

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

太平洋の文脈における「伝統の創造」論を問う：  
沖縄・金武湾闘争とハワイ・カホオラヴェの運動にお  
ける「文化」の重要性

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**Contesting the “Invention of Tradition” Discourse in the Pacific Context:  
—Significance of “Culture” in the Kin Bay Struggle in Okinawa  
and the Kaho‘olawe Movement in Hawai‘i—**

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**Key Word** : “invention of tradition” discourse, culture, Kin Bay Struggle, Kaho‘olawe Movement, migrant perspective

## **I. Introduction**

### **1. Background**

From 2005 until 2008, I was a graduate student studying at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and the East-West Center, Honolulu. While attending those educational institutions, I was also a part of a group which sought to build networks between Hawai‘i and Okinawa, and that worked on environmental and human rights issues involving the U.S. military bases in both places. Through events, lectures, and workshops, I found that the thoughts and values expressed in social movements in Hawai‘i and Okinawa had commonalities in empowering social movement participants.

While cultural practice enables participants to exercise their agency in social movements, the significance of cultural expression as part of social movements is not fully understood, but instead has been critiqued as something perpetuating and reproducing hierarchy within a group. For instance, studies on native nationalist social movements in the Pacific Islands conducted by Roger M. Keesing and Jocelyn S. Linnekin employ an “invention of tradition” discourse, and argue that cultural practice structures and maintains power relationships within native nationalist groups. These studies have become the objects of controversy and debate, and many intellectuals, as exemplified by the works of Haunani-Kay Trask and Jeffrey Tobin, have opposed their argument. However, those opponents have not fully provided alternative ways to understand culture in social movements.

The questions I had on the debates over the “invention of tradition” in social movements in the Pacific context became clear when I researched cultural practice in the Kin Bay Struggle in Okinawa. The Kin Bay Struggle was led by the communities on the eastern coast of Okinawa, which organized as the Kin Bay Protection Society and protested against the reclamation of Kin Bay and the construction of the Central Terminal Station (CTS; including oil storage tanks and refineries) through rallies, demonstrations, petitions, and lawsuits against the Okinawa Prefectural Government and oil companies. Significantly, their actions later came to also include the performance of cultural practices in the communities; cultural practice empowered social movement participants by providing them with the opportunity to become the agents of the struggle, to articulate narratives of resistance, to envision and practice community self-sufficiency and autonomy, and to build solidarity networks with other social movements.

Do social movements in the Pacific context function in the same way? I assumed that all the features of cultural practice in the Kin Bay Struggle would suggest an alternative understanding of cultural practice in Pacific social movements. In particular, I examined the Kaho‘olawe Movement, led by the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO), which was a protest movement against U. S. military bombing on the island of Kaho‘olawe in Hawai‘i (see Figure). To stop the bombing, protesters made landings on the island, filed a lawsuit against the Navy, and employed cultural practices during their protest.

This study, made from a migrant perspective, examines these two protest movements, which emerged in Okinawa and Hawai‘i in the 1970s. By “a migrant perspective,” I suggest that the framework of this study—including its research question, comparative analysis, and discussion of social movements—was born out of my personal experience of moving between Okinawa and Hawai‘i. During the three years of graduate school in Hawai‘i, I myself, as a migrant from Okinawa, was given the opportunity to represent myself both in academic institutions and in a grassroots organization, all of which were comprised of people with different backgrounds. The new environment encouraged my awareness of the commonalities that existed between these different places I had encountered. One of the common features uncovered from the experience was the role of cultural practice in social movements. Although the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement were born and mobilized in two different places and in opposition to different issues, they shared a similar ideology. Traditional cultural practices played a significant role in both struggles and built communities that encouraged people to participate in the struggles. Cultural practices, such as harvest festivals, boat racing, songs, and dances, had multiple facets: they enhanced the agency of struggle participants, their assertion of connection to the past, their distinct epistemology, and their challenge to hegemony, while at the same time strengthening community ties and promoting the building of coalition networks. These components

of cultural practice in the two struggles offer a significant critique of the “invention of tradition” discourse, which asserts that the native nationalist movements in the Pacific were predominantly controlled by ruling class native males, and propose an alternative understanding of cultural practice in social movements.

In the following, I first examine the theoretical framework behind the “invention of tradition” discourse and identify my research questions. Then, I propose alternative understandings of cultural practice in both the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement, and argue that the “invention of tradition” discourse of Keesing and Linnekin fails to consider the multiple components of cultural practice in indigenous social movements.

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

### ***“Invention of Tradition” in the European Context***

First, I look at the application of the “invention of tradition” framework to the analysis of cultural revitalization in the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement. Keesing’s and Linnekin’s critiques of cultural expression in social movements in the Pacific are based on the “invention of tradition” discourse, which originally grew out of empirical research on cultural renaissances led by parliaments, churches, and universities in European monarchies, but which has been extended to research on cultural practice among the peoples of the Pacific Islands.

Investigating the debate over invention of tradition discourses will enable me to illustrate how the discourse has been interpreted differently depending on the research agents, their objects of analysis, and the political context surrounding the debate. After exploring those different interpretations of the discourse, I will argue that Keesing’s analysis failed to incorporate multiple components of cultural revitalization, through examining the forms of cultural practices in the two social movements: the Kin Bay Struggle that emerged in Okinawa and the Kaho‘olawe Movement in Hawai‘i.

