻi. Pele uses her digging stick to dig pits for places to live across Hawaiʻi; her actions alter geography of the land.		X						
3.	Pele’s spirit travels to Kauaʻi while dreaming and she meets Lohiʻau. Pele’s mana allows her spirit to travel; She is able to hear the drums at Hāʻena because Lohiʻau’s family gods believe she would become Lohiʻau’s wife.	X			X				X
4.	Pele takes her most pleasing form—that of a beautiful woman—to meet Lohiʻau. Pele’s mana as an akua allows her to take many forms (kinolau); her beauty is irresistible. She also cloaks herself in the fragrances of her home in Puna.	X	X						X
5.	Pele places the kapu kaiʻokia on Lohiʻau before she returns to Puna. Pele places the kapu kaiʻokia on Lohiʻau before she returns to Puna. The reserves Lohiʻau’s body for Pele; Lohiʻau is unable to act on his desires with two other women after this kapu is placed.	X		X					X

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
6.	Pele uses chants to prove she is a native of the islands. Pele is familiar with the chants of lands throughout Hawai'i, not just those of her home; this knowledge demonstrates she is an akua. Her chanting also calls forth a storm, and she identifies the two women as mo'o, while they are unable to identify her.	X	X				X		
7.	To help Hi'iaka on the journey, Pele gives her supernatural powers. They include catching spirits and revival of the dead, curing sicknesses, and being invincible in battle. She is also given a pā'ū skirt of power and a powerful hand (Kīlauea) and is accompanied by Pā'ūopāla'a, a companion who can take the form of a pāla'a fern.	X	X		X			X	X
8.	Hi'iaka and Wahine'ōma'o become companions. Hi'iaka and Wahine'ōma'o become companions. Hi'iaka meets the chiefess Wahine'ōma'o and teaches her to rituals and prayers for offering sacrifices to Pele. Wahine'ōma'o memorizes the prayer quickly and is transported to the crater's edge because of Hi'iaka's mana.	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
9.	Hi'iaka heals a young girl named Malamanui. Hi'iaka prays and becomes flushed with a red glint in her eyes: she is able to catch the girl's spirit with Pele's hand Kīlauea. Hi'iaka prays and immediately 5 bundles of lū'au become cooked.	X			X		X		

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
10.	Hi'iaka gives Wahine'ōma'o the ability to see the true forms of supernatural beings. Wahine'ōma'o sees handsome men be-decked in lehua and hala, but they are actually birds roosting in the 'awa plants. Hi'iaka chants and their true forms are revealed.	X				X			
11.	Hi'iaka and her companions successfully battle with the mo'o Pana'ewa. Traveling on the deadly path through the forests, Hi'iaka chants for peace. When he refuses, they battle and Pana'ewa brings forth rivers of blood by decapitating the ghosts of the forests; Hi'iaka chants to Pele, who calls to their brother Lonoikamakua to make a fire; Maunakea, Maunaloa, and Hualālai are blanketed by smoke Hi'iaka chants again to her brothers, and thunder, lightning, and earth-trembling rain appear. Pana'ewa tries to take different plant forms to escape, but he is defeated.	X	X		X	X	X		
12.	The women continue on, and meet more challenges and obstacles. Pa'ūopala'a takes her fern form to defend them from further attacks and to provide a pathway. Hi'iaka uses her skirt to kill two more mo'o who block them.	X	X					X	
13.	Hi'iaka heals many others in the first part of her journey to retrieve Lohi'au. Hi'iaka is a skilled healer, and is called a kahuna or expert at healing. With each healing, she is gaining more knowledge and power.	X				X			X

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
14.	Hi'iaka meets the girl Papaunuioleka. Hiiaka is able to chant the girl's genealogy, showing that they two are related. In a comedic interlude, Papaunuioleka and a man named Paikaka are turned to pāhoehoe, which is still visible at this place. Papaunuioleka is revived by her father through Hi'iaka's instruction and power. This is the first time that Hi'iaka revives the dead.	X	X		X	X	X		
15.	Hi'iaka demonstrates her prowess as a surfer. Witnessing the surfing of a chiefess at Punahoa, Hi'iaka demonstrates her knowledge of the currents and rides a wave as tall as Maunaloa; Hi'iaka's anger is appeased a priest and she saves the chiefess from being overcome by a wave and being eaten by a shark with the hand of Kīlauea.	X	X		X	X	X		X
16.	The women visit Wahine'ōma'o's parents. Hi'iaka secretly fills the imu of Wahine'ōma'o's parents with pork and potatoes, and the food is ready immediately when they arrive early.	X				X			
17.	Hi'iaka tricks the fisherman Pahululawai'anuiokai. The women request the help of the fisherman Pahululawai'anuiokai. He agrees to help if he can make love to Hi'iaka; she tricks him into making love to a rock instead.	X							X

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
18.	Hi'iaka fights Mahiki Hi'iaka is at first hesitant to fight Mahiki because he is male, but she chants and is determined to fight as a woman. Pā'ūopāla'a spreads her fern body to shelter the women from the rain sent by Mahiki, who also sends all his plant forms. Hi'iaka chants and his forms are turned to ash. Mahiki summons spirits and transforms to a mo'o; Hi'iaka kills him with her skirt.	X	X				X	X	X
19.	Hi'iaka heals two men at the request of Wahine'ōma'o. Hi'iaka uses tī bundles from Waipi'o as bones for the men.	X	X						
20.	H'iaka and her companions travel to Maui. The group travel to Maui in the boat of two randy fishermen who are being difficult. H'iaka wants to land at Kahikinui instead of Honua'ula, so she changes the currents and wind.	X	X						X
21.	Hi'iaka is honored in the house of her cousin Kapokūlani. Kapokūlani chants while possessed by Kapo and Hi'iaka is offered pork and lū'au. She eats the lū'au raw, which is something only a goddess can do.	X			X				

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
22.	Hi'iaka and companions are given lei hala by three girls. Hi'iaka portends from the lei that something has happened to Lohi'au, as hala was associated with a white shark, and that when there is a white shark in the sea there is a mo'o on land; she suspects Lohi'au has been killed by a mo'o.	X	X			X			
23.	Hi'iaka is hosted by Ka'anahau. The handsome chief Ka'anahau of Kailua hosts Hi'iaka and her companions; he feeds her godly amounts of cooked lū'au that he prepares himself. They sleep together, which angers Pele. Pele then takes away the hand of Kīlauea and kills Nānāhuki/Hopoe.	X		X		X			X
24.	Hi'iaka seeks Lohi'au's spirit in the clouds. Hi'iaka is able to see the signs that Lohi'au has died.	X	X						
25.	Hi'iaka and company reach Ka'ena on O'ahu and paddle for Kaua'i. Hi'iaka is assisted by her brothers Pōhakuokaua'i and Ka'ena; she reassembles their broken canoe and carves a wiliwili outrigger; the women paddle away.	X	X		X			X	X
26.	Hi'iaka is revealed as the akua of Lohi'au and his family. Lohi'au's sister Kahuanui is married to Kauakahiapaoa; he recognizes Hi'iaka as their deity of hula.	X				X			

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
27.	Hi'iaka seeks to restore Lohi'au to life. Lohi'au has already been dead for 10 days, and Hi'iaka asks Kahuanui to make the mountains and sea kapu to her people for 28 days and to build a thatch house with no doorway in one day.	X		X		X		X	
28.	Kahuanui attempts to deceive Hi'iaka. Kahuanui gave Lohi'au's body to the mo'o, and she lies to Wahine'ōma'o about it. Hi'iaka notes that they shall use their womanly endurance to save Lohi'au. They scale the cliff to reach his body and are helped by Pā'ūopāla'a, who spreads her fern bodies over them to protect them. Hi'iaka battles the mo'o and chants to stop the sun from setting so they can find his body.	X	X				X		X
29.	Hi'iaka begins the prayers and rituals to bring Lohi'au back to life. The women gather the greenery of the forest, pure water, rain caught in the kalo leaf. They must pray uninterrupted, and once Lohi'au's spirit enters his body he was to be anointed with the Kāhuli and Kāhela oils during the night of akua to the night of Maui, meaning life, with death departing on the night of muku [cut off or set aside]. He would rise and move on the first night of Kū [to stand], and on 'Ole he would begin speaking. The final step is for Hi'iaka to cover Lohi'au with her healing skirt.	X	X			X			

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
30.	Hi'iaka offers a red fish to Pele. The fish is fetched for Pele by their brother Kauilalaninui maka'ehaikalani; it is still fresh and wriggling when it is transported in an instant from Kaua'i to Hawai'i.	X	X		X				
31.	Hi'iaka and Lohi'au go surfing after he is brought back to life. They surf out in the deep sea called Moanawaikē'o which reaches from O'ahu to the pillars of Kahiki kū and breaks at Kahiki moe. Frightening sea creatures swam with them, and the birds were also their companions. Lohi'au surfs on Hi'iaka's skirt as a board.	X	X					X	
32.	Hi'iaka fortells Lohi'au dying again. Hi'iaka tells Kauakahiapaoa that if he sees all of Kauai trembling, the sea rising up over the land and all the mountains shrouded by a cover of mist, then Lohi'au would be dead and Kauakahi should travel to Puna to save him by chanting the huluhonua chants she taught him.	X	X			X	X		
33.	Hi'iaka travels by land to Puna while her companions and Lohia'u travel by sea. On her journey back, Hi'iaka destroys the ghosts and spirits of Mānā, Kaua'i with her skirt.	X						X	

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
34.	Hi'iaka is asked to chant the names of all the places of Kaua'i. Hi'iaka chants as a kama'āina of Kaua'i since it was the first place they stopped when her family traveled from Kahiki, impressing Lohi'au.	X	X			X	X		
35.	Hi'iaka saves a girl in Ka'ena. A strange rock was blocking the swimming place in the ocean at Kilauea in Ka'ena. Hi'iaka used her skirt and breathed in to the girl; she removed the evil boulder that could also take the shape of a shark named Pohakuloa, who was a kupua that smashed canoes. Hi'iaka fought and killed the shark and was able to move the stone form.	X	X			X			
36.	Hi'iaka helps the people of Ka'ena and Mākua. Hi'iaka uncovers water for the people in Ka'ena at Ke'awa'ula and reveals that the sands of Mākua make a barking sound like the ones in Nohili, Kaua'i; the kama'āina of the area are amazed because they didn't know that.	X	X			X			

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
37.	Hi'iaka answers a riddle to save a chief's life. A chief of Moloka'i named Kaulanaokala made a wager on his life with a chief of Waipi'o. Hi'iaka asked for a manini fish from a pond at Ka'ena, and when she had the fish in her hand she answered the riddle; the answer was a newborn child.	X	X	X		X			
38.	Hi'iaka reveals a prophecy to Pōka'i, the chief of Wai'anae. Hi'iaka reveals that Wai'anae will become a cornerpost for the chief-devouring nature of O'ahu. This prophecy was well known forevermore in Hawai'i, and became a foundation for profound sacred knowledge and prophetic power, as well as future prophecies. Therefore, it was only told in ceremonial contexts and strict kapu.	X		X		X			
39.	Hi'iaka discovers that Lohi'au will be killed. Hi'iaka is atop Pohakea mountain in Wai'anae and sees Pele destroying her beloved Nānāhuki/Hopoe. Hi'iaka knows that Lohi'au will be killed when they go to Hawai'i.	X				X			
40.	Along the journey back to Hawai'i, Hi'iaka kills more mo'o Hi'iaka kills the mo'o Kamō'ili'ili.	X							

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
41.	<p>Hi'iaka smites Waihi'ālo and 'Olepau.</p> <p>Hi'iaka takes the form of an old woman and travels to the chief 'Olepau's compound. Waihi'ālo is rude to Hi'iaka (despite being warned by her ancestor and goddess Kapo), so to teach Waihi'ālo a lesson, Hi'iaka names Olepau's life as the price of a wager. Hi'iaka chants death chants, while Waihi'ālo chants for life and calls on her ancestors. Hi'iaka is actually her ancestor, and has command of the gods and goddesses that Waihi'ālo calls on. Hi'iaka's chants cause 'Olepau many different sicknesses, and efforts to heal him fail. Waihi'ālo and 'Olepau, as well as his brothers on Moloka'i and Lāna'i die.</p>	X		X	X	X	X		X
42.	<p>Hi'iaka stops the efforts to revive 'Olepau.</p> <p>When 'Olepau is to be revived, an akua refuses to help because Hi'iaka is considered the foremost of all the deities, male or female. 'Olepau's priest sends a whirlwind of ghosts, but Hi'iaka is related to some of the ghosts and so they were not killed. The priest says that no one can beat Hi'iaka in a contest of knowledge, skill, and strength.</p>	X	X		X	X	X		X

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
43.	Hi'iaka defeats an eel during the journey back to Hawai'i and shares a prophecy. Hi'iaka battles an eel kupua on the in 'Alenuihaha and 'Alenuikawahawaha, using her skirt to protect the canoe and the other edge of the skirt to smite the eel. Hi'iaka foretells of a sign; a half-man/half-shark kupua appears.	X				X		X	
44.	The company returns to Hawai'i; Hi'iaka tries to prepare them for what will happen. Hi'iaka and Lohi'au become husband and wife. Hi'iaka tries to teach Lohi'au chants that can stop Pele from killing him and tries to get Wahine'ōma'o to leave them; she insists on staying and becoming a moepu'u [death companion] to Hi'iaka. Lohi'au also refuses to leave, and chants his determination and love for Hi'iaka. Because of Pele's kapu on Lohi'au, his body becomes a sacrifice.	X		X		X	X		X
45.	Lohi'au's chanting does not save his life. Lohi'au chants the wrong one first; his deities Kanikawī and Kanikawā told him to do a different sequence of prayers than what Hi'iaka had told him. Lohi'au is slowly turned to pāhoehoe lava; Hi'iaka tries to shield him with her skirt. Her brother Kānemilohae whispers that she can save her husband by seeking the waters of Kāne.	X	X		X	X	X		

#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
46.	Hi'iaka battles Pele and tries to destroy Kīlauea. When Lohi'au dies, Hi'iaka tells his spirit to go to the leeward side, not the windward side or she won't be able to revive him. She decides to take her revenge by destroying the 8 levels of Kīlauea, Pele's home. With the help of her brother who stayed in Kahiki, Kānemilohae, Hi'iaka destroys each stratum, encountering beings and ghosts.	X	X		X	X			
47.	Lohi'au's 'aikane Kaua knows he was killed and travels to Puna to take revenge on Pele. Lohi'au's spirit follows Hi'iaka's instructions and flies to Kaua'i: He defeats the giant 'Āinakō of Waimea on the way, and his body becomes Pu'u'āinakō. Kaua also kills the giant Kapolaula in a match. Pele desires him as a husband, but has made herself extremely ugly and old as a test. He is disgusted, but still wants to take her as wife to satisfy his revenge. Pele then appears beautiful on the wings of a great bird, Halulu. They made love for three days and three nights.	X	X	X		X			X

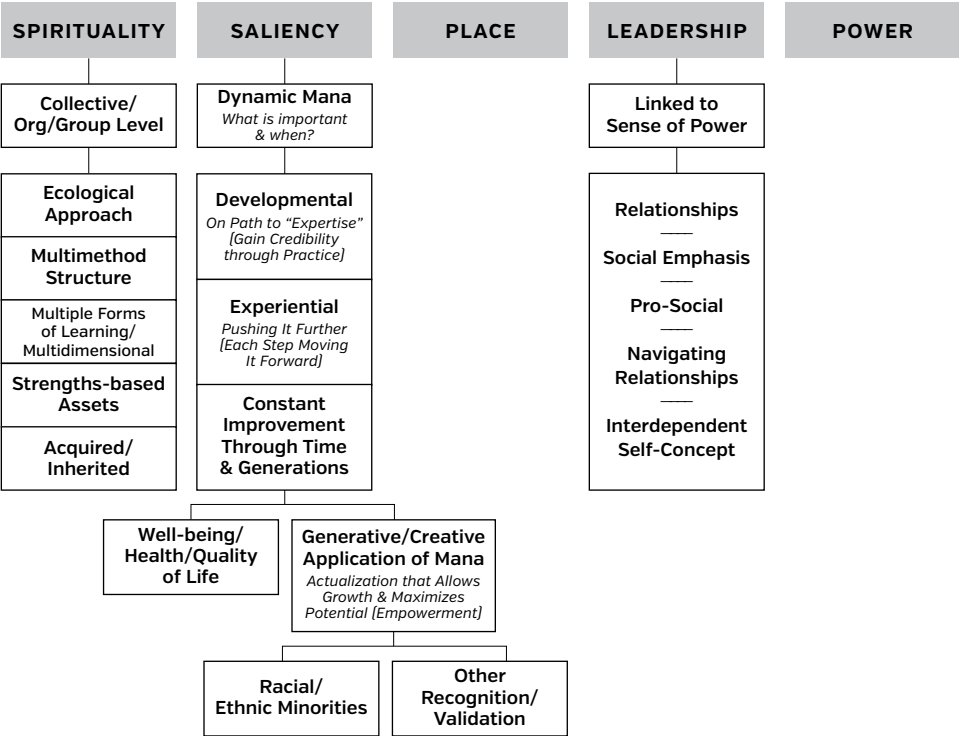
#	EVENT & DESCRIPTION	MANA AKUA	MANA 'ĀINA	MANA ALI'I	MANA 'ŌHANA	MANA 'IKE	MANA PULE	MANA IN OBJECTS	MANA WAHINE
48.	Lohi'au is revived. Kanemilohae leaves Polapola to gain Lohi'au's spirit in Ka'ie'iewaho. He revives him and they travel to see Pele in Kilauea. Lohi'au places a kapu kaiokia between himself and Pele for he no longer loves her and only desires Hi'iaka. Kāne's journey to Hawai'i brings the milo plant to our shores for the first time.	X	X	X				X	
49.	The companions begin traveling back to Kaua'i; Kaua and Wahine'ōma'o become husband and wife. Hosted by the chiefess Pele'ula, Wahine and Pele'ula play kilu to win Kaua. Pele wins Kaua, and has her fun, but he is then free to leave with Wahine'ōma'o	X		X					X
50.	The epic journey of Hi'iaka to fetch Lohi'au has ended. Lohi'au commands a house of bird feathers to be built, and they live like that a long time. One day, Hi'iaka says that Pele will call on her because a pig kupua (Kamapua'a) is coming. But that is another story.	X	X	X	X	X		X	X

Appendix E. Concept Mapping

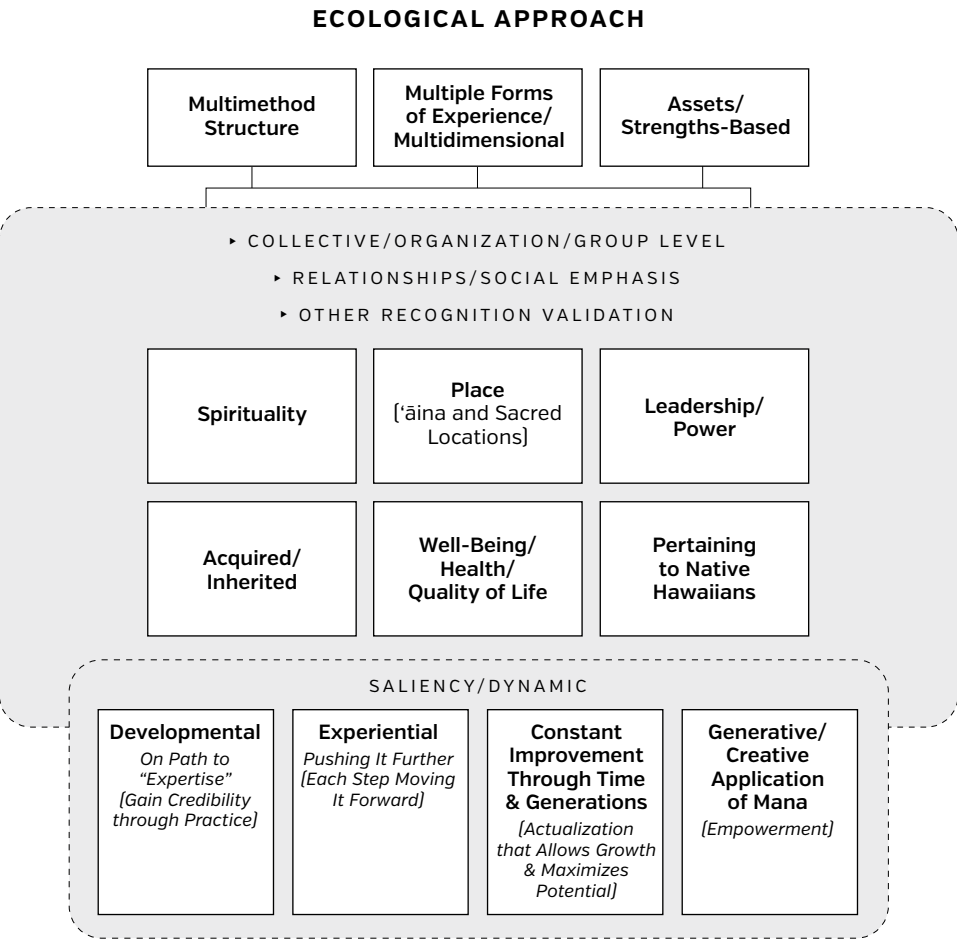
E1. Original Concept Map [2/24/2015]



E2. Edited Original Assessment Concept Map [2/24/2015]



E3. Updated Assessment Concept Map [8/10/2015]



Appendix F. Instrument Review Rubric and Category Descriptions

RUBRIC CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
Name	Name of Instrument
Citation	Full citation
Description with reliability and validity info	Description of instrument and subscales with reliability and validity information, if available
Relevance	Y = Yes (most or all of the scale); M = Maybe (some items)
Survey	Instrument administered as a survey
Observation	Instrument administered as an observation
Skills/Knowledge-based test	Instrument administered as a skills or knowledge-based test
Self-assessment	Respondent is self-assessing
Other-assessment	Respondent is assessing another person or entity
Individual being evaluated	Instrument assesses the individual
Group being evaluated	Instrument assesses an organization or group of people
Likert-type	Instrument utilizes a Likert-type rating scale (e.g., 1 to 5)
Binary	Instrument utilizes yes/no or present/absent responses
Rank order	Instrument has the respondent rank items in a particular order
Frequency or count	Instrument has respondent report number of times something occurs in a specified period of time

RUBRIC CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
Qualitative	Instrument uses qualitative methods or narrative responses
Multidimensional	Instrument has more than one subscale
Reliability info available?	Research has been conducted to establish internal consistency or reliability
Validity info available?	Research has been conducted to establish convergent or divergent validity
Number of items	Number of items in instrument
Duration (minutes)	Length of time, if known, it takes to complete instrument
Normed ethnicity	Ethnicity, if known, on which the instrument was normed/initially tested
Normed gender	Gender, if known, on which the instrument was normed/initially tested
Normed developmental stage (age)	Developmental stage, if known, on which the instrument was normed/initially tested
Intended ethnicity	Intended ethnicity, if known, for use
Intended gender	Intended gender, if known, for use
Intended developmental stage (age)	Intended developmental stage, if known, for use
Strengths-based	Instrument focuses on strengths more than weaknesses
Religious	Instrument has religiosity items
Spiritual	Instrument has spirituality items

