HO'OULU 'ĀINA: EMBODIED ALOHA 'ĀINA
ENACTING INDIGENOUS FUTURITIES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

POLITICAL SCIENCE

May 2018

By

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Mahalo piha me ke aloha palena ‘ole to the staff and volunteers at Ho‘oulu ʻĀina for their dedication to making Ho‘oulu ʻĀina a place of cultural resurgence, spiritual growth and physical and intellectual strengthening. He wahi o ke aloha ʻāina ‘oiaʻiʻo. A special thanks to the leaders who shared their manaʻo in interviews: Puni Jackson, Casey Jackson, Kaʻōhua Lucas, Darla Simeona, and Kat Burke.

I am also indebted to Morna McEachern, my dissertation doula, who helped bring this document to life and the friends who patiently listened to me work through the arguments of this dissertation: Andrea Jepson, Susan Horowitz, Mo Wells, Ryan Knight and Tina Grandinetti.
ABSTRACT

In this dissertation I examine the relationship between Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiian) values and practice and the politics of decolonization. The question that drives my work is: How do we as Kanaka ʻŌiwi step away from the toxic culture of neoliberal capitalism and the trauma of colonialism, structures that work to eliminate the kinship relationships between my people and the ʻāina (that which feeds us) that have developed over millennia? This work is situated within a broader body of scholarship on resurgent practices of Indigenous peoples. This dissertation argues that through resurgent practices Indigenous ideologies develop and become the springboard for enacting Indigenous futurities. Indigenous ideologies emerge out of practice that is anchored in place and a worldview that acknowledges our kinship relationship with ʻāina. These relationships have developed across generations of being of and on the land and are shaped and constrained by ancestral flows of knowledge that are anchored to specific places. Indigenous ideologies cannot be distilled into an abstract set of theoretical principles designed to contain all situations in all places but are instead expressions of specific values and relationships based in specific material environments. Through participant observation, semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis I present a portrait of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, a Kanaka ʻŌiwi community that is mapping ancestral knowledge and values onto future generations through rigorous attention to and re-thinking of structures of education and health within an urban community in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. This community is a living example of the way practice steeped in Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiian) ideology contributes to a radical futurity. This radical futurity is building networks of affinity with non-Indigenous people working towards transformation of the global social order.
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Chapter 1: Introduction
This dissertation examines the relationship between values and practice of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and the politics of Indigenous resurgence and decolonization. The question that drives this work is: How do Kanaka ‘Ōiwi step away from the toxic culture of neoliberal capitalism and the trauma of colonialism, structures that work to eliminate the kinship relationships between my people and the ‘āina (that which feeds us) that have developed over millennia in Hawai‘i? This work is situated in a broader body of scholarship on resurgence of Indigenous peoples that involve “renaming, reclaiming, and reoccupying especially lands.” Because Hawai‘i is my kulāiwi (homeland) I focus on Kanaka ‘Ōiwi resurgence as expressed in the values of aloha ‘āina (love for that which feeds) kuleana (responsibility and authority) and waiwai (abundance). These ‘Ōiwi concepts are a part of the complex of place-based knowledge and value systems that have developed over millenia of being of and on this land.

In this dissertation I argue that Indigenous ideologies facilitate resurgence and decolonization by calling people back to praxis that restores cultural health and well being. Decolonization has taken many forms, including demanding Native rights from the colonial legal system, physically blocking destruction of sacred lands, and everyday acts.

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1 ‘Ōiwi means “of the bone” in the Hawaiian language. I use the terms Native Hawaiian, Kanaka Maoli, and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi to refer to descendants of the first people of these islands. I also use the terms maoli and ‘ōiwi as adjectives to mean “derived from the first people.”


3 I use in-text definitions whenever possible and unless otherwise indicated definitions and spelling are taken from the online dictionary “Nā Puke Wehewehe ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i,” accessed January 21, 2018, http://wehewehe.org/.
of resurgence that involve living the spiritual and social relationships that are based in knowledge and values of ancestors.

I am most interested in decolonial acts of resurgence that reinforce the knowledge and values of ancestors in the practice of daily life. These practices operate outside of state hegemony, which I argue, is the most probable path to transforming state structures. In this dissertation I focus my argument on aloha ʻāina as an ideological construct that hails Kanaka ʻŌiwi and allies as Indigenous subjects, compelling them to political acts that challenge the hegemony of power in the settler state in subtle and nuanced ways and anticipate futures where the values of aloha ʻāina, kuleana and waiwai are the norm.

Field research for this dissertation was done at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, a one-hundred-acre nature preserve run by a community health center in Honolulu’s urban core. It is an ʻŌiwi space whose mission is to be “a welcoming place of refuge where people of all cultures sustain and propagate the connections between the health of the land and the health of the people.” In August 2013 my dissertation advisor put the call out to a group of women associated with MANA, myself included, to join her at a Hoʻoulu ʻĀina community workday. On that first day I found evidence of the interlocking ideologies, Indigeneity

and anarchism, which inspired me to pursue the possibility of field research there. As an introduction to Ho‘oulu ‘Āina I offer a narrative of that first encounter.

Beginnings

Just past the wooden bridge over free-flowing Kalihi Stream is the turn into the Ho‘oulu ‘Āina driveway. Shaded by green and lush forest, the sign marking the driveway reads, “This land is your grandmother and she loves you.” Driving into the gravel parking lot I was immediately immersed in community. To the right was controlled chaos in and around a large open tent. A line of sorts meanders from a table at the entrance of the tent across the lawn. To the left at the far edge of the lawn was an ahu (stone altar). Offerings of a hand of banana and ti-leaf woven into a shiny green lei had been placed on the rock structure. Beyond the ahu was a lush border of greenery and glimpses of a massive ulu tree, papaya trees, and rows of garden greens. Beyond that Norfolk pines reached upward through a vertical spread of albizia trees. Towering above the forest canopy the green peaks of the Ko‘olau mountains touched the sky. The air is cool and the sun brilliant.

At the tent, the volunteer coordinator and her helpers distributed waiver forms to newcomers. “Please sign the waiver,” they implored. “You have to do it once a year.” I signed the legal form filled with language of warranties and responsibilities and then signed-in for the day on a more welcoming sheet that asked: “What’s your name? – Where are you from? – How are you feeling?” I noticed the double subjectivity embedded in this protocol of signing-in. The waiver forms interpellated us as subjects of the state and its legal system. The daily sign-in sheet on the other hand encouraged us to think about our relationship to homeland and personal wellbeing. From the moment that guests signed in Ho‘oulu ‘Āina protocol began to pull us away from state power.
structures and asked us to recognize ourselves outside of the state. I filled out the legal waiver without even reading it and then contemplated the second form. I wrote “Tuti – Waimānalo – happy!”

Like ripples through water, word spread that it was time to begin. We gravitated to the lawn and a voice called everyone into the circle:

“Aloha! ... Aloha! Please join the circle.”

Friends and strangers join hands, the circle materialized and the leader who called us to gather began in a loud voice that carried across the lawn:

“Welcome to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Wow, what an intimate group.”

The comment made me chuckle because seems to me the seventy-five or so people gathered was a large group for a community workday. The leader continues with the aloha circle protocol:

Welcome to this aloha circle. This is a time to introduce yourself to the ʻāina and everyone in the circle. But first we introduce and acknowledge our grandmother, the ʻāina. We are in a one-hundred-acre nature preserve in the ahupua’a of Kalihi. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina encompasses two ʻili ʻāina or land divisions. We are standing in the ʻili of ʻŌuaua and on the ocean-side of us is Māluawai. Now we ask you to share three names. First your name, then the name of the place you call home and finally the name of someone you hold dear, someone you are bringing with you today like a kupuna who has passed on. My name is Puni. My home is here in Māluawai and today I bring my tūtū with me.

After we introduced ourselves and speak the name of our home and someone dear to us, work crew leaders describe the projects for the day: weeding and harvesting in the herb or vegetable garden, weeding in the agroforest of Pacific island food and medicine plants named Pasifika, planting bananas in the upper garden, preparing lunch in the kitchen, and the story crew. Puni reminded everyone to be mindful while working and to take care of each other. She then closed the opening protocol with an oli (Hawaiian chant) that honors this ʻāina.
Controlled chaos resumed as volunteers self-select into one of the six work crews. I join the story crew led by Kat Burke. Kat holds a Masters in Public Health and is currently in a doctoral program at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. At the time of our first meeting she was a program evaluator at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, which involved using public health research methods to collect, evaluate and manage community-owned data. This data will be used for writing project reports to foundations that support Ho‘oulu ‘Āina.

Our goal as story crew, Kat told us, is to contribute to a database of stories gathered from volunteers. These stories become part of the bigger story about the work that ultimately belongs to all those who participate in doing the work. These stories are also shared with the funders as a part of the program evaluation. She asked the three of us in the story crew to visit each work site observing, listening and asking participants to respond to the prompt “this place is...” At the end of the workday we compiled our stories into a narrative about the day.

For the next two hours I moved from the kitchen to the organic garden in ‘Ōuaua, to the Pasifika agro-forest to the upper gardens of Māluawai, observing and listening. In the kitchen as we prepared vegetables for lunch I asked the choppers to finish the sentence “Ho‘oulu ‘Āina is....” A woman carefully slicing carrots quietly responded, “This place is hard to pronounce.” She seemed to shy away from her spontaneous outburst but was bolstered when others around the table agree. A staff member also chopping vegetables is surprised. She hadn’t realize this could be a problem. The ensuing discussion centered on ways to help those not familiar with the Hawaiian language become more comfortable hearing and using the language. I recognized in this interaction evidence of horizontal
flows of authority in which the staff person engaged with volunteers directly about improving organizational process.

In the upper garden area of Māluawai, young people were busy digging holes for banana shoots. I asked what Ho‘oulu ‘Āina meant to them. “We love this place and this place loves us,” one of them shouted then returned to digging. This, I discover during the course of my fieldwork, is a common sentiment. People who spend any time working at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina develop reciprocal relationship of love and responsibility to place. In a later communication Kat tells me that these observations illustrate community-owned “data points,” the kind of narratives that she incorporated into reports to funders.

While in Māluawai, I engaged in a lengthy conversation with Casey Jackson, a member of the staff who has lived and worked at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina for most of the ten years that the Park has been in operation.

“Aren’t all the invasive plants a challenge?” I asked him. Casey pointed to a tree at the edge of the jungle that surrounds the clearing. It is maybe a foot and a half in diameter growing tall and straight. “That’s an albizia,” he tells me. “They are damaging forests all over Hawai‘i.”

My first thought about the albizia (Falcataria moluccana), a native to lowlands in the Molucca Islands (Indonesia), was here is yet another example of colonial violence to the land, a foreign species introduced by settlers, that is now destroying native eco-systems.

“We can’t let those trees take over our forests,” Casey continued, “but that tree - it does not make sense to cut down that specific tree. Someday it could make a good canoe.” The point that Casey was making was that although invasive species need to be removed in order to reach the long-term goal of returning water flow to this ‘āina and
revitalizing native ecosystems, each patch of land with its trees, and underbrush and microorganisms must be analyzed based on many possible models not just a single model. All this information is processed collectively into continually evolving plans of action. Through work on the land Casey experiences relationships and flows that better equip him for analysis and action. Working the ‘āina is a visceral experience of complexity.

I have returned to Hoʻoulu ‘Āina many times since this first day. At community workdays I join hundreds of others cultivating food at the various garden sites, clearing invasive species and restoring eco-systems in the forest. Working the land in a place like Hoʻoulu ‘Āina requires that those who show up collectively engage with all existents of the world – humans, plants, animals, weather, dirt, and rock – in complex relationships of knowledge cultivation.

“Knowledge comes from working the ‘āina,” Casey told me that first day. Living and working at Hoʻoulu ‘Āina for ten years he has come to understand that the ‘āina is sacred. The land itself demands that we respect the mana (divine power) of all plants growing in the forest, including, he emphatically adds, invasive species. After a contemplative moment he declares:

“We are not planning for five years or even fifteen years. Our plan is for two hundred years.”

Since that encounter with Casey I have often heard the sentiment – “plan for two hundred years,” and “plan for seven generations forward.” I did not press Casey further for specifics but as someone trained in Alternative Futures work this statement brings up a number of questions that the organization would be wise to tackle. In two hundred years what will this land look like? There will undoubtedly be impacts from not only the work
of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina and the community but also impacts from outside forces like the globalizing economy and a changing climate.

**Situating Myself In This Work**

My mother’s mother has genealogical roots on Hawaiʻi Island and my mother’s father has genealogical roots on Kauaʻi, at the other end of the archipelago. My father came to Hawaiʻi as a marine in World War II. My parents met during the war and settled in Hawaiʻi because my mother would not live anywhere else. I grew up in Kailua, a suburb of Honolulu; and graduated from the Kamehameha Schools, an institution endowed by the will of the last descendant of Kamehameha, the aliʻi nui (high chief) who united the entire archipelago under his rule.

Kamehameha School’s mission is to educate Native Hawaiians to become good and industrious men and women. It was my anchor to being Hawaiian as were my Native Hawaiian grandparents, who I spent a lot of time with. We ate Hawaiian food, sang Hawaiian songs, danced hula and always referred to Hawaiian culture in the past tense; practices that safely ensconced the culture of our ancestors in a romanticized past. The goal of school and family was to socialize me into the capitalist political economy of the United States.

I went to college on the continent during the politically and socially unsettling late twentieth century. It was during this time that my political identity formed around anti-capitalist and anarchist ideals. After completing film school on the continent, I returned home began using my filmmaking skills to help Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities tell their own stories.

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Back at home, I wanted to participate in the resurgence of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi values and practices but soon was confronted with my own position as a privileged Hawaiian. The hard work of (re)learning what it means to be Hawaiian began for me with digging my hands into the mud at Ka Papa Lo‘i o Kānewai, the lo‘i system on the banks of Mānoa stream that is now one of the anchors of Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Ka Papa Lo‘i o Kānewai materially immersed me in aloha ‘āina practice.

In the early 1990s, leading up to the centennial of the overthrow of the Hawaiian nation, I worked on three projects that deepened my understanding of Hawaiian nationalism and stimulated my thinking about decolonization and an independent Hawai‘i. I presented educational programs on behalf of the group Hui Na‘auao, a coalition of over forty Hawaiian organizations formed to educate themselves and the public on the historical basis for Hawaiian sovereignty and the forms the Hawaiian nation should take.¹ I worked as a researcher on the film “Act of War: The Overthrow of the Hawaiian Nation.”² This work was the catalyst to my reading Haunani-Kay Trask and Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa and a body of scholarship that made these claims to nationhood and independence real to me.³ I also worked with the Protect Kahoʻolawe ‘Ohana (PKO)

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during the negotiation and return of the island to the State. I participated in a half dozen
PKO accesses to Kahoʻolawe. Kanaka Maoli and allies lived aloha ʻāina and a anti-
hierarchy leadership structure. The knowledge production of Kanaka Maoli scholars laid
the groundwork for a Hawaiian nation; and on the ground on Kahoʻolawe aloha ʻāina
becomes materially entangled in issues of governance and cultural resurgence.

As the millenium turned, this question came into greater focus when I was
introduced to alternative futures. While working at the Hawaiʻi State Legislature, I
attended a presentation by James Dator to a group of legislators and staff. He challenged
those in the room to critically examine our assumptions about the future. He offered tools
that would help communities and governments thrive no matter how the future unfolds.
Dator’s presentation challenged me to envision a Hawaiian nation unfolding in uncertain
futures.

As I began work on a treatment for a documentary that would grapple with Hawaiian
self-determination within these unfolding futures, I realized that I needed to deepen my
knowledge of the intricacies of political power in the movement. I enrolled in an
Indigenous Politics course to add analytical tools to my filmmaking tool belt. I eventually
joined the Political Science Department at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa where I
engaged deeply with Kanaka ʻŌiwi political thought and Futures Studies. My Master’s
thesis, “Challenging Imperial Capitalism: Sustainable Self-determination Strategies on
Molokai, Hawaiʻi,” examined resistance to neoliberal capitalism on the rural island of
Molokai.