### ***Historical Context of the “Invention of Tradition” Discourse***

The “invention of tradition” discourse appeared as an analytical framework for the study of a dominating and colonizing agent’s practice of cultural production. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s (1983/1997) *The Invention of Tradition* first introduced the notion that “tradition” is invented in order to achieve state unification and to justify reforms as being inherently linked to past modes of governing the state. Hobsbawm’s discussion begins with a critique of the “ancient” and “immemorial” “past” represented in public ceremonies of the British monarchy (ibid.: 1). According to Hobsbawm, those ceremonies were invented as “tradition” which had withstood historical changes, even when they were “often recent in origin and sometimes invented” (ibid.: 1). Invention of tradition attempts to infuse

specific values and expected behavioral models, which are more “ideological” than technical (ibid.: 3), and which entail a continuity linked with an appropriate past (ibid.: 1). Continuity is demonstrated by “invariance” between the present and the past, constructing “at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging” (ibid.: 2). Invention of tradition is a “process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition,” and occurs when social change disrupts social patterns (ibid.: 4–5).

In his analysis, Hobsbawm finds that the products of the invention of tradition include ceremonies, festivals, rituals, broadcasts, building construction, national anthems, and flags. They also include national sports events practiced or conducted by institutions such as the British monarchy, ancient British colleges, German universities, British royalty, the British Parliament, the Nazis, the Catholic Church, or American schools. Those organizations’ authoritative power over peoples, workers, or peasants in their territories is symbolically represented via cultural practices. Hobsbawm emphasizes that what is represented as tradition implies the existence of “continuity” from the past to the present, and notes how human beings “use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion” (i.e., phenomena of nationalism) (ibid.: 12–13).

Hobsbawm provides a perspective on the way cultural practice is used to connect the present with the past. The promotion of the invention of tradition is also carried out by other agents in formerly colonized regions, as is seen in the cases of the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement. Native nationalists in the Pacific Islands, who have challenged the dominant power over the Pacific and have proclaimed their rights to self-determination, have articulated the necessity of revitalizing tradition and, to that end, have employed cultural practices. Roger M. Keesing’s “Creating the past: Custom and identity in the contemporary Pacific” (1989) and Jocelyn S. Linnekin’s “Defining Hawaiian Tradition” (1983) examined the cultural renaissance in nationalist movements.

Keesing (1989) argues that “mythmaking” among indigenous groups in the Pacific is a form of “fetishization” or “romanticization” of the “pre-colonial past,” since there is a gulf between the “represented past” in the present and the “real past.” By employing Gramsci’s idea that “counter hegemonic discourse pervasively incorporates the structures, categories, and premises of hegemonic discourse” (ibid.: 23), Keesing argues that the past is selected and tradition is defined in the present context for political purposes among the native peoples in the Pacific. He also points out that native peoples’ cultural discourse tends to originate from Western colonial discourse. Lastly, “mythmaking” in the Pacific requires the domination of one group over others, mostly of native male elites over other native people. According to him, “self-reflexivity” and “critical skepticism” regarding their own cultural discourse, which “hide and neutralize subaltern voices and perspectives” and practices, will liberate Hawaiians.

Linnekin (1983) also studies the cultural discourse in nationalist movements and the lives of rural areas in Hawai‘i, and argues that traditional culture is always defined in the present context to construct a distinct identity for political reasons or just for living a cultural model (ibid.: 250). According to her, the cultural discourse in nationalist movements has invented the idealized past by selecting “what constitutes tradition” and redefining it according to a modern significance (ibid.: 241, 250).

### *Critiques against the Invention of Tradition Discourse*

The invention of tradition discourse proposed by Keesing and Linnekin in the Pacific context became a controversial issue because it emerged during the insurgency of worldwide native pro-independence movements and criticized the cultural renaissance in those movements as “mythmaking” of the past. Therefore, the invention of tradition discourse was interpreted as those anthropologists’ challenge to the natives’ decolonization movement, which raised awareness of the rights to revitalize and maintain cultural and political self-determination. For instance, a “native nationalist” in Hawai‘i, Haunani-Kay Trask (1991), has identified those anthropologists’ invention of tradition discourse as a continued hegemonic device of colonial empires against native self-assertion of identity, culture, and lifeways.

The ideas of Keesing and Linnekin on the invention of tradition in native nationalist movements have been contested and opposed as undermining native political and cultural self-determination. What Trask critiqued was not how indigenous groups, both nationalist and rural, invent tradition to construct different identities, but the intervention from outside the community to interrupt nationalist movements by those not affiliated with Hawaiian positionality in the first place. In her view, the problem is that the *haole*, or non-Hawaiian, researcher or scholar, who does not belong to this community, decides what is right and what is not. The invention of tradition discourse, in a broader sense, implies the *haole* scholars’ intention of educating and liberating native peoples who cannot govern themselves. The discourse also indicates the *haole* scholars’ fear of losing control over native peoples. Trask argues that those *haole* scholars ignore and deny what native peoples say because for them natives are just the object of study.

Trask defines the problem as “academic colonialism” against natives’ political and cultural self-determination (Trask, 1991: 159). Culturally, those non-Hawaiian scholars inhibited native peoples of the Pacific Islands from asserting their own identities and lifeways. Politically, the invention of tradition discourse has justified the state’s infringement upon the rights of native peoples to access land and resources. For instance, in the 1977 trial in which the United States Navy convicted Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) members for trespassing on Kaho‘olawe Island, the prosecution discounted the members’ claim that going to Kaho‘olawe was a “spiritual” and “sacred” act, and contended that the

action was actually taken for political reasons. Trask criticizes that dominant system which requires Hawaiians to rely on “sympathizers” or “experts” who have legitimate voices rather than making claims by themselves (ibid.: 159).

The debate over “invention of tradition” in the Pacific context was followed by further discussion. Jeffrey Tobin (1994) fully investigates the debate, expands Trask’s arguments, and points out the methodological problem prevalent in post-structuralist analysis of culture. According to him, the problem is in the incorrect use of Marxist analysis towards an inappropriate study object, i.e., the colonized peoples. He argues that Marxism targets its analysis on the deconstruction of the ruling ideas; however, contemporary scholarship applies this approach to “any group of ideas and any grouping of people,” without paying attention to the differences between “ruling ideas” and an “idea of resistance” (ibid.: 130). Deconstruction as an approach has undermined native nationalists by denying the legitimacy of their claims based on differences of gender, racial and cultural origins, and backgrounds.

