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Hoʻohanohano I Nā Kūpuna: Proceedings from the Honor Our Ancestors Puwalu Series

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Overview. Native Hawaiians are intimately connected to the island world that surrounds them. Few outsiders can understand the true depth and meaning of this ancient relationship. The ancestors arrived with great knowledge of the natural world, and this deepened and grew as Hawaiians settled the islands and flourished over the centuries. Even during times of dramatic social change, kānaka maoli drew upon the wisdom of the ancestors to care for and make good use of the land and sea. The epic tale of the Hawaiian people is one of wisdom, strength, and the perpetuation of knowledge over the course of time.

Native Hawaiians continue to draw upon the wisdom of the past and assert their distinctive abilities and rights to use and manage the natural resources of modern Hawai'i. Representatives from each of the moku or traditional districts on all the main islands recently participated in a series of meetings designed to improve the current system of natural resource management in Hawai'i. The meetings were called *Ho'ohanohano I Nā Kūpuna* Puwalu, which means "honor the ancestors in unison." The meetings gave voice to the kūpuna, cultural practitioners, educators, policymakers, community-based activists, and others who are directly or indirectly involved in caring for and wisely using natural resources throughout the islands. This summary, and the full proceedings that follow, describe the *Ho'ohanohano I Nā Kūpuna* Puwalu and the ways in which the series of meetings is leading to improved management of natural resources across the Hawaiian Islands.

Background. The Western Pacific Regional Fishery Management Council (the Western Pacific Council) convened *Hoʻohanohano I Nā Kūpuna* Puwalu (the Puwalu series) to enable Native Hawaiians and others to participate in the management of marine resources throughout Hawaiʻi in an increasingly meaningful way. This is in keeping with the Council's holistic approach to fisheries management, which incorporates ecological principles, traditional ecological knowledge, and community involvement in natural resource deliberations and decision-making processes.

The Western Pacific Council is one of the nation's eight regional fishery management councils established under the Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act in 1976 (and amended in 1996 and 2007). Under requirements in the Act, each council is to "exercise sound judgment in the stewardship of fishery resources through the preparation, monitoring, and revision of fishery plans under circumstances which (a) will enable the States, the fishing industry, consumer and environmental organizations, and other interested persons to participate in, and advise on, the establishment and administration of such plans, and (b) take into account the social and economic needs of the States." Of note, the Act also specifies that "Pacific Insular Areas contain unique historical, cultural, legal, political, and geographical circumstances which make fisheries resources important in sustaining their economic growth."

In accord with elements of the Act that call for expanded attention to ecosystem-based approaches to fisheries management, and in keeping with similar recommendations made by the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy, Pew Oceans Commission, the United Nations, and other agencies and organizations, the Council is implementing ecosystem principles in the management of fisheries conducted in the entirety of the U.S. Exclusive Economic Zone of the Western Pacific, which includes Hawai'i, American Samoa, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas. Notably, the holistic nature of the ecosystem approach to fisheries management is congruent with the basic mode of resource management typically used in traditional island societies across the Pacific, and it necessarily engages the input of persons who are highly knowledgeable of island ecosystems and traditional ways of managing and using natural resources.

Ecosystem-based management is an interactive process. Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners have requested that knowledge of the natural environment and traditional ways of wisely using and managing natural resources be incorporated into contemporary resource management plans, and the Western Pacific Council has been responsive to this request. Many Hawaiians and others have asserted that educational venues must play a major role in implementing a holistic approach to wise use and management of marine resources, and an important motivation for the Puwalu series was the need to hear and communicate the wisdom of the kūpuna on such matters. It was determined that a venue such as the *Hoʻohanohano I Nā Kūpuna* Puwalu could further the interests of Native Hawaiians in preserving and communicating the manaʻo and ʻike that have sustained them for so many centuries.

Ahupua'a concepts, and effective representation of the needs and interests of people living in ahupua'a around the islands were central elements in the Puwalu series. Ahupua'a are distinct geographic areas, typically bounded by mountain ridges and the ocean. Residents in a given ahupua'a would typically specialize in the knowledge of upland, shoreline, or offshore resources and would cooperate to effectively manage and use those resources within and across the various ahupua'a and moku on a given island. Knowledgeable specialists or konohiki provided guidance to enhance the management and wise use of resources throughout the ahupua'a.

Principal Goal of the Puwalu Series. The overarching goal of the Puwalu series was to increase the level of participation of the Hawaiian community in the management of natural resources through a reawakening of attention to ahupua'a principles, and through broader representation of Hawaiian needs and interests throughout the islands. This goal is being advanced through development of a formalized process through which the knowledge and experience of kūpuna and cultural practitioners in moku throughout each of the main islands can be communicated to government agencies responsible for managing natural resources for the benefit of present and future generations of Hawaiians.