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Methodology

The primary methodology I use in this dissertation embraces both Indigenous and Kanaka ʻŌiwi research paradigms. Kanaka ʻŌiwi research methodology, like Indigenous research methodologies more broadly, works “to decolonize and indigenize dominant research methodologies”\(^\text{10}\) and demands that research in Indigenous communities first serve the needs of the community and then those of the researcher.\(^\text{11}\) I also use alternative futures as a productive theoretical model with which to analyze discourse of decolonial futures.

The essay “Reproducing the Ropes of Resistance: Hawaiian Studies Methodologies” by Goodyear-Kaʻōpua outlines the principles of the Kanaka ʻŌiwi methodology that I am following. This methodology pays close attention to four ʻōiwi concepts: lāhui, kuleana, ea and pono. These concepts, as Goodyear-Kaʻōpua writes form the “central commitments and lines of inquiry” of this methodology.\(^\text{12}\) She likens these four lines of inquiry to aho, or cords, that can be examined singly and “when braided together form what political scholar and poet, Haunani-Kay Trask, describes as a ‘rope of resistance’.”\(^\text{13}\)

The first concept is lāhui, or peoplehood. This concept embraces “the productive tension between powerfully asserting who we are against forces that work toward our


\(^{13}\) Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2.
extinction and holding open space to acknowledge that who we are is not a closed
question."\textsuperscript{14} Some may focus on rights and claims to water, land and resources vis-à-vis
state structures; others may focus on the ways the lāhui as subject is constituted outside
of state structures. The two ways of understanding lāhui creates a dialectic that opens the
terrain for researchers like myself to interrogate Hawaiian-ness from a variety of
perspectives.

The second aho is ea, a complex term that illuminates Kanaka ʻŌiwi understanding of
political sovereignty. Ea is emergence, life, it is breath and it is sovereignty.\textsuperscript{15} As
Goodyear-Kaʻōpua writes:

Unlike Euro-American philosophical notions of sovereignty, ea is based on the
experiences of people on the land, on relationships forged through the process of
remembering and caring for wahi pana, storied places. In our practice as Hawaiian
studies researchers, we should take cues from personal and collective experiences
on the ʻāina. We should strive to allow those embodied practices of ea to inform
our theoretical frames, methods of gathering and analyzing information, and the
styles through which we present our work.\textsuperscript{16}

My research is grounded in participatory observation, working alongside the participants
of this inquiry. As my fieldwork progressed it became clear that the participants of my
research, both ʻāina and people were more than subjects. They were co-investigators in a
work that seeks to strengthen Kanaka ʻŌiwi expressions of ea through a careful
examination of practice and discourse.

The third aho is kuleana. Kuleana translates as rights, privilege, responsibilities and
authority but in Hawaiian epistemology there is a specific way those two terms interact.
A person born into a particular kuleana gives that person particular rights to land and

\textsuperscript{14} Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 6.
\textsuperscript{15} Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 9.
\textsuperscript{16} Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 10.
knowledge but those rights are dependent on fulfilling responsibilities to that land and knowledge. Goodyear-Kaʻōpua expands on this concept with respect to the kuleana of scholars:

Learning and knowledge are forms of privilege that come with attendant responsibilities to a larger collective and to the ʻāina on which we depend for life. As a learner masters new skills, he or she takes on more complex responsibilities. In turn, it is through the fulfillment of more challenging duties in caring for the land and the community that one learns.17

Kanalu Young defines kuleana as a “received sense of ancestrally based responsibility.”18 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua builds on Young’s definition by adding that it is “authority and obligation based in interdependence and community.”19 Kaleikoa Kaʻeo describes kuleana as a cascading set of responsibilities. When a diverse community comes together to work through a problem in an ʻŌiwi context the first to speak and the one whose voice has the most weight is the person, ohana, community who claim, based on genealogy, kuleana over knowledge or place.20 Kuleana, then, is an individual’s responsibility to care for place or knowledge, which is recognized in that person through their genealogical connection to that place or knowledge. As a scholar studying place-based ethics in a Kanaka ʻŌiwi community, my kuleana is to pay close attention to the needs of the community and place my research agenda behind the needs of the community.

My fieldwork is situated at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, a one-hundred-acre nature preserve in the upper reaches of Kalihi Valley operated by a community health center that integrates

17 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 15.
aloha ʻāina into a comprehensive health care system. It operates from the core belief that healing the land heals the people. I began as a volunteer, working the ʻāina and learning. Eventually my relationship with the place and the people matured to the point that I felt it appropriate to ask key staff at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina for permission to center field work for research on Indigenous ideology and alternative futures at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Puni Jackson and Kaʻōhua Lucas, leaders in the organization, helped me understand my kuleana as a volunteer and as a researcher. I was gratified when I was invited to center my fieldwork at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. My kuleana at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina requires that I contribute to the well-being of the ʻāina and that my work serves the mission of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina to be a healing place of refuge.

The final aho that Goodyear-Kaʻōpua braids into the rope of resistance is pono, which she characterizes as “the search for and maintenance of harmonious relationships, justice, and healing.” In her discussion of the researcher’s relationship to pono, she invokes the question that Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa poses to Kanaka Maoli and settler alike in her groundbreaking book Native Lands and Foreign Desire: Pehea la e pono ai? This research project, likewise, is inspired by the question Kameʻeleihiwa raises in her book: “How do we restore balance, bring about healing, and assure that justice is realized?” I humbly strive to remain true to these four aho as methodology and to honor the community that has allowed me in as a researcher.

I also bring to this work a strong commitment to alternative futures methodology. Alternative futures provides a theoretical framework for formulating concrete praxis in

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22 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 18.
the present that anticipate futures that are not only grounded in balance, healing and justice but also anticipate resiliency no matter what futures bring. The alternative futures methodology developed at the Mānoa School of Futures Studies involves a seven-part visioning process: appreciating the past, understanding the present, forecasting aspects of the futures, experiencing alternative futures, envisioning preferred futures, creating the futures and institutionalizing futures research. As James Dator points out

> When planning for or otherwise anticipating the futures, it is imperative that we do so using an alternative futures approach. We must not assume there is something “out there” called “the most likely future” that we can identify and plan for. The possibilities and challenges before us are far too complex and interrelated for that simplistic kind of planning any more.

After exhaustive research of the ways that corporations, communities, governments, artists envisioned the future Dator, who led the research, discovered “that all of the many images of the future that exist in the world can be grouped into one of four generic piles – four alternative futures.” The four generic futures are Continued Growth, Collapse, Discipline, and Transformation.

In Continued Growth, which futurists call the ‘official’ view of the future of all modern governments, educational systems, and organizations, societies that are growing will continue to do so while exploited and marginalized communities remain in a subordinate relationship to structures of power. Dator has observed that once activists whose goal is to overthrow Grow and revive and sustain images of the future inspired by the past have the chance to live the dream, “the context has changed so much that the

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vision is no longer applicable. At the same time, futurists, in the service of capitalist enterprises, have anticipated the changes, and ridden the tsunami of change for their fun and profit, and the victims of past powers are victimized once again by a future they did not anticipate and prepare for.”

The second generic future is Collapse. This future is gaining valence in mainstream society as the discourse of climate change grows and global capital seems to be collapsing in on itself. In this scenario any number of events “might cause our fragile, over-extended and heavily interconnected globalized world to collapse, either to the extinction of all humans, or else to a globalized New Dark Ages, some people feel.”

Exploited and marginalized communities might see value in a Collapse scenario that holds possibility for rebuilding their societies on a more equitable footing.

The third generic future is Discipline. This future involves a re-aligning of Continued Growth in order to adjust for patterns of behavior that have proven to be destructive of valued processes and relationships. There is potential in the Discipline scenario for Indigenous peoples to form alliances with others in order to rein in societal excesses and prevent collapse.

The fourth generic future is Transformation. This generic future, in the hands of Western liberals, focuses on the “transforming power of technology – especially robotics and artificial engineering, nanotechnology, teleportation, space settlement, and the emergence of a ‘dream society’ as the successor of the ‘information society.’”

Transformation in the hands of Indigenous peoples could possibly involve growing and

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26 Personal communication with James Dator, January 26, 2018.
28 Dator, 10.
developing resurgent Indigenous praxis and value systems to the point that these values are the values that drive the dream society.

These, then, are the two methodological commitments that I bring to this work. First is Kanaka ʻŌiwi methodology that weaves the cords of lāhui, kuleana, ea and pono together to analyze ʻŌiwi resurgence. Second is alternative futures methodology that looks at the ways communities are anticipating the futures. Both research strategies attend to the ways communities are shaping resilient futures; but they go about their work through different lenses. ʻŌiwi methodologies begin with an interrogation of the researcher’s position vis-à-vis the community and the end goals of the proposed research. Research in ʻŌiwi methodologies is also more focused than alternative futures; it is aimed at critiquing colonialism and achieving decolonized futures through cultural, political and social resurgency. Futures research evaluates emerging trends and issues and the effects they could have on the futures. It is a research strategy that can serve many ideological positions; a futurist’s work can be done with communities, organizations, nation states, or globally. Given its broad applicability, to be of use to ʻŌiwi communities, alternative futures methodology needs to be coupled with the values inherent in Kanaka ʻŌiwi methodology. Then the study of emerging issues and trends could provide ʻŌiwi communities with useful ways to envision preferred images of a decolonial future.

The tools
The tools I used to gather data included participatory observation and semi-structured interviews. I selected these tools in order to honor our collective kuleana to ʻāina and to most directly give voice to the people at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. I participated in community
engagement programs on Wednesdays, Thursdays and third Saturdays like any other volunteer. I also volunteered at two fundraisers. Participant observation gave me direct experience of the ways that kuleana and waiwai are structured into community engagement. I also shared drafts of my work with people in the organization. This sharing resulted in deeper discussions about process within the organization and its relationship with the broader community. I refined my theoretical findings based on these ongoing discussions.

I used portraiture and discourse analysis to map the data gathered in the field to the concepts that I developed from my reading of Indigenous and Western political theory. Portraiture is a narrative form that transforms field notes, observations and semi-structured interviews with key individuals into a story that conveys the values and practices of the organization. This method, developed by Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, is used by Goodyear-Kaʻōpua in *The Seeds We Planted.* Portraiture allowed me to capture the context and subtlety of practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. It was particularly suited to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina because stories are an important medium for sharing ancestral knowledge and personal insight amongst the people working there. I have endeavored to capture the passion and excitement of this practice in my portraiture.

The second tool that I used was discourse analysis. “Discourses,” Fairclough writes, “are semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social, or mental) which can generally be identified with different positions, or perspectives of different groups or

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social actors.” Semiosis is making meaning through talk; it is as Fairclough notes “an element of the social process.” Acting (another element of the social process) and talking are primary elements of making meaning, and they are social processes that are in constant motion in relation to each other. Meaning then is unstable and in order to maintain dominance discourse must constantly re-institutionalize and regulate ways of talking and acting, creating a dialectical relationship between the two processes, speaking and acting. “As flows of knowledge through time, discourses determine the way in which a society interprets reality and organizes further discursive and non-discursive practices (i.e. further talking, thinking and acting).” Dialectical tension exists in the interstices between what is said and what is not said, between social practice and semiosis.

Analyzing discourse produced at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina revealed the ideological frame in which the organization operates. People deeply involved with Hoʻoulu ʻĀina pay attention to the ways that practice and knowledge production at the organization are communicated to the broader community.

This attention to discourse facilitates decontestation of the core values of the organization. “Successfully decontested ideas are held as truth by large segments of a given population with such confidence that they no longer appear to be assumptions at

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31 Fairclough, 162.
33 Jager and Maier, 37.
I understand ideology in this context as the concepts and claims of a social group, the institutional worldview that emerges from practice of that group. Portraiture and discourse analysis are the most appropriate tools at my disposal to illuminate the ways that narratives rooted to place are able to re-story and challenge the hegemonic understanding of the world perpetrated by rootless settler colonial discourse.

Chapter Synopses
Chapter two lays out the theoretical framework from which I approach place-based ethics, Indigenous ideology and anarchism in practice. I discuss two ideological framings: 1) ideology as state apparatus in the service of capitalism and colonialism, and 2) Indigenous ideologies centered in place-based ethics. The chapter begins by examining the temporal/spatial ontological underpinnings of ideology from Indigenous and Western perspectives, with particular attention to the ways that the colonial notions of temporality and space are overlaid onto colonized Indigenous societies. This section ends with a discussion of enacting Indigenous futurities as part of the process of decolonization.

The second section of chapter two looks at Western capitalist ideology as laid out by Althusser in “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses.” Althusser’s theory of interpellation through ideological state apparatuses is then put into conversation with Žižek’s work on ideological misrecognition and traumatic kernels, examining the expression of these concepts within settler colonial practices. I then move the frame to Indigenous ideologies, which I characterize as a place-based ethical framework that

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supports reciprocal social relations between human and non-human. Indigenous ideologies, I argue, are discursive expressions of place-based values. The concluding section of the chapter looks at the interlocking workings of indigenism, anarchism and feminism and the potential to form affinities across ideological positions.

Chapters three and four examine the ways that practice and discourse at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina challenge capitalist principles of building wealth through scarcity and deficit. In chapter three I demonstrate how ʻŌiwi place-based values emerge through practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, an ʻōiwi place in an urban environment. Social structures at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina are carefully constructed so as to allow and invite healing and transformation for those who participate in Hoʻoulu ʻĀina programs. The two values I pay close attention to are waiwai, an economy of abundance, and kuleana, recognizing responsibilities to ʻāina and community in every day practice.

Chapter four considers the ways that discursive practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina enacts Kanaka ʻŌiwi futurities. I examine a selection of texts and narratives that articulate the organization’s vision of place, community and aloha ʻāina including: the organization’s website, protocols, educational programs, ʻāina-based narratives, and brochure. The organization’s website is an image rich invitation to participate in Hoʻoulu ʻĀina activities. Circles of reciprocity introduce guests to ʻāina-based social relations. The Pahola ke Aloha educational program provides ʻāina-based training for educators and others who can help shift mainstream systems from values, actions and goals based on deficit to values, actions and goals based on waiwai. Mana Wahine (sacred feminine power) is a prominent narrative in Hoʻoulu ʻĀina practice. The brochure created to solicit
donations for the Ola Koa reforestation project discursively connects abundant futures to the knowledge of the ancestors.

Chapter five recaps the major findings of this dissertation and suggests ways to move the work of decolonization forward using alternative futures as a tool. I suggest that Kanaka ʻŌiwi organizations like Hoʻoulu ʻĀina consider using alternative futures tools to move decolonization work into new terrains, new visions of resilient futures within the four generic future potentialities – continuation, collapse, sustain, and transform.
Chapter 2: Ideological Formation In Political Communities.

As far as the practical lives of individuals go, ideology is needed to provide them with a kind of imaginary ‘map’ of the social totality, so that they can find their way around it.

– Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction*

This chapter lays out the theoretical framework from which I approach Indigenous ideology in practice. I compare ideology from two distinct frames: 1) Western liberal ideology that is in the service of capitalism and colonialism, and 2) Indigenous ideologies centered in place-based ethics.

An ideology is a set of shared ideas and norms that unite groups in society around simplified constructions or representations of reality. I understand ideology in this context as the concepts and claims of a social group or institution, the worldview that both leads to and is constituted by practice. *Ideologies are the explicit doctrines distilled from everyday experiences and the social imaginary of a people that articulate clear moral claims and actions as well as “contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation.”* 36 This definition of ideology follows Gramsci’s definition of historically organic ideologies, which he characterizes as superstructures that “are necessary to a given structure.” 37

Ideology functions in three ways: pejorative ideology that “keeps men and women in their appointed places in class society,” positive ideology that adapts “men and women to the exigencies of social life,” and descriptive ideology that provides a map to navigate the

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“complexity and opaqueness of social life.”

