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DECONSTRUCTING THE SCHOOL TO PRISON PIPELINE IN HAWAII: REVITALIZATION AND RESTORATION OF KĀNAKA, 'ĀINA AND KULEANA THROUGH LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL PRACTICES

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Deconstructing the School to Prison Pipeline in Hawai'i: Revitalization and Restoration of Kānaka, 'Āina and Kuleana Through Language and Cultural Practices

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Hānau ka 'āina, hānau ke ali'i, hānau ke kanaka. This 'ōlelo no'eau is a Hawaiian proverb that means *the land, the chiefs, and the people belong together*. This translation suggests that the land and people of Hawai'i are interconnected, both enacting collective values that shape and sustain the other through language and cultural practices. As the gaze of imperialists seeking a military foothold in the Pacific fell upon Hawai'i during the 19th century, would-be conquerors actively sought to sever the relationship between kānaka (*people*), 'āina (*land*) and kuleana (*responsibility/stewardship*). As a result, the land and people of Hawai'i share histories of sustainability and prosperity, colonization and subjugation, and resistance and restoration. It is from this Indigenous lens that the authors problematize the carceral logics of K-12 education and seek a participatory action research praxis that offers preemptive protective inputs, outputs, and desired outcomes to the colonial processes that have sustained the school-to-prison pipeline (STPP) in Hawai'i.

Conceptually, free market-based economies are organized so that companies, prices, and production are naturally controlled by the supply of, and demand for, goods and services, rather than by government institutions. In reality, however, U.S. capitalism did not produce the "fair" and "free" market its purist rhetoric boasted, nor has noblesse oblige been fulfilled by its elite citizens, an ideal that promised to facilitate a wide distribution of wealth. Instead, public institutions have colluded with private interests to

form industrial complexes and colonial-capitalist enterprises,¹ to wield collective bureaucratic and financial influence over land and people for profit (Alfred, 2009). U.S. colonization in Hawai'i planted the seeds of invasive market-based systems fraught with Social Darwinist values – resource-exhaustive values that are inherently competitive, individualistic, and meritocratic – that inherently opposed the communal and collective priorities that had governed Indigenous ways of knowing and being for two thousand years. A progression of policies and political maneuverings by U.S. annexationists during the 19th century lit the fuse of a cultural bomb (Wa Thiong'o, 1998) that decimated Hawaiian cultural, political, and intellectual sovereignty (Osorio, 2002) by severing the pilina (connections or relationships) between kānaka (people), 'āina (land) and kuleana (responsibility/stewardship).² No two colluded more in maintaining these processes of erasure than U.S. compulsory education and criminal justice systems.

Research Imperative

The longitudinal data of both the educational and criminal justice systems in Hawai'i suggest that both U.S. market-based systems have standardized “inputs” and “outputs” that produce consistent, predictable, and institutionally profitable “outcomes.” The Hawai'i Department of Education (HIDOE) borrowed a minimum sentencing rubric from the criminal justice system and called it Chapter 19, a prescriptive guide that K-12 school administrators follow in designating punishment according to student behaviors considered socially deviant. This is the normalization of carceral logics in Hawai'i schools that has contributed to the exponential growth of a prison industrial complex that outpaces the state's capacity to incarcerate all its prisoners (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2020; Vera, 2018; Fuatagavi, & Perrone, 2017; OHA, 2010; Prison Policy Initiative, 2010), and common sense logic that diverts millions of dollars in state funds towards the relocation of Hawai'i residents to private “for-profit” prisons on the U.S. continent (Kaneya, 2017).

The historical and longitudinal data analysis herein suggests that the U.S. compulsory education system and the U.S. criminal justice system in Hawai'i have colluded in five major ways: (1) creating conditions for cultural dissonance that sever students from BREATH³ and traditional sources of knowledge production (or ways of knowing and being); (2) normalizing punitive ideologies within student “disciplinary” policies and excluding restorative justice alternatives from “legal” choice sets; (3) assigning punitive punishment to student behavior considered deviant and/or non-compliant; (4) referring “juveniles” to a criminal justice system that trivializes individual

¹ Alfred (2009) defines the colonial-capitalist enterprise as “the destruction or dispersal of Indigenous populations from their homelands to ensure access for industrial exploitation enterprises and concomitant non-indigenous settlements” (p. 44).

² It is at this intersection of kānaka and 'āina, or race and property, where Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) suggest there is a framework for understanding inequity in the U.S., because the institutionalization of slavery and the taking of Indigenous lands set a legal precedent for the prioritization of property rights over human rights.

³ Na Hopena A'o HĀ-BREATH framework currently represents the desired teaching and learning outcomes of HIDOE, a Hawai'i Board of Education (BoE) policy that calls for the intentional design of educational P4 (practices, projects, programs and policies) that optimize conditions that strengthen participants' sense of Belonging, Responsibility, Excellence, Aloha, Total Wellbeing and Hawai'i (<https://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/TeachingAndLearning/StudentLearning/HawaiianEducation/Pages/HA.aspx>).

experiences and context through minimum sentencing policies⁴; (5) designating criminal identities to K-12 students as “delinquents” who graduate from juvenile detention centers as *offenders* (i.e., violent), a progression that continues into adulthood as “suspects” become *prisoners* and *inmates* at “rehabilitation” facilities, where they graduate not as free humans, but as *convicted criminals*. Disrupting these carceral logics will require system level commitment. In this article, the authors, who critique and yet also hold a number of relationships (i.e., students, parents, teachers, administrators, researchers, etc.) within the HIDOE and the University of Hawai‘i, examine data to illuminate how the public education system actively contributes to a school to prison pipeline. The praxis of this participatory action research seeks to address the colonial conditions that maintain cultural dissonance, and to pre-emptively design and implement alternative environments where community readiness values and desirable short-term, medium, and long-term outcomes thrive.

Researcher Positionality Statement

Ladson-Billings (2006) defined moral debt as the disparity between what we know to be right and what we actually do. Thus, individuals who work within systems that are responsible for normalizing linguisticism, cultural racism, or the dehumanization and erasure of Indigenous ways of knowing and being, carry a heavy burden to change those same systems because “doing nothing” is not neutral. To remain “neutral” when educational and social outcomes are consistently in conflict with our own ontological framework (axiology, methodology, epistemology) is to actively maintain systems and processes that implicitly and explicitly prioritize “property rights” above human rights and “profit” over people.⁵ This is the operational reality for the Office of Hawaiian Education (OHE), an Office within HIDOE that collaborates with state, community, and university partners to reconnect learners to Indigenous ways of knowing and being. However, OHE is tasked with this kuleana (responsibility) while physically positioned within an education system that is resistant to change and was originally designed to exclude dissent, multiple perspectives, and creative thought from its educational inputs, outputs, and desired outcomes. Beyond convincing educators and state leaders that the school-to-prison pipeline exists, we encourage all constituents to deconstruct the school-to-prison pipeline through the design, implementation, and assessment of preemptive educational P4 (practices, projects, programs, and policies) that change the learning conditions and educational contexts currently promoting undesirable student behaviors and “lagging” indicators. Our hope for this study is to recommit state leaders to collective values they already have and present evidence-based participatory action research that makes it uncomfortable for them to remain in neutral spaces. The ‘ōlelo no‘eau that guides this work is “He ‘ike ‘ana ia i ka pono,” which means one has seen the right thing to do, and has done it (Pukui, 1983, #620).