RUBRIC CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
Secular	Instrument has secular items
Relationship with others/ among entities	Instrument considers relationships with others or entities
Actualization (fulfillment of potential)	Instrument considers characteristics, beliefs, or behaviors related to actualization or fulfillment of potential
Leadership	Instrument considers characteristics, beliefs, or behaviors related to leadership qualities or characteristics
Political power	Instrument considers characteristics, beliefs, or behaviors related to political power
Recognition from others	Instrument considers how others view the self or entity
Domains of saliency (e.g., work, family, peers)	Instrument addresses specific domains
Specify domains of saliency	Domains of saliency (e.g., self, community, peers, work, etc) are identified
Native Hawaiian knowledge	Instrument assesses Native Hawaiian knowledge
Behaviors	Instrument assesses behaviors
Attitudes/beliefs	Instrument assesses attitudes or beliefs
Knowledge	Instrument assesses knowledge
Search Keywords	Keywords that pertain to the instrument

Appendix G. Twenty-One Relevant Measures and Selected Rubric Categories

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
Spirituality Scale <small>NORMED ETHNICITY</small> Caucasian <small>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</small> Spiritual		<small>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</small> Assesses beliefs, institutions, lifestyle choices, and practices and rituals representative of human spiritual spirituality; designed to guide spiritual interventions; 0.94 internal consistency. Questions are open, vague, adaptable, and suited to healthcare settings.			
		<small>CITATION</small> Delaney, C. [2005]. The Spirituality Scale: Development and psychometric testing of a holistic instrument to assess the human spiritual dimension. <i>Journal of Holistic Nursing</i> , 23[2], 145–167.			
		<small>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</small> <div> <div> • Self-assessment • Individual being evaluated </div> <div> • Spiritual • Relationship with others/among entities </div> <div> • Actualization [fulfillment of potential] • Leadership </div> <div> • Recognition from others • Attitudes/beliefs </div> </div>			

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION					
<div>Spiritual Health and Life-Orientation Measure (SHALOM)</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Diverse</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Self, communal, environmental, transcendental</div>		<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>20 items with five items reflecting the quality of relationships of each person with themselves, other people, the environment and/or God in personal, communal, environmental, transcendental domains of spiritual well-being. It is a unique scale in that it allows for a dimensional/developmental approach. It was normed on a diverse group. Confirmatory factor analyses were performed on the SWBQ using data from 4462 nurses and careers, university students and staff, school students and teachers, employees in a manufacturing plant and church-attendees. The SWBQ showed good reliability (Cronbach’s alpha, composite reliability and variance extracted) as well as (construct, concurrent, discriminant, predictive) validity. Wording would need to be adapted for Native Hawaiian contexts.</div>					
		<div>CITATION</div> <div>Fisher, J. [2010]. Development and application of a spiritual well-being questionnaire called SHALOM. <i>Religions</i>, 1, 105–121.</div>					
		<div>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</div>					
		<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div>		<div>• Spiritual</div> <div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div>		<div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div> <div>• Leadership</div>	
						<div>• Recognition from others</div> <div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div>	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Spiritual Life Maps</div>		DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO			
	<div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Native American</div>	A spiritual life map assessment tool was modified by the authors for a Native American cultural context. To determine the relevancy and consistency of utilizing the modified assessment tool with Native American clients, 50 Native American experts reviewed, rated, and gave feedback on its use. Results indicated using a less linear, more circular, cyclical, and relational spiritual map. Involves chronological age mapping with life events, spiritual practices, from whom learned, what your faith teaches you about trials, spiritual mentors. List of example questions to operationalize spiritual maps in Table 3.			
	<div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Work, family, peers, church, community</div>	CITATION			
		Limb, G. E., & Hodge, D. R. [2007]. Developing Spiritual life maps as a culture-centered pictorial instrument with Native American clients. <i>Research on Social Work Practice</i> , 17, 296.			
RUBRIC CATEGORIES					
<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div> <div>• Qualitative</div>		<div>• Spiritual</div> <div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div>		<div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div> <div>• Leadership</div> <div>• Recognition from others</div>	
				<div>• Native Hawaiian knowledge</div> <div>• Behaviors</div> <div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div>	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION	
<div>Death Transcendence Scale</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>N/A</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>N/A</div>		<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>A 26-item scale with the following subscales: Mysticism, Religious, Nature, Creative and Biosocial. Cronbach's alpha was .79 and .74 in two studies with hospital and community-based samples. Assesses the extent to which one believes that "death is transcended through identification with phenomena more enduring than oneself" (p. 279). Taps into some salient domains of legacy, nature, transcendence.</div> <div>CITATION</div> <div>VandeCreek, L., & Nye, C. [1993]. Testing the Death Transcendence Scale. <i>Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion</i>, 32[3], 279–283.</div>	
RUBRIC CATEGORIES			
<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div>		<div>• Spiritual</div> <div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div> <div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div> <div>• Recognition from others</div> <div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div>	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Charismatic Inventory</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>N/A</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Leadership</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>A set of 10 opposite word pairs [e.g. Leader-Follower] to be rated by a third-party. Good reliability and validity, multi-dimensional, non-Likert and non-self-report. Good reliability with Cronbach’s alpha .83. Good validity, able to distinguish between charismatic and non-charismatic leaders. Strong factor analysis. The word pairs do not necessarily capture mana, but the words changed to capture this concept. In addition, to use this scale context might be included [e.g. relevance of certain words for home vs. work].</div>				
	<div>CITATION</div> <div>Burke, K. & Brinkerhoff, M. B. [2001]. Capturing charisma: Notes on an elusive concept. Journal for the <i>Scientific Study of Religion</i>, 20, 274–284.</div>				
	<div>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</div>				
	<div><div><div>• Other-assessment</div><div>• Individual being evaluated</div></div><div><div>• Spiritual</div><div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div></div><div><div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div><div>• Leadership</div></div><div><div>• Recognition from others</div><div>• Behaviors</div></div></div>				

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Hawaiian Cultural Connectedness Scale</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Native Hawaiian</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Self, family, school</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>The HCC Scale includes six subscales (connection to ‘āina, cultural values and attachment, connection to ‘ohana, cultural knowledge and practice, cultural issues engagement, and Hawaiian language) that assesses youth connection to Hawaiian culture and practices. The HCC Scale shows “the survey has strong reliability using conventional statistics and standards for internal consistency” (Tibbetts et al., p. 4). The authors emphasize: “Please note that the HCC Scale... is not a judgment on whether a person is Hawaiian or ‘more Hawaiian’ than another. The scale does not capture the rich complexities of Hawaiian culture and individual cultural identity” (Tibbetts et al., p. 4). All the scale items were not made available for free use.</div>				
	<div>CITATION</div> <div>Kamehameha Schools [2015]. Hawaiian Cultural Connectedness Surveys [‘Ōpio form]. Honolulu, HI: Author. Report: Tibbetts, K. A., Medeiros, S., & Ng-Osorio, J. [2009]. Field-test findings of the nā Ōpio: Youth development and asset survey. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Research and Evaluation.</div>				
	<div>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</div>				
	<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div> <div>• Spiritual</div>		<div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div> <div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div>		

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership Inventory</div>		DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO			
		Four leadership traits [acknowledgement of Hawaiian culture as the source of leadership, authority through responsible behavior, Hawaiian worldview, and personal aptitude for leadership]. Validation study with 276 adult (50% over age 56) Hawaiian community members (Hawaiian Civic Club members, a list of Hawaiians recruited from a statewide study conducted by Kamehameha Schools, and a list of participants from a survey of Kamehameha Schools' financial aid recipients). The instrument was able to discern exemplar Hawaiian leaders from exemplar non-Hawaiian leaders demonstrating strong discriminant validity. This is a Q-sort used to observe others. It could be adapted to be self-assessment. A lot of rich qualitative information about Native Hawaiian leaders that could be used to create a self and/or observational assessment. Update for contemporary contexts.			
	NORMED ETHNICITY				
	Native Hawaiian				
SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY					
Self, community		CITATION			
		Kaulukukui, G., & Nāho‘opi‘io, D. K. [2008]. The development of an inventory of exemplary Hawaiian leadership behaviors. <i>Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being</i> , 5, 95–151.			
RUBRIC CATEGORIES					
• Self-assessment		• Spiritual	• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]	• Recognition from others	
• Other-assessment		• Secular		• Native Hawaiian knowledge	
• Individual being evaluated		• Relationship with others/among entities	• Leadership	• Behaviors	
• Qualitative			• Political power	• Attitudes/beliefs	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Native Hawaiian Leadership Scale</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Native Hawaiian</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Self, family, community</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>Theoretical basis from traits of Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership research. 12-question self-report Likert-type scale. Statements meant to differentiate Hawaiian from Non-Hawaiian leadership styles. Native Hawaiian-focused, but normed on small sample [47 Native Hawaiians]. Cronbach's alpha .92. Weak validity and reliability, because of small sample size. Should be rewritten using the four-factor model outlined above with two to three questions taken from each factor. May be relevant as-is for some organizations, but also could be expanded and have a factor analysis for more robust use.</div> <div>CITATION</div> <div>Borofsky, A. R. H. [2010]. Measuring Native Hawaiian leadership among graduates of Native Hawaiian charter schools. <i>Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being</i>, 6, 169–185.</div>				
RUBRIC CATEGORIES					
<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div>		<div>• Secular</div> <div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div>		<div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div> <div>• Leadership</div>	
				<div>• Behaviors</div> <div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div>	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
Hawaiian Ethnocultural Inventory (HEI)	DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO	A 243 question self-report Likert scale survey assessing Hawaiian ethnocultural identity along 27 cultural practices. In factor analysis, five factors emerged, representing a total of 80 items: Beliefs in Hawaiian Cultural Practices, Knowledge of Hawaiian Cultural Practices, Frequency of Performing Arts, Frequency of Ocean Traditions, and Frequency of Spiritual and Family Customs. Comprehensive and theoretically sound. Cronbach's Alpha .85-.97. Looks at 1) knowledge of a particular cultural practice, 2) belief in a cultural practice, and 3) frequency of practicing that cultural practice. + differentiates between knowledge, belief, and practice.			
	NORMED ETHNICITY	Native Hawaiian			
	SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY	Family, self, cultural knowl- edge, practice, and beliefs			
		CITATION Crabbe, K. [2002]. Initial psychometric validation of He'Ana Mana'o o Na Mo'omeheu Hawai'i A Hawaiian ethnocultural inventory [HEI] of cultural practices [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Hawai'i, Manoa. Retrieved from https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/3011/uhm_phd_4239_r.pdf?sequence=2			
RUBRIC CATEGORIES					
• Self-assessment		• Secular	• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]	• Native Hawaiian knowledge	
• Individual being evaluated		• Relationship with others/among entities	• Leadership	• Behaviors	
• Spiritual				• Attitudes/beliefs	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Multi-dimensional Model of Māori Identity and Cultural Engagement (MMM-ICE)</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Māori</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Self, peers, family, community</div>	DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO				
	Self-report Likert-type scale to assess six distinct dimensions of identity and cultural engagement in Māori populations. Six areas: 1) group membership evaluation, 2) socio political consciousness, 3) cultural efficacy and active identity engagement, 4) spirituality, 5) interdependent self-concept, and 6) authenticity beliefs. Good internal reliability (>.70) and validity				
	Assesses indigenous domains, relational, spiritual, cultural, racial, political-self-report. Unique in that it was normed on Māori populations. Thus far, only used with Māori populations. Would have to be re-written for Native Hawaiian populations.				
	CITATION				
	Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. [2010]. The multi-dimensional model of Māori identity and cultural engagement. <i>New Zealand Journal of Psychology</i> , 39, 8–28.				
RUBRIC CATEGORIES					
• Self-assessment		• Spiritual	• Actualization (fulfillment of potential)	• Political power	
• Individual being evaluated		• Relationship with others/among entities	• Leadership	• Behaviors	
				• Attitudes/beliefs	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Collective Self-Efficacy Scale</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>White adults in Virginia</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Community, work</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>Theoretically based on Bandura’s self-efficacy research. Focused more on the ability of a group to have a locus of control, and to work together to influence change. Developed a computer based collective efficacy scale specific to the community in Virginia. Good external and predictive validity and reliability all above .70. A community empowerment scale looking at whether someone believes that their community can affect change. Wording of questions would need to be adapted to Native Hawaiian context.</div>				
	<div>CITATION</div> <div>Carroll, J. M, Rosson, M. B., & Zhou, J. [2005]. <i>Collective efficacy as a measure of community</i>. Center for Human-Computer Interaction.</div>				
	<div>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</div>				
	<div><div><div>• Self-assessment</div><div>• Group being evaluated</div></div><div><div>• Secular</div><div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div></div><div><div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div><div>• Leadership</div></div><div><div>• Political power</div><div>• Recognition from others</div></div></div>				

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Sense of Well-Being Index</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Native Hawaiian</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Family, cultural knowledge, practice, beliefs</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>A 30-question Likert indigenous well-being scale that focuses on sense of security, sense of belonging, sense of resilience, sense of family, and sense of culture. Normed on 121 respondents as part of from the 2006 cohort (2007 and 2008 cohorts were collected, but not reported), included 46 Native Hawaiians. High reliability for all domains, except Sense of Culture [Cronbach's alpha .573]. Family Domain low for Native Hawaiian group, possibly due to different conceptions of family. Indigenous measure with a Native Hawaiian norm group. It doesn't tap spiritual domain and has minimal focus on relationships.</div> <div>CITATION</div> <div>Center for Training and Evaluation Research in the Pacific [CTREP]. (2006). Indigenous Sense of Well-Being Index.</div>				
RUBRIC CATEGORIES					
<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div>		<div>• Secular</div> <div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div>		<div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div> <div>• Leadership</div> <div>• Native Hawaiian knowledge</div> <div>• Behaviors</div> <div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div>	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<p>Rating Tool on Health and Social Indicators for Use with Indigenous Communities</p> <p>NORMED ETHNICITY Indigenous</p> <p>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY Organizations</p>		<p>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</p> <p>This study reports on the development and evaluation of a rating tool to assess the scientific utility and cultural appropriateness of community-level indicators for application with Indigenous populations. Indicator criteria proposed by the U.S. Institute of Medicine were culturally adapted through reviewing the literature and consultations with academic and Indigenous stakeholders. Pre-testing and collaborator feedback drove the iterative development of the tool with stakeholder groups in Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Australia. Pilot testing with 17 raters across countries involved rating the same selection of six health and social indicators using a six-point ordinal scale. The final version of the rating tool includes 16 questions within three criterion domains: importance, soundness, and viability. Good internal consistency and excellent interrater reliability. Good face validity, content validity, and discriminant validity.</p>			
		<p>CITATION</p> <p>Daniel, M., Cargo, M., Marks, E., Paquet, C., Simmons, D., Williams, M., Rowley, K., & O'Dea, K. [2009]. Rating health and social indicators for use with indigenous communities: A tool for balancing cultural and scientific utility. <i>Social Indicator Research</i>, 94, 241–256.</p>			
		<p>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</p> <table> <tr> <td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other-assessment • Group being evaluated </td><td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secular • Relationship with others/among entities </td><td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actualization [fulfillment of potential] • Leadership </td><td> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition from other • Attitudes/beliefs </td></tr> </table>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other-assessment • Group being evaluated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secular • Relationship with others/among entities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other-assessment • Group being evaluated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secular • Relationship with others/among entities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actualization [fulfillment of potential] • Leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition from other • Attitudes/beliefs 		

NAME	DESCRIPTION & CITATION
<p>Servant leadership assessment instrument</p> <p>NORMED ETHNICITY N/A</p> <p>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY Work, organizational</p>	<p>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</p> <p>Building upon Patterson’s servant leadership theory, this study aims to present an instrument to measure the constructs of this working theory (identified as agape love, humanity, altruism, vision, trust, service, and empowerment). Three separate data collections were used for the development of this instrument reducing the 71-item scale to 42 items yielding five factors: empowerment, love, humility, trust, and vision. This is a multidimensional comprehensive leadership measure. Could be adapted to Native Hawaiian leadership through the Native Hawaiian leadership scale. Good face and content validity. Internal consistency above .70. Unique in that it is an observational rather than self-assessment.</p> <p>CITATION</p> <p>Dennis, R., & Bocarena, M. (2005). Development of the servant leadership assessment instrument. <i>Leadership & Organization Development Journal</i>, 26, 600–615.</p>

RUBRIC CATEGORIES			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Other-assessment • Individual being evaluated • Spiritual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secular • Relationship with others/among entities • Actualization [fulfillment of potential] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership • Political power • Recognition from others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behaviors • Attitudes/beliefs

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Personal Social Capital Scale</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>American, Chinese</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Work, family, peers, neighborhood, community, nation</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>The purpose of this study was to develop the ‘Personal Social Capital Scale’ for quantitative survey studies of social factors that are related to health and behavior. The instrument contained 10 composite items based on 42 items for assessing personally owned social capital, including bonding and bridging capitals. The instrument was assessed using cross-sectional survey data collected among 128 participants [64 women] with a participation rate of 95%. Results from correlation and confirmatory factor analysis indicated adequate reliability and internal consistency. The mean score of the scale was 25.9 [SD 5.2] for total social capital, 15.2 [SD 3.0] for bonding social capital and 10.8 [SD 3.4] for bridging social capital. The scale scores significantly predicted a number of theoretically related factors, including people skills, being sociable, social capital investment, informational support, instrumental support, emotional support and collective efficacy. This instrument provides a new tool for cross-cultural research to assess personally owned social capital. A unique scale in that it is more collectivistic and relationship focused.</div> <div>CITATION</div> <div>Chen, X., Stanton, B., Gong, J., Fang, X. & Li, X. [2009], Personal social capital scale: An instrument for health and behavioral research. <i>Health Education Research</i>, 24, 306–317.</div>				
	RUBRIC CATEGORIES				
	<div><div><div>• Self-assessment</div><div>• Individual being evaluated</div></div><div><div>• Secular</div><div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div></div><div><div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div></div><div><div>• Recognition from other</div><div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div></div></div>				

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Growth and Empowerment Measure (GEM)</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Aboriginal Australians</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Work, family, peers, health, self, community</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>A measure developed to capture change in dimensions of empowerment as defined and described by Aboriginal Australians. The measure includes: 14-item Emotional Empowerment Scale [EES14] and 12 Scenarios. It also includes two questions about angry and happy feelings. The measure was normed on 184 Aboriginal Australians involved in social health activities. Results indicated a two-factor measure on the EES: Self-Capacity and Inner Peace for the scenarios: Healing and Enabling Growth, Connection and Purpose. Overall, it is an empowerment, strengths based measure normed with indigenous populations. Internal consistency >.70 across domains. Good validity with factor analysis showing a two-factor structure.</div>				
	<div>CITATION</div> <div>Haswell, M. R., Kavanagh, D., Tsey, K., Reilly, L., Cadet-James, Y., Laliberte, A., Wilson, A., & Doran, C. [2010]. Psychometric validation of the growth and empowerment measure [GEM] applied with Indigenous Australians. <i>Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry</i>, 44, 791–799.</div>				
	<div>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</div>				
	<div><div>• Self-assessment</div><div>• Individual being evaluated</div></div>		<div><div>• Qualitative</div><div>• Spiritual</div><div>• Secular</div><div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div><div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div><div>• Leadership</div><div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div></div>		

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Synergy Scale</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>N/A</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Partnerships</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>This scale was developed to assess synergy in health promotion partnerships. It was a robust national study with 5 focus groups for scale development and .91 Cronbach's alpha. It measures performance and direct experience of organizational partnerships. There are 8 Likert scale questions. This is a unique scale, because it looks at relationships between health promoting organizations and their synergy—how they improve outcomes through partnerships.</div>				
	<div>CITATION</div> <div>Jones, J., & Barry, M. [2011]. Developing a scale to measure synergy in health promotion partnerships. <i>IUHPE – Global Health Promotion</i>, 18, 36–44.</div>				
	<div>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</div>				
	<div><div>• Other-assessment</div><div>• Group being evaluated</div></div>		<div><div>• Spiritual</div><div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div></div>		

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>The Connectedness to Nature Scale</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>N/A</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Self</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <p>Five studies assessed the validity and reliability of the connectedness to nature scale [CNS], a new measure of individuals’ trait levels of feeling emotionally connected to the natural world. Data from two community and three college samples demonstrated that the CNS has good psychometric properties, correlates with related variables [the new environmental paradigm scale, identity as an environmentalist], and is uncorrelated with potential confounds [verbal ability, social desirability]. Good convergent and discriminant validity and alpha coefficients all above .82. Supports eco-psychologists’ contention that connection to nature is an important predictor of ecological behavior and subjective wellbeing. The CNS promises to be a useful empirical tool for research on the relationship between humans and the natural world. Could be used to assess environmental stewardship.</p>				
	<div>CITATION</div> <p>Mayer, S. F. & Frantz, C. M. [2004]. Connectedness to nature scale: A measure of individuals’ feeling in community with nature. <i>Journal of Environmental Psychology</i>, 24, 503–5515.</p>				
	RUBRIC CATEGORIES				
<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div>		<div>• Spiritual</div> <div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div>		<div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div> <div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div>	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION	
<div>Community Service Attitudes Scale</div>	NORMED ETHNICITY	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <p>This study reports the multistage development of the Community Service Attitudes Scale (CSAS), an instrument for measuring college students’ attitudes about community service. The CSAS was developed based on Schwartz’s helping behavior model. Scores on the scales of the CSAS yielded strong reliability evidence [coefficient alphas ranging from .72 to .93]. Principal components analysis yielded results consistent with the Schwartz model. In addition, the CSAS scale scores were positively correlated with gender, college major, community service experience, and intentions to engage in community service. Could be useful for non-profits and educational institutions wanting to assess level of community service engagement.</p> <div>CITATION</div> <p>Shiarella, A., McCarthy, A., & Tucker, M. [2000], Development and construct validity of scores on the community service attitudes scale. <i>Educational and Psychological Measurement</i>, 60, 286–300.</p>	
	SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY		
	Community		
RUBRIC CATEGORIES			
<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Individual being evaluated</div>		<div>• Secular</div> <div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div> <div>• Actualization [fulfillment of potential]</div> <div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div>	

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION	
<div>Role for the African American Church in Urban School Reform Survey</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY African American</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY Politics</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <div>This eight-item survey was developed to assess 75 African American church leaders’ perceptions of the role of the African American church in urban school reform. The questions are open-ended, focus on education, and provide qualitative information about the most important issues in their community in the last six years, issues particularly important to the African American community, what the church leadership has done in relationship to the issues, the influence and effectiveness of the church on the issues, what issues will be important in the future, the strengths of the church, impediments to playing more prominent roles, and critical events in the past six years. These questions may lend themselves to understanding processes related to indigenous or ethnic organizations that exert power in their communities. Unique in that it looks at organizational efficacy and the ability for a disempowered group to exert policy changes.</div> <div>CITATION</div> <div>Middleton, J. A. [2001]. A role for the African American church in urban school reform. <i>Urban Education</i>, 36, 426–437.</div>		
	RUBRIC CATEGORIES		
	<div>• Self-assessment</div> <div>• Group being evaluated</div>	<div>• Qualitative</div> <div>• Secular</div>	<div>• Leadership</div> <div>• Political power</div>