According to Tobin, scholars like Keesing and Linnekin explain that their active participation in “demystifying” native nationalists’ cultural discourse attempts to shed light on the “contradiction” in the native nationalist movements that have relied on categories of “nation” and “culture” created by their colonizers (ibid.: 128). However, Tobin argues that “intervention by outsiders” is problematic because natives themselves need to control their sovereignty movements and find a way for decolonization (ibid.: 132). Moreover, like Trask, Tobin interprets the active intervention in native nationalist movements by anthropologists like Keesing and Linnekin as caused by their fear of losing “control of culture/nation discourse,” which again have been Western “colonizing inventions” (ibid.: 128). Therefore, Tobin criticizes the misdirected application of Marxist analysis to the discourse of native nationalists. He proposes to distinguish “between discourses that naturalize oppression and discourses that naturalize resistance” (e.g., Hawaiian cultural representations in the tourism industry vs. native nationalist movements) (ibid.: 130).

The responses of Trask and Tobin to the “invention of tradition” discourse in the Pacific context succeeded in contextualizing the issue in colonial and decolonization history, proving how the discourse functioned in a real situation, and in raising the issue of applying Marxist analysis. However, their critiques have not explored how culture functions in social movements, and there is a need for identifying alternative understandings of culture in social movements.

To accomplish this, I will compare the representations of culture or cultural practice in the Kin Bay Struggle to those in the Kaho’olawe Movement through the analysis of newsletters circulated among participants in the two movements, unpublished documents, and interviews. In studying the Kin Bay Struggle, I gathered typed organizational newsletters, such as the *Kin Wan Tsushin* (*Kin Bay Report*; later renamed *Higashikaigan*, or *Eastern Coast*), and unpublished documents provided by the members

of the Kin Bay Protection Society. I also conducted interviews with those members in 2006. These publications, documents, and interviews concerned discussions and activities held among the participants of the Kin Bay Protection Society, and propose alternative values and ideologies against the development project. In regards to historical processes and means of litigation, I referred to chronological tables indicating the history of the Kin Bay Struggle, and the preliminary documents of court cases to help me see the process of the struggle.

For the Kaho‘olawe Movement, I read through *Aloha ‘Āina* (later renamed *Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina*), an organizational newsletter distributed by the Protect Kaho‘olawe Fund. After the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO) succeeded in securing monthly access to Kaho‘olawe in 1981, the publication became an “activity of the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana ‘Oahu Access Committee” while remaining a project of the Protect Kaho‘olawe Fund (*Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina*, Malaki [March] 1986). I reviewed twenty-two volumes of *Aloha ‘Āina*, or *Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina* in the Hawaiian Collection of Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai‘i. These materials provided information on who was involved in the movement, the issues they faced, and the meanings that were attached to their cultural practices over the course of the Movement.

The agents of the invention of tradition—the ruling class, including intellectuals and the elite—are not the only actors who revitalize, invent, and practice culture. Rather, such things take place with the participation of multiple generations and genders. I propose an alternative way of understanding cultural revitalization, found by examining the subjectivity of actors in cultural practices in the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement. The way culture was employed by them challenges the idea that one dominant group controls and promotes cultural revitalization, and redefines the meaning of cultural practices in native nationalist movements.

Analysis of the representation of culture in both the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement, allowed me to understand that the participants worked as a group on the grassroots level and took the initiative in cultural activities, and that cultural practices expressed their distinct epistemology, their confrontation with governmental authority, and their ties and collective work with the other participants. The following aspects, which emerged through reading the newsletters, suggest the alternative aspects of the function of cultural expression in social movements.

## **II. The Kin Bay Struggle:**

### **Protest against Reclamation of Kin Bay and Oil Industry Development in Okinawa**

#### **1. Background**

Learning about the debates surrounding the “invention of tradition” discourse in the Pacific Context drove me to find information on cultural practice in the Kin Bay movement in Okinawa, which



had also resisted the occupation of land by different levels of government and questioned the state's ownership. In the Kin Bay Struggle, residents protested against the construction of Japanese oil company facilities through the expression of their relationship to the land and ocean.

The Kin Bay Struggle emerged immediately after the reversion of Okinawa to Japan, and protested against the plans of the *Okinawa, Kin-wan Chiku Kaihatsu Kihon Kōsō* (Kin Bay Area Development Base Project) (1972), which proposed to reclaim the ocean between Henza Island and the neighboring island of Miyagi, and to locate an oil stockpiling camp, thermal and nuclear power plants, an aluminum industry, a petrochemical complex, and more, on the eastern coast of Okinawa (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975a).

Although the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) designated the area of Yokatsu and the nearby islands of Henza, Hamahiga, Miyagi, and Ikei as a protected area and a marine park in October 1965, the protection was lifted in April 1972 for the Kin Bay Development Project (Kin Bay Protection Society, 1975b). The GRI provided Mitsubishi Development with a Certificate for Introducing Foreign Capital, and allowed it to reclaim public water areas between Henza and Miyagi Islands on March 4, 1972; in addition, it provided Mitsubishi's Okinawa Oil Base Co. with a certificate to take over public water areas on May 19, 1972 (ibid.). Oil pollution on Kin Bay had already started, with Okinawa Terminal Company's Henza storage and refinery facilities having already experienced oil spillage accidents. The consequential pollution was serious, resulting in considerable damage to the fishing industries of Yakena and Teruma (ibid.). With the ongoing detrimental environmental conditions, the GRI saw it as pertinent to develop the oil industry even further on the reclaimed land between Henza and Miyagi Islands.