⁴ Minimum sentencing is a legal practice that wields “objectivity” in an attempt to condemn the “action,” a methodology that pretends justice and equity can be reached by ignoring the injustice of inequitable conditions and the contexts that position individuals within the circumstances of adjudication.

⁵ Neutrality is the belief that doing nothing, despite the recognition of social injustice, is a neutral act rather than a deliberate decision to maintain the status quo. Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) suggests that neutrality is racism and challenges traditional claims of legal neutrality, objectivity, and color-blindness (whiteness, individualism, and meritocracy) in education as camouflages for the self-interest of dominant groups in American society.

Historical Context

Severing of Kānaka, 'Āina & Kuleana

It is a story of how colonialism worked in Hawai'i not through the naked seizure of lands and governments but through a slow, insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions. It is also a story of how our people fought this colonial insinuation with perplexity and courage. But ultimately, this is a story of violence, in that colonialism literally and figuratively dismembered the lāhui (the people) from their traditions, their lands, and ultimately their government. The mutilations were not physical only, but also psychological and spiritual. Death came not only through infection and disease, but through racial and legal discourse that crippled the will, confidence, and trust of the Kānaka Maoli as surely as leprosy and smallpox claimed their limbs and lives. (Osorio, 2002, p. 3)

Osorio (2002) chronicled the series of policies and political maneuvers that caused the cultural “dismemberment” of Hawaiian identities, a U.S. annexationist legislative agenda that progressively severed the pilina between kānaka and 'āina. Ironically, the first written laws in Hawai'i were in English in 1822, because they were directed at foreigners visiting the islands. These laws warned seamen that they would be detained, charged a fine, and/or expelled from Hawai'i for disturbing the peace; a common scenario that created the first jails and began the practice of incarceration in Hawai'i. In 1825, the sumptuary laws – drafted with the guidance of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) – altered traditional morality and custom and made Native Hawaiians dependent on malihini (foreigners) to tell them what was pono (righteous).⁶ By criminalizing ordinary Indigenous behaviors and cultural practices (e.g., sex, hula, surfing, etc.) through the codification of law, the sumptuary laws not only normalized American perspectives of social deviance but also began the erasure of traditional knowledge systems that had developed a communal sense of people, place and purpose in Hawai'i for two thousand years.

In an effort to legislate capitalism as an important Christian value, missionaries William Richards, Gerrit Judd, and Richard Armstrong became principal authors of the first Constitution of Hawai'i (Osorio, 2002). The Constitution of 1840, completed the process of severing the legal power of the ali'i (Hawaiian monarchy), a legal power that the maka'āinana (native commoners) had invested into their ruling chiefs for over 50 generations. By creating a constitutional monarchy, Native Hawaiian leaders hoped to create political parity with international powers who might champion their independence. However, through their maneuverings, U.S. annexationists sought to diminish the role of Indigenous representation in the government of Hawai'i. The Constitution of 1840 established a new body of law and a political framework that would allow malihini to control and to direct the erasure of traditional ways of knowing and being from Indigenous identities and prepare Hawai'i for U.S. conquest (Osorio, 2002; Walk, 2007).⁷

⁶ Missionaries had convinced the monarchy that the epidemics that were depopulating the Indigenous populations were caused by spiritual and religious misalignment.

⁷ Walk (2007) documents the clear agenda of erasure, and the intention of “well-meaning” malihini like Richard Armstrong, to replace the Indigenous language of Hawai'i with English. Richard Armstrong, former missionary and second minister of public instruction of the Kingdom of Hawai'i from 1848 to 1860, was a strong supporter of the use of English in Hawai'i schools. Armstrong stated, “[I]t would be an unspeakable blessing to have every native child placed in a good English school and kept there until it

In 1843, a British naval captain illegally occupied Hawai'i by military force for five months before the Anglo-Franco Proclamation of 1843 was signed by France and Britain to return sovereignty to the Hawaiian monarchy. Worried by the perpetual threat of forced annexation, King Kamehameha III began to legislate the Mahele as a means to protect the kingdom of Hawai'i from the seizure of all royal lands.⁸ Banner (2005) suggests that the Mahele was the collective result of five separate events that took place between 1845 and 1855 that transitioned the land tenure system in Hawai'i to fee-simple: (1) the creation of Land Commission in 1845; (2) the Mahele proper that divided land between ali'i and konohiki in 1848; (3) the subsequent division of Kamehameha III personal lands and government lands; (4) the Kuleana Act of 1850; and (5) the Residency Laws of 1850. The Kuleana Act of 1850, redefined the relationship that existed between kānaka and 'āina from maka'āinana (being of the land) to hoa'āina (tenant).⁹ This seemingly innocuous delineation created by the new fee-simple system quickly caused the erasure of a Hawaiian ontological framework that was fundamentally connected to a shared genealogy between 'āina and kānaka.

The Maka'āinana Petitions of 1845-46 were signed by native commoners in opposition to foreign land ownership, which reflected the powerful agency amongst native commoners to kū'ē (resist) colonial socio-political interventions. However, in 1850 the Residency and Denization Laws were legislated and were the first to codify racism in Hawai'i by giving white foreigners (non-citizens) of Hawai'i the right to vote, hold public office, and own land, while at the same time excluding non-whites from the same political processes (Osorio, 2002).¹⁰ Despite only representing 2% of the population in Hawai'i, non-citizens took the majority in the House of Representatives and had a controlling interest in the economics of the Hawaiian Kingdom by 1851 (Banner, 2005).¹¹ With non-citizens in control of legislation, the legislature rescinded the primacy of the Hawaiian language in the interpretation of all laws and made English the "binding" language of the Law by 1859.¹² The Law of Naming in 1863, preserved American nativism, linguicism, and misogyny; forcing newborns in Hawai'i to take Christian given

had [acquired] a thorough knowledge of what is now . . . the business language on the Islands, and which would open its mind to new and exhaustless treasures of moral and intellectual wealth." However, Armstrong understood that "[t]he language of a nation is part of its very being and never was and never will be changed except by a very gradual process." The influence of Armstrong's English preference policies continued through subsequent administrations.

