

From Lono to Liberation: The Makini Mask Through Time

Samantha Eala¹, Kieran Benn²

¹ Master of Public Health, Melbourne School of Population and Global Health

² Doctor of Medicine, Melbourne Medical School

This work was generously supported by the Russell and Mab Grimwade Miegunyah Student Project Award.

Abstract

The Makini mask, sometimes described as a traditional Hawaiian helmet, was typically fashioned from a gourd with an exaggerated facial opening and decorated with fibres or fronds that extended from the crown and sides. Evocative in form, it invites questions of purpose, symbolism, and function. Originally associated with ceremonial or priestly contexts, the Makini was later interpreted through multiple external lenses, most notably mischaracterised as a warrior's mask in eighteenth-century European accounts, and more recently reclaimed within Hawaiian cultural revitalization as a symbol of identity and resilience.

The cultural history of the Makini mask reveals how representation, suppression, and reclamation intersect with health and identity in Indigenous contexts. Early colonial portrayals of the Makini as a warrior's mask exemplify how misrepresentation can distort identity and reinforce structural inequities that persist in governance, education, and health systems. The subsequent abolition of the *Kapu* system eroded cultural continuity and social resilience, while modern revitalisation movements, through language immersion, education, and traditional healing, have reasserted cultural identity as a foundation for well-being.

Taken together, these trajectories demonstrate that culture is not peripheral but constitutive of health: collective wellness is shaped by how communities are represented, remembered, and empowered. The Makini thus stands as both historical artifact and living metaphor, illustrating that reclaiming cultural meaning is central to healing and self-determination.

Introduction

The Makini mask itself is fashioned from a hollow gourd (Fig. 1) with a single hole carved for both the eyes and nose (Masks, 2025). The vegetation that decorates the top of the helmet was expected to be local greenery, such as ferns, while the fibres that hang from the jaw were fashioned from white kapa, also known as bark cloth. In its inception, the mask was first created to be worn by priests during *Makahiki*, a traditional Hawaiian festival that spanned the four-month period from October till March in honour of the god Lono (Lum, 2003). In Hawaiian religion, Lono is the god of fertility, rainfall, agriculture, music, and peace. *Makahiki* reflected this in that it was a time of harvest and abundance, during which communities celebrated and renewed their bonds. The Makini mask was in many ways symbolic of *Makahiki* and it served as a visual link to Lono.

