Approaches to Teaching *The Value of Hawai‘i*

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Ghost History: Demonstrating the Importance of the Past in the Present

Craig Howes and Jon Osorio believe in the importance of history, subtitling The Value of Hawai‘i with the phrase "Knowing the Past, Shaping the Future." Each essay delves into the history of the topic before describing the present and offering suggestions for the future. While this lesson does not work directly with any particular essay of The Value of Hawai‘i, it builds a respect for the shaping power of history so that students may more fully appreciate all essays in the book. Students share ghost stories with each other following a structure that encourages reflective thinking. Cristina Bacchilega's book Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism (U Penn Press, 2007) informs the lesson and is available through the State library system.

When students arrive to class, I ask them to join groups of three to share ghost stories. I use the "Storytelling in Threes" structure (see Appendix) to encourage analytical thinking and prepare them for the insight Bacchilega offers in her reading of the Morgan's Corner stories that circulate in Hawai‘i. After groups finish three stories, I ask for a few volunteers to share with the whole class. It is almost always the case that someone shares a "Boyfriend's Death" story; if not, Bacchilega offers an outline of that particular story in a Hawai‘i incarnation on pages 160 - 161 of her book. In a college class, it may be appropriate to first assign an excerpt from the book and then come back to discussion after students have read it. In my high school classes, I read aloud pages 164 - 165 and help students understand the terms "liminal" and "metonymic." Following the reading, I ask students to respond to the statement, "The history of Hawai‘i affects us and is present in our lives, whether we know the history or not."

Note:
In my experience, Hawai‘i high school students are familiar with the Massie-Kahahawai case, but not with the Palikiko-Majors case. Students new to Hawai‘i may be unfamiliar with both and may need some explanation of the Massie case to understand the public response to the Palikiko-Majors trial that Bacchilega relates. Generally a student volunteer is able to share this information for those new students.

Follow up Assignments:

1. Have students write an essay or response about the importance of history to an understanding of one of the topics in The Value of Hawai‘i.
2. Ask them to write in response to the Additional Expository Writing Strategies: Knowing History prompt, in which they imitate the structure of a Value of Hawai‘i essay on any topic of their choosing, paying heed to the importance of history as Value of Hawai‘i authors do.
The Précis

Some of the essays of *The Value of Hawai‘i* offer a challenge to students learning to write summary and can improve their skills. Here is a suggestion for teaching the précis.

Assign an essay such as "Tourism" or "Hawaiian Issues" which include arguments that are counterintuitive to many students (e.g. that visitors to Hawai‘i should be invited or that a restored Hawaiian Kingdom need not be based on blood quantum). Ask students to summarize the essay and bring a printed copy of their summary to class.

In class, have students swap summaries with a partner. Explain the 4-5-6 activity to students, outlined in the appendix. Ask students to complete the 4-5-6 activity, giving more points to the summary they think most completely and accurately summarizes the assigned essay. Select the 2 or 3 précis that earn the highest scores, and read them aloud to the class and/or display them on the projector. Offer feedback on each précis and tips for future précis.

Involving students in the selection of the model student work seems to heighten students’ attention on teacher feedback, and also opens up a conversation about what students find to be quality work and what the teacher finds to be quality work. If there is a disparity between the two it can be addressed.

An alternative lesson is to ask students to run the text of an assigned essay through http://www.wordle.net/ to create a "word cloud." This assumes the essay is available through Civil Beat online (both of the above essays are, others aren't). See the list of excerpts from *The Value of Hawai‘i* Civil Beat offers at the very bottom of this link: http://www.civilbeat.com/topics/the-value-of-hawaii-knowing-the-past-shaping-the-future/#title-

Students can then write an analysis of the word cloud in relation to the essay. Are the words that are emphasized in the "cloud" the words that should be emphasized?
Deliberations: Discussions that Honor Those with the Minority Viewpoint

What follows is a structure to encourage critical listening and skills in argumentation. Although the structure is intended for use in the high school, a college instructor may wish to adapt the discussion format for use in a college classroom, letting go of many of the rules that facilitate a student rather than teacher-led discussion by high school students, and keeping the Five Finger vote that values the minority viewpoint.

Lani Guinier’s writing on “the tyranny of the majority” inspired the structure of this class discussion, with its move away from winner-take-all towards an outreach to the minority via the Five Finger vote. This technique demonstrates that a group of students will not be assumed to be thinking reasonably just because they hold the majority viewpoint. I assign the introduction to Guinier’s book Tyranny of the Majority in many classes before introducing the deliberation format. This excerpt is available in later editions of The Norton Reader and is accessible and engaging.

The goal of the deliberation is to cultivate critical listening and argumentation skills. In a deliberation as opposed to a Socratic seminar or other class discussion, the Five Finger vote provides feedback to speakers and involves all students in the evaluation of the discussion. The key to the deliberation is in the minority votes: one or two fingers, indicating whether the voter with the minority viewpoint respects the reasoning of the majority. See Walter C. Parker’s Teaching Democracy: Unity and Diversity in Public Life for an articulation of the differences between seminars and deliberations. I am grateful to my 2003/2004 ninth grade classes for helping me develop this particular deliberation structure.

Deliberations begin with an arguable statement: a statement that will split the class at least about 1/3 to 2/3s. This statement should be clearly visible and should be read at the start of the discussion. For example, a deliberation after reading “Water” by D. Kapua’ala Sproat could begin with the statement: Water should be privately owned to reduce cumbersome red tape brought by government control.

Once the deliberation opens, students discuss the statement, identifying their position for or against the statement, and offering reasons for their stance. At any time a student may call for a Yes/No vote. This is best after at least a few minutes of discussion, but should happen early in the deliberation.

The Yes/No vote determines the majority position. If it is different from the opening statement, replace the opening statement with the majority position. From this point on in the discussion, the burden is on the majority to satisfy the minority by proving that they can articulate sound reasoning for their position. There need not be any attempt by either side to change people’s positions. The goal is that both groups, especially the majority, offer reasoning that is both valid and true. The opening statement should be a statement on which people may reasonably disagree to lay the groundwork for a successful deliberation.
Discussion continues after the Yes/No vote. As at the start of the deliberation, at any time a student may call for a vote; however, all votes following the initial Yes/No vote are Five Finger votes in which:

1 = I hold the minority position and have not yet heard sound reasoning from the majority.
2 = I hold the minority position, and while I don't agree with the majority, I am satisfied that they have offered sound reasoning for their position.
3 = I hold the majority position, but either could be swayed to change my mind or am not fully satisfied with the reasoning my side has offered.
4 = I agree with the majority position and am satisfied with our reasoning.
5 = I am passionately in the majority position and am satisfied with our reasoning.