⁸ During the same period, other forced annexations were occurring in the Pacific. In 1840, Britain assumed sovereignty over New Zealand, and France assumed sovereignty over Tahiti and Marquesas in 1842. Also, fee-simple as a colonial process was not unique to Hawai'i. In 1860's the British established Native Land Court in New Zealand to convert Māori usufructuary rights into fee simple titles, and then did the same thing in Fiji. The U.S. used the Dawes Act of 1887 to reorganize land tenure of American Indians (Banner, 2005, p. 273). Germany was using the same processes in New Guinea and Samoa, in French-Polynesia and in the joint British-French New Hebrides.

⁹ The Mahele transitioned the traditional relationships between ali'i (ruling class) and maka'āinana (Indigenous commoners) from caretakers of the land, to tenants and/or competitors in land acquisition.

¹⁰ It is important to note that all residents were offered the opportunity to swear allegiance to the Hawaiian kingdom, and to enjoy full citizenship; however, non-citizens refused the oath, in order to maintain their citizenship for other nations (Banner, 2005; Osorio, 2002).

¹¹ Non-citizens in the House of Representatives increased from 14 in 1844, to 48 by 1851 (Banner, 2005).

¹² The 1859 law making English the legally binding language was unchallenged until Hawai'i Senator Karl Rhoads championed a bill to reestablish the primacy of Hawaiian language in 2019, which was the same year Hawai'i Supreme Court decided that the state is required to provide access to Hawaiian immersion education (*Clrabal vs Department of Education*, 2019), and reintroduced SB 16 in 2023.

names, and their father's name as their family name.¹³ When looking at the Hawaiian Kingdom policies discussed herein with similar international policies during the same time period – for example, policies involved in the colonization of the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, etc. – a concurrent but separate imperialist agenda becomes more apparent. This political duplicity often resulted in ali'i and colonial conspirators supporting the same policies despite having incompatible legislative and political motivations. Each seemingly innocuous policy of Americanization supported a U.S. colonial methodology that progressively divested kānaka from Hawaiian identities, land, and public representation, and only bolstered foreigners and annexationists to make more audacious attacks on Hawaiian sovereignty (e.g., cultural, political, intellectual, etc.). Examples include the Bayonet Constitution in 1887, the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, the English-Only Law of 1896, the illegal annexation of Hawai'i in 1898, and eventually the illegal military occupation of Hawai'i when the U.S. declared its statehood in 1959. While the literature connecting colonial legal systems and Indigenous incarceration is well documented (Broadhurst, 2002; Chartrand, 2019; Cunneen, 2011; Sonoda, 2008; Weatherburn, 2014), in this article, the authors seek to better understand the specific role of colonial compulsory education in the “forgetting” of traditional ways of knowing and being, and the educational processes that have normalized cultural dissonance and carceral logics in Hawai'i schools.

The “Forgetting” of Hawai'i in Hawaiian Education

The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples' languages rather than their own. Possibilities of triumph or victory are seen as remote, ridiculous dreams. The intended results are despair, despondency and a collective death-wish. Amidst this wasteland which it has created, imperialism presents itself as the cure. (wa Thiong'o, 1992, p. 3)

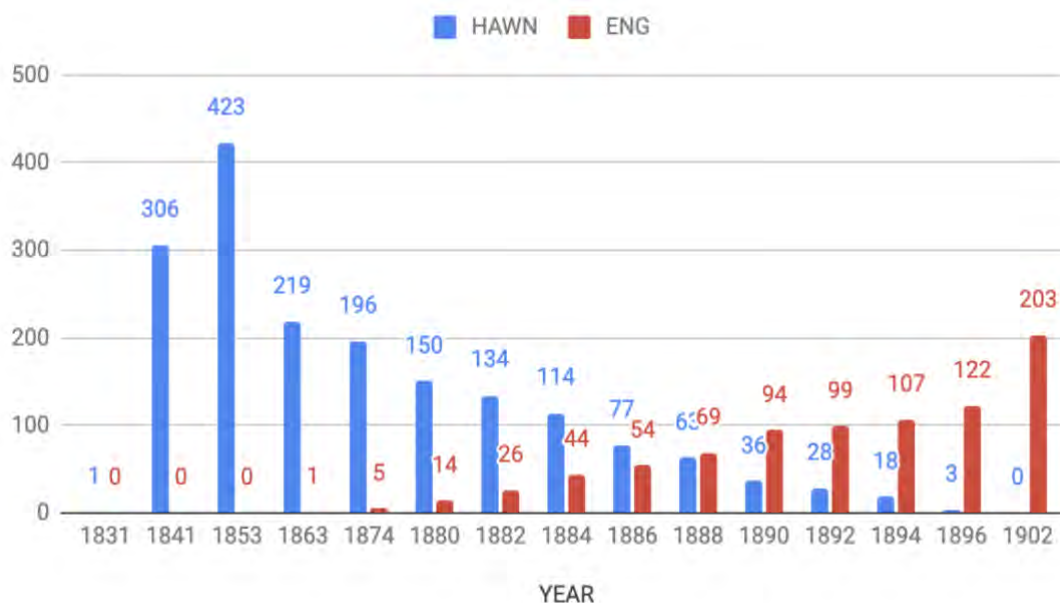
When the public school system in the Hawaiian language medium was created in 1840, it boasted over 2000 community schools, over 200 state funded schools, and the world's highest literacy rate (91-95%). As such, the Hawai'i Department of Education (HIDOE), as a public education system, predated that of Massachusetts in 1852 (the first in the U.S., with Mississippi the last in 1918), Spain in 1857, England in 1876, and France in 1882 (Fernández Asensio, 2010). This set an important precedent. However, the first government-sponsored school in English was established in 1851, and by 1854, government-run English schools were effectively competing with 'ōlelo Hawai'i schools (Walk, 2007). In 1886, Richard Armstrong – in his report as the minister of public instruction to the Kingdom of Hawaii legislature – stated, “If these heterogeneous elements are to be fused into one nationality in thought and action, it must be by means of the public free schools of the nation, the medium of instruction being the English

¹³ The Law of Naming became the method to measure blood quantum, a methodology that was implemented with the passing of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, and defined “native Hawaiians” eligible for home stead lands as those having 50% Indigenous blood quantum.

language chiefly.” Consequently, a major shift occurred, and more students enrolling in English-speaking schools decreased the need for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i teachers.

Later, after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the English-Only Law of 1896 codified linguisticism in Hawai‘i and eradicated all Hawaiian language medium schools by 1902. This was an intellectual coup that prepared Hawai‘i for illegal annexation by the U.S. in 1898 and eventual statehood in 1959. Thus, the erasure of the Hawaiian language was a colonial priority to make Indigenous people “forget” their ancestral knowledge and prohibit future generations from accessing collective memories (i.e., Hawaiian language newspapers, etc.) that might otherwise develop powerful anticolonial, sociocultural, and political identities. By transposing the aforementioned timeline of policies and political events against Dukelow’s (2023) timeline of Hawaiian language and English medium schools in Hawai‘i (see Figure 1 below), the erasure of the Hawaiian language seems to have been an essential colonizing strategy used to (1) destabilize Indigenous political control, (2) sever the relationships between ‘āina and kānaka, and ultimately, (3) assimilate the local population into the U.S. colonizing regime (Ah Nee-Benham & Heck, 1998; Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, 2013; Trask, 1999; Wilson & Kamanā, 2006).¹⁴ This finding, however, also suggests that language and cultural practices offer contemporary educators important content areas for curricula meant to reestablish the connections severed by U.S. colonialism, as language loss is universal among Native communities and interest in language revitalization is growing (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton, 2001; Krauss, 1996; Reyhner, 1996; Wilson, 2012).