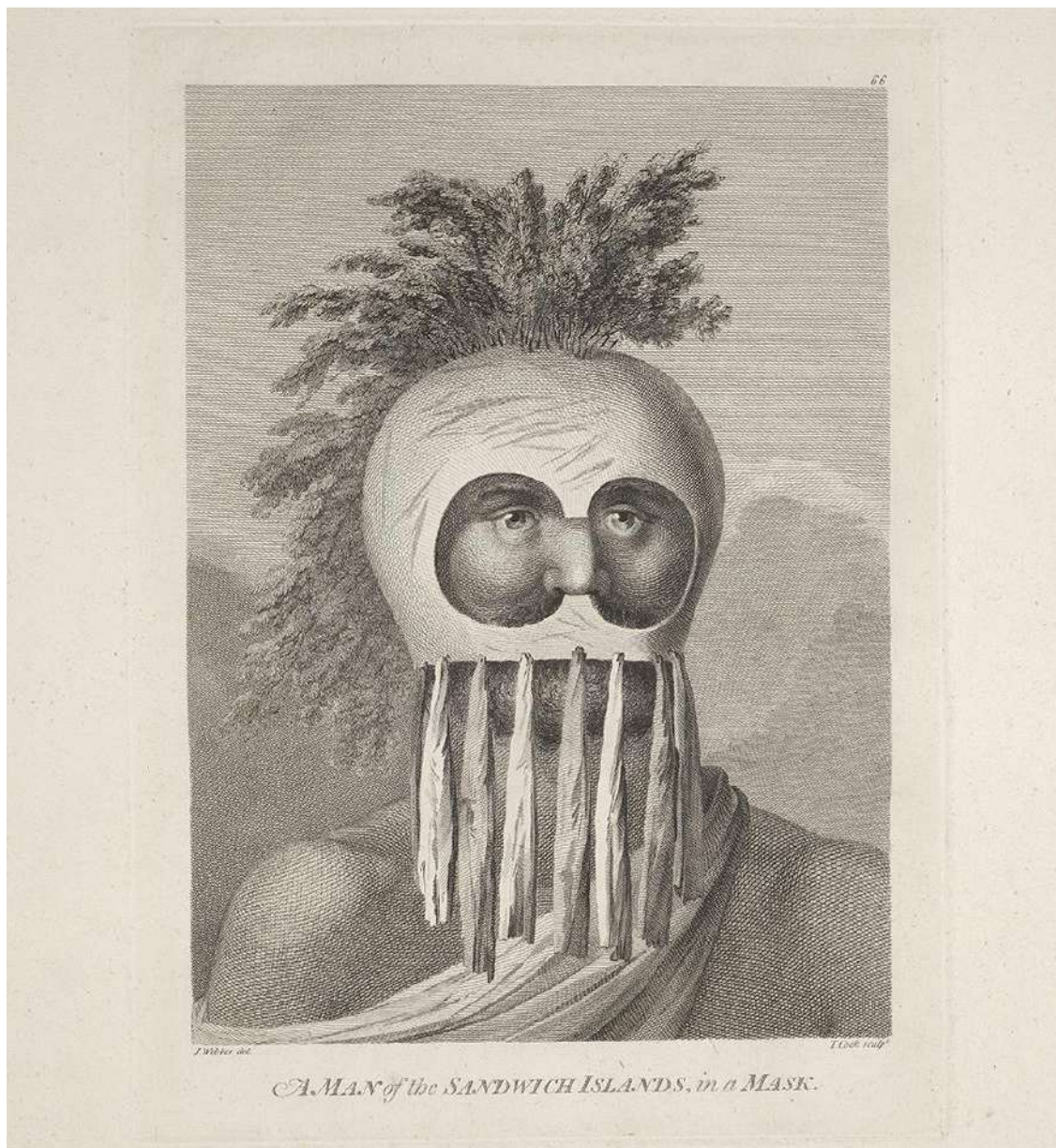


Figure 1: A man of the Sandwich Islands, masked (not dated), W. Taylor (engraver) and John Webber (draughtsman), Etching and engraving, The University of Melbourne Art Collection The Russell and Mab Grimwade Bequests, 1973. (W. Taylor, Not Dated)

Cook's Arrival to Hawai'i

Cook's first voyage to the Sandwich Isles, now known as Hawai'i, coincided with *Makahiki* during which time European eyes would have first sighted the Makini mask (Rhodes, 2001). It was during this time that the Makini mask first started to draw attention, garnering a colloquial reputation from the West as the mask of a warrior. This is, in many ways, a curious association. The mask was most prominent during a festival of peace and worn predominantly by priests. Moreover, the mask itself would have greatly encumbered the wearer during combat, likely obscuring vision, while offering minimal protective value. Yet despite these factors, the mask was synonymous with warriors through a European lens. Intriguingly, it was also during this time that Cook started to draw comparisons to Lono (Borofsky, 1997). Cook's grand arrival during *Makahiki* may have interpreted as symbolic and for many he perceived as an incarnation of Lono himself. The draught "An offering before Captain Cook, in Sandwich Islands by Webber depicts an offering before Cook during the *Makahiki* season (Fig. 2), perhaps in his honour, and perhaps due to his perceived status as a deity (Walker, 1780s). It should, however, be noted that this depiction is created through a European lens and may favourably model these events. Nevertheless, Cook's status as a deity was to ultimately be short lived, if it did truly occur, as Cook's immediate return to Hawai'i fell out with *Makahiki* casting immediate doubt in surrounds to an incarnation of Lono (Borofsky, 1997).



Figure 2: An offering before Captain Cook, in Sandwich Islands – 1780s, Walker (engraver) and John Webber (draughtsman), Etching and engraving, The University of Melbourne Art Collection The Russell and Mab Grimwade Bequests, 1973 (Walker, 1780s).

Other imagery from Cook's voyage emphasised the dramatic – helmets, capes, canoes – and reframed them through European eyes. John Webber's engraving from 1778 depicts a Hawaiian man in a feathered helmet and cape (Fig. 3). It circulated widely in Europe and fixed a lasting

image: Hawaiians as warriors (Noble, 1784). This viewpoint permeated deeper and through a colonial lens the Makini mask was reimagined as a warrior helmet. A once spiritual object, inseparable with a time of peace and prosperity, was now symbolic of battle.