The deliberation is complete when a Five Finger vote turns up no 1’s (the ideal outcome), or when the teacher determines enough time has been spent discussing the statement.

The Value of Hawai‘i Card Game

Work with argumentation in deliberations is great preparation for an exciting curricular tool: The Value of Hawai‘i Card Game. Invented and programmed by David A.M. Goldberg, this tool empowers students to speak their mind on the array of issues in The Value of Hawai‘i. Students use a web tool to create a visual argument that becomes one of the cards in a deck. Deck production culminates in cooperative argumentation when students come together to play the card game according to rules based on the logic of rock-paper-scissors.

See some sample student-produced images from the debate-centered educational card game, at http://thevalueofhawaii.com/cardgame
The Provocative Statement

While in University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Professor John Zuern's "Ethics in Contemporary Fiction" class in Fall 2009, I learned about the provocative statement as a means to initiate discussion of the week's readings. The pedagogy aligns well with the deliberation format I have been using for many years, but is more suited to university-level classrooms and high school students who have built skills in argumentation. The approach involves students in the selection of arguable statements.

Each student signs up for a class period in which he or she is responsible for a brief presentation—about five minutes—which ends with an arguable statement. The statement should be carefully crafted to split most groups at least 1/3 to 2/3s and lead to discussion. It should clearly come out of the reading in some way.

With The Value of Hawai‘i, I can imagine provocative statements related to "Homelessness," "Arts," "Transportation," and any number of other essays. Whereas in the deliberation, the instructor generally selects the arguable statement, the provocative statement instead comes from the student and works well as a way to generate meaningful discussion related to the readings as well as bring student interests to the fore. An instructor who wishes to use both Deliberations and Provocative Statements may decide to subtly differentiate between the statements for each, asking the students to craft provocative statements that are "edgy" in that sense of the word "provocative" but not necessarily actionable, and selecting resolution statements for deliberations that are actionable (though the class may not necessarily take the action).

Examples:

"Homelessness"
"Homelessness in Hawai‘i is a community's failing, not the failing of individuals" (Watson, The Value of Hawai‘i, 126).

"Arts"
Most public art is not worth the money the taxpayers spend on it.

"Transportation"
People will choose not to ride rail.
Assessing the Arts

After students read "Arts" by Marilyn Cristofori, encourage students living on O'ahu to attend a First Friday or Third Friday arts event. (First Fridays are busy and fast-paced, while the third Friday of the month is dedicated to a slower appreciation of the art.) Alternatively, make available some books on Hawai'i art in the library on reserve.

Follow students' experience with Hawai'i art with a Storytelling in Threes activity (see Appendix) in which students share their experience at a Friday arts event or with art books on reserve, or any other experience with art they wish to share. Possible questions to consider are: "What was the value of this experience?" and "How does funding for the arts contribute to the possibility of similar experiences for others?"

I suggest bringing the discussion back to Cristofori's ideas with a Deliberation or Provocative Statement.
Democratic Discussion on the *The Price of Paradise* and *The Value of Hawai‘i*

**Overview:**

Many Hawai‘i schools still own copies of *The Price of Paradise, Volumes 1 and 2*, published in 1992 and 1993. If copies are unavailable, however, the full text of each volume is available at [http://thevalueofhawaii.com](http://thevalueofhawaii.com). Scroll to the bottom of the home page, under the heading "About."

This lesson asks students to evaluate the ideas in a *Price of Paradise* essay and *The Value of Hawai‘i* essay on a similar issue. The Deliberation format for discussion provides a structure to weigh multiple points of view civilly and intelligently. Ultimately students should benefit from the contrast between essays, which will help them to understand more clearly each position. Deliberations work best when there is an approximately 1/3 to 2/3s split in class opinion. If it becomes clear that this split does not exist, I ask students if they would like to continue with the discussion or find another topic that does prompt disagreement.

This comparison between *The Price of Paradise* and *The Value of Hawai‘i* could focus on a number of different topics. Here are just two suggestions:

**Water**

In *The Price of Paradise, Volume I*, economist James E. T. Moncur offers a different answer than D. Kapua’ala Sproat to the question of how to manage and best make use of our island fresh water. It may be useful to ask students to read Moncur's essay along with Sproat's in *The Value of Hawai‘i* before engaging students in a deliberation over the best approach to caring for our fresh water resources.

The largest graffiti mural project in Hawai‘i was just unveiled on July 7, 2011 and is on the topic of water rights. Students could visit or view "Water Writes" online before class discussion of Sproat's essay. Here is a slideshow of the making of the mural: [http://www.nonstophonolulu.com/blogs/the-making-of-estrias-water-writes-mural/](http://www.nonstophonolulu.com/blogs/the-making-of-estrias-water-writes-mural/).

Additionally, English language learners or middle school students may benefit from a reading of Victoria Kneubuhl's play *Ka Wai Ola*, available in the Bamboo Ridge anthology *He Leo Hou: A New Voice.*
Agriculture and Golf Courses

Also in *Price of Paradise, Volume I*, Bruce S. Plasch argues that converting former plantation land to golf courses is an especially beneficial use of the land. Students could read the "Agriculture" essay by Charles Reppun and "Golf Courses" by Plasch, then engage in a deliberation with the resolution statement: "Golf courses are a smart use of former plantation land."
Making a Personal Commitment to the Value of Hawai‘i

A text-based protocol called 4 A’s Protocol from the National School Reform Faculty website provides the inspiration for this student activity, in which students glean from The Value of Hawai‘i essay to discuss what they personally would like to do about the issue. Students answer four questions about the essay:

1) What assumptions does the author seem to hold?
2) What do you agree with?
3) What do you disagree with?
4) What do you aspire to?

For Judith Gray’s protocol that inspired this essay, see http://www.nsrfharmony.org/protocol/doc/4_a_text.pdf

Sometimes use of a timer provides excitement for students, and practice in the real-world skill of delivering to a deadline. Here is a highly structured approach to adapting the 4 A’s Protocol that provides this excitement and practice.