Eagleton characterizes these functions of ideology as types but I prefer to see them as formations on a continuum. Political terrain is complex and as Ferguson points out “ideologies could help people adapt to their situations by keeping others in their appointed places, and the map they provide probably justifies those places.”

Western liberal ideology, for example, disseminates a universalizing discourse of human rights, and democratic freedoms that works to constrain and contain societies in order to further imperial goals of Euro-American states.

Indigenous ideologies emerge out of practice that is anchored in place and a worldview that acknowledges the kinship relationship of humans with all existents. These ideologies are shaped and constrained by ancestral flows of knowledge that are anchored to a specific place and the kinship relationship of humans to that which is other than human. These relationships have developed across generations of being on and on the land and Indigenous flows of knowledge arise out of relationship to specific places.

Indigenous ideologies cannot be abstracted to a set of theoretical principles designed to contain all situations in all places but are instead specific to relationships based in specific material environments.

“Indigenous” is a political subjectivity that Povinelli qualifies on the meta-theoretical level, as a relational field, an empty container. Content is specific to place and the people of that place. Kanaka ʻŌiwi society functions within a specific frame, which is not the same as Maori, Aymara, Lakota, or Sammi. That being said social relations in

39 Kathy Ferguson, personal communication July 2017.
Indigenous societies share a number of characteristics. In an Indigenous worldview, all existents are related. Indigenous peoples recognize reciprocal relations with all existents, be it geological plant, animal, and mineral, or meteorological winds, rain and cloud formations. Indigenous people do not recognize themselves as Indigenous; they are the people of the land, kin to the land and the existents therein. Indigenous and indigeneity become politically salient only in a colonial world.

The chapter begins by examining the spatial/temporal worldviews of Western liberal states and Indigenous peoples, with particular attention to settler colonial temporality in relationship to Indigenous understanding of place. The second section looks at Western capitalist ideology as laid out by Gramsci and Althusser. I begin with Gramsci’s writing on relations of forces and move to Althusser’s theory of interpellation through ideological state apparatuses. Ideological interpellation is then put into conversation with Žižek’s work on ideological misrecognition and traumatic kernels.

The chapter then transitions into Indigenous ideology. Using an Indigenous analytics that draws from a place-based ethical framework and knowledge base, I develop the concept of aloha ʻāina as Indigenous ideological apparatus. The parallels and affinities between Indigenous ideologies, anarchism and feminism are then explored. The concluding section of the chapter looks at the working of ideology within the growing network of Indigenous communities globally including Kanaka ʻŌiwi organizations in Hawaiʻi that are strengthening ʻŌiwi social structures through the practice of aloha ʻāina.
Temporal/Spatial Orientations and Colonial Relationships

The return to traditions in the Southern world in recent years, including what may look like a nostalgic invocation of the past, must be recognized as the marker of the beginning of an era when the Enlightenment vision, after more than two centuries of hegemony, is losing its sacred status.

– Ashis Nandy, “Futures and Dissent”

In the essay cited in the epigraph above, Nandy argues that three crucial innovations in the seventeenth century have over the intervening three centuries taken on a sacred hegemony. The three innovations are: (1) the nation-state system; (2) the theory of progress as the “principal way of conceptualizing social time; and above all (3) the idea of modern scientific rationality as the ultimate organizing principle and source of legitimacy in the modern society.”

In modern society the nation-state becomes authority and disciplinary power, ensuring progress through knowledge production by means of scientific rationality.

Writing from a Western philosophical tradition, Taylor also theorizes that the moral order of Western modernity establishes itself in the seventeenth century:

At first this moral order was just an idea in the minds of some influential thinkers, but later it came to shape the social imaginary of large strata, and then eventually whole societies. It has now become so self-evident to us, we have trouble seeing it as one possible conception among others. In this formulation “us” should be understood as European and male. This new moral order based on the primacy of European males draws material from the swirl of potentialities and form a social imaginary that make understandable the new social forms that characterize Western modernity. Western modernity equates with Western liberal democracy in which the human European male is dominant over all other existents and the new social forms include the market economy, the public sphere, and individual

freedom and liberty.\textsuperscript{43}

In Indigenous moral orders all existents participate in the making of the world. As Melissa Nelson writes in \textit{Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future}:

> Original Instructions refer to the many diverse teachings, lessons, and ethics expressed in the origin stories and oral traditions of Indigenous Peoples. They are the literal and metaphorical instructions, passed on orally from generation to generation, for how to be a good human being living in reciprocal relation with all of our seen and unseen relatives. They are natural laws that, when ignored, have natural consequences.\textsuperscript{44}

Western liberal states and Indigenous peoples are seemingly incommensurable constellations in the subterranean swirl of social imaginary. Market economies, and notions of public sphere and self-government in Western liberal democracy hinge on the primacy of human thought and action whereas in Indigenous epistemology original instructions come from known and unknown ancestral relatives that include human and not human existents.

Whether derived from 17th century ideas or instructions from time immemorial, social imaginary in the present are made up of the common perceptions of what is expected, what is normal, what is real. Bubbling out of the swirl of perceptual possibility Western liberal democracies perceive the world as separated into living, non-living, human, non-human. Bubbling out of the swirl of perceptual possibility Indigenous peoples perceive the world as kinship networks that carry the potential to manifest meaningful expression and relationship with all existents.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{44} Melissa K. Nelson, ed., \textit{Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future} (Bear & Company, 2008), 3.
Lakota scholar Vine Deloria, Jr. draws a similar distinction between Western European and American Indian imaginaries:

American Indians hold their lands—places—as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind. Deloria differentiates this relationship to land with a Western worldview.

The very essence of Western European identity involves the assumption that time proceeds in a linear fashion; further it assumes that at a particular point in the unraveling of this sequence, the peoples of Western Europe became the guardians of the world.

Western Europeans emphasize progress through time whereas American Indian imaginary is expressed in relationship to place and all existents, relatives known and unknown. In the imaginary of Western liberal democracies, history has fixed white, male Western Europeans as guardians of the world. This linear historical ideology rationalizes colonial expansion across the globe to expand territory and extract resources for the capitalist metropole. “The same ideology,” Deloria continues, “that sparked the Crusades, the Age of Exploration, the Age of Imperialism, and the recent crusade against Communism all involve the affirmation that time is peculiarly related to the destiny of the people of Western Europe. And later, of course, the United States.”

Colonialism is a key organizing principle driving the expansion of Western Europeans. Scholars in Indigenous and colonial studies identify two distinct forms of colonialism: franchise colonialism and settler colonialism. Franchise colonialism sets up structures of control within a colony that facilitates resource exploitation of the colonies. In franchise colonies, “the metropole directs the “outpost” of the colony, which is maintained by a

46 Deloria Jr., 62.
47 Deloria Jr., 63. In a later passage Deloria adds that this same phenomenon continues in the Middle East.
small apparatus of colonial administrators scattered throughout the territory whose power is enforced by the colonial military presence.”  

In settler colonialism, Europeans settle a territory and eventually separate from the metropole. Candace Fujikane describes settler colonies as spaces in which “settlers occupy Native land and rewrite its history as their own. They institute political infrastructures that are designed to benefit settlers economically and politically and to subjugate and eliminate indigenous peoples.”

Settler colonialism draws its power from an ideological fantasy built on a two-fold illusion; first, that the peoples already occupying the territory being settled are less than human and, second, that settlers have the knowledge and wherewithal to develop the territory they are settling that the people occupying the land lack. In the settler colonial imagination indigene is both lesser and a sublime object of desire, sublime in the sense of having the quality of an “‘indestructible and immutable' body which persists beyond the corruption of the body physical.” Hand in hand with settler society’s fascination with the ability of Indigenous peoples to survive the brutality of settler incursion is the need to domesticate indigenous society. This is accomplished in part by reducing Indigenous society to a symbol of prehistory.

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49 Fujikane, 10.
Settlers also discursively domesticate the indigene by appropriating Indigenous identities as Houston Wood illustrates in his description of the haole (white) settler appropriation of term “kamaʻāina” (child of the land):

[Later immigrants and Euroamericans born in the islands increasingly desired to possess land not only by deed and lease but also through the claim that Hawai‘i was their “home.” “Kamaʻāina” was thus transformed from a concept denoting Native-born into a term meaning “island-born,” or even merely “well-acquainted with the islands.” By adopting a Native word to describe themselves, Euroamericans obscured both their origins and the devastating effects their presence was having on the Native-born.  

In this discursive move settlers remove the specificity and context inherent in language. The “kamaʻāina” settler controls discourse of place and belonging and through discourse re-shape Hawaiian culture and values. This process of normalization, I argue later in this chapter, occurs through ideological apparatuses that call the Native Hawaiian into a specific subjectivity that keeps subjects of the settler state.

These ideological apparatuses are legal and social institutions designed to dissolve networks of Indigenous social relationships. Patrick Wolfe writes that this logic of elimination, “can include officially encouraged miscegenation, the breaking-down of native title into alienable individual freeholds, native citizenship, child abduction, religious conversion, resocialization in total institutions such as missions or boarding schools, and a whole range of cognate biocultural assimilations.”  

Settler society seeks to assimilate the native body and the native culture, to appropriate native practice and discourse into the service of the settler state. But these structures are unable to eliminate the indigene. There is an abundance of scholarly work documenting resilient Indigenous


Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” 388.
societies that did not lose connection to their original instructions despite settler attempts at elimination.\textsuperscript{54}

In \textit{Metaphysics of Modern Existence}, a text that examines the Western metaphysical landscape from the perspective of an American Indian, Deloria describes the disjunction between the ancestral knowledge that Native people learn from their elders and what they are taught in school as “a schizophrenic balancing act wherein one holds that the creation, migration, and ceremonial stories of the tribe are true and that the Western European view of the world is also true. ... The trick is somehow to relate what one \textit{feels} to what one is taught to \textit{think}.”\textsuperscript{55} Deloria is optimistic that modern Western metaphysics is evolving away from the rigidity of Western thought like that displayed in Newtonian physics and Darwinian theories of evolution. “In the fields of scientific knowledge and social reform,” he writes, “we see a gradual and irreversible movement away from the sterility of the traditional Western European formulas and doctrines into a more flexible and broader awareness of the manifold experiences of life.”\textsuperscript{56} With the rise of quantum thinking in Western philosophy, his argument continues, the chasm between Western and American Indian metaphysics seems to be lessening. Quantum thought follows similar lines as Indigenous analytics. As Deloria writes:

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\textsuperscript{56} Deloria Jr., 3.
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Modern physicists, incapable of expressing space-time perceptions in the English language, now often refer to the Zuni or Hopi conception of space-time as the more accurate rendering of what they are finding at the subatomic level of experiments. Psychoanalysts, working with dream theories, are now more inclined to view the dream-interpretation systems of the Cherokee and Iroquois as consistent and highly significant methods of handling certain types of mental and emotional problems. Geologists, attempting to understand the history of rivers and volcanoes, are now turning to Indian legends in an effort to gain some perspective on the problems.\textsuperscript{57}

Although Deloria, writing in 1979, sees hopeful shifts in Western metaphysics, hundreds of years of settler colonialism has so dominated the minds of settler and indigene that much work needs to be done to accomplish a shift in social imaginaries like that which occurred in seventeenth century Europe.

Social imaginaries are powerful forces in the production of memory of the past that crystallize into sacrosanct beliefs and behavior in the present and expectations and dreams for the future. Colonial expansion steals the future from the colonized by removing them from sacred relationship to place and capitalism realigns temporality and spatiality in order to meet the demands of capitalist production. Colonial and capitalist relationships are the ground upon which research into the future has developed as an arena of knowledge production in the Western liberal states. Dator observes that early interest in the future as an arena of study emerges with the Industrial Revolution.

\textit{O}nce the Industrial Revolution hits a community, science and space fiction on the one hand and a kind of futures studies on the other explodes into public consciousness, eventually formalized by the public school system and the modern university system, both of which (under the command of centralized governments) have the task of transforming sedentary, traditional \textit{backward}, present-focused individuals and communities into mobile, advanced, progressive

\textsuperscript{57} Deloria Jr., 3.
and future-focused individuals and communities who are energized by the vision of and the skills necessary to create a world that always moves forward.\textsuperscript{58} Where once individuals existed in a cyclical time continuum anchored to place, capitalism disrupts this cyclical temporality with an overpowering linear temporality that is required for capital accumulation. Narratives that promise a future of continuous progress serve ideological state apparatuses, interpellating individuals into the capitalist mode of economic production.

On the heels of colonial expansion, capital accumulation, and industrialization the study of the future burgeons into a multi-faceted continuum of analysis that includes “hard-core quantitative work at one end, segueing gradually into soft-core qualitative work and then on to futurism (futures movements).”\textsuperscript{59} Futures Studies focusing on analysis of trends and emerging issues generally favors knowledge produced within Western scientific traditions, and so remains tethered to the sacred hegemony of the Enlightenment.

\textit{Rescuing All Our Futures} is a volume of essays that brings a laser focus on this aspect of Futures Studies. In the essay “Reorienting Futures Studies,” Inayatullah writes: “[T]he future has been colonized, made into a commodity by corporations, into an official long-range plan by state bureaucrats and domesticated into trivial technological forecasts by popular Western futurists.”\textsuperscript{60} Inayatullah argues that the colonial process has diminished the imaginative capabilities in what he calls the beyond-West, which roughly equates

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{59} Dator, 40.
  \item \textsuperscript{60} Sohail Inayatullah, “Reorienting Futures Studies,” in \textit{Rescuing All Our Futures: The Future of Futures Studies}, ed. Ziauddin Sardar (Praeger, 1999), 49.
\end{itemize}
with Indigenous peoples. Nandy also challenges students of the futures in the beyond-West to strengthen their imaginative capabilities and, like prophets of old, dream a new future. “The prophets,” he writes, “summoned us not because they had elements of the astrologer in them, but because they dared to dream those dreams that were latent in the rest of us.”

Inayatullah asks where will we find dissent that carries enough weight to call into question the very basis of Western liberal democracy. This transformation will not come from those in power because the positions of power they occupy limit their vision and imagination to the view plane of their domination. Inayatullah writes:

> It is he or she who exists on the margins, who must learn different ways of knowing to survive, who can know differently (through trauma and transcendence) and can thus offer alternatives beyond postmodernity and the information highway. Alternative futures in general, then, are more likely to come from the non-West, or beyond–West, from the indigenous traditions.\(^\text{62}\)

Inayatullah adds though that marginalized communities such as Indigenous Peoples’ have to avoid essentializing the past and seeing futures as a part of an endlessly repeating cycle. He suggests alternative futures that “includes yet transcends the past.”\(^\text{63}\)

In *Postmodern Geographies* Edward Soja mounts a similar critique of the linear settler narrative. “The discipline imprinted in a sequentially unfolding narrative” he writes, “predisposes the reader to think historically, making it difficult to see the text as a map, a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings that are tied together by a spatial rather than a temporal logic.”\(^\text{64}\) This mapping produces a logic that carries all

\(^{61}\) Nandy, “Futures and Dissent,” 232.

\(^{62}\) Inayatullah, “Reorienting Futures Studies,” 54.

