ONLINE DELIBERATION

LIVED EXPERIENCES OF KĀNAKA MAOLI WOMEN

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Abstract

Online deliberation has increasingly attracted scholarly attention and stirred the hope for more diverse and actively inclusive public conversations to inform different polities. However, little research has been conducted to understand the realities, opportunities, and risks of people who are voicing their political views online while holding challenging positions in the matrix of power. This study begins to address this gap focusing on the experiences of Kānaka Maoli women who voice their cultural and political sovereignty positions online. The project aims to contribute to the understanding of how common online deliberation platforms (social media, particularly Facebook) support or hinder the expression and the maintenance of diverse perspectives online using a triangulation of interviews, focus group, and discourse analysis.

Main findings include socio-technical affordances that disrupt participants' lifeworlds (such as self-branding, reactivity-visibility loop, cultural appropriation, infiltration, surveillance, and online harassment), others that support them (such as remediation, phatic communication, summoning, and steps towards epistemological and spatial redistribution), and most interestingly, complex affordances that require extra agency on the part of participants to appropriate the media for their purposes (such as responsible self-modeling, reframing mainstream discourses, and connected presence of body, mind, and spirit). Such complex affordances present a shared, creative effort that, with the support of both participants' and scholarly communities, can foster a Hawai'i-based, safe and empowering use of communication media.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Online deliberation has increasingly attracted scholarly attention and stirred the hope for more diverse and inclusive public conversations to inform different forms of polities. However, little research has been conducted to understand the realities, opportunities and risks of people who are voicing their political views online while holding particularly challenging positions within the networks of power (Fuchs, 2014). I mean challenging in both senses of being challenged by and actively challenging current differential flows of power. This research focuses on the experiences of Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) women with online deliberation and the use of social media for the expression of cultural and political sovereignty. As discussed further in the background section, I believe they stand in a very challenging social and political position in both senses just mentioned. Therefore, I draw upon the fields of deliberative democracy and online deliberation and hope to contribute to their ongoing critical shifts by learning about, from, and with this inspiring group of people. Indeed, the field of online deliberation does not offer many critical tools to understand the experiences of engaging in online political conversations from native histories of sovereignty and occupation, their intersections with gender and race, and their purposes inextricable from spiritual ones. The polities commonly talked about in online deliberation, or assumed to be the purpose of participation, are usually some variants of "Western" democracies. However, the broader online deliberative system is shaped by and shapes also other forms of participation. There is a lot to learn about possible challenges, differential impacts, fruitful engagements, or other possible experiences with online deliberation systems from specific native lands, cultures and polities.

Gender in online deliberation have been discussed and inquired more than indigeneity, but often without a thick understanding of the processes that produce gender differences. Women participation in online political talk varies widely across different contests; however, the underlying processes of this variance remain little studied (Polletta & Chen, 2014).

Although the fields of online deliberation, critical indigenous studies, and feminist studies, as well as the actual lifeworlds of native women, may both collude and collide at

times (Barker, 2017), I believe a lot of learning can happen when they interact. Despite sometimes conflicting ontologies, axiologies, and epistemologies, both scholar and local communities can benefit from keeping the communication channels open in generative theory/practice feedback loops (Ferguson, 2017) such that theories can learn from communities' lived experiences and support visions for radical, long-lasting improvements that are rooted in and led by communities. I strive to center my experience as a researcher within my body, in my place on the map and in history, a place of accountability and respect as a nonindigenous online deliberation feminist researcher, learning from, and in solidarity with Hawaiian women struggling for sovereignty and engaging in online deliberation on social media. I write as a Haole malihini in Hawai'i, non-immigrant alien of the occupying U.S. state, with personal and ancestral roots in a Mediterranean land that has survived thousands of years of invasions herself.

In this study I triangulate interviews, focus groups, and online discourse analyses. Through iterative loops of participating in Hawaiian women's sovereignty struggles, reading and reflecting, collecting and analyzing data, my research got reoriented toward more specific and more intimate scales of mediated actions and at the same time broader online and offline socio-technical systems enabling them. Indeed, it became clear that if I limited the conversations and observations of this research to participants' experiences *within* social media platforms, I would have missed some of the most significant – in terms of *participants'* goals and lifeworlds – risks and opportunities encountered *with* social media in the broader socio-technical system where participants work and create.

Although this work acknowledges struggles and may problematize aspects of the experiences that participants have shared with me, I asked their mana'o (thoughts) expecting to learn as much about powerful practices and solutions to emergent problems. As Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith reminds us, "Problematizing the indigenous is a Western obsession" (Smith, 1999: 91). I believe that most communities who strive to have conversations that matter, on issues close to people's spirits, minds and bodies, have a lot to learn from these women. I strive to critically engage and learn from participants' experiences, and ask in particular the following research questions (RQ):

RQ1: What is the experience of Kānaka Maoli Women participants with social media use for the expression of cultural and political sovereignty?

RQ1:   How are participants supported or hindered by socio-technical affordances in maintaining their particular standpoints?

As described more in details in the Methods section, in order to answer the research questions, I facilitated interviews and a focus group with a total of sixteen (16) Hawaiian women who use social media for the expression of cultural or political sovereignty. Individual and group interviews are complemented by online observations and critical discourse analyses of participants' discussions and local mainstream news linked to them, over six months. The interviews and the focus group are the primary data points of this research, whereas online discourse analyses have been utilized iteratively, prior and throughout the interviews phase, as heuristics to guide interviews' prompts, and to triangulate results. After the analytic phase, I sent an individual summary report (and a group one to focus group participants) with a summary of results, quotes and mentions to review (see Appendix 3), to perform member checks, report back to participants, and incorporate their feedback.

Before delving into the next sections of the study, I summarize below its scholarly contributions. This study contributes to the following fields and practices of research:

- In online deliberation, it addresses gaps in the literature about the realities, opportunities and risks of online deliberations for participants in a complex intersectional position. Moreover, it does so bridging knowledge and analytic sensibilities from different fields, in particular Feminist, Indigenous, and Hawaiian studies, which can help building stronger, wide spreading roots for this young interdisciplinary field.

- In political communication, e-democracy, and Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) it introduces discursive approaches and socio-technical affordances (possibilities for action, concept discussed in the Theoretical Background) that foster of hinder the maintenance of the lifeworld of participants.

- On the methodological level, the combination of critical discourse analyses of online interactions, and general inductive analysis of interviews, for a phenomenological understanding of participants lived experienced, is not commonly explored. I found it particularly fruitful in fostering reiterative cycles of interpretation and reflection, as it allowed me to look at the same phenomena from different angles. Moreover, the

triangulation of online critical discourse analysis and interviews allows one to observe deliberation beyond a single platform and in a broader textual, discursive, and socio-cultural context (Fairclough, 1992) maintaining both breadth of view and thick specificity of the deliberative context of participants.

- Finally, in terms of theory and practice feedback loops (Ferguson, 2017), this study is born in social action. It articulates theoretically experiences that are not commonly taken into consideration, and therefore, points to ways in which the deliberative system may fail them, but also to actual and potential solutions at the hands of participants.

In what follows I will first present some historical context, then talk more in depth about my positionality and location as I understood them throughout this work. I will give an overview of relevant literature from the field of online deliberation critiqued and informed by analytical sensitivities I have developed engaging with feminist and indigenous studies, and with the participants of this research.

Research Background

The following sub-sections offer a review of relevant deliberation concepts, a brief overview of the historical context of this study, my reflections on disconnects between deliberative research (particularly online deliberation) and Native sovereignty struggles, analytical tools that oriented me through such disconnects.

Deliberation, consensus, and affordances

The Internet, and the social web in particular, have been argued to both support the emergence of a participatory and diverse society, as well as to reinforce preexisting power structures and polarization (Sunstein, 2003; Dahlberg, 2007a; Dahlberg, 2007b; Hindman, 2008). When one focuses specifically on the participation of women, the attribution of empowering or disempowering affordances to online media proves particularly slippery. From a striking inequality among Wikipedia editors, where women are estimated to be 12.7%, or 16.1% simulating adjustment for nonresponse bias (Hill and Shaw, 2013) to apparently equal participation and influence in institutionally deliberative online forums (Polletta & Chen, 2013), women's participation appears to vary widely in different contexts. Even assuming that there are contexts where women, or other social

groups commonly less heard in traditional mass media, participate equally, one can still argue that the networked person is hardly a rounded empowered one, but rather a participant-consumer whose agency is limited to choosing from a catalog of political expressions accessible by wire (Dean, 2007; Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007). To paraphrase with the language of assemblage theory (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), the online deliberation system's infrastructures, designs, features, and underlying theories, are embedded in imperialist, neoliberal, and patriarchal assemblages. Yet, women, and indigenous women in particular, definitely engage with online deliberation technologies and appropriate them for sovereignty, nation healing, and spiritual purposes (Duarte, 2017), shaping and being shaped by assemblages that interact with, and shape in return the larger deliberation system.

Online deliberation is a relatively young interdisciplinary field (Coleman & Moss, 2011). The classic theory of deliberation implies face-to-face (FTF) communication. However, many have argued that internet-based technologies can represent new opportunities to scale up deliberative and participatory practices (Carpini et al. 2004), to allow distant collaboration, and to support deliberation with collaborative tools presenting some of the constraints and possibilities for communication of both written and spoken language (Yates, 1995), along with other unique affordances and limitations (Hollan & Stornetta, 1992).

Users of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) can experience the same levels of social presence as in face-to-face communication; indeed, several works suggest that media richness, rather than being an intrinsic characteristic of the media, is very context-dependent. Media richness may change across cultures (Setlock et al. 2007), or improve over time, to the point that even when using text-only CMC the interlocutors can eventually communicate with as many social cues as FTF (Walther et al., 2001). This is both good and bad news, as some may assume that reduced social cues would free online deliberation from negative impacts of stereotypes, discriminations and cultural differences. Discrimination does happen online; however, reputation systems and pseudonymity can afford some equality of status between participants and at the same time prevent some of the de-invidualizing effects also attributed to reduced-social cues (Tolmie and Boyle, 2000).

Every mediational mean has affordances and constraints, which empower and limit users (Wertsch, 1993; Suthers, 2006), there is wide agreement that commonly used social media and forums, as they are currently designed, do not facilitate diverse and constructive deliberation (Elliman et al. 2007; Wright and Street, 2007; Lampe, 2011). SNSs and news comments are not specifically designed to support group decision-making. The threaded discussion architecture seems to "resist" (Wertsch, 1993) the creative synthesis of different ideas (Hewitt, 2003).

Many efforts have been focused in designing specific tools for deliberation. Relevant literature is scattered across different disciplines and there is still little overlap between them. In particular there seem to be a gap between studies in the field of computer supported collaborative work (CSCW) and those in social and political sciences. Critics have noted that CSCW studies of online deliberation and consensus decision making haven't drawn much from social and political sciences, and focus on positivist experimental studies about the effects of design variables (Arnott & Pervan, 2005). These studies do not offer a deep understanding of users' experiences, and if online deliberation is as context-dependent as FTF deliberation, results are not very generalizable to naturalistic settings. Characteristics of the interaction as well as technical affordances that favor diverse, participatory, and constructive argumentation in e-government and e-democracy applications are largely unknown (Lampe et al. 2011).

Some lessons can be learned also from the field of computer supported collaborative learning (CSCL). Particularly relevant in this study, Tolmie and Boyle (2000) suggest that in CSCL equal status (peer-to-peer interactions) together with reviewability, may create an ideal condition for "conceptual growth" in debate and problem discussions: no one's arguments are *a priori* better than anybody else's and each participant is motivated to fully develop hers, which may facilitate the re-comprehension/resolution on the problem in a broader perspective reached through the dialectic relation between the conflicting arguments. However, the scenario just depicted has not been observed very often (Tolmie and Boyle, 2000). In their review of CMC in teaching, Tolmie and Boyle (2000) suggest that a successful communication doesn't automatically follow from generic affordances of equal status and reviewability. In an Activity Theory perspective (Leont'ev, 1981), they suggest that: "the critical factors are those which provide a context

and rationale for online communication by helping users to establish a *shared purpose*"
(Tolmie and Boyle, 2000). This study aims to initiate filling the gap between CSCW and
social sciences by giving online interactions in naturalistic, deliberative settings a closer
look. If the field of FTF deliberation has only recently acknowledged the role of empathy,
the field of online deliberation appears to be still firmly anchored on the rationality
paradigm, which is a call for research that inquires diverse practices that may highlight
other forms of mindful online political interactions.

Deliberative democracy

Anderson (2003) found that the communication models utilized in democratic
discourse can be grouped in two main types: "discussion" and "dialogue" (Bohm, 2003).
Discussion is mainly adversarial and is the communication model usually employed for
decision making; while dialogue involves mutual understanding and usually aims to
learning and creative moments rather than decision-making or policymaking.

Wouldn't it be possible to have both discussion and dialogue for decision-making
processes informed by mutual learning and creativity? Although they are not necessarily
the norm, there are increasing documented cases of deliberative democracy where
decision-making emerges from open dialogue and by consensus (Habermas, 2006;
Fishkin, 1995; Mansbridge, 1983).

Definitions of both deliberation and consensus vary in different traditions and
different studies (Mutz, 2006; Sanders, 1997), but I can highlight upfront something that
is shared by most definitions of both concepts, and is central in this study, as well as
often overlooked or misunderstood by the general public and designers of supporting
systems: neither deliberation nor consensus are about changing participants' minds, they
are however about creating a common ground among participants by understanding and
empathizing with other viewpoints (Mutz, 2006:14; Mendelberg, 2002).

As Melville and colleagues (2005) put it, talking about the deliberative case of the
National Issues Forum (NIF):

> The main outcome of NIF in most cases is not that deliberation dramatically changes people's
> view but that it *alters* them. The process typically starts with the exchange of stories about
> how people experience certain problems and what they worry about.

[…] What *does* change is people's perceptions of those with whom they disagree. Even though forum participants may not agree with someone else's position, they often come to appreciate it and understand it better. The process of deliberation can serve to link people's private ideas and interests to something more closely resembling public values. This modification of their perception of others and of the problem itself created an opening for identifying common ground and defining a broadly acceptable direction for public action.

Most definitions of deliberation surveyed for this work share two elements: 1) hearing different perspectives on a given topic, and 2) reaching "enough common ground to move ahead" (Melville et al. p. 47); "ahead" is the next phase in the decision-making process, which could be consensus as well as another practice, such as debate and majority vote informed by the deliberative process (Towne & Herbsleb, 2012).

Fig 1. Deliberation doesn't have to change participants' worldviews, but participants can understand each other's diverse standpoints and create a common ground for constructive argumentation. What interaction and mediation support this process is the object of increasing research

Although consensus is not necessarily achieved through deliberation, in most definitions (Sanders, 1997) consensus is considered, to use a terminology introduced in the beginning of this section, the *telos* or perfection-development of this practice. According to Jürgen Habermas (1991), one of the most read and cited philosophers of deliberative democracy, consensus is supposed to emerge after *rational* and *disinterested* consideration of different ideas, by the "authority of the better argument" (Habermas, 1991: 36). However, if at all possible or even desirable, this is hardly ever the case. Political theorists have set many different conditions to define a situation as deliberative

12

and have been accused to narrow it in such a way that de facto excludes many people from it (Mutz, 2006; Coleman and Moss, 2011; Lee, 2011).

A review of the conditions that characterize different definitions of deliberation is out of the scope of this study; as an example, among the standards set for a "valid" deliberation, Ackerman and Fishkin (2004) state that selected participants should have a steady income and education, which may drastically skew the diversity of participants, and may exclude the very people whose voices need to be heard the most. Indeed, persons with lower income and a lower degree of education may carry different perspectives from the already publicly resonating ones of the dominant elites; they are also significantly more likely to be exposed to opposing political views (Mutz, 2006) and they are likely to be precious carriers of a "double epistemology" (Brooks, 2007), that is, as mentioned earlier, people from less served social groups are usually familiar with both the worldview of the privileged population and their own. In the last parts of this overview I will discuss further the implications of setting "high standards" and overemphasizing rational argumentation in deliberation.

Deliberation assumes here a broader sense, that is: any political discussion that involves exposure to different perspectives (Mutz, 2006). This extended definition hopefully brings it closer to people's actual experiences.

While deliberation is a practice theorized and developed in the framework of contemporary democratic institutions, the consensus decision-making process has a more diverse history that predates modern representative democracies. Diverse consensus decision-making protocols have been practiced worldwide in a vast variety of settings that are not necessarily democratic. From business leadership meetings to open organizations, from anarchist communities and traditions developed over the last two centuries, to grassroots movements of all sorts of political beliefs; recent examples include the general assemblies of the Occupy movement, whose participants often refer to their consensus process as direct democracy, or (more or less) temporary autonomous zones like Christiania in Denmark, and collaborative public policy projects, particularly about environmental issues (Barber, 1984). Specific consensus processes are traditionally used in diverse native settings e.g. among the Iroquois League of the Six Nations (Shannon, 2008), in Hawaiʻi particularly among the makaʻainana (commoners) (Teale,

2017), and in autonomous indigenous communities like the Zapatista community in Chiapas.

Consensus can also be built without deliberation or direct interaction. The Delphi and Nominal Group Technique (NGT) are used for finding consensus and do not entail direct interaction among the participants, who are sent other participants' contrasting arguments by an external investigator. This possibility will be discussed in the Online Deliberation section. For the purpose of this study, I adopt a definition of consensus where interacting feelings, values and personal interests are acknowledged. Auvine and colleagues (1978) define consensus as (emphasis added for our purposes):

> A decision-making process in which all parties involved explicitly agree to the final decision. Consensus decision-making does not mean that all parties are completely satisfied with the final outcome, but that the decision is acceptable to all because no one *feels* that his or her vital *interests* or *values* are violated by it (p. xii).

Theorists and practitioners of deliberation began recently to look at the underpinning psychosocial dynamics of political communication and group decision-making. Mendelberg (2002) reviewed the evidence from deliberation, social psychology and group communication studies and found wide supporting evidence that participants broaden their views and empathize with others, but these effects seem very context dependent and particularly challenged when participants form conflicting groups.

Literature in social psychology and organizational communication offers rich reviews of group dynamics during group decision-making, meetings and forums. There is large evidence (Doyle and Straus, 1976; Jensen & Childbery, 1991; Kellermanns et al. 2011) that horizontal consensus decision making leads to:
- broader information base
- group cohesion
- higher participants' satisfaction
- better decision quality

On the other hand, the main issues identified with consensus processes are:
- it can be lengthy

- lack of openness to diverse ideas may prevent participation
- inauthentic consensus (groupthink, social pressures)

Arguably, when it comes to policy and governance, the quality of the decision is crucial, and it seems worth understanding how certain socio-cultural context and mediational tools may facilitate flowering strengths and overcoming weaknesses of the consensus process. For instance, groupthink refers to group cognition phenomena where individuals agree on what is the perceived will of the group, without considering actual alternatives (Janis, 1972). These effects can be prevented by the process structure (Janis, 1972), and a good facilitator (Doyle and Straus, 1976) can catch signs of unexpressed discomfort, be aware of possible power relationships, and encourage concerns and dissent to be voiced in order to prevent inauthentic consensus. Doyle and Straus (1976) have identified the most common issues, as follows:

- difficulties in maintaining the focus on one problem
- forgetting practices that facilitate the process
- forgetting the others in the group and monopolizing the discussion
- personal attacks

In response to these problems, Doyle and Straus (1976) have developed the Interaction Model, that is, a simple set of rules, such as having a focus tool and striving for consensus leveraging on diversity, and a basic structure of roles (facilitator, recorder, member, and manager/member, as Doyle and Straus studied hierarchical organizations) that usually eschew the problems in similar settings.

The general assemblies (GAs) of the occupy movement have an almost identical set of *rotating* roles. There is no manager/member as there are no institutional leaders, and the facilitator doesn't have to keep track of who wants to talk, as there is a stack taker who fulfills that specific task. GAs may use flow charts for the facilitators to streamline the consensus process.

Consensus conferences and citizens' forums (Melville et al. 2005) have developed best practices for consensus-based participatory policy analysis. The design of these meetings is crucial to their success. Goven (2003) compared the structure and interaction flow of the consensus conference in Denmark and in New Zealand to notice how the New Zealand consensus conference design hindered the problematization of the issue on the

table (genetically modified food) and could not give voice to dissent. Rather than generate bottom-up policy recommendations, it was designed to inform citizens top-down with a quite univocal perspective and to assimilate only the less controversial among the concerns that emerged bottom-up.

Cases of offline deliberation and consensus are too varied to be reviewed here, but some examples can be given as knowledge of non-computer-mediated practices can help understand hindrances and possibilities of web-based ones.

It has been argued (Anderson, 2005) that creating a many to many "dialogic space" for direct participation is the main challenge for new technologies and e-democracy. In order to do so new technologies need to facilitate heterogeneous participation (Nemeth & Wachtler, 1983; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Dahlberg, 2007a; Dahlberg, 2007b; Goldberg, 2011); the importance of diversity, and related criticisms, is the object of the next part of this overview.

Diversity in deliberative research

As seen in the previous paragraph, hearing diverse perspectives is a main defining element of deliberation. Mutz (2006) finds that the benefits of diversity in deliberation are often assumed without supporting evidence. Difficulties in building supporting evidence are partially due to the narrow definitions of deliberation in terms of participants discourse style or structural characteristics, which makes the phenomenon hard to observe in practice (Sanders, 1997; Mutz, 2006).

By extending the definition to include also everyday political conversations, Mutz (2006) tested the effects of "experiential diversity" based on data from several surveys where subjects where asked about their experience of talking with someone who had a different view from their own. She found that exposure to political disagreement highly correlated with awareness of rationales for oppositional perspectives and it also correlated with awareness of rationales for one own perspective. Exposure to different views correlated also with tolerance, measured as willingness to grant civil liberties to opposing groups.

In deliberation, the presence of other like-minded people can lead to reinforcement of one's own positions but even a single different voice can make a radical difference in

redressing biases in a group (Sunstein, 2003: 26-27) and finding more creative solutions (Nemeth & Wachtler, 1983). Giving space to a wide diversity of voices might be more important than having big numbers and statistical representative samples (Hendriks, 2005).

Maintaining dialogue within heterogeneity has also been found to reduce "framing effects" (Druckman, 2004), that is, it reduces the influenceability of participants' thoughts by the way an argument is presented.

In the literature about diffusion of innovation as well as social network analysis, the tendency to group among different nodes is called heterophily (love of the different, the opposite of homophily, which is considered a more common tendency). Rogers and colleagues (2005) showed that innovations spread more easily in heterophilious networks (Rogers, 1983: 19). Innovative and creative thinking is necessary to accommodate everyone's views. Heterophilous deliberation networks might facilitate creative synthesis and finding innovative solutions to apparently conflicting interests.

In both the fields of diffusion of innovation and group communication there is a general agreement that diversity can backfire when there is not enough common ground among participants, but at the same time, the process of deliberation has been shown to possibly *create* common ground, and bridge diversities.

It is also important to note that the emphasis on diversity must not lead to demonizing like-minded groups. Affinity groups are fundamental for the very possibility of a diverse political discourse. Dissenting individuals need to connect with like-minded people in order to survive the intense social pressure to conform to the majority's view. Rather than fragmented polarized groups, internet-enabled counterpublics are argued to work toward a stronger democracy by countering hegemonic discourses (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007; Dahlberg, 2007a; Dahlberg, 2007b). Radical or dissident groups can open spaces for themselves to discuss, organize, assertively research, build and share their perspectives, actually creating the conditions for authentically diverse perspectives to exist.

There might be a tendency, both in the academic world and the general public, to interpret the positions of minorities as more ideological, and their behavior as polarizing. Rainie and Smith (2012), for instance, call the "very liberal" and "very conservative" "the most *ideological*" (emphasis added); which indicates that the ideology of the majority

17

becomes the norm and therefore seems invisible. However, from an outlier's perspective, the majority (moderate, liberal or conservative) could hardly classify as "more moderate" as it appears to support, for instance, sweatshop outsourcing and environmental degradation.

Outliers in the political spectrum are found to form strong cliques online (Sunstein, 2001); on Facebook, they more often hit the "like" button on posts and add to their networks people with same views (Rainie and Smith 2012). But rather than just an expression of polarization in information echo-chambers, this behavior can be understood as necessary to share meanings and keep alive dissenting voices, which in turn make possible rather than hinder the diversity of the political landscape (Sunstein 2003; Dahlberg, 2007a).

The presence of diverse participants in a deliberative poll does not guarantee per se the benefits discussed here. Dissenting voices can be silenced by various group dynamics and the broader "matrix of domination" where classification based on gender, race, class, disability and age are interwoven. It is crucial to avoid a "manufactured consent" (Herman & Chomsky, 1988) that is an expression of power asymmetries rather than a genuine meeting point between the diverse needs, feelings and thoughts of the deliberating members (Dahlberg, 2007a; Dahlberg, 2007b; Goldberg, 2011).

Despite the consensus on the importance of diversity, there is a lack of close analyses to understand whether and how diverse and minority positions are actually heard in deliberative contexts (Hickerson & Gastil, 2008; Lee, 2011). It is necessary to critically analyze deliberations in order to understand whether some voices are actually missing. Such critical analysis can inform future deliberative practices and prevent possible current shortcomings.

Another open issue with diversity is the apparent tension between active political participation and exposure to opposing views (Mutz, 2006). Mutz (2006) notes that cross-cutting exposure correlates with abstention from voting, and that passionate partisans seem more likely to actively participate in politics rater than the distant and open-minded observers that deliberation seems to require. However, as I discuss in Beyond Rationality, emotions have a place in deliberation and can be actually leveraged for empathic connection. Moreover, rather than expressing an irreducible tension between participation

and diversity, this paradox might indicate shortcomings of opportunities for actions beyond a binary choice between two parties. Also, whether or not one votes might be a poor operationalization of political participation; many political activists do not vote.

Mutz (2006: 150) notes herself that the passionate partisan versus distant open-minded observer dilemma might be contingent upon a predominantly adversarial culture that does not educate to value differences when one encounters them (although they may be valued in theory) nor to deal with the strong emotions that may rise when confronting different views. It is becoming increasingly clear that deliberative skills do not involve just rational argumentation.

Rationality paradigm and gendered discourses

Similarly to theater, the social web could offer a protected situation, a "liminal space" (Turner, 1992) or "identity moratorium" (Erikson, 1970), to explore new possibilities and develop a *felt understanding* (Schaper, 1968) of a different perspective from what one might be accustomed to. In Aristotle's *Poetics* (Aristotle, 335AD), or at least one of the different interpretations of it (Schaper, 1968), this felt understanding is achieved with *catharsis*, the liberation from fears and overwhelming emotions triggered by the encounter with unfamiliar possibilities. "Catharsis is the *telos* of tragedy, the end towards which the formal artefact is functionally directed." (Schaper, 1968).

In Aristotle's *Poetics* (335 BC), accomplished tragedies represent potential realities and allow the audience to elaborate and confront themselves with these realities. In order to do so, the conditions for catharsis must be fulfilled, that is, a balance between identification with and distant contemplation of the personae of the tragedy.

The criterion here is a balance between intellectual understanding and emotional involvement, so that we are liberated from overwhelming emotions that impede understanding, but we are still involved and directly connected, we recognize human possibilities even when they are very different from our own current experiences.

Liberation from overwhelming emotions and emotional connection are both crucial in this process. Emotions are not a hindrance per se; on the contrary, once fears and other overwhelming passions are liberated, emotions become an integral part of the felt understanding of otherness.