Focus of the Meetings. Each meeting in the Puwalu series focused on a particular aspect of traditional knowledge and practices associated with place-based management and use of marine and terrestrial resources. The first meeting involved the participation of kūpuna and cultural practitioners from each moku on each of the main islands. The participants graciously shared knowledge of a broad range of traditional fishing, agriculture, and spiritual practices, and discussed long-standing and contemporary concerns about the status of natural resources in their districts. Formation of 'Aha Moku or district councils was agreed upon as a vital first step in the process of gathering wisdom and perspectives from cultural practitioners throughout the islands.

The second meeting of the series enabled educators and cultural practitioners from the various islands and districts to engage in discussion of indigenous ways of knowing and the prospective role of such knowledge systems in educational curricula throughout Hawai'i. A central focus of the meeting was establishment of educational initiatives that would promote awareness of ahupua'a and ahupua'a-based cultural practices at all age levels.

The third meeting of the series involved extensive discussion of ahupua'a-based approaches to the management of marine resources. Possibilities for incorporating such approaches into the state's existing policy and regulatory framework were considered in great depth.

The fourth meeting built upon consensus achieved during the first three meetings to begin the process of conceptually structuring the 'Aha Moku. This required extensive discussion about the appropriate manner and mode of district-based representation, criteria for individuals to participate in the process, and issues of particular importance in each district. Discussion also focused on ahupua'a boundaries known to cultural practitioners and their 'ohana, but which had never before been formally documented.

The fifth and final meeting of the Puwalu series was held to achieve consensus on the best ways to implement a functional system of representing the needs and interests of people in ahupua'a and moku throughout the islands. Participants discussed community outreach issues and worked through prospective means for formally initiating 'Aha Ahupua'a, 'Aha Moku, and an overarching entity called an 'Aha Kiole, which would guide the overall process in the upcoming months and years.

State Act 212. The Puwalu series ultimately led to the passage of State Act 212 during the 2007 Hawai'i Legislative Session. The Act specified creation of ". . . a system of best practices that is based upon the indigenous resource management practices of moku (regional) boundaries, which acknowledges the natural contours of land, the specific resources located within those areas, and the methodology necessary to sustain resources and the community." The Act called for designation of an 'Aha Kiole to oversee the process, and the establishment of 'Aha Moku that would advise the natural resource management process in Hawai'i. State Senate Bill 1108, passed in April 2009 (Act 039), extended the formalized functioning of the 'Aha Kiole through June 30, 2011.

Summary of the First Meeting

No Nā Lae'ula (Traditional Practitioners)

The first meeting of the Puwalu series involved extensive discussion about the steps needed to reestablish ahupua'a-based natural resource management practices in the Hawaiian Islands. Participants from around the island chain asserted their deep attachment to the land and its resources, and their dedication to lawai'a, mahi'ai, and other important traditional and cultural practices that have long been undertaken across the various mokupuni, moku, and ahupua'a. Cultural practitioners from each moku shared their 'ike regarding traditional practices.

Numerous topics of importance were discussed. These included the following: (a) the critical importance of cultural protocol and the need to treat traditional knowledge with great respect as a precious heritage of Native Hawaiians, (b) the spiritual and practical significance of the moon and the Hawaiian lunar calendar, (c) the importance of communicating cultural knowledge and practical experience across generations of Hawaiians, (d) the importance of limu and the exemplary performance of the Limu Project on Moloka'i, (e) the dire need for preservation of Native Hawaiian fishing and spiritual practices and associated values into the future, (f) the growing problem of marine pollution and problems with reef ecosystems around the islands, (g) the loss of Native fishing rights and resources in Hawai'i, (h) the problem of invasive species, and (i) lack of enforcement of existing regulations regarding use or misuse of natural resources.

Some participants in the Puwalu series were reluctant to share cultural values and practices with others attending the meetings for fear that the knowledge would be exploited or result in further depletion of resources. Others did not want to share out of respect for their kūpuna who desire that such knowledge remain secret. Virtually all participants were adamant that the 'ike belongs to the kūpuna, and that no one should be able to use such knowledge for purposes of profit.

There was extensive discussion regarding documentation of traditional practices. Many participants felt that if a practice is not documented, it cannot be adequately regulated or protected. Although written documentation is not traditionally Hawaiian, it was decided that palapala would be needed to establish legally recognized 'Aha Moku. All agreed that knowledge of traditional practices should be treated very carefully as it is at the heart of Native Hawaiian culture, a culture that has been exploited by outsiders for centuries.

On the last day of the meeting, discussion turned from cultural practices to legislative issues. Participants related overarching concerns about natural resources and resource management, and discussed means for incorporating such concerns into resolutions that could be presented to the state legislature. Stated concerns addressed: (a) the environmental effects of coastal development, including the effects of runoff from golf courses and hotels; (b) indigenous needs and rights to use and manage marine resources; (c) problems associated with permanently closed fishing areas; (c) problems associated

with new gill net regulations; (d) the damaging effects that newly immigrating populations can exert on marine resources; (e) inappropriate fishing practices; (f) the taking of ceded lands; (g) laws that are inconsistent with traditional practices; (h) lifestyle changes among Native Hawaiians; (i) non-native plants and invasive species; (j) preservation of fish ponds; (k) marine pollution; (l) the impact of motorized vehicles on Native Hawaiian lands and the effects of tour boats and jet skis on marine ecosystems; and (m) the granting of land use permits without regard to the potential effects these might have on Native Hawaiians.