\(^{63}\) Inayatullah, 54.

existents forward into what is to come in a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings; an open terrain of Indigenous futurities. As Goodyear-Kaʻōpua writes:

We might think about Indigenous futurities in terms of the relations between living, passed, and yet-to-come. In that context, Indigenous futurities are enactments of radical relationalities that transcend settler geographies and maps, temporalities and calendars, and/or other settler measures of time and space. Such settler scales often obscure the ways we humans are living in intergenerational rhythms that we cannot always fully see because they extend beyond the horizons of our individual lifespans.\(^5\)

Indigenous futurities, then, are rooted to a spatial temporality that carries both genealogical connection to ancestral knowledge and a responsibility to future generations. They are a direct challenge to the rootless progress of settler futurity, which requires that peoples rooted to land be eliminated from all narratives of the future. Instead of disappearing, though, resurgence of recalcitrant Natives continues to grow and manifest Indigenous futurities in places like Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.

**Ideology**

In this section I examine the ideology that functions to maintain state power in Western liberal democracies. The capitalist desire to accumulate capital produces a power differential between those who have capital, capitalists, and those who sell their labor for capital in the subordinate classes. Western liberal democracies govern based on the needs of capitalists, assuaging subordinate classes, those who do not have access to capital with legal discourses of citizenship and rights.

Under capitalism, the prime objective of ideology is to create conditions for the reproduction of labor power. Wages provide workers with the material means to reproduce labor power; “the wherewithal to pay for housing, food and clothing, in short

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to enable the wage earner to present himself again at the factory gate the next day – and every further day God grants him.” In addition to wages, though, the reproduction of labor power also requires mechanisms to reproduce adherence to a ruling ideology. In order to provide for the continued domination by the ruling class, there needs to be mechanisms established that ensure “a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers, and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly by the agents of exploitation and repression.” Ideology then must be robust enough to create a logic that traverses class difference. Wages are a function of social relations in the economic base whereas submission to the ruling ideology is a function of the ideological superstructure.

Gramsci’s analysis of relations of forces is useful for understanding the interplay between ideology as superstructure and relations of production as structure. His analysis identifies three moments in the relations of forces: a moment that is linked to the economic base and relations of production; a subsequent moment he characterizes as political forces; and a third moment that is the relations of military forces. For the purposes of this discussion we shall look at the first two moments.

The first moment is the development of material forces of production. These material forces are determined by the specifics of the economic structure and are “independent of human will.” Emerging from these material forces are “the various social classes, each

67 Althusser, 132–33.
one of which represents a function and has a specific position within production itself.”

The next moment is the development of political forces; by which Gramsci means the ways that political consciousness emerges in various classes. The most basic awareness is a member’s feeling obliged to stand with other members of their class, tradesman with other tradesmen, manufacturer with other manufacturers. Tradesmen then develop consciousness that they are part of a group with shared interests and the need to organize to protect and enhance those interests. This phase of political consciousness is limited to the economic field. Tradesmen form a bloc and “participate in legislation and administration, even to reform these--but within the existing fundamental structures.” In the next phase, political consciousness moves beyond the economic interests of a class. In this phase, Gramsci writes,

[O]ne becomes aware that one’s own corporate interests, in their present and future developments, transcend the purely economic class, and can and must become the interests of other subordinate groups too. This is the most purely political phase, and it marks the decisive passage from the structure to the sphere of the complex superstructures; it is the phase in which previously germinated ideologies become “party,” come into confrontation and conflict, until one of them, or at least a single combination of them, tends to prevail, to gain the upper hand, to propagate itself throughout society—bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all the questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a “universal” plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups.

In other words political activity expands beyond protecting self-interest to promoting one’s group interest over the interest of other groups. This move beyond economic class interests marks the passage from structure to superstructure. What ensues is an

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69 Gramsci, 180–81.
70 Gramsci, 181.
71 Gramsci, 181.
72 Gramsci, 181–82.
ideological struggle between the classes until these interests coalesce into a hegemonic ideological superstructure. The interests of the colonizer capitalist to accumulate capital are written into legal structures and “universalized” as cultural norms and practices of the colonized and proletariat.

Like Gramsci, Althusser argues that subordinate classes are coerced and persuaded to accept the values and ideas of the dominant class. Althusser points out, though, that Gramsci never systematized the means through which hegemony is achieved.\(^73\) In Althusser’s theory of ideology, hegemony is achieved through a combination of Repressive and Ideological State Apparatuses. Individuals are \textit{compelled to adhere} to the ruling ideology through the Repressive State apparatus and they are \textit{called to participate}, or interpellated, into the ruling ideology through Ideological State Apparatuses. The Repressive State Apparatus functions predominantly through violence or the threat of violence. Institutions associated with the Repressive State Apparatus include government administrations, police and military institutions, courts, and prisons. The Repressive State apparatus maintains and secures State power but as Althusser points out

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\textit{no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses.}\(^74\)
\end{quote}

Consent is manufactured through participation in Ideological State Apparatuses, which include religious, educational, family, legal, political, and cultural institutions, as well as trade-unions and communication media. Ideological State Apparatuses are the structures that make manipulation and submission possible. Individuals are interpellated into subjects through participation in institutions that reflect the class structure in capitalist


\(^74\) Althusser, 146. Emphasis in original.
society. It is through the repeated participation in the rituals of an Ideological State Apparatus that not only the necessary skills but also the will to participate in the reproduction of the relations of power materialize.\(^75\) Individuals take on identities that are recognizable by means of the ritualized acts of being called and then responding to that call. This “ideological effect” imposes on subjects an obviousness “which we cannot fail to recognize and before which we have the inevitable and natural reaction of crying out (aloud or in the ‘still, small voice of conscience’): ‘That’s obvious! That’s right! That’s true!’\(^76\) We are subjects practicing everyday rituals that are repeated incessantly and unconsciously and that eventually become obviously true discourse through which we recognize each other as either members of the same group or outsiders.

The ideological effect of interpellation also involves misrecognition. These rituals, although endowed with material existence, do not represent the real relations of production. Althusser writes:

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\text{[A]ll ideology represents in its necessarily imaginary distortion not the existing relations of production (and the other relations that derive from them), but above all the (imaginary) relationship of individuals to the relations of production and the relations that derive from them. What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live.} \(^77\)
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This imaginary relationship is exemplified by the concept of freedom in capitalist society. Western liberal democracies promise freedom to all individuals. The worker is hailed as a free subject who has the inalienable right to sell their labor to the owner of production.

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\(^{75}\) Althusser, 173.
\(^{76}\) Althusser, 172. In the middle of this passage Althusser adds the following explanatory note: “Linguists and those who appeal to linguistics for various purposes often run up against difficulties which arise because they ignore the action of the ideological effects in all discourses – including even scientific discourses.”

\(^{77}\) Althusser, 164–65.
This worker-owner relationship hides the real relationship of power that the owner of the means of production has over the laborer. In a capitalist economy the only capital that the laborer has is his labor, which he has no choice but to sell to the capitalist. In the next section I look at ways to reveal the disguised relations of power.

**Donning the “Critique of Ideology” Glasses**

Ideology is not simply imposed on ourselves. It is our spontaneous relationship to our social world, how we perceive its meaning and so on and so on. We, in a way, enjoy our ideology. To step out of ideology, it hurts. It’s a painful experience. You must force yourself to do it.


Ideology calls individuals into subjectivity. In liberal democracy individuals are called into the subjectivity of free and equal personhood but as demonstrated above freedom and equality are severely restrained by relations of production in a capitalist society. In order to obfuscate these relations of production a framework is constructed in which its members enjoy the obviousness and ritual of belonging to and participating in a civilization built on Empire. It is painful to step away from that belonging, painful to act on one’s own volition against the dictates of custom. This enjoyment is constituted through ideological misrecognition; a delusion, as Žižek points out in *The Sublime Object of Ideology,* that is a condition “of assuming a role as agent of the historical process.”

Rather than active agents in the historical process most individuals were/are at the most passive observers.

In the documentary “A Pervert’s Guide to Ideology” Žižek uses scenes from the film “They Live” to illustrate misrecognition. In the film, aliens have embedded secret messages into what Žižek calls the “dispositif of everyday life.” The embedded messages

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are revealed when the main character puts on special glasses: a fistful of dollars in his friend’s hand becomes a fistful of notes inscribed with “This is your god”; a woman seductively splayed on a billboard becomes the directive “Marry and reproduce.” The main character comes to blows with his friend when the friend refuses to put on the glasses; in other words when the friend refuses to give up his delusion.

This is a double delusion as Žižek explains. “[I]t consists of overlooking the illusion which is structuring our real, effective relationship to reality. And this overlooked, unconscious illusion is what may be called ideological fantasy.” This illusion arises out of humans’ separation from nature. It is as Zizek describes a cleft that leaves a traumatic kernel around which human culture is built.

All ‘culture’ is in a way a reaction-formation, an attempt to limit, canalize – to cultivate this imbalance, this traumatic kernel, this radical antagonism through which man cuts his umbilical cord with nature, with animal homeostasis. The traumatic kernel of Western society is its withered relationship to place, a relationship that has been overwritten by the persistent march of Western history.

Colonized Indigenous Peoples existing in a liminal space between the original instructions of their people and the hegemony of Western liberal democracies, see these ideological ruptures through the lens of their own experiences. Vine Deloria Jr. dons the glasses in his critique of North American colonialism discussed above and Stephanie Nohealani Teves also puts on the “critique of ideology” glasses to tackle “aloha,” a particularly sticky apparatus in Hawai‘i’s settler society.

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80 Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology*, 32–33. Emphasis in original
81 Žižek, 5. Emphasis in original.
In the essay “Aloha State Apparatuses” Teves analyses the ways that aloha is used to domesticate Native Hawaiians. She argues that during the stress and social upheaval of 19th century Hawai‘i “aloha” is transformed into an ideological state apparatus of the settler colonial state. Christian missionaries translated “aloha” as unconditional love of God, a meaning she points out that does not track with usage in the time prior to the arrival of missionaries. Before the arrival of Westerners “aloha” was defined within an ‘ōiwi ontological matrix, not a Christian one. Citing noted Hawaiian scholars Mary Kawena Puku’i and George Kanahele, Teves writes:

Aloha thus meant kindness and sharing, especially in the family or ‘ohana setting where people are welcomed and all is shared, with the understanding that people gather to provide mutual helpfulness for collective benefit. This understanding of aloha alongside ‘ohana reiterates the importance of community and the responsibility that comes with membership. This definition differs clearly from the missionary translation that turned aloha into a word focused on a love of God.  

In the (mis)translation of aloha the concept becomes a means to create a Hawaiian that is malleable to exploitation. In Althusser’s theoretical configuration Hawaiians are called into a specific kind of Hawaiian subjectivity. Teves writes:

As capitalism became normalized in Hawai‘i and was practiced as the predominant form of “production”—when living sustainably off the land was no longer possible because many Kānaka Maoli lost their lands to plantation owners—to cope and adapt to this subjection, many Kānaka Maoli found opportunity and agency through the performance of culture. Participation in such activities, however, lent credence to the notion that the only value Kānaka Maoli had was their ability to perform aloha and that such performances were “natural,” indicative of who we used to and should be. Aloha, then, became, through ritualized performance, an expression of Hawaiian cultural difference.  

The aloha state apparatus interpellates Hawaiians into a subjectivity that supports the hegemony of settler society. It becomes obvious to haole settler and Hawaiian alike that

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83 Teves, 707.
84 Teves, 710.
to be Hawaiian is to perform a specific kind of aloha. “Aloha and Hawaianness,” Teves writes, “are then collapsed in the interest of quieting political dissent and facilitating capitalist development.”

The aloha state apparatus is an Ideological State Apparatus that maintains State power and reproduces labor power for the settler economy.

In 1964, John Dominis Holt challenges this aloha state apparatus in his essay “On Being Hawaiian.” In it he struggles with the question “What is Hawaiian?” Angered by an offensive portrayal of Hawaiians in a local newspaper, Holt writes an essay that proudly honors his lineage and the land that he loves. “The land,” he writes, “quivers, from the southern tip of Hawai‘i Island to Kaua‘i’s far western shores, with living elements of the ancient past.”

He celebrates the survival of Hawaiians through the holocaust of the 19th Century and anguishes over the state of the Hawaiians of the time. In the following passage it is clear that he is trying to climb out from under settler colonial subjugation that relegates Hawaiian culture to a set of exaggerations, misrepresentations, half-truths, and sentimental images.

We are to some extent, walking repositories of island antiquity: living symbols of a way of life long dead, but which strangely persists in shaping the character of life in the fiftieth state. To know clearly, lucidly, of what such a burden consists is one thing: to be confused by the exaggeration, misrepresentations, half-truths, and sentimental images is quite another.

He concludes his essay by asserting his pride in being Hawaiian. In an assertion of settler power, the local settler controlled media refused to publish the essay. It is fortunate for us that Holt had the means to self-publish his work.

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85 Teves, 715.
86 Holt, On Being Hawaiian, 18.
87 Holt, 18.
88 Holt, 7.
The essay was reprinted in 1974 and in it we see a shifting discourse. Holt writes an Introduction to the original essay in which he revisits the psychic pain, broken spirit, despair and his own confusion of emotion as a member of the chiefly society. “Occupying a privileged place in the new and artificial culture we could not escape the facts. So we laughed and cavorted or smoldered in bitterness.”

He notes that times have changed since first writing the essay. Young Hawaiians are learning about their history and demanding political autonomy as Polynesian Hawaiians. “They march, they carry placards, they read, more importantly, they have learned to speak out.” It is safe to assume that this is a reference to the Hawaiians who took leadership roles in the non-violent resistance to evictions of poor and working class families in Kalama Valley that had occurred just prior to the publication of the second edition of the essay.

Holt also recognizes the important connection that people living in Hawaiʻi have to not only Hawaiians of antiquity but all existents in the archipelago.

We are links to the ancients: connected by inheritance to their mana, their wisdom, their superb appreciation of what it is to be human. This is the foundation of the aloha spirit. It comes from many things, from knowing what it is to care, to truly care about other people. To understand the value of loving what is in nature: living with it in a balance of coexistence; respecting all things of the earth, including rocks and dirt as living things related somehow through a cosmic connection to ourselves.

Holt bristles against the powerful web of apparatuses that are reified in dominant settler society. His insight into the complex relationship of Hawaiians to the land from which they come, to each other and to the broader society in Hawaiʻi is also an early articulation of Kanaka ʻŌiwi ideology.

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89 Holt, 8.
90 Holt, 9.
91 Holt, 9.
Haunani-Kay Trask is one of those young Hawaiians that Holt praises in his essay for speaking out. In “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O’ahu,” Trask analyses the political actions in Kalama Valley. She describes the protests as “the spark that ignited the modern Hawaiian Movement, an ongoing series of land struggles throughout the decade of the seventies that was destined to change the consciousness of Hawaiʻi’s people, especially Native Hawaiians.”\(^{92}\) Trask documents the transformation in political consciousness of the Native Hawaiian organizers of the Kalama Valley resistance from Marxist to Nationalist, from a class struggle to a struggle for National liberation. This political action in Kalama Valley, Trask points out, marks the beginnings of twentieth century Hawaiian political consciousness that continues to challenge state power in important ways.

Writing in 1987, her article surveys the evolution from a battle for local control of land development in Kalama Valley into one that challenges the accepted practice by the military and the State to use land set-aside for Native Hawaiians.

In the beginning of the decade, the rallying cry was "land for local people, not tourists." By 1976, the language of protest had changed from English to Hawaiian, with emphasis on the native relationship to land. The cultural value of Aloha ʻĀina (love of the land) was to characterize the demands of protesters into the 1980s.\(^{93}\)

Things changed when Native Hawaiian leaders put on the “critique of ideology” glasses. In the 1970s a confluence of events shook the State apparatus and what was once obvious was no longer so. Hawaiians were no longer trapped within the subjectivity “docile

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\(^{93}\) Trask, 126–27.
purveyors of aloha.” Aloha ʻāina starts calling Hawaiians to participate in acts of Native resistance.