The concept of catharsis seems particularly relevant in the context of political deliberation. Indeed, strong negative emotions encountered when discussing divergent political opinions appear to be at the base of the participation versus diversity dilemma (Thompson & Hoggett, 2001; Mutz, 2006). The either/or scenario between being a passionate partisan or an open-minded distant listener (Mutz, 2006) might be true in the contemporary Agora, but if we want to give some credit to Aristotle, it has not always been so, nor does it have to be.

Several studies (Thompson & Hoggett, 2001; Mendelberg, 2002; Winter, 2010) show that we need to develop emotional skills in order to facilitate participation in a diverse environment.

Rainie and Smith (2012) found that "A fifth of social networking site users have avoided making political comments on the sites for fear of offending others" and

Some 37% of SNS users who exchange material about politics on the sites have gotten strong negative reactions when they posted political material and 63% said they have never experienced such reactions. Interestingly enough, there is no notable variance across the political spectrum on this question: Republicans, Democrats, liberals, and conservatives among SNS users have experienced the same level of challenge from their SNS friends.

On any other questions about SNS use and behavior Rainie and Smith (2012) found variance across participants' political positions. The uniform distribution of strong negative reactions suggest that the whole arena of political conversations might have something to learn from Greek theater and the liberation of negative emotions as part of a constructive rather than inhibiting process, so that the current participation versus diversity dilemma could be overcome.

Currently, beside demagogic instrumentalization, emotions are usually dismissed from "mainstream" political deliberation (Richards, 2004). There seems to be an "emotional deficit" (Richards, 2004) in political communication and an overemphasis on the role of rationality (Coleman & Moss, 2011). Addressing this unbalance can be highly beneficial; as Richards (2004) puts it

Making good this "emotional deficit" in political communications is not primarily a way for particular parties or candidates to gain electoral advantage (though it could be that), but is

20

essential for the regeneration of the democratic process and the creation of a more viable settlement between reason and emotion in contemporary society.

William B. Gudykunst, in his book about effective intergroup communication to bridge differences, focuses on situations where people don't know each other personally, which is often the case in civic engagement, and affirms:

> The one skill that consistently emerges in discussions of effectively communicating with strangers is empathy. *Empathy* is multifaceted, involving cognitive (thinking), affective (feeling), and communication components […].
>
> The cognitive, affective, and communication components are interrelated and all must be present for strangers to perceive that we are being empathic.
>
> Empathy involves (1) carefully listening to strangers, (2) understanding strangers' feelings, (3) being interested in what strangers say, (4) being sensitive to strangers' needs, (5) understanding strangers point of view (Hwang et al., 1980).

Empathy is different from sympathy and does not entail identification but understanding the other's perspective, although it is different from our own (Gudykunst, 2004: 260). It is an understanding of the others in their own terms, and therefore can help getting beyond one's own automatic reactions and interpretations based on prejudices or stereotypes (Gudykunst, 2004).

To the best of my knowledge, the first interdisciplinary field that has been drawing from the research on empathy in communication and social psychology is health communication, where empathic communication have been shown to correlate with improved patient-physician interactions and better diagnosis (Bylund & Makoul, 2005). Few studies have more recently started to explore empirically the effects of empathy in political deliberation (Morrell, 2012).

It seems possible and desirable that the balance between identification and distance that characterize an empathic and cathartic experience be integral part of the *telos* of political deliberation. Arguably, a felt understanding (cognitive and emotional empathy) of the possibilities presented by different participants would facilitate the creation of a common ground toward reaching consensus within a diversity of perspectives. Facilitating empathy could become a criterion for both the design and the use of online deliberative tools aiming to reach consensus and maintain diversity.

The need for emotional skills in political deliberation has been explicitly acknowledged only recently (Thompson & Hoggett, 2001, Mendelberg, 2002; Morrell, 2010*)*. Traditionally, deliberative theory doesn't address the role of emotions explicitly, or they are rather considered a hindrance to the process (Thompson & Hoggett, 2001, Mendelberg, 2002; Hickerson and Gastil, 2008; Morrell, 2010). However, empathic connection has been encouraged and facilitated by deliberation practitioners (Innes & Booher 1999; Mansbridge et al., 2006), and appear to be an indispensable element of deliberative forums and consensus conferences (Melville et al., 2005: 47).

Melville and colleagues (2005: 46) underline how participants of National Issues Forums are encouraged to tell stories to present their perspectives, which facilitates empathic connection and the creation of a common ground even when the topic is complex or participants' perspectives seem strongly conflicting.

Cognitive and affective empathy, when taken into consideration, is regarded as both an outcome and an enabler of deliberation; deliberative interaction, indeed, creates an opportunity for empathic expression, and empathy in turn allows the creation of common ground for further deliberation and decision-making (Mendelberg, 2002; Morrell, 2010).

Despite the increasing awareness and evidence of the importance of empathy, deliberation scholars, if they acknowledge it, seem to focus only the cognitive aspect of it and dismiss the emotive one (Mendelberg, 2002; Morrell, 2010: 73). Cognitive empathy is supposed to help find "the better argument" which would impose itself as self-evident and this is assumed to require strict formal conditions. However, the overemphasis of rationality and formality, along with the underestimation of empathy, has been said to disadvantage women and minorities (Hickerson and Gastil, 2008; Coleman and Moss, 2011; Lee, 2011). As Coleman and Moss (2011) put it:

> Overly formalized conceptions of deliberation can serve to subordinate individuals and groups by dismissing as "non-deliberative" modes of expression, forms of position-stating, and demonstrations of affect. Many of these exclusionary and marginalizing practices are ethnocentric and gendered; most of them embody codes of class and status that work insidiously to filter out voices deemed to be vulgar, threatening, overdependent, or unruly. Few researchers would knowingly support such norms on inequality, but spotting, describing, and challenging them is not always easy.

Men and women have been shown to perform similarly in tasks requiring empathy skills; however, their performances vary as soon as the gender variable is made apparent, even by simply checking a gender box in a pre-test form (Fine, 2010). Although women are not necessarily more empathic than men, their communication is affected by existing stereotypes and expectations and differs in ways that may disadvantage women in deliberative contexts (Hickerson and Gastil, 2008). Hickerson and Gastil (2008) found that women and men who participated in a deliberative poll reported similar levels of satisfaction (which was not the case in earlier studies), but they suggest that women might have been unaware of underprivileged conditions and a discourse analysis might find different results.

This is not to say that deliberation should be unstructured; on the contrary, the design is crucial as deliberation outcomes seems highly context-dependent (Carpini et al. 2004) and there are examples in the literature where suboptimal deliberative conditions have led to divisive or biased results (Goven, 2003; Carpini et al. 2004). What is argued here is that structure and facilitation could focus less on formality and more on affective empathy. If the design excludes *a priori* the very emotional and human expressions that facilitate connection in diversity, we might be designing quite the elitist program, reinforcing existing biases of the already dominant views.

Along with undermining a deeply diverse participation, the rationality paradigm assumes that policy problems can be solved by logic. This assumption has been often questioned in moral philosophy. For instance, according to Taylor (1989) most controversial political issues cannot be resolved on a rational plan because ultimately they are moral controversies, not logical ones, and the first cannot be reduced to the second. Opinions on complex policy issues may never be informed enough; instead, they can be based on shared values that form a source of morality and identity for the individual. This does not mean that one's positions can never change, but understanding and bridging different moral plans might not be possible with logic alone.

Polletta and Chen (2013) find that the professional field of public deliberation has shifted beyond the rationality paradigm. Such shift, together with the current predominance of women leadership in professional deliberation and related fields, they argue, accounts for the gender equality they see in participation and influence. In their

terms, women's equal participation and influence was accounted by the "feminization" of the setting they studied. A setting is "feminized" when both within the immediate setting and the within the settings where the organizers of the current setting usually operate, it is implicitly conveyed that women and stereotypically feminine modes of talk and action are valued. In the context of a large, online deliberation forum organized by the city of New York in 2002, they observed that women were participating and being responded to as much as men. Variables commonly considered to account for women's participation in discussions, such as the gender composition of the discussing group, the presence of moderators or facilitators, or the gender coding of the discussed topic, did not account for women's levels and styles of participation (Polletta & Chen, 2013). They proceeded to demonstrate that that setting's frontline organizers and practitioners were mostly women, and the professional fields practitioners were recruited from were also predominantly women-led. Moreover, the mode of talk generally encouraged by online deliberation practitioners was also considered "feminine" by organizers and practitioners in the forum they studied: that is, being "more process oriented" (rather than outcome oriented), "more interested in feelings about and personal experiences with an issue, more comfortable in listening, and more oriented to relationships" (Polletta & Chen, 2013).

Hawaiian culture as well as the more recent tradition of resistance to occupation offer a context rich of strong models for women leaders (Linnekin, 1990; Silva, 1997; Trask, 1999; Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999; Kaomea, 2006; Wilson, 2008), starting from Queen Liliʻuokalani herself, Hawaiian chiefessess, and powerful goddesses whose female attributes are explicitly a source of power and not just a contingency (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999). These models have survived despite strong pressures from missionary and other foreign gendered power dynamics. The assumption that I have attempted to bracket throughout the reiterations of data collection, analyses, and reflection is that these figures can offer a deeply rooted source of inspiration to online deliberating women who defy today's intersectional discriminations and stereotypes. The historical and current tradition of women political communicators and leaders may contribute to "feminize" (Polletta & Chen, 2013) online deliberation in participants' networks. However, the commercial platforms where participants in this study deliberate are very different settings from professionally organized deliberations, and the gaps to bridge across the online

deliberative system seem to multiply. Not only logic and rationality alone may fail, but also cognitive and affective empathy might not suffice to bridge values and worldviews that have been historically disconnected from their original land-base and embodied forms, weaved through human and non-human relations, deeply embodied and deeply spiritual at the same time.

Affordances

Affordances are possibilities for action that emerge in the relation between the actor and the environment as directly perceivable (Gibson, 1979; Gaver, 1991; Kaptelinin,& Nardi, 2012). Norman (1988) popularized the use of the concept of affordances in the fields of design and Human-Computer Interaction (HCI), and the concept is now known and utilized in online deliberation research as well. The original concept was introduced by Gibson (1979) as a theory of sensory perception from a relational, "ecological" approach. He wished to explain how human and non-human animals directly perceive what something can *do*, without receiving, elaborating, and interpreting "raw", and supposedly meaningless, sensory data about the object first. Perception emerges in the relation between actor and environment, and the affordance is perceived at the same time as the object. Although Gibson considered cultural constructs in continuity with physical ones (Gibson, 1979), he was studying sensory perception, and actions related to the sensory sphere, such as manipulation and locomotion. Therefore, some attributes of Gibsonian affordances do not fit well subsequent utilizations of the concept to study social, cultural, or political phenomena. There have been various attempts to extend the concept to suit social and cultural mediated actions; however, Kaptelinin,and Nardi (2012) argue that in order to do so one has to completely reground the concept of affordances from the physical environment to the cultural one. Indeed, techno-cultural tools are both part of the physical environment, and they also mediate our interaction with it.

The original concept of affordances was introduced by Gibson (1979) as a theory of sensory perception from a relational, "ecological" approach. He wished to explain how human and non-human animals directly perceive what something can *do*, without receiving, elaborating, and interpreting "raw", and supposedly meaningless, sensory data about the object first. There has been some confusion in academia over whether

affordances are supposed to be perceived by definition but according to Gibson "The observer may or may not perceive or attend to the affordance, according to his [sic] needs, but the affordance, being invariant, is always there to be perceived." (Gibson, 1979). Therefore, I added "directly *perceivable*" in the definition offered in the beginning of this section.

Most affordances identified in the results are not possibilities for actions that are specific to social media, but they are actions performed within the broader socio-cultural context that are enabled in specific ways by social media. They are not always immediately perceived, on the contrary, I found some action possibilities that are particularly relevant in participants' lifeworlds and yet require extra effort on the side of participants to (a) actualize, or (b) be perceived, or (c) to perceive information necessary to perform them. I found a similar concept in a previous study, where some affordances entail an extra workload on non-technological agents compared to others, Sharma et al. (2016) call them "complex affordances". I believe this is a particularly important concept in the organizational and political analysis of affordances as it allows to see not only which actions are facilitated or hindered but also which ones are facilitated or hindered more so than others.

Invasion and resistance continue

This section offers some historical context to the collision and collusions discussed in the next sections. This brief overview begins to address in particular three themes: (a) albeit qualitatively and quantitatively extremely different, U.S. occupation and Hawaiian resistance are both ongoing structural processes and not one-off events of the past; (b) the unique but related histories of Native resistance are also histories of complex, nonunivocal relations with European and North American legal, political and cultural institutions; and (c) Hawaiian resistance builds on a strong tradition of women leadership, despite continuous pressures from multiple directions to contain and control Hawaiian women's power from the first missionaries to today.

On January 17th, 1893, Queen Liliʻuokalani and the Hawaiian people faced the overthrow of Hawaiʻi's constitutional monarchy as a small group of U.S. planters, backed by the U.S. army, proclaimed a provisional government. Briefly fast forward to 125 years

later: this January, thousands joined the 125th commemoration of that painful turn in history, moved by love towards Queen Liliʻuokalani and the lāhui (people, nation) as well as by the struggles against wrongs underway earlier that century, epitomized by the overthrow, and that continue today. As Patrick Wolfe's popular phrase reminds us, invasion "is a structure and not an event" (Wolfe, 2006: 388), and the invasion of Hawaiʻi neither started nor ended in 1983. Contrary to common misconceptions, the occupation of Hawaiʻi and the resistance to it are not one-off events followed by an era of peaceful integration, they continue to shape Hawaiʻi in ways that are unique but related to the colonial invasion and resistance in other Native lands (as seen e.g. in Wolfe 2006; Barker, 2017; Denetdale, 2017). This January I took the day off and joined the commemoration with my daughter. We dressed in black and carried purple flowers in our hands, the colors suggested by the organizers of the march. I dropped my daughter off later to her preschool that day, another mom, a Hawaiian scholar, was dropping of her son late as well as they attended the event too. I felt sad their school did not bring them to the commemorations at the ʻIolani palace, where other schools were, Hawaiʻi-based schools that started being created in the 80s. The youth had prepared powerful hula and danced by the statue of the Queen covered with hoʻokupu and leis offered following ritual protocol. The day has been full of touching moments. Hawaiian aliʻi (royalty) are deeply loved, and the commitment to the Hawaiian nation from many today is nourished by the knowledge that ko Hawaiʻi Pae ʻĀina (translated as Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, although in Hawaiian it is not an anthropomorphic gendered expression) is one of the most broadminded international governments of modern times. Prior to the occupation, Hawaiians reportedly had access to all necessities of life and thrived on ingenious sustainable systems of land-use rights (Trask, 1999: 4). The 1940 constitution of ko Hawaiʻi Pae ʻĀina is written by a man and a woman, King Kamehameha III and Premier Kekāuluohi, and several women are named as voting members of the legislature in the House of Nobles, being the first women to have the right to vote in a modern state (Ka Hoʻoilina, scanned 1939 and 1940 Constitutions). The constitution also enshrines the equality of all people and freedom of religion (Ka Hoʻoilina, scanned 1939 and 1940 Constitutions). During the Hawaiian monarchy, Laura Fish Judd (1880: 79) noted another indicator of social wellbeing: at the time she was writing, the proportion of literate

population was "estimated as greater than in any other country in the world, except Scotland and New England." Another ko Hawai'i Pae 'Āina record, interestingly enough more widely known than the ones just mentioned, is that it had the first governmental house with electricity (Sigall, 2016). Since the illegal overthrow, Hawaiians have increasingly ranked high on very different charts. Continuing the decimation started at first contact with Europeans and their diseases, they have been increasingly overrepresented among the houseless, the incarcerated, the people affected by drug addiction or health issues (Mayeda et al., 2001; OHA, 2010). Hawaiians saw their language banned from schools, many of their cultural practices criminalized or rendered impossible by foreign interventions, and they came very close to cultural extinction (Trask, 1999; Mayeda et al., 2001; Wilson, 2018). And yet, in the past 50-60 years Hawai'i have known a swelling renaissance. People have struggled within and without the occupying institutions to practice their language, their culture, their kuleana (right/responsibility due to one's connection to the matter) in the lāhui. Today there are Hawaiian language immersion schools, many cultural practices that had been banned have been legalized and revitalized, many water sources, river beds, taro patches and fishponds restored. Yet, the trend toward the erasure of Hawaiian people and ways of living is far from being reversed (Mayeda et al., 2001: 103-104; Wilson, 2018).

The Hui Aloha 'Āina o Nā Wāhine, commonly translated as Women's Patriotic League (here too, contrary to "Patriotic", the Hawaiian expression "Aloha 'Āina", is not anthropomorphically gendered), organized alongside the Hui Aloha 'Āina o Nā Kāne (men's counterpart) the opposition to the overthrow and later to the annexation to U.S. (Silva, 2004). Aloha 'Āina can be translated as love of country, love of the land, and patriotism. Although the expression "Hawaiian sovereignty movement" might be heard more often, especially outside of the movement itself, it suggests that Hawai'i is not yet independent while there is a widespread agreement within this otherwise very diverse movement, that Hawai'i is a sovereign nation under US occupation (Aluli Meyer, 2016; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2014). The word "movement" can be misleading in this context as well. For the rest of the paper I will refer to the participants in the movement as the lāhui (people, nation) or Aloha 'Āina, terms widely used by Hawaiian activists, scholars, and cultural practitioners.

The Queen resisted the overthrow by diplomatic means to avoid a bloodshed of her people (Liliʻuokalani, 1898). The Hui Aloha ʻĀina collected nearly 38,000 signatures in 1896-1897 for the Kūʻē (resistance) petition against annexation to the U.S. in any form. However, Liliuokalani's diplomatic resistance and the Hawaiian people's resistance to the overthrow have been purposefully obliterated from history textbooks from the very beginning of the occupation. Not just at Punahou, the missionary children's school, but also at Kamehameha Schools, princess Berenice Pauahi Bishop's legacy to ensure Hawaiian children's access to education and which U.S. trustees quickly rearticulated into an institution to maintain and reinforce U.S. power obliterating the past and spreading degrading myths about the Hawaiian people (Beamer, 2014; King & Roth, 2016; Trask, 1999). In the 1970s Hawaiʻi has seen, likewise many places globally, an insurgence of concurrent movements for civil rights and for the revitalization of place-based traditions against industrial-capitalist homologation and displacement. In the 1980s the seeds for currently blossoming Hawaiian language and Hawaiian culture-based schools started to be planted (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2013). And in the 1990s a blossoming of largely women-led scholarship and social mobilization further revitalized, in theory and practice, the islands' history of resistance. Such resurgence revitalized also debates over possible disconnects between Hawaiian struggles for collective rights to sovereignty on one hand and the appropriation of Western laws, forms of governance, and forms of resistance on the other, both on the part of Hawaiian elites in the 1800s (Kauanui, 2017), as well as on the part of the Hawaiian movement concurrent with civil right movements from 1968 on (Kauanui, 2017; Barker, 2017). Such disconnects are exacerbated around issues of gender and sexuality as on one hand containing Hawaiian women's power and othering fluid sexualities are central marks of European and U.S. invasions and on the other hand feminist and LGBTQ civil rights movements are concerned with individual rather than collective rights, within the state formations that sovereigntists groups in Hawaii and globally seek to restore independence from (Kauanui, 2017; Barker, 2017).

Despite the containment of women power under the influence of missionary culture and male dominated Western political models, Hawaiian women have persisted in leading great part of the intellectual and practical sovereignty work. In my research I could see politically outspoken Hawaiian women facing a very high rate of online

29

harassment, almost double the U.S. average, and yet remaining outspoken and responding to harassment by closing online accounts as much as the U.S. average (see Gendered Harassment subsection). In the past eight years I have spent in Hawai'i I have been struck by the strong presence of outspoken women leaders in the lāhui. I have had the privilege to meet and be introduced to cultural and political foundations of the lāhui by one of them, Laulani Teale. I came to know that Hawai'i has a renowned tradition of women leadership in government, scholarship, and cultural practices (Linnekin, 1990; Silva, 1997; Trask, 1999; Kame'eleihiwa, 1999; Kaomea, 2006; Wilson, 2008) and— particularly during and after the overthrow of the monarchy—women resistance (Silva, 1997). Participants sometimes utilize the expression "wāhine koa" (women warriors) to refer to Hawaiian resistance women warriors (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2018); Hawaii has a tradition of women warriors as well. Among historical leaders participants often mention and quote Queen Lili'uokalani, Emma Nāwahī (leader of the Hui Aloha 'Āina o nā Wāhine), Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop are frequently quoted; among more contemporary wāhine koa mentioned in participants' networks there is of course the nationalist leader of the 1990s sovereignty rise, political scientist, and poet Haunani-Kay Trask; and among current leaders, for instance, educator and "cultural icon" (PBS, n.d.) Kumu Hina, composer Hāwane Rios, renowned kumu hula (master hula teachers) like Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele or Pua Case, political scientist Noenoe K. Silva, and her colleague and writer Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, just to cite some of the Hawaiian women whose work I have seen recognized and celebrated.

Online Deliberation Disconnects

In this section I discuss ethical assumptions about what online deliberation should do, implications for indigenous sovereignty, and where the field is at compared to such prospects. Ethical assumptions are often unclear or unstated in research about cultural tools (Wertsch, 1993: 36) and online deliberation research in particular; however, one can infer them from explicit statements and understand political implications regarding indigenous people sovereignty also linking them to related ones already traced in other fields and contexts.

Definitions of democratic deliberation vary in different traditions and studies (Mutz, 2006; Sanders, 1997) but most share at least one element: hearing different perspectives on a given topic (Mutz, 2006). The rationales for the importance diversity also vary but deliberation practitioners generally agree that it is *not* about changing participants' minds but about broadening the base of shared understanding to further conversations or to support farsighted decision-making (Melville, K., Willingham, T. L., & Dedrick, J. R. 2005:47; Towne & Herbsleb, 2012). The purported focus on diversity has some implications that I would think safe to assume but I have never saw explicitly stated.

In a cross-national deliberative system that is authentically diverse, indigenous standpoints would find expression and influence among others; specific peoples might have precedence on topics that affect them the most or they have traditional knowledge about, while the current default standpoint that others are "diverse" and "other" to, that is (still, most often, inadvertently or not), a white male standpoint (and in Hawaiʻi, a U.S.-based rather than Hawaiʻi-based one) would be re-dimensioned from quasi-ubiquitous default to one among others as well. Also, to bring authentically diverse views to the conversation, peoples should be supported in maintaining radically different perspectives in the first place. Indeed, according to deliberative practitioners common ground can be found and is most valuable when it bridges very different standpoints (Melville et al. 2005:46-47). However, when neoliberal nation-states and global economies continue to invade and eliminate unique ways of living developed in intimate relation with specific territories, complex lifeworlds from which radically different views can be generated are eroded. Arguably, the conditions for authentic diversity in deliberation are eroded with the elimination of diverse lifeworlds. Accordingly, I would expect that the sovereignty of each people and land would be taken into consideration as integral part of the *telos* of online deliberation. By *telos* (commonly considered an Aristotelian concept and translated as *final cause*) I mean a web of organizing principles and goals based on ethical values. Instead, classic theories of deliberation and many recent online deliberation design efforts have been criticized for strictly characterizing the modes of talk and the settings of deliberation in exclusionary ways. For instance, as we have seen in the above review, according to Jürgen Habermas (1991), consensus is supposed to emerge after *rational* and *disinterested* consideration of different ideas, by the "authority

31

of the better argument" (Habermas, 1991: 36). As we have seen in the Rationality paradigm subsection, this emphasis on rationality and emotional detachment are among various conditions set out to define a situation as deliberative, which brought to its theorists the accusation to narrow the field in ways that excludes the people who need to be heard the most (Mutz, 2006; Coleman and Moss, 2011; Lee, 2011). Such critiques of deliberation do important work in addressing the implicit discursive erasure of women and minorities in specific deliberative contexts. However, they completely omit exclusionary practices that may affect Native people specifically, and that may intersect with the mentioned gendered and ethnocentric marginalizing practices. In most online deliberation studies, Native peoples seem to be presumed absent. Echoing Coleman and Moss I would say that few researchers would explicitly support such exclusion, but de facto, while there is a growing literature on Native uses and production of digital technologies for political expression and sovereignty (Latimore et al., 2017; Duarte, 2017), online deliberation research have remained quite impermeable to it. Although online deliberative systems are shaped by and shape also indigenous forms of "network sovereignty" (Duarte, 2017), the polities commonly talked about in online deliberation, or assumed to be the purpose of participation, remain usually some variants of "Western" democracies, assumed somehow as natural, universal polities, while their historical and current relations with indigenous polities are not critically engaged. Not many in the field would be willing to recognize that logics of elimination and containment of indigenous and aboriginal peoples are still organizing principles in most current "democratic" nation-states. However, without actively addressing these logics—learning about and following the lead of the peoples struggling against them—one is participating in their processes, inadvertently or not.

Here I give concise definitions of elimination and containment before discussing instances that I believe are at work in deliberative research. Elimination "refers to more than the summary liquidation of Indigenous people, though it includes that. In its positive aspect, the logic of elimination marks a return whereby the Native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society." (Wolfe, 2006). Containment instead, manifests in "sprinkling of Indigenous history and culture only to maintain its marginality" (Kaʻōpua, 2013) in limited, circumscribed spaces within the settler state's geographies, polities, or

ideologies. Logics of elimination and containment are at work reflexively both in online deliberation research and in its dearth of critical engagement about the relations between its own practice and Native sovereignty. It is a dangerous feedback loop between online deliberation practice and reflection. But its breaking could be fertile for intellectual and political grounds.

The two most common instances of the logic of elimination that I have witnessed in deliberative research are Native peoples' presumed absence, and the conflation of Native peoples and minorities. I discuss these further below. Here I briefly discuss an instance of the logic of containment. Indeed, I have read at least one report of organized deliberation in Canada about local environmental issues where Native peoples of the land where purposefully overrepresented (Blue et. al, 2012). The rationale was that indigenous people were the most affected and had knowledge on the subject. In some ways this can be considered an important step; yet, it still does not fully recognize Native polities and traditional knowledges as full-fledged independent systems, with prior claims to land and water compared to the system where they are invited to participate in; traditional knowledge is given consideration but as an alternative to the main reference one. Overall, Natives are not invited so much as the people of the land the deliberation is about, but almost as an assimilable minority among others that just happens to have an almost ahistorical connection with the land.

As mentioned above, what I have observed most often, while reading deliberative research, is that Native peoples appear to be simply presumed absent. Perea (2017) argues that colonial narratives of disappearance produce patterns of presumed absence as well as and perception of cultural loss that exacerbate gendered, racialized violence against Alaska Native people and youth suicide amongst them (Perea, 2017: 156). Talking about conversations that are even more clearly about Native people than the theoretical conversations about deliberation we are having here Perea (2017: 157) says: "Ultimately at stake here are the presence (sound) or absence (silence) of indigenous people in the ongoing debates surrounding issues of identity, representation, diversity, and difference […] A dominant underlying assumption here is that Native people lack presence, and therefore power; that we have always already disappeared, along with our ability to substantiate our claims". In the context of online deliberation research,

terrifyingly simply put, many scholars ignore the existence of a *present* deliberative Native body and inadvertently reproduce the presumption of absence in their work. The logic of elimination through scholarship that uphold values of diversity is not an isolated nor new phenomenon. For instance, Jennifer Nez Denetdale's (2017) sharp analysis of New Indian History shows how the narratives with that historical framework emerged about 30-40 years ago "sanitize and make benign the history of U.S. indigenous people" under the guise of multiculturalism. As she points out (bracketed text added to convey that the last point can apply to Hawai'i as well):

> American-centered narratives also focus on the processes through which Navajo were incorporated into the United States as citizens as a movement from "traditional" to "modern," but always with retention of Navajo cultural markers. If there were points of violence, chaos, resistance, defiance, and miscommunications in these white-Navajo relationships, then sympathetic, well-intentioned white worked with Navajo "cultural brokers" and together they brought about a measure of understanding and renewed harmony across race. Further, a focus on "race" as the center for analysis elides indigenous peoples' efforts to realize self-determination as citizens of their own, distinctive tribal [and non-tribal, Native] nations.