Figure 1. Number of Hawaiian- and English-Medium Schools in Hawai‘i from 1831-1902



¹⁴ The role of schooling in the forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples has been well documented (Hinton, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Wilson & Kamanā, 2006), and forced assimilatory education has not produced the desired academic outcomes for U.S. colonized Indigenous communities (i.e., American Indians, Alaska Natives, Native Hawaiians, or Native American Pacific Islanders) who have maintained much lower high school graduation rates than national and state averages (Faircloth & Tippeconnic, 2010; Kamehameha Schools Research & Evaluation, 2009; Reyhner & Eder, 2017).

Contemporary Circumstances

What are the Inequitable Outcomes Associated with the Severing of 'Āina & Kānaka?

Thus, land is no longer our mother, source of physical and spiritual sustenance. She is now a resource for consumption and profit. Our children are no longer the flower of our nations but the labor units of industry and the military. Our cultures are no longer the expressions of harmony and beauty between our people and our gods but the source of entertainment and recreation for the world's rich. Our spiritual values and philosophical systems are no longer the guides to daily and generational life but the playthings of First World adventurers. Even our ancestors, long dead, have not escaped these degradations. Their bones and artifacts are now displayed in museums and antique shops as "primitive" curiosities. (Trask, 1999, p. 103)

As the involuntary colonization of Hawai'i took root, the invasiveness of U.S. market-based processes quickly institutionalized "Ism's of Inequity" (i.e., capitalism, linguicism, cultural racism, etc.), which have continued to disassociate the Indigenous population of Hawai'i from their sense of people, place, and purpose.¹⁵ This U.S. colonial agenda caused the erasure of Indigenous knowledge-making systems (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2013) and operationalized the forced assimilation of Native Hawaiians (Ah Nee-Benham & Heck, 1998) by: (1) indoctrinating an Indigenous working class to become dependent consumers of U.S. industrialized goods within military occupied territories (Niheu, Turbin & Yamada, 2007); (2) compelling members of Indigenous communities to become dependents of the State and its allocated resources (Alfred, 2009; Kortright, 2003); and (3) depoliticizing Indigenous communities by labeling potential leaders as unintelligent, socially-deviant and/or "non-compliant." These are the stratification processes of a U.S. colonial education system in Hawai'i that has implicitly and explicitly weaponized carceral logics (Lopez, 2022), a purportedly common sense philosophy to social deviance and human behavior that is used to extract members of Indigenous and previously conquered communities into the U.S. criminal justice system.¹⁶ U.S. market-based systems that dictate the experiences of land and people in Hawai'i have taken root like invasive species, colluding to disrupt the sustainability of diverse Hawaiian ecosystems (i.e., environmental, intellectual, cultural, etc.). These invasive systems are embedded with market-based values that perpetually

¹⁵ U.S. colonial processes are standard protocols to control resources (labor, environmental, political, etc.), implemented according to an imperial agenda to assimilate enslaved and conquered peoples and creates state dependency by positioning the U.S. government as the sole provider of those resources (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2013; Said, 2012; Trask, 1999), which become "limited" when colonial processes control access, supply and demand. For example, the U.S. compulsory educational process has created a profitable industrial complex by narrowly compartmentalizing knowledge into specialized areas of expertise and marketing the vocational value of its curricula to a captured K-12 audience. The U.S. criminal justice process has created another profitable industrial complex by politically marketing social deviance and assigning monetary value to the punishment and incarceration of historically disadvantaged communities. Both U.S. educational and criminal justice processes restrict access to limited resources, especially for members of Indigenous communities.

¹⁶ "Carceral logic can be understood as a punishment mindset... Carceral logic undergirds the United States' approach to public safety, including policing and militarism, which enforce "a system of racial capitalism that results in the devastating maintenance of poverty and inequality for Black people, Brown people, and other politically marginalized groups" (Lopez, 2022, p. 387).

assert control and dominance while extracting and depleting the natural resources from Indigenous ecosystems. No institutions are more worthy of critical examination than the relationship between the U.S. compulsory education and its criminal justice system in Hawai'i.

K-12 Disciplinary Data

They enact the logic of elimination by suppressing Native histories and contemporary realities, by discounting Indigenous epistemologies and knowledge bases, and by individualizing and disciplining Native bodies. (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2013, p. 25)

The “school to prison pipeline” literature generally refers to four examples of educational P4 (practices, projects, programs, and policies) that define, identify and punish socially deviant students (Nance, 2016; Togut, 2011; Tulman & Weck, 2009-2010): (1) zero tolerance policies, (2) on-campus police, (3) the exclusion of culturally responsive restorative justice P4, and (4) restrictive “minimum sentencing” choice-sets prescribed to school administrators. Chapter 19 is an administrative rubric HIDEOE borrowed from the criminal justice system that defines Student Misconduct, Discipline, School Searches and Seizures, Reporting Offenses, Police Interviews and Arrests, and Restitution for Vandalism. Chapter 19 provides a clear “minimum sentencing” rubric for institutional responses according to the specific category and frequency of each disciplinary incident. Furthermore, it is meant to ensure institutional responses are congruent regardless of student race, socioeconomic status, etc. However, the overrepresentation of NHPI students in the disciplinary data strongly demonstrate the consistently inequitable outcomes of Chapter 19.

While Hawai'i Department of Education (HIDEOE) suspension rates between NHPI and non-NHPI students rarely deviated by more than 10-15% from 2015 to 2019, only four student populations maintained suspension rates over 50%: Samoan, Tongan, Micronesian, and Native Hawaiian. Moreover, an analysis of the disciplinary data suggests that suspension rates¹⁷ have been masking the true disparity between NHPI and non-NHPI student disciplinary data. From 2015 to 2019, NHPI students represented a mere 35% of the total HIDEOE student population, but accounted for 58.7% of the total suspensions. However, the data suggests that suspension rates have masked the underlying issue of an over-representation of NHPI students in incident rates, or the rate that NHPI students are identified by teachers for disciplinary action. NHPI students were four times more likely to be identified for disciplinary action by documented incident reports than any other non-NHPI student population, NHPI students in special education seven times more likely, and NHPI male students in special education nine times more likely. Understanding how HIDEOE teachers, administrators, and juvenile adjudicators are engaging language and culture-based curricula to create conditions where NHPI students are engaged, connected, and/or committed to positive behaviors in their educational environments is extremely important (Hosmanek, 2005; Ki'aha, 2015); research on the school to prison pipeline suggests that racial and ethnic groups who are over-represented in school discipline categories are also over-represented in juvenile and adult arrest/incarceration data (Krezmien, Leone & Wilson, 2014).