1. Have students form groups of about four students who all read the same essay.
2. Distribute index cards to each group. Instruct students to color code the index cards in some way, either with labels or colored pencils, and one color per group. This way students will only need to write their names once on the index cards. On the back of the first index card, students could write their initials next to their name in their own handwriting to make evaluation of the activity less time consuming.
3. Set a timer for 3-5 minutes per round. In round one, ask students to discuss what assumptions they identify in the essay. Each student should initial an assumption they identify. They may initial the same assumption as another group member. Their initial indicates they believe the identified assumption is an assumption in the essay. The index card is due with all group members’ initials at the buzz of the timer.
4. Repeat for each of the Four A protocol questions: 2) What do you agree with? 3) What do you disagree with? 4) What do you aspire to? Each round, every group member should initial an answer, and more than one group member may initial the same answer.
5. As a closing activity, have groups share one agreement or disagreement they had with the essay with the whole class. Allow volunteers to share what they aspire to.

High school students may need to hear explanations of the terms “assumption” and “aspire,” or you could make dictionaries available and students may consult them. I learned when I first taught this lesson that many students think an assumption is an author's claim that they don't agree with. These students need to understand the difference between an assumption and a claim that is supported with logic or evidence but not necessarily convincing to the student.

For a less structured approach, the instructor may wish to simply ask all four questions to the whole class in sequence, or distribute the questions to small groups to discuss before reporting back to the whole class.
The success of the lesson will in large part depend on the particular essay selected for discussion. It should be possible to identify an assumption or multiple assumptions in the essay, and the topic should feel relevant to students so that they wish to make a positive commitment related to the essay. Following the lesson, students may be interested to hear about the organization Kanu Hawai‘i, a nonprofit that asks individuals to make personal commitments to maintain what we value about Hawai‘i. See [www.kanuhawaii.org.](http://www.kanuhawaii.org)
Learning Expository Writing Strategies Through Contrast

Besides using *The Value of Hawai‘i* to teach content, it is also possible to use the text to teach students expository writing strategies. Here are a few examples:

**Anecdote and Statistics:**
*Comparing Mari Matsuda's "Public Education" Essay with Meda Chesney-Lind and Kat Brady's "Prisons" Essay*
To convey the power of stories and facts as support for an expository thesis, have students read the "Public Education" and "Prisons" essays. Direct students' attention to Matsuda's use of anecdotes and Chesney-Lind and Brady's use of statistics, then ask students to add a paragraph to one of the essays in the style of the other. If they add to the "Prisons" essay, ask them to add a paragraph that includes an anecdote. If they add to the "Public Education" essay, have them cite several statistics in the added paragraph. End the lesson with a discussion of the power of each strategy.

**Framing with Narrative Vs. Metaphor:**
*Comparing Charles Reppun's "Agriculture" Essay with Davianna Pōmaiakāʻi McGregor's "Hawaiian Sustainability" Essay*
Assign the "Agriculture" and "Hawaiian Sustainability" essays. Direct students' attention to the narrative organizing principle of "Agriculture" and the organizing metaphor of "Hawaiian Sustainability" (kipuka). Ask them to imagine each essay with the organizing strategy of the other. What is achieved by each strategy? What are some other organizing principles of essays in *The Value of Hawai‘i*? What strategies might students use to organize their own essays?

**Additional Expository Writing Ideas:**
(suggested by Aiko Yamashiro)

**Knowing History:**
Each essayist in *The Value of Hawai‘i* was asked to answer two prompts for their topic: 1) to explain how Hawai‘i got to where it is today and 2) to give recommendations for future action. This kind of organization is based on the idea that knowing the past and knowing history is vital to moving forward. This simple model could be the basis of an assignment where students pick any essay from the book as an example and then write their own essay on a different topic but using the same strategy: starting out with a historical overview and then moving into recommendations for future change.
Personal narrative in argumentative writing and research:
A number of the essays in *The Value of Hawai‘i* use personal narrative and anecdote as a writing strategy. See, for example, “Public Education” by Mari Matsuda or “Domestic Violence” by Susan Hippensteele. Ask students to identify why the author chooses to use a personal story and how that strategy affects the writer’s argument. When is it helpful to use a personal story and when might it not be helpful? You may want to also ask students to identify what other strategies authors weave with personal narrative. For example, none of these essays rely solely on personal story, but also incorporate other kinds of research and data. An assignment may ask students to write a short essay that begins with a short personal story but argues a much larger issue.

Explore the use of poetry and quotation in expository writing:
Ask students to analyze D. Kapua‘ala Sproat’s use of a mele to begin her essay on “Water.” Does Sproat do a satisfactory job of relating the mele to her themes and argument? What is the difference between beginning an essay with a poem or song and beginning an essay with a statistic? An assignment may ask students to write two different openings to the same essay, one that begins with a statistic and one that begins with a creative epigraph, and then reflect on the differences between these two strategies.

Specific Place and People:
Sometimes, using national statistics in research papers about Hawai‘i can be misleading because conditions in Hawai‘i are often markedly different from those in the mainland/continent. The essays “Hawaiian Issues,” “Tourism,” “Race and Ethnicity,” “Homelessness,” and “Domestic Violence” are just a few of the essays that clearly stake out Hawai‘i as a different case scenario and ask readers to take more specific information and history into account. If assigning an argumentative or research paper about something specifically Hawai‘i, these essays may be good examples of how writers and researchers ought to interrogate “neutral data” or “general data” on the terms of their own specific topic or place. What makes Hawai‘i different from the larger U.S.? Asking these kinds of questions prompts students to critically connect and compare what they know/what they have experienced to larger studies and trends.

For more information on these lessons, please contact Claire Gearen at thevalueofhawaii@gmail.com
The Photography of Anne Kapulani Landgraf and Ka ‘Āina

Cristina Bacchilega focuses an entire chapter of Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place on Anne Kapulani Landgraf’s photography in Na Wahi Pana O Ko‘olau Poko. Both Bacchilega and Landgraf’s books are available through the State Library system. A useful activity might be to ask students to submit a few photographs they have taken in Hawai‘i, collect the classes' photographs in a digital album, and discuss them in relation to Part Five of The Value of Hawai‘i: Ka ‘Āina. What relationship with the land do the images imply? Are there notable differences in the implied relationships of some photographs compared to others? It may be helpful to divide the images among additional albums.