Figure 3: Portrait of a man of the Sandwich Islands with his helmet and A young woman of the Sandwich Islands – 1784, Noble (engraver), John Webber (draughtsman), Alexander Hogg (publisher), Etching and engraving, The University of Melbourne Art Collection The Russell and Mab Grimwade Bequests, 1973 (Noble, 1784).

The idea of the Makini mask as a warrior helmet was further amplified following the death of the Hawaiian king Kamehameha (Seaton, 1974). With the passing of Kamehameha, his successor Liholiho inherited a centralised kingdom. However, the *Kapu* system, a framework for life in Hawai'i that interlaced heavily with religion, divided authority, while Liholiho sought absolute political power. The *Kapu* system was subsequently abolished as Liholiho ate with a woman, a classically taboo act within *Kapu*, resulting in its inevitable collapse. Fascinatingly, the loss of Hawaiian religion came mere months prior to the arrival of missionaries from the West (Creager, 1991; Seaton, 1974). This all but cemented the suppression of native religion within Hawai'i and an associated disappearance of the Makini mask. It is highly likely that this loss of the Makini mask from culture coinciding with the missionaries, and with them European culture, further perpetuated the idea of the Makini mask as a warrior helmet.

The Hawaiian Renaissance

However, the story of the Makini mask does not end there, the 1960s marked the start of the Hawaiian renaissance (Kanahale, 1982). Hula and chant was revived, traditional voyage began to reemerge with the canoe *Hōkūle'a*, and Hawaiian language immersion schools were born to reinstate cultural pride in the new generation. We see that the Makini mask in many ways

embodied this movement. Protestors at the Kahoolawe land struggle and, later, the Mauna Kea telescope protests (Fig. 4) donned the Makini mask as a steadfast symbol of cultural survival and sovereignty (Kajihiro, 2020; Rüländ, 2024). Intriguingly, the mask was not reclaimed in its traditional values of Lono and *Makahiki*. Instead reinterpreted as a symbol of strength, resistance, and pride. An almost warrior like image, although this time reclaimed from within, not imposed from the outside.



Figure 4: Hawaiians in traditional attire support *Kaho'olawe* occupiers Kainoa and Kealoha – 1977, Ed Greevy Photograph (Greevy, 1977).

In modern society, we continue to see the Makini mask. While it may still be seen at protests, it is most frequently synonymous with Ikaika. Ikaika is a Hawaiian name meaning strength, power, and determination (Dictionaries, 2025). It defines inner strength and resilience and has now, in many ways, become inseparable with the Makini mask (Fig. 5). This is particularly interesting as it steers the current meaning of the Makini mask further still away from its roots as priestly attire, although this time grounded in deep cultural connection.



Figure 5: Fortune Designs, Hawaiian Strength Ikaika: Strength Power and Determination (Designs, 2025).

The Makini Mask and Community Health

The historical and contemporary journey of the Makini mask reveals how cultural meaning is deeply intertwined with community identity, resilience, and health. The analysis that follows identifies three key implications of this history: colonial misrepresentation that distorted identity and deepened health inequities; suppression of traditional systems that weakened cultural resilience; and contemporary reclamation through language and education that restores identity and well-being. Together, these implications show that culture is not peripheral to health but constitutive of it: how communities are represented, remembered, and empowered can shape their capacity to thrive.

Colonial Misrepresentation and the Construction of Identity

One of the earliest European depictions of Hawaiian ceremonial life, *A Canoe of the Sandwich Islands, the Rowers Masked* (1779), engraved by Charles Grignon after a drawing by John Webber during Captain Cook's third voyage (Fig. 6) illustrates how Indigenous symbols and practices were filtered through colonial observation. The print shows a "a double canoe with an upright lateen sail holding ten rowers wearing gourd helmets, two holding small images, a third one, blowing a conch," "likely a ceremony where the Hawaiians came on board masked." The scene itself holds no record in expedition journals (Museum, 2025). Later ethnographic interpretations have linked similar Makini masks to rituals honouring Lono and the *Makahiki* season of peace and fertility, though such associations remain interpretive rather than documented in eighteenth-century sources (Masks, 2025).



Figure 6. A Canoe of the Sandwich Islands, the Rowers Masked – 1779, Charles Grignion, John Webber, Print National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London (Charles Grignion, 1779).

The uncertainty surrounding this image underscores how early encounters often transformed Indigenous ceremony into a spectacle of curiosity, revealing more about European ways of seeing than about Hawaiian cultural meaning. Although created as part of a scientific voyage, such images were not neutral records. They reflected the observers' limited knowledge and cultural frameworks, which often emphasised novelty and difference.