Participants attending the first meeting of the Puwalu series asserted that government agencies in Hawai'i must work to protect the rights of Native Hawaiians and the natural resources that sustain them. Specific concerns were voiced regarding the establishment of marine protected areas in the islands, and the effects that closing fishing areas might have on Native Hawaiian fishermen, their families, and the communities of which they are a part. It was noted that area closures are not part of the traditional means for managing marine resources.

The recent gill net ban was discussed at length, and some participants asserted that the ban unfairly punishes many for the actions of a few indiscriminate fishermen who leave nets unattended or who tend to over-fish in certain areas. Such behavior was seen to be in contrast with traditional use of nets, which was more deliberative and careful. Participants proposed that expanded monitoring of fishing activities was needed to reduce such problems. Many also asserted that the konohiki and kapu-based systems of management should be reestablished and would be useful in regard to the use of nets and other gear. The konihiki system involves direct observation and monitoring of resources and fishing practices by a locally based cultural expert, and the kapu system involves periodic prohibitions and restrictions on certain fishing and shoreline gathering practices. While both of these traditional forms of resource management were undertaken in different ways and times in different moku or ahupua'a, it was noted that neither involved permanent closures of fishing or gathering areas.

Participants universally called for ahupua'a-based management of natural resources. Because many Native Hawaiians maintain deep knowledge of marine and terrestrial resources in and around their respective areas of residence, they are well-positioned to reestablish working ahupua'a. While concerns were stated about possible limitations on fishing and gathering activities that might be established in association with reestablishment of ahupua'a, it was asserted that there should be opportunities for people to use resources within and across ahupua'a boundaries provided that they comply with local rules, customs, and cultural protocol.

In the final hours of the meeting, participants drafted a resolution to "begin the process to uphold and continue Hawaiian traditional land and ocean practices into the governance and education of the Hawaiian archipelago." The resolution called for the "perpetuation and preservation of the knowledge of practitioners and the restoration of healthy ecosystems through furtherance of the ahupua'a management system, including konohiki management with kapu and hoa'āina rights and the reestablishment of the 'Aha Moku."

The resolution was approved and adopted on August 17, 2006, and is provided in its final form below.



Resolution to unite Native Hawaiians to move forward, to live, to grow, to gather together, to stand firm and to restore and perpetuate the Hawaiian way of life.

WHEREAS, more than 100 elders, parents and youth traditionalists, practitioners and experts as well as lineal descendants of the original inhabitants of the islands, Kure Atoll, Midway Atoll, Pearl and Hermes Atoll, Lisianski Island, Laysan Island, Maro Reef, Gardner Pinnacles, French Frigate Shoals, Necker Island, Nihoa, Ni'ihau, Kaua'i, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, Maui and Hawai'i - met to honor our ancestors in the first of a series of conferences;

WHEREAS, this first conference provided distinguished elders, practitioners and experts a forum to discuss and share the cultural practices of the fishermen and the farmers from the ahupua'a of 45 traditional land districts of the Hawaii archipelago;

WHEREAS, the participants acknowledged that the spiritual and physical well being of indigenous people of Hawaii are intrinsically tied to the land and the sea;

WHEREAS, the participants recognized that the knowledge they share and hold reflects thousands of years of experience sustaining the resources of the land and the sea;

WHEREAS, the participants identified examples of impacts negatively affecting their access to, and the abundance and availability of, the natural resources;

WHEREAS, the participants reaffirmed to move forward together with one voice as lineal descendents and urge the Hawaiian people and supporters of Hawaiian culture to rise up to ensure the community's health, safety and welfare;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that those attending this conference call on Hawaiian people to begin the process to uphold and continue traditional Hawaiian land and ocean practices in the governance and education of the Hawai'i archipelago;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the conference participants call for perpetuation and preservation of the knowledge of practitioners and the restoration of healthy ecosystems through furtherance of the ahupua'a management system, konohiki management, kapu, hoa'āina rights and the re-establishment of 'Aha Moku.

Finished is the stealing of the land; finished is the stealing of the sea; finished is the stealing of the life of the land. The people of the land shall rise up.

- Wanana prophecy

Summary of the Second Meeting

Ke Kumu 'Ike Hawai'i (Source of Hawaiian Knowledge)

The second meeting of the Puwalu series involved the participation of cultural practitioners and educators from around Hawai'i. The intent of the meeting was to provide a forum that would allow participants to address the challenges of integrating aspects of traditional ecological knowledge into the state's educational curricula. Educators present at the conference included Hawaiian language immersion specialists, charter school delegates, persons working in private school settings, and representatives from the Department of Education. Participants discussed a variety of challenges associated with reestablishing an ahupua'a-based system of natural resource management, and it was agreed that outreach efforts and educational venues should be central to the effort.