Here elimination and containment work more subtly and come with a level of recognition and appreciation of traditional culture. However, traditional culture is conceived as something fixed in the past (see also Perea, 2017): elements of it are *retained* in the present but traditions are not changed by and do not change the *telos* of modern U.S. citizenship and polity. This narrative is likely to still affect scholars today and makes it harder to imagine, and therefore learn about and engage with, *present* Native polities (elimination by making them invisible) based on *modern* traditional cultures (containment in past forms without present agency).

In the next section I will discuss other examples of containment of Native ways of being under the guise of diversity in the context of settler states' regulation of gender and sexuality. Here, I want to highlight another point from Denetdale's quote that I think need to be brought to the attention of deliberative researchers. Indeed, she also warns us against conflating indigenous claims and race-based ones. Such conflation is a specific

aspect of racialization that uniquely affect indigenous peoples, as it renders invisible Native claims to sovereignty that are not tied to race but are often based instead on primary relations with ancestral lands. Many deliberative studies briefly mention Native peoples with minorities, women, and others, in the list of possibly marginalized people. Online deliberation researchers' inadequate engagement with indigenous polities might rests also on a related misguided conflation of the intellectual and political work of Native peoples, and that of minorities studies and civil right movements. As Joanne Barker (2017: 9) clarifies (emphasis in the original, bracketed text added), this is a crucial distinction:

> Indigenous *peoples*' efforts to secure collective rights to sovereignty and self determination as provided from within international and constitutional law was differentiated from the efforts of "minority" *people*—including immigrant and diaspora communities and their descendants—to claim citizenship and civil rights within their nation-states. This difference is germane to understanding the intellectual and political work of CIS [Critical Indigenous Studies], which directly builds on the unique histories and cultures of nations and often territorial-based communities to address current forms of oppression and think strategically through the efficacy of their unique but related anti-imperial and anticolonial objectives and strategies.

These are all points of intellectual and political numbness that online deliberation practitioners and researchers might need to shake awake within or around themselves: illiteracy in Native histories of sovereignty, hyperreal narratives of the "already disappeared" Native and of traditional elements of Native cultures as fixed in the past, and the related failure to see the online work of specific Native, land-based polities, engaging with but distinct from democratic and civil rights movements.

Feminist Disconnects and Reconnecting

In this section I will review the feminist critique of deliberation and some of the disconnects with indigenous polities just described as they articulate at the intersection with gender and sexualities. Despite these disconnects, feminist theory cultivates intellectual tools that I could helpfully engage to navigate them. Intersectional thinking and politics of location helped me understand my position in relation to research

participants' struggles and develop analyses that I hope are responsible to participants and their communities.

Classic deliberative theory has been strongly criticized by feminist researchers along the lines mentioned in the previous section with Coleman and Moss (2011): formalized characterizations of deliberation embody messages about the normative gender, race, class, and status of deliberation. This critique applies mainly to what I call the "rationality paradigm" of deliberation: a strong emphasis on rational argumentation over narrative and empathic communication, not addressing the role of emotions, or rather considering them a hindrance to the process, with the expectation of emotional detachment and disinterested weighing of options (Thompson & Hoggett, 2001, Mendelberg, 2002; Hickerson and Gastil, 2008; Morrell, 2010). Who can afford all this? Who has been so unscathed by politics that can remain so cool discussing them? Who can reduce morality to logic without being hurt? Most likely, white, heterosexual, cisgender men. As novelist Teju Cole puts it (2012), talking about "enforced civility" censoring rage in political talk on commercial media (old and new):

> People of color, women, and gays -- who now have greater access to the centers of influence that ever before -- are under pressure to be well-behaved when talking about their struggles. […]. Marginalized voices in America have fewer and fewer avenues to speak plainly about what they suffer; the effect of this enforced civility is that those voices are falsified or blocked entirely from the discourse.

U.S.-based feminist studies show that, although women are not necessarily more empathic than men, empathic communication is coded as a "feminine" mode of talk (Fine, 2010; Polletta & Chen, 2014) which may lower women participation and influence in deliberative contexts that overemphasize rational argumentation. However, despite classic deliberative theories, narrative argumentation and empathic connection has been encouraged and facilitated by deliberation practitioners (Innes & Booher 1999; Mansbridge et al., 2006), as it appears to be an indispensable element of deliberative forums and consensus conferences (Melville et al., 2005: 46-47). Hickerson and Gastil (2008) found that women and men who participated in a deliberative poll reported similar levels of satisfaction (which was not the case in earlier studies); they suggested that

women might have been unaware of underprivileged conditions and that discourse analyses might offer different results. However, in a later study by Polletta and Chen (2013), discourse analyses of an online deliberative forum organized by the City of New York in 2002 resulted in equal markers of participation and influence among men and women. Polletta and Chen (2013) criticize this feminist critique of deliberation and theorize that the field of organized public deliberation, at least in the U.S., has become "feminized": modes of talk that are coded as feminine are valued and encouraged, women have positions of leadership both in the immediate deliberative contexts as well as in the social contexts where organizers work in, therefore it is implicitly conveyed that women are normative participants not less than men. They believe that the theory can be applied to race as well:

> The racialized character of public talk, like its gendered character, is a
> function neither of the discursive forms used, the topic, nor the group's
> composition. Rather it reflects an institutionalized set of associations that
> communicate whose talk this is: who the normative participants are. The
> challenge for organizers of public deliberation, then, is to change those
> associations, perhaps by integrating public deliberation with streams of
> practice that already have legitimacy within nonwhite communities.

The feminist critique of deliberation, and its critique, tell us something about the processes that may facilitate the exclusion or active inclusion of women in online deliberation, and about their intersection with race but, once again, we don't know anything about how they intersect with indigeneity and Native sovereignty. In my knowledge, there are no online deliberation studies that take into consideration gender coding and women leadership in specific Native contexts, but from what I have learned in my research with Hawaiian women it would be a particularly complex tasks and the very understanding of what constitute "gender coding" and "contexts" would have to be reconsidered within current traditional views, occupied spaces, and spiritual contexts.

Several Native scholars over the past 30 years have analyzed the processes that make the encounter between feminism and indigenous politics difficult (Barker, 2017; Guerrero, 1997; Goeman & Denetdale, 2009); among the main disconnects is the articulation of Native struggles for sovereignty as affirmations of *collective* rights,

independent from settler states, while feminist and civil right struggles affirm *individual* rights, often *within* settler states. In the previous section, I talked about the distinction between civil-rights and Native movements, and how conflating them can make Native claims invisible. Civil rights movements often come from a geo-political place of Native erasure and do not always wish to grapple with that and with how their struggles intersect with Native ones. During the 2017 Women's March in Honolulu, for instance, Hawaiian sovereigntist, sexualities scholar and activist Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio began her talk with historical references to Queen Liliʻuokalani and the occupation of Hawaiʻi. Among the audience there have been audible expression of discontent about the occasion not being the place for sovereignty discourses. This ideological short circuit sparked uncomfortable and needed conversations between leaders of the feminist movement and Hawaiian women and māhū leaders. This and similar episodes hopefully become opportunities for "robustly intersectional" feminist work, as Kathy Ferguson (2017) notes:

> it is not enough for theorists to read, speak with, or "reach out to" indigenous feminists, although each of those moves is important; nonindigenous feminists must go farther and encounter the rich, emergent literature and conversations of indigenous lifeworlds and their relation to colonized worlds (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2013). As Alexander (2002, p. 91) has commented regarding the creation of a voice for women of color, we need to "become fluent in each other's histories."

The occupation of Hawaiʻi is deeply gendered and feminist analyses can help understand it. An example of such analyses is Kāhualani Kauanui's (2017) discussion of Hawaiian elites' strategies to be recognized in the Family of Nations, and how Women's change of status has been integral to the efforts to protect Hawaiian people from the treatment they saw black and brown people receive. Men and women aliʻi chose to adopt Western models of Christianity and "civilized manhood" to give Hawaiʻi a face that would be recognized by world powers, even though Hawaiian women had, and in many ways have today, respected and active political roles. Kauanui argues that "to create new norms was a political strategy to fight Western racism, yet it necessitated a capitulation to that racism in the transformation of the Indigenous polity" (Kauanui, 2017: 50).

Some of the Hawaiian women participating in my research mentioned that they do not recognize themselves in feminist narratives of women oppression because they feel empowered and supported as women by their families and their culture. These accounts are important to consider and do not necessarily contradict, albeit they might be dissonant with, other accounts and data, such as the overrepresentation of Hawaiian women among women with health issues such as breast and lungs cancer (Hall, 2009) and of incarcerated women (Mayeda et al., 2001, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2010: 10-11). Traditional views of power balance between genders can sometimes serve also to deflect the conversation about gendered inequalities within indigenous movements (Barker, 2014). In Hawai'i, Kāhualani Kauanui (2017) tells how traditional fluid sexualities and family relations are acknowledged within the sovereignty movement but gay, lesbian, and bisexual struggles are not always publicly embraced. Already in the early 1800s, missionary pressure for women coverture and marriage created weighty precedents for women's change of status and unsettling power balances in Hawaiian societies. In recent years, "traditional Hawaiian practices of fluid sexualities, sexual identity and relationship statuses" have been reclaimed during the state's legislation of gay marriage. Kauanui (2017:59) argues that, while the revitalization of traditional sexualities is important, with "marriage equality" as "main frame of reference these affirmations are easily co-opted into state logics in which marriage itself becomes the vehicle for the expression" of Hawaiian values. As Byrd (Chickasaw) notes about U.S. regulation of family relations and sexuality:

> The consolidation of normative hetero- and non- families, especially at the
> sites of transnational and transracial adoption, as well as gay marriage,
> signals, then, the degree to which discourses of integration, tolerance, and
> rights serve to tender equality within the U.S. settler nation-state at the price
> of assimilation, erasure, and violence.

Despite the logic of elimination and containment at play, Native negotiation and incorporation of settler and occupying states' institutions does not necessarily have to be a "capitulation". Contrary to Kauanui (2017), Kamaka Beamer (2014) underlines the ways in which Hawaiian ali'i's "selective appropriation" of Western laws (2014: 154) set a powerful model to ensure continuity of Hawaiian sovereignty and ways of living. Yet,

most would probably agree that either way that it is a constant struggle, the pathway is narrow, along the eroding precipices of genocide. During online observations, I have seen more than once Kānaka sharing this quote from Queen Liliʻuokalani's letters to her daughter (1917):

> The way to lose any earthly kingdom is to be inflexible, intolerant and prejudicial. Another way is to be too flexible, tolerant of too many wrongs and without judgment at all. It is a razor's edge. It is the width of a blade of pili grass.

Although there can be, and there has been, fertile relations and alliances between Western political movements, even Western political institutions, and Native polities, nonindigenous allies must face, understand, and critically engage with their place in the equation of the logics elimination and containment for the alliances not to reproduce them. Native peoples are constantly engaged in a "messy and pragmatic" struggle of "negotiation and incorporation" (Perea, 2017:157) of Western-centered legal, political and cultural tools in ways that may support or at least do not erase Native ways of living, knowing, and becoming.

Intersectional contexts, identities, and scales

As I study wāhine koa's appropriation of social media and read literature cited above on the complex relations between Native sovereignty and Western-centered cultural tools, I expected to see non-univocal processes of both empowerment and oppression. Intersectional thinking helped me navigate through interconnected networks of power, oppression, and resurgence. Indeed,

> intersectionality facilitates "a matrix orientation (wherein lived identities are treated as interlaced and systems of oppression as enmeshed and mutually reinforcing)" (May 2015, p. ix) […] May (2015, p. 53) continues, "Intersectionality's attention to multiplicity is key to its invitation to intervene in historical memory and to unlearn prevailing social imaginaries." Intersectional thinking nurtures not just analysis but an "ethic of radical interrelatedness" in which differences are subjects of both curiosity and respect (Keating 2009, pp. 88–91).

I encountered two main social imaginaries about Hawaiian women: one is that they are strong and powerful (but U.S. occupation undermines that), the other is that they are emancipated thanks to Western modern movements (Kaomea, 2006). Both modularly intersect with narratives of native disappearance. I expected and wished to learn from the encounter with expression of traditional appropriation of modern tools and wished to disrupt the disappearance narrative that contains traditional cultures to a fixed past. Originally, I expected to see wāhine koa's empowering uses of social media in contexts rooted in Hawaiian culture, and hindrances in U.S.-centered contexts, again I saw that relations where more complex than that. Although this work acknowledges struggles and may problematize aspects of the experiences that participants have shared with me, I asked their manaʻo (thoughts) expecting to learn as much about powerful practices and solutions to emergent problems. As Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith reminds us, "Problematizing the indigenous is a Western obsession" (Smith, 1999: 91). I believe that most communities who strive to have conversations that matter, on issues close to people's spirits, minds and bodies, have a lot to learn from these women.

I tried not to define interviewees a priori and I usually asked each interviewee if she recognized herself as "Kanaka Maoli woman" or she preferred other ways to refer to herself. This was an effort to leave the categories of my thinking "permanently open and thus remarkably fertile for generating new thinking. It is often used to analyze multiple, emergent subject positions." (Ferguson, 2017). The category is not defined a priori. It is "troubled" (Butler, 1993), and it remains an open and non-essentializing category in the words of most participants. As Judith Butler puts it, "identity categories tend to be instruments of regulatory regimes, whether as normalizing categories of oppressive structures or as the rallying points for a liberatory contestation of that very oppression." (Butler, 1993) As liberatory as it can be to identify a common struggle, fixating identity categories renders other struggles invisible. Participants seemed aware of this, and almost never relied on one category to identify their struggles nor their powers. Kathy Ferguson (2017) reminds us also that, particularly when engaging with indigeneity, "Intersectional sensibilities invite us into a necessary process of critical engagement, not to appropriate but to learn." As a malihini, I do not define the people of this land: I ask, I listen, and hopefully, I learn.

Another aspect of international thinking that I found particularly generative in this context is to draw on multiple scales of inquiry. Although I initially thought I would focus my analyses on the discursive scale I finally understood and organized results across intimate, discursive, and macro-mechanisms of de-occupation scales, and found relation between processes at discursive and macro scales rooted in the intimate scale. Mishuana R. Goeman, in her analysis of Linda Hogan's novel *Solar Storms*, notes that about three scales in which the body operates throughout the novel: "Rather than thinking of these scales as disconnected, we need to think of the social processes that freeze them" (Goeman, 2017: 101). They are processes of colonial control over the contained entities and the struggle to connect across scales instead is a struggle against marginalization.

Finally, I strived to maintain both narrative and material analyses: on one hand, I conducted interviews mainly from a standpoint epistemology perspective because listening to participants narratives allowed me to gain a glimpse of their intersecting historical, cultural and social contexts. On the other hand, interviews where iteratively alternated with observations and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to widen and confront such glimpses with observations of participants' discursive contexts as well: their online conversations, mainstream media coverage of the topics they talk about, and thankfully, the surging, prolific literature by Hawaiian women scholars, some of whom are also participants in this research. I then check back with participants for possible discrepancies in results: narrative accounts do not have an epistemological precedence over materiality ones, yet discrepancies between them would likely have an epistemological significance worth scrutinizing. Participants also have an axiological precedence: to serve them and their projects is more valuable than to reach for conclusions, supporting Hawaiian ways of living and relating it is the *telos*, the ethical organizing principle of this research, a commitment to keep searching and never halting the research at a potentially harmful place for participants.

Attending to both narrative and materiality I believe helped me also to avoid slipping back in univocal views of either empowered or oppressed women: on one hand, overemphasizing material conditions one may lose view of personal agency, on the other hand, when the dominant narrative is a negative narrative of disappearance, individual narratives might reproduce it and material analyses might help to see beyond it. And

strive to pay attention to both the working of logic of eliminations through such media and specific creative and cultural expressions without focusing only on 'negative' findings and dismantling the myth of the disappearing Indian as the elimination is ongoing for the very fact that indigenous peoples and land-based cultures still exist and resist. I learned that kūliʻu means both rootedness, depth of knowledge and reverberation, longevity and that deeply resonated with me as I noticed participants engaging creative practices of social media appropriations rooted in shared cultural values and spiritual believes, and that such a collective creative use had the potential to subvert micro and macro level threats identified as well, as I continued to relate, I hope, with "curiosity and respect".

Relocating to my body and place

Adrienne Rich (1984) in *Notes for a Politics of Location* says: "I need to understand how a place on the map is also a place in history within which [...] I am created and trying to create" (Rich, 1984: 212). Her need is a need for accountability as she realizes that her experience is not the same as those of women of color, feminist claims she though universal were actually *white* feminist claims, and herself "dissident or not" was "part of that raised boot of power, the cold shadow that we cast everywhere to the south". She reminds herself of a teenage game, when she and her friend addressed letters to each other with their own addresses written with themselves at the center of concentrically wider and wider spaces that "expanded into the infinite unknown. It is that question of feeling in the center that gnaws me now. At the center of what?" This section is my own tentative to look for my own center, not of the expanding universe but of my tangible, historical and geographical experience, centered in my body, a place from which I can authentically relate to others and produce a theory that consciously and willingly does "smell of the earth" (Rich, 1984). Knowingly or not, theory affects practice and vice versa; in a destructive status quo, theory will inadvertently serve destruction. Lifeserving theory/practice feedback loops are rooted in an honestly embodied, mindful connection with the topic of research.

In Hawaiʻi, I am a Haole (foreigner, particularly or European descent) woman and a malihini (newcomer) to this land. I come from Southern Italy and I am a "non-immigrant

43

alien" of the occupying U.S., my U.S. VISA does not allow for permanent residency beyond my graduate studies, therefore, I can hardly consider myself a settler. To complicate the picture, I have sole custody of a 5-year-old daughter conceived with a Japanese-Haole settler and Aloha ʻĀina. Daughter lived with me in Hawaiʻi most of her life and per U.S. law she can settle here, but I cannot. I am here under U.S. law, but legal tension between where I can be, and where part of my family can be instead, distance my experience here even more from that one of a U.S. settler, as the U.S. occupation here actually unsettle me, it might be experientially easier for me to imagine the de-occupation and Hawaiʻi as a sovereign nation. Although in my own self-perception, I clearly do not belong to the occupying state, I am a still a Haole. As Rohrer (2010: 74) puts it:

> The term "Haole" is historically and spatially specific. One is not generically white, but Haole, in Hawaiʻi. Most white people are not used to being racially marked, especially when that marking carries a reminder of injustices that made and maintain white privilege. Part of becoming less Haole, or more local, is beginning to understand all of this. Davianna McGregor is right that "Haole" names historical injustice that fortified colonial hierarchies and white supremacy. And Phyllis Turnbull is right that our choice as Haoles is not whether or not we will be called "Haole," but what kind of Haole we choose to be.

The kind of Haole I choose to be, if I am welcome to, is an ally of Aloha ʻĀina. Hawaiian scholars like Haunani Trask and Kanalu Young noted the that "Haole" in Hawaiian is a descriptive word for light skinned and foreigner, yet with the historical developments of white imperialism that denotation might remained true, but it acquired new senses (Rohrer, 2010). Today Haole refers to people of European descent but can refer also to brown people who act like Haoles. Many layers of meaning, often controversial, are attached to the word (Rohrer, 2010). I own the word "Haole" it in its original descriptive sense without forgetting the many loads accumulated over the past two centuries across historical and linguistic changes, from its use in Hawaiian to its current use most commonly in pidgin. Being a Haole in Hawaii can be at times uncomfortable and Haole can be used derogatively, yet this discomfort cannot be qualified, as some white people try to, as racism against whites unless one reduce racism

to individual instances of denigration of one's skin color, without considering systemic differential access to power and resources, as Judy Rohrer (Rohrer, 2010: 9) says in response to discourses that equate "preferences for Native Hawaiians with Haole victimization":

> From the Haole oligarchy that overthrew the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi and ruled the islands until 1950s (when the "democratic revolution" put many Japanese locals into power), to current statistics on the in-migration of Haole versus the out-migration of Hawaiians, to socioeconomic indicators, the pattern is one of variable but persistent Haole political and economic power.

I mentioned that Aloha ʻĀina is translated also as patriot; In the contexts of nations of European origins, I do not often sympathize with patriotic sentiments: on one hand, European nation-states have a history of erasure of their own specific land-based cultures and on the other hand, the meaning of lāhui is not necessarily that of nation-state but is open to diverse interpretation of people sovereignty including autonomous ones (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2011). Moreover, and as a Haole woman living in Hawaiʻi I feel it is my responsibility to support the continuous efforts perdured by the people of this land to restore independence. As I am *here*, if I am invited or granted permission to, I choose to be a Haole and a malihini who kākoʻo (supports) the life and sovereignty of this land and her people. I was born in the region of Naples, former capital of a monarchy overthrown by the Kingdom of Italy only 30 years before the Hawaiian monarchy endured its overthrow. Italian school books still describe the event mainly as "unification" and "liberation" despite popular knowledge and historical evidences of the contrary. Southern Italy have since faced the typical deterioration of an exploited colony. As part-southern Italian who moved to the north as a pre-teen, I have had the experience of being white and yet racially marked lesser than other whites. Neapolitan scholars Donatella Izzo describes a "sense of shared positionality" (Kuwada, Bacchilega, Izzo, 2010) that I resonate with:

> To this day, the Italian representation of Hawaiʻi in the commercial press is still tuned to the stereotypes of the exotic tourist paradise, and Italian scholars haven't done much to redress that image. Napoli-based Americanists, however, have for some time cultivated a strong interest in Hawaiʻi, as

witness the presence of two former students of "Orientale" among the contributors to this issue. The reasons for this, as I have argued elsewhere, may lie in a sense of shared positionality vis-à-vis the operation of cultural hegemony and of political and economic power at both the national and the global level: a large metropolitan city tracing its history back to classical antiquity and the former capital of a kingdom, culturally rich and blessed with a unique natural landscape, Napoli has a recent history of domestic colonialism, economic exploitation, political corruption, urban decay, and widespread criminality that make it a living paradox – simultaneously a part of the Global South and of the rich West, an emblem of the coexistence of the unachieved project of modernity and rampant neoliberal globalization. With this special issue of Anglistica we hope to nourish this sense of connection further, moving the Italian perception of Hawaiian issues to a new level of complexity, while offering the Hawaiian sovereignty movement new interlocutors – literally half a world away, but simultaneously also worldwide – for its creative and critical interventions.

Feminist thinking has produced great theoretical achievements utilizing process thinking rather than dualistic thinking (Ferguson, 2017). Yet, if we reflexively apply process thinking to the very duality I just mentioned, that is, dualistic vs. process thinking, we come to realize that this one too is not a mutually exclusive binary: mutually exclusive dualities definitely have a place too in critical feminist, indigenous thinking and the practical pursuit of justice. I am not Native to Hawai'i, I am a malihini and my place and role here must take that into serious consideration in order not to perpetrate colonialism. How would I perpetrate colonialism? One obvious way would be to feel entitled to the same right to land as a Native Hawaiian (by U.S. law I am, but that is not a moral sanction, particularly not in this case), or to cite a frequent theme in online discussion, by self-appointing myself into leadership roles in Native struggles, or by failing to ask permission or invite Native leadership in any Hawai'i-based endeavor. The Native (to a specific place) and non-Native binary is important to acknowledge and at the same time, when I relocate in my own body, with its own memories of domestic and historical violence, I re-center to a place that, although physically on the other side of the planet, represent a related rootedness in ancestry and land. One of the process that freezes

the Native / non-Native binary is the (quasi) complete erasure of most historical European indigeneities operated through millennia and still ongoing on making white imperialism inevitable by producing white people as ahistorically uprooted who cannot but invade anywhere they go and Natives as occupied and colonized. Ideological anti-historical projections of European indigeneity have been used by fascism and right-wing political organizations. More recently, instead, Indigenous European people such as Roma, Inuit, or Basque have gained more historically accurate and critical attention. However, most indigenous European peoples and cultures are considered extinct.

Although I came to Hawai'i from literally the opposite side of the earth, reaching for my own locality, rooting deeply in it, is how I feel the most connected to this land, its people's struggles, and my own. It is during moments in which I expressed and manifested my own connection with my ancestral lands, in a felt and genuine way, that I felt the most sympathy and recognition from Native Hawaiian women.

I have *known* before that "gendered and sexualized violence has multiple connections that spread out on vertical and horizontal scales" (Goeman, 2017). But while reading Mishuana R. Goeman's account of it, through an analysis of Linda Hogan's novel *Solar Storms*, I could connect my knowledge with my embodied understanding of it. Embodied in this body, on this land, from that land. I could access a strong sense of vertical, ancestral, and horizontal, place-based experience of displacement, dispossession, violence. Uprooting, and almost inevitably, wilting. I have experienced uprooting with family moving during childhood. I have experienced gendered violence at home. And these experiences have a scarily familiar resonance through my veins and my bones. An ancient resonance with stories of abduction and rape of the Sabine women, normalized through *elementary school* curriculum of Roman history! Never in school I was taught in school and I have recently learnt that those same women rose and put their bodies between the two sides of the war, their ex-companions and their abductors, and stopped it. I was told the story of erasure and not the story of resurgence. I have a brother. As teenagers, we would go periodically back to the Southern Italic lands where we lived during childhood. Then he stopped coming with me. I have never planned to go back periodically, but I have never stopped doing it. Of course, this can be the fruit of many different factors. Yet, my brother has red hair and generally a mixed northern European

appearance. I have brown hair, brown eyes, and a generally Southern and Eastern European appearance. We quite apparently carry different local histories in our bodies. He went to live in the Netherlands, somehow near a town named like a Nordic side of our family. I came to Hawai'i, as far as I could possibly be from the homes left empty with the echoes of care and violence. I came to Hawai'i, as I understand it now, to re-learn the relation with one's ancestral lands, and its healing power.

I came to feel that Native and aboriginal struggles are literally at the epicenter of people's struggles, no matter how far back in history they started. Traumatic waves spread through the earth and the flesh of the first people of each land. The Italic peoples, possibly aboriginal Indo-European people who came from Central and Eastern Europe, mixed with possibly Native peoples who encountered Indo-European cultures, are richly diverse people, most of whom appear in history books as completely extinguished, often retrogrades. And yet, there are cultural practices, languages, way of knowing and living, that have survived two millennia of subsequent imperialistic invasions, starting from the Roman empire's one. The U.S. empire has managed a more complete homologation of different ways of living using a combination of soft power and sparse, select hard power, than the previous 2000 years of invasions. In the Italian peninsula, the Marshal plan, Coca-Cola, jeans, and rock and roll, with a little help from a few, targeted, and covert armed interventions, have managed to drive to the break of extinction traditional ways of relating with the land and among people that had survived millennia of invasions by previous, foreign empires. Yet, very diverse languages, rites, traditional music and dances, fragments of traditional ways of living and knowing still survive. The 1960s and 1970s have seen both increasingly destructive homologation and the beginning of vibrant cultural renaissances. Even when only a whisper remains, that whisper physically resonates in the bodies, minds, and spirits (Meyer, 2006) of the people who share similar ancestral roots. I believe our responses to that whisper is written by our ancestors' lives in our genes, it is an epigenetic response, our ancestors' stories are physically inscribed in our bodies. Roman history is a history of colonization, uprooting, migrations, and invasions of Italic peoples even before Rome became an empire. Many Italic people fought and resisted the Roman invasion. Many foreign invasions followed the fall of Rome, perpetuating the violence that characterized the fallen empire. No matter how far

in ancient history these traumas are buried, they need healing. And no matter how rootless many of European descent may feel, reconnection with ancestral lands and natural worlds is a condition of that healing.