Over time, these portrayals contributed to a broader pattern of representation that positioned Indigenous peoples within hierarchical and exoticising narratives—a process later articulated by scholars such as Edward Said and Stuart Hall. Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism* (Said, 1978) illuminates this process of distortion, arguing that colonial powers produced selective portrayals of non-Western peoples as fundamentally different—irrational, backward, or dangerous—in order to legitimise domination and “civilising” interventions. He argues that such representations functioned as a system of knowledge that reinforced imperial authority, a framework that extended beyond the Middle East to shape colonial encounters across the Pacific.

Within the Pacific, such portrayals similarly framed Indigenous societies as exotic and inferior, providing moral justification for missionary and colonial expansion. European visual and textual accounts often emphasised the physical and martial aspects of Hawaiian life—images of feathered helmets, spears, and ceremonial regalia that accentuated strength and spectacle (Kaepler, 1978; Salmond, 2003; Smith, 1992). These portrayals contributed to broader Pacific-wide tropes of the “noble” yet “warlike” islander, which informed later missionary and colonial interpretations of Hawai'i.

As Stuart Hall observes, representation, such as through early engravings, is not a passive reflection of reality but an active process that shapes meaning and establishes shared understandings of difference (Hall, 1997). By circulating through art, science, and travel

literature, these images did more than depict; they helped construct the categories through which colonised peoples were known and governed.

In the Hawaiian context, depictions that emphasised savagery or aggression contributed to broader colonial narratives that positioned Indigenous peoples within hierarchical systems of value. Over time, these frameworks influenced how institutions such as governance, education, and health were organised and understood. The legacies of such hierarchies remain evident today: recent data show that Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders continue to experience significant barriers to care and higher burdens of chronic disease, reflecting the enduring structural inequities that shape health access and outcomes in the United States (Nambi Ndugga, 2024). Empirical evidence supports the health implications of these historical and representational inequities. Williams et al. reviewed decades of research linking racial discrimination to adverse physiological and psychological outcomes, including elevated stress, hypertension, and depression (Williams et al., 2019).

These dynamics reveal how systems of representation, governance, and care are historically intertwined. The hierarchies first constructed through colonial imagery have evolved into structural inequities that continue to influence health and social outcomes. As Farmer observes, such enduring arrangements of power and inequality operate as forms of structural violence, shaping who falls ill and who receives care (Farmer, 2004). Addressing these inequities requires what Metzl and Roberts term *structural competency*—recognising how historical and cultural forces continue to shape the foundations of health itself (Jonathan M. Metzl, 2014).

Cultural suppression and the erosion of resilience

While colonial representation reframed Hawaiian culture through external lenses, colonisation also imposed internal ruptures. The abolition of Hawaiian spiritual and social systems in the early nineteenth century illustrates how suppression of Indigenous governance and ritual structures eroded cultural continuity and collective resilience.

Pu'ukoholā Heiau (Fig. 7), a sacred site embodying the *Kapu* system, a network of spiritual, legal, and ecological codes that ordered Hawaiian life, stands as a powerful symbol of this transformation (Malo, 1951). In 1819, shortly after the death of King Kamehameha I, the *Kapu* system was abolished under the rule of Liholiho (Kamehameha II); temples were dismantled and images of the gods burned (Kamakau, 1961). The end of this system, which had regulated relationships among people, land, and the spiritual world, marked a profound disruption to the social and moral order that had sustained community balance for generations (Kuykendall, 1938).



Figure 7: *Pu'ukoholā Heiau* National Historic Site (Islands, 2025).

Although the collapse of the *Kapu* system did not directly cause the epidemics that followed, its dissolution represented a major disruption to the institutions that had once structured Hawaiian collective life. In the decades after European contact, Hawai'i suffered catastrophic depopulation: epidemics of measles, smallpox, and influenza reduced the Native Hawaiian population by more than 80% by the mid-nineteenth century (Stannard, 1989). The loss of *Kapu* also meant the disappearance of cultural frameworks that had previously organised social relations, food distribution, and ritual practices intended to restore balance during times of hardship (Handy, 1958; Malo, 1951). While these systems cannot be directly linked to disease outcomes, their absence likely compounded the social dislocation that accompanied population decline, leaving Hawaiian communities to navigate crisis without the moral and ecological structures that had once underpinned resilience.