Cultural practitioners provided educators with summary information about some of the traditional values and practices discussed during the initial meeting of the Puwalu series. There was strong emphasis on the need for Native Hawaiians to continue the tradition of sharing knowledge between the kūpuna and the keiki. It was agreed that teachers could support the 'ohana in the transmission of knowledge between generations, and in educating children regarding the proper care and use of natural resources. There was also discussion about the need for Hawaiian teachers to educate children who do not have kūpuna from whom to learn about the natural environment and traditional ways of living.

Educators discussed ways to incorporate traditional knowledge into a sample curriculum that could be used in schools throughout the islands. Some participants suggested that opportunities for experiential learning should be developed, and that lessons should be moku-specific. However, because many teachers in the education system are not Native Hawaiian, a cultural practices training program would be essential to the success of such a program. It was determined that the success of any future hands-on learning program would require the acceptance and guidance of knowledgeable individuals, families, and hui througout the various moku.

The educators also discussed potential obstacles to teaching traditional knowledge and practices in the classroom. Many felt that although the effort would be highly rewarding, incorporation of place-specific traditional knowledge into lesson plans would likely involve various administrative and practical challenges, including the following:

- How to categorize and manage an inventory of diverse cultural practices:
- How to decide what is the most essential to teach, and how to teach in a way that is age-appropriate;
- How to standardize the terms used to communicate a curriculum involving traditional knowledge;

- How to devise a holistic approach to teaching that incorporates the needs of parents, neighbors, and the larger community;
- How to incorporate traditional knowledge and experiential learning into a system that otherwise emphasizes Euro-American topics and perspectives; and
- How to measure educational attainment of traditional knowledge.

The educators identified existing education policies that have the potential to hinder incorporation of traditional knowledge and traditional ways of knowing into contemporary curricula around the state. For instance, some participants anticipated difficulty in gaining permission to bring kūpuna into the classroom as instructors. Permission for off-campus field trips, essential for hands-on learning, was also thought likely to involve administrative hurdles.

Participants considered a range of prospective solutions to the identified challenges. For instance, educators suggested that a policy statement could be obtained from the Department of Education or from the State Legislature affirming the importance of teaching key elements of Native Hawaiian history and culture in the classroom. Educators also considered ways and means for enabling cultural practitioners to be allowed to teach. This could involve an accreditation system based in part on long years of experience and wisdom rather than years of schooling. Finally, educators stressed that if Native Hawaiian studies are not to be part of the core curriculum, students should at least be given the opportunity to undertake such study and earn credit for so doing.

The second meeting of the Puwalu series concluded with heartfelt statements of positive affirmation about the future. Participants agreed to: (a) apply what they had learned during the meeting to the development of strategies for incorporating traditional and customary knowledge into school curricula in Hawai'i; (b) continue seeking out and learning from valid sources of traditional knowledge and culture; (c) establish and maintain rapport with cultural practitioners and educators in their respective communities; (d) create a website and/or list to facilitate the sharing of sources of traditional knowledge and culture, ideas for new curricula, and prospective lesson plans.

While the second meeting in the Puwalu series was largely focused on issues related to formal and informal modes of education and the content of contemporary and future curricula, there was also extensive and ongoing discussion of natural resources and establishment of the 'Aha Moku. Participants made the following recommendations on these topics:

- 'Aha Moku should be established on each island;
- Laws should be developed to prohibit introduction of invasive species and to remove alien species that are already affecting the environment;
- A full inventory of natural resources should be conducted across the islands, and a monitoring plan should be established to gauge changes in such resources and associated ecosystems;

- State and county governments should establish means for community-based enforcement of rules and practices associated with use of natural resources in each ahupua'a; and
- A state holiday should be established to celebrate and honor the kānaka maoli.

Summary of the Third Meeting

Lawena Aupuni (Addressing Governance)

The third meeting of the Puwalu series was focused on the development of policy options for reestablishing ahupua'a-based resource management throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Many challenges were identified in this regard, and participants repeatedly discussed the need for policy-makers to address the many competing interests that characterize use and management of natural resources in contemporary Hawai'i. These include: the needs of the individual versus those of society at-large; use of resources versus conservation of resources; and informal modes of governance versus formalized laws and policies.

Contemporary challenges and recognition of competing interests notwithstanding, participants universally asserted the need to move forward with reestablishment of traditional strategies for using, managing, and conserving natural resources. Discussion repeatedly returned to the fact that Native Hawaiians had, over many centuries, developed highly effective strategies to care for and use resources in a manner beneficial to physical and human environments on each of the islands. There was also much discussion about the changes and associated challenges that had occurred following the arrival of new people and ideas in the islands, and the need to recognize the great value of the ecological knowledge that has been accumulated and is still being used by Native Hawaiians today. This sentiment was captured in the opening remarks by Kitty Simonds, Executive Director of the Western Pacific Council:

I welcome you today as agents of change in Hawai'i, ready to shift and advance the way we view and manage our natural resources . . . we are not blind to the signs that foretell destruction of our natural resources and our native culture unless something is done now. Our shift into the future is a step back to retrieve and revive the native culture of Hawai'i that was supplanted by Western culture. It is a long overdue step to recognize the value of the culture that existed for millennia in these islands and which is embodied in the cultural practitioners who are gathered with us today. This valuable inheritance is available for all of us if we are willing to accept it.