**Indigeneity as Ideology**

If we are willing to put our words into action and transform our rhetoric into practice, we too can achieve the fundamental goal of the indigenous warrior: to live life as an act of indigeneity, to move across life’s landscapes in an indigenous way, as my people say, Onkwehonweneha.

– Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasa'se*

Indigeneity, as a political concept, arises in twentieth century discourse as a way to structure resistance to colonialism and capitalism on a global scale. Global capitalism is a new form of colonialism that is powered by transnational capital rather than territorialized nation states. This is not to imply that prior to this era there was no resistance by displaced first peoples to colonialism, only that the nature of that resistance was localized to the nation-state. Global discourse of multiculturalism, hybridity, and homogenization engendered by the global economy are an existential threat to Indigenous Peoples and has made it necessary for them to organize in regional and global blocs in order to achieve liberation from colonialism and capitalism on a global scale.

In 1990 at a world conference of Indigenous women, Haunani-Kay Trask speaks about indigeneity in the context of the fight against colonial subjugation. In her speech she emphasizes the need for her audience to “fashion new ways of resisting, of continuing as Native people.”\(^{94}\) She begins by acknowledging the different lifeways represented at the conference. In addition to the geographic differences, she notes the “varied levels of forced assimilation, economic exploitation, religious missionizing, political and cultural oppression, and physical and cultural extermination” that they have

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\(^{94}\) Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, Rev. ed (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 108.
experienced. Her remarks though focus on the fundamental values shared by the women in the room.

We are all land-based people, and some of us also sea-based people, who are attuned to the rhythms of our homelands in a way that assumes both protection of and an intimate belonging to our ancestral places. We have all been colonized by imperialist powers more or less resistant to our human needs for self-determination and self-government. And, at this moment, we face grave problems that range from environmental poisoning, nuclear radiation, and high infant mortality, to land dispossession, economic marginalization, and militarization of our areas. These large commonalities have brought us together as indigenous women fighting for our peoples, our lands, our very survival.

Trask goes on to expose the multiple ways that neocolonialism continues to subjugate native peoples economically and culturally through “brute physical and economic violence” and “skillful co-optation of cultural forms.” Trask’s remarks to the Indigenous women gathered in 1990 underscores the ways that Native subjugation works through the dissemination of both Repressive and Ideological State apparatuses.

Indigenous Peoples acting as political blocs seek remedy to this subjugation through recognition of their political existence within the Western liberal capitalist system. A growing number of Indigenous scholars argue against using this as the strategy, claiming that recognition of an Indigenous People by the State does not lead to self-determination. In order to achieve autonomy Indigenous Peoples must engage in praxis

95 Trask, 102.
96 Trask, 102.
97 Trask, 103.
of self-recognition that turns away from the diffuse power of contemporary empires and
the interpretation of the world based in Western liberatory models.

It is not sufficient to negotiate for autonomy and indigenous rights within State
structures. Interventions must be made in the structural and subjective dimensions of
colonial power through resurgent practices that regenerate indigenous social relations.
Individuals and communities must “turn away from the assimilative lure of settler-state
recognition”\textsuperscript{99} and begin “thinking, speaking and acting with the conscious intent of
regenerating one’s indigeneity.”\textsuperscript{100} Corntassel expands on this concept of Indigenous
resurgence:

Being Indigenous today means struggling to reclaim and regenerate one’s
relational, place-based existence by challenging the ongoing, destructive forces of
colonization. Whether through ceremony or through other ways that Indigenous
peoples (re)connect to the natural world, processes of resurgence are often
contentious and reflect the spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political scope
of the struggle.\textsuperscript{101}

Individuals who have been assimilated into the ideology of Western liberal democracies
must be called back to the ways of their ancestral relations. Resurgence requires
Indigenous ideological apparatuses that can break the hold of state apparatuses and hail
individuals into particular subjectivities that act in specific ways to reproduce Indigenous
social relations.

Recognizing kinship to land is a primary Indigenous ideological apparatus. As

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\textsuperscript{99} Coulthard, “Beyond Recognition: Indigenous Self-Determination as Prefigurative
Practice,” 201.
\textsuperscript{100} Alfred and Corntassel, “Being Indigenous: Resurgences against Contemporary
Colonialism,” 614.
\textsuperscript{101} Corntassel, “Re-Envisioning Resurgence,” 88.
\end{flushright}
Coulthard writes:

The theory and practice of Indigenous anticolonialism, including Indigenous anticapitalism, is primarily inspired by and oriented around the question of land—a struggle not only for land in the material sense, but also deeply informed by what the land as a system of reciprocal relations and obligations can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms. The material struggle for land that is tied up in the political reality of land claims and rights-based arguments is constantly pulling Indigenous communities away from the system of reciprocal relations and obligations that humans share with land and with all existents. Rights based arguments come out of the human-centric notion that land has a use and an exchange value. Deeply embedded in the ontological source material of Indigenous Peoples, though, is an abiding kinship attachment to specific land.

Grounded normativity is the term used by Coulthard to capture this relationship between land, productive activity, and ethics. This relationship encompasses the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time. Grounded normativity, then, describes a place-based ethic embedded in an interconnected totality that encompasses economic, political, spiritual, and social dimensions of indigenous life.

As shown earlier in this chapter, capitalist ideology consists of State apparatuses that shape subjectivity in order to reproduce relations of production that favor capital accumulation by owners to the exclusion of all other classes. Included in the State apparatuses is the rights discourse that as Corntassel points out works against Indigenous

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103 Coulthard, 13.
peoples developing sustainable self-determination.

When addressing contemporary shape-shifting colonialism, the rights discourse can only take struggles for Indigenous decolonization and resurgence so far. Indigenous mobilization strategies that invoke existing human rights norms, which are premised on state recognition of Indigenous self-determination, will not lead to a sustainable self-determination process that restores and regenerates Indigenous nations.104

Sustainable self-determination depends on what Corntassel calls “everyday acts of resurgence,”105 a concept that in ʻŌiwi understanding is kūkulu or to build. As activist-scholars Kaleikoa Kaʻeo and Andre Perez assert Kanaka nation building requires kūʻē (resistance) and kūkulu (building), a set of relationships I describe in detail later in the chapter. Kūʻē and kūkulu are also a part of the MANA platform of unity. The point I wish to emphasize here is the parallel with Corntassel’s argument:

The decolonization process operates at multiple levels and necessitates moving from an awareness of being in struggle, to actively engaging in everyday practices of resurgence.106

Decolonization requires Indigenous ideological apparatuses that are able to call individuals not just away from subjugation to the colonial State but hail individuals as participants in transformative relationships to land and existents of that land.

A caution about Indigenous ideology must be given at this point. Cadena and Starn write that any consideration of Indigenous Peoples must start with the assumption that this is a heterogeneous group, with often-conflicting economic and political viewpoints. “Reckoning with indigeneity,” they write, “demands recognizing it as a relational field of governance, subjectivities, and knowledges that involves us all—indigenous and nonindigenous—in the making and remaking of its structures of power and

104 Corntassel, “Re-Envisioning Resurgence,” 92.
105 Corntassel, “Re-Envisioning Resurgence.”
106 Corntassel, 89.
Indigenous subjectivity is at once specific and indeterminate and there is not one Indigenous ideology. Theorizing Indigenous ideologies is not an attempt to universalize indigeneity into an abstract unity. Indigenous ideologies organize specific ontological source material into concrete political agendas that are suited to the needs and desires of particular Indigenous Peoples and particular places.

In the next section we test the Indigenous apparatus concept using aloha ‘āina. Aloha ‘āina, I argue, interpellates individuals into subjects that participate in transformative social relations that are place-based arrangements of grounded normativity.

**Aloha ‘Āina – A Place Based Ethic – An Indigenous Ideological Apparatus**

Trask’s 1987 article about the birth of the modern Hawaiian movement identifies aloha ‘āina as an emergent political discourse. As the Hawaiian political movement for self-determination and sovereignty has matured, aloha ‘āina performs like the ideological effect that Althusser describes as ritualized acts that inspire in subjects an obviousness that we recognize as true.

The genealogy of aloha ‘āina runs from 19th century political activism to the present. In 1893 the Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina emerges out of the turmoil of the insurgency that deposed Queen Lili‘uokalani and the vigorous opposition of annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States. Noenoe Silva points out that the English translation of aloha ‘āina at the time was patriotism, a translation that overlays a gendered Western patriarchal meaning

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on the term. Like the earlier missionary mis-translation of “aloha” the phrase “aloha ‘āina” is also lost in translation by settler society.

Silva provides a counter reading of aloha ‘āina based in traditional Kanaka cosmology. “Throughout the struggle,” Silva writes, “Kanaka Maoli who worked to hold onto the sovereignty of their own nation called themselves ‘ka po’e aloha ‘āina’ (the people who love the land).” Reading every issue of Ke Aloha ‘Āina, a Hawaiian language newspaper published from 1895 to 1920, she unearthed the ‘ōiwi history of Hawaiian response to American empire. “The Kanaka,” she writes, “had fought the overthrow and annexation with everything they had, and especially with discourse.”

During this period Joseph Nāwahi, who in addition to publishing Ke Aloha ‘Āina was a prominent member of the Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina, expressed “what aloha ‘āina meant for the Kanaka Maoli.” Nāwahi writes in a passage from Ke Aloha ‘Āina:

Alaila, o ke aloha i kou makuahine, kou aina, kou wahi i hanauia ai, oia ka mea e lohi ai na la, na makahiki o ke ola ana. . . (Thus, love for your mother, the land, the place where you were born, that is what will make the days and years of your life long.)

The nationalism of ka po’e aloha ‘āina was and still is grounded in their connection to the land, the source of our sustenance. The successful, albeit illegal, annexation of the archipelago to the United States forced Hawaiian nationalism underground.

109 Silva, 130.
112 Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 139.
113 Cited in Silva, 140.
Kanaka Maoli resistance to colonial imposition emerges out of the shadows with the Kalama Valley anti-eviction fight in 1971. Native Hawaiians realized that they were fighting not just to prevent evictions. They were fighting to regain control over land that was illegally taken from their ancestors. The kūpuna o ka pō (ancestors of the night) were speaking to them. Kūpuna o ka pō, Noenoe Silva writes, are the ancestors who sometimes, “speak to us in dreams, daydreams, or sudden realizations (or even slap our heads!) while we are awake.”114 Silva credits the recovery of archival evidence documenting vigorous Kanaka Maoli opposition to the 1898 annexation of Hawaiʻi to the United States to both rigorous scholarly research and guidance from kūpuna o ka pō.

In 1998 Silva unearthed the kūʻē petitions at the U.S. National Archives in. These petitions signed by 40,000 Hawaiian citizens, most of whom were Kanaka Maoli, were a part of the anti-annexation resistance mounted by the Hui Aloha ʻĀina. Silva worked alongside a broad consortium of Kanaka activists and scholars to make the petitions available to all Hawaiians. Photocopies of the petitions were displayed across the State and eventually published in a volume entitled Kūʻē: the Hui Aloha ʻĀina anti-annexation petitions, 1897-1898.115 The reaction to the petitions was earth shattering. As Silva writes,

It was apparent that these petitions were not seen by people just as historical or political documents. They were and are seen as ways that our kūpuna are also speaking directly to us. I heard stories about people coming in and lovingly touching the names of their kūpuna on the petitions, as though they were stroking

their faces, or touching the hands that were reaching out to them across the century.116

The second circulation of the petitions spurs on the Hawaiian nationalist movement as the Hui Aloha ‘Āina, the people who love the land, call out to Kanaka Maoli of late twentieth century to also embrace a Hawaiian national political subjectivity, Kanaka Aloha ‘Āina.

A similar experience of being guided by unseen forces emerges in the early days of protest against military bombing of the island of Kahoʻolawe. During the initial occupation, when a small group of Native Hawaiians landed on the forbidden island, George Helm and others began saying “aloha ‘āina” without any provocation. They had no knowledge of the implications of the phrase, nor its historical significance.117 It was as if the land itself was speaking to them, perhaps an instance of kūpuna o ka pō slapping the heads of Kanaka and reorienting them to ancestral knowledge to fuel their political actions. It was only later that Helm discovered that aloha ‘āina was an integral part of political discourse during the turmoil of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Hawai‘i.

The occupation of Kahoʻolawe began as a movement to stop the bombing on the island but grew into a larger movement to return Hawaiians to the land. Helm and other leaders in the movement saw the power that practicing aloha ‘āina could have beyond the movement to protect Kahoʻolawe. Aloha ‘āina could also be a tool to heal the broader trauma of cultural loss and displacement faced by Kānaka.118

118 Morales, 19.
Although ka poʻe aloha ʻāina were unable to stop the annexation, and their efforts to restore Hawaiian sovereignty were vanquished from collective memory for a few decades, it is important to remember that the actions of these early aloha ʻāina warriors did disrupt the move to incorporate Hawaiʻi completely into American empire. They laid a solid foundation for aloha ʻāina warriors’ political actions to come. During that tumultuous time James Keauluna Kaulia, president of Hui Aloha ʻĀina, prefigured the resilience and perseverance of Kanaka ʻŌiwi when he said,

Mai makaʻu, e kupaʻa ma ke aloha i ka ʻāina, a e lokahi ma ka manaʻo. E kūe loa aku i ka hoʻohui ia o Hawaiʻi me Amerika a hiki i ke aloha aina hope loa."

(Do not be afraid, be steadfast in aloha for your land and be united in thought. Protest forever the annexation of Hawaiʻi until the very last aloha ʻāina.)

In Kanaka ʻŌiwi political discourse, aloha ʻāina is at the center of the resistance against other rationalizations that threaten place. It is evident in the resistance to annexation in 1893 and the struggle to protect Kahoʻolawe in the late twentieth century. Aloha ʻāina discourse today articulates a political strategy of resistance that is anchored in an individual’s spiritual and kinship relationship to place.

The Kanaka ʻŌiwi political community is diverse and heterogenous. Ongoing political campaigns to protect land and water rights, food security and our wahi pana (sacred places), like the earlier political campaigns from the 1970s onward, involve individuals who are able to work together to achieve political goals even as they follow different ideological trajectories. These coordinated efforts are possible because aloha ʻāina is a unifying discourse that calls Kanaka ʻŌiwi and allies to kūʻē, participate in acts

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of resistance, and to kūkulu, build a shared and abiding relationship to place that is
grounded in aloha.

Aloha ʻāina discourse includes a number of place-based values two of which I
examine in my analysis of political ideology at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. These place-based values
are discursive filaments that are continuously being woven into strong, flexible and
resilient nets of discursive meaning that create the possibility for material transformation
of settler relations to land. Two political tropes co-articulate in this net(work) of
transformative social relations: the raised fists of kūʻē and the hands in the earth of
kūkulu.

Kūʻē encompasses acts of political resistance to dominant authority over land.
Nineteenth century attempts to scuttle the annexation of Hawaiʻi to the United States of
America through petitions are an act of kūʻē. Landing on Kahoʻolawe while the island
was still under the occupation of the US Navy is an act of kūʻē. Refusing to let bulldozers
onto the sacred Mauna a Wākea is an act of kūʻē.

Kūkulu are acts that (re)build social structures outside of the dominant authority.
Writing down our stories in Hawaiian language newspapers that results in an extensive
archive of ancestral knowledge is an act of kūkulu. Bringing people to Kahoʻolawe to
restore the island in a way that reflects the values of our Kanaka ʻŌiwi kūpuna is an act
of kūkulu. Teaching the principles of kapu aloha to all those who come to Mauna a
Wākea is an act of kūkulu.