NAME		DESCRIPTION & CITATION			
<div>Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure</div> <div>NORMED ETHNICITY</div> <div>Diverse</div> <div>SPECIFY DOMAINS OF SALIENCY</div> <div>Self, ethnic group</div>	<div>DESCRIPTION WITH RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY INFO</div> <p>MEIM was adapted for Hawaiian culture and included 10 items on a 5-point scale. Two subscales: ethnic identity search and affirmation. Sample items: “I have a clear sense of my Hawaiian background and what it means to me” and “I think a lot about how my life is affected by my Hawaiian ethnicity.” Validity was established by showing that of 600 middle and high school teachers. Teachers with more use of culture-based educational strategies have higher total scores on the MEIM. Original MEIM had an average alpha coefficient of .84 across a sample of 75 studies. Focuses on identity (maui) more than mana. May be relevant in some contexts.</p>				
	<div>CITATION</div> <p>Phinney, J. [1992]. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for user with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. <i>Journal of Adolescent Research</i>, 7, 156–176. Revised by Takayama, B., & Ledward, B. [2009]. Hawaiian cultural influences in education [HCIE]: Positive self-concept among Hawaiian students. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Research & Evaluation.</p>				
	<div>RUBRIC CATEGORIES</div>				
	<div><div>• Self-assessment</div><div>• Individual being evaluated</div></div>	<div><div>• Group being evaluated</div><div>• Secular</div></div>	<div><div>• Relationship with others/among entities</div><div>• Actualization (fulfillment of potential)</div></div>	<div><div>• Recognition from others</div><div>• Attitudes/beliefs</div></div>	

Appendix H. Instruments Reviewed Against the Rubric and Rubric Results
[n = 58]

1. SPIRITUALITY ASSESSMENT SCALE

Howden, J. W. (1992). *Development and psychometric characteristics of the Spirituality Assessment Scale* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Texas Women's University, Houston, TX.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description A spirituality Assessment Scale developed as part of a dissertation. Emphasizes relational aspect of spirituality. Factor analysis revealed 4 subscales: unifying interconnectedness, purpose and meaning in life, innerness, and transcendence. Cronbach's Alpha .9164. Strong factor analysis, .40 factor loading on four factors. External validity was mixed. An open-ended theory driven spirituality measure.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Caucasian	of potential
36 items	Males and Females	Leadership
	College	Recognition from others
Perspective	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Population of Use	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Spiritual
Individual	Males and Females	
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Spirituality
Multidimensional	Strengths	
	Spiritual	
	Relationships	

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2. SPIRITUAL ORIENTATION INVENTORY

Elkins, O. N., Hedstrom, L. J., Hughes, L. L., Leaf, J. A., & Saunders, C. (1988). Toward a humanistic-phenomenological spirituality: Definition, description, and measurement. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 28(4), 5-18.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Available research suggests adequate reliability and validity with North American populations. Good inter-item consistency; evidence of adequate content and criterion validity. Factor Analysis revealed 9 dimensions: transcendent, meaning and purpose in life, mission in life, sacredness in life, material values, altruism, idealism, awareness of the tragic, and fruits of spirituality. Reduced to two factors: experiential and value dimensions; high spirituality showed positive correlation with self-actualization; differences also found on Type A personality traits. Ego resiliency was positively associated with transcendent and fruits of spirituality dimensions; differentiation among polio survivors and non-polio subjects and hospice and non-hospice nurses. It has been used cross-culturally in India with good results. Has a total of 85-questions with long sentences.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Males and Females	of potential
85 items	Adult	Leadership
Perspective	Intended	Recognition from others
Self	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Salient Domains
Individual	Males and Females	Spiritual
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Spirituality
Multidimensional	Strengths	
	Spiritual	
	Relationships	

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3. SPIRITUALITY SCALE

Delaney, C. (2005). The Spirituality Scale: Development and psychometric testing of a holistic instrument to assess the human spiritual dimension. *Journal of Holistic Nursing*, 23(2), 145-167.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description Assesses beliefs, institutions, lifestyle choices, and practices and rituals representative of the human spiritual spirituality and is designed to guide spiritual interventions; 0.94 internal consistency. Questions are open, vague, adaptable, and suited to healthcare settings.

Format	Normed Sample	Spiritual
Survey	Caucasian	Relationships
21 items	Males and Females	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Adult	Leadership
Self	Intended	Recognition from others
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Diverse	Salient Domains
Scale Type	Males and Females	Spiritual
Multidimensional	Adult	Search Keywords
	Topics Assessed	Spirituality
	Strengths	

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4. SPIRITUAL HEALTH AND LIFE-ORIENTATION MEASURE (SHALOM)

Fisher, J. (2010). Development and application of a spiritual well-being questionnaire called SHALOM. *Religions*, 1, 105–121.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description 20 items with five items reflecting the quality of relationships of each person with themselves, other people, the environment and/or God, in personal, communal, environmental, transcendental domains of spiritual well-being. It is a unique scale in that it allows for a dimensional/developmental approach. It was normed on a diverse group. Confirmatory factor analyses were performed on the SWBQ using data from 4462 nurses and careers, university students and staff, school students and teachers, employees in a manufacturing plant and church-attendees. The SWBQ showed good reliability (Cronbach’s alpha, composite reliability and variance extracted) as well as (construct, concurrent, discriminant, predictive) validity. Wording would need to be adapted for Native Hawaiian contexts.

Format	Normed Sample	
Survey	Diverse	Relationships
25 items	Males and Females	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
	Adult	Leadership
Perspective		Recognition from others
Self	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
	Population of Use	
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Salient Domains
Individual	Males and Females	Self, communal,
Scale Type	Adult	environmental,
Likert-type		transcendental
Multidimensional	Topics Assessed	
	Strengths	Search Keywords
	Spiritual	Spirituality

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Dr Fisher is still developing and testing SHALOM and welcomes its use. He can be contacted for information and forms at j.fisher@ballarat.edu.au <http://www.ehospice.com/australia/Default/tabid/10688/ArticleId/644>

5. CHARISMATIC INVENTORY

Burke, K. & Brinkerhoff, M. B. (2001). Capturing charisma: Notes on an elusive concept. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 20, 274–284.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description A set of 10- opposite word pairs (e.g. Leader-Follower) to be rated by a third-party. Good reliability and validity, multi-dimensional, non-Likert and non-self-report. Good reliability with Cronbach’s alpha .83. Good validity, able to distinguish between charismatic and non-charismatic leaders. Strong factor analysis. The word pairs do not necessarily capture mana but the words changed to capture this concept. In addition, to use this scale context might be included (e.g.. relevance of certain words for home vs. work)

Format	Normed Sample	
26 items	Males and Females	Relationships
Perspective	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Other	Intended	Leadership
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Recognition from others
Individual	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Scale Type	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Rank order	Adult	Leadership
Topics Assessed		Search Keywords
Multidimensional	Strengths	Charisma
	Spiritual	

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6. SPIRITUAL INVOLVEMENT
AND BELIEFS SCALE

Hatch, R. L., Burg, M. A., Naberhaus, D. S., & Hellmich, L. K. (1998). The spiritual involvement and beliefs scale. Development and testing of a new instrument. *Journal of Family Practice*, 46, 476–486.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Scales designed to assess spiritual status from a number of different perspectives (Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Hinduism): External/ritual, Internal/fluid, Existential/meditative; Humility/personal application. Consists of 26 items (3 assessing frequency of behaviors related to prayer, meditation, and “spiritual activities”). Other items are Likert-type that address a relationship with/belief in a power greater than oneself, purpose in life, fulfillment from non-material things, faith, trust, identity, prayer, meditation, spiritual activities with others, appreciation for mystery of life, ability to forgive and apologize, ability to find meaning from suffering, gratitude for life experiences, and spiritual belief involvement. The SIBS was tested with 82 adult patients and medical family practice professionals. The measure showed correlation with the Spiritual Well-being Scale, internal consistency (.92), and test-retest reliability (.92). “the SIBS uses ‘generic wording whenever possible to avoid as much cultural and religious bias as possible” (p. 482). Validated on a small sample of white college students. Includes multiple perspectives.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	American	Strengths
26 items	Males and Females	Spiritual
	Adult	Relationships
Perspective		Actualization/fulfillment
Self	Intended	of potential
	Population of Use	Behaviors
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Males and Females	
	Adult	Salient Domains
Scale Type		Self
Likert-type		
Frequency/count		Search Keywords
Multidimensional		Spirituality

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7. FAITH AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT SCALE

Droege, J. R., & Ferrari, J. R. (2012). Toward a new measure for faith and civic engagement: Exploring the structure of the FACE scale. *Christian Higher Education*, 11(3), 146–157.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Assesses civic engagement and need to be civically engaged using 5 subscales: civic engagement, faith life, political importance, influences spiritual growth, and influences personal growth. Robust factor analysis to achieve those five subscales. Good reliability with all alpha coefficients between .74 and .88. Temporal stability over one year consistent. Chi-square test showed a good fit. North American college undergraduate students used as the test-sample. May be relevant and has items that focus on an organization’s influence on growth and captures the political domain.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Caucasian	of potential
20 items	Males and Females	Leadership
Perspective	College	Political power
		Recognition from others
Self	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Other	Population of Use	
	Diverse	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Church, school
Individual and group	Adult	
	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Scale Type	Strengths	Civic Engagement
Likert-type	Spiritual	
Multidimensional	Relationships	

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8. SPIRITUALITY IN THE WORKPLACE

Liu, C. H., & Robertson, P. J. (2011). Spirituality in the workplace: Theory and measurement. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 20(1), 35–50.

Notes: See [Description Here](#). Reliability and validity information available.

Description Examines spirituality in the work place that includes religiousness but also transcends it. May have relevant items; 3 subscales emerged: a higher power, human beings, and nature and all living things. Validated using a sample of over 2,000 working adults in the United States. Structural fit indices indicated content, face, discriminant, and convergent validity and structural reliability. Cronbach’s Alpha ranged from .74–.90. Some items of relevance: “It is important for me to give something back to my community” and “I am concerned about those who will come after me in life” (from the interconnection with human beings subscale). Items are similar to all the other spirituality constructs but don’t have as robust validity and reliability. Also in terms of face validity wording would be awkward for local populations e.g. “I love the blooming flowers of spring.” Other measures capture the same construct better.

Format	Normed Sample	Relationships
Survey	American	Actualization/fulfillment
16 items	Males and Females	of potential
Perspective	Adult	Leadership
Self	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Salient Domains
Individual	Diverse	Self
Scale Type	Males and Females	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Adult	Spirituality
Multidimensional	Topics Assessed	
	Strengths	
	Spiritual	

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9. MEANING IN LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE

Steger, M. F., Frazier, P., Oishi, S., & Kaler, M. (2006). The meaning in life questionnaire: Assessing presence of and search for meaning in life. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 53*, 80–93.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Assesses one's possession of a feeling of having meaning/direction in life. The Meaning in Life Questionnaire assesses two dimensions of meaning in life using 10 items rated on a seven-point scale from "Absolutely True" to "Absolutely Untrue." The Presence of Meaning subscale measures how full respondents feel their lives are of meaning. The Search for Meaning subscale measures how engaged and motivated respondents are in efforts to find meaning or deepen their understanding of meaning in their lives. The MLQ has good reliability, test-retest stability, stable factor structure, and convergence among informants. Presence is positively related to well-being, intrinsic religiosity, extraversion and agreeableness, and negatively related to anxiety and depression. Search is positively related to religious quest, rumination, past-negative and present-fatalistic time perspectives, negative affect, depression, and neuroticism, and negatively related to future time perspective, close-mindedness (dogmatism), and well-being. Presence relates as expected with personal growth self-appraisals, and altruistic and spiritual behaviors as assessed through daily diaries. The MLQ takes about 5 minutes to complete. Individualistic lens.

Format	Scale Type	Topics Assessed
Survey	Likert-type	Spiritual
10 items	Normed Sample	Secular
5 minutes	Males and Females	Actualization/fulfillment
Perspective	Adult	of potential
Self	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Salient Domains
Individual	Diverse	Self
	Males and Females	Search Keywords
	Adult	Well-being

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The Meaning in Life Questionnaire (MLQ) is a 10-item measure of the Presence of Meaning in Life, and the Search for Meaning in Life. It is free to use for educational, therapeutic, and research purposed. Commercial use is prohibited without permission. I ask that you contact me to let me know how you're using it and let me know what you find out. http://www.michaelfsteger.com/?page_id=13

10. HAWAIIAN CULTURE SCALE - ADOLESCENT VERSION

Hishinuma, E. S., McArdle, J. J., Miyamoto, R. H., Nahulu, S. B., Makini, Jr., G. K., Yuen, Y. C., Nishimura, S. T., McDermott, Jr., J. F., Waldron, J. A., Luke, K. L., & Yates, A. (2000). Psychometric properties of the Hawaiian Culture Scale-Adolescent Version. *Psychological Assessment*, 12(2), 140-157.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description 50-items that assesses “the source of learning the Hawaiian way of life, how much Hawaiian beliefs are valued and important to maintain, Hawaiian blood quantum, and specific cultural traditions” (p. 140). Seven subscales for cultural traditions: lifestyles, customs, activities, folklore, causes-locations, causes-access, and language proficiency. Five-point scale (3-point scale for all subscales except language proficiency which was a 5-point scale). Validated with a group of 2,272 Hawaiian adolescents and 1,170 non-Hawaiian adolescents (without any Hawaiian ancestry). Cronbach’s alpha ranged from .82 to .96 for Hawaiian participants and .76 to .96 for non-Hawaiian participants. Hawaiian participants scored higher on all subscales than non-Hawaiian participants. There was no significant difference between Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian adolescents on non-Hawaiian belief valuation. The overall HCS subscale score predicted 21.2% of the variance in racial group when controlling for gender, grade level, and parental main wage earner education and employment. A commonly used measure with strong reliability, validity, and normed on Native Hawaiians. Frequency of behaviors is not included.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Native Hawaiian	of potential
50 items	Males and Females	Leadership
	Adolescence	Political power
Perspective	Intended	Recognition from others
Self	Population of Use	Native Hawaiian
Subject Being Assessed	Native Hawaiian	knowledge
Individual	Males and Females	Behaviors
Scale Type	Adolescence, Adult	Attitudes/beliefs
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Knowledge
Multidimensional	Strengths	Salient Domains
	Spiritual	Home, school
	Relationships	Search Keywords
		Hawaiian

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11. NĀ MEA HAWAI'I SCALE

Rezentes W. C. (1993). Na Mea Hawaii: A Hawaiian acculturation scale. *Psychological Reports*, 73(2), 383-393.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description 21 items that differentiate Japanese, Caucasian, and Hawaiian samples. Items reflect knowledge, practice, or participation in Hawaiian language, food, family values, spiritual beliefs, and customs. Items are associated with Hawaiian positive adjustment and Hawaiian people with 50% or more Hawaiian ancestry vs. less than 50%. Alpha in Plummer (1995) was .74 and was positively correlated ($r = .79$) with the Hawaiian Multi-Index Ethnocultural Identification Scale. Created in 1986, it was the first Native Hawaiian Cultural scale of its kind. There have been more contemporary Hawaiian cultural scales since this time.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Hawaiian, Japanese,	Spiritual
21 items	and Caucasian	Secular
Perspective	Males and Females	Relationships
Self	Adult	Native Hawaiian knowledge
Subject Being Assessed	Intended Population of Use	Behaviors
Individual	Hawaiian	Attitudes/beliefs
Scale Type	Males and Females	Knowledge
Likert-type	Adult	Salient Domains
Frequency/count		Family, community, culture
Multidimensional		Search Keywords
		Hawaiian

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12. MULTIGROUP ETHNIC IDENTITY MEASURE

Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for user with adolescents and young adults from diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156-176.

Revised by Takayama, B., & Ledward, B. (2009). *Hawaiian cultural influences in education (HCIE): Positive self-concept among Hawaiian students*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Research & Evaluation.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description MEIM was adapted for Hawaiian culture and included 10 items on a 5-point scale. Two subscales: ethnic identity search and affirmation. Sample items: “I have a clear sense of my Hawaiian background and what it means to me” and “I think a lot about how my life is affected by my Hawaiian ethnicity.” Validity was established by showing that of 600 middle and high school teachers. Teachers with more use of culture-based educational strategies have higher total scores on the MEIM. Original MEIM had an average alpha coefficient of .84 across a sample of 75 studies. Focuses on identity (mauli) more than mana. May be relevant in some contexts.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Diverse	Spiritual
10 items	Males and Females	Secular
Perspective	Adolescence, Adult	Relationships
Self	Intended	Actualization/fulfillment
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	of potential
Individual	Diverse	Recognition from others
Scale Type	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Likert-type	Adolescence, Adult	Salient Domains
Multidimensional		Self, ethnic group
		Search Keywords
		Ethnic identity

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13. HAWAIIAN CULTURAL
CONNECTEDNESS SCALE

Tibbetts, K. A., Medeiros, S., & Ng-Osorio, J. (2009). *Field-test findings of the nā Ōpio: Youth development and asset survey*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Research and Evaluation.

Kamehameha Schools. (2015). *Hawaiian Cultural Connectedness Survey (‘Ōpio form)*. Honolulu, HI: Author.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description The HCC includes six subscales (connection to ‘āina, cultural values and attachment, connection to ‘ohana, cultural knowledge and practice, cultural issues engagement, and Hawaiian language) that assesses youth connection to Hawaiian culture and practices. The HCC shows “the survey has strong reliability using conventional statistics and standards for internal consistency” (p. 4). The authors emphasize: “Please note that the HCC Scale... is not a judgment on whether a person is Hawaiian or ‘more Hawaiian’ than another. The scale does not capture the rich complexities of Hawaiian culture and individual cultural identity” (p. 4). All the scale items were not made available for free use.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Native Hawaiian	of potential
Perspective	Males and Females	Leadership
Self	Adolescence	Political power
Subject Being Assessed	Intended	Recognition from others
Individual	Population of Use	Native Hawaiian
Scale Type	Native Hawaiian	knowledge
Likert-type	Males and Females	Behaviors
Multidimensional	Adolescence	Attitudes/beliefs
	Topics Assessed	Knowledge
	Strengths	Salient Domains
	Spiritual	Self, family, school
	Relationships	Search Keywords
		Native Hawaiian

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14. EXEMPLARY HAWAIIAN LEADERSHIP INVENTORY

Kaulukukui, G., & Nāho’opi’I, D. K. (2008). The development of an inventory of exemplary Hawaiian leadership behaviors. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 5, 95-151.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description Four leadership traits (acknowledgement of Hawaiian culture as the source of leadership, authority through responsible behavior, Hawaiian worldview, and personal aptitude for leadership). Validation study with 276 adult (50% over age 56) Hawaiian community members (Hawaiian Civic Club members, a list of Hawaiians recruited from a statewide study conducted by Kamehameha Schools, and a list of participants from a survey of Kamehameha Schools’ financial aid recipients). The instrument was able to discern exemplar Hawaiian leaders from exemplar non-Hawaiian leaders demonstrating strong discriminant validity. This is a Q-sort used to observe others. It could be adapted to be self-assessment. A lot of rich qualitative information about Native Hawaiian leaders that could be used to create a self and/or observational assessment. Update for contemporary contexts.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Native Hawaiian	of potential
Observation	Males and Females	Leadership
Open-ended	Adult	Political power
90 items		Recognition from others
Perspective	Intended	Native Hawaiian
Self	Population of Use	knowledge
Other	Native Hawaiian	Behaviors
	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Adult	Knowledge
Individual	Topics Assessed	Salient Domains
Scale Type	Strengths	Self, community
Multidimensional	Spiritual	
	Secular	Search Keywords
	Relationships	Native Hawaiian,
		Leadership

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15. NATIVE HAWAIIAN LEADERSHIP SCALE

Borofsky, A. R. H. (2010). Measuring Native Hawaiian leadership among graduates of Native Hawaiian charter schools. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 6, 169-185.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description Theoretical basis from traits of Exemplary Hawaiian Leadership research. 12-question self-report Likert scale. Statements meant to differentiate Hawaiian from Non-Hawaiian leadership styles. Native Hawaiian-focused but normed on small sample (47 Native Hawaiians). Cronbach's alpha .92. Weak validity and reliability because of small sample size. Should be rewritten using the four factor model outlined above with two to three questions taken from each factor. May be relevant as is for some organizations, but also could be expanded and have a factor analysis for more robust use.

Format Survey 12 items	Normed Sample Native Hawaiian Males and Females Adult	Relationships Actualization/fulfillment of potential Leadership Behaviors Attitudes/beliefs
Perspective Self	Intended Population of Use Native Hawaiian Males and Females Adult	Salient Domains Self, family, community
Subject Being Assessed Individual		
Scale Type Likert-type	Topics Assessed Spiritual Secular	Search Keywords Leadership, Native Hawaiian

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16. MULTI-DIMENSIONAL MODEL OF MAORI IDENTITY AND CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT (MMM-ICE)

Houkamau, C. A., & Sibley, C. G. (2010). The multi-dimensional model of Māori identity and cultural engagement. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 39, 8–28.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description Self-report Likert scale to assess six distinct dimensions of identity and cultural engagement in Maori populations. Six areas: 1) group membership evaluation 2) socio political consciousness 3) cultural efficacy and active identity engagement 4) spirituality 5) interdependent self-concept 6) authenticity beliefs. Good internal reliability (>.70) and validity. Assesses indigenous domains, relational, spiritual, cultural, racial, political- self-report. Unique in that it was normed on Maori Populations. Thus far only used with Maori populations, would have to be re-written for Native Hawaiian Populations.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Māori	of potential
47 items	Males and Females	Leadership
Perspective	Adult	Political power
Self	Intended	Behaviors
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Maori	Knowledge
Scale Type	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Likert-type	Adult	Self, peers, family
Multidimensional	Topics Assessed	community
	Strengths	Search Keywords
	Spiritual	Maori, Cultural beliefs
	Relationships	

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17. HAWAIIAN ETHNOCULTURAL INVENTORY (HEI)

Crabbe, K. (2002). Initial psychometric validation of *He 'Ana Mana'o o Na Mo'omeheu Hawai'i A Hawaiian ethnocultural inventory (HEI) of cultural practices* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Hawai'i, Manoa. Retrieved from https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/3011/uhm_phd_4239_r.pdf?sequence=2

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description A 243 question self-report Likert scale survey assessing Hawaiian ethnocultural identity along 27 cultural practices. In factor analysis, five factors emerged, representing a total of 80 items: Beliefs in Hawaiian Cultural Practices, Knowledge of Hawaiian Cultural Practices, Frequency of Performing Arts, Frequency of Ocean Traditions, and Frequency of Spiritual and Family Customs. Comprehensive and theoretically sound. Cronbach's Alpha .85-.97. Looks at 1) knowledge of a particular cultural practice, 2) belief in a cultural practice, and 3) frequency of practicing that cultural practice. + differentiates between knowledge, belief, and practice.