Much of the meeting involved discussion of the process through which the interests, values, needs, and knowledge of the indigenous people of Hawai'i could be formally incorporated into government decisions about the management of natural resources. In Hawaiian terms, this would involve the establishment of 'Aha Ahupua'a, 'Aha Moku, and an 'Aha Kiole. It was determined that the process could be configured differently on different islands, but that in all cases, persons specializing in traditional ahupua'a-based fishing and agricultural practices would play a key role in representing Native Hawaiians in any government decisions that could affect the status of marine and terrestrial ecosystems around the Hawaiian Islands.

Recent Legislative Initiatives. Certain institutions in Hawai'i have recently developed means for incorporating indigenous ecological knowledge and traditional practices into formalized management of natural resources. For instance, the Association of Hawaiian

Civic Clubs (AHCC) and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) have incorporated the need for attention to traditional practices into the *Draft Ocean Resources Management Plan* (ORMP) developed by the State of Hawai'i Office of Planning, and the *Hawai'i 2050 Sustainibility Plan*, developed by the Hawai'i 2050 Sustainability Task Force.

The basic tenets of the ORMP clearly are in keeping with the focus of the Puwalu series. The plan calls for establishment of Moku Councils that will "provide for the wise use of Hawai'i's resources in a coordinated, efficient, and economic manner and ensure that comprehensive planning will enhance the quality of life of all Hawai'i's people." Similarly, the *Hawai'i 2050 Sustainability Plan* recommends extensive community involvement and incorporation of Native Hawaiian values and knowledge into the long-term natural resource management process.

Some participants in the third meeting of the Puwalu series expressed skepticism about the potential for the *Hawai'i 2050 Sustainability Plan* to succeed in serving the needs and interests of Native Hawaiians. The Chair of the Task Force, Senator Kokobun, explained that the group has established a review body and a set of indicators for measuring progress, and that 'Aha Moku representatives can play a significant role in the implementation of the plan. The senator asserted that the Task Force will need as much input as possible to effectively incorporate Native Hawaiian values and concepts.

The Puwalu series is significant from a fisheries-specific planning perspective. Members of the Western Pacific Council noted that the event is serving to improve understanding of previously undocumented place-specific fishing practices and related ecological knowledge. Thus, the Puwalu series and the establishment of a process for enhancing the participation of Native Hawaiians in local and regional management of marine resources may help satisfy stipulations in the nation's Magnuson-Stevens Fishery Conservation and Management Act, amendments to which call for development of "means by which local and traditional knowledge (including Pacific islander, Native Hawaiian, and Alaskan Native knowledge) can enhance science-based management of fishery resources ..." It was also noted that the series may help satisfy provisions in the Magnuson Act which call for marine education and training programs that "foster understanding and practical use of knowledge, including Native Hawaiian, Alaska Native, and other [indigenous knowledge] regarding stewardship of living marine resources."

Salient Concerns. Some participants in the Puwalu series stated that various state agencies were not adequately addressing the needs of Native Hawaiians in the cultural assessment process. It was asserted that in order to make environmental assessment (EA) and environmental impact assessment (EIS) processes relevant for the 21st century, existing laws and policies may need to be changed to better accommodate the public interest. More specifically, it was felt that questions put forth during the EA and EIS public comment periods often go unanswered or unaddressed, and that in Hawai'i, the process should be more sincerely responsive to the needs of Native Hawaiians. One solution discussed at the meeting was that at least one cultural practitioner should have direct input into any and all resource management or other EA or EIS-related decisions that could affect Native Hawaiian culture, heritage, customs, traditions, or resources.

Numerous participants also discussed concerns about the enforcement dimension of natural resource management in Hawai'i. The overarching sentiment expressed at the meeting was that reinstatement of the konohiki and ahupua'a systems would likely improve protection of marine and terrestrial resources, especially in remote areas around the islands. Meeting participants asserted that it is currently quite difficult for residents to gain the assistance of government agencies in addressing problems regarding the status of marine and other natural resources, especially in the more remote moku and ahupua'a. For instance, one participant discussed the need to address long-term planning for effective response to natural disasters in rural parts of the state. From his perspective, response to Hurricanes Iniki and Ewa on the Island of Kaua'i were not highly effective in certain locations, and a more efficient response would have involved the sanctioned participation of local residents in remote communities. Another participant discussed the immediate challenges of disposing of a whale that had washed up on a beach in a remote ahupua'a, and her dissatisfaction with government agencies who might have responded to the situation more effectively.