Research Questions

As seen in the theoretical framework, reproduction of preexisting inequalities is one of the main challenges of deliberation. Moreover, design traits of online deliberation systems might mediate particular forms of power dynamics (Kriplean et al., 2007) that may hinder the expression of differences. On the other hand, certain forms of mediated communication may play a role in bridging, yet maintaining differences.

This study utilizes inductive analysis (Thomas, 2006) of interviews and online discourse analyses of deliberations occurring across different platforms, in order to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: *What is the experience of Kānaka Maoli Women participants with social media use for the expression of cultural and political sovereignty?*

RQ2: *How are participants supported or hindered by socio-technical affordances in maintaining their particular standpoint?*

In order to answer these questions, I led interviews, complemented by focus groups and critical discourse analyses.

Methods

As previously mentioned, this study follows an inductive approach utilizing interviews and focus groups as main data sources, and critical discourse analysis (CDA) of online conversations as a preliminary and subsequently iterative qualitative heuristic. Both online discourse analyses and the second of two focus groups serve also the purpose of triangulation of results. The second focus group in particular performs member checks (Thomas, 2006; Birt et al., 2016) to assess the trustworthiness of findings taking into consideration a participants' perspective.

A critical discourse analysis approach also informs the general inductive method guiding the analysis of interviews and focus groups. Discourse analyses, interviews, and

focus groups alternate in an iterative process, and inform each other in subsequent deepening and steering of the analysis.

As mentioned above, the need for close qualitative examination has been expressed in several studies and reviews. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the fittest approach I see for research questions involving power relationships in discursive practices.

As Coleman and Moss (2011) put it (emphases added):

Here again, there are implications for research methodology: Perhaps, when it comes to analyzing deliberative quality, *the more nuanced approach of discourse analysis would be better at identifying hesitations, putdowns, failures to be understood, or switches of communicative repertoire than the cruder counting mechanism of content analysis*; perhaps, when it comes to evaluating practices of online moderation and facilitation, attention should be paid to *who is not addressed*, *what is not said*, and how rules might have been differently *interpreted*, rather than merely monitoring the catechistic principles of Habermasian discourse ethics.

Particularly when analyzing mainstream sources, the focus of this study is on how topics and people are framed, who and what is not addressed, and who is "we" and who is "them". I describe these processes more in detail in the Critical Discourse Analysis subsection. I keep a critical discourse analysis approach also when analyzing interviews, focus groups, and online conversations, yet in these cases there is a broader observational scope, as I aim to identify emergent topics following a more general inductive approach (Thomas, 2006). Both CDA and the general inductive approach allow to address the phenomenon experienced by research participants, and each highlights different aspects of participants' lifeworld.

I approach the research questions and the analysis with critical and intersectional thinking, striving to engage not only with the content that participants have shared with me, but also and more importantly with the lifeworld of their vision and knowledge (Goodyear-Ka'opua, 2013; Ferguson, 2017). Engaging with participants' lifeworld, the "willingness to listen to unfamiliar insights" (Ferguson, 2017) and to let them sink down to touch the deepest layers of my own experience, is necessary to answer the research questions. Certainly, without such critical and felt understanding, I could not gain any

empirically grounded insight on what hinders or supports participants' lifeworld; I could only superimpose a foreign perspective on their experience, which, particularly in this context, would be precisely a form of epistemological imperialism. I strive to engage critically, in order not to reproduce imperialist practices, and "not to appropriate but to learn" (Ferguson, 2017).

Research design

I first conducted participant observations in an independentist Facebook group set as public, that is, where it is reasonable to assume that users have no expectation of privacy. I observed themes of interest for the topic of this study and participants to potentially recruit for interviews. I consulted news and posts linked from the group to identify discursive constructions of the topics discussed in the group, within its broader discursive context.

Online observations, scholarly literature, research questions, and consultation with women of Hawaiian ancestry informed the semi-structured guide for the questions and discussion prompts utilized during interviews and focus groups.

I then identified potential participants based on online observations and suggestions from Hawaiian women colleagues. The sample of this study is purposive: I asked mentors and participants to suggest other potential participants who might have experiences and insights into the phenomenon I am studying; and then followed a purposive snowball sampling where participants would suggest further potential participants. For most potential participants I invited, I either had built some rapport prior as a supporter in joint struggles or had a common trusted contact vouching for me. Response rate has been 70%, seven (7) out of twenty-three (23) did not respond to the invite. I, or the contact vouching for me, briefly described the project and asked via text, private message, or in person before sending the consent form and further details. The process sometimes entailed a long and complex exchange of questions and answers about my positionality, the institutions and funds behind the project, and the treatment of the data.

I ran through the audio recordings and took notes after each interview, and then after groups of 3-4 interviews I would also conduct online observations and discourse analysis
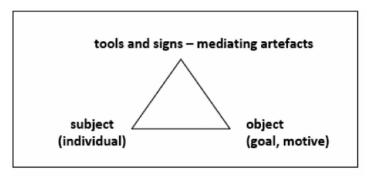
for triangulation and adjustment of the interview guide. I asked interviewees and focus group participants for consent to follow their online interactions and record parts of them.

Interviews and focus groups were mostly in person. I conducted only two interviews online. I strived to be in person as much as possible, hoping to establish connection and genuine conversation, serving some pupus (snacks) and offering a lei I made or bought. After the second round of interviews I had a chance to check the updated interview guide and some emerged ideas with a focus group on the Island of Hawai'i while I was there for a conference. A contact who accepted to be interviewed offered to invite other contacts in her network that she thought might have good insights for this research.

The places of the interviews were sometimes offices and classrooms, but more often places with more voice of their own, entering the recordings in the sounds of waves and hao leaves shivering, a loud party at the park, ipu and chants for a hula lesson, or music at a Hawaiian culture-based co-working space. Interviews were audio recorded and followed a semi-structured guide allowing ample room for spontaneous topics to emerge. They were most commonly about 1 hour and a half long, with a two shorter ones, and three over the 2 hours and a half. The Focus group was 1 hour and a half as well of recorded data, after introductions.

I continued to alternate Interviews and Focus groups with online and in person observations at public gatherings to further triangulate analyses. I also kept writing notes and observations iteratively during the data collection. I sent a summary report to participants (Appendix 3) to report back and gather feedback to incorporate here and also an open document that I hope to further discuss with the community and work on to make it a community resource.

In order to understand how actions are afforded or constrained when using a certain medium, a close look at the action as agent-medium tension is necessary (Wertsch, 1998). I strive to look at the mediated action as a unit, that is, not just the utterance (Bakhtin, 1986), but the utterance as produced by a subject in an irreducible tension with specific mediational means (see Fig. 2.). Mediational means are not characterized only by the deliberative systems and their features, but also include language and language genres (Bakhtin, 1986).

Fig. 2. Basic structure of activity
(Engeström 1987, p. 59)

Moreover, an understanding of how similar actions have been carried on using different mediational means is also useful to understand specific affordances and constraints of the medium. Therefore, interviews and focus group discussion prompts focused also on other media participants use.

Critical discourse analysis

In a CDA perspective, written and spoken discourse is a form of social practice and is both constitutive of and constituted by the social and political dimensions (Barker and Galasinski, 2001). CDA scrutinizes the text at different levels in order to understand the social and political meaning of it in a given context. It answers questions such as: what is missing, who is not addressed, how are contents and interlocutors framed?

One possible way to answer those questions is to consider the text choices at different levels: vocabulary, grammar and textual structure, as well as its context and its intertextual links (Bakhtin, 1986); and be aware of language choices at all those levels, and what meaning might be conveyed in telling the informational content of the utterance in that specific way, and in that specific context.

An extensive list of the "fault-lines which discourse analysis searches for during the dissection of texts" would take a disproportionate space here, but below are some examples. For a comprehensive analytic template I refer to Barker and Galasinski (2001). I have utilized the chart in Appendix 2 as reference during initial observations and through iteration of observation, preliminary analyses, and reflection, I finally focused the CDA analysis on how views held by some participants in this study are framed and constructed as "other", as well as on interdiscoursivity, which is a particular type of intertextuality, defined at the end of this section. Below are some examples to convey

53

how CDA can provide evidence of discursive construction of social and political meaning.

An example of the way grammar may convey a specific social or political meaning is transitivity and passive forms, which can indicate what/who are framed as the "doers" and what/who as the done to.

For example, "Mark *has experienced* a sexual assault", "Mark *has been* sexually assaulted" or "Mark *got* raped" may convey very different meanings. In the second two phrases, more commonly used, the person is more likely to be interpreted, and therefore somehow constructed, as a victim, he is "literally" a passive subject, and the experience of the assault becomes a part of him, whether he wants or not, it "literally" hinders the possibility of recovery (it is also significant that the passive form makes the assaulter invisible…). Not surprisingly, instead, the first phrase is more likely to be heard or read in professional care contexts, and it conveys an interpretation of the person as active agent who can survive and overcome the negative effects of the assault.

The meaning conveyed by language choices does not have to be intentional to be nonetheless *real* in the cultural and socio-political contexts. We may not access intentions, but the language choice is empirically evident, and is not arbitrary. As Barker and Galasinski (2001) expresses it:

> …it is also the case that speaking subjects deploy language that operates with a grammar of which they are not reflexively aware. That is, a good deal of grammatical `choice' is performed at an unconscious level with implications and consequences not fully appreciated by individual speakers.

Another clear example of very meaningful language choice is the use of pronouns, again in Barker and Galasinski's (2001) words:

> It turns out that apparently little words like 'we' and 'they' (personal reference), 'with us' (spatial reference) and 'long ago' (temporal reference) have big consequences. Thus, if human beings are to learn how best to live with difference, rather than resort to violence, then an understanding of, for example, `structures of agency' that systematically position groups as

the doers or the done to, the guilty and the innocent, the human and the 'it', is of crucial significance.

Finally, I would like to give an example of the meaning of "what is not said". There have been deliberative polls about (emphasis added) "how to *safely produce* genetically modified organisms" (Carpini et al., 2004). Such a poll automatically excludes from the conversation anyone who thinks that genetically modified organisms (GMOs) are never safe, as well as anyone who think that it is immoral to produce them; also, it puts anyone who thinks that GMOs may be experimented with in scientific laboratories but not in industrial production in an uncomfortable position. And who are those people? These are some of the very people that deliberation should strive to bring back in the conversation with the majority, in order to reach the maximum diversity necessary for a generation of new creative solutions (Sunstein, 2003; Nemeth & Wachtler, 1983). In fact, if that were the case, we would not need CDA scholars anymore, as diversity mitigates framing effects!

These examples show how language frames participants and themes in the discourse. While this framing does not determine how participants actually feel, it is possible to identify how participants are framed in terms of affects, that is, whether they are victimized, empowered, demeaned, encouraged, humiliated, admired, treated as inferior/superior, considered active/passive agents, respected or not, acknowledged or not, etc. in the language used. At the same time, CDA allows a critical analysis of the explicit expressions of feelings and empathy; again, looking at grammar, vocabulary, phrase constructions, and the uses of other mediational means, in order to identify who are the centers of empathy and how they are framed.

Rather than asking participants about their internal states in interviews or surveys, we can look at the emotional framing operated by participants' choices in terms of language and other mediational means, which offer strong empirical evidence of "external representations" of those "internal states". We do not necessarily know whether or how those external representations are interiorized, but they present to participants as well as researchers actual "maps of the interior" (van Dijk, 2003).

CDA literature offers guidelines for researchers rather than specific procedures or a set of pre-determined categories. CDA can apply to different methodological approaches; in the present case, it applies to a general inductive theme analysis (Thomas, 2006), which means that the categories and discursive aspects to focus on emerged inductively from the data, while also iteratively reflecting on the analysts' assumptions and guidelines from the literature. I utilize CDA guidelines that appeared to better adhere to the specific settings of this study and to the understanding of participants' standpoints are framed.

Beside framing and othering, I observed in particular interdiscursivity, as defined by Fairclough (1992):

> The concept of interdiscursivity draws attention to the potential heterogeneity of texts in terms of the diverse discourse conventions, types of discourse, which can be drawn upon in their production. I assume that what I am loosely calling "discourse types" makes up orders of discourse associated with particular institutions or domains of social life. For instance, there are particular orders of discourse associated with educational organisations, with the law, with science, and with the media. In describing orders of discourse, one is concerned with specifying what discourse types are used in the domain in focus, but also what relationships there are between them, for instance how rigid or permeable are the boundaries between them.

I utilize interdiscursivity in particular to understand relations between local mainstream media discourses and discourses in the networks of participants in this study.

Results

As stated in the Introduction, this study focuses on the experiences of Kānaka Maoli women who use common online deliberation platforms for the expression of cultural and political sovereignty online. The project aims to contribute to the understanding of how these platforms, social media in particular (but some participants also blog and have done some Wikipedia editing) support or hinder the expression and the maintenance of participants' perspectives and their lifeworld.

This section briefly describes the group of participants and then organizes the findings vertically and horizontally in terms of the two research questions respectively. As illustrated in Table 1, the results in response to the question of participants' experiences (RQ1) are presented along different levels, or scales, of experience from micro (intimate scale) to macro (broader mechanisms of occupation and de-occupation). For each level, I address the question of how socio-technical media affordances and other media-related configurations hinder or support participants' experiences' lifeworld (RQ2). The arrow that goes from the bottom macro scale back to the top micro scale, signifies that the different scales are not separate and independent from each other; they are rather intricately connected phenomenological layers of lived experiences.

RQ1. What is the experience of Kānaka Maoli Women participants with social media use for the expression of cultural and political sovereignty?	RQ2. How are participants supported or hindered by soc-tech affordances in maintaining their particular standpoint?	
	Intimate Scale	
	Hindrances	Supports
	Discursive Scale - Broader	
	Hindrances	Supports
	Discursive Scale - Narrower	
	Hindrances	Supports
	Mechanisms of DeOccupation Scale	
	Hindrances	Supports

Table 1 illustrates the organization of results in terms of the research questions.

The 16 participants have diverse ages and socio-economic statuses, though middle age and scholar participants are the largest groups in the respective categories. Five (5) participants are kupunas ("elders", here used to indicate participants over 60 year old), seven (7) are middle age women (35-59 year old), and four are younger women (25-34 year old). Seven (7) participants are scholars; this overrepresentation is not just an effect of the snow-ball sampling discussed in the Methods section, but it is also a more pertinent reflection of the purposeful sampling of communicators that are also often leaders in the movement: scholarly and educational leadership has played and plays a strong role in it.

Two (2) participants are houseless leaders of a large houseless community, two (2) participants can be said to be involved full time in the affirmation and struggle for Hawaiian sovereignty and typical socio-economic categories are particularly inadequate to describe their living, five (5) participants are involved in diverse working-middle enterprises. The majority is from the island of Oʻahu (9), five (5) are from the island of Hawaiʻi, one (1) participant is from Kauaʻi and one (1) from Molokaʻi.

Participant	Age	Island
Interviewee 1. *Hawaiian Educator*	20-35	Oʻahu
Interviewee 2. *Leader of houseless encampment.*	55-100	Oʻahu
Interviewee 3. *Co-leader of houseless encampment.*	55-100	Oʻahu
Interviewee 4. *Māhū wahine scholar*	20-35	Oʻahu
Interviewee 5. *Hawaiian Rights defender and professor*	36-54	Molokaʻi
Interviewee 6. *Hawaiian politics Professor*	36-54	Oʻahu
Interviewee 7. *Land protector and social worker*	20-35	Oʻahu
Interviewee 8. *Driver and media commentator*	55-100	Kauaʻi
Interviewee 9. *Driver, Hawaii-based education learner and HS mother*	36-54	Oʻahu
Interviewee 10. *Instructor, installations and performances director.*	36-54	Oʻahu
Interviewee 11. *Peacemaker, healer, and musician*	36-54	Oʻahu
FG Participant 1. *Full time activist*	36-54	Hawaiʻi Island
FG Participant 2. *Video maker*	22-34	Hawaiʻi Island
FG Participant 3. *Lineal guardian of ancestral lands, singer-songwriter*	36-54	Hawaiʻi Island
FG Participant 4. *Business owner*	36-54	Hawaiʻi Island
FG Participant 5. *Office worker, single mother, surfer, and poet*	22-34	Hawaiʻi Island

Table 2. Participants

All participants use Facebook more than any other platform. Most have also an Instagram account but mostly use it to share family pictures and artistic photos without the same political emphasis of many of their Facebook or Twitter posts. Four participants have Twitter accounts and generally use it less than Facebook. Two participants have YouTube accounts. Two write also in blogs and website. Two have edited Wikipedia articles. One participant utilizes Tumblr for a "virtual march" gallery, where people from around the world post pictures of themselves in solidarity with a Hawaiian struggle.

Intimate Scale

Several participants have talked about different ways intimate connection with oneself, with others, and with the land, is mediated by telecommunication devices. I present these ways in three main groupings. First, participants expressed strong concerns about the *disconnecting presence* of the devices and infrastructures of online deliberation:

in the presence of these devices, they felt less present within themselves and with the people and environment around them. Second, they also share strong feelings of *connecting at a distance*: deep connections with people that they would not be able to meet or connect with otherwise, and are relevant to their lives and worldviews. Third, it also emerged that online conversations can sometimes constructively *remediate connections*. Re-mediate here has the double meaning of helping rekindling, and representing through a different media, relations that are not usually constructively mediated online: intimate ways of relating within, with other people, and with the land, in alignment with participants' cultural and spiritual values. If remediation seems to directly contradict disconnecting presence, a closer look in the next subsections shows how these experiences come into play in different contexts. Shared, lived experiences can diverge from each other, forming different phenomenological layers within the same lifeworld, like different currents in the same body of water.

Disconnected Presence

Instances of what I call here "disconnected presence" go from hindering eye contact and reach because there is a laptop physically between people at meetings, to detracting from being fully present in person, to each other and to one's environment, with one's mind, spirit as well as physical body.

> The way people are in meetings is different. [...] We didn't have laptop. Within the last 10 years I have noticed going to meetings and everyone around the table has laptops, staring at screens, there is multitasking happening, but sometimes it's stalling the creative process, the kind of emotional connection, with this thing physically between people, less eye contact... Yes, I have been kind of frustrated at some folks, some young some older, that presents themselves at meetings like that. (Interviewee 6)

Being fully present within one's body and to others is held valuable by several participants, hinting to the idea that in order to connect at a deeper level, it can be constructive to have times and spaces to disconnect from information and communication technologies (ICTs). Interviewee 6 associates a deeply embodied, unobstructed presence to each other with emotional connection and creative thinking in a group setting. As

59

mentioned in the research background, this relation is supported in social psychology and organizational communication literature in the sense that empathic connection does facilitate thinking outside of framing boxes and creative bridging of diverse perspectives, without having to change minds or compromise. I am not saying that empathic connection cannot happen online, but that, understandably, connection *in person* is not facilitated when 1) people are online at the same time, and when 2) even if they are *not* online, the device is physically present between people, and one can potentially go online or connect to a more limited series of offline works within the device. The second part of the argument might be less intuitive and I will discuss it further.

Another interviewee noted that Hawaiian thought processes are based on an intimate connection with the natural environment rather than abstract language structures. In order to find that connection with Hawaiian ways of thinking one might need a time and place to disconnect from telecommunication infrastructures, whereas cellular towers and mobile reception are becoming harder to avoid.

> I was camping the other weekend up on the mountains. A few years ago, maybe 5 years now, you couldn't see anything, like it was all mountains, but recently they wanted to build cell towers in order to have better, like, reception and like "ho, you can have reception in the mountains!" and I was like "Wait, I come to the mountains to *not* have reception". (Interviewee 1)

Both quotes mention the mere presence of the laptop or the cell tower among the sources of their frustration or disappointment. Although meeting attendees could still ignore the laptop and make eye contact or mountain goers could ignore the fact that there is reception and not connect to the phone network, that would require an extra effort. It seems that, at least in this point of history, in the presence of electronic devices, the path of least resistance brings us to them. The effort not to follow the path to the device will likely be successful, but it will significantly detract from available cognitive resources (Ward et al., 2017). More in general, I add, based on participants' experiences, it detracts from the ability to be present and connect with people and the environment within the physical medium. Moreover, the effort not to go to the device will not be successful if addiction is involved (Douglas, 2008).

60

One participant in particular noted how the relation with the device itself happens at an intimate level, and that is not always a positive experience:

It is an intimate relationship between the smartphone and myself … I pick it up when it cries, I feed it when it's hungry ... it's kind of fascist this mimicry of an intimate relationship! (Interviewee 4)

Experimental evidence in support of the "brain drain" hypothesis (Ward et al., 2017) indicates that the mere presence of one's own smartphone reduces significantly one's cognitive capacity, without one being aware of it. The device literally imposes its presence in one's mind even when one is not using it. Anecdotally, the compulsive nature of human attraction to "smart" devices is known all too well to caretakers – and anyone in a mile radius – who have tried without much success to get one off of a child's hands. It is possible that these devices take a toll on our bodies and spirits as much as on our minds. Most participants mentioned the distraction and disconnection from physically present others and one's surroundings that occur when they or someone around them uses a telecommunication device. The fact that only one participant talked explicitly about an imposed ("fascist") intimacy with the device should not lead to a dismissal of the concept. Ward's "brain drain" experiment showed that participants, understandably, had no conscious awareness that their cognitive resources were being utilized toward the device they were not even using. Interviewee 4 might be particularly attuned to her body in such a way that she can perceive the imposing intimacy of "smart" telecommunication devices that most of us seem still unaware of. It might not be a coincidence that interviewee 4 is a māhū waihine: whether one wants it or not, when one's body does not conform to societal norms, one might become more aware of it, in a parallel process to the one that brings non-white people to be more often aware of their race than white people. Interviewee 4 also talks about the intimate, as well as spiritual connection with her body, and how that relates to her connection with her homeland. Talking about the end of a several years long time abroad, when she felt that she needed to come back to Hawai'i, she said:

61

I feel that my bones have called me home.

(Interviewee 4)

She talks about it as clear perception, and although she doubted it at first, she ultimately acknowledged and followed it.

Other participants have talked about similar perceptions, that is, hearing, resonating within oneself, the voices of one own's bones, of passed family members, ancestral bones, and also stones and artifacts from sacred places (e.g. Interviewees 4, 5, and 10). Fellow scholars, possibly mostly haole scholars, might expect me to dismiss or at least be skeptical of such accounts. But I would be more skeptical of such placing of skepticism: why would I utilize any other accounts by research participants as data sources if I was to dismiss these accounts? Rather than entangling myself in likely fruitless justifications of discriminating judgments, I treat all interview data as accounts of participants' felt experiences. Triangulation with discourse analysis helps me maintaining a critical, albeit non-prejudicial, eye. All that I can understand from the data I gathered and from an epistemological perspective informed also by Hawaiian epistemologies, is that such perceptions require a fine, intimate, intelligent, and spiritual connection within one's self and with one's human, non-human, past, and present relations. And that such connections seem more difficult to establish in the salient presence of devices and infrastructures currently utilized for online deliberation.

Several interviewees have also experienced addiction to social media, which exacerbates its disconnecting aspects. Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 8 talk about addiction to social media also in the context of supposedly liberatory political activism: when posting about a political event becomes more important than being there, even while one *is* there, one is more invested in the online representations of it.

Crucial connections for the lifeworld of participants' experiences seem to require times and places of disconnection from the electronic networks within which online conversations happen. Yet, it has emerged that online conversations can also play a role in nurturing such connections. I further discuss this topic in the next two subsections.

Connecting at a Distance

Most participants have expressed strong appreciation of the ability to connect to people and events that one would not be able to connect with otherwise, such as important hearings one could not attend, or actions by native women in different parts of the world. Many reported valuable connections and friendships born online. Establishing international connections with people involved in similar struggles in other parts of the world emerged as important both at the current scale of analysis and in the larger struggle for de-occupation and de-colonization. These connections have been said to nurture inspiration, motivation and growth in participants' personal communication and work, as well as in their communities. Such connections, particularly with native women from other nations, often becomes mutual invitation to events, struggles, gatherings, and conferences. Some participants note that they might eventually have come across these people without information technologies, but there seem to be a general perception that social media make such connections easier and more frequent, galvanizing movements and change. As interviewee 11 puts it:

> There are also worldwide connections that can be very meaningful. This is the biggest benefit. Whole movements have been born on social media or gained momentum from what would have been an insignificant protest effort to a world-effecting phenomenon.

These connections, together with the effectiveness of "getting the word out" were the most commonly mentioned aspects associated with the idea that "the benefits outweight the risks" of using social media.

Remediating Connections

> Social media can get in the way of connecting with my body, but it also helped me survive. It can spark spiritual awakening and connection, and destruction.
> (Interviewee 4)

The destruction Interviewee 4 is talking about is related to the destructive potential of remaining disconnected from bodies, each other, and the land as discussed in the Disconnecting Presence subsection. However, she also notices that certain conversations

and connections she has had at a distance helped her survive and supported her in maintaining her relation, or at least the possibility of her relationship with her body and her far land alive, at times when it felt unbearable.

Arguably, one does not need to be in a state of deep presence and connection constantly. There are clearly times in which one is not, and maybe cannot be, mantaining such level of presence. Social media can sometimes be a place that virtually supports and remediate the type of presence that they would hinder if it was required or needed in that very moment.

As interviewee 1 simply puts it,

It takes away from cultural identity when I am at a cultural event and I am on Facebook. But if I am in my living room it's ok. (Interviewee 1)

The sharing of knowledge and ways of knowing online, as well as learning online about cultural events and in person learning opportunities, are also ways in which participants' own personal connection with their own selves and their intimately resonating values are reflected upon, becomes real, or salient in participants lives. I will discuss learning and reconnecting with ways of knowing and cultural practices further at the scale of mechanisms of occupation and de-occupation.

To summarize, the mere presence of devices and infrastructures utilized for online deliberation can distract and detract from a fully embodied, mindful and spiritual presence in person. Although such experiences are not unique to participants of this study, I did not expect them to be as relevant as they resulted to be. Participants talked about the disruption of embodied connections when talking about social media and cultural identity. Distracting presence has, indeed, a particularly destructive implication here, that is, the disconnection from Hawaiian ways of relating. Such disconnection is particularly dangerous at this time in history when the elimination of Hawaiian culture continues despite the renaissance started in the 70s. No matter how many Hawaiian women are talking politics online, disconnecting presence can detract from the diversity of perspectives in the online deliberation system. However, at times when an intimate, deep connection with the physical environment is not necessary or not possible, online

connections can help participants remediate Hawaiian ways of relating by connecting at a distance, learning, and reflecting in ways that nurture them. In most interviews, physical presence emerges as the primary medium of Hawaiian ways of relating but there is a place for online presence to engage and support them.

Discursive Scale: Ranges of Vision, Orders of Discourse

In this section I address participants' discursive position within the broader discursive context of the topics they discuss. Having a CDA approach in mind, I decided to focus in particular on the intertextuality across different types of discourses, othering, and framing that emerge from some examples of more mainstream online news sources and their comments sections. I highlight differences between those examples and participants' interviews and online conversations. I selected news pieces that participants have linked to in their posts or cover topics that participants talk about. I then focus on the gendered nature of attacks visible in news comments as well as experienced on social media by participants. Finally, I report about how possibly discouraging discursive and social practices do not dissuade the women in this study from being outspoken communicators. They may doubt themselves sometimes, but do not doubt the power in them. I discuss sources of strength and resilience that emerged from interviews and focus groups.