Format Survey 80 items	Normed Sample Native Hawaiian Males and Females Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential Leadership Native Hawaiian knowledge
Perspective Self	Intended Population of Use Native Hawaiian Males and Females Adult	Behaviors Attitudes/beliefs Knowledge
Subject Being Assessed Individual		Salient Domains Family, self, cultural knowledge, practice, and beliefs
Scale Type Likert-type Multidimensional	Topics Assessed Strengths Spiritual Secular Relationships	Search Keywords Native Hawaiian, Indigenous

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18. SENSE OF WELL-BEING INDEX

Center for Training and Evaluation Research in the Pacific (CTREP). (2006). *Indigenous Sense of Well-Being Index*.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description An 30-question Likert indigenous well-being scale that focuses on sense of security, sense of belonging, sense of resilience, sense of family, sense of culture. Normed on 121 respondents as part of from the 2006 cohort (2007 and 2008 cohorts were collected but not reported), included 46 Native Hawaiians. High reliability for all domains, except Sense of Culture (Cronbach's alpha .573). Family Domain low for Native Hawaiian group--may be different conceptions of family. Indigenous measure with a Native Hawaiian norm group. It doesn't tap spiritual domain and has minimal focus on relationships.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Native Hawaiian	of potential
30 items	Males and Females	Leadership
	Adult	Native Hawaiian
Perspective	College	knowledge
Self		Behaviors
Subject Being Assessed	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Population of Use	Knowledge
Scale Type	Native Hawaiian	
Likert-type	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Multidimensional	Adult	Family, cultural knowl-
	College	edge, practice, and
	Topics Assessed	beliefs
	Spiritual	Search Keywords
	Secular	Native Hawaiian,
	Relationships	Indigenous

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19. COLLECTIVE SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one’s social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302-318.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description A 16-item self-report Likert scale that looks at collective rather than individual self-esteem. Four areas: membership self-esteem, private collective self-esteem, public collective self-esteem, importance to identity. Cronbach’s alpha ranged from .73 to .80, and items were correlated with self-esteem. Later validated with 886 college students in a large northeastern university in the US. Most were Caucasian. More validation studies have been conducted with similar, smaller samples. It has a collectivistic focus, is short with good reliability and validity. Assesses social and relational domains and perceptions of what others think of social groups. May be relevant in terms of how much mana you ascribe to your group.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Caucasian	Spiritual
16 items	Males and Females	Secular
Perspective	College	Relationships
Self	Intended	Recognition from others
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Diverse	Salient Domains
Scale Type	Males and Females	Social groups
Likert-type	Adult	Search Keywords
Multidimensional	College	Collective

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20. COLLECTIVE SELF-EFFICACY SCALE

Carroll, J. M, Rosson, M. B., & Zhou, J. (2005). *Collective efficacy as a measure of community*. Center for Human-Computer Interaction.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description Theoretically based on Bandura’s self-efficacy research. Focused more on the ability of a group to have a locus of control and to work together to influence change. Developed a computer based collective efficacy scale specific to the community in Virginia. Good external and predictive validity and reliability all above .70. A community empowerment scale really looking at if someone believes that their community can affect change. Wording of questions would need to be adapted to Native Hawaiian context.

Format	Normed Sample	
Survey	White adults in Virginia	Relationships
17 items	Males and Females	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
	Adult	Leadership
Perspective	Intended	Political power
Self	Population of Use	Recognition from others
Subject Being Assessed	White	Salient Domains
Group	Males and Females	Community, work
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Collective Self-Efficacy,
	Spiritual	Empowerment
	Secular	

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21. COMMUNITY SERVICE SELF ENTITLEMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (CSSEQ)

Hoffman, A., & Walsh, J. (2007) Reducing Self-Entitlement Attitudes through Service Learning. *Community College Enterprise*, 13, 81-91.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description 12 Likert scale questions asking about community service work. Two reversed score questions about entitlement. Assessing the degree that people believe in and enjoy community work. Cronbach’s alpha (reported in Achascoso, 2002) was .83 for belief and .91 for action subscales. May be of use to service learning programs.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
12 items	Caucasian	Secular
10 minutes	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Perspective	College	Salient Domains
Self	Intended	Self
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Search Keywords
Individual	Diverse	Community service
Scale Type	Males and Females	
Likert-type	College	
Rank order		

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22. NATIVE IDENTITY WITH A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL

Gonzalez, J., & Bennett, R. (2011). Conceptualizing native identity with a multi-dimensional model. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research: The Journal of the National Center*, 17, 22–42.

Notes: See [Description Here](#). Reliability and validity information available.

Description This study reports on a Native Identity Scale (NIS) adapted from an African American identity scale (Sellers et al., 1997). American Indian (AIs) and First Nations Canadian participants (N = 199) completed the NIS at powwows in the Upper Midwest. The majority of respondents were Ojibwe, but other tribal groups were represented. A principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation revealed four factors important in self-identity: Centrality, Humanist, Public Regard, and Oppressed Minority. The correlation of respondents' scores on items defining the four factors with some aspects of respondents' behavior supports the validity of the factors. It is suggested that the NIS is a promising new tool for the study of identity dimensions in AI populations. 25 7-point Likert scale questions retained and modified from Sellers et al. Reliability >.70

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	American Indian	of potential
25 items	Males and Females	Political power
45 minutes	Intended	Recognition from others
Perspective	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	American Indian	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Self, family, community
Individual	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Scale Type	Spiritual	Native identity,
Likert-type	Secular	American Indian,
Rank order	Relationships	Alaskan Native
Multidimensional		

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23. CULTURAL VALUES AND BELIEFS SCALE AMONG DAKOTA/NAKOTA/LAKOTA PEOPLE

Reynolds, W. R., Quevillon, R. P., Boyd, B., & Mackey, D. (2006). Initial development of a cultural values and beliefs scale among Dakota/Nakota/Lakota people: a pilot study. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research: The Journal of the National Center*, 13, 70-93.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The Native American Cultural Values and Beliefs Scale is a 12-item instrument that assesses three dimensions of American Indian/Alaska Native values and beliefs: 1) the importance, 2) the frequency of practicing, and 3) the amount of distress caused by not practicing traditional values and beliefs. The initial project was targeted to Dakota/Nakota/Lakota people, though future scale development is intended to establish sufficient generality across several groups of American Indian and Alaska Native persons. The survey was administered to 37 Dakota/Nakota/Lakota adults. The results indicated high internal consistency with Cronbach's alphas of .897 for importance and .917 for practice. Small norm sample (n=37), would need to be validated for Native Hawaiians.

Format	Normed Sample	
Survey	American Indian,	Relationships
13 items	Alaskan Native	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Males and Females	Recognition from others
Self	Adult	Behaviors
		Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Intended	
Individual	Population of Use	Salient Domains
	American Indian,	Family, community,
Scale Type	Alaskan Native	culture
Likert-type	Males and Females	
Rank order	Adult	Search Keywords
Multidimensional	Topics Assessed	American Indian,
	Strengths	Alaskan Native, Cultural
	Spiritual	Beliefs and Values
	Secular	

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24. SPIRITUAL LIFE MAPS

Limb, G. E., & Hodge, D. R. (2007). Developing Spiritual life maps as a culture-centered pictorial instrument with Native American clients. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 17, 296.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description A spiritual lifemap assessment tool was modified by the authors for a Native American cultural context. To determine the relevancy and consistency of utilizing the modified assessment tool with Native American clients, 50 Native American experts reviewed, rated, and gave feedback on its use. Results indicated using a less linear, more circular, cyclical, and relational spiritual map. Involves chronological age mapping with life events, spiritual practices, from whom learned, what your faith teaches you about trials, spiritual mentors. List of example questions to operationalize spiritual maps in Table 3.

Format	Intended	
Open-ended	Population of Use	Native Hawaiian
	Diverse	knowledge
Perspective	Males and Females	Behaviors
Self	Adult	Attitudes/beliefs
		Knowledge
Subject Being Assessed	Topics Assessed	Salient Domains
Individual	Strengths	Work, family, peers,
	Spiritual	church, community
Scale Type	Relationships	
Multidimensional	Actualization/fulfillment	Search Keywords
	of potential	Spirituality, Native
Normed Sample	Leadership	American, American
Native American	Recognition from others	Indian, Cultural
Males and Females		competence
Adult		

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25. SENSE OF COHERENCE SCALE

Antonovsky, A. (1993). The structure and properties of the sense of coherence scale. *Social Science Medicine*, 36, 725-733.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The model’s core construct, the Sense of Coherence (SOC), was consciously formulated in terms which are thought to be applicable cross culturally. The SOC scale which operationalizes the construct (reactions under stress; comprehensibility, manageability, and meaningfulness) and is a 29-item semantic differential questionnaire, its design guided by Guttman’s facet theory. A 13-item version of the scale has also been used. In 26 studies using SOC-29 the Cronbach’s alpha measure of internal consistency has ranged from 0.82 to 0.95. The alphas of 16 studies using SOC-13 range from 0.74 to 0.91. The relatively few test-retest correlations show considerable stability, e.g. 0.54 over a 2-year period among retirees. The systematic procedure used in scale construction and examination of the final product by many colleagues points to a high level of content, face and consensual validity. The few data sets available point to a high level of construct validity. Criterion validity is examined by presenting correlational data between the SOC and measures in four domains: a global orientation to oneself and one’s environment (19 r’s); stressors (11 r’s); health, illness and wellbeing (32 r’s); attitudes and behavior (5 r’s). This is a review of the 13-question version.

Format	Normed Sample	Relationships
Survey	Diverse	Actualization/fulfillment
Open-ended	Males and Females	of potential
13 or 29 items	Adult	Attitudes/beliefs
Perspective	Intended	Salient Domains
Self	Population of Use	Self, family, peers
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Search Keywords
Individual	Males and Females	Coherence, Well-being
Scale Type	Adult	
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	
Multidimensional	Spiritual	
	Secular	

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26. MINDFUL ATTENTION AWARENESS SCALE (MAAS)

Brown, K. W., & Ryan, R. M. (2003). The benefits of being present: Mindfulness and its role in psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 822-848.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The MAAS is a 15-item scale designed to assess a core characteristic of dispositional mindfulness, namely, open or receptive awareness of and attention to what is taking place in the present. The scale shows strong psychometric properties and has been validated with college, community, and cancer patient samples. Correlational, quasi-experimental, and laboratory studies have shown that the MAAS taps a unique quality of consciousness that is related to, and predictive of, a variety of self-regulation and well-being constructs. The measure takes 10 minutes or less to complete.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Caucasian	Strengths
14 items	Males and Females	Spiritual
10 minutes	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended Population of Use	Behaviors
Self	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Individual	Adult	Self
Scale Type		Search Keywords
Likert-type		Mindfulness, Well-being

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27. THE CIVVICS OBSERVATION TOOL

Stolte, L. C., Isenbarger, M., & Cohen, A. K. (2014). *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues, and Ideas*, 87, 44–51.

Notes: See [Description Here](#). Reliability and validity information available.

Description CIVVICS’s four domains—Lesson Planning and Implementation, Classroom Interactions, Student Engagement, and Civic Empowerment—integrate awareness of classroom organization and student engagement with attention to how a classroom promotes students’ connections to civic goals and engages all students in positive interactions. This tool can be used to inform curricular implementation as well as professional development for interventions that promote democratic classroom climates and youth empowerment. High interrater reliability.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Observation	Diverse	of potential
Skills/Knowledge-based assessment	Males and Females	Leadership
Open-ended	College	Political power
12 items	Intended Population of Use	Recognition from others
Perspective	Diverse	Behaviors
Other	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	College	Knowledge
Group	Topics Assessed	Salient Domains
Scale Type	Spiritual	School, community
Multidimensional	Relationships	Search Keywords
		Civic engagement, Empowerment

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28. MY CULTURE, MY FAMILY, MY SCHOOL

McMahon, T. R., Kenyon, D. B., & Carter, J. S. (2013). “My culture, my family, my school”: Identifying strengths and challenges in the lives and communities of American Indian youth. *Journal of Child Family Studies*, 22, 694–706.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description This measure examine community assets, personal strengths, community challenges, and personal hardships as perceived by reservation-based, Northern Plains AI youth via four open-ended questions. The focus was 95 adolescents who self-identified their ethnic background as solely AI (85.3 %).The survey is qualitative, so there is no validity/reliability information. Overall the scale is four generic strengths-based questions not directly related to mana, but it does capture Indigenous families.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	American Indian	Spiritual
Open-ended	Males and Females	Relationships
4 items	Adolescence, College	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	American Indian	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Self, community
Individual and group	Adolescence, College	Search Keywords
Scale Type		American Indian, Indigenous
Multidimensional		

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29. ADULT HOPE SCALE (AHS)

Snyder, C. R., Harris, C., Anderson, J. R., Holleran, S. A., Irving, L. M., Sigmon, S. T., Yoshinobu, L., Gibb, J., Langell, C., & Harney, P. (1991). The will and the ways: Development and validation of an individual-differences measure of hope. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60, 570–585.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The Adult Hope Scale (AHS) measures Snyder’s cognitive model of hope which defines hope as “a positive motivational state that is based on an interactively derived sense of successful (a) agency (goal-directed energy), and (b) pathways (planning to meet goals)” (Snyder, Irving, & Anderson, 1991, p. 287). The Adult Hope Scale contains 12 items. Four items measure pathways thinking, four items measure agency thinking, and four items are fillers. Participants respond to each item using a 8-point scale ranging from definitely false to definitely true and the scale takes only a few minutes to complete. Factor analysis shows factors are not interchangeable. High reliabiliy (>.70) and validity. Normed on Iranian popuulations as well with high reliability (>.70) and validity. See Snyder (2002) for a review of hope theory and research.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Caucasian	Spiritual
12items	Males and Females	Secular
10 minutes	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Population of Use	
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Salient Domains
Individual	Males and Females	Self
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Likert-type		Hope, Well-being

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30. INSPIRATION SCALE (IS)

Thrash, T. M., & Elliot, A. J. (2003). Inspiration as a psychological construct. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 871-889.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The IS is a brief, face-valid measure of inspiration, a motivational resource that has been under-appreciated by psychologists. The measure consists of 4-item frequency and intensity subscales that may be combined into an overall inspiration scale. The IS has strong psychometric properties: it demonstrates a consistent two-factor structure, internal consistency, temporal stability, and measurement invariance across time and across populations. The IS also demonstrates strong evidence of construct validity and empirical utility: its nomological network includes openness to experience, intrinsic motivation, BAS, and creativity, as well as the holding of U.S. patents; the frequency and intensity subscales predict their corresponding dimensions in daily experience; and the scale predicts a range of positive consequences (openness to experience, work-mastery motivation, creativity, perceived competence, and self-determination) while controlling trait measures of these outcomes and trait positive affect. The IS takes a minute or two to complete.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Caucasian	Strengths
4 items	Males and Females	Spiritual
2 minutes	College	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Diverse	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Self
Individual	Adult	Search Keywords
Scale Type		Inspiration, Motivation
Likert-type		

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31. SATISFACTION WITH LIFE SCALE

Diener, E., Emmons, R. A., Larson, R. J., & Griffin, S. (1985). The satisfaction with life scale. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 49, 71-75.

Notes: See [Description Here](#). Reliability and validity information available.

Description The Satisfaction with Life Scale was developed to assess satisfaction with people’s lives as a whole. The scale does not assess satisfaction with specific life domains, such as health or finances, but allows subjects to integrate and weigh these domains in whatever way they choose. It takes only a few minutes to complete and is widely used globally (e.g. the government of Bhutan uses it to rate their “national happiness index”)

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Diverse	Spiritual
5 items	Males and Females	Secular
5 minutes	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Diverse	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Self
Individual	Adult	Search Keywords
Scale Type		Well-being
Likert-type		

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32. GRATITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE-6 (GQ-6)

McCullough, M. E., Emmons, R. A., & Tsang, J. (2002). The grateful disposition: A conceptual and empirical topography. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 112-127.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The GQ-6 is a short, self-report measure of the disposition to experience gratitude. Participants answer 6 items on a 1 to 7 scale (1 = “strongly disagree”, 7 = “strongly agree”). Two items are reverse-scored to inhibit response bias. The GQ-6 has good internal reliability, with alphas between .82 and .87, and there is evidence that the GQ-6 is positively related to optimism, life satisfaction, hope, spirituality and religiousness, forgiveness, empathy and prosocial behavior, and negatively related to depression, anxiety, materialism and envy. The GQ-6 takes less than 5 minutes to complete, but there is no time limit.

Format	Scale Type	Topics Assessed
Survey	Likert-type	Strengths
6 items	Normed Sample	Spiritual
5 minutes	Males and Females	Relationships
Perspective	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Self	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Salient Domains
Individual	Diverse	Self
	Males and Females	Search Keywords
	Adult	Gratitude, Well-being

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33. CURIOSITY AND EXPLORATION INVENTORY (CEI-II)

Kashdan, T. B., Gallagher, M. W., Silvia, P. J., Winterstein, B. P., Breen, W. E., Terhar, D., & Steger, M. F. (2009). The Curiosity and Exploration Inventory-II: Development, factor structure, and initial psychometrics. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 43, 987–998.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The CEI-II is a self-report instrument assessing individual differences in the recognition, pursuit, and integration of novel and challenging experiences and information. The CEI-II is a 10-item scale with two factors: the motivation to seek out knowledge and new experiences (Stretching; five items) and a willingness to embrace the novel, uncertain, and unpredictable nature of everyday life (Embracing; five items). The first factor, Exploration, refers to appetitive strivings for novel and challenging information and experiences. The second factor, Absorption, refers to the propensity to be deeply engaged in activities. Respondents rate items using a 7-point Likert-type scale. The CEI-II has good internal reliability ($>.70$), and shows moderately large positive relationships with intrinsic motivation, reward sensitivity, openness to experience, and subjective vitality. Moreover, the CEI-II has shown incremental validity over and above the overlapping constructs of positive affect and reward sensitivity. The CEI-II takes less than 2 minutes to complete, but there is no time limit. A state version of the CEI-II has also been validated, demonstrating sensitivity to change. It is a strengths-based, individual-based measure.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Diverse	Spiritual
10 items	Males and Females	Secular
5 minutes	College	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended	Behaviors
Self	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Salient Domains
Individual	Males and Females	Self, community
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Likert-type	College	Curiosity, Motivation, Openness to experience
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34. PERSONAL GROWTH INITIATIVE SCALE (PGIS)

Bartley, D. F. & Robitschek, C. (2000). Career exploration: A multivariate analysis of predictors. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 56, 63–81.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description The PGIS is a self-report instrument that yields a single scale score for personal growth initiative. Personal growth initiative is a person’s active and intentional involvement in changing and developing as a person. The PGIS consists of nine items that are rated on a Likert scale from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 6 = Strongly Agree. Item scores are summed to obtain a total PGI score. There is evidence that the PGIS is strongly positively related to psychological well-being and negatively related to psychological distress. Reliability (>.70) and validity evidence has been strong. The PGIS takes about 5 minutes to complete and there is no time limit.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Caucasian	Spiritual
10 items	Males and Females	Secular
5 minutes	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Diverse	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Self
Individual	Adult	Search Keywords
Scale Type		Well-being, Personal growth, Actualization
Likert-type		

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35. RATING TOOL ON HEALTH AND SOCIAL INDICATORS FOR USE WITH INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

Daniel, M., Cargo, M., Marks, E., Paquet, C., Simmons, D., Williams, M., Rowley, K., & O’Dea, K. (2009). Rating health and social indicators for use with indigenous communities: A tool for balancing cultural and scientific utility. *Social Indicator Research*, 94, 241-256.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description This study reports on the development and evaluation of a rating tool to assess the scientific utility and cultural appropriateness of community-level indicators for application with Indigenous populations. Indicator criteria proposed by the U.S. Institute of Medicine were culturally adapted through reviewing the literature and consultations with academic and Indigenous stakeholders. Pre-testing and collaborator feedback drove the iterative development of the tool with stakeholder groups in Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Australia. Pilot testing with 17 raters across countries involved rating the same selection of six health and social indicators using a six-point ordinal scale. The final version of the rating tool includes 16 questions within three criterion domains: importance, soundness, and viability. Good internal consistency and excellent interrater reliability. Good face validity, content validity, and discriminant validity.

Format	Normed Sample	Relationships
Survey	Indigenous	Actualization/fulfillment
18 items	Males and Females	of potential
Perspective	Adult	Leadership
Other	Intended	Recognition from others
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Group	Indigenous	Knowledge
Scale Type	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Likert-type	Adult	Organizations
Multidimensional	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
	Spiritual	Indigenous, Health,
	Secular	Well-being

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36. HAWAIIAN INDIGENOUS EDUCATION RUBRIC

Kanaiaupuni, S. M., & Kawaiaaea, K. C. (2008). E Lauhoe Mai Nā Wa'a: Toward a Hawaiian Indigenous Education Teaching Framework. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 5, 67-91.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description A process tool for assessing the degree to which teachers are using Native Hawaiian indigenous knowledge and practice in their curriculum. Including cultural practice, bringing in elders, cultural values, Hawaiian language, community events, and cultural based knowledge and stewardship. This rubric is very specific to evaluating a teachers use of Native Hawaiian knowledge in the curriculum and student's learning of Native Hawaiian culture. Reliability and validity information not available.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Hawaii residents	of potential
Observation	Males and Females	Leadership
Skills/Knowledge-based	Adolescence	Political power
assessment		Recognition from others
16 items	Intended	Native Hawaiian
	Population of Use	knowledge
Perspective	Native Hawaiian/	Behaviors
Self	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
	Males and Females	Knowledge
Subject Being Assessed	Adolescence	
Individual		Salient Domains
	Topics Assessed	School
Scale Type	Spiritual	
Likert-type	Secular	Search Keywords
Multidimensional	Relationships	Native Hawaiian,
		Cultural knowledge,
		Stewardship

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Contact Education Northwest: <http://educationnorthwest.org/resources/indigenous-culture-based-education-rubrics>

37. PERSONAL SOCIAL CAPITAL SCALE

Chen, X., Stanton, B., Gong, J., Fang, X. & Li, X. (2009), Personal social capital scale: An instrument for health and behavioral research. *Health Education Research*, 24, 306–317.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description The purpose of this study is to develop the ‘Personal Social Capital Scale’ for quantitative survey studies of social factors that are related to health and behavior. The instrument contained 10 composite items based on 42 items for assessing personally owned social capital, including bonding and bridging capitals. The instrument was assessed using cross-sectional survey data collected among 128 participants (64 women) with a participation rate of 95%. Results from correlation and confirmatory factor analysis indicated adequate reliability and internal consistency. The mean score of the scale was 25.9 (SD 5.2) for total social capital, 15.2 (SD 3.0) for bonding social capital and 10.8 (SD 3.4) for bridging social capital. The scale scores significantly predicted a number of theoretically related factors, including people skills, being sociable, social capital investment, informational support, instrumental support, emotional support and collective efficacy. This instrument provides a new tool for cross-cultural research to assess personally owned social capital. A unique scale in that it is more collectivistic and relationship focused.

