

Book and Media Reviews

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Kuleana and Commitment: Working Toward a Collaborative Hawaiian Archaeology, by Kathleen L Kawelu. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015. ISBN 978-0-8248-4680-0; xi + 141 pages, glossaries, notes, references, index. Cloth, us\$39.00.

Kathleen Kawelu, associate professor of anthropology at the University of Hawai'i–Hilo, is to be commended for venturing into the sensitive terrain of relations between archaeologists in Hawai'i and Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians); her book, *Kuleana and Commitment: Working Toward a Collaborative Hawaiian Archaeology*, is an honest attempt to bridge cultural, racial, and historic chasms. Despite leaving a few questions unexplored, it succeeds admirably in raising issues that too often emerge only at heated community meetings related to particular land development projects, where they are compressed into sound bites for the evening news.

In the introduction, Kawelu divulges that the intent of the book is to explore power asymmetries related to cultural heritage management and the reasons Native Hawaiians are often critical of the practice of archaeology in Hawai'i. The author discusses a few of the hot-button issues: the historic role played by a Western discipline in the subordination of Kānaka Maoli, the lack of meaningful consultation and communication with Kanaka Maoli communities, and the attitude of some archaeologists that “viewed ancient peoples as separate from contemporary descendants” (14). Anticipating her conclusion, Kawelu comments, “What we perceive as a vast divide between descendant com-

munities and archaeologists does not exist and must not be perpetuated” (13). She also outlines the book's methodology, an ethnographic study of the field of archaeology through a series of interviews with practicing archaeologists and Kanaka Maoli stakeholders.

A chapter on the history of archaeology in Hawai'i reveals that the traditional kāhuna kuhikuhipu'uone (priests responsible for the building of heiau [places of worship]) practiced a non-Western form of indigenous archaeology. However, the chapter principally covers the span of Western presence in the Islands, from missionary times to the present, and touches on the major institutions that now shape the profession: the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Hawai'i–Mānoa, and the State Historic Preservation Office. Kawelu's treatment delivers an excellent formal overview of each sector.

Like the chapter on the history of archaeology in Hawai'i, the subsequent chapter on seven controversial projects serves as an excellent, if brief, overview of land and burial issues that sometimes took decades to resolve. The projects include the island of Kaho'olawe; the H-3 freeway, the construction of the Ke'eaumoku Street Walmart, Mōkapu, and the Kawaihae Cave Complex, all on the island of O'ahu; Honokahua on Maui; and the Hōkūli'a development in Kona on the island of Hawai'i. Clearly not intended to be comprehensive accounts, her summaries of these projects will be valuable for students entering the field and serve nicely to reinforce subsequent chapters.

The book is primarily an ethnographic study of the field of archaeology itself as it is practiced in Hawai‘i. The following three chapters make up its core ethnographic portion. Eighty-nine people were interviewed, including Kanaka Maoli community members, Kanaka Maoli archaeologists, and non-Kanaka Maoli archaeologists. Kānaka Maoli are defined as either activist or non-activist, with a discussion of what factors went into making that distinction. Archaeologists are also divided into groups representing those working in government, cultural resource management, and academia. Research methodology, interview questions, and interview techniques are all laid out comprehensively, with specific background details offered for those anonymous interview subjects whose views are summarized or quoted.

Comments by Kanaka Maoli respondents affirm the very worst views of archaeologists as patronizing intruders extracting knowledge with little respect for individuals or communities. Some of the phrases relayed in the statements include terms such as “cultural voyeurism,” “maha‘oi” (rude), and “nīele” (plying with frivolous questions). In a telling contrast, one senior white archaeologist observes that he does not believe there are any difficulties between archaeology and Kānaka Maoli and comments that young Hawaiians have invented these concerns.

Between these two extremes, negotiating a middle ground, are a growing number of Kanaka Maoli archaeologists, like Kawelu. From this group emerges an affirmation of the value of the field to both Kānaka Maoli and

science. It is in this section of the book that Kawelu, building on the statements of her respondents, elaborates on the cultural value of kuleana—the awareness of one’s own cultural obligations—and a corresponding respect for those of others. White archaeologists, according to this group of professionals, have for years violated their kuleana by failing to consult and work with Kanaka Maoli communities, by being maha‘oi. The conflict has been especially sharp when archaeologists are perceived as facilitating land development projects that ignore the kuleana of Kanaka Maoli families to care for iwi kūpuna (ancestral bones) in areas earmarked for development. Kawelu describes all of this using as a basis the complex matrix of capitalism, private property rights, and an underfunded State Historic Preservation Office, with the latter perceived as being incapable of monitoring the work of archaeologists, some of whom are well known for work that favors the interests of developers.

The book’s final chapter emerges from interview commentaries to call for increased communication between archaeologists and Kānaka Maoli, greater respect for a living Kanaka Maoli culture by archaeologists, and a recognition by Kānaka Maoli that not all archaeologists sell themselves to land development interests—that there are potential allies within the field. Additionally, Kawelu calls for a sharing of power. She offers a definition of community-based archaeology that goes beyond consultation to promote participation by indigenous communities to “protect cultural landscapes” and to lessen the “assault on the Kanaka Maoli past” (135). In her

view, this results in a win-win for both archaeologists and Kānaka Maoli. There are, of course, degrees of participation; a genuine sharing of power beyond mere window dressing might in the end consist of participation by a local indigenous community in the assigning of function and significance in archaeological reports.