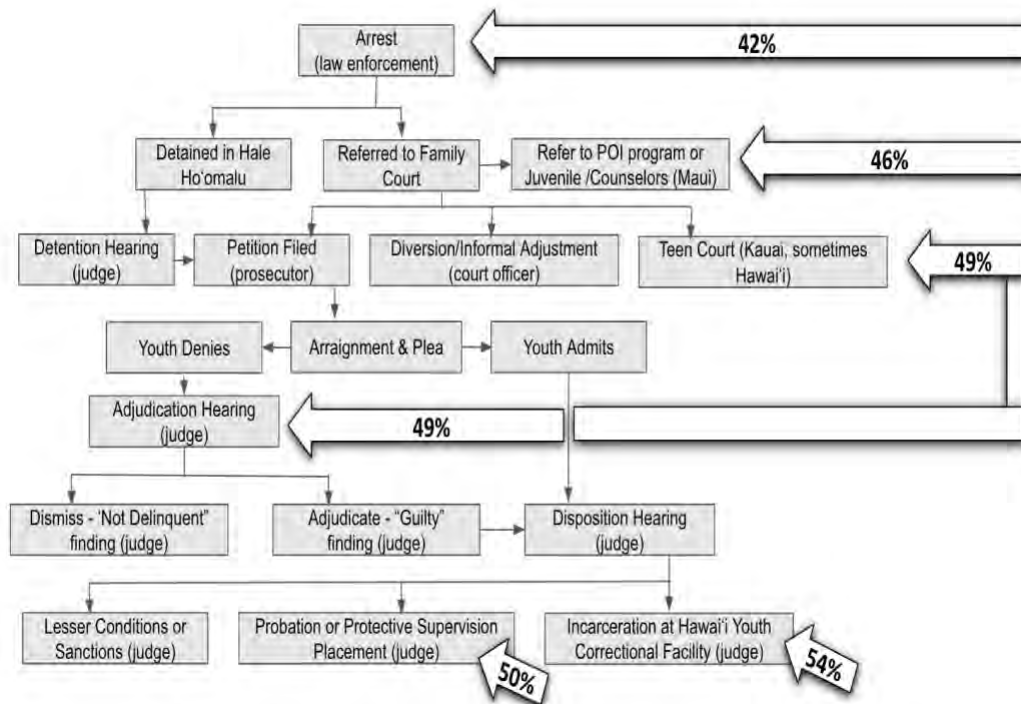
¹⁷ Suspension rates are calculated by taking the number of total suspensions divided by the total number of incident reports.

Juvenile Arrests & Incarceration Data

[T]here are detrimental, long-term consequences associated with incarcerating, arresting, suspending, or expelling students—to the youth themselves, their families, their communities, and our society as a whole. Yet perhaps the most alarming aspect of over-disciplining students and of the school-to-prison pipeline generally is that not all racial groups are affected equally by these negative trends. (Nance, 2015, p. 1065)

In a ten-year study of the Hawai'i juvenile justice system, Umemoto et al. (2012) found that NHPI youth accounted for 77,457 juvenile arrests (49.4%), or nearly half of the total juvenile arrests in Hawai'i between 2000 and 2010.¹⁸ Moreover, Native Hawaiian youth were the only group to increase their representation (see Figure 2 below) at each progressive stage of the juvenile “justice” system (Umemoto et al., 2012, p. 29). The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA, 2010) report reflected the same finding for Native Hawaiian adults, revealing that, while all non-NHPI groups were decreasing representation at each progressive stage of the adult criminal “justice” system, Native Hawaiian males were increasing. The K-12 disciplinary data for Native Hawaiians is nearly identical to their juvenile and adult arrest and incarceration data: 41.6% of total juvenile arrests, 54% of incarcerated juveniles, and 39% of the total incarcerated adults in Hawai'i. Taken together, these data points suggest an active school-to-prison pipeline between HIDOE and the juvenile and adult criminal justice systems.

Figure 2. Percentage of Native Hawaiians at each level of Juvenile Case Processing, 2000-2010



¹⁸ NHPI adolescents were arrested two and a half times (253%) as often as White, Japanese, Korean and Chinese youth combined (77,457 vs. 30,585). Those same student populations were also the highest performers in the statewide standardized tests, and the least identified by the disciplinary data (Kukahiko et al., 2020b).

High-Risk NHPI Youth Data

[N]eocolonialism refers not only to dominant colonial retentions but also to psychological injuries suffered by the colonized that continue to wound our internal and external lives. (Trask, 1993, pp. 102-103)

NHPI adolescents represent 46% of confirmed child welfare cases, and 54% of the total foster care population in 2021 (Department of Human Services [DHS], 2021). These data points are indicative of anomie (Alfred, 2009), or the psychophysical trauma and related social outcomes of Indigenous peoples whose cultural standards and values have been disrupted by colonization, forced assimilation, and sustained cultural dissonance. While NHPI youth in the child welfare and foster care systems are high-risk candidates in the school to prison pipeline (STPP), the intention here is not to reiterate the impact of incarceration on broken family systems. It is to problematize the current educational system's inability to consider student circumstances or to disrupt cycles of oppression. If HODOE safety protocols (i.e., Chapter 19) work "objectively" to consider and evaluate student behavior, but not the student, under what conditions can educational leaders operationalize empathy in order to humanize their educational processes and abolish carceral logics? How might these particular student populations provide HODOE additional opportunities for language and culture-based education to heal and reconnect kānaka, 'āina, and kuleana (people, place, and purpose)? These questions help us to recognize it is *not* student behavior that perpetuates the school-to-prison pipeline as a cycle of oppression but rather our collective response of neutrality as educators who preserve market-based educational inputs and outputs, which produce consistent, predictable, and undesirable outcomes.

Adult Incarceration Data

It costs money. It costs lives. It costs communities. It destroys families. It is dysfunctional all the way around — socially, economically, politically and morally. (Abercrombie as quoted in Reyes, 2010, paragraph 19)

In the quote above, former governor of Hawai'i, Neil Abercrombie, reflected on the impact of incarceration in Hawai'i in 2010. To provide context to Neil Abercrombie's moral epiphany, between 1960 and 2019, the arrest rate in Hawai'i increased by 304%, which outpaced the 224% state population growth during the same period (Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI], 2020).¹⁹ This trend led to a 709% increase in incarceration in Hawai'i between 1978-2015 and includes an 1836% increase in the women's prison population between 1980-2017 (Vera, 2018).²⁰ While Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders (NHPI) only represent 27.5% of the total population in Hawai'i (AAPI Data, 2018; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019), NHPIs have represented 39-54% of the state's total prison population (Fuatagavi, & Perrone, 2017; OHA, 2010; Prison Policy Initiative, 2010). The overcrowding of Hawai'i prisons motivated its Department of Public Safety to seek a private prison partner to relocate 25% of its prison population in 1998, which it awarded to Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the largest private prison corporation in the U.S. (Kaneya, 2017). Nonetheless, the contracting of private prisons

¹⁹ The crime rate is calculated by the number of arrests per 100,000 population, and is based on index offenses, which does not include part II offenses.