Localized water shortage problems were also discussed. In each case it was determined that the effectiveness of response to localized problems would be enhanced by returning a measure of authority to konohiki in specific districts and ahupua'a, and by ensuring representation of local needs, concerns, and interests to government agencies through 'Aha Ahupua'a, 'Aha Moku, and an 'Aha Kiole.

Potentially Compatible Government and Community Programs and Initiatives. An important objective of the Puwalu series was to identify ways in which existing government and community programs and initiatives could be enhanced through reestablishment of an ahupua'a or moku-based approach to the care of natural resources around the islands. A variety of new initiatives were discussed in this regard during the course of the third meeting of the series.

For instance, as noted above, the ORMP recognizes that governance of ocean resources would be enhanced though adoption of an ahupua'a and moku-based management approach. The Plan also discusses the potential for improving the status of the state's natural resources through consolidation of government agencies that function under similar mandates, and through establishment of meaningful partnerships between government agencies and local communities.

The Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) has established several community partnerships in recent years. These include: (a) a curator agreement with the Royal Order of Kamehameha I; (b) work with Kailua Hawaiian Civic Club to care for Kawai Nui Marsh on Oʻahu; and (c) support for ʻAhahui Mālama I Ka Lōkahi in its efforts to care for Ulupō Heiau. The agency has also developed an agreement with Puʻu Olai Wetland Management Association to enhance protection of wetland areas near Mākena, and maintains formal support for ʻIolani Palace, the Huliheʻe Palace, and the Queen Emma Summer Palace. The agency also maintains a curatorial agreement with the Hawaiian Civic Club of Wahiawā for the Kūkaniloko Birthing Stones. The agency is

also working to facilitate local involvement in fishery management at Hā'ena on Kaua'i, and management of marine resources at Maunalua Bay on O'ahu. The agency has established the Mauka/Makai Watch Program, which facilitates local monitoring of resources of land and sea. Agency representatives present at the meeting reported an eagerness to expand such partnerships.

Regarding Traditional Natural Resource Management Approaches. An important topic of discussion undertaken during the third meeting in the series addressed the nature of "Western" or Euro-American societal perspectives on resource management, as distinct from the perspectives typically held by Native Hawaiians and indigenous cultural practitioners. As summarized in the table below, the perspectives were indeed envisioned as being quite different. This has significant implications for resource management in Hawai'i should the Native Hawaiian perspective be better incorporated into the existing systems of governance.

Topic	Euro-American Perspective	Native Hawaiian Perspective
Predominant Purpose for Using Living Marine Resources	Commerce, Recreation, Consumption	Cultural Traditions, Consumption and Sharing, Recreation, Commerce
Years of Fisheries Data Collection	< 100	> 1,000
Relation to the Land	Ownership	Stewardship
Normative Fishing Ethic	Take what you can	Take what you need
Management Horizons	Present and future (few generations)	Past, present, future (many generations)
Rules and Regulations	Rigid	Adaptive

It was stated at the meeting that modern science and contemporary management approaches often do not address whole systems and relationships of the human and biological components that comprise the whole. The ecosystem approach is just beginning to address such interrelationships and clearly may benefit from attention to systems of traditional knowledge which do tend to be holistic in nature. Moreover, most Americans are disconnected from the origin of the food they consume and most lack any real understanding of and appreciation for the functioning ecosystems that generate wild foods from land and sea. Conversely, knowledge of the natural world is common in communities where people are involved in the pursuit and use of such foods, and healthy ecosystems are highly valued.

These differences in perspectives and experiences are not academic constructs. The indigenous people of Hawai'i have been developing an empirical understanding of the land and sea for nearly two millennia. Native Hawaiian fishermen, farmers, and cultural practitioners assert that any valid approach to caring for natural resources must draw on knowledge developed over this long course of history.

Native Hawaiians typically consider themselves stewards rather than owners of the land and sea. Indigenous residents of any given ahupua'a often maintain their rights to harvest natural resources and assume the responsibilities of caring for those resources. Puwalu participants asserted that this system of localized use and management optimizes the

well-being of the ecosystems and that of its users. By way of contrast, Hawaiians often assert that management of resources under the Euro-American paradigm involves formal centralized control of resources and habitats and thus less sensitivity to local biophysical dynamics, less appreciation for the needs and interests of the indigenous human populations, and less capacity for enforcing rules and regulations at the local level.

Traditional resource management is often said to be relatively more adaptable to real-time conditions and situations in specific places, places which in sociocultural and biophysical terms can vary significant within and across the islands. Under the traditional system, rules and regulations are developed on an ad hoc basis by konohiki to guide fishermen and others so as to avoid jeopardizing the sustainability of resources in specific areas. In contrast, institutionalized statewide rules are far less flexible and adaptive to localized conditions which can vary from ahupua'a to ahupua'a, moku to moku, and island to island.