In order to re-establish our relationships to land and ancestors (grounded
normativity), kūʻē (resistance) must be complemented by kūkulu (build). Kūkulu works
on a long trajectory of social transformation. You can see it in action in learning
environments like Hawaiian immersion schools or work environments that operate within aloha ‘āina relationships laid out by through values like kuleana. Kūʻē at its most effective is event based with clearly articulated material goals such as preventing annexation, regaining control of Kahoʻolawe, or preventing the construction of yet another telescope on Mauna a Wākea. When enacted in close proximity kūʻē and kūkulu practices resonate and create conditions for real and lasting social transformation. Both kūkulu and kūʻē strategies of resurgence are necessary for Kānaka ʻŌiwi futurities, and in fact many politically engaged ʻŌiwi nationalists participate in both strategies.

Native Hawaiians led the first major attempt to stop urban development at Kalama Valley, and the successful effort to force the US military off the island of Kahoʻolawe. Native Hawaiian scholars continue to recover ancestral knowledge from written archives. Whether success or failure, out of these efforts the Hawaiian independence movement emerges. Aloha ʻāina, once again a part of public discourse in Hawaiʻi, now functions as a core organizing principle for political action and an embodied cultural practice. Aloha ʻāina is interpellating Native Hawaiians into a (re)newed relationship with the ʻāina. Like Indigenous peoples across the globe Kanaka ʻŌiwi are becoming their own centers of ʻōiwi resurgence, modeling post-colonial social relations that are based in the values, knowledge and practices of the ancestors. Out of this resurgence come new ideological formations.

**Cultivating Interlocking Ideologies**

To take root in people’s minds the new ethic will have to capture the spirit of a warrior in battle and bring it to politics. How might this spirit be described in contemporary terms relating to political thought and movement? The two elements that come to mind are indigenous, evoking cultural and spiritual rootedness in this land and Onkwehonwe struggle for justice and freedom, and the
political philosophy and movement that is fundamentally anti-institutional, radically democratic, and committed to taking action to force change: anarchism.

– Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasa'se*

In the epigraph above anarchism and indigenism are articulated into a pathway to move Indigenous peoples beyond the trauma of colonialism. Both indigenism and anarchism seek to institute structures outside of coercive State structures from different but intimately connected ideologies. Anarchism is an ideology born out of resistance to capitalist structures, and indigenism is an ideology born out of resistance to colonial structures.

Kropotkin, Goldman and the many European writers and activists of the “golden age of anarchism” believed that individual liberty arises not from the State, and its inherently unjust legal and economic system, but individual liberty arises from the self-organization of individuals into a productive and creative society. This society would govern itself without resorting to domination by coercion or the authority of hierarchy. In his essay “Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles” Kropotkin outlines what needs to be accomplished in order to achieve a society without government. When the State disappears, he writes, “the functions of government are reduced to a minimum, and the individual recovers his full liberty of initiative and action for satisfying, by means of free groups and federations--freely constituted--all the infinitely varied needs of the human being.”

When private property and the wage system are abolished there will be no need for the State, which is a political machine that maintains economic slavery of the

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individual. Individuals will then be able to develop their talents and enter into voluntary association with others.

In the essay “Becoming Anarchism, Feminism, Indigeneity” Ferguson finds common ground between anarchist and indigenous thought in the works of Emma Goldman and Taiaiake Alfred. Ferguson describes noted anarchist Emma Goldman’s view of process:

The anarchist’s task was, for her, to do the daily political work of educating, exemplifying, and creating anarchist spaces, giving the people opportunities to articulate and practice radical life processes, preparing them to take advantage of the opportunities revolutions provide to create new life practices.121

Ferguson brings Alfred into this discussion on process noting that like Goldman he believes that revolutions are made by living them.

Both provoke us to question the massive imbalance between the daily weight of institutional violence on oppressed people and the relentless opprobrium aimed at any form of resistance that is not earnestly and entirely pacifist. Yet, both see political struggle as a process of linkages in which political actors become what they strive for.122

Emma Goldman is an anarchist of the generation that followed Kropotkin. She speaks to the worker who is enslaved in the factory working for the benefit of others, enslaved by religious concepts of higher powers, and enslaved by the state that dictates his conduct.

Workers under capitalism labor in mechanized drudgery. “Man is,” she writes, “being robbed not merely of the products of his labor, but of the power of free initiative, of originality, and the interest in, or desire for, the things he is making.”123 Goldman, like most anarchists, values free initiative and originality and does not acknowledge the role of spirit and ancestral knowledge in this pursuit of freedom.

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122 Ferguson, 101.
Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua examines the ways that Kanaka Maoli articulate the ‘ōiwi concept of kūleana in the struggle to protect ‘Ōiwi practices of food production. She sees a parallel between kūleana, “a Hawaiian notion intertwining authority and responsibility” with notions of authority put forth by anarchist theorist Mikhail Bakunin. This concept of anarchism, she notes, recognizes two forms of authority appropriate for human societies: “1) the power of natural laws, and 2) voluntary authority and subordination that shifts between people dependent upon context and individual’s expertise.” Goodyear-Kaʻōpua demonstrates that kūleana of Kanaka Maoli to ‘āina and community offers a means to build “post-imperial futures that carve autonomous spaces outside of the capitalist, private property system.”

We can add a third ideology, feminism, to ideologies that embody praxis that de-centers State power. Anarcha-indigenism is an area of scholarship and activism that has been developed by a number of Indigenous scholars. The interlocking ideologies underscore “the ways people recognize the authority within themselves” and offers a promising theoretical frame from which to consider decolonial futures in which “protocols for interaction and solidarity across differences of race, gender, sexuality,

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125 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 148.
126 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 155.
class, nationality and other forms of identification“129 create affinities across difference that transform settler state authority.

Process and relationship are key elements in the practice of resistance in all three, in indigenism against colonial power, in anarchism against state power, and in feminism against patriarchy. Jackie Lasky describes the relationship between these three ideologies:

While anarchism typically focuses on capitalism and the state form, indigenism on racism and decolonization/anti-imperialism, and feminism on gendered relations and patriarchy/heterosexism, each of these traditions also deals with the primary concerns of the others, and all of them have engaged with other analyses. This interplay of diverse traditions, what some are calling ‘anarch@indigenism’ forges intersectional analysis and fosters a praxis to de-center and un-do multiple axes of oppression.130

Indigenism, anarchism, and feminism are interlocking approaches to un-do multiple axes of oppression – gendered, economic, and colonial. They carry the possibility of engaging radical activism without engaging state structures. In order to accomplish this, though, strategies of engagement with the state need to be radically realigned.

Richard Day argues that acting non-hegemonically rather than counter-hegemonically is a productive way to resist state oppression. Counter-hegemony works within the parameters of state structures “to shift the historical balance back, as much as possible, in favour of the oppressed.” Day explains:

To argue in this way, however, is to remain within the logic of neoliberalism; it is to accept what I call the hegemony of hegemony. By this I mean to refer to the

129 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 132.
assumption that effective social change can only be achieved simultaneously and en masse, across an entire national or supranational space. This is a twentieth century trap that is being eschewed by more and more groups seeking social change. Day continues:

What is most interesting about contemporary radical activism is that some groups are breaking out of this trap by operating non-hegemonically rather than counter-hegemonically. They seek radical change, but not through taking or influencing state power, and in so doing they challenge the logic of hegemony at its very core.

The main premise of Richard Day’s book *Gramsci is Dead* is that the hegemony of hegemony is being replaced by an affinity of affinity, by which he means “non-universalizing, non-hierarchical, non-coercive relationships.” Examples of this kind of affinity based political action can be found in Latin America.

Political activism in Latin America works within interlocking social orientations. In the Fourth Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle the Zapatistas declare:

In the world of the powerful there is no space for anyone but themselves and their servants. In the world we want everyone fits.

This world where everyone fits requires a resilience and flexibility in order to allow for affinities to develop in political struggle. In his writing on liberatory movements in Latin America Raul Zibechi discusses such affinities that have developed throughout the region:

132 Day, 8.
133 Day, 9.
Three major political and social currents born in this region form an ethical and cultural frame of the great movements: the grassroots Christian communities linked to liberation theology; the Indian insurgency, with its non-Western cosmology; and Guevarism, the inspiration for revolutionary militancy. These currents of thought and action converged, giving rise to a rich “mestizaje” or mix that is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Latin American movements.  

These movements are successful because they work in affinity across their diverse social orientations. Raquel Gutierrez Aguilar analyses three insurgent movements in Bolivia all of which included both Indigenous peoples and popular masses.  

These studies of various insurgencies in Latin America demonstrate the ability of Indigenous Peoples to disperse State power and rupture “the territorial and symbolic forms of production and reproduction.” Aguilar concludes that insurgence is “not a final location, an end goal, or a state to achieve. The pathways to emancipation are, first and foremost, practical action for cooperation, collective self-regulation, and useful labor.”  

Transforming social relations requires this kind of affinity building across difference, all the while being cognizant of incommensurable relations. Enacting Indigenous futurities that ensure Indigenous relations to land requires this kind of radical turning away from State power and the logic of hegemony by creating alternative structures that operate outside of the State and that have potential to eventually replace the State.

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137 Zibechi, Territories in Resistance, 17.
138 Aguillar, Rhythms of the Pachakuti, 175.
Conclusion

Ideological apparatuses centered in grounded normativity like aloha ‘āina are necessary for Indigenous nation building. These Indigenous ideological apparatuses arise out of everyday acts of resurgence and they are expressions of Indigenous ideologies, hailing both individual members of Indigenous communities back to ancestral social relations and calling potential allies who have no genealogical connection to that place to join in the radical transformation of colonial relations. Because discourse carries a surplus of meaning, though, when phrases like aloha ‘āina become legible to a broader society then it becomes available to settler colonial and transnational corporate culture to appropriate in order to promote the colonial hegemony. These are competing ideological claims to truth that Kanaka ʻŌiwi are constantly negotiating.139

These theoretical frameworks are only as salient as the real life projects on the ground that they reflect. There is a growing network of organizations in Hawai‘i built on the principle of aloha ‘āina. These places have emerged from a variety of community needs and desires that led them to turn away from social relations built on greed, fear, and deficit and instead cultivate relations that are built on respect between all existents. In the next chapter I will look at one of these place-based organizations, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, examining the ways that aloha ‘āina practice interpellates individuals into practices that enact Indigenous futurities.

139 For example, an institution like Kamehameha Schools incorporates ʻāina-based education into its school curriculum at the same time that the commercial land management branch of the institution mirrors the neoliberal ideological corporate structure.
Chapter 3: Indigenous-Anarchism in Practice

If you let the land go it’ll take care of itself. What we need to learn is ... how to become a part of the āina – again.

– Imaikalani Kalahele, artist and poet

In this chapter I report on findings from participant research and interviews at Hoʻoulu Āina that highlights the ways that indigenism and anarchism intersect in a place imbued with the force of Haumea, an ancestral mana wahine. I observed Ōiwi āina-based values of mālama kekahi-i-kekahi (care for one another), kuleana (reciprocity and responsibility) and waiwai (abundance) enacted in the aspects of practice at Hoʻoulu Āina to which I had access. I also observed anarchist principles operating at Hoʻoulu Āina in the course of my research including fluid leadership and horizontal flows of authority.

In the epigraph that opens this chapter Kalahele articulates an important discursive nuance of aloha āina. Kalahele warns Kanaka away from human hubris that assumes we humans are saving the land. Āina is an active agent of change and practicing aloha āina restores humans to kinship relationships of kuleana with non-human existents, which includes land, plants, animals, clouds, rain, and the multitude of geological and meteorological elements of place. Instead of saving āina, we are rebuilding severed relationships with āina and in fact we are restoring ourselves, reclaiming our Indigenous selves.

In keeping with that principle, āina is one of the major players in this narrative, along with individuals and an organization these individuals have created and maintain. The

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ʻāina that this study focuses on is the land encompassed within the ‘ili of ʻŌuaua and Māluawai in the upper reaches of Kalihi Valley. The organization is Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, a program of Kōkua Kalihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services (KKV), a Federally qualified health service that provides care for over ten thousand low and middle income patients annually. The people include Imaikalani Kalahele, Kaʻōhua Lucas, Puni Jackson, Dr. David Derauf and other employees and volunteers at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.

The ʻĀina Calls...

Kalihi was known as a wāhine142 valley – very fertile healthy soil (and) lots of water that can feed the ʻāina.

– Joey Miller, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina: Healing Through Aloha ʻĀina

Kalihi is an ahupua’a on the kona (leeward) side of the island of Oʻahu that runs from the fishing grounds of Mauliola in Māmala Bay to the peaks of the Koʻolau Mountains. In the epigraph above, Joey Miller associates the productivity of the land with the mana wahine akua (divine spirit) who inhabit the misty peaks of the Koʻolau Mountains rising above Kalihi valley.144 In ‘ōiwi wale nō (exclusively native) times and well into the era of European influence, extended families cultivated taro in loʻi along the streams that ran from the lush upland forests down to fertile shoreline estuaries where families tended

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142 Wahine: female, femininity; feminine
143 Ahupua’a: Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea
144 The moʻolelo (chronicles) of these ancestral forces can be found in Joseph Mokuohai Poepeoe, “Na mea kaulana o ka lipolipo o Kalihiuka” (Bishop Museum Archive, n.d.). See also Silva, “Pele, Hiʻiaka, and Haumea: Women and Power in Two Hawaiian Moʻolelo.”
numerous loko iʻa (human-made fish ponds). This was the basis of economic life in Kalihi as it was throughout the islands in ʻōiwi wale nō times.

In 1835 an early tourist to the islands describes Kalihi as a land with “the finest soil in the world.” Inspired by the narratives of travelers like Bennett, Europeans and Americans arrived in 19th century Hawaiʻi to settle, bringing with them new governance structures and ways of organizing economic productivity that challenged the established norms of ʻŌiwi society. In the ensuing century these governing and economic structures took hold throughout the archipelago. Settlers from Europe and America acquired vast tracks of land to produce sugar cane; an economic practice that transformed the agricultural economy of most of Hawaiʻi from sustenance to cash.

In the nineteenth century, Hawaiʻi’s plantation economy thrived. Kalihi, though, whose name translates as “the edge,” was in the liminal space between the plantations of sugarcane on the fertile plains of Central Oʻahu and the business hub around Honolulu harbor. Today, Kalihi is a working-class community that has been swallowed by Honolulu’s urban core. Free-flowing streams from the forested uplands are confined in man-made channels in the lowlands and the banks of the sluggish canals are crowded.

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146 ʻŌiwi wale nō was introduced by Young and revised by Goodyear-Kaʻōpua to emphasize “the foundational nature of seventeen centuries of settlement and societal development by Native Hawaiian kūpuna before foreign arrival.” Kanalu G. Terry Young, Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past, Native Americans (Garland Publishing, Inc.) (New York: Garland Pub, 1998), 20; Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, The Seeds We Planted, 250, note 1.
with warehouses, industrial complexes and the occasional encampment of house-less people. The water’s journey ends at Māmala Bay, where to the east cargo is loaded and unloaded at the docks of Honolulu Harbor. To the west hundreds of flights an hour arrive and depart from Honolulu International Airport and adjacent to the airport Hickam Air Force Station and Fort Shafter Army Base provide services to the omni-present military complex, all of which mark the transformation of Hawai‘i’s economy from plantation to a globalized neoliberal economy powered by tourism, the military, and real estate development.

Industrialization and immigration are the new stories carved into the landscape of Kalihi. As Haunani-Kay Trask writes, urban development “forced the landless into fast-appearing slums. Project housing went up in the beautiful valleys of Kalihi and Palolo, transforming them into ramshackle ghettos where drugs and crime stalked increasing numbers of unemployed youth.”148 Trask’s article documents the eviction of farmers and poor working class families from Kalama Valley in 1971. These evictions added to the growing tension between land developers who controlled most of the land in Hawai‘i and the State’s poor and working class residents.