Format	Normed Sample	Relationships
Survey	American, Chinese	Actualization/fulfillment
42 items	Males and Females	of potential
	College	Recognition from others
Perspective	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Population of Use	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Work, family, peers,
Individual	Males and Females	neighborhood, commu-
Scale Type	Adult	nity, nation
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Multidimensional	Spiritual	Health, Well-being
	Secular	

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38. GROWTH AND EMPOWERMENT MEASURE (GEM)

Haswell, M. R., Kavanagh, D., Tsey, K., Reilly, L., Cadet-James, Y., Laliberte, A., Wilson, A., & Doran, C. (2010). Psychometric validation of the growth and empowerment measure (GEM) applied with Indigenous Australians. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 44, 791-799.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description A measure developed to capture change in dimensions of empowerment as defined and described by Aboriginal Australians. The measure includes: 14-item Emotional Empowerment Scale (EES14) and 12 Scenarios. It also includes two questions about angry and happy feelings. The measure was normed on 184 Aboriginal Australians involved in social health activities. Results indicated a two factor measure on the EES: Self-Capacity and Inner Peace. For the scenarios: Healing and Enabling Growth, Connection and Purpose. Overall it is an empowerment, strengths based measure normed with indigenous populations. Internal consistency >.70 across domains. Good validity with factor analysis showing a two-factor structure.

Format	Normed Sample	
Survey	Aboriginal Australians	Relationships
Open-ended	Males and Females	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
24 items	Adult	Leadership
		Attitudes/beliefs
Perspective	Intended	
Self	Population of Use	Salient Domains
	Aboriginal	Work, family, peers,
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	health, self, community
Individual	Adult	
		Search Keywords
Scale Type	Topics Assessed	Empowerment,
Likert-type	Strengths	Aboriginal, Indigenous,
Multidimensional	Spiritual	Well-being
	Secular	

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39. SYNERGY SCALE

Jones, J., & Barry, M. (2011). Developing a scale to measure synergy in health promotion partnerships. *IUHPE - Global Health Promotion*, 18, 36–44.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description This scale was developed to assess synergy in health promotion partnerships. It was a robust national study with 5 focus groups for scale development and .91 Cronbach’s alpha. It measures performance and direct experience of organizational partnerships. There are 8 Likert scale questions. This is a unique scale because it looks at relationships between health promoting organizations and their synergy—how they improve outcomes through partnerships.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Males and Females	of potential
8 items	Adult	Leadership
Perspective	Intended	Political power
Other	Population of Use	Recognition from others
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Behaviors
Group	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Scale Type	Adult	Salient Domains
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Partnerships
Multidimensional	Strengths	Search Keywords
	Spiritual	Health promotion,
	Relationships	Partnerships

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40. DEATH TRANSCENDENCE SCALE

VandeCreek, L., & Nye, C. (1993). Testing the Death Transcendence Scale. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 32(3), 279-283.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description A 26-item scale with the following subscales: Mysticism, Religious, Nature, Creative and Biosocial. Cronbach’s alpha was .79 and .74 in two studies with hospital and community-based samples. Assesses the extent to which one believes that “death is transcended through identification with phenomena more enduring than oneself” (p. 279). Taps into some salient domains of legacy, nature, transcendence.

Format	Normed Sample	
Survey	Males and Females	Relationships
26 items	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended	Recognition from others
Self	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Salient Domains
Individual	Males and Females	Self
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Death, Transcendence,
Multidimensional	Strengths	Spirituality
	Spiritual	

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41. THE CONNECTEDNESS TO NATURE SCALE

Mayer, S.F. & Frantz, C.M. (2004). Connectedness to nature scale: A measure of individuals' feeling in community with nature. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 24, 503-5515.

Notes: Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Five studies assessed the validity and reliability of the connectedness to nature scale (CNS), a new measure of individuals' trait levels of feeling emotionally connected to the natural world. Data from two community and three college samples demonstrated that the CNS has good psychometric properties, correlates with related variables (the new environmental paradigm scale, identity as an environmentalist), and is uncorrelated with potential confounds (verbal ability, social desirability). Good convergent and discriminant validity and alpha coefficient all above .82. Supports ecopsychologists' contention that connection to nature is an important predictor of ecological behavior and subjective wellbeing. The CNS promises to be a useful empirical tool for research on the relationship between humans and the natural world. Could be used to assess environmental stewardship.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Males and Females	Strengths
14 items	College	Spiritual
Perspective	Intended	Relationships
Self	Population of Use	Actualization/fulfillment
Subject Being	Diverse	of potential
Assessed	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Adult	Salient Domains
Scale Type	College	Self
Likert-type		Search Keywords
		Environmental
		connectedness, Nature

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42. PLACE ATTACHMENT INVENTORY

Semken, S., & Freeman, C. (2008). Sense of place in the practice and assessment of place-based science teaching. *Science Education*, 92, 1042-1057.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description This measure was developed for geoscience courses in Arizona and is specific to that place but is easily adapted. No validity and reliability information available in this article. The actual scale is a 12-item measure. The PAI is intended to measure place attachment, which is an affective (emotional) response to places that may influence geoscience learning, and which may vary with factors such as ethnicity, culture, and experience. This measure looks at the connection between self and place. Possibly could be used, for example, for assessment of connection to particular ahapua'a, mauna, and other contested places.

Format	Normed Sample	Relationships
Survey	College	Actualization/fulfillment
12 items	Intended	of potential
Perspective	Population of Use	Political power
Self	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Individual	Adult	Self
Scale Type	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Strengths	Environmental
	Spiritual	connectedness, Nature

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43. NATURE RELATEDNESS SCALE

Nisbet, E. K. L., Zelenski, J. M., & Murphy, S. A. (2009). The Nature Relatedness Scale: Linking individuals’ connection with nature to environmental concern and behavior. *Environment and Behavior*, 41, 715–740.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description 21-item measure that looks at connection to nature and caring for the ‘aina. Gets at environmental stewardship. Validity and reliability info not available in this article. It is based on beliefs more than behaviors of one’s relationship with nature. Would need to be adapted to use Native Hawaiian knowledge and terms, but gets at the important relationship of caring for the ‘aina and environmental stewardship.

Format	Normed Sample	
Survey	Males and Females	Secular
21 items	Adult	Relationships
	College	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Population of Use	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Self
Self	Males and Females	
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Survey	College	Environmental connectedness,
	Topics Assessed	Stewardship, Nature
	Spiritual	

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44. SERVANT LEADERSHIP
ASSESSMENT INSTRUMENT

Dennis, R., & Bocarena, M. (2005). Development of the servant leadership assessment instrument. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 26, 600-615.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description Building upon Patterson’s servant leadership theory, this study aims to present an instrument to measure the constructs of this working theory (identified as agape love, humanity, altruism, vision, trust, service, and empowerment). Three separate data collections were used for the development of this instrument reducing the 71-item scale to 42 items yielding five factors: empowerment, love, humility, trust, and vision. This is a multidimensional comprehensive leadership measure. Could be adapted to Native Hawaiian leadership through the Native Hawaiian leadership scale. Good face and content validity. Internal consistency above .70. Unique in that it is an observational rather than self-assessment.

Format	Normed Sample	Actualization/fulfillment
Survey	Unknown	of potential
Observation		Leadership
25 items	Intended	Political power
10 minutes	Population of Use	Recognition from others
	Diverse	Behaviors
Perspective	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Other	Adult	
Subject Being Assessed	Topics Assessed	Salient Domains
Individual	Strengths	Work, organizational
	Spiritual	
Scale Type	Secular	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Relationships	Leadership, Community
Multidimensional		service

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45. APACHE HOPEFULNESS SCALE

Hammond, V. B. S., Watson, P. J., O’Leary, B., & Cothran, L. (2009). Preliminary assessment of Apache hopefulness: Relationships with hopelessness and with collective as well as personal self-esteem. *American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research*, 16, 42–51.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Hopelessness is central to prominent mental health problems within American Indian (AI) communities. Apaches living on a reservation in Arizona responded to diverse expressions of hope along with Hopelessness, Personal Self-Esteem, and Collective Self-Esteem scales. An Apache Hopefulness Scale expressed five themes of hope and correlated negatively with Hopelessness and positively with both Collective and Personal Self-Esteem. These data confirmed the potential of conducting more extensive analyses of hope within AI tribal life. Cronbach’s Alpha .87

Format Survey 14 items	Normed Sample American Indian (Apache) Males and Females Adult	Secular Relationships Actualization/fulfillment of potential Leadership Attitudes/beliefs
Perspective Self	Intended Population of Use American Indian Males and Females Adult	Salient Domains Work, education, community
Subject Being Assessed Individual	Topics Assessed Strengths Spiritual	Search Keywords American Indian, Alaskan Native, Well-being
Scale Type Likert-type Multidimensional		

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46. SPIRITUAL ECOGRAMS

Hodge, D. R. (2005). Spiritual ecomaps: A new assessment instrument for identifying client’s strengths in space and across time. *Families in Society*, 86, 287.
Hodge, D. R. & Williams, T. R. (2002), Assessing African-American spirituality with spiritual ecomaps, *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 83, 585–595.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description A new instrument focusing on spirituality, using spiritual ecomaps and genograms in a single diagram. Depicts the connections between past and present functioning. Used as an assessment and as a possible intervention. Validity and reliability info not available. Second article includes questions used to guide the assessment. Involves drawing and questioning. It is meant to be used as an assessment and an intervention in outpatient settings.

Format	Normed Sample	Secular
Open-ended		Relationships
Perspective	Intended	Actualization/fulfillment
Self	Population of Use	of potential
	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	
Individual	Adult	Salient Domains
		Self
Scale Type	Topics Assessed	
Multidimensional	Strengths	Search Keywords
	Religious	Spirituality
	Spiritual	

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47. SPIRITUAL HISTORY

Hodge, D. R. (2001). Spiritual assessment: A review of major qualitative methods and a new framework for assessing spirituality. *Social Work, 46*, 203.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description A qualitative spiritual assessment instrument using a multidimensional framework. Includes a spiritual history where clients relate their spiritual life history (like a family history) and an interpretive framework for eliciting the strengths in their spirituality history. Domains discussed include: Affect, Behavior, Cognition, Communion, Conscience, and Intuition. It is strengths based, client centered, spirituality focused, and qualitative. It is meant to be used as an assessment and an intervention in outpatient settings.

Format	Normed Sample	Relationships
Open-ended	Unknown	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Perspective	Intended	Leadership
Self	Population of Use	Recognition from others
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Behaviors
Individual	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Scale Type	Adult	Salient Domains
Multidimensional	Topics Assessed	Self
	Strengths	Search Keywords
	Religious	Spirituality
	Spiritual	

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48. SPIRITUAL LIFEMAPS

Hodge, D. R. (2005). Spiritual lifemaps: A client-centered pictorial instrument for spiritual assessment, planning, and intervention. *Social Work, 50*, 77-88.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description This article introduces and orients practitioners to the spiritual lifemap, a pictorial representation that can be used for spiritual assessment. The instrument facilitates a smooth transition from assessment to exploring and planning interventions. The author provides a case study and suggestions on how to use the instrument in clinical settings. A number of common spiritual interventions, drawn from a wide variety of theoretical approaches, are highlighted. The author discusses several applications and possible value conflicts that may arise when assessing spirituality. This is a qualitative, open-ended spiritual mapping exercise. No validity and reliability information.

Format	Normed Sample	Religious
Open-ended	Diverse	Spiritual
Perspective	Males and Females	Relationships
Self	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Subject Being Assessed	Intended Population of Use	Behaviors
Individual	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Scale Type	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Multidimensional	Adult	Self
	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
	Strengths	Spirituality

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49. MEASURING PUBLIC SERVICE MOTIVATION

Perry, J. L. (1996). Measuring public service motivation: An assessment of construct reliability and validity. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 6, 5-22.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description This research advances the study of these assertions by creating a scale to measure public service motivation. Public service motivation (PSM) represents an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions. The construct is associated conceptually with six dimensions: attraction to public policy making, commitment to the public interest, civic duty, social justice, self-sacrifice, and compassion. Likert-type items are developed for each dimension to create the PSM scale. The measurement theory for the scale is tested using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Overall internal consistency .90. Internal consistency for the four subscales ranged from .69-.74. Did not discriminate between social justice and public service. Good overall face and construct validity. Looks at beliefs regarding motivation to serve the public good.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Diverse	Spiritual
35 items	Males and Females	Secular
Perspective	Adult	Relationships
Self	College	Actualization/fulfillment of potential
Subject Being Assessed	Intended Population of Use	Leadership
Individual	Diverse	Political power
Scale Type	Males and Females	Attitudes/beliefs
Binary	Adult	Salient Domains
Multidimensional	College	Work, community
		Search Keywords
		Motivation, Community service, Leadership

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50. COMMUNITY SERVICE ATTITUDES SCALE

Shiarella, A., McCarthy, A., & Tucker, M. (2000), Development and construct validity of scores on the community service attitudes scale. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 60, 286-300.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description This study reports the multistage development of the Community Service Attitudes Scale (CSAS), an instrument for measuring college students’ attitudes about community service. The CSAS was developed based on Schwartz’s helping behavior model. Scores on the scales of the CSAS yielded strong reliability evidence (coefficient alphas ranging from .72 to .93). Principal components analysis yielded results consistent with the Schwartz model. In addition, the CSAS scale scores were positively correlated with gender, college major, community service experience, and intentions to engage in community service. Could be useful for non-profits and educational institutions wanting to assess level of community service engagement.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Caucasian	Spiritual
Perspective	Males and Females	Secular
Self	College	Relationships
Subject Being Assessed	Intended	Actualization/fulfillment
Individual	Population of Use	of potential
	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Scale Type	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Likert-type	Adult	Community
Multidimensional	College	Search Keywords
		Community service,
		Leadership

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51. MULTIDIMENSIONAL SCALE OF PERCEIVED SOCIAL SUPPORT

Zimet, G., Dahlem, N., Zimet, S., & Farley, G. (1988). The multidimensional scale of perceived social support. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 52, 30–41.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description A multidimensional self-report measure of subjectively assessed social support normed on undergraduate college students. Looks at family, friends, and significant other. Good test-retest reliability and moderate construct validity. Internal consistency .88. High levels were associated with low levels of depression. Not exactly related to mana, but an important strengths based assessment of social support and the positive power that comes from a connection to family, friends, and significant others. Does not include social support from larger community, organizations, or work. Also does not include social support given.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	Caucasian	Spiritual
12 items	Males and Females	Secular
	College	Relationships
Perspective	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Self	Population of Use	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Relationships
Individual	Males and Females	
Scale Type	Adult	Search Keywords
Likert-type	College	Well-being, Social support
Multidimensional		

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52. SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTROL SCALE

Zimmerman, M. A., & Zahniser, J. H. (1991). Refinements of sphere-specific measures of perceived control: Development of a sociopolitical control scale. *Journal of Community Psychology, 19*, 189-203.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description An integrative measure of sociopolitical control. 17-items looked at Leadership Competence and Policy Control. Can be used for individuals or organizations. The psychometric properties of the two subscales are acceptable and replicate across three samples that differ in age, life stage, and geographic location but compare in socioeconomic status. Construct validity is good correlating with alienation and leadership. Internal consistency >.70. A unique measure looking at empowerment and disempowerment at a political level.

Format	Caucasian	Relationships
Survey	Males and Females	Actualization/fulfillment
17 items	College	of potential
Perspective	Intended	Leadership
Self	Population of Use	Political power
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Scale Type	Adult	Leadership, work,
Likert-type	College	organizations
Multidimensional	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Normed Sample	Spiritual	Leadership, Political
African American,	Secular	power

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53. SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING SCALE

Paloutzian, R. F., & Ellison, C. W. (1982). Loneliness, spiritual well-being, and quality of life. In L. A. Peplau & D. Perlman (Eds.). *Loneliness: A sourcebook of current theory, research and therapy*. New York: Wiley.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Most widely used; three dimensional factor structure; revised version is less likely to have ceiling effect in highly religious populations; ethnic differences found (Caucasian and African American); positive correlation with parent-adolescent communication, self-esteem, going through 12-step outpatient programs, not being a child of an alcoholic, intrinsic religious orientation, less problems associated with living with chronic illness and uncertainty, being an older, married, or Catholic (cancer) patient; going through therapy for perfectionism, not experiencing sexual abuse, hardiness, self-esteem, and coping; low death anxiety, being in a healthcare profession; another article cites it as having a two dimensions (religious and existential well-being); has been noted as having a Judeo-Christian bias (Fulton & Carson, 1995). Established internal consistency, positive association with spirituality measures; 2 scales, 20 items. Good face validity. Test-Retest reliability >.78. Highly studied and widely used with diverse individuals; unique in that it has existential well-being, not just religious well-being.

Format	Normed Sample	Topics Assessed
Survey	African American,	Strengths
20 items	Caucasian	Religious
	Males and Females	Spiritual
Perspective	Adult	Actualization/fulfillment
Self		of potential
Subject Being Assessed	Intended	Attitudes/beliefs
Individual	Population of Use	
	Diverse	Salient Domains
Scale Type	Males and Females	Self
Likert-type	Adult	
Multidimensional		Search Keywords
		Spirituality, Well-being

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<http://www.lifeadvance.com/spiritual-well-being-scale.html>

54. SCANLAN WELL-BEING SURVEY

Scanlan, K. (2012). *The relationship of cultural affiliation, cultural congruency to depression, anxiety and psychological well-being among Native Hawaiians* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Columbia University: New York.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description A comprehensive survey that takes different existing scales to look at the relationship between Native Hawaiian cultural affiliation and psychological well-being. Don't have full dissertation but it looks like scales include: satisfaction with life scale, Hawaii Culture Scale, Na Mea Hawaii Scale. No validity and reliability information available. Predominately combines various scales reviewed above. A good example of combining measures, including Western and Native Hawaiian assessments.

Format	Intended	
Survey	Population of Use	Behaviors
	Native Hawaiian	Attitudes/beliefs
Perspective	Males and Females	Knowledge
Self	Adult	Salient Domains
Subject Being Assessed	College	School, culture, community
Individual	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Scale Type	Spiritual	Native Hawaiian cultural
Likert-type	Relationships	affiliation, Well-being
Multidimensional	Actualization/fulfillment of potential	
Normed Sample	Leadership	
Native Hawaiian	Political power	
Males and Females	Native Hawaiian knowledge	
Adult		

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55. MEASUREMENT OF POLITICAL
OPINION LEADERSHIP

Singleton, G., & Andersen, P. A. (1980, February). *The measurement of political opinion leadership*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western Speech Communication Association, Portland, OR.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description A 28-item self-report instrument designed to measure of political opinion leadership that is measured on a Likert-type scale. IT covers seven concepts related to politics: 1) the government, 2) political advice, 3) current political events, 4) political information, 5) elections, 6) current political issues, and 7) political opinions. There are four items per dimension. It was validated with U.S. high school and college students and show the MOPOL has face, discriminant, convergent, and predictive validity. Alpha coefficients ranged from .89 to .93. The measure was correlated in expected directions with political interest and involvement, extroversion, media exposure, and communication apprehension. Expected gender differences were found in that males were significantly more likely than females to be political opinion leaders; however gender only accounted for 2% variation. The construct is based on the idea that opinion leadership includes both active (gives opinion unsolicited) and passive (is asked for opinion) leadership. Example items include “I seldom provide information about politics for my friends;” “People rarely ask my opinion about government;” “Frequently, my friends ask me for political information.”

Format	Normed Sample	Relationships
Survey	Males and Females	Leadership
28 items	Adolescence, college	Political power
Perspective	Intended	Recognition from others
Self	Population of Use	Behaviors
Subject Being Assessed	Diverse	Salient Domains
Individual	Males and Females	Self, peers
Scale Type	Adolescence, College	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Topics Assessed	Political power,
Multidimensional	Spiritual	Leadership
	Secular	

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56. ROLE FOR THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CHURCH IN URBAN SCHOOL REFORM SURVEY

Middleton, J. A. (2001). A role for the African American church in urban school reform. *Urban Education*, 36, 426-437.

Notes: *Discussion in Narrative. Reliability and validity information available.*

Description This eight-item survey was developed to assess 75 African American church leaders' perceptions of the role of the African American church in urban school reform. The questions are open-ended, focus on education, and provide qualitative information about most important issues in their community in the last six years, issues particularly important to the African American community, what the church leadership has done in relationship to the issues, the influence and effectiveness of the church on the issues, what issues will be important in the future, the strengths of the church, impediments to playing more prominent roles, and critical events in the past six years. These questions may lend themselves to understanding processes related to indigenous or ethnic organizations that exert power in their communities. Unique in that it looks at organizational efficacy and the ability for a disempowered group to exert policy changes.

Format	Normed Sample	Leadership
Survey	African American	Political power
Open-ended	Intended	Behaviors
8 items	Population of Use	Attitudes/beliefs
Perspective	African American,	Salient Domains
Self	Other ethnic minorities	Politics
Subject Being Assessed	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Scale Type	Spiritual	Political power,
	Secular	Leadership

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57. POLITICAL SKILL INVENTORY

Ferris, G. R., Treadway, D. C., Kolodinsky, R. W., Hochwarter, W. A., Kacmar, C. J., Douglas, C., & Fink, D. D. (2005). Development and validation of the Political Skill Inventory. *Journal of Management*, 31, 126-152.

Notes: See Description Here. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Political skill is defined as “the ability to effectively understand others at work, and to use such knowledge to influence others to act in ways that enhance one’s personal and/or organizational objectives” (Ahearn, Ferris, Hochwarter, Douglas, & Ammeter, 2004, p. 311). The PSI is 18 items and assesses four dimensions on a 7-point Likert-type scale: social astuteness (observers of others and attuned to diverse social situations); interpersonal influence (able to influence others); networking ability (develops and utilizes diverse networks of people); apparent sincerity (appear to others as having integrity, authenticity, sincerity, and genuineness). This measure was tested in seven studies to demonstrate validity and reliability (estimates are > .70). It is associated with social skills and emotional intelligence and work performance ratings. Example items include “It is important that people believe I am sincere in what I say and do;” “I am good at building relationships with influential people at work;” “I understand people very well;” “I understand people very well.”

Format	Normed Sample	Secular
Survey	Caucasian	Relationships
18 items	Males and Females	Leadership
Perspective	Adult College	Political power
Self	Intended	Recognition from others
Subject Being Assessed	Population of Use	Behaviors
Individual	African American,	Attitudes/beliefs
Scale Type	Caucasian, Hispanic	Salient Domains
Likert-type	Males and Females	Self, Work
Multidimensional	Adult College	Search Keywords
	Topics Assessed	Political power,
	Spiritual	Leadership

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58. OTHER-REPORTS OF POLITICAL SKILL

Meurs, J. A., Gallagher, V. C., & Perrewe, P. L. (2010). The role of political skill in the stressor-outcome relationship: Differential predictions for self- and other-reports of political skill. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 76, 520–533.

Notes: See *Description Here*. Reliability and validity information available.

Description Authors adapted the Political Skill Inventory (Ferris et al., 2005) so that supervisors could report on their employees. Supervisors were asked to rate how much they agreed with statements concerning a particular employee. Statements were altered to begin with “s/he” instead of “I.” The correlation of self-reported and supervisor-reported political skill was .30 ($p < .01$) for a sample of non-academic staff employees at a large university in the southeastern U.S. and .20 ($p < .05$) for employees at an automotive group in the southeastern U.S. Results indicate that the self-report and other-report measures are correlated but also account for unique variance in the construct. This is an observational tool.