²⁰ Native Hawaiians represent 19.8% of the general population of women in Hawai'i, but 44% of the women's prison population.

does not transfer the kuleana the state of Hawai'i has to mālama (care for) those prisoners. In 2009, female prisoners from Hawai'i were recalled from a CCA facility after male guards were charged with having sex and impregnating inmates. Neil Abercrombie promised to bring all prisoners home (Kaneya, 2017) after three male prisoners from Hawai'i were murdered at another CCA facility in 2010, but despite his impassioned speech and increasing evidence that large-scale incarceration is not an effective means of achieving public safety (The Sentencing Project, 2020), the state of Hawai'i has maintained and renewed its contract with CCA for the private incarceration of its citizens. Carceral logic maintains the status quo by arguing that these horrible events could have happened at any prison, even within prisons here in Hawai'i. It is the normalization of carceral logic, however, which removes "problems" from the purview of educators, administrators and legislators; thereby, stealing their agency and crippling their ability to change the processes that consistently create undesirable social outcomes.

Constellating Intersecting Datasets

Student to Teacher Congruency Ratios

Carceral logic explains why we accept the racially disparate outcomes the [school to prison pipeline] generates, and why we tolerate so many [suspensions, expulsions, arrests and incarceration] in the first place, despite the lack of research showing this approach works to keep communities safer, and despite much evidence of its harms. Carceral logic explains why we tolerate [the use of school safety protocols modeled after the U.S. criminal justice system, and ignore the conflict of interest inherent in the use of that system] to raise revenue. When we accept that the carceral logic underlying our current approach to [education] is illegitimate, undermines efforts to make public safety more effective, and both reflects and reinforces deeper, broader, American pathologies, it becomes clear that we must do more than focus on the outcomes of the carceral logic. Rather, we must center our efforts on eradicating the underlying logic. (Lopez, 2022, pp. 397-398)

The OHE report (Kukahiko et al., 2020b) also discovered that the four student populations with the highest proficiency rates and lowest representation in the disciplinary data, also boasted a teacher to student representation ratio equal to or greater than one (see Table 1). Chinese teacher representation was 106.67% of its student representation, Japanese teacher representation was 257.14% of its student representation, Korean teacher representation was 109.09% of its student representation, and White teacher representation was 134.95% of its student representation. Research suggests that physical representation (or "visibility") of students' race, ethnicity, and culture in the student body, staff, faculty, and administration symbolize "attainable" and "realistic" professional aspirations. Conversely, "invisibility" in educational environments can negatively impact sense of belonging, transition, persistence, degree attainment, and college participation (Kukahiko, 2015; Teranishi, 2009; Uperesa, 2015; Wright, 2003).²¹ In short, student

²¹ While the research suggests that incongruence between the student body and campus personnel can produce cultural dissonance within learning environments of singular perspectives, OHE collected qualitative data that provides ample evidence of non-Hawaiian teachers who mitigate cultural dissonance by engaging culturally responsive P4 (practices, projects, programs and policies). These strategies engaged the Hawaiian language and cultural practices, connected curriculum to the specific places where

populations that maintained at least a 1:1 congruency ratio with the teacher population achieved the highest academic proficiency rates and the lowest representation in all disciplinary categories.

Table 1. Teacher Congruency to Student Population (2018-19)

	Cultural Identity	# Teachers	% of Teacher Population	% of Student Population	% to Congruency
Student populations with highest proficiency rates and lowest representation in disciplinary data	Japanese	2686	23.40%	9.10%	257.14%
	White	2881	25.10%	18.60%	134.95%
	Korean	139	1.20%	1.10%	109.09%
	Chinese	367	3.20%	3.00%	106.67%
Student populations with lowest proficiency rates and highest representation in disciplinary data	Hawaiian	1209	10.50%	24.80%	42.34%
	Black	105	0.90%	2.80%	32.14%
	Filipino	804	7%	22.40%	31.25%
	Samoan	64	0.50%	3.30%	15.15%

Table 2. Incident Rates and the Correlation to NHPI Teacher to Student Congruency Ratios

Finding Statement	NHPI Teacher to Student Congruency Ratio
Identified students for discipline at incident rates below 5%	88%
Identified students for discipline at incident rates below 10%	81%
Identified students for discipline at incident rates below 30%	71%
Identified students for discipline at incident rates above 30%	61%
Identified students for discipline at incident rates over 100% with a max of 267%	57%

During the 2022-2023 school year, the HIDOE schools with 1:1 NHPI teacher to student congruency ratios identified students for discipline at an average annual rate of 22%, while schools with lower NHPI teacher to student congruency ratios had an average incident rate of 45%.²² As Table 2 illustrates below, higher NHPI teacher to student congruency ratios consistently corresponded to lower overall incident rates. This analysis does not assume that cultural dissonance is activated by individual teachers as intentional forms of racism; however, implicit bias, unintentional prejudice, and/or cultural apathy produce the same negative outcomes as explicit racism and discrimination (Dee, 2004; Egalite & Kisida, 2018; Gershenson et al., 2017; Gershenson

students live and the history of those places, while providing opportunities for students to participate in their learning as knowledge producers.

²² Incident rates are calculated by the total number of incident reports each school has submitted to identify students for disciplinary response, divided by the total student population at each school.

et al., 2018). Nance (2015) defines implicit bias as a “behavioral propensity that results from implicit attitudes and stereotypes” (p. 1068), which affect both oppressed and oppressors, as these conditions originate from the deep influence of colonial ideologies and the internalization of those normalized preferences and beliefs (Freire, 1970).