Summary of the Fourth Meeting

Kūkulu Ka 'Upena (Building the Net)

The fourth meeting of the Puwalu series was focused on the conceptual structuring of the various 'Aha. The 'upena represents the capacity of Hawaiians to interact under a hierarchical system of management that is sensitive to local needs and conditions but which brings unity to Hawaiians seeking to use and manage resources in a sustainable fashion.

The meeting involved extended discussion of the basic criteria needed for choosing council representatives, and identification of the most salient issues that continue to affect Native Hawaiians in each of the 37 moku across the islands. Historic government maps depicting ahupua'a boundaries were updated with previously undocumented boundaries that are commonly known to Hawaiian practitioners and their 'ohana but that had never been formally recorded. Participants adopted the *Ho'ohanohano I Nā Kūpuna* Puwalu series mission statement to serve as inspiration for any future work associated with the 'Aha Moku process.

The relationship between the Hawaiian people and natural resources of land and sea is symbiotic. The health of one is dependent on the other. The particulars of this wisdom have been handed down over many generations. Timmy Bailey, respected mahi'ai from Maui, expressed the deep feeling permeating the groups of participants, stating that "as Native Hawaiians, it is not our right, but our duty to continue what our ancestors have set forth for us to proudly claim - we are Hawaiians . Today it is imperative that we at once understand our past culture and recognize our living culture."

Many Ahupua'a, Many Concerns. The first day of the meeting was dedicated to identifying traditional moku and ahupua'a boundaries, and to discussing the traditions associated with use of natural resources in the ocean, along the shoreline, and in the mountains. Representatives from each of the principal mokupuni gave in-depth presentations about the various moku and associated traditions on each island, and each discussed prevalent concerns about the status of the islands' natural resources. Priority issues were brought to the forefront. These included: practices and protocols needed for effective representation on the councils; problems associated with development, such as increasingly limited public access to the ocean; concerns related to inter-generational communication of traditional Hawaiian values; problems associated with fishing and fishing rights; problematic interactions between endemic and invasive species; and specific and generalized concerns regarding the health of the ocean, watersheds, streams, and rivers across the state.

Meeting participants felt that 'Aha Moku were the most appropriate venue through which the wisdom and interests of Hawaiians could be communicated to exert a positive influence on the state's natural resource policy decisions. It was agreed that the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs was the ideal vehicle for advocating passage of the 'Aha Moku Bill in the state Legislature.

Configuring the 'Aha Moku. During the second day of the meeting, participants delved deeper into practical issues associated with establishing the 'Aha Moku. Criteria and qualifications for prospective representatives were discussed at length, and it was clear that these should maximize representation of Native Hawaiian needs, interests, and traditional values, while also accommodating variability between islands and districts and ensuring effective communication between all parties. Representatives from each island offered their perspectives on ideal means of representation. It was agreed that the system must in all cases be holistic in nature, and capable of addressing traditional sustainable uses of land, water, shoreline, and ocean resources. It was determined that 'Aha Moku representatives would need to meet criteria approved by representatives of all islands present at the meeting, but that selection of representatives for participation in the 'Aha Ahupua'a and 'Aha Moku could vary by island.

There was strong agreement to move toward formal legal organization of a council for each moku on each of the main islands. Guidelines to enable effective representation were established at each level of the system. These included means for ensuring that persons with recognized expertise in lawai'a and mahi'ai could contribute in a meaningful way to future policy and regulatory decisions regarding the use of natural resources in the Hawaiian Islands. The meeting ended with group affirmation to further any and all efforts to advance the 'Aha process. All those present were asked to remember the ancient prophesy that "the Native Hawaiian will rise to prominence on the crest of the wave."

Summary of the Fifth Meeting

E Ho'oni I Na Kai 'Ewalu! E Ho'ale Ka Lepo Popolo!

(Stir up the Eight Seas, Rise up People of Hawaii)

The Puwalu series was convened to further enable a community consultation process that will enhance the capacity of Native Hawaiians to contribute their knowledge and practical experience to government decisions regarding the use of natural resources in the Hawaiian Islands. The final meeting of the series focused on practical issues associated with the nature of the 'Aha Ahupua'a, the 'Aha Moku, and the 'Aha Kiole. The first day of the meeting involved a series of breakout workshop sessions focused on ways and means needed to integrate 'Aha Moku into existing governmental and community programs that address or advocate the sustainable use of natural resources and ecosystems around the Hawaiian Islands.

A variety of best practices models were discussed, and there was a natural tendency for traditional Hawaiian knowledge and practices to be considered most intensively. It was agreed that whatever models are to be adapted should reflect the predominant needs and interest of the people in the places in question. For example, people in some districts may be well-versed or primarily interested in the lunar calendar, others in seasonal kapus, and yet others in the teachings of the kūpuna. Participants generally agreed that while Hawaiian lineage is an important part of ensuring representation of Native Hawaiian needs, interests, and values, it may also be beneficial to consider perspectives that non-Hawaiians might bring to the process.