To protest against the development, the Kin Bay Protection Society first conducted radical moves against the Okinawa Prefectural Government, including rallies, sit-ins, and mass bargaining. From 1974, the Kin Bay residents organized themselves and filed a lawsuit against Governor Chōbyō Yara, a prominent leader during the Reversion Movement, and one whom the residents had thought of as someone who would listen to the claims of the fishermen. However, the Reformist Okinawa Prefectural Administration forcefully promoted the development project in the name of "national interests," and proved to be an opponent in the Kin Bay Struggle. In the CTS trial, the courts were found to be a means to enforce governmental and corporate decisions under the "national interests" banner. The Kin Bay Protection Society's chosen protest field—the judicial court system—appeared to be unfair. The Society realized that the court system was to be the next ruling system for Okinawa. Moreover, change of the Prefectural Governorship from the Reformist Governors Chōbyō Yara and Kōichi Taira to the Liberal Democratic Party's Junji Nishime in December 1978 meant that the Kin Bay Protection Society faced a lack of political opportunity, and also suggested that it would become even more difficult for the Society

to influence political decision makers through court struggle or appeals. For these reasons, the Kin Bay Protection Society found it necessary to redirect their course of struggle. This shift did not mean the dissolution of their collective actions; rather, the Society continued their struggle within the Kin Bay communities, but they did so by revitalizing cultural practices rather than maintaining an exclusively judiciary course of protest action against the prefectural government and oil companies. In the Kin Bay Struggle, cultural expression was the most powerful way to articulate thoughts and values regarding the land and the ocean. The function of cultural practice in the Kin Bay Struggle is manifested in the following discussion of the agents of the struggle, the use of cultural practice, community activity and autonomy, and the building of a solidarity network.

## 2. Cultural Representation in the Kin Bay Struggle

Before an analysis of cultural representation, I examine the identity of those who were the agents of cultural practice in the Kin Bay Struggle, by elucidating how the organization was structured. The late Seishin Asato, who had been involved in the Kin Bay Struggle, stated that the Kin Bay Protection Society had no leaders, no ideologies, and no sects (*Higashikaigan*, Vol. 1, March 1976). Seishū Sakihara, who was also active in the struggle, notes that the Kin Bay Protection Society practiced its principles through “mass debates” and “mass bargaining” (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Zadankai: Kin wan tōsō o furikaette*). Although the Kin Bay Protection Society had Seishū Sakihara and Seishin Asato as “contact managers,” it always made decisions through mass debates, where the collective actions to be taken were determined with the consent of all the participants, so that many mass debate participants were encouraged to join the next collective action. Moreover, with their mass-bargaining strategy, individual residents could argue directly with government officials, rather than having just a few members representing the collective voice (*ibid.*). Sakihara identified workers, farmers, and fishermen, individually and collectively, who were to protest against state power (*ibid.*).

Now, let’s look at how these movement actors actually led cultural practice in the struggle, and what they intended to express or to achieve through it. First of all, cultural practice enabled the movement participants to articulate their resistance to the development which denied their life ways closely connected to nature, and to understand the issue of the development in the context of the pre- and post-war history of Okinawa. For example, by holding *hārī* (boat races), fishermen solidified their leadership and protested the idea of an “unnecessary ocean,” as conceived by CTS supporters. When they held *kushukki*, which literally means “taking a rest after hard work” (Handa, 1999/2000: 302–3), consisting of a prayer and celebration for a bountiful harvest in a festive gathering after completing agricultural work, they attempted to resist the CTS supporters’ discourse which defined farming as an unproductive industry. Moreover, through cultural expression, the movement participants could also

recognize that their struggle against the CTS was the same as the difficulties they had faced in the pre- and post-war period. The Kin Bay Protection Society focused on the destruction of culture during and after World War II, and associated the oil industry development with the same historical marker. In an interview, Seishū Sakihara said that “through revitalizing the culture which once died out after the war, Okinawan people want to strengthen ties between members of the community” (personal communication in Uruma City, December 21, 2006). For instance, in an *ashibi*, which in this context may be translated as harvest festival, the performance of a classical Ryukyuan dance depicts the historical subordination of Okinawa to Japan. “*Nubui kuduchi*,” a song about the Ryukyuan officials’ *Edo nobori*, or mission to visit Edo via Satsuma, which originated after the Satsuma invasion of the Kingdom of Ryukyu in 1609, represents the Ryukyuan obligation to pay tribute to mainland Japan (Tōma, 1992: 334–35).

Secondly, cultural practice encouraged active participation in community activity. After CTS development was implemented, division and conflict among the local residents emerged. This was a concern for the Society since it would cause destruction of community lives and culture (*Okinawa Times*, 1995, May 22). During the Kin Bay Struggle, for example, the yearly *Yakena tsunahiki* (commonly known as tug-of-war) was once suspended because the *Yakena* community residents were divided by conflicting approval and disapproval of the CTS project. *Tsunahiki* involves members of the community gathering and weaving straw into two large intertwined ropes symbolizing male and female. Once united by a thick wooden pole, the ends are pulled in opposite directions, east and west, again representing male and female, respectively, thus enacting a fertility rite for an abundant crop and the prosperity and well-being of the village.

The ties strengthened through *tsunahiki* were involved in the traditional idea of *yui*, which the Kin Bay Protection Society applied to their collective actions and developed into a form of agricultural volunteerism. *Yui*—which is the verb “to tie,” and implies “people getting together and working together” (Araki, 1977: 42)—conveys an image of cooperative work and the ties of community. The Kin Bay Struggle created derivative organizations made up of residents, fishermen, and union workers who specifically worked on the revitalization of farming and fishing. In February 1980, the Worker’s Union of Central Okinawa began organizing volunteer agricultural systems (Kin Bay Protection Society, *Kin-wan o Mamoru Kai gaishi*). Union workers took turns and helped farmers cultivate their fields when those farmers had to be in attendance at court cases.