College Aspiration and Dropout Rates

Although 78% of all NH students in the HIDOE had college aspirations of attaining at least a 2-year degree in 2017 (ACT, 2017), only 45% ended up enrolling at U. S. institutions of higher education in 2018 (Kukahiko et al., 2020a). This statistic suggests that obstacles, or perceived barriers, are impeding the matriculation of NH high school students who want to go to college but do not. Large gaps between college aspiration and educational attainment for NH students are especially concerning because high school dropout rates become entrenched when students perceive college aspirations as unrealistic (Roderick, 2006). In 2018, the HIDOE senior cohort had a 12.2% dropout rate (Kukahiko et al., 2020b), while the NH student population within that same cohort experienced a 19% dropout rate, which represented 567 NH students who did not complete their high school degree and 40% of HIDOE’s total high school dropouts from the 2018 senior cohort. Considering 75% of all American state prisoners and 59% of all federal prisoners did not complete high school (Harlow, 2003), disrupting the conditions that isolate and alienate NH students and allow cultural dissonance to thrive is the most important task of educational leaders and their school/learning improvement processes today. Wilson’s (2012) research on Ke Kula ‘O Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u and Ke Kula ‘O Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u IkiHawaiian language immersion schools on the island of Hawai‘i, however, describes a decolonized educational model that offers an alternative to market-based outcomes and pathways. Findings revealed that divergence from market-based educational outcomes was possible, as the study reported a 100% graduation rate and an 80% college matriculation rate over ten years. Wilson’s study provides evidence that learning conditions and educational contexts matter and that efforts to improve college participation and dropout rates of NHPI students should consider the model of Hawaiian Language Immersion Programs (HLIP). The study further supports the data analysis of OHE in the following section, which demonstrates the protective factors provided by Hawaiian language and culture-based educational models.

The Protective Factors of Hawaiian Language and Culture-Based Curriculum

The descriptive analysis of Kaiapuni educational data in the following section suggests that the Kaiapuni educational framework - which embeds learning within Hawaiian values, language, and cultural practices – is providing protective factors from the STPP for both NHPI and non-NHPI students. The importance of this work becomes increasingly important today, as the fight to revitalize and restore land in Hawai‘i has become a loud multigenerational call to action, while the fight to revitalize and restore its people from the carceral logics of U.S. market-based education and criminal justice systems remains muted.

Kaiapuni Student Data

In trying to understand the influence of reconnecting students to ‘āina through Hawaiian language and cultural practices, this section of descriptive analysis captures the educational data of nearly 3,500 students engaged in kula Kaiapuni, or Hawaiian language immersion schools. Kaiapuni schools offered an ideal control group due to its 85% Native Hawaiian student population and the Foundational and Administrative Framework for Kaiapuni Education (FAFKE), a guiding document for Kaiapuni schools

that is tethered to Hawaiian values, language, and cultural practices (or schools of knowledge). The following findings surfaced in an analysis of Loss of Learning during the COVID-19 Pandemic. The first stage of descriptive analysis investigated the variances in Learning (Pre-COVID) & Loss of Learning (During COVID) between HIDOE's two major school types: Kaiapuni (Hawaiian language immersion schools) and non-Kaiapuni (traditional English-medium public schools). Researchers made three important observations:

1. Prior to the COVID pandemic, Kaiapuni students were passing core-four classes (Language Arts, Math, Science and Social Studies) at higher rates across all grades in comparison to students at non-Kaiapuni schools.
2. Both prior to and during the COVID pandemic, Kaiapuni students were significantly less likely to be absent from school (despite longer commutes), identified for disciplinary action, or suspended, despite the disparity in state allocation of educational resources.
3. During the COVID pandemic, Kaiapuni schools had the highest rates of "learning loss" across all grades and core four courses, suggesting that the absence of Kaiapuni framework's unique content (i.e., Hawaiian values, language and cultural practices) from the online distance learning curricula effectively severed Kaiapuni students from the inherent learning advantages they enjoyed pre-COVID.

The second stage of the descriptive analysis investigated Learning (Pre-COVID) and Loss of Learning (During COVID) data between NHPI students at Kaiapuni schools, NHPI students at non-Kaiapuni schools, and non-NHPI students at non-Kaiapuni schools. Since 85% of Kaiapuni schools are attended by NHPI students, the Loss of Learning analysis was needed to determine whether COVID conditions impacted student populations differently across HIDOE. The researchers also wanted to understand whether the binary analysis between Kaiapuni and non-Kaiapuni students was masking any inequity in Loss of Learning between NHPI and non-NHPI students. The second stage of descriptive analysis yielded three important observations:

1. Prior to the COVID pandemic, both NHPI and non-NHPI students at Kaiapuni schools had higher passing rates than their counterparts at non-Kaiapuni English-medium schools across all core-4 subject areas. This suggests that Kaiapuni education offers protective factors to all learners, not just NHPI students.
2. During COVID, NHPI students had higher rates of learning loss than any other student population, suggesting that educational responses to the COVID pandemic had inequitable outcomes for NHPI students. This also suggests that the first stage of analysis, which reported Kaiapuni schools as having the highest rates of learning loss, was skewed due to the much higher NHPI student population at Kaiapuni schools (85%) versus non-Kaiapuni schools (35%).
3. After disaggregating the student data by race (NHPI and non-NHPI) AND school type (Kaiapuni and non-Kaiapuni), the analysis found that NHPI students at non-Kaiapuni English-medium schools had the highest rates of "learning loss" across all grades and core four courses, suggesting that educational responses to the COVID pandemic had inequitable outcomes for NHPI students at non-Kaiapuni schools in HIDOE.

The third stage of descriptive analysis applied OHE's Cultural Dissonance Formula to the Learning (Pre-COVID) & Loss of Learning (During COVID) data. When OHE challenged the claim that economic advantage was the leading indicator of academic proficiency, Kukahiko et al. (2020a) noticed that the largest achievement gap existed between Low-SES NHPI students and High-SES non-NHPI students.²³ This was called the Total Advantage (TA), or the proficiency rate of Low-SES NHPI students subtracted from High-SES non-NHPI students. By subtracting the proficiency rate of Low-SES NHPI students from the proficiency rate of High-SES NHPI students, OHE was able to isolate and calculate economic advantage (EA) in the achievement gap, while minimizing the impact of cultural differences.²⁴ By subtracting the proficiency rate of High-SES NHPI students from High-SES non-NHPI students, OHE was able to isolate and calculate the impact of cultural differences, or Cultural Dissonance (CD), while minimizing the impact of economic advantage (EA). Thus, Total Advantage (TA) is the sum of EA and CD. The OHE Cultural Dissonance Formula provided quantitative evidence that the achievement gap cannot be attributed to economic advantage alone, and from 2015-2019 cultural dissonance was a stronger predictive indicator than economic advantage in HIDOE for both Language Arts and Mathematics. The third stage of descriptive analysis accounts for school type (Kaiapuni and non-Kaiapuni), race (NHPI and non-NHPI), and SES (Low-SES and High-SES) and made three important observations:

1. Prior to COVID, Low-SES NHPI students at Kaiapuni schools experienced higher passing rates than High-SES non-NHPI students at non-Kaiapuni English-medium schools across multiple grade levels and in all core-4 subjects suggesting that something about Kaiapuni educational experiences are disrupting the "Total Advantage," or the achievement gap that exists between Low-SES NHPI students and High-SES non-NHPI students attending non-Kaiapuni English-medium schools in HIDOE.
2. Both before and after COVID, Low-SES and High-SES NHPI students at Kaiapuni schools had higher passing rates than their Low-SES and High-SES NHPI counterparts at non-Kaiapuni English-medium schools across all grades and core-4 subject areas, suggesting that Kaiapuni schools offer NHPI students educational advantage(s) that are cumulative to economic advantage.
3. During COVID, NHPI students (Low-SES and High-SES) at non-Kaiapuni schools maintained higher loss of learning rates than their non-NHPI counterparts (Low-SES and High-SES) at the same English-medium schools across all grade levels and core-4 subjects, suggesting that educational responses to the COVID pandemic had inequitable outcomes for NHPI students at non-Kaiapuni schools in HIDOE.