This activity could be followed by a reading of selected pages of “Hawai‘i’s Storied Places: Learning from Anne Kapulani Landgraf’s ‘Hawaiian View’” in Bacchilega's text (see Appendix), and a viewing of Landgraf’s photography. In my high school classes, I have brought in six copies of Na Wahi Pana O Ko‘olau Poko for small groups to share. I have also brought in just one copy and used a document camera to project photographs for the class to view. Landgraf’s book could also be made available on reserve at the school library. Landgraf’s photographs bring many land and culture issues to the surface, stimulating student talk. In one class in Fall of 2010, a single photograph—the image of Ko‘olau peak Kōnāhuanui—generated a full class period of discussion.
Imagining Tourists, Re-imagining Tourism


Discuss whether each famous tourist is a "tourist," "visitor," or "customer," or what other term would best apply. How do students understand Alexie's poem in light of Taum's essay?

Ask students to write an imitation of Alexie's poem, imagining a famous person coming to Hawai‘i. Would he or she likely act as a "tourist," "visitor," "customer," or some other role? The poem should reveal this. You could ask students new to the islands to do the same, or to write about an encounter as a newcomer, casting themselves as the "tourist" or other role. Students could also write about their experiences travelling to other places outside of Hawai‘i.

Share the poems in small groups or as a class. Bring the discussion back to Taum's ideas for closure.

*Note:*
If you enjoy Sherman Alexie’s poem, you may wish to join his listserve to receive the occasional poem sent directly to you. Sign up is at his official website [http://www.fallsapart.com/](http://www.fallsapart.com/). I recently found out that there is also an NCTE guide to teaching Sherman Alexie in the high school classroom. See [http://www.nwp.org/cs/public/print/resource/2664](http://www.nwp.org/cs/public/print/resource/2664).
Literature Link: Alani Apio's play Kāmau

High school students and students new to the islands may need a way "in" to The Value of Hawai‘i. High school students benefit from a literature connection that helps them imagine the situations authors refer to in their essays; this makes the reading challenge of some essays more manageable. Students new to the islands also benefit from an understanding of the context of the essays, provided by imaginative literature. Alani Apio's play Kāmau provides the best link I know of, connecting to thirteen essays in the book and all six parts.

The play is available in excerpted form both in print and podcast. Bamboo Ridge offers the play in their anthology He Leo Hou: A New Voice, and there is another addition available from Palila Books (usually carried at UH Bookstore and Native Books). The online print excerpt covers the last several scenes of the play, and is available at ulukau.org. Here is the link: http://www.ulukau.org/elib/cgibin/library?a=redirect&d=D0&rurl=/elib/collect/oiwi1/index/assoc/D0.dir/doc235.pdf.

Aloha Shorts produced a reading of the play in February 2011, and the podcast is available both at bambooridge.com and on the Hawai‘i Public Radio website.

Here are The Value of Hawai‘i essays connected to the Aloha Shorts taped reading of selections from the play Kāmau:

- "The Economy"
- "Tourism"
- "Law and the Courts"
- "Homelessness"
- "Sovereign Ground"
- "Hawaiian Sustainability"

A full reading of the play offers these additional connections:

- "Race and Ethnicity"
- "Public Education"
- "Prisons"
- "Domestic Violence"
- "Health and Healthcare"

Additionally, both the excerpted and unexcerpted play connect well with "Hawaiian Issues" and "Hā‘ena."

I suggest a reading of Kāmau as a means of orienting a reading of The Value of Hawai‘i. Following the reading, students could select from the above lists of connected Value of Hawai‘i essays and read them as groups or individually. Any of the suggested activities in this packet...
could also complement the unit. The discussion could come back to the play following the essay readings to bring satisfying closure.

Because Kāmau connects to "Ka ʻOihana," "Ke Aupuni," "Ka Nohona," and "Ka ʻĀina," which are the four suits in a Value of Hawaiʻi deck of cards, it is possible to build a self-contained deck of Value of Hawaiʻi cards from the thirty-minute Aloha Shorts episode and related essays alone. A culminating activity of Kāmau and related Value of Hawaiʻi essay readings could be a Value of Hawaiʻi game played with student-produced Value of Hawaiʻi cards related to the essays and play. See http://thevalueofhawaii.com/cardgame for information on the Value of Hawaiʻi Card Game.
Still Thinking About *The Value of Hawai‘i: Still Images to Fill the Gaps in Student Understanding*

While other essays may seem more challenging, in my work with *The Value of Hawai‘i* I found that high school students had the most difficulty understanding essays having to do with the culture of a bureaucracy. This became evident in the Mililani High Value of Hawai‘i card deck students created. (See [http://thevalueofhawaii.com/cardgame](http://thevalueofhawaii.com/cardgame) for information on The Value of Hawaii Card Game.) While many students choose to read the essay titled "The University of Hawai‘i,” few demonstrated a grasp of the essay's main points. Any population of students may have different challenges with some of the texts in *The Value of Hawai‘i*. Working with The Value of Hawai‘i Card Game reveals these gaps and strains, which may be predictable or, as in my students' cases, surprising.

In response to this realization about students' challenge with Neal Milner's essay, I chose to work with still images to make immediate and visible students' interpretations of the essay. Still image work may be helpful with a number of essays. Any essay that proves challenging for a significant group of students is a possibility for this exercise. In addition, instructors working with the play *Kāmau* may wish to work with still images that connect the play to specific essays from *The Value of Hawai‘i*.

Courses in educational theater taught me to avoid a focus on performance and instead use low-stress drama activities for learning. One strategy is to have all groups perform their dramas simultaneously, so that the only audience is the teacher. To make performance part of the experience, just have groups share with other groups, but not the whole class. The teacher should count down and announce "freeze" to ensure groups engage in the drama simultaneously. Clearly announcing the end of the still image—"unfreeze"—will create a safe environment in which all students are acting, so they do not need to be self-conscious about others watching them.

I asked students to stage a scene that clearly expresses a point of view about something in the essay. The idea was to argue a point, not illustrate a concept. With all groups in their poses, held for 3 - 4 minutes, I was immediately able to see a misconception, or an illustration rather than an argument. After the groups broke out of their poses, I gave feedback to each group. Three girls staged an especially powerful scene in which one played UH, another played the legislature, and the third played a college student. UH was collecting money from the legislature and the student. While the student pulled dollar bills out of her wallet, the legislature pulled pennies out of hers. The three girls were responding to the growing burden on students in relation to the government in paying for a UH education.
If students are satisfied with their still image, they may choose to stage a Value of Hawai‘i card. This particular image could have the caption "Moving in the wrong direction." Just as still images reveal the thinking of the students, a still image can also be a way to visually articulate an argument and lead to quality Value of Hawai‘i cards.