Lastly, cultural practice enabled the expansion of a solidarity network with ocean-related communities. By holding *hārī* on the polluted ocean, fishermen tried to raise awareness about environmental damage among the residents, workers, and other groups. The intrinsic meaning of *hārī* as a ritual is to pray for an abundance of fish in the sea. By extension, *hārī* not only constituted an action to

purify the ocean, but it also increased the number of supporters or participants joining forces against related issues in different organizations, such as the Society for Banishing Synthetic Detergent in the Kin Bay Struggle. Moreover, the solidarity network expanded beyond the confines of the Kin Bay area, among communities of the Ryukyuan Arc—to Amami in the north, Iriomote in the south, and further towards the Pacific islands of Palau and Guam. The Residents’ Movements of the Ryukyu Arc faced related struggles against economic development projects in Ryukyu Arc communities, which, as a consequence of decisions made at the national level, had all faced environmental pollution derived from diverse sources such as nuclear energy, tourism, or oil refineries.

### **III. The Kaho‘olawe Movement:**

#### **Opposition to U.S. Military Bombing of Kaho‘olawe Island, Hawai‘i**

##### **1. Background**

Next, I move my focus from the Kin Bay Struggle to the Kaho‘olawe Movement. In 1976, a group, mainly consisting of native Hawaiians, landed on Kaho‘olawe, filed a lawsuit against the military, and reached out to the community to discuss the cultural and religious significance of Kaho‘olawe. The organization they created came to be known as the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana (PKO). In 1980, the PKO pressured the Navy to survey historic sites, to remove surface ordinance, to restrict target areas, and to begin revegetation of the island. Kaho‘olawe Island had been used as a bombing target for U.S. military practice since 1941, when the Japanese military attacked Pearl Harbor; that use was to continue until 1990. When President Eisenhower issued Executive Order 10436, the island was placed under the Navy’s jurisdiction. Although residents and politicians on the nearby island of Maui expressed concerns about their safety and filed complaints against the bombings, their objections were virtually ignored. However, collective action saw significantly better results.

The island became part of the National Register of Historic Places, and was made accessible on a monthly basis to the members of the PKO in 1981. Ending military use of the island for training was first initiated by President George H. W. Bush, when he directed the Secretary of Defense to stop using Kaho‘olawe for military training in 1990. Further steps for revegetation, cleanup, historical site preservation, and establishment of an educational program were planned for the island. Moreover, the State has been required to use the island properly, under the oversight of the Kaho‘olawe Island Reserve Commission (KIRC). Federal financing for the management of Kaho‘olawe ended when \$460 million was expended in 2003. In the same year, the Navy gave up their cleanup responsibilities with its renunciation of control over the island, leaving hazardous areas remaining. The PKO has been providing periodic access and has conducted a revegetation program with the approval of the KIRC. The struggle to restore the island continues today.

In the Kaho‘olawe Movement, cultural practice became significant at the time court struggle began. The first “illegal” landing on Kaho‘olawe in January 1976 did not convince decision makers to halt the bombings, and the members of the PKO filed a suit in October 1976 asking the Navy to observe the conservation of religious and historical sites on the island, as well as the members’ freedom of religion (“Noa Emmet Aluli, et al., Plaintiffs v. Donald Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense, et al. Civil Action File No. 76-0380,” Barnard, 1996: 153). With this move, the members of the PKO began to emphasize the necessity of research and protection of the culture that remained on the island. Tactics they added to their landings included surveying historical sites on the island and educating people about Hawaiian culture. In December 1976, PKO members proposed a project entitled “Aloha ‘Āina,” concerning “research and community education about spiritual and religious beliefs of Hawaiian culture” (in File Title “Kaho‘olawe Association,” Helm, 1980). In the project, the PKO defined their role as “conducting research on *aloha ‘āina*, the essence of Hawaiian spiritual and religious thought” and “[e]ducating the Hawaiian and broader community about *aloha ‘āina* concept” (ibid.). They argued that the concept of *aloha ‘āina*, defined as a “love of the land or of one’s country” and “deep love of the land” (Pukui & Elbert, 1957/1986: 21), should be understood not only by Hawaiians, but also by the broader community, to recognize the necessity of protecting the island and its historical and religious remains from the bombing.

## 2. Cultural Representation in the Kaho‘olawe Movement

While individual residents were the agents of the Kin Bay Struggle, in Hawai‘i, “*ohana*” was identified as the movement actor. The concept of *‘ohana* is not identical to the concept of family based on blood, but rather extends both beyond bloodlines and through generations including ancestors (Kauanui, 1999). In the Kaho‘olawe Movement, the cultural significance of the island also made “*ohana*” into a movement actor. The idea of “*ohana*” used in the organizational name, “Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana,” structured organizational membership. All movement participants were considered important actors in the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana. “*Ohana*” is translated as “family,” “relative,” “kin group” or “related” (Pukui & Elbert, 1957/1986: 276). Therefore, the naming of the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana implies that the participants comprised many generations, as well as different genders, and those in close relationships of cohabitation and sharing shelter, food, and drink. Among ‘Ohana members, for instance, “*kupuna*” (“grandparent” or “ancestor”; Pukui & Elbert, 1957/1986), were identified as the most knowledgeable in regards to the cultural significance of Kaho‘olawe. Numerous elderly women played a role in providing anthropologists and military personnel with information about the archeological sites of the island (*Aloha ‘Āina*, Summer 1979: 16).