Format	Normed Sample	
Observation	Males and Females	Relationships
18 items	Adult	Leadership
		Political power
Perspective	Intended	Recognition from others
Other	Population of Use	Behaviors
	Diverse	Attitudes/beliefs
Subject Being Assessed	Males and Females	Salient Domains
Individual	Adult	Work, supervisee
Scale Type	Topics Assessed	Search Keywords
Likert-type	Spiritual	Political power,
Multidimensional	Secular	Leadership

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Appendix I. Focus Group Protocol

1. INTRODUCTION TO FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups are a form of group interview that has the advantage of facilitating a rich dialogue among research participants and is typically used to collect qualitative data (Kitzinger, 1995). In the discussion, participants can learn and build from one another's comments. For example, hearing something one participant says can springboard comments from another participant, revealing in-depth information about a concept, construct, or program. Group interaction is a key component in this method (Kitzinger). Focus groups are useful for exploring personal and group knowledge and understanding experiences, often answering the how and why questions (Kitzinger).

2. FOCUS GROUPS FOR THE CURRENT PROJECT

For the current project, focus groups will be conducted to engage Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander participants with cultural and historical knowledge about *mana*, its meanings and representation in their lives and communities. The goal of this project is to further understanding of what *mana* means in contemporary Native Hawaiian culture. In addition, there are process goals for the focus groups:

- 1) Create spaces where participants are able to share their knowledge and perspectives on *mana*.
- 2) Gather as diverse a set of responses as possible—the intent is not to seek a “right” answer, but a plethora of answers and perspectives with the assumption that the most common or frequently occurring responses are not necessarily the “best” or “truest” responses.
- 3) Create positive momentum for the Kūkulu Hou Project in which the focus group portion of the project sits. Participants should leave thinking that this project is worthwhile and feel good about contributing in a way that enables them to support the effort going forward.
- 4) Initiate a chain reaction of people tapping into their *mana* in positive ways. These focus groups have the potential to get participants talking and thinking more about *mana* in their own settings, and thereby, get others to do the same.

3. PARTICIPANTS

Participants will be recruited from a list generated by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, the project Advisory Board, and McREL International. The recruitment list includes representatives from Native Hawaiian-serving organizations, leaders within the Native Hawaiian community, academic professionals who are subject-matter experts with knowledge of Hawaiian language, culture, and history, as well as Pacific Islanders who are cultural experts or scholars. Participants were chosen based on their perceived ability to provide insight on the construct of *mana*, because *mana* is relevant to them individually and reflective of their expertise. Focus group size will be approximately six to ten members. Groups will be homogenous with respect to affiliation and gender, age and/or level of cultural understanding (e.g., one focus group will consist solely of female Hawaiian community leaders). We anticipate conducting up to 12 focus groups.

4. PARTICIPANT GROUPING

Participant groups were chosen based, in part, on their social, cultural, and professional roles as well as the composition of each group. We focused on groupings that would bring out cooperation and creativity more than conflict, competition, or a tendency to argue about who or what is right. We also created groups that would create a space where particular perspectives would best be given voice. For example, individuals who view *mana* through a Christian lens may have maximized participation by being in a group with others who have similar rather than different religious beliefs. Two groups were organized around a particularly esteemed and loea kūpuna (Pua Kanahele and Larry Kimura) with individuals who trained or worked under them to create the best space that would elicit contributions from elders. Participant groups consist of the following:

- Pacific Islanders
- Kūpuna
- Academic scholars—male and female groups
- Non-Native Hawaiians who were trained by Native Hawaiians in cultural practices
- Native Hawaiians who identify as Christians
- Artists and musicians
- Ni‘ihau residents

- Native Hawaiian serving organization leaders
- Cultural practitioners
- Hawaiian language groups
(one each led by Larry Kimura and Pua Kanahele)

5. PROCEDURE AND ANALYSIS

RECRUITMENT

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs will send invitations to participants electronically with a participant guide that explains Kūkulu Hou and the focus groups in more detail; invitations will provide a description of the project and the reason participants were asked to join a focus group. Follow-up e-mails will provide dates, times, and locations, based upon the respective focus group, per participants' characteristics and preferences. Each participant also will be encouraged to bring a representation of *mana* (e.g., photo, chant, song, prayer, etc.), if desired, which he or she will share in the discussion.

SETTING AND LOCATION

Focus groups will be conducted at public locations convenient to participants in the Honolulu area. Locations include the following :

Honorarium and Makana

Participants will be reimbursed for travel (air and ground transportation) outside of O'ahu to the focus group location. Additionally, they will receive a \$300 honorarium[1], handmade makana and a Native Hawaiian plant.

Procedures

McREL will subcontract with local researchers to facilitate and take notes in the focus groups. McREL staff will serve as note takers as well. All focus groups will be videotaped by 'Ōiwi; participants will be notified of recording in their invitations and consent forms. The facilitator will notify the group videotaping will begin prior to any recording. If participants do not wish to be videotaped, they will be given space outside of the video frame. At that point, the facilitator will go through the informed consent. All participants who sign the consent will then be put in the video frame; any individuals who do not provide written consent will not be allowed to participate. Once participants have signed and returned consent forms to the facilitator, the facilitator will begin the videotaped focus

group. The facilitator will use a script to guide the conversation. If Hawaiian language is used by participants, the facilitator will paraphrase into English for the other participants if it is determined that one or more is not fluent in Hawaiian. The note takers and facilitator will have a debrief meeting after each focus group to clarify any information recorded during the session. All data recorded by video will be transcribed and translated by local subcontractors. Identifying information, such as names and affiliations, will be removed by the transcribers. English transcripts will be submitted to McREL for analysis. McREL will analyze the data with qualitative software, looking for themes regarding contexts in which people talk about *mana* and how they frame their views on its properties, maintenance, acquisition, and inheritance.

Facilitator Script

[INSERT GREETING APPROPRIATE FOR EACH GROUP] Aloha mai kākou. Mahalo for being here today. [Introduce yourself and describe your role in the project]. Your thoughts and opinions are important to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and McREL in understanding what mana means to you and your community. Thank you in advance for your willingness to participate in this conversation. Staff from McREL are present, taking notes, but will not record any identifying information. I will record [video or audio, whichever is decided prior to the focus group] our conversation to generate an exact record of your comments. Your comments will remain confidential. If, at any time, you would like for me to stop the recording, please let me know. The recording will be transcribed by XX, and identifying information, such as names and affiliations, will be removed from the transcripts before giving the transcripts to McREL for analysis. In reports and publications, comments will be quoted or summarized without reference to individual identifying information. Do you have any questions for me before we begin? [pause for 6 to 10 seconds for response; make sure to have signed consent from participants]

To give you a quick overview: The conversation should last approximately three hours. First, we will talk about *mana* and how you define it. If you brought a photo, object, or other item with you, please feel free to include it in your sharing. We want to understand how the items represent *mana* from your perspective. Next, we will ask about *mana* in the context of strengthening our people.

The exciting thing about having a group of people together to discuss a topic is that you can build upon one another's ideas, or someone else's comment may inspire your own comment. We want to create a respectful environment that really values your time and contributions. My role as a facilitator is to help move the conversation along and to ask questions that help make sure we understand your ideas. We want to bring out lots of different ideas more than find the "one right idea." Our goal is to make sure that you all have an opportunity to share your *mana'o* and perspectives with each other and us, the study team.

[start recording]

Two major questions will guide the discussions:

- 1) What is *mana*?
- 2) How do we access and cultivate the *mana* of our people?

Facilitators will use probes and group activities, such as listening to an *oli* or sharing an item brought by a group member, to prompt discussion.

6. PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORM

Kūkulu Hou

Aloha mai,

You have been asked to take part in this focus group as part of a project to understand how *mana* is defined and represented by Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. This project is sponsored by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). As part of this effort, McREL International, a private, non-profit research organization, has been asked to collect by OHA data about *mana* and its contemporary significance to participants, in addition to conducting a literature study on how *mana* has been described historically, through *mo'olelo* and other sources. You have been asked to participate because of your expertise. We invite you to take part in a discussion on what *mana* is and how it is defined by you and others. We will ask questions about your understanding of *mana* and how it is accessed, lost, and changed. The focus group will be videotaped and transcribed to text, removing any identifying information (e.g., names). The discussion will be videotaped only if all participants agree to be recorded. You may ask that recording be stopped at any time or leave the focus group at any time. We anticipate the focus groups to last approximately two hours.

The transcribed text from this focus group will be provided to McREL and used to help identify what *mana* means from the current Hawaiian and Pacific Islander perspective. McREL will not receive the audio tape, so no identifying information will be disclosed to McREL. By signing this consent form, you are consenting to participate in this focus group. The focus group will last approximately three hours.

Confidentiality

The information gathered during this focus group will be kept *confidential*. Although McREL will never link your name to what you say, we are unable to guarantee confidentiality due to the fact that your participation in this portion of the evaluation entails the collection of information in a group setting. Your name will not be used in any study reports unless you give explicit consent to do so. If you give consent for your name to be associated with the project, you will only be credited with contribution, but your specific contribution will not be identified. We may quote what is said in a report, but we will not name the source of the comment or include any information that might identify the source. All data files (notes) will be kept secure during the study and destroyed after five years or the end of the study.

There are two exceptions to the conditions of privacy. First, if information is shared about harm/threat of harm to self or others or about child abuse and neglect, the law requires that it be reported to the proper authorities. Second, should any information in this study be the subject of a court order or lawful subpoena, the research staff may be required to comply with the order or subpoena. However, be assured that the purpose of this focus group is to discuss issues related to *mana* and what it means to you and others, and we do not anticipate encountering any situations that reflect these conditions.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known risks or benefits related to your participation in the focus group, although the study will assist the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in providing support to Hawaiians through greater understanding of *mana* and what it means to those who participate.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you can withdraw from this study at any time. If you have any questions about participating in this study, contact Dr. Sheila Arens or OHA's Dr. Kamana'opono Crabbe. If you have any concerns about how you were treated during the study, please contact Dr. Howard Pitler, McREL's Institutional Review Board Chair.

You may keep this page for your records. Please sign the next page if you under-stand and agree to participate.

_____ I give consent to participate in this study.

_____ I do **NOT** give consent to participate in this study.

NAME (Please Print)

SIGNATURE

Date

_____ I give consent to have my name identified as a contributor to this study.

_____ I do **NOT** give consent to have my name identified as a contributor to this study.

NAME (Please Print)

SIGNATURE

Date

Appendix J. Focus Group-Guide for Participants

J1. KUKULU HOU FOCUS GROUP INFORMATION PACKET

The Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project:

Focus Group Information Packet & Participant Guide

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A Message from Ka Pouhana (CEO) Kamana’opono M. Crabbe, PhD

Aloha mai ia kākou pākahi apau e nā hoa makamaka o kēia hale o ke ke’ena kuleana Hawai’i:

Mana is a significant Hawaiian cultural concept that continues to be a central component of contemporary Native Hawaiian identity. For this reason, I have initiated the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project, a multi-year project that will help the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) to obtain a better understanding of traditional and contemporary concepts of *mana*. After being at the administrative helm of OHA for more than three years, I am confident now more than ever in a vision to reestablish and reconnect the *mana* of *kānaka ‘ōiwi* by embracing indigenous worldviews and knowledge creation. The goal of Kūkulu Hou is to reconstruct and rebuild vital spaces where resources can once again thrive, directly contributing to restoring our strengths and reconstructing our collective *mana* to *kūkulu aupuni*.

**‘Ike no i ka lā o ka ‘ike; mana no i ka lā o ka mana.
Know in the day of knowing; mana in the day of mana.**

Project Summary

In the context of ancient Native Hawaiian society, the concept of *mana* can be understood in the simplest terms as a divine power and a spiritual/political authority. *Mana* was intertwined in all aspects of Native Hawaiian life and was a foundational aspect of cultural identity. Modern discourses of *mana* in Hawai‘i identify it as something that is dynamic, at once a quality and a force acting on human lives and active in the environment. *Mana* remains an important concept, and from a cultural perspective, the possession and maintenance of *mana* continues to have many implications for education, as well as the mental, physical, and spiritual health of individuals and the cohesiveness and efficacy of Native Hawaiian communities.

Under the direction of Ka Pouhana (CEO) Dr. Kamana‘opono Crabbe, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is seeking to complete the Kūkulu Hou Assessment, a multi-year project that will help OHA to obtain a better understanding of traditional and contemporary concepts of *mana*. The impetus for this project centers around the belief that *mana* has been a historically significant cultural concept and continues to be a central component of contemporary Native Hawaiian identity. The ultimate goal of the project is the development of an assessment using *mana* as a core measure, which has the potential to be a useful and dynamic diagnostic instrument with many applications in conducting culturally-appropriate evaluations of education, health services, and community well-being particularly among Native Hawaiian communities.

Formal planning for the project began in 2011. The Kūkulu Hou Assessment was originally envisioned as a three-year project beginning in 2012 and ending in 2015. However, the complexity of the project and the desire to prioritize the identification of the right sources, the engagement of right people, and the implementation of *pono* (balanced, correct) research methodologies to complete all phases outlined in the project plan have delayed completion of the project according to original scoping. Currently, it is estimated that the project will conclude in late 2016.

Confidentiality

Due to the sensitive nature of *mana*, all members of the project and visitors to this private website are asked to maintain the confidentiality of any materials related to the project. Mahalo nui!

Website Navigation

To explore the project website and access this information, please go to [OHA Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project](#).

Office of Hawaiian Affairs

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs ([OHA](#)) is a public agency with a high degree of autonomy. OHA is responsible for improving the well-being of Native Hawaiians. OHA is administered by a Chief Executive Officer (Ka Pouhana) who is appointed by the Board of Trustees to oversee a staff of about 170 people. [OHA grew out of organized efforts in the 1970s](#) to right past wrongs suffered by Native Hawaiians for over 100 years. Hawaiians' newfound activism brought their plight to the consciousness of the general public, leading grassroots leaders to propose, at the time, that income from land taken from the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom be used to benefit Hawaiians. OHA is focused on strategic priorities for improving the conditions of Native Hawaiians in the areas of ['āina](#), [culture](#), [economic self-sufficiency](#), [education](#), [governance](#), and [health](#). OHA's advocacy involves conducting [research](#) whose findings are used to guide decisions and empower communities to inspire positive results in these areas. OHA's advocacy also calls for developing and shaping public policies that have broad implications for the Hawaiian community. OHA's advocacy is reflected in its efforts to help ensure that laws are complied with at the local, state and federal levels. In addition, OHA's advocacy requires working with communities to share information and build public support for Hawaiian issues.

The Vision of OHA's Administration

OHA needs all of you, the people and organizations whose goodwill and support is essential to its success, now more than ever. This is a crucial moment for all of us, not only as Native Hawaiians but as the people of Hawai'i.

This team imagines our *lāhui* and community partners seizing on this moment of transition, this moment when OHA should focus on being collaborative about empowering Hawaiians and strengthening Hawai'i. We cannot do it alone, but we come with intent, with sincerity, and our *mana*.

Let our collective *mana* be the change we envision for Hawai'i. Striving to perpetuate culture, preserving our *'āina* and environmental resources and protecting the inherent rights of Native Hawaiians.

OHA Project Commitments:

- OHA will honor Native Hawaiian cultural beliefs surrounding reciprocity, and as an expression of the high quality of service and knowledge provided by members for the project, which we believe will result in important findings for the *lāhui* (Hawaiian nation).
- OHA will engage in all activities of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment in a *pono*, ethical, and respectful manner, in keeping with the elevated nature of the research material and individuals involved in the project.
- OHA will maintain the integrity of any and all research findings resulting from the Kūkulu Hou Assessment.
- OHA will work to maintain the integrity of any and all participants in the Kūkulu Hou Assessment, as related to the project.

OHA Project Team:

OHA has created a multi-disciplinary team to support the vision of Kūkulu Hou and its project goals.



Kūkulu Hou Project Director and Principal Investigator: Kamana'opono M. Crabbe, Ph.D.

Uplifting the *mana* and *mauli ola* of the Hawaiian community through transformation and research excellence has been the mission of Dr. Kamana'opono Crabbe since his appointment as Ka Pouhana, Chief Executive Officer, of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) in January 2012. Before his appointment as Ka Pouhana Dr. Crabbe joined OHA as the Research Director in 2010 where he lead the division in gathering data that would highlight the gaps, disparities, and causal factors creating disadvantages and lack of opportunity for Native Hawaiians to access good health care, governance, housing, education and employment. Prior to the OHA, Dr. Crabbe worked at the Wai'anae Coast Comprehensive Health Center where he served as a licensed Clinical Psychologist and Director of Training. In 2006, he founded 'Aha Kāne, a foundation for the advancement of Native Hawaiian males. Kamana'opono is a *ho'oponopono* practitioner trained by *kūpuna* Abbie Napeahi and Howard Pe'a from Keaukaha, *po'o* of Halemua o Kūali'i, and chanter under the tutelage of Kumu Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla from Paukiikalo, Maui. His uniquely integrated strategies are grounded in Kūkulu Hou and his vision to reestablish and rebuild the *mana* of *kānaka maoli*.



Kūkulu Hou Project Manager: Kealoha Fox, MA

As Ka Pou Kāko'o Nui of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), Kealoha Fox is in charge of supporting the Executive Offices of its CEO as executive manager. She is also responsible for the leadership of OHA's initiatives for Maui Ola (Health) and those priority projects and partnerships within its administration that address the social determinants of Kanaka 'Ōiwi wellbeing. Since 2012, Kealoha has been fulfilling her current role by supporting Kūkulu Hou as a vision and indigenous leadership framework for OHA to realize its vision to raise a beloved nation. From 2010 to 2012 Kealoha was a Research Analyst in OHA's Research Division under the direction of Dr. Crabbe. She holds undergraduate degrees from Hawai'i Pacific University and is a graduate of Argosy University of Honolulu with a Master's degree in Clinical Psychology. She is currently a doctoral candidate in clinical research and biomedical science at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. In addition to their collaborations at OHA, Dr. Crabbe has mentored Ms. Fox since 2006 when she was a clinical psychology practicum student and *haumana ho'oponopono* in Wai'anae.

***Kūkulu Hou Project Analyst:
Holly Kilinahe Coleman, MA***



Holly Coleman is a Research Analyst in the Land, Culture, and History Section of the Research Division at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. She obtained a Master's of Arts Degree in Hawaiian History from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 2012 and specializes in archival research of Hawaiian language manuscripts and newspapers. In 2009, she was selected as one of twelve fellows for the inaugural Smithsonian Institute for Museum Anthropology. From 2010 to 2012 Holly was a Research Analyst in OHA's Research Division under the direction of Dr. Crabbe. In 2012, she was a fellow in the Kamehameha Schools First Nations Futures Program, where she conducted ethnographic research on Community-Based Marine Resource Management on Hawai'i Island, Maui, Moloka'i, O'ahu, and Kaua'i. Holly was also a cultural consultant for the book *Humehume of Kaua'i: A Boy's Journey to America, An Ali'i's Return Home* (Kamehameha Publishing, 2008).

***OHA Research Director, Ka Pou Kīhi Kāne:
Lisa Watkins-Victorino, PhD***



Lisa Watkins-Victorino is the Research Director (*Ka Pou Kīhi Kāne*) for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. She was appointed to her position in April 2012. Her responsibilities include collecting reliable data critical to the OHA's ability to engage the Hawai'i Legislature and others in the organization's work. Her staff conducts and shares research intended to guide decisions and ensure that OHA's efforts are based on solid information. She came to OHA from the Department of Education, where she was an educational officer/evaluation assistant in the agency's Systems Evaluation and Reporting Section. Before that, she was a junior specialist/program assistant with the University of Hawai'i's Social Welfare Evaluation and Research Unit. In addition, she was a lecturer at the University of Hawai'i's School of Social Work.

***OHA Knowledge Based Strategies Specialist, Ka Pou Kukuna
Mehanaokalā Hind, MA***



Mehanaokalā Hind is the Knowledge Based Strategies Specialist at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Before coming to OHA, she spent 14 years in student services at UH Mānoa, with the bulk of that time being spent at Kamakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies. She was also an Instructor in Hawaiian Studies at Windward Community College. Mehanaokalā was also fortunate to have trained in hula with Kumu Hula Leinā'ala Kalama Heine and underwent 'ūniki rites in 2009 to attain the *kālana* of Kumu Hula herself. She was also trained in *oli* by masters Kumu Keola Lake, Kumu Hōkūlani Holt, and Dr. Pualani Kanahēle.



OHA has three project interns, Native Hawaiian students currently pursuing post-secondary degrees at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa to advance Native Hawaiian wellbeing: Joshua Buchanan, Kalei Kaloha (née Miller).

Partners and Facilitators

Mid-continent Research for Education and Learning

OHA has partnered with the Mid-continent Research for Education and Learning (McREL) for this project. Founded in 1966, McREL is a private, nonprofit, nonpartisan education research and development corporation. McREL researchers and education consultants provide educators and leaders with research-based on issues and challenges in education. More information about McREL can be found at www.mcrel.org. Mid-continent Research for Education and Learning (McREL) opened McREL's [Pacific Center for Changing the Odds](#), in Honolulu, Hawai'i, in July 2010 to provide products and services that address the wide range of client needs throughout the Pacific Region.

Through contracts, McREL will provide necessary expertise for the project through consultation. Dr. Sheila Arens, Senior Director (Denver) is the McREL Project Manager. Dr. Nolan Malone, Vice President for Pacific Operations (Honolulu) and staff will provide support and consultation to OHA Staff.

McREL International has several project team members who provided academic research and evaluation excellence in the Kūkulu Hou Assessment project. OHA extends a *mahalo* to those former and current McREL staff from Hawai'i and Denver. These individuals include, but are not limited to: Amber, Andrea Beesley, Ceri Dean, Trudy Cherasaro, Akiemi Glenn, Wendy Kekahio, Joanne Kelly, John Kendell, Christian Martinez, Shelby Maier, Maura, Howard Pitler, Richard Seder, and Tim Waters (former CEO of McREL International).



***McREL Executive Director, Center for Learning
Innovation Kūkulu Hou Project Manager for McREL
Sheila Arens, PhD***

Dr. Sheila Arens oversees and supports McREL's work on Common Core and NGSS academic standards, STEM programs, NASA and NSF grants, and other projects. She has extensive knowledge of research design, program evaluation, and theory. Sheila has fourteen years of basic and applied research experience working in a variety of settings.



***McREL Managing Researcher
Katie Anderson, PhD***

Katie leads research and evaluation projects, including design, implementation, and reporting. She also leads development on proposals. Katie has a passion for promoting positive youth development through the implementation and evaluation of educational initiatives, providing solutions that meet client needs.



***McREL Vice-President, Pacific Operations
Nolan J. Malone, PhD***

Dr. Nolan Malone, former director of the Research & Evaluation Division for the Kamehameha Schools (KS), served as an original project team member since initiation. In addition to McREL and KS, he has worked as a demographic analyst for the U.S. Census Bureau, a project manager for the Mexican Migration Project at the University of Pennsylvania's Population Studies Center, and as a research associate at the Urban Institute. Malone holds a Ph.D. and master's degree in demography, both from the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and a bachelor's degree in economics from Randolph-Macon College in Ashland, Va. Along with a solid research background in education, migration, and demographic issues, Malone brings a thorough understanding of native history and culture in the Pacific and a fervent interest in changing the odds for success for all children in the region.