Framing and Othering

Here I discuss two examples of events commented in the networks of some participants in this study, and their discursive framing across more mainstream media linked from participants' networks. I have been monitoring the media coverage of two other vaster topics than the two discussed here (Mauna Kea protection and independence vs. federal recognition), but the smaller corpus of texts related to the examples below allows to offer both a big picture of the details of the analysis and gives a better exposition in this space.

The first example shown here is about a political action carried by two high school students in Hana. Two high school friends switched the position of the Hawaiʻi and U.S. flags at their school's flag pole during a school walk out demonstration that was demanding action to counter school mass shootings in the U.S. Like most official flagpoles around the islands, their school's featured the U.S. flag above the Hawaiian

flag. When one of the two Hawaiian patriot students, Jessiah Malaikini, was asked to undo his actions, and refused, he was suspended. He spoke publicly about it without revealing his friend's name.

Following similar protests and expressions of grievances, including one at Maui College a month prior to this instance, all university campuses of the University of Hawai'i system raise both flags at equal height. Predominantly U.S.-based institutions, universities have been nonetheless among the main places of researching, learning and sharing about the occupation, and the ways it negatively impacts Hawaiians.

KITV4, the U.S.-based ABC affiliate in Hawai'i, featured the story twice, and in both occasions the Hawaiian flag is referred to in the headlines and throughout the article as the "state flag". This simple discursive operation renders invisible the sovereignty discourse and conceals the actual nature of the political action performed by the two students. There are quotes from the student and a known Hawaiian advocate who supports him, but the fact that the flag is not just the flag of the state of Hawai'i but also the Hawaiian national flag is never stated explicitly. This discursive operation is historically enabled by the appropriation of the Hawaiian monarchy's flag, anthem, and motto by the state of Hawai'i. Such appropriation is a social practice that has been discussed at length in the movement's listservs in the 1990s (Cruz, 2003), and as it emerged in those conversations, it perpetuates the native from the Hawaiian, but also some level of everyday continuity with Hawaiian sovereignty, albeit insulated within a logic of containment (Kā'opua, 2013). Indeed, in order to utilize the same symbols, the nationhood discourse and the larger (at least for now) statehood discourse are more easily practiced separately.

The main discourse remains consistently the discourse of statehood legitimacy and law. There is no reference to other discourses, except in direct quotes, therefore clearly defined as the "other" voice. One of the brief student's quotes relates equally discourses of Hawaiian patriotism and U.S. patriotism. Instead, the corpus of the article remains univocally anchored to the Hawai'i state's legality discourse, where the two students' actions – and related quotes – have simply no grounds.

A Civil Beat piece (Brittany Lyte, 2018) featuring the events ventures very slightly into a broader political discourse, but begins framing the student Jessiah Malaikini within

66

a discourse of violence and mischief, to continue on a discourse of masquerade, and mischief calling for disciplinary action (emphases added):

> When students in Hana filed into the school yard last Wednesday to participate in a national walkout to drive action on gun violence, most were *unaware that they had become **thrust** into* a separate protest aligned with the Hawaiian sovereignty movement.
> Jessiah Malaikini, a 16-year-old junior at Hana High and Elementary, had *snuck out of class earlier that morning* to rearrange the flags on the school flagpole.

Later in the text, the reporter sways close to a discourse of civil disobedience, but does not frame the action as an authentic expression of it (emphases added):

> …
> Malaikini said he was ordered to undo his actions. He refused.
>
> The *exercise in* civil disobedience *won* Malaikini *cheers* from his peers, he said.
>
> It also *got him* suspended. …

The sentence about the exercise in civil disobedience stands as paragraph of its own and marks a turn in the discursive voice, going back and forth from the reporter's and the student's voice in the same sentence. Malaikini says that his action is supported by his peers, but at the same time the reporter frames it as an "exercise in" civil disobedience. Like a performance or a masquerade, rather than an authentic political action, it "wins" him peers' "cheers" (entertainment/mischief discourse), rather than support or solidarity (civil disobedience discourse). After this oscillation between discourses and a dramatic pause in the form of a blank line, the reporter voice sways again toward the mischief discourse: the action "got him suspended". The sentence constructs the suspension as directly deriving from the student's own action, therefore placing the responsibility for his own punishment on the student, whereas in a civil disobedience framework punishment does not derive directly from the action but is mediated by the role and responsibility of the authority one is disobeying.

The mischief framing does not impede the text to interact with the protestor's voice, and the Civil Beat piece, contrary to the KITV ones we have seen, mentions the Hawaiian monarchy flag. However, the discourse remains that of U.S. federal and state law legitimacy (emphases added) without real interdiscursivity:

> **Some** *Native Hawaiians* **consider** the Hawaiian flag to be a symbol of the Hawaiian kingdom. *Hawaii state law; however,* **describes** the same flag as an emblem of the state and **demarcates** its positioning on the flagpole as secondary to the stars and stripes of the United States. (Brittany Lyte, 2018)

Rather than acknowledging the historical or current reality of the Hawaiian flag as a symbol of the Hawaiian monarchy, this text frames it as a belief ("consider") held only by a minority group within the native minority. There is no reference to actual sovereignty discourse, as if the (inaccurate) account that only a small minority relates to it was sufficient to dismiss it. I say inaccurate because sovereignty discourses are increasingly referred to from other discourses, the most known example being the United States Public Law 103-150 (1993), known as Apology Resolution. In the Civil Beat text however, we are within a discourse of absolute legitimacy of state law, in which state law does not "consider" the flag as an emblem of the state, it "describes" it as such. And "demarcates" its position above the Hawaiian [state] flag.

Maui Time, a smaller publication with a more local focus on a smaller area, takes a closer look into Jessiah Malaikini's perspective and relates the statehood and nationhood discourses more equally. This account counters the framings seen in the Civil Beat text, where a legitimate students' protest was being thrust against participants' will into a mischievous Hawaiian sovereignty protest. Instead, it questions the double disciplinary standard that allow some students to protest "safely" while another type of protest is met with suspension.
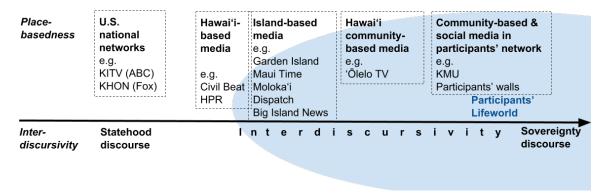
Participants in the social media networks of interviewees instead explicitly noted KITV's univocal definition of the flag as state flag. The student's brother created a GoFundMe campaign to raise money for an additional flag pole of equal height for the Hawaiian flag at the school. It must have been noted that the burden should be on the

school and not the community: a GoFundMe page update reports that a new flag pole is currently prospected in the school's budget. Like many other achievements of the sovereignty movement, this one has not been covered by media as much as the preceding controversies. Maui Time and Civil Beat texts mentioned previous achievements of two flag poles of equal heights, respectively at the Maui College and the whole UH system. KITV did not mention any of this. The spotty coverage of achievements consistent with sovereignty discourses can be attributed to common characteristics of news discourse (more focused on sensational stories than complete ones), yet in Hawai'i such attributes enable a discursive form of logics of containment, "a sprinkling of Indigenous history and culture only to maintain its marginality" (Ka'ōpua, 2013). The lack of coverage also constructs the achievement as not worth of notice or celebration.

When a type of discourse is often invisible or constructed as secondary in media discourse, there is an asymmetric interdiscursive relation: the discourse constructed as primary will have low interdiscursivity with the discourse constructed as secondary. Within the discourse constructed as secondary however, it is more likely to find interdiscursivity with the discourse constructed as primary. Indeed, the discourse constructed as primary is less contained and more ubiquitous than the secondary one. In the examples we have seen, both Jessiah Malaikini quotes and the GoFundMe campaign acknowledge U.S. patriotism. There are certainly instances of sovereignty discourses that do not refer to U.S.-based or more generally haole discourses, but "living in a predominantly Haole-controlled world" (Lipe, 1999), that may require a deliberate effort. This asymmetrical interdiscursive relation is visible also in terms of othering. As discussed above, the KITV and Civil Beat pieces clearly otherize participants of the sovereign movement. "Us" is U.S. citizen, and "them" is the minority of Hawaiians who do not recognize themselves as such. Othering is more blurred in the networks of the participants in this research. "Us" can be Hawaiian cultural or political sovereigntists, all Hawaiians (sovereigntists and American Hawaiians alike), Hawaiian sovereigntists and allies, or even everyone living on the islands.
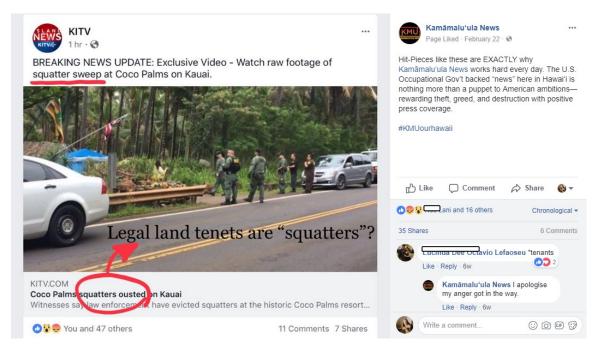
There is an almost linear progression between physical proximity of the institutional media base with the lifeworld of participants and interdiscursivity between statehood and

sovereignty discourse. Such progression, albeit not always so linear, is visible also in other examples.

Fig. 3. Conceptual representation (not in scale) of the relation between the proximity of media bases to participant's lifeworld and the interdiscursivity with Sovereignty discourse. The relation is not always linear and there are other factors and media in play, but there is a place-based dimension in the level of interdiscursivity with Hawaiian sovereignty discourse that seems to follow the place and land-based nature of native struggles. Note: although HPR is also an affiliate of a U.S. based network (NPR), its listeners-supported nature motivates its more locally based position in the figure.

The second example is about the eviction of Hawaiians who have been occupying a land in Wailua, Kaua'i for about a year. They had already been working on the restoration of the lo'i and wetlands there for several years prior. They opened the space for cultural revitalization practices and language classes. The land has been acquired about a year ago by the Coco Palms Hui. Hyatt Corp. has been offered the management of the currently abandoned Coco Palms Resort that was built on this land and opened in in 1953, frequented by the Hollywood entertainment industry, and destroyed in 1992 by Hurricane 'Iniki. In this example social media have been used to reframe the framing produced by a mainstream media. KITV (Hawai'i affiliate of U.S. network ABC) posted it news piece on Facebook labeling the event as a "squatter sweep". KMU News (Hawai'i Island and social media-based news managed by a Hawaiian woman, Lāhela Nihipali) reframes "squatter" as "legal land tenants" (see image below, in the comments she apologizes for the "tenets" typo).
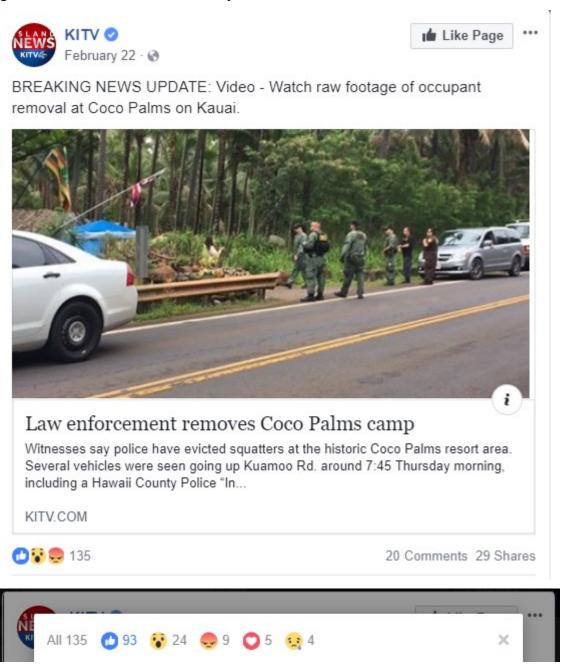
The legality of Hawaiian ownership is a very complex domain. Facing the threat of imperialism, Hawaiian royalties had created a hybrid system of private land with a lifestyle designation in perpetuity to preserve and set aside land for the Hawaiian people (Beamer, 2014). This system is known as the Māhele. One of the ways families or individuals where assigned lands was through Royal patents. Ancestors of leaders of this land reoccupation held a Royal patent related to this land. It seems that the Royal patent had been transferred at some point. However, title to private property is only one dimension of the legality of ownership according to the Māhele, the lifestyle of the land is as important. The people who occupied the land for over a year worked on its restoration and the revitalization of Hawaiian culture. They claim to restore the land after the mismanagements on the part of the original Coco Palms Resort: disruption of delicate ecosystems, desecration of burial grounds, and concealment of archeological findings.

If one takes into consideration the U.S. occupation, the dramatic overrepresentation of Hawaiians among houseless people, the widespread destruction of ecosystems that Hawaiian ways of life are tied to; then, Hawaiians with genealogical ties to the land, practicing Hawaiian ways of relating with the land offering other Hawaiians a place to live, learn, and practice their culture have good grounds to claim responsibility to care for the land, rather than people with no relation with it, who plan a commercial operation in tourism. Whereas the tourism industry is currently not going extinct in Hawai'i, the

opportunities of meaningful, comprehensive, ancestral ways of relating with the land offered by Wailua's people occupation continue to shrink despite the Hawaiian renaissance (Wilson, 2018).

The KITV post received many comments critiquing the "squatter" framing and bringing back the sovereignty, cultural, land management, historical, and spiritual discourses at play. KITV has reworded the post since (see image below), but not the general discursive unidimensionality.

KITV's post has similar types of reactions as the KMU reframing but in different proportions.

Mainstream media discourse about Coco Palms tends to omit the context sovereign discourse comes from and focuses on mostly U.S.-based legal discourse. Supporters of the Coco Palms occupation engaged in legal discourse and practice among many others. When the Royal patent route did not succeed, they shared on social media the list of families who have title to Kuleana land there. Again participants' social media networks and community members' websites (e.g. feliciacowden.com) share stories and videos that convey multidimensional aspects of the issue. No mainstream media covered how a prior eviction failed because the young Hawaiian man sent in the bulldozer could not bring himself to carry it on. The police, many of them Hawaiians, made some arrests but did not enforce the eviction. One of the videos shared on social media shows one of the participants in this study at the gates of the land, talking with the Hawaiian men sent to destroy the encampment. She implores him not to destroy the work they are doing to restore what has been taken from Hawaiians. He says that it's all gone already, everything has been taken, and goes in. Maybe the sight of endangered birds nesting in the restored loʻi and wetlands changed his mind, maybe the ancestral bones in the ground talked to him. The video shows the bulldozer coming back. Voices tremble with joys and tears. "We have one more day". This instance is absent from news stories, similarly to the way achievements of the movement after a covered controversy are not covered. Also the fact that Wailua occupiers had been restoring the loʻi and wetlands for several years prior to the eviction is consistently absent from the mainstream media (my sources are study participants and a video shared by a Kauaʻi community member Felicia Cowden).

Although this case may offer the impression that the two furthest discursive poles play on an almost leveled field, mainstream media in general has a dramatically wider reach, not only via TV, radio, and newspapers, but also on social media. To give an idea from this example, the original KITV post has almost three times the Facebook reactions as the KMU reframing. Which is really not an impressive performance on the KITV side considering that their Facebook page has almost a hundred times the Facebook "likes" of the KMU page (130,240 against 1347). More tellingly, their number of "likes" ratio is proportional to that of their respective workforce: KITV is built on a workforce of about

a hundred (100) paid employees (Blair, 2015), whereas KMU, on the workforce of one (1) person, and her love of country.

The multiple types of discourse pertaining to Hawaiians who are cultural and political sovereigntists become invisible in local mainstream media. Sovereignty claims on major local news outlets float unsupported in a discursive vacuum and the audience is offered no ways to reach and relate to them. Arguably, this reductive and insulating framing contributes to the divisive and aggressive register and tone of comments in news articles online. Without context and with more or less subtly leading frameworks it is not surprising that commenters often frame Hawaiian sovereigntists and land protectors (as people across indigenous movements worldwide often refer to themselves) as violent, attention seeking, squatters, occupiers, and even racists who victimize haoles.

The frames of violence and squatting are constructed both in U.S. and state-based media as well as institutional discourses. The violence framing is not always so subtle as in the Civil Beat example, and not always limited to the sense of imposing themselves. Hawaii Attorney General (AG) Doug Chin requested $2.5 million for security in January mentioning the possible protests against the construction of the TMT on Mauna Kea among events of potential violence to justify his request. The association between the protests and violence was not direct but has been taken up by media. Mauna Kea protectors have been holding nonviolence sacred, particularly on the mountain, and anyone who wishes to join them must do so in respect of Kapu Aloha toward TMT supporters and workers, as Manulani Aluli Meyer (2015) shares:

> A Kapu Aloha is a multidimensional concept and practice inspired by our kupuna. It has been used within a Hawaiian cultural context for many years, but this may be the first time it has been brought out into a public sphere. It places a discipline of compassion on all to express aloha for those involved, especially those who are perceived to be polar to our cause. A Kapu Aloha helps us intentionalize our thoughts, words and deeds without harm to others. It honors the energy and life found in aloha — compassion — and helps us focus on its ultimate purpose and meaning. It is a synonym for ahimsa, non-violence, and peaceful consciousness.

The Hawaiian movement since the 70s utilizes civil disobedience and ceremonial practices that contrast with numerous enforcement officers in riot gears they are

eventually met with during each major struggle. The AG request did not seem justified in the legislature, which had already refused a similar request a year prior (Kalani, Honolulu Star-Advertiser, 2018). Yet in the headlines of Hawaii News Now website (KHNL/KGMB TV, Hawai'i NBC affiliate) the arguably unfounded, *potential* violence, *indirectly* associated with Mauna Kea protectors became an *actual* fact: "Hawaii AG requests $2.5M to deal with *violent events **like** TMT protests*".

About the accusation of racism widespread in news comment sections, again, historical context and higher interdiscursivity can help to gain perspective, as Judy Rohrer (Rohrer, 2010: 9) says in response to discourses that equate "preferences for native Hawaiians with haole victimization":

> From the haole oligarchy that overthrew the Kingdom of Hawai'i and ruled the islands until 1950s (when the "democratic revolution" put many Japanese locals into power), to current statistics on the in-migration of haole versus the out-migration of Hawaiians, to socioeconomic indicators, the pattern is one of variable but persistent haole political and economic power.

As mentioned in the Methods section, local discursive dynamics across the media sphere are even more articulated and complex than addressed here. I have not delved much in the blogosphere for instance; as the focus here is the discursive context for the experience of the participants in this study, I followed a snowball sampling strategy starting from topics and links in participants' social networks.

Some participants in this research have experienced framing and bashing in news comments spaces, and almost all participants have experienced some form of harassment on social media. Such tones differ deeply from the ones I observed among the comments in their social media networks, even in the presence of political divergences. I describe participants' posting strategies more in depth in the Sociotechnical scale section. In the next section I talk more about online harassment and gendered harassment, as experienced by the women in this study.

Gendered Harassment

A recent U.S. national survey (Lenhart et al., 2016) reports that 47% of internet users have personally experienced online harassment or abuse. Among participants in this study, instead, the percentage is much higher: 13 out of 16, that is 81%, have experienced attacks related to their online activities. Table 3 summarizes participants' online experiences of and responses to harassment. Although the experience of online harassment is more widespread among participants than in the U.S. national average, only two of them mentioned suspending or closing a social media account. In the same U.S. national survey 27% of respondents said they self-censor for fear of harassment, whereas respondents in this study talked more about carefully crafting their posts, rather than self-censoring. Moreover, the motivation for carefully crafting their posts is not only to avoid harassment, but it is also the expression of a sense of responsibility toward the type of behavior one might be modeling online, and the type of discourses one might be facilitating with one's wording.

The chart below shows the types of harassment reported by the women in this study. The same participants may have experienced more than one type of harassment; therefore, the sum of the percentages below is higher than the percentage of participants who experienced harassment. In all cases of offline bashing, involving 3 different participants, they experienced monitoring (their posts were followed for harmful purposes) and then experienced their online posts used to, respectively: intimate her employer to fire her, discredit a group of collaborators in court, and bash her online and start an investigation against her offline.

Chart 1 shows the distribution of different types of online-based harassment experienced by participants

posts to ostracize participants

Overall participants felt targeted online for their political views more than their race, being native, or their gender. However, race and gender seem to play a role in being targeted and in the shape of the harassment.

All harassment instances discussed with participants involved Facebook. However, this might be a reflection of the fact that all participants use Facebook more than any other social media platform.

Interviewee 1, who is not involved directly in sovereignty political discourse and actions, was the one who had felt in first person and witnessed the least harassment or discrimination.

Interviewee 8 talks about how a group of young men who have been trolling her and other women involved in a land struggle (political motive) with insulting and provocative comments and post also stalked her with private messages using gendered slurs:

> I feel like social media have made it way too easy for men to harass and stalk women. This group of men are group-thinking online, they call an old lady the C-word and they think they are powerful.

In this quote Interviewee 8 also talks about the harassment affordances of social media, which I discuss in the Sociotechnical scale. In her experiences, and that of other

participants, the harassers are more often white men, but she mentions that she fears the most when they are American Hawaiians. Other participants mentioned with intense emotion that they experience being harshly talked to by their "own people". That is particularly hurtful as dividing Hawaiians is undermining and counter to the purpose of their communication and community work. As we have seen above, participants have encountered hired trolls that work in ways that feed the divisiveness. I will talk more about hired trolls in the Mechanisms of Occupation and De-Occupation section.

Participants who witnessed more specifically gender discriminations say that they are subtler than what they see in haole contexts. Gendered attacks are not very common within the networks of participants, yet in groups frequented by some participants, when criticizing words or actions of outgroup women, sexual slurs are used sometimes. Definitely more visible gendered attacks were present in the comments of more mainstream online news articles. In these contexts, particularly during online "flame wars", harassment is often gendered. For instance, expressions like "attention whore", or "gullible cheerleaders" were used respectively to refer to an elderly Hawaiian who had been aggressively held and then thrust outside of a court by a police officer, and two younger yet very respected leaders photographed wearing leis for a ceremony when occupation in Wailua was under threat of eviction.

As mentioned above, overt gendered discrimination is very rare within the networks of participants; however, Interviewee 8 had a direct experience of name calling in response to a thought provoking question she posted in a Facebook group for a cause she is in solidarity with. After she addressed the harasser in a private message hoping to find a resolution, this person responded again with gendered sexual slurs. She describes him as a queer misogynist, or to use her words, "māhū man who hates women", who, she found out later, has a history of verbally attacking women. However, she notes that no one really spoke out about it, only one man generically suggested to "talk nice", whereas the harasser continues to frequent online and offline groups without being challenged directly about it. When, on a prior occasion, before knowing him, Interviewee 8 caught a ride with him to a political action, she experienced being received coldly by others at the event. Later a woman leader told her privately that he had verbally harassed her in a

previous occasion and gave Interviewee 8 the responsibility to keep him in check. His behavior has not been addressed collectively.

It is not common that abusers are called out publicly. Some participants told about the complex feelings they felt when the online #metoo campaign (started 10 years after a known offline Me Too campaign; Vagianos, 2017) raised awareness about sexual assaults also within their community. Interviewee 7 was particularly struck by the accounts of older women in the movement and talks about the modularity of private and public ways sexual assault within the movement is talked about:

I saw a lot of supportive communication. Particularly in the posts of older women, it was so impactful and upsetting to me. And so many men did not realize. Seeing the wave of "ho, I never realized" I thought "ho, how lucky are you, you never have to realize".
I was not brave to share specific instances […] I shared more in commenting in others' posts […] with someone in the movement we solved it personally, and he being praised for sharing in #metoo was very uncomfortable. I thought of writing to him.

Participants' stories testify to a shared experience where gender issues in their community are not ignored but are dealt with mainly personally rather than collectively. As a result, it is mostly women who are aware and lead reparations of sexualized harassment. Interviewee 10 mentioned a case of sexual harassment perpetrated by a trustee of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), that has been dealt with by paying the woman who experienced the assault with OHA money. In that case too, it is a woman, a historical leader in the movement, Mililani Trask, who pointed out the wrong in having an institution cover for its trustee's perpetrations.

Social media conversations around the #metoo hashtag contributed to bringing the conversation about sexual harassment to a hybrid ground between private and public. A small hybrid public-private space might be an ideal space for empathic healing and bridging to collective awareness growing; the fact that Interviewee 7 felt more comfortable sharing her experiences of sexual harassment within the comments of #metoo posts in the network of trusted contacts may testify to that.

In the next subsection I will talk about possible sources of resilience and strength for politically outspoken Hawaiian women despite instances of harassment and a broader

discursive context that facilitates targeting them. In the Sociotechnical scale section, I talk about how participants have adjusted their online behavior after experiencing attacks; however, as Table 3 below shows, they remain generally outspoken. One participant closed her personal Facebook account due to multiple online harassment but kept being outspoken via other media channels.

Participant	Age	OL Harassment	Motive	Response
Interviewee 1. *Hawaiian Educator*	20-35	--	--	--
Interviewee 2. *Leader of houseless encampment.*	Kupuna	False accusations	Socio-economic	Carefully crafting posts
Interviewee 3. *Co-leader of houseless encampment.*	Kupuna	--	--	--
Interviewee 4. *Māhū wahine scholar.*	20-35	Death threat Flame wars	Political (gendered?)	Carefully crafting posts (not in response to the death threat)
Interviewee 5. *Hawaiian Rights defender and professor.*	Mid age	Monitoring and online public bashing	Socio-Political	Suspended account Carefully crafting posts
Interviewee 6. *Hawaiian politics Professor.*	Mid age	Incitement to violence against her on a platform she does not use	Racial politics Possibly gender politics	--
Interviewee 7. *Land protector and social worker.*	20-35	Monitoring posts and use them in court	Political	Carefully crafting posts
Interviewee 8 *Driver and*	Kupuna	Online public bashing	Political, gendered	Closed account

communicator		Stalking

Name calling in private messages | | |
| Interviewee 9
Driver, Hawaii-based education learner and mother | Mid age | -- | -- | Delete comments and block authors (when witnessing aggressions on her wall) |
| Interviewee 10
Instructor, installations and performance director. | Kupuna | Aggressive offensive comments | -- | Delete comments and block authors |
| Interviewee 11
Peacemaker, healer, and musician | Mid age | Aggressive offensive comments

Monitoring and online public bashing | Political | Carefully crafting posts |
| FG Participant 1
Full time activist | Mid age | Aggressive offensive comments | Political | Carefully crafting posts |
| FG Participant 2
Video maker | 20-35 | Not directly | Political | -- |
| FG Participant 3
Singer-songwriter | Kupuna | Aggressive offensive comments | Political | -- |
| FG Participant 4
Business owner | Mid age | Aggressive offensive comments | Political | -- |
| FG Participant 5
Worker, mother, surfer, and poet | 20-35 | Privacy violation | Political | Less posts

Carefully crafting posts |

Table 3 shows types of harassment experienced by participants and their responses to the harassment. Age groups are Young adult (20-35 year-old), Middle age (36-55 year-old), Kupuna (56-100 year-old).

Women's Power Uninterrupted

There are online discursive practices in the participants' networks that normalize women's leadership in politics and political deliberation. In particular, women are often

Facebook groups admins or manage pages and accounts within the movement. Moreover, current and past women leaders are often referred to and celebrated. However, from the interviews it emerges that discursive practices valorizing women are experienced more as an expression, rather than a source, of women's power.

Some participants refer to the source of the strength for Hawaiian women as mana wāhine, or Haumea, goddess of birth, politics, and (when politics don't work) war. Haumea is "reborn in each succeeding generation of her female descendants; she lives in every Hawaiian woman" (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999: 7).