Traditional knowledge was woven through discussions during both days of the final meeting, with emphasis on retaining knowledge and traditions unique to each district and each island. It was determined that participants from each ahupua'a would be responsible for identifying persons with expert knowledge of important issues; kapus or other forms of local management or governance that are specific to certain areas; and potentially effective means of enforcing customs, rules, and regulations on a local basis.

Other topics covered during the discussion centered on mechanisms for ensuring that the needs and concerns of residents in each ahupua'a be clearly known and communicated; that the well-being of such persons is prioritized; and that there are processes in place for educating residents of the ahupua'a about the 'Aha Moku process and the need for effective representation.

Participants agreed to the need for a repository of contact information, so that participants at the Kiole level can easily reach and work with the various 'ohana and specialists in each ahupua'a.

There was consensus that various assemblies will succeed to the extent that wise and effective leaders are involved at each level of the process. Participants in the workshop agreed that among other attributes, leaders must possess traditional knowledge that has

been handed down over the generations and knowledge of the spiritual connection between natural resources and Native Hawaiian values and practices.

Prospective consultation processes were discussed for 'Aha Ahupua'a, 'Aha Moku, and the 'Aha Kiole. Among other elements of such processes, it was determined that: (a) the 'Aha Moku and 'Aha Kiole would be accountable to 'Aha Ahupua'a in all matters and that the ahupua'a would be autonomous community organizations; (b) those represented in a given ahupua'a may elect to manage natural resources based on the konohiki system, kūpuna knowledge, or other suitable natural and culturally appropriate resource management practices; (c) government agencies must be held accountable for actions that impact traditional cultural and natural resources; and (d) it will ultimately be the responsibility of people in each ahupua'a to mālama local resources.

Necessary and appropriate functions of the 'Aha Moku were also discussed. Among other attributes, it was decided that the body should function as: (a) the facilitator for interactions between 'Aha Ahupua'a and government agencies, and the point of liaison and contact between 'Aha Ahupua'a and the 'Aha Kiole; (b) an integral part of existing governmental permitting processes and as a source of information about permitting as it could affect each ahupua'a and moku; and (c) a source of mediation for resolving issues of pertinence to the various 'Aha Ahupua'a.

Finally, workshop attendees worked to define the role of the 'Aha Kiole. It was determined that the 'Aha Kiole should function to: (a) facilitate 'Aha Ahupua'a interactions with county, state, federal, and international agencies and issues; (b) seek a permanent seat on all governing boards and commissions that make decisions that could affect life in the ahupua'a and moku; (c) work to implement statutes and ordinances deemed necessary by the 'Aha Moku; (d) facilitate training and education necessary to assess and monitor natural resources in each ahupua'a and/or moku; (e) facilitate the training and education necessary for local enforcement of natural and cultural resource management strategies in each ahupua'a and moku; and (f) seek cooperation with county, state, and federal agencies to aid in the enforcement of natural and cultural resource management strategies in each ahupua'a and moku.

Participants in the five-part *Ho'ohanohano I Nā Kūpuna* Puwalu series ultimately identified key elements that would need to be continually considered as the 'Aha process advances over time. These were revisited during the final portion of the last meeting in the series as summarized here:

Element 1: Connect the Ocean and the Land: deeply consider and value the connection of land and sea, and the importance of healthy wetlands, streams, and estuaries, and how these impact the health of the marine and terrestrial ecosystems; maintain attention to issues that impact the shoreline, marine habitats, and fisheries.

Element 2: Safeguard Native Hawaiian Traditional Resource Methodology and Sustainability: protect the cultural and natural resource traditions and customs of Native Hawaiians;

Element 3: Continue to Streamline an Administrative Structure for the 'Aha Moku: develop media and public relations programs to educate all islanders on the merits of traditional stewardship.

Element 4: Promote Collaboration, Education and Stewardship: identify specific resources and traditional methodologies employed in the sustainable use of natural resources of land and sea; establish a consensus process on natural resource use issues and management strategies based on Native Hawaiian knowledge and traditions; build capacity for community participation in traditional use and management of natural resources; establish means for effective collaboration with educational facilities such as public, private, charter and vocational schools and universities; and establish an information repository.

Element 5: Institutionalize and Program for Integrated Natural and Cultural Resource Management: develop legislative and administrative proposals to improve management of natural resources; establish seats on relevant government committees; and develop direct links between 'Aha Moku and government agencies.

In sum, the goal of the *Ho'ohanohano I Nā Kupuna* Puwalu series to increase participation of the Native Hawaiian community in decisions regarding the sustainable use of Hawaii's natural resources by reestablishing place-based traditional community and cultural consultation processes and relating these to the existing system of governance was strengthened during this final meeting. Participants crystallized the formative goals and objectives of an 'Aha Kiole and the permanent roles of the 'Aha Moku. The meeting continually addressed practical issues, and in the end furthered a critically important mechanism for revivifying Native Hawaiian knowledge and traditions, and furthering the values, needs, and interests of the indigenous people of Hawai'i in the years to come.