In post-statehood Hawai‘i, the economy shifted from plantation agriculture to land speculation and tourism.149 This new economy strained the fragile social arrangement between landless working class and landowners. Speculative land development continued at the same time that civil society demanded more active participation in the planning process. Voters amended Honolulu’s city charter to form an island wide network of

149 Trask, 127. See also Noel J. Kent, Hawaii: Islands under the Influence (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).
Neighborhood Boards as communication channels, expanding and facilitating opportunities for community and government interaction. The system applies the concept of participatory democracy to planning, involving communities in the decisions that affect them.¹⁵⁰ Oʻahu’s Neighborhood Boards are governance structures designed to engage citizenry in planning decisions, which have had varying success over the years.

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s existence today can be traced in part to the Kalihi Valley Neighborhood Board. In 1978 an article appears in the Board’s newsletter describing the land that was to become Hoʻoulu ʻĀina as an historical place and as a place that would be better suited as public open space rather than a housing development.¹⁵¹ At that time a commercial nursery occupied the land. According to an informational brochure created by Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, “a land developer acquired the land with the intent to build a gated, luxury community, potentially destroying the forest and sacred archeological sites.”¹⁵²

In a 2005 newspaper article written when Hoʻoulu ʻĀina first opened, Neighborhood Board member Maryrose McClelland, recounts that after touring the parcel with other members of the Neighborhood Board they realized the land “was a real gem.”¹⁵³ The Board enlisted the help of Dennis Callan at the University of Hawaiʻi to map the archaeological sites on the property. Another archaeologist remembers trekking to the back of Kalihi Valley with Callan and finding “a well preserved system of ancient

¹⁵² See appendix 1 in this dissertation for scan of document.
Hawaiian agricultural terraces, probably for taro or sweet potato.”\(^{154}\) The Neighborhood Board proposed that the City create a “Hawaiiana Park” on 40 acres of the land now occupied by Hoʻoulu ʻĀina but although the City prevented further development no action was taken to create the desired park.\(^{155}\) Vorsino writes in a 2006 newspaper article that KKV was able to do “what city and state officials tried—and failed—to see to fruition over the course of 30 years.” The article continues

> As far back as 1976, Kalihi Valley residents were promised that the swath of land at the end of Kalihi Street would be converted into some sort of recreation area aimed at servicing one of Oʻahu’s poorest and most densely populated communities.\(^{156}\)

There was little action by the City and in the 1980s when urbanization threatened the Valley, Vorsino writes,

> Kalihi residents were able to persuade state officials to zone the property conservation land to save it. Around the same time, city officials handed the one-hundred-acre lot over to the state in exchange for Magic Island.\(^ {157}\) At that time, title to the land was with the State but resources to develop the upland recreational area for the community did not materialize. The actions of civically engaged Kalihi residents and the Kalihi Neighborhood Board rescued the ʻāina from housing development. The discourse that the Neighborhood Board uses to describe the future for the land is “Hawaiiana Park.” We can only speculate at what this Hawaiiana Park would look like and chances are it would be a place that served the State interests of containing Kanaka ʻŌiwi culture in a “Hawaiiana” safety zone.


\(^{155}\) Kalihi Valley Neighborhood Board, “The News.”

\(^{156}\) Vorsino, “Transforming Jungle into a Gem: Kalihi Valley Residents Working Hard to Build Park,” 5.

\(^{157}\) Vorsino, 5. Magic Island is a part of Ala Moana Park, a shoreline recreational area in urban Honolulu that is adjacent to Waikiki.
A Seed Is Planted … … A Garden Is Born
At the end of the twentieth century the prominent features at the end of Kalihi Street were
single-family homes, a Catholic retreat center, a Buddhist dojo, and two Samoan
churches. But the land on the far side of the wooden bridge where Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is today was not a beckoning place.

Dr. David Derauf visited the site early in his tenure as KKV’s Clinical Director. “I think I first drove back there in 1991,” he recalls, “and I parked my car just past the bridge.” David was hired in 1989 as KKV’s first Clinical Director and today he is KKV’s Co-Executive Director, a position he has held since October, 2003. David and I spoke in a phone interview on February 12, 2016. We talked about KKV’s philosophy of community health and the origins of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.

In the early days of David’s tenure at KKV he and the organization’s executive director, Jory Watland, were discussing ways to provide gardening opportunities for KKV patients who had recently immigrated from agrarian societies. David heard about a parcel of land at the end of Kalihi Street that might be an appropriate place for these gardens. His initial experience of what was to become Hoʻoulu ʻĀina was not encouraging. He drove to the end of Kalihi Street to investigate:

In the half-hour I spent in my car there were several drug deals that went down. The house that later became the caretaker’s house was a sort of crack house and it was not considered a safe place to go to. 158 Watland discouraged further talk of pursuing the land. Reflecting on this early decision David told me,

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158 David D. Derauf, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 2, audio recording, February 12, 2016, 0:6:50.
[if] we tried it would have failed for sure in those early days for a variety of reasons. And then we wouldn’t have gone back to it. ... At any rate the seed was planted for me that I knew of this place.\textsuperscript{159}

A jungle overrun with drug dealers and squatters, the ‘āina languished until a confluence of events in 2004 created the possibility for the seed to sprout.

At that time KKV was awarded a grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation called “Acting Living by Design.” The grant allowed KKV to develop a bike center for young people to learn how to repair and maintain bicycles and urban community gardens where patients could grow food.\textsuperscript{160} For the gardens, KKV was considering locations in a public housing complex, and a public park in lower Kalihi. David tells me, though, that in these planning discussions the conversation continually returned to the land at the back of Kalihi Valley.

Within a week of being notified of the Active Living by Design award Maryrose McClelland walked through KKV’s doors. David describes the meeting

Maryrose was a retired postal service worker who had been the president of the Neighborhood Board for many years in Kalihi. She was brought up in Kalihi and knew it like the back of her hand..... and she knew everyone here. ... I really thought this was a person who was really receptive [to gardens in the back of Kalihi Valley].\textsuperscript{161}

A \textit{Honolulu Advertiser} article about the first year of operation at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina describes McClelland’s enthusiasm for the ʻāina:

As a child, Maryrose McClelland, who served as chairwoman of the Kalihi Valley Neighborhood Board for twenty-six years, romped around the property, climbing

\begin{footnotes}
\item[159] Derauf, 0:5:50.
\item[161] Derauf, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 2, 0:10:04.
\end{footnotes}
among ancient Hawaiian agricultural terraces and handmade rock wall hiding in the forest above the street.\textsuperscript{162}

McClelland’s love of this ‘āina did not waver and her enthusiasm was evident during her second visit to see David at the clinic:

She came in with a stash of newspaper clippings, writings, letters she’d written .. she said we are going to make this happen. It’s way overdue. She has wanted this to be a park for twenty years and we were going to make this happen.\textsuperscript{163}

McClelland joined the KKV Board of Directors and helped guide KKV through the process of acquiring a long-term lease for the land. In December 2004 KKV signed a twenty-year lease with the State of Hawai‘i for the one-hundred-acre parcel.

KKV hired staff to develop and implement a plan for the space. “Solomon Enos became the first caretaker,” David recalls. Solomon had as David describes it “a long history of working on the land through his father.”\textsuperscript{164} Solomon Enos connects Ho‘oulu ‘Āina to a legacy of aloha ‘āina organizing. His father, Eric Enos, is one of the founders of Ka‘ala Farms, “a Hawaiian cultural learning center teaching watershed management, sustainable agriculture, and more!”\textsuperscript{165} Ka‘ala Farm is one of the earliest aloha ‘āina spaces to emerge out of the ‘Ōiwi political activism of the late twentieth century.

Staff and volunteers developed a plan for the park that included twenty acres of community gardens, a hula mound, an education center and caretaker’s house, hiking trails, campsites and restored agricultural terraces.\textsuperscript{166} These early plans do not resemble Ho‘oulu ‘Āina today. The original plan looks like something that would satisfy State

\textsuperscript{162} Vorsino, “Transforming Jungle into a Gem: Kalihi Valley Residents Working Hard to Build Park,” 5.
\textsuperscript{163} Derauf, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina Interview 2, 0:10:04-0:13:30.
\textsuperscript{164} Derauf, 0:20:50.
\textsuperscript{166} Blanco, “Urban Jungle.”
planning goals to provide recreational space that enabled citizenry to continue working to reproduce State power. What has developed instead is a space that has the look and feel of traditional Kanaka ʻŌiwi kauhale, or village. The kauhale, as described in The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻū, is a group of hale (buildings) in which extended families, or ‘ohana, lived and worked.167 Following this traditional way of organizing productive activity, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina today is organized around communal work: garden areas for food production, forest areas where native habitats are being restored, a hale for respite and healing, meeting spaces, a place for welcoming protocols, and eventually a place to produce goods from forest resources. The physical organization of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina supports building relationship between community health and economic activity that are addressed later in this chapter. At this juncture it is important to note that inviting Kanaka ʻŌiwi committed to resurgence of ʻike kūpuna resulted in a space not imagined by organizers at KKV and the Kalihi community.

In our interview David remarked that Solomon, a celebrated Kanaka ʻŌiwi visual artist, brought in Kanaka ʻŌiwi artists and practitioners to volunteer for Hoʻoulu ʻĀina in the early stages of its development. This included Puni Jackson who is now Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Program Coordinator and a participant in this study. “It was all quite organic,” David explains. “People started showing up and they made themselves available, sharing whatever gifts they had to share.”168

Like all initiatives at KKV all aspects of the process had to involve the Kalihi community. This meant recruiting volunteers from Kalihi for the initial project of

168 Derauf, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 2, 0:20:50.
clearing away the detritus accumulated from years of abuse. David’s description of the first community workday at Hoʻoulū ʻĀina illustrates the potential this project had for breaking down barriers in the community. Two groups were invited independent of each other to help remove debris from the property: one a group of elderly men from the Kalihi Lions Club and the other a group of “town kids” from one of Kalihi’s public housing projects. These are two groups who would have no reason to interact in Kalihi’s urban landscape. “By the end of the day,” David tells me, 

Lions club members were saying things like, “These kids aren’t so bad,” and some of the kids were talking to the men, really as kids in Kalihi do, “Hey uncle, can I help you with that?” You could begin to see the possibilities that when people actually rolled up their sleeves and got dirty together you could break down barriers.169

David observed that even as KKV brought a particular culture and ethical framework to the birthing of Hoʻoulū ʻĀina, the ʻāina was definitely an active agent in the process.

We were really welcome there. Despite that initial scary vibe (there were) so many things that happened on that first day that said “You’re wanted here. Welcome back.”170

David’s experience is not unlike the experiences of Kanaka Maoli walking Kahoʻolwe in the early days of occupation to stop the bombing of the island—ʻāina creates relationship with humans. Developing relationship to ʻāina is now a part of KKV’s health practice as described in the health center’s website, “As the land is restored to health and productivity, the healing is reciprocal, creating a healthy, resilient Kalihi Valley community.”171

169 Derauf, 0:18:17-0:20:00.
170 Derauf, 0:20:50.
Kaʻōhua Lucas is a neighbor of the land that was to become Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. She recalls that when she moved into the back of Kalihi Valley the area beyond the bridge at the end of Kalihi Street was foreboding.

We used to walk our dogs to the back of the valley and we noticed that what was now Hoʻoulu ʻĀina was a place where there was a lot of crazy things going on. There were a lot of squatters and apparently drug dealings going down and so it wasn’t a pleasant place -- a healthy place -- to be.172 Kaʻōhua is grandmother, educator, photographer, and a Kalihi resident. My initial interview with her was in her home in upper Kalihi. The house has a comfortable handmade quality. We sat at a counter fashioned from a solid slab of wood, encompassed by forest outside and in. Kaʻōhua introduced herself and her initial relation to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina:

In 1999 we were able to buy this little house. It’s maybe about a quarter mile to the end of the road and at the end of the road is where Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is.173 A place as Kaʻōhua describes above that did not feel safe. She first heard inklings of a change in the property when Eric Enos told her that his son was working near her house on land KKV was leasing. “I was a little confused,” Kaʻōhua explains, because he said KKV had purposely informed the Kalihi community about leasing the property and was encouraging input from the community. Unfortunately, I had not heard of KKV becoming the lessee, but when I heard that someone from Eric Enos’ family was the caretaker, I actually felt a sense of relief and hope for our community.174 As noted above, Eric was one of the early community activists who transformed the kūʻē successes of land occupation and court challenges of the late twentieth century into kūkulu by recovering abandoned loʻi on land in Waiʻanae.

172 Kaʻohua Lucas, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 3, audio recording, December 17, 2015, 0:01:00.
173 Lucas, 0:2:20.
174 Lucas, 0:02:00.
Kaʻōhua decided to find out what was going up the road from her house. I heard they had community workdays so I went up there to nēle because I wanted to know what they were doing. And then I met Solomon and I met Puni. I felt much more at ease I guess to know that it was under their leadership. I think having Puni and Solomon in leadership positions helped reassure me that whatever work being done on the land would be pono. I knew that their long-term vision was to focus on perpetuation of Hawaiian cultural practices and to plan not for twenty years but seven generations forward. I was reassured that the land would not be commodified but embraced as our ancestor, the values set forth would uplift community, and create a space of abundance. Kaʻōhua was reassured that the work that was being done would restore the relationship of Kānaka to ʻāina, and that the leadership at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina were committed to ensuring that the land would flourish well into the future. After this introduction to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, Kaʻōhua participated in community workdays as often as she could.

Solomon Enos eventually left the caretaker position at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina but Puni Jackson remained first as a volunteer and eventually a member of the staff. She was committed to organizing park activities around Kanaka ʻOiwi values of aloha ʻāina, mālama ʻāina and ʻike kūpuna (knowledge of the ancestors). To ensure that the community supported this move she organized an advisory group. As Kaʻōhua explained:

She [Puni] really wanted community buy-in for Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s Hawaiian foundational grounding and so she called a bunch of us together to sit on this advisory group and help guide her through that process.

Kaʻōhua offered Hoʻoulu ʻĀina extensive experience as a Native Hawaiian educator. She has a Master’s in Education and had been working in both administration and curriculum development for over thirty years.

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Lucas, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 3, 0:02:00. and subsequent email communication on November 7, 2017.

Lucas, 0:3:15.
I’ve always worked somehow in Hawaiian education. I worked for a number of years at Nā Pua No’eau, the Center for Gifted and Talented Native Hawaiian Children. I started developing culture based, place based curriculum. We worked very closely with the Department of Education and worked to develop fishpond curriculum. We developed a curriculum for Kahoʻolawe and we developed a curriculum called aloha ʻāina.179

Nā Pua Noʻeau was started by Native Hawaiian educators in order to rectify the exclusionary practices of mainstream gifted and talented programs. The organization embraces the Hawaiian perspective that “giftedness lies in nurturing the gifts of all children not in determining who is gifted and who is not.”180 Kaʻōhua was program director of the organization and then moved in to curriculum development to better use her skills to improve Hawaiian education.181 The curricula she and her collaborators developed were designed to integrate Hawaiian place-based knowledge into the standards set by the Hawaiʻi State Department of Education (DOE).182 Integration of the two knowledge bases proved difficult.

As a Hawaiian the hardest part of writing curriculum was incorporating the DOE standards. Making connections to traditional practice and the ʻāina got lost. For the DOE, the standards were more important.183 Kaʻōhua and the cohort of Native Hawaiian educators at Nā Pua Noʻeau in the vanguard of reclaiming Native Hawaiian education had to contend with an educational state apparatus controlled by settler society.