²³ Kukahiko et al. (2020) challenged the assumption that economic advantage was the leading indicator of achievement gap by including socioeconomic (SES) variables in the student data. Low-SES and High-SES students were indicated within the HIDOE Longitudinal Data System (LDS) by tracking students who qualify for "free-lunch."

²⁴ Percentage of students who "Met" or "Exceeded" proficiency standards in Smarter Balanced Assessments (SBA) Language Arts and Math.

Critical Discussion and Application of Praxis

The school to prison pipeline represents an individual, group, and institutional commitment to a neo-capitalist fatalism²⁵ (Freire, 1970), a Darwinist approach that encourages educational leaders to apply judgment rather than empathy, and apathy rather than agency, thus maintaining school/learning improvement processes that continually reproduce undesirable student outcomes. He 'ike ana ia i ka pono is a commitment to embracing our ability as individuals, groups, and institutions to change, enact social justice, and apply our participatory action research to promote equitable outcomes. The following discussion is a participatory praxis in organizational change meant to develop communities of learning in Hawai'i that are committed to shifting the lens through which we view models of success and failure. Rather than maintaining educational processes that are informed by deficit mindsets and lagging student indicators, how might we consider approaching educational theory based on what has not been done, or embrace mindsets that disrupt colonial isomorphism?²⁶ In Hawai'i, Auntie Puanani Burgess often facilitates the process of what she calls "Building a Beloved Community" with state leaders by asking them to consider the question, "Are we counting what matters?" What literacies are not valued, recognized, or promoted? What are the indicators that all students – regardless of GPA and standardized test scores – have improved their community readiness, or have developed deeper connections to their sense of people, place, and purpose? How might a gifts-based approach better frame and commit our education system to (1) disrupting carceral logics, (2) rejecting prescriptive and reactive responses to lagging student outcome data, (3) creating an accountability system for educational P4 that integrates and embeds collective core values and priorities, and (4) framing success outcomes that strengthen BREATH (Belonging, Responsibility, Excellence, Aloha, Total Wellbeing, Hawai'i), the six areas emphasized through Nā Hopena A'o, the HIDOE's framework "to develop the skills, behaviors and dispositions that are reminiscent of Hawai'i's unique context, and to honor the qualities and values of the indigenous language and culture of Hawai'i" (HIDOE, n.d., n.p.).

He 'Ike 'Ana ia i ka Pono

When we began stewarding this 'āina, we were told by others that the sugar plantations and the groves of eucalyptus trees that were planted here had ruined the soil to the point that it would not be able to produce food again. That story had become the dominant narrative that guided decision-making about the

²⁵ Neo-capitalist fatalism when applied to education assumes that competition over limited resources produces a natural equilibrium between good students and bad students, haves and have-nots, leaders and laborers. It is a survival of the fittest methodology that assumes undesirable student outcomes are predetermined by student variables – i.e., race, culture, economic status, etc. – rather than the predictive relationships between educational inputs and outputs within cyclical educational processes.

²⁶ Isomorphism is a phenomenon studied in the field of organizational change that drives organizations (even across dissimilar industries) to resemble one another. This can be motivated by legal or political regulatory pressures, where imitating behaviors are a result of organizational uncertainty, or normative pressures initiated by professional groups, rather than functionalistic strategies (Dimaggio and Powell, 1983). Due to the replication of U.S. criminal justice processes by U.S. educational systems, for example, racial and ethnic groups who are overrepresented in school disciplinary data are also overrepresented in juvenile and adult arrest and incarceration data (Krezmien, Leone & Wilson, 2014). Colonial isomorphism can become catastrophic for non-dominant groups when processes for efficiency and profitability are replicated across market-based systems and expected to produce equity and inclusivity.

management of these lands since the closure of the sugar plantation. If we accepted that narrative as truth, then we would be accepting that this land was no longer able to function as ‘āina in our community. With no ‘āina, there can be no kānaka. Here we have proven that the health of this ‘āina can be restored by cultivating and practicing our ‘Ōiwi ways of knowing and being. As life is restored to this ‘āina, so too is the well-being of our community restored. We are committed to cultivating kīpuka (safe, regenerative spaces) that foster and regenerate the growth of place-based ancestral knowledge, healthy food and eco-systems, and strong ‘ohana with the capacity to live and thrive in Hāmākua for generations. As we strive to transform our community’s dependency on external resources to an interdependency on internal abundance, we actively regenerate our relationships with the ‘āina and ‘ohana from which we source our physical, intellectual, and spiritual well-being. (Peralto, 2023, personal communication)

The quote from Dr. No‘eau Peralto opening our conclusion characterizes the work of many community ‘āina-based organizations, whose mission statements include the revitalization and restoration of kānaka, ‘āina, and kuleana.²⁷ At a deeper level, however, No‘eau articulates the conflicting values that exist within a system that was originally designed and implemented during the Hawaiian Kingdom to uplift the intellectual legacies of Hawai‘i but then co-opted by colonizers to forcefully assimilate the Indigenous population. Indigenous ways of knowing and being in Hawai‘i are committed to nurturing the conditions that restore and revitalize the connections between people, place, and purpose – or kānaka (people), ‘āina (land), and kuleana (responsibility) – while the colonial system is fundamentally committed to the survival of who it defines to be the fittest and the disposability of nonconforming individuals as its “necessary evil.” The inherent conflict between these two functions aptly describes the dissonance that resonates throughout the Hawai‘i school system today, as NHPI communities suffer the continuous extraction of their potential leadership by the school-to-prison pipeline, where NHPI students become profit centers in the prison industrial complex. As transformational leaders prioritize participatory action research to inform “evidence-based practices,” the Office of Hawaiian Education will help HODOE’s tri-level system to address the following questions: Will the purpose of education be to increase student earning potential by offering popular market-based content? Or to promote diverse literacies and pathways that develop lifelong learners? Will the praxis of our educational leaders recommit market-based educational models to normalizing individualism and meritocracy within carceral logics, or recalibrate the trajectory of educational systems towards the sustainability and resilience of community models described by No‘eau?

²⁷ Hui Mālama i ke Ala ‘Ūlili (huiMAU) a community-based hui (organization) of ‘ohana from Hāmākua Hikina (East Hāmākua) on Hawai‘i Island, founded in 2011 and recognized as a 501(c)(3) charitable organization in 2015.

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