Some sample student-produced images from http://thevalueofhawaii.com/cardgame
Lifting the Lid: Examining Race and Ethnicity

Hawai‘i students have been told so often about the positive ethnic and race relations in Hawai‘i, and the happy multicultural melting pot we all live in, that it is possible for many students to come away from a reading of John P. Rosa's "Race and Ethnicity" essay without a more complicated understanding of these relations. This lesson encourages students to reach "Goal 1" of Rosa's: "Avoid the myth that Hawai‘i is a place of perfect racial/ethnic harmony." The lesson would work with any essay in The Value of Hawai‘i that challenges a group of students to move beyond long-held assumptions.

Several race and ethnicity-themed cards are part of The Value of Hawaii Card Game ambassador deck, and may be accessed here: http://thevalueofhawaii.com/cardgame. I suggest saving the positive “Race and Ethnicity” cards to a folder and displaying this portion of the deck to a class that has finished reading Rosa's essay (images may be saved to a computer with a right click). While displaying the images to a class, engage students in discussion. What is left out of this collection of positive cards on race and ethnicity in Hawai‘i? What additional positive cards could be added? What are some negative card ideas to which Rosa's essay also points?

Following this discussion, direct students to a selection of short writings on specific racial and ethnic experiences in Hawai‘i. For one possible set of readings to work with, see http://thevalueofhawaii.com/teach/resources. Assign independent reading to be completed before the next discussion on race and ethnicity. When students return having read one or more from the selection, give them time in small groups to share what they read with others who made different reading choices. Then ask students to assemble in groups of about eight, making a circle or two rows. Each student should take out a piece of paper and write their name on it. The paper will eventually return to them. Offer the following instructions: 1) Write a caption about race and ethnicity in Hawai‘i. Consider something insightful or original that may not have been shared yet. Pass the paper clockwise, and write the statement again, unless the paper already contains a similar statement, in which case think of a new statement more likely not to be repeated by anyone in the group, and write it. 2) Repeat—writing your statement and passing the paper—until each group member receives his or her original paper back.

This paper-passing activity pushes students to think beyond their first assumptions and ready cliché, resulting in a collection of mostly original statements on race and ethnicity in Hawai‘i. These can form the basis of another class discussion on race and ethnicity, or the seeds of a student essay on the topic. This paper-passing activity could work well with any essay that tends to elicit cliché or narrow thinking on the part of students. For example, it could bring a discussion of Karl Kim's "Transportation" essay away from a sole focus on rail.
Preferable Futures: Kent den Heyer's Future Scenarios

Kent den Heyer in his essay "Education as an Affirmative Intervention" (Educational Theory 59.4) writes about the despair with which students view the future. "You can't do anything about it" is all too often an attitude about current problems. In my experience teaching Alani Apio's play Kāmau, I have found that students consider the situation of the play tragic, but respond with the conclusion "That's just the way it goes" and "We must accept change." Den Heyer suggests countering such an attitude with an activity that asks students to imagine a probable, possible, and preferable future for an issue they care about. The probable future takes into account the reality of the present situation, while the preferable future provides direction and an outlet for hope, optimism, and action.

When I tried this activity with high school juniors, I asked them to form small groups around a common topic from The Value of Hawai‘i. They then selected six varied sources related to the issue with which their small group had chosen to work. After groups reviewed their sources, I shared den Heyer's future scenarios with them from page 458 of "Education as an Affirmative Intervention," asking them to imitate the form in three scenarios related to their chosen issue. I took class time to read each group's probable and preferable scenarios, offering on-the-spot feedback about their write-ups. Groups chose a range of topics, from human trafficking (mentioned in Lowell Chun-Hoon's "Labor" essay) to domestic violence, to public education reform.

Although den Heyer larger essay references the work of French philosopher Alain Badiou, I don't think it is necessary for students or the instructor to be familiar with Badiou in order to engage in this activity. Simply beginning with a reading of Oscar Wilde's quote "A cynic is someone who knows the price of everything, and the value of nothing," provides a provocative starting point for the activity (from the Introduction of The Value of Hawai‘i, page 1).

Find den Heyer's essay under "Scholarship related to Alain Badiou" on his faculty page: http://www.secondaryed.ualberta.ca/en/People/AcademicStaff/KentdenHeyer.aspx
Appendix: Storytelling in Threes

This is a structure taken from Daniel Baron's "Making Meaning Protocol, Storytelling Version," available at the National School Reform Faculty website, nsrfharmony.org/protocol/doc/making-meaning_storytelling.pdf. The purpose of the structure—which asks the storyteller to remain silent for a few minutes after telling a story while the listeners discuss it with each other—is to encourage more thoughtful reflection on the significance of the story.

1. Students form groups of three. Ask each member to think of a story to share. It may help to give five minutes for students to jot notes in preparation for the storytelling.
2. The first storyteller shares his or her story. While he or she speaks, there should be no questions or interruptions. When finished, the group can take 2 - 3 minutes for clarifying questions about what happened, who was involved, etc., but should not ask open-ended or probing questions.
3. Next, the listeners discuss with each other the significance of the story. There may be specific questions to discuss depending on the purpose of using this storytelling structure. The storyteller must remain silent at this time.
4. To complete the round, the listeners must remain silent while the storyteller comments on the significance of the story and responds to anything said by the listeners.
5. Steps 2 - 4 repeat for each of the two other members of the group.
6. Debrief, during which all participants may share their thoughts with the whole class. Here, the instructor can pose specific questions related to the purpose of the storytelling.

A facilitator can time each round so that all groups proceed at the same rate (probably the best choice), or students can guide themselves through the rounds at their own pace.
Appendix: The 4-5-6 Activity, Or How to Find Out What the Group Thinks

I gave this name to a structure I learned at a 2007 workshop offered by The Berc Group. Find out about The Berc Group at http://www.bercgroup.com/.

1) Each participant must have something or some idea to compare. Participants should swap with a partner if it is their own, so that modesty or hubris does not factor into the sorting.

2) Each participant meets with at least 4 partners, one at a time. All participants must meet with the same number of partners.

3) Each time participants meet with a partner, participants compare the two things or ideas. They divide the number 7 among the two things or ideas, giving more points for some stated criteria. They may not use zeroes or decimals, and must use all 7 points. The only possible divisions are 6-1, 5-2, or 4-3. Participants keep track of the points their thing or idea receives.

4) When finished, participants add their total points. A facilitator helps the group determine which three things or ideas received the highest scores, then shares them with the whole group.