The significance of the cultural practice led by those ‘Ohana members in the Kaho‘olawe

Movement, paralleled that in the Kin Bay Struggle. First, just as the residents in the Kin Bay Protection Society employed cultural practice as their resistance to the hegemonic forces which historically denied their ways of life related to nature, the PKO also employed cultural practice as a mean to connect to the values and thoughts of the past. Burelle Duvauchell, an ‘Ohana member, encountered participants from different islands at gatherings during the island access in June 1979. He declared that, through cultural practice, they learned from their ancestors about “Hawaiian spirit,” which was defined as different from the hegemonic ideas of capitalism, militarism, racism, and colonialism:

Many have been seeking the wisdom of our ancestors and striving to realize the values that our Kupuna cherish. In the haole system, which thrives on conflict and competition, we often struggle after illusions and false promises. But on Kaho‘olawe our Kupuna showed us the transforming power of the true Hawaiian spirit. Gathered together in righteousness to help our island, we reached a new understanding of Aloha ‘Āina in action and together felt the blessing of our Kupuna glow back through us all. (*Aloha ‘Āina*. Summer, 1979: 7)

Duvauchell argues that collective work for land cultivation perpetuates the practice of the ancestors. Moreover, petroglyphs, one of the archeological assets, symbolize the transgenerational connection among the Hawaiians based on their distinct epistemology. Merlyn Silva, one of the ninety participants in the July 6, 1978 land access, comments that “stories our ancestors left behind....I give to you a part of us, my keiki o ka ‘āina...to be forever in your hearts and minds” (*Aloha ‘Āina*. Summer 1979: 19).

Aunty Lani Kapuni from Moloka‘i, who joined the land access in June 1979, reflected on what she thought about while on Kaho‘olawe and composed “Mele no Kaho‘olawe.” *Mele* is translated as “song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant” (Pukui & Elbert, 1957/1986). The lyrics are translated from the original Hawaiian into English:

*Famous is your name Kaho‘olawe  
An island which the government hath condemned  
It was called a barren land where man cannot survive  
.....  
Here we are the Protect Kaho‘olawe Ohana  
From the sea and from the air the Kupuna and opio stand firm on this island  
We drop tears for it is a victorious day  
.....  
There are great riches on Kaho‘olawe  
There are fish shrines, temples, and petroglyphs  
Your sweet spring waters, Mo‘aula’s green mountains and  
Kamohoali‘i, the great king of Kaho‘olawe.  
(Aunty Lani Kapuni, *Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina*, Summer 1979: 17)*

Her *mele* describes the clear distinction between the PKO’s understanding of Kaho‘olawe and the governments’ understanding. For Lani Kapuni, Kaho‘olawe was a beautiful island holding fresh water,

nurturing plants, animals, and all forms of life. In her *mele*, Kapuni conveys that the Hawaiians needed to access Kaho‘olawe Island to practice their rites. Kaho‘olawe, which has abundant cultural assets and archeological sites, became a place to learn a distinct epistemology from the past. The PKO members held religious ceremonies on Kaho‘olawe, used Hawaiian words, such as “*aloha ‘āina*,” “*‘ohana* (family),” and “*kupuna* (ancestor),” and tried to revitalize ancient Hawaiian knowledge and practice (Project “Aloha ‘Āina” in File “Kaho‘olawe Association,” Helm, 1980).

Secondly, cultural practice encouraging cooperation in agricultural work and festivals became significant in the Kaho‘olawe Movement, as with the *yui* practice in the Kin Bay Struggle. For example, the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana worked on the construction of a school, hula mound, kitchen facility, water catchments, drains, and meeting spaces, and named them as an *ahupua‘a* base camp, referring to an indigenous land use system (*Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina*. Aukake [August] 1986: 1). The gathering places enabled ‘Ohana members to work together and to exchange *mana‘o* (thoughts and opinions). Moreover, cultural practice also enabled the ‘Ohana members to value agricultural practices as a perpetuation of the Hawaiian value of “*laulima*,” the “Hawaiian concept for cooperation—many hands working together for the common good of the ‘ohana,” such as “Makahiki” (*Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina*. Makahiki, 1986: 1). “*Makahiki*” is translated from the Hawaiian language as an “ancient festival beginning about the middle of October and lasting about four months, with sports and religious festivals and taboo on war” (Pukui & Elbert, 1957/1986). *Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina* stated that “the Kaho‘olawe Makahiki is a time for ‘Ohana members to celebrate and show our appreciation for the past year’s harvests on our home islands”; the rite as such was a medium to promote land cultivation practice as an organizational activity (*Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina*. Peipeluali [February] 1987: 3).

Thirdly, the PKO’s stance on the land and the concept of *aloha ‘āina* connected them with other organizations and protests against land use issues in Hawai‘i, including the Pele Defense Fund against geothermal exploration in Hilo, Hawai‘i; and Hui Mālama, which opposed the excavation of ancestors’ bones from prehistoric Hawaiian burials for a development project in Honokahua, Maui. Moreover, *Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Āina* implicitly showed its concern about issues of militarism in international localities, e.g., Vieques, Puerto Rico, and Ie-Jima (Ie Island), Okinawa. In this sense, the concept of *aloha ‘āina*, which implies a distinct land use practice, became the medium for the PKO participants to build grassroots solidarity with other communities against hegemonic governmental and militaristic forces.

#### IV. Discussion: Cultural Representation

As has been shown above, the employment of cultural practice in both the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement encouraged movement participants to engage in community activity and

broaden the scope of the movement by building local and international solidarity networks. This structure in the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement proposes an alternative understanding of the agents of cultural activities.