This pattern resonates with findings from other Indigenous contexts. In a landmark study of nearly 200 First Nations communities in British Columbia, Chandler and Lalonde found striking differences in youth suicide rates associated with the degree of cultural continuity (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998). Communities that maintained control over institutions such as schools, land, and local governance, and that preserved language and ceremonial life, reported no youth suicides over a five-year period, whereas those lacking such continuity experienced dramatically higher rates. The authors argued that continuity of culture provides individuals with a sustained sense of identity, belonging, and purpose—psychosocial foundations essential for health and survival.

Applying this insight to the Hawaiian experience, the suppression of the *Kapu* system did more than eradicate ritual practice; it dismantled the institutional and spiritual structures that had long sustained collective life. As these frameworks disappeared, Native Hawaiians faced new diseases and colonial disruptions amid profound cultural and social dislocation. The erosion of cultural continuity thus contributed to spiritual dislocation and social vulnerability—conditions that, over time, have been associated with enduring inequities in health and well-being.

Cultural reclamation and the restoration of well-being

While colonisation suppressed Indigenous structures of meaning and health, contemporary revitalization efforts demonstrate that reclaiming culture can restore resilience and well-being (Smith, 2012). During the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s, symbols such as the Makini mask reemerged as expressions of cultural identity and political resistance (Trask, 1993). Its reinterpretation, from a ritual object associated with the deity Lono to a modern emblem of cultural resilience, illustrates what anthropologist James Clifford describes as culture's adaptive capacity: the ability to persist through reinvention rather than remain static (Clifford, 2013). The renewed visibility of the Makini thus represents not a break from tradition, but an evolution of it, aligning ancestral symbols with contemporary movements for recognition and self-determination.

This broader cultural resurgence extended beyond material heritage to language and education. Hawaiian language immersion schools, such as the *Pūnana Leo* “language nests” established in the 1980s (Fig. 8), have been central to the revival of *‘ōlelo Hawai‘i* (Warner, 2001; Wilson, 2001). Once endangered, the language is now used across homes, schools, and media, producing new generations of fluent speakers capable of carrying forward ancestral knowledge while navigating contemporary life. As summarised by McCarty, research on Hawaiian immersion programs indicates that students educated primarily in Hawaiian perform as well as, or better than, their peers in English-language schools, with some achieving university-level competence before graduation (McCarty, 2003).



Figure 8: Hawaiian immersion students perform at a school fundraiser for the programme (2019), Honolulu Magazine.(Magazine, 2019)

Beyond academic outcomes, culture-based education has been shown to promote socioemotional health. Research synthesised by Kamehameha Schools and others indicates that culturally grounded learning enhances students' sense of identity, self-efficacy, and community belonging, factors linked to positive health and educational outcomes (Schools,

2014). Decolonial scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Mason Durie similarly argue that restoring culture, through language, ceremony, and self-determined education, forms the foundation of collective well-being by reasserting autonomy and reconnecting people to their epistemologies and lands (Durie, 2004; Smith, 2012).

In Hawai'i and across Indigenous contexts, cultural reclamation operates simultaneously as a health-promoting practice and an assertion of self-determination. The contemporary Makini exemplifies how reclaiming symbols, languages, and practices on one's own terms can rebuild identity, cohesion, and resilience. When reinterpretation emerges from within the community, it becomes not only an act of remembrance but an ongoing process of healing.

Contemporary relevance and broader implications

These three implications illustrate how the historical trajectory of the Makini mask reflects broader Indigenous experiences of cultural loss and renewal—processes through which representation, suppression, and reclamation have each left lasting imprints on collective health and well-being (Durie, 2004; Farmer, 2004; Smith, 2012). Colonial misrepresentation constrained how Hawaiian identity was perceived and valued; the suppression of cultural systems disrupted the social and spiritual structures that once supported resilience; and the subsequent reclamation of culture through language, education, and art has emerged as a source of restoration and strength (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998; Clifford, 2013).

Viewed as a continuum, these dynamics suggest that health is not solely biological but also historical and cultural, shaped by the narratives through which communities are represented, silenced, and empowered to define themselves (Hall, 1997; Jonathan M. Metz, 2014).

Recognising this interconnection has important implications for health systems, education, and policy, which increasingly acknowledge cultural continuity as a determinant of well-being (Laurence J. Kirmayer, 2009). In Hawai'i and elsewhere, meaningful healing requires that history itself be understood as a site of both harm and possibility (Smith, 2012).