I recently used this activity to structure my students’ learning about strategies for essay introductions. Students combed through copies of The New Yorker magazine and took notes on the strategies they identified the authors using. They gave each strategy a name and description, then picked their favorite strategy to bring to the 4-5-6 activity. Partners compared the strategies, giving more points to the strategy the pair agreed carried more power. In the end, the class identified its three favorite strategies to introduce an essay—clear winners because of the point value they received. In place of copies of The New Yorker, copies of The Value of Hawai‘i could provide the stimulus for this very activity.
Excerpt from *Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism*

The following excerpt has been included in this curriculum guide from the following source with permission from the author.


This excerpt is recommended to be used in conjunction with the lesson “Ghost History” on page 5 of this guide. The book is also recommended with the lesson “Anne Kapulani Landgraf’s Photography and Ka ‘Āina” on page 25.
into the universally appealing genre of the fairy tale. Now in the name of a local “multiculturalism,” they are subsumed under the ethnically marked Japanese denomination of obake.\textsuperscript{30} Grant’s other commodified generic label—he copyrighted “Chicken Skin”—groups contemporary supernatural tales of Hawai’i, giving a “local” spin to the generic “goose bumps,” but still effectively avoiding having to distinguish between traditions or specific genres of belief narratives in Hawai’i. “‘Chicken Skin’ is the sensation that sweeps over your body whenever you come close to the borderland between reality and mystery. ‘Chicken Skin’ reminds us that we still do live in a world where occasionally, the shadows do indeed talk back” (Glen Grant’s Chicken Skin Tales).\textsuperscript{30}

What attitude toward this “talking back” of the supernatural does such a narrative of multiculturalism promote? Grant wisely acknowledged that “personal-experience” narratives—what folklorists call “memorates”—“demanded a different attitude and more respect than the ‘friend of a friend’ tales concerning Morgan’s Corner” (Grant, Obake Files xi). But “Fun, sometimes silly, often spooky,” contemporary legends function primarily as entertainment.\textsuperscript{31} Writing about the setting of a tale on which I intend to focus, Grant says that: “Morgan’s Corner remains for me nothing more than a place for urban legends. This place is nothing more than a dark parking lot for the imagination to germinate in and for tales to be exaggerated and embellished through the enthusiasm of each storyteller. . . . Oh, this hairpin turn of nightmares is one more thing to me. It is a place I would never go alone at night” (Glen Grant’s Chicken Skin Tales 174). In Grant’s usually sensational retelling of these tales, the exciting experience of a “frisson” is the primary goal. The successful reception of the story, then, rests almost exclusively on the individual teller’s tone and style, rather than on the social dynamics played out in the articulation of place, stories, and personal beliefs. As with legendary Hawai’i, the author exercises his creative license to entertain readers who enjoy eerie tales and visitors who want to experience a particular kind of excitement while touring Hawai’i.\textsuperscript{32}

But I would argue that, whether told as memorates or “friend of a friend” tales, these “localized” ghost stories or tales of the supernatural do not innocuously conflate different Euro-American, Asian, and Native Hawaiian belief traditions. Histories of colonization, settlement, and Native resistance bring competing experiences, goals, and commitments to the telling and valorizing of contemporary supernatural legends in present-day Hawai’i—regardless of whether they are told informally, scripted in newspapers, performed during commercial tours, recorded on audiotapes, or published in collections. We are not therefore looking so much at a process of “localization” of Euro-American or Asian legends taking on local color, but at narrative performances of epistemo-logical and social struggles. Or as Bill Ellis puts it, “Legend telling embodies a complex event, in which the performer not only narrates a story but also gains (or fails to gain) social control over a social situation. The best tellers—and the most popular legends—have the potential to transform social structures. Hence legend telling is often a fundamentally political act” (xiv). Similarly, scholarly or popular representations of such narratives are also political acts that can obfuscate or foreground this struggle for social control. And, as I see it, applying a script of multiculturalism to Hawai’i’s contemporary supernatural legends actively ignores these political and narrative dynamics, thus continuing to relegate Hawaiian culture to the past.

“My intentions have always been simple,” wrote Glen Grant, “I record, preserve and tell the supernatural lore of the islands because I love ghost stories” (Glen Grant’s Chicken Skin Tales viii). But given his great investment in publishing and promoting “Chicken Skin,” this statement is at a minimum disingenuous. As a nonlocal, non-Native scholar like Grant, I seek, contra his framework, an alternative approach to supernatural Hawai’i and its narrative of multiculturalism. In doing so, I must acknowledge (once again) that I cannot speak for any of these groups—and some Hawai’i-born and raised students love obake—but I also acknowledge the responsibility for responding to published accounts that unwittingly contribute once again to the dispossession of a Native group by “celebrating” only its past. I now turn to re-viewing today’s supernatural Hawai’i in light of what I have come to understand as a Native Hawaiian view that is both place-centered and historicizing. From this perspective, the telling of old and contemporary “legends” appears as a potentially transformative act—an argument for repopulating present-day Hawai’i with a Native spiritual and material presence, for refusing to forget that Hawai’i is an indigenous place.

“Morgan’s Corner” as Storied Place

As reported by a student in 1998, the story of “Morgan’s Corner” begins, “A young couple were making out at Morgan’s Corner. It became late and time for the girl to go home. When the young boy tried to start the car it would only make a clicking noise.” A 1987 version only says “a girl and her boyfriend were driving one night when their car stalled.” But no matter how much sexual transgression is a coded trigger for the following ghastly events—the social warning most interpretations see at work in this story—in Hawai’i, the couple is always at Morgan’s Corner. “Everyone by now has heard about a place called Morgan’s Corner on the Nu‘uanu Pali Road,” Burl Burlingame writes, “There are a hundred variations of the story, but most involve a dark Pali [cliff] road”
story. In a lonely and dark place, a couple are parked. When they decide to leave and the car does not start, the young man goes looking for help, while his girlfriend remains in the car. She becomes scared by a persistent dripping, or in some versions scratching, on the roof of the car. Eventually she falls asleep. The policeman who wakes her in the morning tells her to get out of the car and not look back. She does look, of course—and “there is her boyfriend’s lifeless body hanging upside down from a tree branch, over the car, his fingernails scratching on the roof and his blood running down the windshield” (Brunvand 45). This account, from the Encyclopedia of Urban Legends, summarizes a well-documented contemporary legend in the United States, in which an isolated place for “parking” is part of the formula for building an eerie feeling. Identified as a version of “The Boyfriend’s Death,” this tale closely resembles most of the versions of “Morgan’s Corner” I have encountered.