Here, I analyze further online discursive practices normalizing women leadership, and participants' experience of women's power. Despite increasing Hawaiian, and particularly Hawaiian women's scholarship, most circulating Hawaiian history is still written from a Euro-American perspective (Silva, 2004: 2) where the agency of Hawaiians, and even more so Hawaiian women, is missing. Social media facilitates a casual sharing of knowledge and history of powerful Hawaiian women that counter the still dominant narrative. Interview 7, notes:

You don't go up to people and say "did you know?..." With posts people are comfortable sharing about inspiring women and their history.

Interviewee 11 articulates how the knowledge about Hawaiian women in history has been divulgated through social media:

Definitely people have learned about women in Hawaiian history that were not talked about. Many women in the civil right movement. People used to talk about Martin Luther King. In social media you see highlighted the work of many local women whose work would not be known. […] even Queen Liliʻuokalani, there are details about her experience that were not known and are talked about on social media.

Among the most popular posts about women leaders that I have observed are those created by Kanaeokana. Kanaeokana is a network of Hawaiian language, Hawaiian culture, and ʻāina-based schools and educators that operates also through social media to (among their strategic goals) "assert educational sovereignty in the process of

82

strengthening our lāhui". Participants focused both on cultural and political sovereignty pointed this group out to me.

In the example below, Princess Ruta is not only celebrated for her historical stances, but is also presented as a model and example to follow, as the tag line suggests, that is, translated: "What Would Ruth Do?". The acronym #WWRD appropriates a popular acronym based on U.S. politics (What Would Regan Do?, based on the prior popular rhetorical question "What Would Jesus Do?"), currently remediated in often frivolous pop-culture-based memes. This artful, ironic appropriation of a U.S. trope to uphold Hawaiian cultural and linguistic resurgence resonates with the accompanying text, presenting Princess Ruth (Ruta) Keʻelikōlani as an example of standing firm, rooted in deep cultural and ethical values, against groundless missionary prejudices. I quote the ending of the text that accompanies the graphic (also designed by a woman, Auliʻi Dudoit) to illustrate the use of social media with the explicit goal to bring back Hawaiian knowledge and inspire cultural resurgence with examples of powerful women from Hawaiian history:

> […] Though her contributions and place in history have been obscured for so long, many of us look to her as an example of a powerful aliʻi wahine, who went against the tide to stand for what she thought was important. She gloried in being dark and big and Hawaiian, and she never agreed with the missionaries that we should be ashamed of ourselves, so that is why we ask ourselves today, "He aha ka hana a Luka?" ['What would Ruta do?']

In this example, Keʻelikōlani's power lays in standing firm in what she thinks is important. Standing firm on one's values as a source of strength is a common theme emerging from interviews as well, as Interviewee 4 says about facing online harassment:

I think Hawaiian women are so good at ignoring stupid shit. I think they have a good knack at knowing what's important.

Throughout interviews, being aware and rooted in one's values is associated also with being aware and rooted in one's genealogy, which several Interviewees have also mentioned as a source of power, and awareness of one's power, when witnessing discriminating discourses:

Some people say mana wāhine, but if you just say Haumea [...]
I may hear it [discrimination] but I do not listen to it. I know who I am" (Interviewee 1)

Interviewee 1 is talking about her awareness of her genealogical connection with Haumea as a safeguard not to let belittling discourses affect her sense of self. (1999) Lilikāla Kameʻeleihiwa's book *Nā Wāhine Kapu: Divine Hawaiian Women* retraces Hawaiian women's genealogy to Haumea; as her daughter Kaiwipuni (Punihei) Lipe articulates in the Foreword: "I am Haumea too, and she [Kameʻeleihiwa] teaches that all Haumea has done, I too can do" (Kaiwipuni, 1999: 7). In the Who I am part of the Sociotechnical section I discuss further how participants find expression on social media for an empowering, connected sense of self.

Some participants also mention that there might be social and historical factors of the occupation and erasure of Hawaiian culture that may negatively impact men more than women, such that at times there has been more women than men leading the cultural and political resurgence.

In the early 2000s women were in stronger positions at least in my community. If the kāne (men) are in the frontline taking hits they are more tramautized than the wāhine, I saw the kāne needed healing. (Interviewee 5)

Both participants who dated the predominance of women leaders mentioned the 90s and early 2000s and have since then seen awareness growing and healing through cultural reconnection among men.

Interviewee 6 and Interviewee 7 witnessed instances when men received more attention respectively from media and male leaders in the movement. Interviewee 6 stated that males' contributions tend to be remembered more than those of women "who sacrifice as much, if not more". She has started initiatives to create digital archives about people in the Hawaiian movement, and facilitates an equal representation of women and men.

Interviewee 7 told about an instance when two male leaders found means to bring two young men from a land struggle in Hawaiʻi Island to a meeting on Oʻahu. It was brought up that means should be found to also bring women to the meeting. Women fundraised

money to have a woman join the meeting and she felt that "it shouldn't happen that way". Male participation felt more institutionalized than women's.

Both Interviewee 6 and 7 see an imbalance in the valorization of men and women, particularly in environments where there is a stronger emphasis on "truth" and "facts", like the legislature, and areas in the movement focusing on law and independence in the framework of nation-state, rather than a ʻāina and relationships based one. These participants' observations on one hand, and online discursive practices valorizing women leadership on the other hand, can be interpreted in terms of masculinization and feminization of settings (Polletta & Chen, 2013) mentioned in the Theoretical Background. In the Discussion section I analyze the relation between feminization, masculinization and power in terms of the results of this study.

Traditional Hawaiian spirituality emphasizes balance between complementary powers: balance between feminine and masculine mana is essential to the well-being of individuals and society (Crabbe, 2018: 32-33). Within indigenous movements, there have been accounts of utilizing traditional views of balance and equality and recognized women's powers to deflect the conversation about current gendered inequalities within the movement (Barker, 2014). I believe this is a risk to consider when traditional cultures are upheld above current realities; however, I have not seen or heard about similar dynamics during this study.

In summary, at the discursive scale, social media enables the co-production of counterdiscourses with broader interdiscursivity, compared to mainstream media discourse, to represent and co-construct the lifeworld of participants. However, participants' social media networks and the broader online discursive spaces linked from participants' networks also enable forms of harassments that take up reductive media discourses that specifically target some of the women in this study. Participants have adjusted their online behavior after experiencing attacks, yet they persist in being outspoken. They operate in both feminized and masculinized settings, both within and outside their communities. Rather than the feminization of discursive settings, a strong sense of identity rooted in cultural and spiritual values emerges as source of resilience. Social media affordances to share models of powerful women might help reinforce this rootedness. Nonetheless, posts from participants' network have limited reach compared

to the reach of mainstream media, which eliminate or effectively keep participant discourses contained online and offline. However, as Interviewee 10 said, "a small audience is better than no audience". Moreover, a recently founded network, Kanaeokana, produces professional and graphically impactful posts that participate in cultural sovereignty discourse, are also shared among participants, and have a wide local reach.

Discursive Scale: Sociotechnical Protocol, and Lack Thereof

This section focuses more specifically on social media affordances, and their relation with participants' lifeworld. I identified reoccurring ways of appropriating social media that participants have crafted in relation to specific social and cultural contexts, and in response to both positive and negative experiences. I called this section "protocol" as these reoccurring ways seem to form an emergent social media use protocol. Participants also mentioned connections between their social media practices and cultural protocol.

The identification of these reoccurring uses does not imply that there is a commonly shared social media protocol in Hawai'i. On the contrary, participants also commented on a widespread lack of protocol and indicate that social media cultural affordances (Ostertag & Ortiz, 2017; Brock, 2012) facilitate practices that are not aligned with cultural protocol, such that following cultural protocol requires an intentional technological appropriation effort and involves learning new digital skills.

Most of the experiences presented here took place on Facebook. Sometimes Interviewees talk more in general about social media platforms, but as mentioned in the beginning of the Results section, they all used Facebook more than any other platform. Facebook's predominance in this study could be due in part to the snowball sampling started with Facebook users, but from what I could gather from both online participant observations and interviews, Facebook is the main social medium appropriated by the movement. Certain Facebook affordances seem to play a role in its choice. The ability to articulate something at length is one of them. Considering the wicked problems participants discuss, it is hard to remain brief. Yet, a Twitter user participant stressed that the brevity of tweets is what she likes about it, that it forces her to go straight to the point. She still writes at length on Facebook. Another feature that participants enjoy is the

control what one sees and one's contacts. Facebook "friendships" have always required to accepted and reciprocal, while on Twitter and Instagram one can univocally follow a profile. Some interviewees mentioned that being followed by strangers on Instagram or Twitter was disconcerting. The ability to surround oneself with chosen friends and family is particularly valued by participants. Ironically, Facebook's founder and owner, Mark Zuckerberg, is at the center of a land struggle on the island of Kaua'i, as he has been appropriating Kuleana land with very problematic means (Wong, 2017), whereas Facebook has been used to raise awareness about it and reach out to directly interested families.

Who I am: Responsible Online Self-Modeling

Knowing who one is emerged as a central theme in what empowers and guides participants' online interactions. I commonly started the interviews asking if the interviewees considered themselves activists, cultural practitioners, community organizers or there were other expressions they would recognize themselves as. Most answers have in common a sense of rootedness in knowing who one is, where one comes from in the sense of physical, intellectual, and spiritual genealogies, which guide one to one's own values and responsibilities. Some "shy away" from the word "activist", and even those who utilize it, reframe it as a verb, such as "being activated", "being active" in what is important, in who one is, in one's kuleana. Kuleana is a multidimensional concept usually translated as privilege, responsibility, honor and duty. The privilege and honor aspects of it are indivisible from the responsibility and the duty ones. This indivisibility infuses a sense of self accomplishment in attending to one's responsibilities that is not tied to outcome, which arguably, can also strengthen resilience in the face of negative outcomes. Many said they were just being human beings who care for their family, in a narrow and a broader sense of the word. The broader sense always includes the 'āina. 'Āina is also a relational concept, commonly translated as land, the word again is polysemantic. 'Āina is that which feeds, not only the body, but also the mind, and the spirit: "'Āina as kumupa'a, kūpuna, aumākua (Land as foundation, elder, ancestor)" (Meyer, 2003). Most participants who identify as Hawaiian nationals referred to themselves as "Aloha āina", translated here as love of country, which historically, as seen

in the Introduction, has been the way the Hawaiian resistance to the overthrow and the annexation to the U.S. has called itself. In sum, participants' identity is not built so much on their individual characteristics, as it is in their ways of relating to their connections.

Participants' accounts tell about the way they have learned over time to express this relational self on social media, and to appropriate the technology for a form of self-presentation that is very different from the "self-branding" that, participants have noted, is encouraged by social media design (in particular, by the deployment of affordances). Indeed, as discussed further in the Carefully Crafted Posts part, social media algorithms create a feedback loop between visibility and reactivity such that in order to be visible one has to attracts reactions, and of course, in order to have reactions one has to be visible. This basic capitalist model of accumulation of reactions may call for a self-promotional slant in the pursuit of reactivity and of visibility.

The form of self-presentation emerging from interviews implies a self-reflection in terms of what one is modeling for one self and others. Therefore, I refer to it as "self-modeling". Virtual self-modeling can be a way of constructing an online *persona* that facilitates self-growth (Desiato, 2009) and is explored also in some literature about health behavior change (Fox & Bailenson, 2009; Lieberman, 2012). Interviewee 7 talks about sharing personal stories that model kindness. Her goal is clearly not to point out how kind she is but to intentionally model kindness for herself and others, both with what she writes and how she writes it:

> When I write a post I already try to counteract what could be hurtful, to be intentional about sharing stories that model being kind.

Some participants explicitly distinguished the way they have learned to use social media from the way they feel is facilitated by design.

Re-embedding Disembedded Online Interactions

Participants value knowing oneself as well as knowing who one is talking with. Traditionally, one would introduce one self and ask to enter a space. Interactions are embedded in a socio-cultural context with embedded mechanisms of accountability, respectability, and conflict resolution when they arise. In this context the kūpuna (elders)

89

are highly respected and are asked for counsel prior to further actions or decision-makings. These are all aspects of protocol that become easily subverted on social media. There are few cultural affordances for them and as seen in the case of self-presentation, participants who wish to follow them have to make an intentional effort and learn to appropriate the technology accordingly.

As interviewee 11 conveys:

One comments without knowing who one is talking to.

Cultural protocol often does not happen. For example, one often comments without knowing who one is talking to. Arguments may not take into account the age or knowledge base of the other participants, and so the respect that is expected to be afforded to a kupuna or someone with deep kuleana may not be there.

This can be a serious problem in cultures in which cultural protocols are expected. People often do not check in with the kupuna who have expertise in something or have enough say in it that according to protocol, they should be consulted. Young people may just keep going on a subject without checking in because online they outpace the elders, who may not even be online. Sometimes this is fine, but other times not, especially if actual decision making is involved and it would be wrong to leave certain people out.

Online you sometimes see people mistreated. You see the kupuna or rural person who does not know exactly what they are doing because they are not familiar with the technology, and so may be misunderstood and then attacked. Often, the person attacking may not even realize that they are attacking an elder with a lot of hands on experience in the subject, or a person who is part of the community in question.

A kupuna in this study (Focus Group Participant 3) tells how a young men talked to her disrespectfully in a comment. At a subsequent face to face meeting she knew he was going to be there. She looked for him and told him to talk to her in the same way to her face. "Aunty! I didn't know it was you" he responded. "Did you need to know?" she asked rhetorically during the focus group, assuming one would maintain moral integrity with strangers as well. However, connecting with strangers does often require an extra cognitive step that can easily be skipped in the immediacy of social media reaction. Knowing personally who one is talking with helps and yet, several participants note that

it is not easy to refrain from immediate reaction; many noted that the platform is designed for you to react, but as participants often belong to a relatively small community or circles they know they will meet the person "at grandma's home, at the store, at the hearing" (Interviewee 9) and that helps them refrain from reacting when it would not be gracious and may damage the relationship.

Participants also noted that the self-branding and the public nature of posts and comments does not facilitate another form or interaction important for the well-being of a community: apologizing for one's wrongs. As Interviewee 11 puts it:

> There is a lot of defensiveness. Because it's public, it's harder for people to apologize, for fear that their apology could be used against them. There is a lot of collecting of "evidence" to back up one's position. It is not a face to face conversation, so it lacks the human connection of in-person interaction. Sometimes people lose their humanity entirely. The computer or phone screen can be a lot like the windshield of a car; behind it, people who are otherwise nice can say awful things to others on the "highway". Only, on social media the other "drivers" can actually hear what is being said.

Interviewee 6 noted that in both occasions she could recall divisive and disrespectful interactions for political divergences, a woman and a māhū woman came back to their steps and worked for a resolution with someone they had a disrespectful exchange with. She did not see the same effort by the man on the other side.

Refraining from reacting is a theme that reoccurred in several occasion, both in cases of trolling, where most of the time participants agree that is best not to respond unless it is with genuine aloha, and in interaction with others in the community when the reaction could be hurtful and potentially damaging the relationship.

On the other hand, there are in person situations as well that require refraining from speaking one mind unreflectively, and social media allow to later address sensible topics in a safer and more discrete way. That is particularly the case for political divergences. For instance, interviewee 10 told about an instance when she was walking with a group from a heiau (temple) to another in a valley of Oʻahu, while walking and conversing in between ceremonies, she learned from a group member that his position on Hawaiian governance changed to one she deeply disagreed with it. But that was not the time to start

91

a discussion. More in general, she affirms, "this is not a time to make enemies". She went discretely "fishing for comments" on Facebook the next day to converse about it with other people who knew him. The seamless web of in person and online interactions allows for a higher modularity of appropriate times and spaces to bring up controversial topics in ways that do not shred the fabric of the community. This affordance is not particularly apparent or part of the promotional discourse of social media platforms but is there. It does not require learning new skills per se, but in order to utilize it fruitfully, participants have learnt ways to intentionally craft their posts and comments to foster contractive conversations.

Maintaining relationships is held very important to participants, even with people with divergent positions. The strongest threat social media pose is not one I had expected: breaking relationships.

> The biggest risk I see is important relationships that get broken because of social media arguments. People lose family, friendships, strong allies. I think that is the biggest risk, more than death threats. (Interviewee 11)

Polarization is only one possible aspect of the dismembering potential of the technology. The disconnect can happen within the same side of a political divide or across different sides; among allies, friends, or family; and all combinations of the dimensions typically considered political and personal. It is an intersectional, dismembering potential. Misunderstandings abound, possibly intensified by the subversion of cultural protocols by media affordances, and the feedback loops of exaggerated adjusting to interlocutors' expectations that characterizes low-cue environments that afford reviewability and revisability. Such feedback loops, according to hyperpersonal theory (Walther, 1996) can make distant computer-mediated interactions particularly desirable, but it is possible that they can feed off expectations of undesirability as well. As interviewee 11 says:

> There are divisive instances in every single struggle. Someone posts something, someone disagree, and instead of being a small thing the responses go on very broadly.

In a prior personal conversation, Interviewee 11 called the way reviewability feeds into divisive loops, the "tethercat effect":

> Cartoonist Gary Larsen had described a cartoon titled "Tethercat" he had made of a cat on a rope on a pole being played with by a group of dogs like tetherball. The cartoon was offensive to cat lovers, and he felt that it gained momentum over time because every time the cat lovers looked at it, there were those dogs, still playing tethercat. Similarly, on social media a hurtful post stays there and because it does not dissipate as spoken conversation would, rumination easily sets in.

Reviewability can make undesirable traits amplified as much as desirable ones, and ruin relationships. In the context of participants' lifeworld, where the people co-creating it are still diminishing (Wilson, 2018), when relationships break, the very life of that lifeworld is at stake. Dismembering personal relationships means also dismembering "the basis for the political work that is done" (Interviewee 11).

The importance of relationship building emerged in several interviews. Interviewee 6 notes that relationship building and personal connection facilitate the creative process in decision-making. Creative problem solving is particularly important in this context: as seen in the Orders of Discourse section, Hawaiians are often presented with particularly wicked problems. Interviewee 6 also compared current ways of relating in decision-making with her experience in the movement before social media. In her experience, there are fewer meetings; part of the meetings' work is done online. However, that tends to facilitate the formation of decisional cliques, which increase misunderstanding when a larger group is involved. She noted this dynamic on the occasion of the organization of the 125th commemoration of the overthrow, where numerous different groups were involved. In person meetings, she feels, would have offered more opportunities to smooth out misunderstandings and address tensions. Indeed, she sees online coordination as more task oriented. There are no personal introductions and relationship building: a phase that she also notes that currently tend to be skipped more often during in person meetings as well, to jump directly to high stake decision-making:

A lot of that first couple of hours people there [Thursday meetings at Kekuni Blaisdell's] was just meeting, people talking about what they were all doing and then you see connecting happening... there were just ways to build relationships, it wasn't just always decision making. Now I see sometimes when meetings do happen the long term structure doesn't stay in place is just a meeting for planning this thing, so there is higher stakes basically, you haven't had this whole series of conversations you just jump to that planning. (Interviewee 6)

The semi-personal character of social media interaction may play a role here, as people may have already "met" online, they do not introduce themselves, introductions and relationship building is skipped and reified in the virtual social network. Also, the ad hoc collaboration between groups usually working independently can understandably be rocky without some genuine relation building. The distribution of the movement across many different groups is sometimes considered an intrinsically divisive attribute. However, it also responds to specific local, social, and spiritual needs. And yet, the mechanisms of occupation described below may be at play here too as regular connections previously embedded in the close people-and-land relation are now scattered across the occupied land. Social media semi-personal relations across distributed groups are a poor surrogate for regular gatherings of a whole people mountain to ocean. Still, in the case of the 125th commemoration of the overthrow, and other quite regular unity-focused marches and events, despite some misunderstandings and some drop outs, the various groups organizing in large part online did accomplish a large gathering of Hawaiian people and supporters.

Carefully crafted posts

I previously mentioned that participants noticed that social media affordances support self-branding. Here I delve more into the underlying dynamics, how participants resist them, and appropriate the technology otherwise.

Despite the fact that commercial social media algorithms are not fully disclosed to the public, participants develop mental models of their working. Interviews have allowed me to understand several aspects of which affordances are supported by algorithms and how, and what that entails in terms of participants' goals in using social media. Overall, participants had some understanding that posts with lots of likes/hearts/reactions,

comments and shares/retweets, in a short time, are given more visibility. In other words, in order to boost one's visibility one has to post frequently, and provoke fast reactivity. The path of least resistance to achieve that is riding existing trends, or challenging them provocatively and unreflectively, rather than bridging mindfully and gracefully the gap between them. Speaking the language of existing trends also boosts visibility. Some participants articulate how algorithms facilitate unreflective and "sassy" posting and conversations.

> Social media encourage the sassy comment, and sassy comments do not always bring out the best conversations. Shallowness of interaction may result, or misunderstandings of intention. (Interviewee 11)

Interviewee 7 talks about how she sees "so much misunderstanding and people flaring up and not extending understanding" that she sometimes feels like she does not want "to be a part of that". However, she persists instead and when she composes a post she "already try to counter what could be hurtful". In order to avoid feeding unreflective and possibly hurtful reactions, participants craft their posts carefully.

> I can get more passionate responses online, but I take time to craft my online posts and phrase in ways to walk the middle line and still get across my perspective. (Interviewee 1)

The careful attention devoted to avoiding writing harmful posts was very tangible and literal in the interview with Interviewee 2, leader of a large houseless people encampment, who is very aware of the vulnerabilities of the people she guides and supports:

> Even before I post something I ask myself: will this hurt our village? I look into it like this: I gotta watch what I post because I don't want them to take it out into context and then come here and try something else [she had just mentioned government officials shutting the water at the nearby park, prohibiting night parking in the parking space outside the encampment, and rumors of fencing the whole area off]. the State [...] They don't wanna make a sweep

because they know that a lot of people would come and defend us, but it is actually the little things they are doing that is making big ripples to us.

Interviewee 11 notes how remaining mindful and gracious is very important even in the face of trolling, in order to prevent divisive flame wars, yet one needs to be discerning and not let all harassment pass unchallenged:

There are places where it is very important to remain gracious and not to respond at the same level, and others where is totally ok to tell them straight up to shut the fuck up. The aim of trolls is to provoke a negative reaction, so that they can use that against you, show that you lost your temper. But one cannot remain gracious all the time otherwise one limits one's possibility to respond.

When I asked her in what situations it would be important to remain gracious, she responded:

Some situations when it would be important not to engage at their level is when you are trying to set an example, first of all, and when it can be used against you. (Interviewee 11)

This quote brings back the modeling goal discussed previously, and how that implies at times resisting the reactivity encouraged by design (and human emotions the design intersects with).

Resisting immediate reactivity and frequent unreflective posting is also part of pursuing the goal of mindfulness in order to avoid hurting, and fostering conversations that connects and supports relationship building, rather than divisiveness, across the personal-and-political network of the lāhui.

Part of carefully crafting posts is listening and understanding different perspectives. Traditional Hawaiian learning involves a lot of observing and listening without talking. In Internet culture that translates into reading and observing without participating or responding, and has a general negative connotation, as the word for it indicates: "lurking". However, the affordance for a learner to listen deeply and without talking is there, and the opportunities for peripheral participation in open wall teachings also

abound. Accessing this affordance implies breaking away from the reactivity-visibility loop that participants feel is encouraged by design. Interviewee 7 talks about the "passive aspect" of social media, that allows her to track how different people and different discourses frame the same topic:

> When several people share the same thing, I make it a point to look at the shares to see how they are framed.

She utilizes these explorations to wisely word her posts and, as Interviewee 1 said, walk the middle line, but still get her perspective across. Several participants discussed the importance of being intentional with one's words and what one "puts out there". The Hawaiian word for "word", hua, also means seed, and fruit.

Lāhui Connection beyond Political Differences

One theme I have seen that counters the dismembering potential of social media, is the sharing of stories of genuine connection across deep divides. Such stories are less rare than one might think, and they are widely shared and responded to very positively. They attest to a strong sense of unity as a people, and feelings of solidarity for the collective, intergenerational trauma all Hawaiians share, although the modes of awareness, mourning, and elaboration of it varies greatly across the lāhui. This might come as a surprise for someone accustomed to mainstream media discourse that tend to construct the Hawaiian sovereignty discourse as divisive and caustic (see the Framing and Othering section).

By connections I do not mean agreement; they mean that the social and personal connection is not interrupted because of the disagreement, and it is still possible to collaborate, also politically, on other issues on which there is consensus instead. Several times I have seen calls among participants' networks to "focus on what we can agree on". Without personal connections, the collaboration across political divides is harder, and the ongoing Hawaiian nation building work would be stunted.

Stories of connection across divides; however, would not come up spontaneously in the interviews. I usually had to ask explicitly about them, possibly because such connections usually happen in real life and were not immediately mediated by social

97

media. Sharing on social media stories of connections across divides is a way of remediating real life disconnections that parallels the instances of remediating presence introduced in the Intimate scale.

Below is the account by a participant of her conversation with a Hawaiian who supports the construction of the Thirty Meter Telescope on Mauna Kea, while she has dedicated many years of her life to raise awareness on multiple legal, cultural, and land management issues since the construction of additional complexes after the permit for just one observatory was granted in 1968.

Last night I made it to the EIS-Public Notice mtg on a new general lease for UH on Mauna Kea at about 6:45. No one else was there besides UH employees (including [UH employee], [UH employee], [UH employee], [UH employee]) and the EIS preparer [EIS preparer Name] […] and his son [Son's Name]. They were all friendly to me, offering me information.

I ended up having a long conversation with [UH employee], who really challenges me. He is a kanaka who fervently supports TMT. Yet, in conversation, many times he acknowledged the hewa, he talked about protesting the telescope erected on Pu`u Poli`ahu where his tutu prayed. And when I asked him about the other pu`u that had been leveled and the kanaka that loved and prayed at those pu`u, he had no answers. He said that his tutu told him that that first telescope was okay because "One day, all eyes will be on Mauna Kea." I mahalo him for sharing and say, "Perhaps we needed to be wrestling with these issues on Mauna Kea as a microcosm for the rest of Hawai`i and the world, but I don't think that means it's ok for there to be unchecked destruction there." He told me a story of spending a night at the TMT site with [kupuna opposing the TMT] and how they called a night rainbow from Haleakalā.. And when I asked if it came, he said "no, because of all the hewa [wrong]". We talked about how the viewplanes from Pu`u Wekiu have been harmed. I told the story of watching the large shadow cast by the mauna during the sunrise slowly recede into the mauna and waiting for that first light to hit the edge of a pu`u--and how it never did because that edge was in the shadow of a telescope at sunrise. He told me that I was right, all the pu`u that were leveled to put the Keck's and Subaru and other telescopes--that they could never be put back, but that no need level pu`u for the TMT because it's not on a pu`u; but when I said they'd need to dig own 2 stories he said, "yes, that's true". So I asked, "How can you support this?" and he said, "Because they're already there." and I said, pointing to the blank spot, "TMT's not there." To

which he replied, "For all you know, your kids might like TMT, they might use technology that comes from that telescope. It might be important to them--and to all of man kind." Me: "Maybe the story of how it was not built will be important for them. And all mankind." Written comments for the EISPN due on March 27th.
(Interviewee 7)

Interviewee 7 implicitly conveys contradictions in the UH employee's discourse but also conveys that they had a respectful albeit challenging conversation. They share a connection with a known kupuna, and they share practices and values. Knowing that she has dedicated years of her life to protect the mountain from what her interlocutor is working for, I find that very remarkable. The connection between them is articulated through their spiritual connection with the land even though the relation with the land is at the core of what they are disagreeing on. This example also illustrates the higher interdiscursivity afforded on social media compared to mainstream media. Indeed, one of the most repeated mainstream framing of the events surrounding Mauna Kea and the TMT project has been that of "science vs. spirituality", whereas in this post we see an example of a Mauna Kea protector and TMT supporter both relating to spiritual discourses.