The cultural history of the Makini mask thus holds contemporary resonance. The same structural and representational forces that once misrepresented and suppressed Hawaiian culture continue to shape the health realities of Indigenous peoples today (Farmer, 2004; Jonathan M. Metz, 2014). Inequities in access to care, education, and representation are not isolated phenomena but enduring consequences of colonial systems that devalued Indigenous knowledge and authority (Durie, 2004; Smith, 2012). Reframing health through this historical lens underscores that wellness cannot be disentangled from power, identity, and justice (Laurence J. Kirmayer, 2009).

Conclusion

Across the Pacific and in Indigenous contexts globally, cultural revitalization has emerged as a key pathway to resilience. Hawaiian language immersion programs, community-based healing initiatives, and renewed recognition of traditional practitioners exemplify how reclaiming identity and knowledge can strengthen psychological and physical well-being (Kaholokula et al., 2018; McCarty, 2003). These efforts affirm what decolonial and Indigenous health scholars have long emphasized: that cultural continuity, self-determination, and belonging are central determinants of health (Durie, 2004; Laurence J. Kirmayer, 2009; Smith, 2012).

For contemporary health systems, these insights carry practical urgency. Culturally grounded approaches are not symbolic gestures of inclusion but essential strategies for achieving equity (Durie, 2004; Jonathan M. Metzl, 2014). Embedding Indigenous epistemologies, languages, and values within health and education systems fosters trust, strengthens identity, and supports intergenerational healing (Kaholokula et al., 2018; Laurence J. Kirmayer, 2009; Smith, 2012). The Makini, in this sense, stands not only as an artifact of history but as a living metaphor for transformation—illustrating that when communities reclaim the power to represent themselves, they also reclaim the power to heal.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the Russell and Mab Grimwade Miegunyah Fund for their generous support in making this work possible. The authors would also like to thank staff from the Melbourne University Museums and Collections for their ongoing support and guidance, in addition to advice, and education, from Professor Noah H. Dolim from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

References

- Borofsky, R. (1997). CA* Forum on Theory in Anthropology
- Cook, Lono, Obeyesekere, and Sahlins. *Current Anthropology*, 38(2), 255-282.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/204608>
- Chandler, M. J., & Lalonde, C. (1998). Cultural Continuity as a Hedge against Suicide in Canada's First Nations. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 35(2), 191-219.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/136346159803500202>
- Charles Grignon, J. W. (1779). *A Canoe of the Sandwich Islands, the Rowers Masked*. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.
- Clifford, J. (2013). *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Creager, K. (1991). FROM KAPU TO christianity: A study of the abolition of the *Kapu* system and the introduction of christianity in hawaii. *BYU Scholars Archive*.
- Designs, F. (2025). *Hawaiian Strength Ikaika; Strength Power and Determination*.
- Dictionaries, H. (2025). *Ikaika*. Ulukau. <https://wehewehe.org/gsd12.85/cgi-bin/hdict?e=d-11000-00---off-0hdict--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10-ED--4-----0-1lpm--11-haw-Zz-1--Zz-1-home---00-3-1-00-0--4----0-0-11-00-0utfZz-8-00&d=D5145&l=en>
- Durie, M. (2004). An Indigenous model of health promotion. *Health Promotion Journal of Australia*, 15(3), 181-185. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1071/HE04181>
- Farmer, P. (2004). An Anthropology of Structural Violence. *Current Anthropology*, 45(3), 305-325.
<https://doi.org/10.1086/382250>
- Greevy, E. (1977). *Hawaiians in traditional attire support Kaho'olawe occupiers Kainoa and Kealoha* [Photograph].
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Sage.
- Handy, E. S. C., & Pukui, M. K. . (1958). *The Polynesian family system in Ka'ū, Hawai'i*. Honolulu. HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Islands, H. (2025). *Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site*.
<https://www.gohawaii.com/islands/hawaii-big-island/regions/kohala/puukohola-heiau-national-historic-site>
- Jonathan M. Metz, D. E. Roberts. (2014). Structural Competency Meets Structural Racism: Race, Politics, and the Structure of Medical Knowledge. *AMA Journal of Ethics*(16(9)), 674-690.
- Kaepler, A. L. (1978). *Artificial Curiosities: An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook*. Bishop Museum Press.
- Kaholokula, J. K., Ing, C. T., Look, M. A., Delafield, R., & Sinclair, K. (2018). Culturally responsive approaches to health promotion for Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. *Ann Hum Biol*, 45(3), 249-263. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03014460.2018.1465593>
- Kajihiro, K. (2020). Kaho'olawe Is Not An Island: Political-ecological Assemblages, Spaces Of Indigenous (Re)emergence, And The Logic Of Counterinsurgency. *University of Hawaii at Manoa*.
- Kamakau, S. M. (1961). *Ruling chiefs of Hawaii*. Honolulu. HI: Kamehameha Schools Press.
- Kanahele, G. S. (1982). *Hawaiian Renaissance*. Honolulu : Project WAI'AHĀ.
- Kuykendall, R. S. (1938). *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Vol. Vol. 1). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Laurence J. Kirmayer, M. S., Rob Whitley, Stéphane F. Dandeneau, Colette Isaac. (2009). Community Resilience: Models, Metaphors and Measures. *International Journal of Indigenous Health*, 5 (1).
- Lum, B. (2003). Kaho`olawe and the *Makahiki* Ceremony: The Healing of an Island. *Californian Journal of Health Promotion*, 1(Special Issue: Hawaii), 25-33.