If, however, we consider “Morgan’s Corner” from within a Hawaiian narrative economy, an exotic locale for a Euro-American legend becomes visible as a Hawaiian “strored place” on the Nu‘uanu Pali Road. In this sense, then, “localization,” while an important methodological concept in folklore studies, when it identifies a “localized” version of an international contemporary legend in a place with Hawai‘i’s history, runs the risk of ignoring or even dismissing the Native epistemological framework that is already in place. If this assumption is true, then presumably approaching place as the backbone of Hawaiian narratives (Malo; Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini; Luomala, “Creative Processes”) may actually lend historical and semantic depth to the analysis of contemporary narratives in Hawai‘i—including vaguely genre-centered “chicken skin” or “spooky” tales.

Let’s for example see what happens when “Morgan’s Corner” is viewed as one of the stories told about the Nu‘uanu Valley and Pali, an area of many cherished places, and one of the richest in lore on the island of O‘ahu (Handy, Handy and Pukui 233). Though celebrated for its “scenic beauty and grandeur,” the Nu‘uanu Pali was and is more than photogenic material. To reach urban Honolulu from the wet, well-cultivated area of Ko‘olau Poko (the windward, south-eastern district), and vice versa, the Ko‘olau range of mountains (see Figures 1 and 32) must be crossed. Until quite recently, this crossing over was a challenge. Before 1830, Hawaiians bringing produce to town had to “climb up the walls of the escarpment to reach a pass leading to Nu‘uanu Valley’s gentle slopes falling to Honolulu” (Dorrance 49). During the nineteenth century, “a succession of efforts converted the hazardous 800-foot climb to a six-foot wide path carved into the side of the pali” (Dorrance 49), until what is now called the Old Pali Road—a two-lane road—opened in
1898 to horses and buggies and automobiles. Finally, since 1957, the Pali Highway and its tunnels have made commuting easier, and tourists crowd the windy terrace overlooking the old path and the astoundingly beautiful windward coast every day. Yet for many residents, a sense of challenge still persists; going over the Pali was and is a journey.

As a real and metaphoric borderland, the Nu'uanu Pali has always been a place where one could meet death, and certainly should expect danger. Several sources indicate that Hawaiians wanting a safe journey left offerings to the two stone akua, or powerful beings, who guarded the cliff (these akua have since been removed; see Sterling and Summers). The indelible memory of the 1795 battle between the chief of O'ahu, Kalanikūpule, and the rising power, Kamehameha, who would unify the islands in large part thanks to this victory, also points to the abyss that lies before you when you make the big decision to cross a certain line. At the moment of their defeat at the hands of Kamehameha's warriors, Kalanikūpule's forces were either driven over the precipice or chose to dive from it. According to the mo'oolelo of the place, the gigantic dog Kaupē was said “to stop carriage and horseback riders.” An omen of death, the dog thus guarded the passageway, and “If a man met Kaupē first, he never made the descent of the steep mountain trail to the other side, but turned around” (Armitage and Judd 69). Another widely circulating contemporary belief is “Do not take pork over the Pali at night.” Your car might stall. This speaks to the consequences of angering a god: the most common explanation is that Kamapua'a, the pig god of the wetlands, does not belong in the drier area of Kona where the fiery Pele dominates. Or, to put it differently, don’t pollute.

When re-viewing these narratives and beliefs associated with the Pali, the point is not to ask oneself whether they are “true.” The continuing appearance of such stories does suggest that the Nu'uanu Pali remains a windy place of passage where a sudden move—of one's foot on the steep climb, of one's political leader in the struggle, or a thing transported in a car on impulse—can have awful consequences. This perception has had material results. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Pali was the scene of “suicide leaps” off the windy lookout before safety measures were increased, and today young people still challenge each other to go there on special nights, hoping and fearing they will see the Nightmarchers, the warriors of the night, who in this case could be the dead warriors of Kalanikūpule. These different forms of ostension confirm and reproduce performatively the intensely liminal dimension of this storied place. When viewed within this historical pattern context, then, the generic warning to teenagers against transgressing sexually in a tale like “Morgan’s Corner” is not simply localized but transformed by Hawaiian cultural markers.

But I would further argue that “repeopling” Hawai‘i as an indigenous place in this instance also requires us to consider the other very different stories still told or not told about the larger valley of Nu'uanu. Many speak of beauty and record a reciprocally nurturing relationship between Hawaiians, all living beings, and the land. Moses Manu's Kaeo-melemele offers a numinous view of Nu'uanu, where for instance the peak Lanihuli is a guardian of the golden-doud heroine (Figure 34). In short, the presence of the supernatural cannot always be reduced, or translated, into a “spooky” feeling. To cite only a few examples, in Pu‘iwa near the Nu'uanu stream a loving father tells his daughters where to bury him after his death. Once there, he turns into a new significant resource, the wauke (paper mulberry) bush used to make the kapa cloth for which Hawaiians had and have multiple uses. The menekuale, small industrious beings who may have been a people conquered and enslaved by the Hawaiians, fought a giant in Nu’uanu, and apparently people paid homage to the stone that was hurled to kill him (Sterling and Summers 303; other stories resonate with “sword in the rock” and recognition motifs). Attractive but tricky mo‘o women (reptilian or mermaidlike beings) guard some of the Nu’uanu pools. The playful
Pachuehu spring is the water gift of Papa, the female earth power, to a compassionate and generous farmer (Sterling and Summers 295-296). In fact, larger Nu‘uanu is filled with heiau, guardian stones, waterfalls, and places of “rest” where the unexpected can be encountered.

These storied places are not only haunted by fearful ghosts, but peopled by guardians or helpers—for Hawaiians, by family. Unhappy ghosts in Hawaiian stories are actually in the minority, and their presence or violence is a symptom that some balance has been upset, a transgression has occurred, or a power struggle is at hand. In the Honolulu article about “spooky stories,” John Dominis Holt was quick to assert that “most Hawaiian spirits are friendly and caring” (Knaepler 48). As I read it, then, the Hawaiian student’s protest in my class was a reclamining of the Nu‘uanu Pali away from dominant cultural representations informed by capitalistic or dollar-mediated approaches to Hawai‘i’s land. Though she undoubtedly had some personal associations with the place, they operated within familial closeness to storied places and ʻāina that—as illustrated in Hawaiian male, oli, and mo’olelo—differs radically from the nineteenth-century exploitative approach that Europeans and Americans brought to the islands, and that also necessarily shaped the Asian immigrant experience of Hawai‘i as plantation, and themselves as imported labor.