Another connection that struck me happened when someone in a Facebook group frequented by protectors shared a video narration by a Hawaiian woman who, a year after the fact, shared with great clarity and deep emotion, how a local meme had negatively affected her family. Her husband was among the police sent in riot gear against protectors in ceremony against constructions on Haleakala. The meme juxtaposed the picture of the protectors wearing leis and the picture of the police in riot gear. The tag line: We show up like this – You show up like this. The woman's husband was recognizable in the picture. She shared that she honored the protectors and her husband was concerned to be sent in riot gear that day. But the meme negatively affected their and their children's social lives for a long time.

A woman in the group, a leader in the movement and a livestreamer, responded in the comments with a video. She acknowledged and thanked the other woman for sharing her story, and talked about her experience witnessing police brutality against her family as a child.

These are crucial conversations in the community. And this particular one has been primarily mediated by social media. The few degrees of separation in the online social network might have played a role in facilitating the connection, as well as the ability to craft one's message safely at home, tell one's story uninterrupted, and send it without further mediation. But more importantly, the conversation would have not been possible without the trust that others would be able to listen respectfully, and without a sense of belonging to a loving and caring people, despite the internal diaspora across conflicting institutions.

Mourning, Uplifting, and Supporting Posts

Participants' networks often host stories about the injustices and destruction that the occupation brought to the past and present lives of Hawaiians. Participants are aware of the importance of knowing and mourning, as well as of not dwelling there too long before transforming the destruction into resilience.

Interviewee 9 shared that when she read the posts of a Hawaiian scholar about the ways her ancestors where talked about and disrespected, at a certain point she had to stop. It was good to know, but it was too hurtful.

As Interviewee 4 says, particularly online interactions,

"can feed off of your insecurities, can mislead you in ways that you don't have control. […] I do try to make interventions whenever people post things that are fearful, apocalyptic posts kind of things. I am reminded that as indigenous people, we survived apocalypse. We eat apocalypse for breakfast every day."

Interviewee 5 tells that she intentionally posts non-controversial and uplifting posts to both maintain the relations with less politicized contacts and uplift the spirits of those struggling and mourning. Social media are definitely used for countless posts sending solidarity, prayers, mutual support, and crowdfunding campaigns to fund struggles and resilience.

Silencing Mechanisms

Cultural appropriation

100

One of the risks some participants associate with social media is cultural appropriation. Recordings of cultural practices might be utilized with the wrong intentions, decontextualized from the experiences and the teachings of the kumu (teacher) and the natural environment that confer them the depth of cultural and spiritual meaning.

As participant 7 noted:

There is not a fixed rule, there are situation where it is appropriate to record, and others where it is not. It is good to record for archival purposes but do we need a million recordings of this moment? I guess the protocol would be to ask. Sometimes the kūpuna don't say anything during an event or ceremony but after they come and ask to erase it.

I feel like today people are very aware of being recorded all the time, we become a caricature of ourselves.

As discussed in the Intimate scale section, the presence of the mobile devices can be particularly distracting, and detracting from a fully embodied, mindful, and spiritual connection with the present. When the recordings from these devices spread online, cultural appropriation can bring the disconnection further. I write about cultural appropriation among silencing mechanisms because it is currently the most commonly widespread, as well as misunderstood, practice of "vacating the indigenous from the indigenous" (Barker, 2017).

As a Hawaiian student in Yale wrote in the Facebook page of a dance group in her college:

You get to take off your "Hawaiian" costumes at the end of the day. I don't, and still have to face the political consequences of what you do.

When misappropriations of native practices spreads, sexualized, exoticized, or otherwise distorted, the distortion is then projected on native people, who find themselves at higher risks of related types of assaults, and authentic cultural resurgence undermined, as the political implications of access and care of the natural environment that give meaning to the practices, remain unrecognized.

101

Harassment & Hired trolls

When I mentioned negative framing and harassment, I said that the women in this study found strength in their cultural and spiritual roots and remained outspoken, if not on Facebook, in other ways. However, such silencing mechanisms are still in place and might affect others in the community or women in this study at vulnerable times. Interviewees did mention ways in which they operate: they felt like not talking for fear of being framed, attracting backlash, self-doubting.

> Once I did not post something for fear that it would prevent me from getting a job, not that I thought it was wrong.

Another participant actually had a stranger call her workplace intimating her employer to fire her because of a poetry video related to the protection of Mauna Kea she created and posted. Fortunately for her and her children, her employer did not listen to the intimation, and there has not been consequences.

Another participant suspects people in her network used her contact to access posts of a friend and fellow protector, to then use them in a court case against them.

Several participants, on all four islands, have experienced being actively trolled, in comments, private messages, or with posts of theirs screenshotted and publicly shared with offensive or ridiculing framing. There is extremely little literature about hired trolls, and it is mainly about Russian hired trolls to affect public opinion in Russian campaigns (Gerber et al., 2016) or U.S. ones (e.g. Stewart et al., 2018 about hired Russian trolls polarizing the conversation around #BlackLivesMatter). The trolls that participants think were hired were very methodic and clearly related to specific struggles; in most of the experiences of systematic trolling that participants describe, they think hired trolls were involved, working for the industries that would benefit from their failure.

The Gulf of Algorithms

Anti-spam, anti-bots, and reporting mechanisms have an interesting, and likely mostly unintended, consequence: blocking activists, dissidents, and indignant citizens. Many

participants have experience the "Facebook jail" when posting the same content in different groups and profiles:

> It doesn't matter if it is a share or a post, if it is the same person who post the same post one can be blocked. That's basically what it is. We learned that so we know that we have to limit the posting and pass on to others to do it. I see it still happening to others though. (Interviewee 11)

It was happening, indeed, to many during a public outcry this January 2018, during the court case of Hawaiian teacher and activist Kaleikoa Kāʻeo. He had been arrested while protecting Haleakalā from telescopes construction and the judge granted a motion of the prosecution compelling to conduct all court proceedings in English. When the judge called him, Kaleikoa Kāʻeo stood up and responded in Hawaiian. The judge pretended no one was there, repeated the scene twice and then issued an arrest warrant because supposedly the defendant did not present himself. Hawaiian is an official language of the state of Hawaiʻi. American Hawaiians and Hawaiian nationals alike were outraged and shared information and call to actions extensively on social media. And that is how many had their first experience of being blocked from using Facebook.

Currently developing anti-fake-news algorithms are particularly concerning. There is a strong political push on mass media to inflate the threat of fake news on social media (Rajan, 2017). As the U.S. government cannot overtly shut down social media because it would affect and possibly radicalize too many lenient citizens, it has to find subtler ways to censor dissidents, and anti-fake-news algorithms seem perfect candidates. It would not be the first time U.S. officials use social media to surveil and target citizens (Jonah, Bromwich, Daniel, Mike, 2016).

> There's a need to navigate intelligently because fb [Facebook] doesn't forget and users treat posts as any other kind of official document. Spooky, sometimes. NSA isn't the only group collecting data on users. (Interviewee 10)

Several participants also noticed unexpected delays in their communication via social media, tags notified days after the fact or never, several days with the same posts on top

of their wall, lack of notifications when a group posts an event, and so on. It could be very well changes in the algorithms but they seem targeted, and they have to find ways around them to make sure the word gets to whom it has to get to.

> I definitely feel there is some form of censorship, I cannot know for sure. There are posts that get zero response when one before just got lots of reaction. It could just be a coincidence. I don't know if it is an algorithm glitch, but it definitely feels strange. I feel that mainly on Facebook because it is the one that I use the most.

Whether there is censorship involved or not, the opacity of social media algorithms leaves participants wondering. There is a large "gulf of evaluation": "The gulf is small when the system provides information about its state in a form that is easy to get, easy to interpret, and matches the way the person thinks of the system" (Norman 1988: p. 51). In the cases experienced by focus group participants, instead, the gulf of evaluation is large, they have to guess what is going on and figure out new ways to reach their intended goal, or to understand whether the goal has been reached.

Macro Mechanisms of Occupation and De-Occupation Scale

Some of the uses of social media that emerged from both interviews and online observations pertain directly to broader structures of nation building and de-colonization or de-occupation. In this section I describe in particular the use of social media (a) to kāhea (call, summon) for cultural revitalization, community resilience, and nation building events, (b) for epistemological reappropriation, that is, actual sharing of knowledge and Hawaiian ways of knowing and (c) for spatial reappropriation and native land reclamation. During the iterative process of analyzing, reflecting and reading, I found that I could identify these social media uses within pathways to decolonization discussed in indigenous studies (Alfred, 2009; Corntassel, 2012; Quijano, 2000). Therefore, I introduce them here within this larger decolonization framework.

Here I utilize the language of occupation and de-occupation rather than colonization and de-colonization to acknowledge the legal status of a sovereign country under occupation. However, I apply concepts from the literature on colonial power and decolonization, as at least in this context, I do not believe the two frameworks collide.

Indeed, I do not discuss what specific legal and political solutions de-occupation and internal self-determination entail. Concepts from the colonization and decolonization literature help understand the mechanisms that keep self-determination from happening, and paths to liberation and full expression of ways of living and knowing of a people. A liberated people will choose or create a form of governance that supports their ways.

According to Anibal Quijano (2000) there are four main mutually reinforcing mechanisms through which colonial power maintains and articulates itself, I list them below, with an example for each, from the history of the occupation of Hawai'i:
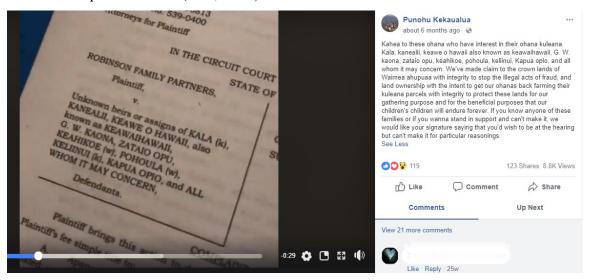
- Reclassification of population – e.g. limiting Hawaiians' rights based on census like in the case of the 1864 "Bayonet constitution" that Kalakaua signed at the gunpoint by a group of haoles; or limiting access to lands and homes by blood quantum as in Prince Kuhio's Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (1921), which proposed a lower blood quantum than the one passed in Congress
- Articulation of institutional structures – e.g. annexation to U.S. without a treaty of annexation (Silva, 2004)
- Spatial redistribution – e.g. quiet title cases that dispossess Hawaiians from their lands, or favoring private/state/university/military interests over Hawaiian people's interest in the management of land trusts. These trusts, set aside during the Māhele for Hawaiians to own or care for and utilize (Beamer, 2004), are now managed by the state of Hawai'i Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) in such ways that elders die on the waitlists for their lot (Lyte, 2015), or caretakers cannot thoroughly care for the land within the limited framework of access and gathering rights when the lands are leased to third parties (Malia Akutagawa, personal conversation)
- Epistemological redistribution – e.g. the U.S. ban (lifted in 1986) of Hawaiian language and ways of knowing from the public education system established by Kamehameha III

Decolonization and deoccupation can articulate themselves through the reappropriation of such mechanisms with the goal of restoring sovereignty instead of maintaining colonial power (Duarte, 2017: 131).

People in participants' networks often learn on social media about the ways these mechanisms work, what were the previous ways, and visions about how to reappropriate them. More concretely, social media are utilized to raise awareness on ways to reappropriate land and to reach out to families who have title to them. Another affordance of social media particularly relevant here, and one that emerged consistently in most interviews is the ability to kāhea (call, summon) for in person cultural events, community workdays, teach-ins, public hearings, demonstrations where in person connections within, with each other, and with the land happen. On the other hand, we have seen how the opacity of the algorithms leaves participants guessing who will actually receive the information. Focus group participants mentioned that they use tags when they want to make sure certain people get certain information; however, they experienced delays and missing notifications for tags as well. The gulf of evaluation may not be as salient when one is just trying to get the word out about a public event, a public call to action, a public hearing, or even a notice about the filing of a quiet title. But when more precise coordination and strategizing is necessary social media may fail participants. Hired trolls and infiltrators can also undermine any online strategizing. Interviewee 4 tells about how the informal organization she belongs to tends to organize on a private group. Most participants mention the use, or the need to use, more secure platforms for sensitive conversations. Awareness of the ecosystem of different platforms, how they can be appropriated in synergy with each other, as well as how they interact with the interlocked mechanisms of occupation and de-occupation, is crucial.

Quiet title cases offer a clear example of the interconnection between articulation of institutions, redistribution of knowledge, and spatial redistribution; as well as illustrate possible synergies between different digital platforms in enabling an articulation of these mechanisms to support de-occupation instead. Indeed, mechanisms of knowledge redistribution during the occupation are such that a large part of Hawaiians to date do not know that they have title to land lots since the Māhele. The articulation of institutions and spatial redistribution is such that they might be struggling in the streets against police sweeps instead. Quiet title is a legal device established for the purpose to clarify and settle land ownership claims. However, as Hawaiians often do not know they have interest in the land in the first place, or do not have access to the legal and financial

resources to defend them, they lose them. Yet, as Hawaiians become increasingly involved in the fields of law, library science, and communication and information technologies, they lead and participate in efforts to make the knowledge and resources needed to claim and defend land titles more accessible. Thanks to their efforts, Hawaiian knowledge digital databases are flourishing. Such platforms however are not as popularized as commercial social media and have no kāhea affordances. Therefore, when knowledge embedded in such databases becomes relevant, people utilize social media to summon anyone who might have interest in joining the struggle to reclaim Hawaiian lands. The image below shows a public Facebook video created to kāhea to families with interest in a quiet title case (Else, 2017).

The legal discourse in this example is embedded in a broader moral ("with integrity" is repeated twice), sustainability and spiritual discourse embodied in familial relationships and relationships with the land: the original poster states that the purpose of this action is "to protect these lands for our gathering purpose and for the beneficial purposes that our children's children will endure forever".

Social media enables connections and disconnections at each of the three scales analyzed as well as across the mechanisms of occupation and de-occupation. Like the mechanisms of occupation and de-occupation, the three scales are also interlocked: an intimate connection with one's body, mind, and spirit will foster discursive expressions fostering community connections as well, which will foster actions of de-occupation, which in turn will further intimate attunement to inner, outer, and transpatial spiritual
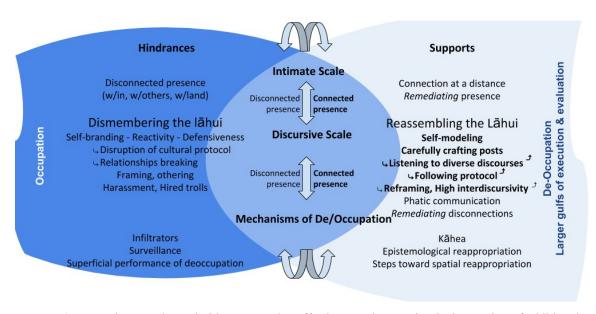
vision. Vice versa, the type of technologically enabled disconnected presence we have seen at the intimate scale align itself with the separation of the Hawaiian people from Papahānaumoku. Without a deep embodied presence, attending the community workdays and teach-ins one learns about online, is not going to have the resonant effect needed for actual de-occupation. On the contrary, superficial engagement might as well feed "logics of containment" (Kaʻōpua, 2013), superficial sprinklings of Hawaiian culture that reinforce, rather than undermine, the occupation. For instance, live tweeting and live streaming are form of remediation of the physical medium that are appreciated by participants as a way to connect at a distance, while they are detrimental when they mediate physical presence, and actually distance those who are there who may be distracted or "become caricature of ourselves" as Interviewee 7 said referring to in person behavior that is actually intended for social media audiences. Part of carefully crafting posts is the choice of which medium to use, what platforms to feature, and more in general whether to keep connections in person or online, or remediate the connection in terms of another medium. The table below summarizes findings in this sense.

Original connection	Mediation	Remediation
In person - Positive	Social media & mere presence of device is potentially DISCONNECTING	**Online remediation** of in person events to share at a distance can be CONNECTING
In person - Negative	--	**Extra online remediation** with additional personal or discursive mediator/buffer can be CONNECTING
At a distance - Positive	Social media can be CONNECTING, possibly more so than in person	**In person remediation** of distant connections with placed-based meetings or applications can be CONNECTING
At a distance - Negative	Social media can be DISCONNECTING, more so than in person	**In person Remediation** of online or offline connections can be CONNECTING
	Social media is generally DISCONNECTING	**In person remediation & Online remediation of in person remediation** can be CONNECTING **Extra online remediation**

		with additional personal or discursive mediator can be CONNECTING

Table 3 shows the interaction between media and quality of the original interaction, and the resulting possibilities for personal connection or disconnection, through mediation or remediaton in person or online

In sum, at each scale of this analysis, social media can facilitate or hinder in specific ways actions and discourses in a fully embodied, mindful and spiritual presence within, with other people, and with the land. However, while the hindrances we have seen seem to be supported by the systems without having to engage extra agency on the side of participants or other human or non-human actors, several supports require a more complex and heterogeneous agency, and reconnection with the physical world.
In other words, participants wishing to utilize social media for purposes of self-modeling, mindful connections, and constructive conversations across the lāhui will find themselves having to cross quite large gulfs of execution and of evaluation (Norman, 1988). We mentioned the gulf of evaluation for what concerns algorithms, and we saw that participants struggled to understand how algorithms were operating and whether they were working towards participants' goals. The gulf of execution, instead, is the gap between what participants aim to do with the technology and the actual means offered to do it. The affordances to achieve participants goal are often there, but they are not always simple affordances provided by the technology, they are "complex affordances" which require extra agency on the participants' side in interaction with the agency of the technology.

Table 4 summarizes results. In bold are "complex affordances" that require the invocation of additional agency compared to simple affordances which are accomplished relying simply on the agency provided by the technology. The five steps on the bottom map affordances with Poka Laenui (2000) steps toward decolonization

Discussion

Deliberation and Participation in Power

To a certain extent this study supports Polletta and Chen's theory of feminization as we see women engaging and feeling heard in online deliberation contexts in which there is a visible women leadership within the setting they engage in, and more generally, in political and communicational practices. On the other hand, most participants have also experienced harassment and threats, sometimes gendered, in response to their posts. In this sense the environment is not "feminized" and "feminization" alone does not seem to fully account for participants' engagement. Women in this study mostly persisted in being outspoken despite experiencing attacks within the platforms they engage in.

The disconnect between feminization theory and participants' experiences in this study may lay in (a) different "gender coding", (b) participants' experiences of what constitute the "contexts" of their online engagements and (c) participants' experience of power.

Relational thinking and local rootedness, emphasized in Hawaiian cultural discourse, are also considered "feminine" traits by online deliberation practitioners (Polletta &

Chen, 2013). We could see this as something that contribute to the feminization of participants' deliberative contexts, and therefore supports women's participation. Yet, such an interpretation would be at least incomplete. Although the gender coding of U.S. culture likely also plays a part also in participants' networks, Hawaiian culture's gender coding, if one can at talk in these terms at all, is very different. In traditional Hawaiian culture, the separation of male and female mana is explicitly ritualized and at the same time genders and roles are characterized by "systemic fluidity and flexibility" (Crabbe, 2018: 35). For example, in healing practices, each individual has a female side of the body and a male side of the body (Crabbe, 2018: 34). In terms of people's sex and gender, there are females, males, and māhū, who have something of both (Pukui, 1972). Even if modes of interaction coded as "feminine" in U.S. culture were also considered aspects of female power in Hawaiian culture, they might still be the aspect of the female power that is in all people. Speculations about comparative gender coding aside, we can still utilize the part of feminization theory that emphasizes the presence of women leadership in the contextual settings. Yet, in order to apply it to this study, we need to expand the concept of what constitutes "context". Below I discuss the concept of power first, as it relates both to gender constructions, and what constitutes the context of an experience.
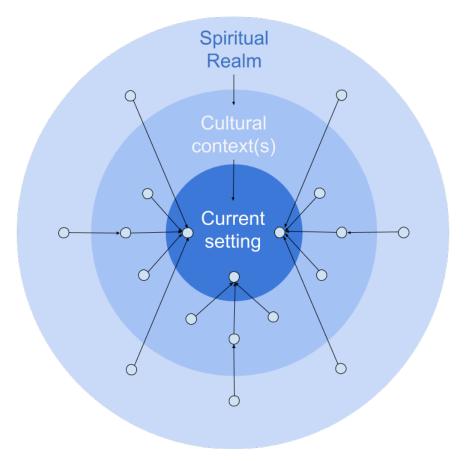
Polletta and Chen (2013) noted that, following the theory of gendered coded settings, as deliberation becomes feminized, that is, becomes coded as feminine, it might also lose decisional and executive power, which are associated with domains coded as masculine. In this study, participants come from a tradition where feminine and masculine are balanced powers, and although the occupation brought the instauration of patriarchal institutions, participants in this study share a strong rootedness and sense of connection with Hawaiian tradition.

During this study at least one participant has been climbing the ladder of the participation to "power" in terms of state of Hawaii governance. She has been invited to a local governmental summit on Houselessness, as a houseless encampment leader herself. Another Kanaka Maoli woman, Andria Tupola, who has been hearing and voicing at the legislature many of the political concerns expressed by the participants of this study, is currently running for Governor. This is not to say that participation into state governing

institutions is necessarily a measure of power. Many also among study participants would argue for the contrary, but these specific examples do involve a higher likelihood to affect real outcomes.

Beside reaching institutional positions of power or influencing policy, there is another form of power I have seen both expressed, exercised and fed through social media, as well as sometimes disrupted by its uses. That is a power that, according to Hawaiian spirituality, all women carry through genealogical connection to Haumea. The women in this research are all aware of historical and current wrongs that impact Hawaiians' and Hawaiian women's lives, but they do not feel powerless. They know who they are, they stand strongly supported on the shoulders of their ancestors, their feel powerful when their words and actions are aligned with their cultural and ethical values. "Both the people and their leaders understand the link between mana and pono, the traditional Hawaiian value of balance between people, land, and the cosmos" (Haunani-Kay Trask, 1999: 91).

The power accessed by participants does not lay only in the current setting, or in its cultural contexts, but also in a larger, transpatial environment, that is, an embodied spiritual realm. Both the cultural context and the spiritual realm are not abstract entities, they are made of actual connections with people, entities, and values, that the actors in the current setting bring in with them, not necessarily physically, but as relevant sources of models and inspirations for their words and actions in the current situation. If we extend the theory of the gender coding of settings to take into consideration the spiritual realm as well, then it can still account for the participation of women in this study in political talk, despite the fact that their immediate settings are not completely "feminized". The spiritual realm the women of this study brought in our interviews and focus groups is such that, any setting or entity coded "feminine" will call upon itself a power, that is different but definitely not less powerful, than anything coded as "masculine".

Fig. 4. Participants receive their cues about whether they can be influential members in the current settings, from messages implicit both in the current settings, and in the context of other experiences in their lives. Participants bring with them connections with other settings as they see relevance to the current situation. Connections beyond the current setting can include characters from stories, deities, ancestors, and future generations. We may not be able to trace spiritual connections physically or cognitively, but they are *there*. Technology mediates our spiritual connections as much as our social ones. For instance, a people's choice not to learn by heart their genealogy and to rely on written records for ancestral connections, affects their ability to tap into them as sources of knowledge and power both individually and collectively. The direction of the arrows in this model indicates the direction from sources of values-based power to the current settings. Participants' experiences in current settings will in turn affect which connections people in other settings will call upon (from settings to larger contexts and realms).

Whose Space? Fluid public clusters

The Hawaiian movement in general, and the women in the movement in particular, seem to challenge the online counterpublics discourse introduced in the Theoretical Background. Counterpublics literature highlights the importance of Internet-enabled spaces for radical and dissident groups to assertively build and share their perspectives, and organize public actions. First, we have seen that "us" is not as demarcated from a precise "them" as one may think. Second, there is a shared principle of Kapu Aloha, or

simply Aloha, that explicitly distances from a purely oppositional stance against the enemy, and instills a sense of respect for the other and fundamental connection beyond all divisions. Third, it emerged that social media spaces are always to some extent exposed to other, undermining, discourses and actions. This was hinted in online discourse analysis and emerged explicitly in the interviews and focus groups discussions of hired trolls, infiltrations, threats, and socially dismembering online interactions. I have read posts prefaced with tactical disclaimers about their content in order to avoid backlash. These "tactics" (de Certeau, 1985: 36-37) suggested the awareness to speak and act in a space that is still to some extent other and foreign. The authors of these posts seem painfully aware that the "counterpublic" is permeable to foreign views, misinterpretations, divisiveness, trolls, and infiltrators. Moreover, there is a shared concern about the lack of control of how information shared on social media can be misused in ways that undermine the movement and the people participating in it, and framed in court cases, by state officials, developers, including covert censorship. The perception of obstacles and risks associated with online deliberation even in a group of relatively like-minded people such as the one studied here shows that the counterpublics literature might not be taking enough into account that a technological space is always to some extent the space of the "other". The theory of fluid public clusters (Eckert, 2014) seems to describe more accurately the phenomenon and provides important insights into gendered harassment in online deliberation. However, Eckert (2014) does not deepen the analysis of risks and obstacles and admits that she would have liked to interview more brown and black women, which would have possibly yielded a deeper understanding of women's perceived risks and obstacles associated with online deliberation.

The observed involvement of many Kānaka Maoli women in multimedia projects across and beyond social media platform can be seen as a positive affirmation as well as a sign of the distress of a group of people whose culture and language have long been barred the access to mainstream education and communication channels so its expression emerges in many different rivulets, which in turn makes it more difficult to build shared narratives and to bridge internal contradictions (Riggins, 1997).

The vocal online women presence does not mean either that women engaged in the Hawaiian sovereignty online discourse do not face gendered attacks. It has been observed

114

that women voicing their political opinions online can endure gendered online harassment (Eckert, 2014); this study found evidence of it. Some forms of harassment take up the othering and framing constructed by media discourse, and seem related to in-group and out-group dynamics. We have seen that fluid public clusters, even when they are set as "private" in the platforms' settings, are also open to trolling and infiltrations.