Still, Kawelu's proposals make for an excellent and welcome roadmap toward collaborative archaeology in Hawai'i, especially for those who have cringed at seeing, decade after decade, the very worst practices used to facilitate large development projects. This map would have been reinforced by examples of community-based archaeology already taking place in Hawai'i. For instance, archaeologist Rosanna Thurman has worked for several years at Maunawila Heiau in Hau'ula to integrate knowledge learned through archaeological studies at the site into community-based projects and events that encourage partnerships among scientific professionals, cultural and community organizations, and residents of Ko'olauloa. The points made in this final chapter might also have been underscored by references to other academic fields that have undergone a parallel shift. Ethnomusicology, for example, was dominated initially by Western scholars traveling to exotic places to study indigenous music. Now, increasingly, native and heritage students and researchers have entered the field, taking ownership of their own musical traditions and redefining them from within.

This is a tightly focused book that makes a few reasonable suggestions principally directed toward archaeology students and archaeologists. It

serves nicely, however, as the preface to a broader, general-interest study that is yet to be written. In the introduction, Kawelu briefly mentions indigenous archaeology, leaving to a subsequent book the task of giving the term a concrete, local frame of reference. There have certainly been Kānaka Maoli who have walked the uneven terrain between cultures in staking out an indigenous repurposing of archaeology. For example, in the early 1950s historian Henry Kekahuna not only obtained highly specific cultural knowledge from an elderly paniolo (ranch hand), Naluahine Kaopua (according to Kekahuna's field notes and Kaopua's descendants), but he also passed it on in his hand-drawn maps of heiau complexes. And if Kekahuna was reconstructing the major heiau of Kailua-Kona on the island of Hawai'i in those maps, expert mason Billy Fields is now practicing a form of indigenous archaeology by dismantling and then rebuilding them.

A follow-up book might also cover the same land development projects described in Kawelu's third chapter, "Tensions in Hawaiian Archaeology," but in much greater detail, including interviews and names of key people. A list of projects examined might very easily be expanded to include others such as the hundreds of sites bulldozed at One'ula for the 'Ewa Marina on the island of O'ahu and the partial bulldozing of Nīoi Heiau in Lā'ie to create a sewage treatment plant. Unfortunately, there are many such horror stories to choose among.

Archaeology in Hawai'i is indeed in a period of transition but one with an abundance of positive developments,

not the least of which is the appearance of books such as Kawelu's. Vast challenges remain, though, as the author acknowledges: "Partnership is our best chance to challenge the forces that keep Hawai'i on the path to perpetual growth and development" (118).

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Guam Museum/Guam and Chamorro Education Facility, Hagåtña, Guåhan (Guam). Temporarily opened 26 May–2 June 2016.

On 26 May 2016, the Guam and Chamorro Education Facility, better known as the Guam Museum, temporarily opened its doors to the public. This preview was the result of over eighty years of work to bring a permanent museum space to life. Since the 1930s, the United States has collected Chamorro cultural and historical objects, which the US Navy largely maintained, and the American Legion Mid-Pacific Post 1 founded the original Guam Museum in 1933. Three years later, an executive order by the governor of Guam established the Guam Museum as a government institution, and it was given a small building. The violence and destruction of World War II greatly damaged the collection, so postwar years were used to help regrow the collection while emphasizing the protection of historic structures throughout the island and overseeing research on Guam's history. Although temporary exhibitions have been showcased throughout the island in community spaces, and advocates

such as the late Senator Tony Palomo pushed for a permanent museum space, it was not until Guam was chosen to host the 2016 Festival of the Pacific Arts (FestPac) that funding was allocated to begin building the museum. Groundbreaking took place in 2013 for the budgeted \$27 million complex.

The Guam Museum was intended to be ready by the start of the festival; however, issues with construction and severe weather resulted in the postponement of its grand opening till November 2016. Despite its incomplete state, the Guam Museum acted as a functional, multidimensional site for FestPac.

Located in the heart of Hagåtña, in Skinner Plaza, the Guam Museum commands attention with its eye-catching archway, evoking an *ãcho' atupat*, or sling stone, as well as the Great Seal of Guam. The sling stone is a signature weapon of ancient Chamorros and is now a cultural symbol of Chamorro identity and pride. This structural element is set between grand walls in the shape of book pages that are imprinted with a powerful speech by Chief Hurao, a celebrated Chamorro figure of resistance.

During the 2016 FestPac, the first floor of the museum was used for the Visual Arts Exhibit. These gallery spaces were filled with works by local and visiting Pacific delegates from the twenty-nine different Oceanic countries in attendance. The artwork distracted attention from the unfinished floors, paintwork, and other incomplete cosmetic details in the 6,500-square-foot galleries. While the first floor of the museum was open throughout the festival, the