Dr. Malone retired from McREL in Spring 2015, he has transitioned to the Advisory Board

Focus Group Facilitation

The collaboration between OHA and McREL for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project affords important opportunities for both organizations, including capacity building at OHA, with special regard to the integration of research methodologies and Native Hawaiian cultural concepts. Working with McREL will also help to ensure that the various components of the project meet standards of academic rigor. For example, OHA will use the McREL Institutional Review Board (IRB) to approve, monitor and review the project to comply with academic ethics standards.

Facilitator Short Biographies and Descriptions

‘Aukahi Austin ([I Ola Lahui](#)) and Kihei Nahale-a ([Papahana Kuaola](#)) have been contracted by McREL as facilitators to support the Focus Group components of this project. Both ‘Aukahi and Kihei have many years of experience working within the Native Hawaiian community, Hawaiian language proficiency, practices, and art forms, while bringing deep *‘ike* and *aloha* to the project. In particular, both ‘Aukahi and Kihei are skilled facilitators who are familiar with both Native Hawaiian and Western academic methods of group facilitation and mediation.



Focus Group Facilitator: Aukahi Austin Seabury, Ph.D.

Dr. Austin received her Ph.D. in clinical psychology from the Clinical Studies Program at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in 2004. She completed a pre-doctoral internship at Tripler Army Medical Center (TAMC) with an emphasis in Community and Health Psychology and a post-doctoral fellowship at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Department of Psychology in Child and Adolescent Evidence Based Practice. Dr. Austin worked at the Waimānalo Health Center for 5 years using an integrated behavioral health approach with patients with complex chronic disease conditions and significant economic and social challenges. She is a member of Nā Limahana of Lonopūhā Native Hawaiian Health Consortium.



Focus Group Facilitator: Kihei Nahale-a

Nahale-a is the director of the [Kupualau Program](#) at Papahana Kuaola, a *mālama ‘āina*-based non-profit organization that connects the *ahupua‘a* of He‘e‘ia, O‘ahu with a sustainable future. The Kupualau Program is a curriculum and program development initiative. Prior to this, Nahale-a served as an instructor in Hawaiian Lifestyles and Hawaiian Language for 11 years at Hawaii Community College and also taught at Kula Kaiapuni O Keaukaha Hawaiian language immersion school in Hilo for 3 years. Nahale-a was also one of the three founders of Project Kuleana, which has produced a series of videos seeking to increase the innate value of Hawaiian music and performance to inspire people to live their respective *kuleana*.

Focus Group Video Documentation

‘Ōiwi TV has been contracted to video and audio record each focus group session for research and documentation purposes only. Each Focus Group session will be video and audio recorded. **Video and audio will only be used for research and documentation purposes, and will not be used by OHA for any promotional materials.**

Media Team Short Biographies and Descriptions

‘Ōiwi TV is a social enterprise that aims to create meaningful impact for Native Hawaiians and Hawai‘i by reestablishing the Hawaiian worldview in daily life through media. Media provides a powerful opportunity to reach a large number of Native Hawaiians with stories and images that can positively reflect an authentic representation of the modern Hawaiian identity and the issues we face so that we may address them collectively, with our voice and based on our values. ‘Ōiwi TV, as a Native Hawaiian owned and operated organization, offers a unique product that accurately represents the modern Hawaiian experience through timely, relevant and authentic content grounded firmly in the Native Hawaiian worldview.

Keoni Lee

‘Ōiwi TV, General Manager/Co-Founder

“We started ‘Ōiwi TV with a dream to create the first Hawaiian owned and operated television station for our community – to tell stories from our perspective and for the benefit of all of Hawai‘i. It was a very different model from other television stations because it had purpose, meaning, and most importantly grounded in our values and culture. I am thankful everyday for this *kuleana* to build something positive for my community and the opportunity to mentor young Hawaiians who are passionate about this work to benefit our people, language, culture, and ‘āina. *Mahalo no ka mea loa‘a!*” – Keoni Lee



Bryson Hoe

‘Ōiwi TV, Producer, Writer, & Reporter

“Each production comes with its own challenges, opportunities, and lessons, which is part of the reason I work at ‘Ōiwi TV. Every day is chance to better myself personally and professionally while remaining firmly rooted by my ‘*ohana* and community. The other reason that makes ‘Ōiwi TV an awesome place to work are the stories that we are able to share with the rest of the world. I am constantly amazed by the dynamic, innovative, and impactful knowledge passed down from our *kūpuna* that is manifested in our contemporary *lāhui*.” – Bryson Hoe



‘Ōiwi TV has five project team members who will help capture the discussions about *mana* for research and documentation purposes. OHA extends a *mahalo* to the crew providing audio and video expertise and Ryan “Gonzo” Gonzales for his digital media coordination via OHA.

Advisory Group

Embarking on a project that seeks to qualify and quantify a cultural concept like *mana* poses a myriad of special challenges to contemporary researchers. In particular, there are salient considerations that must be reflected in the research design in every phase of this project (such as prioritizing source validity during the literature review component and the development of comprehensive protocols during the focus group component) in order to ensure accurate and ethical representation of information about *mana*.

It is imperative that researchers proceed with the project in ways that are both culturally and academically appropriate. In projects of this nature, an advisory group is often assembled to vet all aspects of research; OHA assembled an Advisory Group for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment. This group consists of 8 individuals who are recognized as experts and community authorities in various academic and cultural fields.

The role of the Kūkulu Hou Advisory Group will be to provide feedback, guidance, and expertise on the research design, project plan, and implementation strategies for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment. The Advisory Group will meet periodically throughout the project period.

The Kūkulu Hou Assessment was originally envisioned as a three-year project beginning in 2012 and ending in 2015. However, the complexity of the project and the desire to prioritize the identification of the right sources, the engagement of right people, and the implementation of *pono* (balanced, correct) research methodologies to complete all phases outlined in the project plan have delayed completion of the project according to original scoping. Currently, it is estimated that the project will conclude in late 2016. Individuals will be asked to serve in the capacity of Advisory group members from mid-2014 to early 2017.

Advisory Group Participant Selection Criteria

OHA staff and Executive Team members were asked to submit the names of potential candidates for the Advisory Group. Advisory Group candidates were identified according to their fields of expertise, (including past experience with quantitative and qualitative research methodologies), their standing in the community, and their cultural knowledge. Additionally, because of their professional and cultural status in our communities, individuals who were identified as possible participants in the Kūkulu Hou Assessment are frequently called to serve in advisory positions for other research projects and have experience and knowledge of serving in these roles.

Any individuals serving in an advisory capacity were not able to participate as members of any focus groups, which narrowed the pool of possible candidates for both the advisory group and the focus groups. Attempts to balance representation on the advisory group (in terms of gender, cultural knowledge, academic knowledge, etc.) were made.

A list of potential candidates was created and submitted to the CEO for review and participant selection. Initial contact was established with possible participants through telephone

conversations and emails. OHA extends a heartfelt *mahalo* to the Advisory Board members for honoring us with their time and *‘ike* to enhance this multi-phase project.

Advisory Group Participant List

Alice Kawakami (INPEACE/UH Mānoa)	Kathy Tibbets (KS)
Daniel Naho’opi’i (HTA)	Morris K. Lai (UH CRDG/ retired)
Nolan Malone (formerly McREL)	Noreen Mokuau (UH Mānoa)
	Lisa Watkins-Victorino (OHA)

Advisory Group Responsibilities and Expectations:

Participation in the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Advisory has the potential to require significant commitments of time, labor, and expertise from members. Below is a list of proposed responsibilities and expectations for individuals who agree to serve on the Advisory Group.

- Individuals will be expected to be active members of the Advisory Group.
- Members will be expected to provide consultation based on their expertise.
- Members will be expected to serve on the Advisory Group for the duration of the project, from 2014 to 2017.
- Members may be asked to help researchers identify strengths and possible challenges to each phase of the project.
- Members may be called provide review and comment on materials relating to the project. Materials for review and comment may include write-ups of methodologies, research design, and findings for each phase.
- Members should be available to attend meetings (in-person, through teleconferencing, or by email) pertaining to the project. Subject to change, it is anticipated that Advisory Group members will be asked to attend a total of eight formal meetings: three initial meetings will be necessary for Phase I, two meetings for Phase II, two meetings for Phase III, and a final Follow-up meeting.
- Members will be expected to maintain the confidentiality of any materials related to the project if necessary.
- Members will be expected to be named in any documents or materials produced for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment.
- Members will be expected to share their expertise with other Advisory group members and OHA, and will be expected to work with fellow members of OHA and McREL staff assigned to the project.

Phase I: Consulting and Development

Phase I includes engaging in research activities which are aimed at better understanding the concept of *mana* and its range of meanings. Phase I is intentionally constructed as fluid, and is framed to reflect the dynamic nature of understandings and applications of *mana*. Write-ups on each component and relevant findings will be completed and included in the final report of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment.

Literature Review

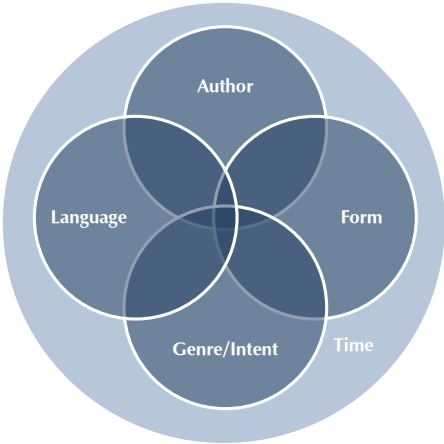
A literature review is an analysis of critical points of current knowledge. The goal of the literature review component of this project is to explore how *mana* has been described in written and oral sources of various genres, authors, times, and contexts. Another component of the literature review will be to seek information on traditional Hawaiian methods for determining and evaluating the *mana* of individuals, places, and communities.

Below are some of the types of sources that will be included in the literature review:

- *Nūpepa* (Hawaiian language newspapers)
- Archival manuscripts
- Kingdom Laws
- Native Hawaiian Orature or Oral literature, such as *mo'olelo* (histories), *ka'ao* (legends and tales), *'ōlelo no'ēau* (wise sayings), *mele* (songs and chants), *inoa wahi* (place names) and *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogies)
- Comparative anthropological literature on *mana* in Oceania.
- Recorded oral interviews
- Contemporary scholarly works, including dissertations, academic papers, books and journal articles
- Discussions of *mana* in contemporary media, including video, magazine, and newspaper

To ensure a pertinent and relevant understanding of *mana* is to recognize categories literature review according to clearly defined categories of the materials used. Essentially, we will ensure that we consider context in the completion of the literature review, the development of the instrument, etc. and in our reporting. This may also help us to maintain the dynamism and fluidity that is inherent in many Native Hawaiian cultural concepts. See Figure 1 for an exploration of some of the contextual characteristics that should be considered and which will be made explicit in the project.

Figure 1. Contextual characteristics for consideration in the Literature Review



Criteria	Guiding Question	Lines of Thought
Author	Who is the author?	Considerations of ethnicity, occupation, age, gender, place of origin, place of residence, cultural connection to the <i>‘āina</i> , land and culture (including spirituality) of Hawai‘i are important. These characteristics often inform writing style and content.
Form	What type of medium is it?	Was the material originally written (i.e. is it an oral history, is it a performance?) Is it a newspaper article? Is there something unique about it and why?
Genre/Intent	What is the intent of the author?	What is the intent of the author? How does it relate to other materials through time? Is part of a larger body of work (i.e. an <i>oli</i> composed in honor of an <i>ali‘i</i> , a religious sermon written by American missionaries? A piece of resistance literature written by a Native Hawaiian woman?) and what does that mean? Who (what audiences) is it intended for?
Language	What language is it in?	Is the material in Hawaiian (was the material originally in Hawaiian, by a <i>mānaleo</i> (someone who speaks Hawaiian as a first language)? Is the material translated into English?
Time	In what historical period was the piece created (the author lived?)	Does the material retain meaning or significance? Has its meaning or significance changed?

Annotated Bibliography

An annotated bibliography gives pertinent information (such as a summary and an evaluation) of each of the sources included therein. The annotated bibliography will identify sources that are both credible and informative which were used for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project.

Planning for Community Knowledge: Focus Group and PhotoVoice Components

The goal of our inquiry in this component of the project is to explore how individuals give meaning to the notion of *mana* by engaging community members in the research process. At this time, the facilities at the [Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum](#), [St. Anthony's Retreat Center](#) in Kalihi, and Kōkua Kalihi Valley [Ho'oulu 'Āina](#) have been identified as a location for hosting the community knowledge and inquiry portions of Phase 2. We will hold a total of twelve focus group sessions. Focus groups will include seven to ten individuals per group and will be co-facilitated by Dr. 'Aukahi Austin and Kīhei Nahale-a, who will be subcontracted by McREL.

Participant Selection Criteria for Focus Groups and PhotoVoice

The creation of focus groups for the assessment is meant to engage researchers, community members, and cultural experts in ways that will ensure that research products of the project relating to concepts of *mana* are relevant and reflective of the collective expertise of participants and the Native Hawaiian community.

In order to create balanced focus groups, considerations of age, ethnicity, gender, cultural practice type and level of expertise were incorporated as selection criteria for participants. The consideration of place, including place of residence and connection to place, were incorporated as selection criteria that was more reflective of traditional Native Hawaiian cultural considerations. See Figure 2 and Figure 3.

Pū'ulu Training

One of the objectives of the project was to facilitate the learning and preservation of research methodologies among OHA staff and the wider community. Graciously, Kawa'a agreed to teach others his Pū'ulu method over the course of a two day training period. The first training session was held on August 19th and 20th, 2013 in Waimea Valley. Training was led by Earl Kawa'a. OHA staff and three representatives from McREL attended the training. Other organizations that sent representatives to attend the training included Hui Mālama o Ke Kai, Kamehameha Schools, Keiki o ka 'Āina, and Waimānalo Health Center.

Phase II: Focus Group as Kūkākūkā Sessions

Phase II will build on what is learned about the concept of *mana* during Phase I—with a particular emphasis on drafting a culturally appropriate measure of *mana* that recognizes the importance of using alternative media for collecting information (written, audio, and visual) on how members of the community give meaning to and understand *mana*. OHA knows *mana* is not easily described with pen and paper, therefore, we hope that these mediums provide another method to understanding the complexity of *mana*.

Focus Groups

Focus groups are a form of group interview that has the advantage of facilitating a rich dialogue among research participants and is typically used to collect qualitative data (Kitzinger, 1995). In the discussion, participants can learn and build from one another's comments; for example, hearing something one participant says can springboard the comments of another participant, revealing in-depth information about a concept, construct, or program. Group interaction is a key component to the method (Kitzinger). Focus groups are useful for exploring personal and group knowledge and understanding experiences, often answering the how and why questions (Kitzinger).

For the current project, focus groups will be conducted to engage Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander participants with cultural and historical knowledge about *mana* and its meanings and representation in their lives and communities. The goal of this project is to help further understanding of what *mana* means in contemporary Native Hawaiian culture. In addition, there are process goals for the focus groups:

- 1) Create spaces where participants are able to share their knowledge and perspectives on *mana*.
- 2) Gather as diverse a set of responses as possible—the intent is not to seek a “right” answer but a plethora of answers and perspectives with the assumption that the most common or frequently occurring responses are not necessarily the “best” or “truest” responses.
- 3) Create positive momentum for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project in which this portion of the project sits. Participants should leave thinking that this project is worthwhile and feel good that they contributed in a way that causes them to support the effort going forward.
- 4) Initiate a chain reaction of people tapping into their *mana* in positive ways. These focus groups have the potential to get participants talking and thinking more about *mana* in their own settings, ‘ohana, or workplace and thereby get others to do so as well.

Participant Grouping

Participant groups were chosen based, in part, on their social, cultural, and professional roles and, in part, on the composition of each group. We focused on groupings that would bring out cooperation and creativity more than conflict, competition, or a tendency to argue about who or what is right. We also created groups that would create a space where particular perspectives would best be given voice. For example, individuals who view *mana* through a Christian lens may have participation maximized by being a group with others who have similar religious beliefs rather than different religious beliefs. Two groups were organized around a particularly esteemed and *loea kūpuna* with individuals who

trained or worked under them which would create the best space in which to elicit contributions from the elder. Participant groups consist of the following individuals and backgrounds:

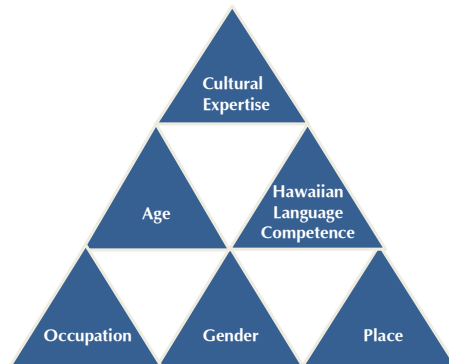
- Pacific Islanders and Polynesians
- Kūpuna
- Academic scholars – male and female groups
- Non-Native Hawaiians who were trained by Native Hawaiians in cultural practices
- Native Hawaiians who identify as Christians
- Artists and musicians
- Nī‘ihau residents
- Native Hawaiian serving organization leaders
- Cultural practitioners with specific ties to land-based practices and wisdom
- Hawaiian language groups

Participants will be selected for their cultural expertise and also to ensure representatives across the Hawaiian community. Focus groups will allow the collection of data in order to gauge the extent of participant’s perception, knowledge about, and experience with *mana* in contemporary Hawaiian contexts. Analysis of focus group discussions whether and in which contexts people talk about *mana* and how they frame discourses on its properties, maintenance, acquisition and inheritance.

OHA staff or contractors will be responsible for transcription, possible translation and possible analysis of findings from the Focus Groups. McREL staff or contractors will be responsible for transcription and analysis of findings from the Focus Groups.

Major themes and sub themes from the Focus Group sessions will be shared back with the participants following analysis and review.

Figure 2. Considerations for Identification of Focus Group Participants



Further participation considerations included, but were not limited to:

Kūpuna

Consists of individuals from the *kūpuna* generation (roughly over the chronological age of 60) who, over the course of a lifetime of experience and learning, have attained a pinnacle of their respective cultural expertise and practice. These individuals may be *mānaleo* (native speakers) or highly skilled Hawaiian language speakers.

Christian Hawaiian Worldview

This is a group of participants who have strong connection to Christian faith and would likely share a great deal about that perspective on *mana* from the *Hale Pule* and *haipule* perspectives.

Hawaiian Scholars & Academic Professionals

This focus group will include individuals who may be cultural practitioners, but who are also active in academic circles relating to Hawaiian culture, history, and language. The male and female groups have distinct backgrounds relevant to the issues facing our *lāhui* today as Hawaiian scholars.

Hawaiian Organizations

This focus group will include leaders representing non-profit organizations that serve Native Hawaiians as part of their strategic objectives.

Pacific Island & Polynesians

This focus group will include individuals who represent various Pacific Island communities, with a focus on Polynesians, who also have strong cultural foundations and will be able to communicate the meanings and applications of *mana* within their communities and cultures.

Hawaiian Artists & Musicians

This focus group will include individuals who may be cultural practitioners, but who are also active in visual, performing, or media art forms and may express *mana* through tangible and intangible formats. Art forms may be either *o ka wā mamua* or *o kēia ao*.

Non-Hawaiians Trained by Hawaiian Loea

This is a group for individuals who are *koko 'ole* but have been *hānai* or *koho 'ia* by someone and received '*ike Hawai'i*' from them. We thought that this would provide them a space to both share what they know and explore the transmission of *mana* in these special relationships in a positive and strengths-based way.

Community Members

This focus group will include individuals who may not have achieved the level of expert in their cultural practice, but who nonetheless have important cultural knowledge. They also include '*aina* and *kai*-based wisdom.

Focus Group Materials

Each participant will be encouraged to bring a representation of *mana* (e.g., photo, chant, song, prayer, object/photo of the object, etc.), if desired, which he or she will share in the discussion.

Facilitators will use probes and group activities, such as listening to an *oli* or sharing an item brought by a group member, to prompt discussion. *Kūkākūkā* sessions will honor *kapu aloha*.

See Appendix B for the formal letter which was sent to potential focus group members soliciting participation in the Kūkulu Hou Focus Groups.

Figure 3. Focus Groups for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment.



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Honorarium and Makana

Participants will be reimbursed for travel outside of O'ahu and ground transportation to the focus group location. In addition, they will receive a \$200 honorarium¹ and handmade *makana* with a Native Hawaiian plant. OHA extends a *mahalo* to those organizations providing *mana* from their place in creating the *manaka*:

- **Kōkua Kalihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services Ho'oulu 'Āina:** Kat Burke, Puni Jackson, Ka'ūlani Odom, and staff
- **Hui Kū Maoli Ola:** Rick Barboza, Puaonaona Stibbard, Frank, and staff
- The University of Hawai'i Press and Editors of [The Value of Hawai'i 2](#) "**Ancestral Roots, Oceanic Visions**": Aiko Yamashiro, Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, staff, and contributors

¹ Participants must fill out OHA forms and a W9 per Federal requirements to receive the honorarium.

Photovoice

A Photovoice component will also be included in Phase 2 work. Photovoice is a participatory data collection approach that combines images (photos) and words (voices); it was developed in an effort to empower members of marginalized groups by allowing their voices and stories heard. Community members will be asked to record and reflect on some aspect of interest—creating a symbolic representation of a particular construct. This approach values participant perspectives in ways that other data collection methods (interviews, focus groups, surveys) often cannot.

Photovoice will be used in Phase 2 of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment as a means to allow community members to convey—through images and their own narratives—personal meaning and understandings of *mana*.

All participants will sign a consent form, photo release form, and upload their content to an website created specifically for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project.

Participants in the photovoice project will be asked to take or select photos and submit them via a website with a narrative description that addresses the following items:

- What does *mana* mean to you?
- Briefly describe the photo (e.g., What is happening? Who is in it [do not give specific names]?)
- How does this picture show or represent *mana*?
- Why did you take or choose this photo?

Honorarium

Participants will receive a \$50 VISA gift card as a *mahalo* for their participation.

Concerns and Issues

This section includes discussion of concerns and issues that have been raised throughout the course of the project. Researchers felt that it was important to include this section in reporting because of the sensitive nature of *mana* in Kūkulu Hou Assessment.

An overarching and fundamental concern with the project has been whether it is *pono* for OHA to engage in research pertaining to *mana*, to create an assessment tool using *mana*. Limited discussion and presentation of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment project summary and plan to community members has highlighted the continued concern that the project will attempt to define *mana* and that such attempts will be used against Native Hawaiians or to the detriment of Native Hawaiians.

Discussions below are organized according to corresponding components of the project. It is expected that this section will be expanded through the course of the project.

Corpus study

Phase I of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment originally included a Corpus Study component. A corpus study is a research method used in discipline of Linguistics. A corpus is a body of written texts (which can also be transcribed from oral sources such as *mele*) which is analyzed using corpus linguistic software for the appearance, use, and meaning of certain words; in the case of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment, the word “mana” and its cognates would have been used.