To begin with, rituals and learning about cultural assets were expressed in ways which suggested and symbolized life ways in both the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement. The Kin Bay Struggle employed cultural practice to challenge the underdevelopment discourse that had imposed capitalist values and practice on the Kin Bay communities that had sustained themselves on farming and fishing. They intended to frame cultural practices in their collective action as a form of resistance against CTS construction, which threatened the existence of the local natural environment and lifestyle. In the Kaho‘olawe Movement, too, ‘Ohana members emphasized the epistemological difference between those who promoted military training and bombing of the island and the ‘Ohana who protested it. Culture thus enabled the ‘Ohana to inhabit the land of Kaho‘olawe and transform the hegemonic idea that “the land of Kaho‘olawe is barren” by initiating agricultural practices. In that sense, the Kaho‘olawe Movement is an example of the definition of culture noted by E. P. Thompson (1963/1964), who suggests that Raymond Williams’(1958) “idea of culture as a ‘whole way of life’ would be better replaced by the idea of culture as conflict” (as summarized in Higgins, 2001). In other words, invocation of lifestyle resulted in the direct opposition to both military bombing and the political decision-making that denied the value of Kaho‘olawe.

Secondly, the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho‘olawe Movement articulated narratives of resistance through cultural expression and historicized their struggles. The emphasis on tradition in the Kin Bay Struggle was meant to suggest that cultural practices in the community could help in mending the consequences of Okinawan history. Accounts of experiences during the pre- and post-war periods suggest that the abandonment of cultural practices caused weakening of community ties. During wartime and continuing into the reversion period, residents were left with only their cultural practices as means to assert their presence and claim on the land. Therefore, cultural practices became the sole valued asset that the residents possessed to counteract the overwhelming influx of economic interests that aimed at superseding local interests. For a protester in the Kin Bay Struggle, the performance also made reference to collective measures against the CTS project, which was seen as a legacy inherited from successive historical markers—the Battle of Okinawa, U.S. military occupation, and reversion—that infringed upon the sovereignty of Okinawa. The petroglyphs discovered on Kaho‘olawe signify the linkage between the past, present, and future, and the participants in the Kaho‘olawe Movement actively engaged in interpreting and articulating what their ancestors were telling them. Thus, in the Kaho‘olawe Movement, individuals linked the past and the present for political purposes. By emphasizing the cultural assets of the island, the PKO demanded that the U. S. and the State of



Hawai'i acknowledge its significance.

Third, the ties among the participants in the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho'olawe Movement were reinforced through cultural practice, which enabled them to embody their narratives of resistance by actually striving to practice self-sufficient ways of living. Cultural practices in the Kin Bay Struggle strengthened the ties of the community, which created a network of mutual cooperation, and the restoration of the value originally given to primary industries (i.e., agriculture, fishery). Agricultural volunteering strengthened the solidarity between labor movements and residents' movements through participation in cultural practices and cooperative work. The 'Ohana rejected the federal and state governments' land control, and conducted cultural practices and social activities on the island. 'Ohana members practiced an autonomous self-governing system by working together, and created spaces for cultural practice as well as a social habitat. Land cultivation became a symbolic action of cooperation and alternative land use that defined the 'Ohana members' relationship to each other and with the land as different from that in the dominant discourse.

Lastly, community ties strengthened through cultural practice signified as prayer for community prosperity and autonomy, with impact on both the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho'olawe Movement that was not confined to the two areas, but which extended to other international localities. The Hawaiian concept of *aloha 'āina*, which subsumes their practice continued from the past and related to the land opposes Hobsbawm's "invention of tradition" discourse, which implies that a cultural symbol is always manipulated by a hegemonic force for the domination of society. The Kaho'olawe Movement's representation of culture was not dominated by an indigenous ruling class to control the community. Rather, it became a means for the PKO to ally with other communities beyond national boundaries.

## **V. Conclusion**

This research which sprang out of a migrant perspective, tried to suggest the possibility of envisioning an alternative theoretical framework to understand culture in social movements, by examining the commonalities between these two movements. Migrant experience allowed me to connect struggles and propose an alternative perspective toward the "invention of tradition" discourse in the Pacific Context. The discussion in this article also suggests that there were commonalities in two coetaneous movements. The narratives and practices articulated and employed in the Kin Bay Struggle and the Kaho'olawe Movement indicate that cultural expressions and practice were empowering tools, and enabled movement actors to articulate and practice their anti-development or anti-militarist perspectives. Therefore, the significance of culture in social movements should not only be described as what conceals the hierarchy among the members of indigenous protest groups. Rather, cultural practice was one of the major forms of collective action, because it constituted a form of large-scale action that

the majority of residents or “*ohana*” could participate in and thereby collectively contributes to the struggle.

In two movements, cultural practices, though originally mostly religious and celebratory in nature, served political causes by empowering individuals and uniting them in their common resistance to colonialism and struggle to attain a level of regional autonomy. In the Kin Bay Struggle, cultural practice was revitalized by the residents, who put forward their cultural capital rooted in the place they inhabited. Cultural practice, in this sense, became the source of one of the major collective actions because that was how residents could control the struggle. In the Kaho‘olawe Movement, cultural practice was led by *‘ohana* in the indigenous sense, rather than by a ruling class. For the PKO, culture was collective work, and reflected collective thought. Moreover, collective work strengthened the connection between the people, their ancestors, their descendents, and nature. The Kaho‘olawe Movement, therefore, seems to have been a place for negotiation of different perspectives from multiple agents, rather than for their voicing through specific leaders.

Although Keesing states that power relationships among a group of native people comes from class difference, and has nothing to do with culture, the culture articulated in the Kin Bay Struggle formed the protest against the CTS project. Therefore, cultural origins mattered in the Kin Bay Struggle, because the capitalist ideology and force were what devastated cultural practice and what necessitated its revival by the residents, faced with the ongoing destruction of the natural environment. In the Kaho‘olawe Movement too, militaristic ideology and force were what had devastated both the environment and cultural practice.