- Magazine, H. (2019). *Hawaiian immersion students perform at a school fundraiser for the programme*. <https://www.honolulumagazine.com/how-hawaiian-immersion-programs-are-inspiring-public-school-students/>
- Malo, D. (1951). *HAWAIIAN ANTIQUITIES. (MOOLELO HAWAII)*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Masks, S. F. M. o. C. (2025). *Hawaiian Makini*. <https://www.maskmuseum.org/mask/hawaii-1/>
- McCarty, T. L. (2003). Revitalising Indigenous Languages in Homogenising Times. *Comparative Education*, 39(2), 147-163. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050060302556>
- Museum, N. M. (2025). *A Canoe of the Sandwich Islands, the Rowers Masked*. Royal Museums Greenwich. <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-154134>
- Nambi Ndugga, L. H., and Samantha Artiga. (2024). *Key Data on Health and Health Care by Race and Ethnicity*. K. F. Foundation. <https://www.kff.org/racial-equity-and-health-policy/key-data-on-health-and-health-care-by-race-and-ethnicity/?entry=executive-summary-introduction>
- Noble, J. W., Alexander Hogg. (1784). *Portrait of a man of the Sandwich Islands with his helmet and A young woman of the Sandwich Islands*. The University of Melbourne Art Collection The Russell and Mab Grimwade Bequests, 1973.
- Rhodes, D. L. (2001). *Overview of Hawaiian History*. NPS History.
- Rüland, A.-L. (2024). Sustaining local opposition to Big Science: A case study of the Thirty Meter Telescope controversy. *Technology in Society*, 78, 102597. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techsoc.2024.102597>
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
- Salmond, A. (2003). *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog: Captain Cook in the South Seas*. London: Allen Lane.
- Schools, K. (2014). *Ka Huaka'i: 2014 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment*. Honolulu. HI: Kamehameha Schools, Research & Evaluation Division.
- Seaton, S. L. (1974). The Hawaiian "Kapu" Abolition of 1819. *American Ethnologist*, 1(1), 193-206. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/643809>
- Smith, B. (1992). *Imaging the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Vol. 2nd Ed.). London: Zed Books.
- Stannard, D. E. (1989). *Before the horror: The population of Hawai'i on the eve of Western contact*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Trask, H. K. (1993). *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- W. Taylor, J. W. (Not Dated). *A man of the Sandwich Islands, masked*. The University of Melbourne Art Collection The Russell and Mab Grimwade Bequests.
- Walker, J. W. (1780s). *An offering before Captain Cook, in Sandwich Islands*. The University of Melbourne Art Collection The Russell and Mab Grimwade Bequests.
- Warner, S. L. N. (2001). The movement to revitalize Hawaiian language and culture. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 152, 133-144.
- Williams, D. R., Lawrence, J. A., & Davis, B. A. (2019). Racism and Health: Evidence and Needed Research. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 40(Volume 40, 2019), 105-125. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-publhealth-040218-043750>
- Wilson, W. H., Kamanā, K. (2001). Mai loko mai o ka 'i'ini: Proceeding from a dream. *The Bilingual Research Journal*, 25(3) 429-448.