Underlying Philosophy of Information Technology

In her book *Network Sovereignty*, Marisa Elena Duarte briefly compares western Martin Heidegger's and indigenous Vine Deloria's philosophies of technology (Duarte, 2017: 142-143). On one side she sees a technology that grows disproportionately to transform land and people into instrumental parts of its own mechanisms, and on the other a technology that serves the land and her people. However, there is another component in Heidegger's philosophy of technology that Duarte is not taking into account, which brings the two views closer. Heidegger does not preclude the possibility of a technology that is guided by and supports a re-enchanted, non-mechanistic, worldview. In order to achieve that, we need to reintegrate technology and poiesis – creative expression divinely inpired. Heidegger does not offer, and probably has no clues, as to how that can be achieved in practice. As Duarte notes, his historical context is imbued with ontological separation of humans and nature, where humans are in a relation of violent dominance over the natural world, and the human body. Like most European people, Heidegger has just a vague dream-like memory of poietic technology, buried in a past of which almost each single trace has been erased, and therefore suspended in an unhistorical utopia. He cannot offer any practical guidance to it. He places it somewhere in the past, right before classic Greece, the same time where Nietzche places the birth of Tragedy, that perfect balance between form and chaos (bold added, italic in the original):

Once there was a time when the bringing-forth of the true into the beautiful was called *technē*. And the *poiēsis* of the fine arts also was called *technē*.
In Greece, at the outset of the destining of the West, **the arts** soared to the supreme height of the revealing granted them. They **brought the presence**, [*Gegenwart*] **of the gods, brought the dialogue of divine and human destinings, to radiance. And art was simply called *technē*. It was a single, manifold revealing.** It was pious, promos, i.e., yielding to the

holding-sway and the safekeeping of truth. The arts were not derived from the artistic. Art works were not enjoyed aesthetically. Art was not a sector of cultural activity. What, then, was art – perhaps only for that brief but magnificent time? Why did art bear the modest name *technē*? Because it was a revealing that brought forth and hither, and therefore belonged within *poiēsis*. It was finally that revealing which holds complete sway in all the fine arts, in poetry, and in everything poetical that obtained *poiēsis* as its proper name. The same poet [Hölderlin] from whom we heard the words

But where danger is, grows

The saving power also.

says to us:

. . . poetically dwells man [people] upon this earth. (Heidegger, 1993:1)

European Renaissance's obsessions with the invention of a perpetual motion machine is the madness of a people who have forgotten how to integrate techonology into a living relation with the land. It tells about a people, including my people, who have endured the historical forcible separation of body, mind, and spirit, in the war between church and state. People viscerally pulled apart from the inside, across three different institutions (domains) to cultivate separately (dominate) the body in the state, the mind in the university, and the spirit in the church. Between the "Renaissance" and the "Enlightenment" the elimination of European land-based ways of living and knowing is brought to an almost absolute extinction, traditional and alternative knowledge bearers, burnt as "heretic" and "witches", including hundreds of thousands of women (Federici, 2004: 197), and all notions of non-reproductive non-heteronormative sexuality, natural contraception, people's control over their reproductive systems, and intimate relating with the environment, was burnt with them. A mass human sacrifice to the separate powers of state, church, and university which makes the occasional human sacrifice to the gods, executed in traditional societies where religious and political power overlaps (included Hawaiian communities, as per Crabbe, 2018: 31), look derisory. The memory of the reintegration into the environment in an intimate, mindful, and spiritual relation, has been almost completely burnt in Europe. Hawaiʻi has still a living memory of it. The ahupuaʻa – a human-stewarded ecosystem from mountain source to ocean estuary that could be described as a large scale agroforestry, permaculture, and aquaculture– is a

116

perpetual motion spiritual "machine", because it is in symbiotic relation with the perpetual motion of the water cycle through land mother and sky father.

Technology does not "merely" mediate. It brings forth and hinders. It reveals. It creates. European institutions have literally burnt our genealogical connections with poietic technology, and sent disconnected European bodies to destroy it almost everywhere else. Yet, among many people around the world today, that memory is alive, its tentative eradication is more recent than in Europe. Hawai'i is one of the places where it is the most recent in the world. And here I saw a glimpse of it unfolding. A collective, creative and poetic effort to reappropriate technology.

Hawai'i ali'i worked on a "selective appropriation" (Beamer, 2014: 152) of European media (from literacy and print, to constitutional governance) at a time where a balanced relation with the earth was the main mode of existence. Hawai'i is a great place to think of ways to engage in a collective, creative, and poetic use of technology. Collective, creative, and poetic, that is, in one word, a word that I have learned to pronounce with no shame and with only minimal, blissful skepticism here in Hawai'i: spiritual.

Participants' striking ability to "walk the middle line" (Interviewee 1) in their carefully crafted posts, is also a form of selective appropriation: participants are continuously engaged in choices about what to mediate with which medium, and how, as well as what to remediate, from what medium to which medium, and how. Their selection affects the generative revealing and unfolding of reality. They engage there "where danger is" and where also grows "The saving power", as Hölderlin's poem suggests in Heidegger's essay on technology. Their selective appropriation is guided by a very precise "triangulation of meaning", as Manulani Aluli Meyer calls it, that is the "daringly simple matrix in which to see the whole in all parts. […] Seeing through engagement with mind, body, and spirit". Before I began listening and re-listening to the interviews, such triangulation sounded very vague to me, and I had no idea I would bring it into this study. Now I see it instead as a sharply precise internal compass, that allows participants to walk on a that razor's edge, "the width of the blade of pili grass", as a popular quote from Queen Lili'uokalani (1917) conveys. But what does that look like in terms of the larger sociotechnical landscape? A Facebook meme with a quote attributed to "kaleikoa", probably Kaleikoa Ka'eo, was shared among participants and made its way

117

to my feeds just as I was first drafting these lines: "Before the Aina can return to Kanaka, Kanaka must return to their Aina". ʻĀina, as we have seen, is a relational concept. An ʻĀina-based technology is not just land-based, it is not just people-based, it is based on a harmonious relation between land and people, and the way to know that, is engaging with body, mind, and spirit to see if all elements are in balance.

During a talk at our Communication and Information Sciences department about Hawaiian epistemology, Manulani Aluli Meyer (2018) noted that, although people are used to refering a lot to the ʻāina today, she invites us to refer to her as Papahānaumoku, which personifies her, and reminds us of our kindship with the land and her sacredness. We are not talking about an abstract spirituality, but a very much embodied, land-based one. The questions to guide the design then should be based on sacred relational values: What types of relating between people and land will this foster? Are there embedded systemic feedback loops to keep elements in balance, and are people involved accountable? Is the power of the system rooted in the balanced tensions between the elements involved? The designed system, comprehensive of all human and non-human elements, needs to be self-regulating, and self-powering, filled with mana, which I understand as intrinsic power, based on foundational and constitutional values, and not values conferred by external, unrelated currencies.

"Technology is neither good nor bad; nor is it neutral." (Kranzberg, 1986) It is not neutral because it facilitates ("affords") certain ways of relating rather than others, within social, political, environmental, and spiritual systems of relations. The result can be anywhere between systemic harmony and systemic harm. When a technological design does not seem to leave any more room for social negotiation and yet it does harm, it is not impossible to reappropriate it and bring forth ways of relating different than the ones it facilitates. Such appropriation requires an effort to access complex affordances that are not immediately given in the medium. Moreover, to bring about systemic effects, the appropriation needs to be a conscious, collective, and creative effort. Otherwise we would fall back in the illusory idea that technology is neutral, and whether it supports the flourishing or withering of life, simply depends on how *one* uses it. One, no. Many, and in concert, yes. "More is different" (Anderson, 1972); when selective appropriation is a conscious, creative, and collective effort, it can sway the systemic impact of the

technology, and possibly reopen a calcified design to social negotiation. That does not mean that everyone in a given community needs to appropriate the technology in the same way. In order to have a substantial change of direction, arguably, it is enough that a minority of creative users persists or grows until a tipping point. I honestly have no historical examples. Structural materialism has strong empirical support; it is easier for political economic structures to organize technology than it is for technopoiesis to do so, and affect political and economic structure in turn. Yet this study showed me a glimpse of technopoiesis, and if there is not enough political and economic support for it, may the people of the land invoke the power of gods and the life of future generations. Not just as a rhetorical device, but as genuine, intimate, and empowering connections.

Conclusions

The experience of Kānaka Maoli Women participants with social media use for the expression of cultural and political sovereignty is deeply ambivalent. Hindrances are online harassment, surveillance, infiltration, but also the opacity of algorithms, which leaves users spending precious energies guessing who and when will see their posts, and how to avoid blocks. Most harmfully, social media can facilitate disconnection from an embodied, mindful, and spiritual presence to oneself, others, and the land, including the disconnection from the land in the form of materials extraction and land destruction perpetrated to create infrastructures, and produce and dispose of telecommunication devices. Participants make a conscious effort to deeply engage and not fall into online unreflective, defensive and reactive modes of interaction. This study offers a glimpse into a possibly larger collective effort to appropriate creative complex affordances of these media. Such collective appropriation could support the use of social media towards participants' goals of Hawaiian nation building, despite the fact that it currently seems to require of them extra effort compared to other uses.

The most obvious way social media support participants' lifeworld is the affordance to kāhea, sending the word out about in person events, actions, and places of epistemological resurgence, of healing, of traditional ways of relating with the land and with each other. Social media also open a space, albeit not always a safe one, for a more nuanced and detailed discussion of topics of interest compared to mainstream media; connections and collaborations are initiated with people working and discussing similar

119

or related issues locally and around the world; and spiritual connections across time and space are made.

Participants selectively appropriate social media to re-embed cultural protocol into the medium when needed, and in general to foster mindful connections. Such intensity of presence, often when still in a state of mourning, is not sustainable without breaks. Some participants intentionally post also phatic, uplifting, and lower stake conversations, deemed necessary for the purpose of relationship building as well.

Possible mediators for the initiation of connections, the development of distant connections, and the remediation of present disconnections, social media must not be relied on for present connections' development. Embodied presence needs to remain the primary source of experience to nurture the ability to fully relate with body, mind, and spirit. Even when social media support intimate and inspiring connections at a distance, it is important to bring that back to a physical place, and plant the words exchanged in those distant connections, like seeds (hua: word, seed, fruit) into the living land. When participants connect for instance with other women in similar indigenous struggles, learning and connecting inspire both sides' actions on their respective lands. The women in this study share the wisdom to use the technology to "supplement not supplant" (Interviewee 1) Hawaiian ways of relating, particularly for what concerns relationship building and strategizing.

Navigating selective appropriation is a learned art, and for Hawaiians the stakes are particularly high. A member in a Facebook group frequented by some participants shared this quote from Queen Liliʻuokalani's letters to her daughter (1917):

> The way to lose any earthly kingdom is to be inflexible, intolerant and prejudicial. Another way is to be too flexible, tolerant of too many wrongs and without judgment at all. It is a razor's edge. It is the width of a blade of pili grass.

Many know this popular quote. I hope this study offers some repairs, at least for what concerns information and communication technologies, to support the people striving to find and to keep the island canoes on the narrow channel that from here conduces to the

survival and thriving resurgence of the people of Hawai'i nei. It is not about race; it is about embodied values and connections. It will benefit everyone.

Mahalo.

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Appendix 1 – Interview Guide

This guide is a study reference but interviews and focus groups will be semi-structured and may touch only part of the following themes or lean toward unforeseen ones as well.

Do you recognize yourself as a Kanaka Maoli woman? Or would you rather use a different expression? What do these expressions mean to you?

Do you consider yourself a practitioner, an advocate, an activist, or how would you say?

Who are your main inspirations in your work and political expression?

What websites do you write or post in or have engaged in the past (including blogs, Wikipedia editing, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Google +, Pinterest, Myspace, Maoli World…)

Do you express politically via other means and actions? (radio, video, theater, other arts, other forms of actions like marches, encampments, hearings, letters to editors...)

Can you think of instances that you felt social media were helping connecting the lāhui? Can you tell me what happened and how you experienced it?
Please try to recall also the social media features that were used (e.g. twitter mentions, retweets, hashtags, facebook groups, pages, personal walls, private messages, group chats, tags, likes, shares…)

Can you think of instances that you felt social media were enabling instead disconnection and division within the lāhui? Can you tell me what happened and how your experienced it?

Again, please try to recall also the social media features that were used (see above).

Do you feel heard as a Kanaka Maoli and as a woman when you talk politics online?

When you engage in online political conversations...
Is there particular websites/platforms where you feel more heard?

Is there particular websites/platforms where you feel less heard?

Is there particular political topics of conversation that you feel more heard?

Is there particular political topics of conversation in which you you feel less heard?

Is there particular social or political group of people with whom you feel more heard in online political talk?

Is there particular social or political group of people with whom you feel less heard in online political talk?

Do you see women, female deities, historical or mythological characters referenced often in online political discussions? If so, whom?

Do you have the impression that women in general are more or less heard in the same contexts? Can you tell me about any example that comes to mind?

What do you think social media can do well for by the lāhui?

What do you think are the risks involved in engaging with social media? For kānaka maoli women in particular, and Hawaiians in general.

Have you ever experienced online harassment? If so, can you tell me about it (feel free to skip if unconfortable or painful to recall, please let me know if I can refer you to local counseling resources)

Have you ever experienced online privacy violations/censorship/trolls/facebook lockdown ("facebook jail")

If you experienced any of the above, what gave you strength through the experience?

Have you changed your online behavior after that? How?

Have you ever refrained from saying something online? Can you tell me about it?

Do you feel differently in online conversations in Hawaiian? If so, how?

Do you feel Hawaiian values pertain to the use of social media for political conversations?

Any other risks or opportunities related to social media use we have not talked about?

Appendix 2 – Critical discourse analysis chart

Guidelines for critical discourse analyses (CDA) (Rebecca Rogers, 2004)
Questions to ask in (and across) each domain of analysis:
Fairclough (1992) suggested selecting "cruces" or moments of crisis in the data as an
entry point into the analysis. These are moments in the discourse when it is evident
something is going wrong. Fairclough wrote, "such moments of crisis make visible aspects
of practices which might normally be naturalized, and therefore difficult to notice;
but they also show change in process, the actual ways in which people deal with
the problematization of practices" (p. 230).

I. Genres/textual
"The sort of language (and other semiosis) tied to a particular social activity, such as an
interview" (Chouilaraki & Fairclough, 1999, p. 63)
Thematic structure of the text
Information focus
Revoicing (e.g., calling on the discourse of another person or self from the past or present in the
interview)
Intertextuality (e.g., bringing the language of another text—spoken or written—into the interview)
Literary language (from the Bible, a poem)
Metaphors (comparisons without using like or as)
Politeness conventions (e.g., thank you; please; yes, ma'am)
Humor
Conversation building ("you know," "uh-huh")
Turn-taking
Cohesion
Parallel structure
Repetition
Temporal order
Teacher talk (e.g., giving examples, summative statements, question and answer, parallel
structure)
Sermon talk (e.g., parallel structure, question and answer, Biblical language, distancing language)

II. Discourses/interpersonal
Luke (2000) defined discourses as "systematic clusters of themes, statements, ideas and
ideologies" (p. 456). These themes can be seen through the production, consumption,
and distribution of texts and talk, in conjunction with genre and style. Contradictions
are a necessary part of discourses.

What voices/perspectives are represented?
What are the possible interpretations of this text?
Who are the possible audiences?
What resistant readings are possible?

III. Style/ideational
The purpose of this domain of analysis is to specify the social structures and processes and how
people are drawn into such processes.
Active and passive voice
Modality (tense, affinity)
Often associated with modal verbs (must, may, can, should) and adverbs (probably, possibly)
Patterns of transitivity

Transitivity

A property of language that enables humans to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their world and the "goings on" of doing, happening, feeling, and believing. These goings on are sorted out in the semantic system of language and expressed through the grammar of the clause. The reflective, experiential aspects of meaning are the system of transitivity. Transitivity specifies the different types of processes that are recognized in the language and the structures by which they are expressed (Halliday, 1978).

Action
Action with dialogue
Action passive
Action active
Physical or cognitive action (or lack of action)
Modal construction

Affective—statement of want, desire, like, or need
(deficit affective)

State—statement of physical or mental being
Had

Ability—internal characteristic of something subject can or cannot do
(lack of ability)
Have, got, am, get

Cognitive—think, thought, believe, remember statements

Appendix 3 – Summary Report to Participants (Focus Group Example)

[Attached on the following pages]

SUMMARY REPORT – "Kānaka Maoli Women's Experiences with Online Deliberation"
Dissertation by Caterina Desiato, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Summer 2018

USING SOCIAL MEDIA TO VOICE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY

A STUDY WITH 16 KĀNAKA MAOLI WOMEN

"It is a double edge for sure. The alternative needs to be developed, definitely.

But what is it?"

Participant 11 | Peacemaker, healer, and musician | Online comment

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STUDY METHODS

- 11 interviews
- 1 focus group
- Online and offline participant observations over 6 months
- Discourse analysis of participants' posts and online news related to interviews topics
- Purposive snowball sampling (the first interviewees were invited because they were experienced in the research matter, and they suggested other possible participants)

The experience of Hawaiian women participants with social media use for the expression of cultural and political sovereignty is ambivalent. Specific possibilities for actions ("affordances", listed below) emerge in the relation between participants and their socio-technical environments: some affordances support participants' work, while others hinder it.

Overall, most participants, who are frequent social media users, feel that the benefits of voicing their views on social media outweigh the risks. These tools boost their ability to kāhea (to summon, get the word out) for events and actions, to share Hawai'i-based views, and connect locally and internationally. However, they also carry deep socio-technical biases that requires shared efforts to overcome. For instance, social media algorithms and general U.S.-based tech culture tend to highten fast reactivity, self-branding, and defensiveness, often at odds with participants' efforts. Moreover, several participants noted that the presence of digital devices can reduce the embodied cognitive and spiritual resources available in person, which corroborate Ward et al. (2017) experimental evidence that the mere presence of one's smartphones, *even if off*, can reduce cognitive resources offline. The ability "to see the whole in all parts […] through engagement with mind, body, and spirit", which Manulani Aluli Meyer (2006) calls "triangulation of meaning", is distressed. The "triangulation of meaning", re-centering one's vision through an embodied, mindful, and spiritual presence within oneself, with others and the land, without

further mediation, allows participants to walk the fine line to select media and words in generative, life affirming ways.

Politically outspoken Hawaiian women also face a high rate of online harassment (chart below). Yet, all participants in this study persist voicing themselves[i] strong with the awareness of their genealogical, cultural and spiritual roots.

Without explicit coordination and without all knowing each other, participants in this study engage in shared, creative efforts to counter socio-technical biases and selectively appropriate social media tools to serve their purposes. Such efforts can use more community support to foster a safer, Hawai'i and 'āina-based utilization of communication media (see suggestions listed below).

SOCIAL MEDIA AFFORDANCES

SUPPORTS

- 🟢 Connecting at a distance
- 🟢 Remediating lost connections
- 🟢 Phatic communication (lighthearted uninformative posts that maintain and uplift the community)
- 🟢 Kāhea (summon)
  - ○ Events, actions, long term initiatives
  - ○ Land reappropriation (e.g. calls to families with ties to contested lands)
- 🟢 Sharing and revitilizing Hawaiian knowledge and ways of knowing

- 🟣 Modeling a mindful self and a mindful use of social media

- 🟣 Listening to diverse views

- 🟣 Carefully crafting posts to call in and connect rather than call out and divide

- 🟣 Following protocol

- 🟣 Reframing reductive mainstream stories
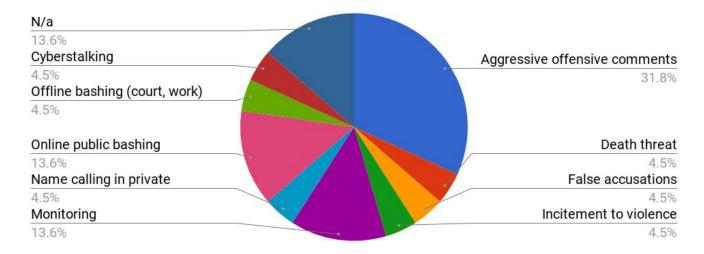
- 🟣 Telling different, more articulated, stories

HINDRANCES

- 🔴 Disconnected presence (devices distract from an embodied, mindful, and spiritual presence within oneself, with others, and with the land)
- 🔴 Boosting self-branding, fast & unreflected reactivity, defensiveness
- 🔴 Disrupting cultural protocol (e.g. youth outpacing and not checking in with elders)
- 🔴 Breaking real life relationships with friends, family and allies
- 🔴 Online harassment and hired trolls
- 🔴 Infiltration
- 🔴 Surveillance
- 🔴 Hacked accounts (someone else or a bot posts with someone's account)
- 🔴 Superficial performance of de-occupation (doing it on cameras for social media but not consistently)
- 🔴 Cultural appropriation (decontextualized recordings used for misguided and/or misrepresenting manifestations by people not belonging to Hawaiian culture)
- 🔴 Blackboxed lgorithms (not knowing exactly whether someone or something will be blocked or not, or who and when will see the posts)
- 🔴 Framing and othering Hawaiian nationalists in reductive and divisive ways

- 🟢 Support participants in their effort to restore sovereignty
- 🟣 Support participants in their effort to restore sovereignty, but requires extra effort
- 🔴 Disrupt participants in their effort to restore sovereignty

ONLINE HARASSMENT AND RESILIENCE

Most participants experience some form of online harassment: thirteen out of sixteen, that is 81%. To give an idea, that is almost double the U.S. average of 47% (Lenhart et al., 2016).

The chart below shows the types of harassment reported by the women in this study. The same participants may have experienced more than one type of harassment; therefore, the sum of the percentages below is higher than the percentage of participants who experienced harassment.

The systemic character of the trolling (divisive, offensive, provoking, or threatening comments or private messages) emerged during two interviews and the focus group. Hired trolls are an increasingly known phenomenon. Communication employees of organizations that have interests at stake in Hawaiian struggles might be instructed to troll some politically active and outspoken Hawaiians. Trolling often takes the form of gendered and sexual slurs against women and might be strategically targeting women as they tend to be connectors within communities.

Although the women interviewed experience high rates of online harassment, they continue to be outspoken[ii]. Participants find sources of strength and resilience in deep connections with land and people; ancestral, spiritual and intellectual genealogies including powerful women and godesses; and the awareness of one own's kuleana (responsibility, privilege). As Kaiwipuni (Punihei) Lipe articulates in the Foreword of *Nā Wāhine Kapu* (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1999): "I am Haumea too, and [...] all Haumea has done, I too can do".

VISIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

For Hawaiian women and community allies

The following suggestions emerge from the conversations with participants. They are not necessarily all to be followed by everyone, however, it would be helpful for them to be covered overall *as a community*.

Media consciousness

- Consciously choose alternatives to social media or media to use in synergy with them, e.g.:
  - Refer to Hawaiian knowledge databases for information *sources* (e.g. avakonohiki.org or others listed at https://www.papakilodatabase.com/main/sourcesearch.php) and use social media to *spread* or *discuss* the information
  - *Brainstorm* online *before* meetings and events, but whenever possible, and particularly when tensions arise, bring discussions and decision-making to a face to face circle, starting with introductions and sharing (follow protocol)
  - Use more secure and private media for sensitive info and strategizing (e.g. apps like Signal, secure group texting, and face to face)
- Check in prior to or at gatherings with elders, organizers, and attendees, about whether and how to use digital devices to record, network, or at all. Livestreaming and recording can be powerful yet not always, and not evertyone need to do it
- Bring it back to the land. Connect spiritually and intellectually online and bring back to the land, locally and in person, the hoa (seeds, words) gathered online that need to be planted. Apply and share face to face what is learnt at a distance and online.

Reassembling (not dismembering) the lāhui

- React and respond more to posts that bridge to ideas and people beyond your usual circle
- Be mindful about what online and offline behavior you are modeling and giving visibility to
- Think about people with different views and how you may get your message across to them too
- Social media algorithms and general U.S.-based tech culture tend to encourage fast reactivity and self-branding (hence defensiveness). Strive to refrain from it and, instead:
  - If tensions arise, minimize comments and continue the conversation face to face where you can have eye contact and share breath
  - Apologize for your wrongs
  - Respect and check in with elders who may be outpaced by online conversations
  - "Lurk" (internet slang for reading without immediately contributing): Use social media to listen, learn, and understand other views. Before reacting and fact-checking, find what you can agree on and shared values to build on for constructive conversations.

Harassment response

- Refrain from responding to trolls, at least at first. De-escalation is not easy, and they could be hired trolls, bots (artificial agents) and/or hacked accounts
- Keep records and reach out to a trusted person for support and decision making on whether and how to call in or use blocking/reporting/unfollowing features toward the trolling account
- Respond with strong, explicit support and encouragement toward who is being targeted by trolls. Do not underestimate or downplay online harassment, nor let it pass seemingly unnoticed
- If there is a way that feels safe to the person(s) targeted, talk about it as a group or community.

For designers
Social media algorithms and transparency

- Boost bridging posts and suggest connection between bridging people, regardless of reactions' quantity and frequency. Such algorithms can be based on:
  - Similar reactions from people belonging to distant clusters

- o Positive language from keywords belonging to different trends (trending among distant clusters)
- Algorithm transparency and user-friendly control interfaces (let people control and know who and what they see and why)
- Monitoring transparency (let people know who and when is monitoring them)

Device features

- One gesture to completely turn off
- One gesture to completely disconnect
- One gesture to turn off notifications
- User-friendly controls for modular notifications & connectivity options (e.g. phone only option)

Infrastructures

- Consciously choose areas to maintain determined areas free of infrastructures for network coverage
- Avoid overlapping coverage
- Maintain existing reliable alternatives (e.g. land lines and pay phones off the power grid)

Production

- Humane working conditions
- Material durability and reusability

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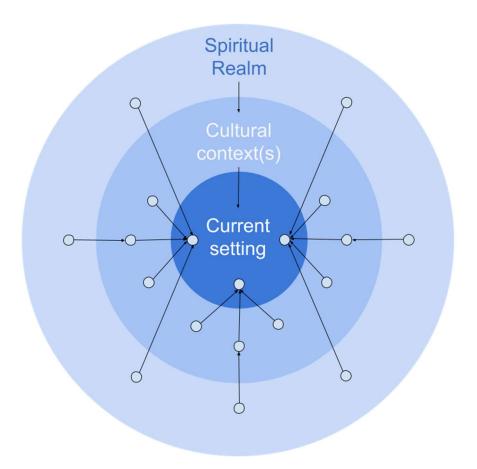
Direct quotes and mentions: Focus Group.

The opacity of the algorithms leaves participants guessing who will actually receive the information. Focus group participants mentioned that they use tags when they want to make sure certain people get certain information; however, they experienced delays and missing notifications for tags as well. The gulf of evaluation [definition below] may not be as salient when one is just trying to get the word out about a public event, a public call to action, a public hearing, or even a notice about the filing of a quite title. But when more precise coordination and strategizing is necessary social media may fail participants. Hired trolls and infiltrators can also undermine any online strategizing.

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Whether there is censorship involved or not, the opacity of social media algorithms leaves participants wondering. There is a large "gulf of evaluation": "The gulf is small when the system provides information about its state in a form that is easy to get, easy to interpret, and matches the way the person thinks of the system" (Norman 1988: p. 51). In the cases experienced by focus group participants, instead, the gulf of evaluation is large, and they have to guess what is going on and figure out new ways to reach their intended goal, or to understand whether the goal has been reached.

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The spiritual realm the women of this study brought in our interviews and focus groups is such that, any setting or entity coded "feminine" will call upon itself a power, that is different but definitely not less powerful, than anything coded as "masculine".

Fig. 4. Participants receive their cues about whether they can be influential members in the current settings, from messages implicit both in the current settings, and in the context of other experiences in their lives. Participants bring with them connections with other settings as they see relevance to the current situation. Connections beyond the current setting can include characters from stories, deities, ancestors, and future generations. We may not be able to trace spiritual connections physically or cognitively, but they are *there*. Technology mediates our spiritual connections as much as our social ones. For instance, a people's choice not to learn by heart their genealogy and to rely on written records for ancestral connections, affects their ability to tap into them as sources of knowledge and

power both individually and collectively. The direction of the arrows in this model indicates the direction from sources of values-based power to the current settings. Participants' experiences in current settings will in turn affect which connections people in other settings will call upon (from settings to larger contexts and realms).

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A kupuna in this study (Participant 14) tells how a young man talked to her disrespectfully in a comment. At a subsequent face to face meeting she knew he was going to be there. She looked for him and told him to talk to her in the same way to her face. "Aunty! I didn't know it was you" he responded. "Did you need to know?" she asked rhetorically during the focus group, assuming one would maintain moral integrity with strangers as well. However, connecting with strangers does often require an extra cognitive step that can easily be skipped in the immediacy of social media reaction. Knowing personally who one is talking helps and yet, several participants note that it is not easy to refrain from immediate reaction; many noted that the platform is designed for you to react, but as participants often belong to a relatively small community or circles they know they will meet the person "at grandma's home, at the store, at the hearing" (Interviewee 9) and that helps them refrain from reacting when it would not be gracious and may damage the relationship.

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[i] One participant closed her personal Facebook account due to multiple online harassment but kept being outspoken via other media channels.