Even though Keesing argues that “invention of tradition” introduces the issues of class and power differences among the people, in the Kin Bay Struggle, practicing traditional culture was employed as an act of protest against external forces, i.e., governments, the military, and private companies. It is also highlighted in the peoples’ struggles in the Ryukyu Arc and the Pacific, with which the Kin Bay Struggle built solidarity networks. This study has argued that cultural practice in the Kin Bay Struggle and Kaho‘olawe Movement suggest that Keesing’s application of the “invention of tradition” discourse fails to include the component of cultural practice, and the multiple aspects of understanding peoples’ articulation of traditional culture, in which it is possible to claim that the people who practice traditional culture have the ability to exercise their agency. There is a need to formulate effective discourses that can serve social movements in promoting regional self-sufficiency and political autonomy while upholding regional cultural practices.

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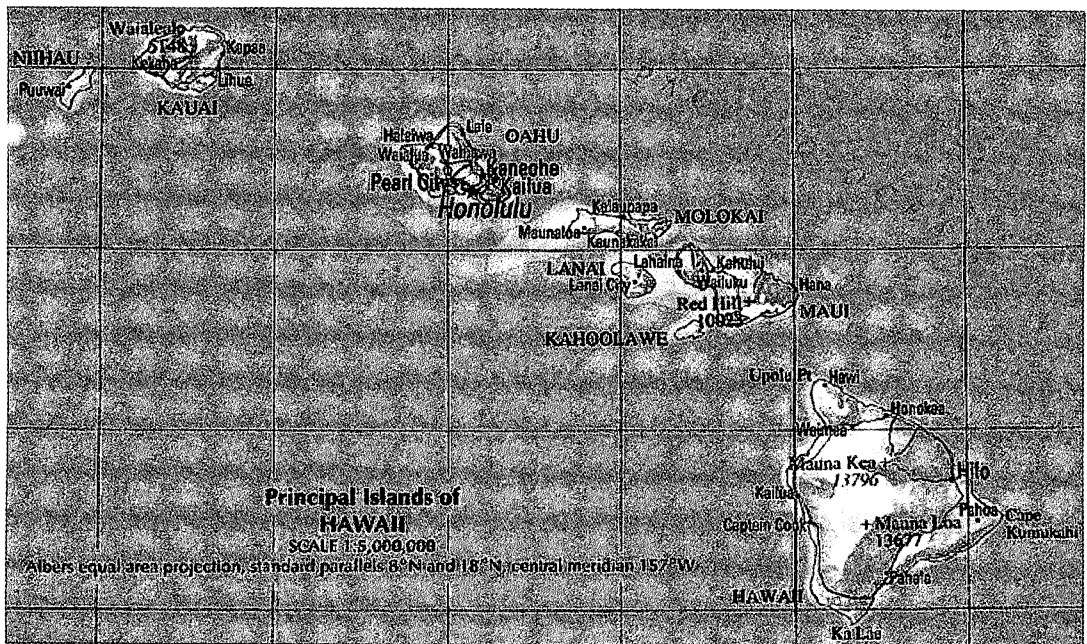
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**Figure. Map of the Islands of Hawai‘i**

Source: Hawaii (reference map). Portion of “The National Atlas of the United States of America. General Reference”, compiled by U.S. Geological Survey 2001, printed 2002. Retrieved on January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2009, from University of Texas Perry-Castañeda Library, Map Collection. [www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/us\_2001/hawaii\_ref\_2001.jpg].

## 太平洋の文脈における「伝統の創造」論を問う： 沖縄・金武湾闘争とハワイ・カホオラヴェの運動における「文化」の重要性

上原こずえ

キーワード：「伝統の創造」論，文化，金武湾闘争，カホオラヴェの運動，移動者の視点

本論文は、1970年代の沖縄における金武湾闘争、そしてハワイにおけるカホオラヴェの運動に着目し、抵抗運動における「伝統」文化の実践に関する新たな視点を提示する。金武湾闘争は沖縄の復帰後の1973年に始まり、金武湾の宮城島—平安座島間の埋立て、石油備蓄基地・石油精製工場の建設に反対した。一方のカホオラヴェの運動は1976年に起こり、1941年の日本軍による真珠湾攻撃から始まった、米軍によるカホオラヴェ島での軍事射撃・爆撃訓練に反対した。両運動は、太平洋で隔たれた沖縄とハワイで組織され、異なる問題を扱っていたが、そこで表出した思想や実践には連続性が見られる。

金武湾闘争とカホオラヴェの運動における「伝統」文化の実践は、「伝統の創造」論に重要な問題を提起する。1980年代以降、太平洋諸島の民族主義運動における「伝統」文化の語りや実践が集団内の権力構造を確立し維持する、という批判が「伝統の創造」論をもってなされた。この主張に対し、さまざまな立場からの批判がなされた。本論文では、「伝統の創造」論による民族主義運動への批判が、抵抗運動における「伝統」文化の意義を認識できていないことを指摘し、その意義を金武湾闘争とカホオラヴェの運動における「伝統」文化の実践を分析することで提示する。

本研究は、筆者の移動者としての個人的な経験から生まれた問いや、比較の視点に基づき議論を進める。沖縄からハワイに移動し、そこで知りえたカホオラヴェの運動と、筆者のホームである沖縄の金武湾闘争との間にはどのような接点があるのか。本論文では第一に、「伝統の創造」論による太平洋諸島の民族主義運動に対する批判と、それに対する反論を概観する。第二に、金武湾闘争とカホオラヴェの運動の歴史的な背景をふまえ、機関誌、その他の未出版資料、聞き取り調査の記録から、両運動における「伝統」文化の実践とその意義を検証する。研究結果として、次の三点を明らかにした。金武湾闘争とカホオラヴェの運動では、「住民」や「オハナ」という運動参加者個人としての役割が強調された。また両運動では海や土地の重要性が「伝統」文化の実践を通じて主張され、開発や軍事訓練への抵抗とされた。さらに両運動では、「伝統」文化の実践が、運動参加者間の結びつきを強め、援農活動や共同体の自治を模索する動きにつながり、他の島々における抵抗運動との連帯を生んだ。

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