Let’s also consider the Hawaiian insistence on the metaphorical and historical significance of place names. Nu‘uanu is “cool terrace” or “cool height” (Sterling and Summers; Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini), referring to the cold wind that sweeps the top of the Pali—haunting, if you will, the passageway. Furthermore, one of the older Hawaiian names of the pali’s terrace, Kamuku o Nu‘uanu (Sterling and Summers 223), as “tip, end; . . . gap” (Pukui and Elbert 272) can be read as pointing to Kalanikupule’s “great decision” evoking a significant rite of passage in Hawai‘i’s history (Landgraf, “Ka Nuku,” “The Mountain Pass,” in Nā Wahi Pana O Ko‘olau Poho 98).

What then happens if we apply this principle to a non-Hawaiian denomination, and ask, “Why Morgan’s Corner?” Familiar with names like “Freddy” that invoke a kind of hero in popular American film, one student guessed that the place and the story’s title indicate that Morgan must have been the boyfriend’s name. But Burl Burlingame has connected “Morgan’s Corner” with a 1948 crime. Two young Hawaiian men broke into the house of a wealthy and older white woman, Mrs. Therese Wilder, who lived across the street from Dr. Morgan. They assaulted her, then gagged and tied her up, and left. When found days after the attack, she was dead.

The reputation of “Morgan’s Corner” had preceded Mrs. Wilder’s death. Indeed, the map of the crime accompanying a 1948 newspaper report specifically identifies “Dr. Morgan Home” as the main point of reference in that area for O‘ahu residents at the time (“Police Seek,” Honolulu Star-Bulletin). Even if young tellers today do not know about the Palakiko-Majors assassination, “Morgan’s Corner” still carries in its title and location traces of this violent historical event. “So listen carefully if you happen to stop at Morgan’s Corner one dark night,” Burlingame concludes in a “chicken skin” mood: “Is that the muffled mutter of the wind or the lonely screams of Therese Wilder” (“Morgan’s Corner” G3). And in 2004 another student drew a different conclusion during class discussion (English 380) between the “Mrs. Wilder” story and the “Morgan’s Corner” contemporary legend when she associated the “image of hanging people at ‘Morgan’s Corner’” with “a case in the 1940s about two Hawaiian thieves who were to be hung.” The student suggested that given the proximity of the crime scene to Morgan’s Corner, “it is believed to be a historic incident that led to the hanging legends of ‘Morgan’s Corner’ at Nu‘uanu.” Though this student did not know the details, when referring to the “image of hanging people” she was clearly reaching for a felt cultural memory of another trauma tied to the Wilder case—one that made legal and social history in Hawai‘i.

James Majors and John Palakiko, the two Hawaiian youths accused of murdering Mrs. Wilder, were sentenced to hang. This sentence fomented a heated public debate over racial discrimination in Hawai‘i’s court system, a debate reminiscent of the very different and extremely controversial circumstances of the 1932 Massie/Kahahawai rape and murder trials—to which the Wilder case was contrasted right away (O’Kamura; Stannard, “The Massie Case” and Honor Killing). After several appeals, in 1954 their sentences were commuted to a prison term not because the facts were successfully disputed, but because of evidence of police brutality, faulty procedures, and language translation issues—and the pressure of 16,000 signatures on a petition requesting clemency. On the heels of this case, the death penalty was abolished in Hawai‘i (Aineg; Matsuda; Biography Hawai‘i). Perhaps then the hanging boyfriend in the contemporary “Morgan’s Corner” has some metonymic contiguity with what would have been—had it occurred—a rather haunting hanging that took on “legendary” proportions in Hawai‘i’s pre-statehood strained racial dynamics. The name “Morgan’s Corner,” most commonly associated today with a generic contemporary legend, can therefore serve for some also as a reminder of violence and racial conflict, a reminder speaking to the institutionalized suppression of Hawaiians not only in so-called “antiquity,” but in relatively recent history.

Storied places and their “supernatural” beings cannot be confined to the past as residual and scattered beliefs. Hawaiian familial and intimate relations to land can function as forms of resistance and the assertion of
Native claims. In her 1904 account of the Nu'uanu Pali battle Emma Nakuina exercised “feminine defiance,” in the present, Haumani-Kay Trask’s poetry invokes Pele to come from Halema‘uma‘u, for “Night is a sharkskin drum / sounding our bodies black / and gold” (Night Is a Sharkskin Drum 5). And also in the present, my students’ various comments on Nu‘uanu and its stories point to competing “senses of place.”

In the 1990s, another student in an uncommon version of “Morgan’s Corner” claimed that the boyfriend’s attacker is “half-human, half-beast”—an intimation, perhaps, of the reappearance of a powerful Hawaiian shape-shifter, like the dog Kaupe, who guards the Nu‘uanu Pali, and whose apparition is an omen of death. I am not suggesting that today’s Hawaiians all believe these other “supernatural” stories to be true—as in other systems of belief, some do, some don’t, others are skeptical, others don’t know them. But I have begun to see how, among the multivalent associations clustered around the telling and the reception of “Morgan’s Corner,” this possible allusion to Kaupe could be a covert political claim, could test listeners’ knowledge and attitudes without seeming to, or could even offer a way to find family and allies in unexpected places.

While undeveloped at this point, this hypothesis points to alliances outside of Hawai‘i. Scholars have made parallel observations about Native American versions of “The Boyfriend’s Death”: one in New Hampshire, in the place “where the last white man of the region was killed by Indians”; another, a Navajo version, where “the murderous entity at the haunted site” is “the hairy one,” or skinwalker, a character from Native traditions of legends (Brunvand 283). I therefore join other folklorists working to unsettle the dichotomy of “local versus global” perspectives on the contemporary legend (Goldstein; Langlois) and suggest that an intertextual analysis of Hawaiian and Native American stories would, in an alternative international arena, bring into focus epistemological dynamics as well as political claims at work in places where different peoples live with the legacy of American settlement.

That Hawai‘i is a “legendary place” means different things depending on one’s relationship to the islands, one’s understanding of legend as an emergent or residual genre, and one’s culturally grounded epistemology and belief system. Seeking to contribute to the larger project of “repeopling” Hawai‘i as an indigenous place in the present, I have focused in this chapter on a supernatural contemporary legend, suggesting that we consider it within a Native Hawaiian place-centered narrative economy and a historicizing politics of place. Since places and place names record cultural change and struggles, and since reclaiming land is crucial to Hawaiians’ struggle for sovereignty today, I have also argued