The Corpus Study component would have been led by McREL staff, who would have identified texts for the corpus and been responsible for analysis of findings. OHA staff would have been support, providing additional Hawaiian language texts for the corpus.

Unfortunately, over the course of the project, McREL lost all staff who were familiar with corpus linguistic methodologies and analysis, and they were no longer able to complete a corpus linguistic study. While it may still have been possible to complete the corpus study through extensive subcontracting, OHA decided that this component of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment would be removed from the project.

Literature Review

One concern is that the project will attempt to outline the parameters of *mana* based on materials or information that, while diverse and varied, may actually be far from traditional understandings of *mana* that are still highly relevant and applicable to Native Hawaiian communities today. This concern is really centered around the larger issues of representation, particularly as based on the characteristics of some of the literature that could potentially be used as resources to describe *mana* as a phenomenon. For example, the works of a number of contemporary scholars have highlighted the fact that many academic disciplines surrounding Hawaiian culture, language, and history are based on a body of literature that has not (until more recently) included a broad range of sources in the Hawaiian language, instead relying almost exclusively on the English language secondary interpretations of specific groups, such as non-Hawaiian ethnographers, anthropologists, and a handful of translated works based on the writings of a few Native Hawaiian

historians, etc. These interpretations and discourse may not be wrong, but in many cases they may have been privileged or may have completely replaced indigenous usages and understandings. Using these materials exclusively (or weighting them heavily) could result in a research finding that does not give a Native Hawaiian understanding of *mana*, but rather a construct of *mana*.

Selected examples of considerations that should be made explicit in the literature review are as follows:

- Accounts of Native Hawaiians *versus* accounts of non-Hawaiians
- Accounts recorded in Hawaiian *versus* accounts in English
- Accounts recorded in the 19th century (by *mānaleo* or native speakers) *versus* English language or Hawaiian second language learner accounts in the 20th and 21st century
- “Informal” accounts in articles, conversation, and letters to the editor, *versus* “formal” academic journals etc.
- Literature (poetry, fiction, non-fiction, etc.) *versus* academic writing

Within the literature review, there is also a need to address the body of works discussing *mana* that are related to Huna, a new-age set of beliefs and practices that are partially based on appropriations of traditional Native Hawaiian cultural and spiritual beliefs and practices. It has also been suggested that we include an “anti” annotated bibliography, that is to say, a bibliography that identifies those sources which are not credible and should not be used to form a basis of understanding surrounding the concept of *mana*.

The project team, staff, and advisors of this project remain, at all times, committed to the integrity of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project.

We draw guidance from several sources:

Pukui, M. K., Haertig, E.W., & Lee, C.A. (1972). *Nana i ke Kumu: Look to the Source*, (Vol. 1). Honolulu, HI: Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center.

“The objectives of this work are to provide factual information as accurately as possible in a subject that reaches back to unwritten history and legend, to clarify Hawaiian concepts, and to examine their applicability to modern life” (p. vii)

“Many staff members, particularly those on this committee, provided case material, as well as examples from their own lives, which as listed greatly in making our understanding of Hawaiian concept more meaningful. Some members, early in our work, felt hesitant about working with this material. Those of Hawaiian ancestry admitted their own fears in relation to some concepts. They now agree that their involvement in the development of this source book has been a key to a better understanding and appreciation of their Hawaiian heritage” (p. viii).

Pukui, M.K. (1983). *‘Ōlelo No‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum.

"The sayings may be categorized, in *Western* terms, as proverbs, aphorisms, didactic adages, jokes, riddles, epithets, lines from chants, etc., and they present a variety of literary techniques such as metaphor, analogy, allegory, personification, irony, pun, and repetition. It is worth noting, however, that the sayings were spoken, and that their meanings and purposes should not be assessed by the *Western* concepts of literary types and techniques" (vii).

"A study of the sayings will reveal much of Hawai'i, its social and religious organization, and the changes in both over the decades. It will show that much of the way that Hawaiians have viewed the world is still retained and give an understanding of their emotional expressions and how they traditionally view the problems of life. Above all, the proverbs show the love of the Hawaiians for Hawai'i and for their traditions. To know the sayings is to know Hawai'i. The careful reader who probes and studies the proverbs and poetical sayings collected by Kawena will become her companion on a journey of understanding. She makes us a gift of the *lei* of knowledge she has spent so long collecting.

Knowledge to me is life.

Ua mau ke ca' ka 'āina i ka pono.

The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness.

Mary Kawena Pukui." (p. xix)

Pukui, M.K., Haertig, E.W., Lee, C.A., & McDermott, J.F. (1972). *Nana I ke kumu [Look to the source] (Vol. 2)*. Honolulu, HI: Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center.

"Ka Mana'o, Ka 'I'ini, a Me Ka Mākia

THE THOUGHT, THE WISH AND THE PURPOSE.

Mamuli o ke aloha, a mamuli he mea pono i nā Hawai'i e 'ike i nā mea maika'i o hope, ka nani o nā mele, a me ke aloha o nā kūpuna ua kākau 'ia kēia buke.

Because of love, and because it is well for Hawaiians to know the good things of the past, the beauty of the chants, and the love of the ancestors, this book was written" (p. i).

"It is our hope that the cultural knowledge embodied in these works (*Nana I Ke Kumu*, Vols. 1 and 2) will provide bridges to an understanding of our ancestors viewed from our present complex system of thinking, feeling and doing. We also hope both volumes will provide links to further understanding between ourselves, as Hawaiians, and as a people with other people" (p. v).

"We hope information in this book will make the beauty, wisdom and dignity of our cultural heritage explicit for our people as well as for those in service professions who help us. From our own experiences with *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, Volume I, we know that the book has made our ways of providing human services different. The response of the Hawaiian is sincere appreciation and, in some cases, amazement at the knowledge acquired by the non-Hawaiian. As more and more serious student's turn to our long-neglected culture, we will all continue to grow in understanding each other. Though this will often be painful to Hawaiians as they feel deeply their losses. Understanding through knowledge can become the bridge between us all (p. v)".

"It is our sincere hope that this work will fit your needs and expand your horizons" (p. vi)

Appendix A. Draft Letter Sent to Potential Focus Group Participants

Aloha mai ia kākou pākahi apau e nā hoa makamaka o kēia hale o ke ke'ena kuleana Hawai'i,
Aloha mai kāua e Kealoha,

Mana (spiritual or political power, authority) is a significant Hawaiian cultural concept that continues to be a central component of contemporary Native Hawaiian identity. For this reason, I have initiated the Kūkulu Hou Assessment, a multi-year project that will help the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) to obtain a better understanding of traditional and contemporary concepts of mana. After being at the administrative helm of OHA for more than three years, I am confident now more than ever in a vision to reestablish and reconnect the mana of kānaka 'ōiwi by embracing indigenous worldviews and knowledge creation. The goal of Kūkulu Hou is to reconstruct and rebuild vital spaces where resources can once again thrive, directly contributing to restoring our strengths and reconstructing our collective mana to kūkulu aupuni. We know that our community consists of many individuals with a wealth of knowledge, experience, and authority in various academic and cultural fields. It is OHA's kuleana to proceed with the project in ways that are both academically and culturally appropriate. For these reasons, we are holding a series of focus groups meetings in late May and early June 2015.

I humbly ask that you consider participating in a kūkākūkā session* held on **Monday, 5/18/2015** at **St. Anthony's Retreat Center: St. Damien Hall** from **1:00pm - 4:00pm**. If you are not interested in participating in the focus group, please consider participating in the project through the Photovoice Component.

**Please note that costs associated with the project will be covered by OHA, and travel arrangements will be provided for neighbor island members. As a mahalo for your involvement in the project, OHA will also provide a makana and honorarium to participants.*

In order to respond to this invitation, please follow this link:
To access the RSVP, you have been assigned a unique password to complete the registration process.

We hope that you will honor us by sharing your 'ike; we know that your contributions will enrich our understandings of mana for generations to come.

'Ike no i ka lā o ka 'ike; mana no i ka lā o ka mana.

If you have further questions about the Kūkulu Hou Assessment project or the kūkākūkā session, please contact Kealoha Fox, Ka Pou Kāko'o Nui for my office.

Mahalo nui loa for your consideration,
'O au iho no me ke aloha a me ka 'oia'ī'o,

Kamana`opono

Kamana`opono M. Crabbe, Ph.D. |Ka Pouhana, Chief Executive Officer| **Office of Hawaiian Affairs**

Appendix B. Tentative Agendas for Phase 2 Focus Group Meetings

Time	Activity
9:00a-11:00a	Prep at OHA
11:00a	Load cars and drive to site
11:30a-1:30p	Session 1 set-up
12:45p	Session 1 participants scheduled to arrive
1:00p-4:00p	Sessions 1 is conducted
3:30p-6:00p	Session Break & Reset
5:15p	Session 2 participants scheduled to arrive
5:30p-8:30p	Sessions 2 is conducted
8:30p-9:30p	Break-Down & Clean Up

J2. FOCUS GROUP RSVP SCREEN SHOTS

Kūkulu Hou Assessment RSVP 1

Wāline mai,

You are invited to participate in a initiative about mana— a project where Dr. Kamanaʻopena M. Crabbe, Ka Pūnahaui/Chief Assessment Officer, Office of Hawaiian Affairs and its partner, Māhūi, International, seek to understand how mana is defined and represented by Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. Māhūi International is an education, research, and evaluation non-profit organization with offices in the continental US, Hawaii, and Australia. This project is sponsored and lead by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Office of the CEO.

Dr. Crabbe humbly invites you to join us for an upcoming kōkōkūka session.

Please enter your password that was indicated in your email invitation. Passwords are case sensitive and should be all lowercase.

Password:

surveygizmo

We will be providing a light lunch along with some drinks to any study participants onsite.

Please describe any assistance you may need getting to or during the focus group (e.g., visual or hearing assistance, handicap accessibility).

An OHA representative will contact you to arrange an and ground time for participants traveling to O'ahu for this session. Please indicate whether you will be traveling to O'ahu.

☐ Yes

☐ No

We will be providing childcare onsite during the focus group time. Will you need childcare?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Appendix K. Focus Group Codes

WHAT IS MANA?	Subjective –Reflects the inability to define or identify mana in a way that would suit everyone because it is based on experience
	Dynamic –Changing of mana related to valence, level, activation, holder; related to space and/or time
HOW DO WE ACCESS AND CULTIVATE THE MANA OF OUR PEOPLE?	Inherited and acquired –inherited from ancestors and acquired through experience
	Actualization –the realization and fulfillment of one's potential
	Responsibility/kuleana –reflects the importance of the accountability and duty related to one's choices and actions <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Leadership–emphasizes the importance of leading and guiding others• Power/authority–reflects the association of mana with having the ability to influence others and have the respect of others• Collective–reflects the importance of the group and the greater good of those other than the self• Skill–emphasizes mana through great ability, talent, or expertise [reflective of acquired]
	Connection –includes bonds and ties among and between the self, 'āina, Akua, kūpuna, 'ohana, others, and experiences
	Relationships with ancestors and others –reflects the association of mana with family, ancestral history and/or relationships [includes 'āina and places] Discipline/ practicing kapu –reflects the importance of self-control and/or respecting limitations or restrictions Knowledge and understanding/'ike –emphasizes true and real knowledge Faith/trust –emphasizes a spiritual aspect in which one has a belief in following others who are non-living and/or that inner voice or pull

Appendix L. Photovoice

L1. Invitation, Submission Site, and Participant Consent Forms

INVITE



Aloha mai ia kākou pākahi āpau e nā hoa makamaka o kāia hale o ke ke'ena kuleana Hawai'i,
Aloha mai kākou,

Mana (spiritual or political power, authority) is a significant Hawaiian cultural concept that continues to be a central component of contemporary Native Hawaiian identity. For this reason, I have initiated the Kūkulu Hou Assessment, a multi-phased project that will help the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) to obtain a better understanding of traditional and contemporary concepts of *mana*. After being at the administrative helm of OHA for more than three years, I am confident now more than ever in a vision to reestablish and reconnect the *mana* of kānaka 'ōiwi by embracing indigenous worldviews and knowledge creation. The goal of Kūkulu Hou is to reconstruct and rebuild vital spaces where resources can once again thrive, directly contributing to restoring our strengths and reconstructing our collective *mana* to kūkulu aupuni. We know that our community consists of many individuals with a wealth of knowledge, experience, and authority in various practical, academic and cultural fields. It is OHA's kuleana to proceed with the project in ways that are both academically and culturally appropriate. For these reasons, we are initiating a Photovoice component to this project in June 2015.

I humbly ask that you consider participating in this Photovoice activity about *mana*—a phase where myself as Ka Pouhana/Chief Executive Officer, Office of Hawaiian Affairs and its partner, McREL International, seek to understand how *mana* is represented by Native Hawaiians. McREL International is an education, research, and evaluation non-profit organization with offices in the continental US, Hawai'i, and Australia. This project is sponsored by the Office of the CEO, Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Please find below a description of the procedures, confidentiality practices, risks and benefits, and the voluntary nature of the project.

Photovoice is a participatory data collection approach that combines images (photos) and words (voices); it was developed in an effort to empower members of marginalized groups by allowing their voices and stories heard. This approach values participant perspectives in ways that other data collection methods (interviews, focus groups, surveys) often cannot. **Photovoice will be used in Phase 2 of the Kūkulu Hou Assessment as a means to allow community members to convey-through images and their own narratives-personal meaning and understandings of *mana*.**

You have been specifically identified as a community member our project team is inviting to contribute to Phase 2 of this study by record and reflection on your interest of *mana*—creating a symbolic representation of this particular cultural construct.

All participants who choose to participate will be asked to sign a consent form, photo release form, and upload their content to a website created specifically for the Kūkulu Hou Assessment Project. Participants in the Photovoice activity will be asked to take or select photos and submit them via this [website](#) with a narrative description that addresses the following items before Monday, June 29:

- What does *mana* mean to you?
- Briefly describe the photo (e.g., What is happening? Who is in it [do not give specific names]?)
- How does this picture show or represent *mana*?
- Why did you take or choose this photo?

Honorarium
The first 45 participants will receive a \$50 VISA gift card as a *mahalo* for their participation.

We hope that you will honor us by sharing your 'ike; we know that your contributions will enrich our understandings of *mana* for generations to come. *'Ike no i ka lā o ka 'ike; mana no i ka lā o ka mana.*

If you have further questions about the Kūkulu Hou Assessment project or the Photovoice methodology, please contact Kealoha Fox, Ka Pou Kāko'o Nui for my office (kealoha@oha.org or 1-808-754-8439). Mahalo nui loa for your consideration and contribution.

'O au iho no me ke aloha a me ka 'ōia'i'o,

Kamana'opono M. Crabbe, PhD
Ka Pouhana/Chief Executive Officer
Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA)

OFFICE OF HAWAIIAN AFFAIRS
350 N. Nimitz Hwy. Suite 200
Honolulu, Hawai'i 96817

www.oha.org
(P) 808 | 504 | 6881
(F) 808 | 504 | 1865

SUBMISSION SITE

Participants were invited to submit up to three photos via an online submission portal that was developed using SurveyGizmo. The submission website was developed to facilitate ease of use: there was not a submission timeout, so participants were able to take as much time as they needed. Images could be uploaded in .jpg, .gif, .tiff, .bmp, or .png formats with file sizes up to 5MB. A maximum of three separate image files could be uploaded; text boxes did not contain character limits. Participants were asked to extend or deny permission to use the photos in public documents or displays, and to agree or disagree to have their names credited with the photos. (See Appendix A for permission documents). Appendix B provides a listing of photos for where participants permitted use in public documents or displays. All participants received a \$50 Visa gift card for their contributions. A total of eight participants submitted photos and narratives.

PARTICIPANT ONLINE CONSENT

Aloha mai,

You are invited to participate in the Photovoice Project about *mana*—a project where the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and its partner, McREL International, seek to understand how *mana* is defined and represented by Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. McREL International is an education, research, and evaluation non-profit organization with offices in the continental US, Hawai'i, and Australia. This project is sponsored by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Please find below a description of the procedures, confidentiality practices, risks and benefits, and the voluntary nature of the project.

Procedures

You have been asked participate this project because you are considered knowledgeable on indigenous culture and practice. We invite you to take part in a project in which you will take a photo or a series of photos that represents what *mana* is to you and provide a brief narrative describing the photo and how or why it is representative of *mana*. This process is called photovoice. The photos and accompanying narratives that are submitted to McREL will be analyzed for themes that describe various meanings, interpretations, and manifestations of

mana. The results will be used to inform a project that seeks to understand *mana* from multiple perspectives. We expect that your participation—taking photos and providing a narrative that is 1 to 3 paragraphs or 500 words—will take no more than one hour. By providing your digital signature below, you are consenting to participate in this project. Upon submission of your photo(s) and narrative, you will be asked to enter your name and mailing address so that, we can mail you a \$40 Visa gift card to for your participation.

Confidentiality

The information gathered in this project will be kept *confidential*. We may quote what you said in the report or publication, but we will not name the source of the comment, publish the photo, or include any information that might identify the source unless you give consent in the *Permission to Use Photos and Name for Display or Publications* form. All original data (photos and narratives) will be kept secure during the study and destroyed after five years or the end of the study, whichever occurs first.

There are two exceptions to the conditions of privacy. First, if information is shared about harm or threat of harm to self or others or about child abuse and neglect, the law requires that it be reported to the proper authorities. Second, should any information in this study be the subject of a court order or lawful subpoena, the research staff may be required to comply with the order or subpoena. However, be assured that the purpose of this project is to understand *mana* and what it means to you and others, and we do not anticipate encountering any situations that reflect these conditions.

Risks and Benefits

There are no known risks or anticipated benefits related to your participation in the Photovoice Project, although the study will assist the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in providing support to Hawaiians through greater understanding of *mana* and what it means to those who participate.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this project is voluntary, and you can withdraw at any time. If you have any questions about participating in this study, contact Dr. Sheila Arens. If you have any concerns about how you were treated during the project, please contact Dr. Howard Pitler, McREL’s Institutional Review Board Chair.

Please print a copy of this page for your records.

By typing my signature below, I agree that I have read and agree to the consent form above and my voluntary participation in the Photovoice Project.

Signature

Date

Permission to photograph subject if a photo where an individual can be identified is submitted (participant will take photo of signed permission and submit with photo)

I am part of a Photovoice project investigating what *mana* means to me. I am taking photographs of what represents *mana* to me and describing how the photo captures *mana*. Results will be shared to help the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and McREL International produce a document that helps others understand what *mana* is from Hawaiian and other perspectives. Your name will not be shared in the document or with the photos in any resulting displays or publications from this project.

Please sign this form if you agree to let me take your photograph and use it for this project.

If you would like a copy of this photo, please write down your address. If you have questions, please contact Dr. Katie Andersen.

I agree to have my photo taken for this Photovoice project:

Name

Signature

Date

Name of Photographer

Permission to use photos and name for display or publications

I have submitted photos of what *mana* means to me. With this form, I give—or refuse—permission for my photos to be used in a public display.

_____ Yes, I am willing to have my photos used in public displays or publications about *mana*.

_____ No, I do not want my photos used in public displays or publications about *mana*.

I also need to give—or refuse—permission for my name to be listed as the photographer with the photo.

_____ I want my FULL NAME listed as the photographer with the photo.

_____ I want only my FIRST name listed as the photographer with the photo.

_____ I DO NOT want my name listed at all.

Please list any concerns or comments:

Full name

By typing my signature below, I agree that I have read and agree to the permission form and the selections I made above.

Signature

L2. Photos Submitted and Permissions

INDIVIDUALS WHO GAVE PERMISSION TO BE IDENTIFIED:

Kepā
Solomon Enos
Umi Kai

Photos are shown below where submitters gave permission to use the photos in public documents or displays.

Kepā

Yes, I am willing to have my photos used in public displays or publications about mana.
I want only my FIRST name listed as the photographer with the photo.

Solomon Enos

Yes, I am willing to have my photos used in public displays or publications about mana.
I want my FULL NAME listed as the photographer with the photo.

Umi Kai

Yes, I am willing to have my photos used in public displays or publications about mana.
I want my FULL NAME listed as the photographer with the photo.

L3. Discussion

Although the response rate was low (7.8 percent), the images and narratives present another way to identify and discuss *mana*. Not all participants followed instructions to answer the questions in one text box. Four participants answered all four questions; two answered the first three questions; one answered the first and third questions; and one answered the third question. All participants answered the third question, and all but one answered the first question. Consequently, analysis focused on the submitter’s communication of what *mana* meant to him or her and/or how the picture represented *mana* (first and third questions). Grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) was used to analyze narrative responses in order to develop a coherent understanding of *mana*. In this way, data guided the understanding, instead of the researcher guiding the analysis. Codes were discussed and accepted once consensus was reached. Categories developed through the narratives, then coded according to themes or statements that identified *mana* and its basic characteristics; sources, places or entities in which *mana* is manifests; and how *mana* manifests.

Figure 1. Photovoice Codes



Photo Submissions

The number and type of images that were submitted varied (see Appendix L2 for a list of those who agreed to be identified). One participant submitted six photos in two separate submissions; others submitted only one photo. Photos included Solomon Enos' own artwork depicting themes from Hawaiian culture, including a diorama depicting "O'ahu in the turn of the last century being invaded by giant anthropomorphic documents of annexation and manifest destiny" (Enos, 2016). Another image shows "various giant Akua gently removing buildings and highways in Honolulu, and using the rubble to rebuild new fishponds and lo'i" (Ibid); and, finally, "the theme Kaka'ako 2215, a beautiful and gentle apocalypse where the rubble of the buildings for the sea wall and new fishponds" (Ibid). Other submissions included (figures 2–6): the game Huli!, a card game developed with the PALS program for children on the Wai'anae Coast; an image of a couple, Umi Kai and his wife; pōhaku in a community; the Leeward Kohala Field System that supports 25 square miles of agricultural infrastructure; a photo of Ahu a 'Umi; a photo of the sea; a photo of Kamehameha Schools' Kapālama campus, overlooking the Hawaiian flag, campus land, and Honolulu; and a collage of images with the following caption:

[T]he myriad storied landscapes such as Kaliuwa'a and Kalainawawae-Mo'omomi; Heiau which connect back to the gods and ancestors in Kahiki; the ocean and 'aumakua such as 'ilioholokai; Kūpuna as a source of knowledge and mana; 'Opio as those who bare mana to the future; and mea ma'amau [traditional practices] that empower the lāhui. [Kepa]

Common themes were identified across the narratives. As with the focus group discussions, photovoice contributions held that the basic characteristics of mana included: dynamic, flowing like water, and manifests in different ways, depending on how it is used. For example, an image of the card game Huli! (Figure 2) reflects a different way to teach about money—"to think of careers and methods of changing the flow of money into localized and decentralized systems" and working to "turn mana [which is now tied to money] back into water."

Figure 1. Mana manifests in different ways (Credit: Solomon Enos)



Figure 2. Mana is accessed through kūpuna (Credit: Anonymous)



Figure 3. Mana is understanding and fulfilling potential [Credit: Umi Kai]



Figure 4. Mana is multifaceted [Credit: Kepā Maly]



Figure 5. Current manifestations of mana need to be “put to bed”
[Credit: Solomon Enos]



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Ch. 5

None