Goodyear-Kaʻōpua provides a critical analysis of the tensions encountered when attempting to provide culturally empowering educational opportunities within settler

179 Lucas, 0:5:38.
181 Kaʻōhua Lucas, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 3a, field notes, October 12, 2017.
182 Hawaiʻi Content and Performance Standards http://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/TeachingAndLearning/StudentLearning/Pages/standards.aspx
183 Lucas, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 3a.
colonial institutions like the DOE. In *The Seeds We Planted*, she sets up opposing
narratives of state sanctioned safety zones and transformative cultural kīpuka. Within a
safety zone Native Hawaiian educators are free to develop culture-based educational
practices as long as the curriculum does not undermine settler state power. Cultural
kīpuka are likened to physical kīpuka, the “stands of old-growth trees and plants that
survive the destruction of volcanic flows and then ‘regenerate life on the barren lava that
surrounds them.’” She argues “settler state forces constantly work to inscribe these
educational kīpuka or zones of Indigenous cultural growth, as *safety zones*.”

Educational standards are one mechanism to contain the transformative potential of
place-based knowledge within safety zones. Kaʻōhua did the best she could to empower
Kanaka ʻŌiwi curricula and standards within the constraints of the neoliberal ideological
state apparatus.

When Kaʻōhua joined Hoʻoulu ʻĀina the constraints of an education system that
served settler society needs fell away. She helped develop the four program areas around
which work is organized at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina:

We have koa ʻāina, which is our focus on native reforestation; Mahi ʻāina, which
is our gardening program. We have lohe ʻāina, which is focusing on bringing back
cultural traditions and practices, and then also we have our hoa ʻāina, which is our
community engagement program area. ... And I think the important part for us
really is that we are a values based program. We are a “welcoming place of
refuge” – I love that part of our mission statement – “where everybody that comes
can feel like they’re part of something.”

Kaʻōhua also served as director at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina for nearly two years. Although she gave
up the position to take care of her grandchild, she continues her involvement, working

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186 Lucas, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 3, 0:9:00-0:10:00.
closely with the current director, Puni Jackson, providing administrative support and photographing events for the organization.

**Land As Active Agent In Human Restoration**

KKV sees the ‘āina as a vital member of the community.

– Kōkua Kalihi Valley website

Unlike other community health centers, KKV has integrated practices that strengthen the connection between people and land into its health protocols. The passage above from the organization’s website makes an important discursive connection to an ‘ōiwi world-view.

... we are pleased to offer opportunities for community gardening, reforestation, environmental education and the preservation of land-based cultural knowledge at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina (the Kalihi Valley Nature Preserve). In this “welcoming place of refuge for people of all cultures,” healing the land heals us as well. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is flourishing under the enthusiasm and hard work of its staff and hundreds of community volunteers. As the land is restored to health and productivity, the healing is reciprocal, creating a healthy, resilient Kalihi Valley community.¹⁸⁷

The statement calls on the patients and others involved in the KKV community to participate in restoring the ‘āina to health and this in turn creates a healthy and resilient community.

KKV’s discursive intervention interrupts the normal model of health care provision. The statement introduces visitors to a particular material relationship between ‘āina and health. Furthermore folding ‘āina-based practices into KKV’s medical practice works to re-align conventional medical practice by introducing indigenous land-connected practice into the structure of a healthcare facility.

Hoa ‘āina, the human restoration activities also known as community engagement at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, occur on Wednesdays, Thursdays and every third Saturday. These are community work opportunities that are open to anyone from anywhere. A wide variety of

¹⁸⁷ Kokua Kalihi Valley, “Hoʻoulu ʻAina - Kokua Kalihi Valley.”
people participate in the ‘āina-based activities offered by Ho‘oulu ‘Āina staff.

Wednesday work focuses on activities in the Pasifika agroforest; on Thursdays volunteers work in the 1.65-acre vegetable garden; and every third Saturday volunteers participate in native reforestation, gardening, and healthy food preparation.\(^{188}\)

In an article about the work of KKV David talks about the first group of farmers at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina. They were

- comprised primarily of Micronesian women who were suffering from diabetes. KKV had spent a lot of time trying to get them to exercise, a word which apparently doesn’t really exist in their native language and, consequently, has no context for them in English. But when farming was brought up, they immediately had a positive response.\(^{189}\)

This first group of farmers became the nucleus of the weekly Wednesday community workday, which works primarily in the Pasifika agroforest. Every Wednesday the group of immigrants from different island cultures in Micronesia would come to work the land. Collectively they decided to transform the tangle of invasive trees and underbrush into an agroforest garden consisting of plants from across the Pacific. They wanted to create a space that felt like home, a place where they could learn about each other through the foods they could grow at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, including cassava, taro, bananas and numerous other food and medicinal plants.\(^{190}\)

Workday coordinator Darla Simeona told me how the agroforest received its name.

“The lead Auntie from the group named the garden Pasifika. She was adamant about the spelling of the name. When I asked why the auntie responded ‘that’s how we take it


\(^{190}\) Darla Simeona, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina Interview 5, August 4, 2017.
back.’ She meant,” Darla pointed out emphatically, “we were taking the whole of Oceania back from the colonizers.” Even in its earliest days, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina was creating beyond-colonial spaces in which Pacific Islanders could thrive.

During my fieldwork from August 2015 to August 2017, I participated as a volunteer at all three of the volunteer days, each of which has its own flavor and particular type of volunteer. Workdays begin with an aloha circle and end in a mahalo circle. On Wednesdays and Thursdays volunteers tended to be individuals, families, and small groups from a variety of social service organizations, making for a more intimate experience than the monthly Saturday workdays. One woman brought residents of a houseless shelter on Oʻahu’s Waiʻanae coast, a forty-five minute drive each way, to participate in the Wednesday workdays.

On Thursdays volunteers work in the vegetable garden and the focus is on teaching organic gardening practices. Third Saturdays draw participants from Oʻahu and points beyond; including patients and staff from KKV, school groups, and families, and service learning programs at local colleges and high schools.

On my first Community Saturday experience at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, described in chapter one, only seventy-five volunteers came. Over the years doing fieldwork I have been to community Saturdays attended by more than two hundred people. The benefits to people of working the ʻāina are evident in the number of volunteers participating in Hoʻoulu ʻĀina programs over the decade of its existence. Between 2011 and July 2017 alone over thirty thousand volunteers participated in Hoʻoulu ʻĀina activities.  

191 Simeona.
192 Data provided by Hoʻoulu ʻĀina via email on November 28, 2017.
Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has evolved into a community space shaped by ʻāina and guided by the ʻŌiwi knowledge passed down from kūpuna. This relationship is expressed in the sign at the driveway entrance mottled green with age: “This land is your grandmother and she loves you.” People who spend time at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina feel that grandmotherly embrace of the ʻāina. Perhaps this is because Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is on the edge of the wao akua, or as Pua Kanahele explains, the realm of the generative spirits of the forest. In “Na mea kaulana o ka lipolipo o Kalihiuka.” (The famous things in the depths of upland Kalihi) ʻŌiwi scholar Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe writes:

Of Papa it is said that she was a woman more than mortal, a kupua, and that she bore many names, such as Papa, Haumea, Kamehaʻikana. Wākea was a man and human and he was the husband of Papa when she was called Haumea. And they left the borders of Kahiki and became the parents of the Hawaiian people and lived on the hill of Kilohana, which stands high up in the valley of Kalihi uplands.

The importance of this relationship between akua in the upland and Hoʻoulu ʻĀina was driven home to me when I heard Uncle Imaikalani Kalahele, declare, “Papa and Wākea are alive in this place (Hoʻoulu ʻĀina). Something I never knew as a kid.” I was intrigued by Uncle Imai’s statement. In addition to being a respected kupuna, Imai is a celebrated artist and poet. His art is elegant, and complex and it speaks in the language of the working person. In a review of the chapbook *Kalahele: Poetry and Art by Imaikalani Kalahele*, Steve Winduo, a prominent Pacific scholar writes:

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194 Poepoe, “Na mea kaulana o ka lipolipo o Kaliihuka.”
195 This statement was made during a meeting of volunteers and staff at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, December 2015.
Kalahele dances in the rhythm of his ancestors by evoking mythical themes. Kalahele reflects the issues of culture, Hawaiian identity, land alienation, American exploitation, and cultural decolonization. This collection has poetry and art speaking simultaneously, imagining a society that links the past with the present and the future. The Hawaiian artist and poet mediates between ancestral knowledge and modern influences in a lace of art and poetry that floats on the currents of the Pacific, across the islands and in space.\(^\text{196}\)

In a short video about an exhibit of his work in downtown Honolulu in 2012, Uncle Imai gives us some insight into his development as an artist.

Growing up there were two things I knew I could do. I knew I could draw and I knew I could sing. I always liked drawing. I always liked art. I was really lucky to have some really dynamic art teachers when I was in school.\(^\text{197}\)

As Uncle Imai speaks the camera pans down an earthy ochre body formed out of twisted and braided coconut sennit framed by strands of long and flowing braided gray sennit.

“So my style is kind of very whatever I do because that’s the extent of my schooling. (laughter)”\(^\text{198}\) His work includes ancestral figures captured in pen and ink drawings, confronting and engulfing scenes of contemporary industrialized turmoil as well as colorful paintings of everyday Hawaiians playing music.

I think the other thing about my art is it has a Hawaiian perspective. I don’t know if it’s everybody’s Hawaiian perspective but it is one Hawaiian’s perspective. That’s a good thing. More Hawaiians need to have a point of view, a perspective. You know, be serious about something. Take a stand gonfunit! (chuckle)\(^\text{199}\)

Uncle Imai is renowned in the Hawaiian community for creating art that challenges our political complacencies as it takes us to sublime heights. He is a Hawaiian with a point of

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\(^{198}\) Imaikalani Kalahele, Ho’oulu ‘Āina Interview 4, audio recording, June 9, 2016, 2:33-3:04.

view and so I turned to him for an interview about the practice of aloha ʻāina at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.

**Rootless Rootedness of the Boy From Town**

Uncle Imai and I talk story in the bunkhouse, a large workspace nestled in the forest above Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s main gathering area. The staff at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina invited him to set up residence in the bunkhouse where he is surrounded by the tools of his trade – pen, ink, paper, lauhala, and coconut sennit. He shares his wisdom with irascible growls and laughs as he sands and sorts, preparing for an upcoming art show. Our conversation ranges from growing up in “town,” to his ongoing commitment to Hawaiian nationalism, to reflections on the relationship between ʻāina and Kānaka.

I began the interview asking him about the statement he made about Papa and Wākea mentioned earlier in this chapter. He responded:

I always assumed Papa and Wākea, all that stuff happened on Big Island—but then we all assumed everything happened on Big Island—come to find out that no! In fact Papa and Wākea was not only on Oʻahu but they lived in Kalihi! ... And I found out about it at the time we was all discovering us kanakas—our kanaka-isms. (chuckle)

Uncle Imai grew up in the chaos of Honolulu’s emerging urban landscape. “Most Hawaiians never come from (Honolulu),” he explains. “Parents all came from someplace else. ... What did we know ... our generation—nahh—public school you had, what, 6th grade Hawaiian and that’s it.”

Public school curriculum when Uncle Imai was growing up in the 1950s offered very little in the way of Hawaiian culture and history. “We still had aloha week,” Uncle Imai added, “that was a big Hawaiian thing but other

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200 Kalahele, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 4, 0:01:44.
201 Kalahele, 0:02:44.
than that—that was it.”\footnote{Kalahele, 0:02:44.} Aloha Week is a cultural festival that began in 1946—the same year that Uncle Imai was born. Created ostensibly “to perpetuate the Islands’ unique traditions,”\footnote{“Aloha Festivals: About,” accessed January 24, 2018, http://www.alohafestivals.com/about.htm.} Aloha Week, now called Aloha Festivals, is one of those “civic celebrations” Teves marks as a “discourse of aloha” designed to promote a “depoliticized, aestheticized, hybridized culture” that caters to tourists.\footnote{Teves, “Aloha State Apparatuses,” 715.}

Growing up ancestral figures were hidden from Uncle Imai in this depoliticized, aestheticized, and hybridized Honolulu. But Uncle Imai and his friends, children of displaced Hawaiians, took hold of their neighborhoods as only young innocents can. Uncle Imai describes his childhood:

So Fort Street all the way up Nu‘uanu that was our place. We had all the swimming holes from Waikahalu‘u all the way to Kapena. But that was it. That’s the only bush I knew. Had no idea what kind plant that was. Had no idea about anything. I knew about some of the petroglyphs going up Nu‘uanu only because they were there and once in awhile you see one guy there with one tourist taking pictures. We used to make up myths about Kamehameha’s white horse at Kapena [Falls] and the mermaid underneath the pool and all that kine stuff but you know that’s all stuff we had to make up because we had no idea.\footnote{Kalahele, Hōʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 4, 0:05:59-6:29.}

Entangled in settler colonial structures that left them with no deep connection to place, young active minds were left to imagine their own connections.

Uncle Imai came of age in the 1960s, a decade he remembers as a time of cultural awakening in Hawai‘i and across the continent, and the decade in which his politicization began. In high school he followed folk musicians like Woody Guthrie and Buffy Saint-Marie. He learned their songs and took in their political messages. He protested the Vietnam War and then after barely graduating from McKinley High School in 1966 he
was drafted. As a young recruit in New York, he became friends with two men who would have a profound effect on him. Uncle Imai listened to the Black Panther and pro-independence Puerto Rican tell their stories of resistance and liberation and in turn they asked him “What about your people?” Imai returned home full of questions.

How come we no talk our language? How come we no more access to this place? How come we don’t know shit about ourselves? How come? Uncle Imai was on the path to discover his kanaka-ism, who he is as Hawaiian.

The question comes down to do you know who you are? We Hawaiians—we discovered had certain kinds of things that we really believed in. One of them was aloha ‘āina. And it wasn’t a simplistic take care of the land. ... Why you going aloha ‘āina? ‘Āina can take care itself. It doesn’t have to be aloha-ed. We have to be aloha-ed. ... Sometimes I think it’s a little arrogant for us to say, "we gotta take care of the land." No, no, no. If you let the land go it’ll take care of itself. It’s us guys getting in the god damn way—What we need to learn is that lesson—how to become a part of the ‘āina again.

Learning how to be a part of the ‘āina takes many forms. Uncle Imai made art, wrote poetry and shared these skills with young people. He participated in the early days of cultural resurgence and a growing Native Hawaiian art scene. In those days a debate emerged around what is authentic Native Hawaiian art. In settler society Native Hawaiian art was limited to ancient material culture like traditional carvings, feather work and kapa that early settlers collected and placed in their museums.

A professor at Leeward Community College on O‘ahu and friend of Uncle Imai asked him to talk about this issue with an art professor at the College. As he recalls:

[This] art teacher tells me that there is no such thing as contemporary Hawaiian art. It does not exist. (laughter) That’s like saying there’s no contemporary Hawaiian.

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206 Kalahele, 0:04:00-0:05:52.
207 Kalahele, 0:04:00-0:05:52.
208 Kalahele, 00;12;17-00;13;30.
This is a familiar settler colonial logic of removal. Natives do not exist in the present; therefore Native artistic expression can only be an echo of the past. Imai organized an exhibit of ten contemporary Native Hawaiian artists to show the teacher that contemporary Native Hawaiian art exists and although the Professor never apologized for his racist attitude, Imai says,

I think he started to realize what he was saying. [Because] we’re not carving wood; we’re not carving stone; we’re not making tapa, therefore we cannot be Hawaiian artists.\textsuperscript{209}

For Uncle Imai, Native Hawaiian art is any art made by a Native Hawaiian, and as Native Hawaiian political consciousness got stronger much of contemporary Native Hawaiian art critiqued settler colonial society. Organizing an exhibit of contemporary Native Hawaiian artists to counter racist innuendos like this is but one way that Imai participates in Kanaka ‘Ōiwi resurgence as he continues to loudly proclaim that contemporary Native Hawaiians are still here.

Uncle Imai also taught art classes for Nā Pua Noʻeau.\textsuperscript{210} He called his class “Nā Kiʻi o Kanaka Maoli.” Because the most common meaning for “kiʻi” was carved image students signing up for his class expected to learn traditional carving. “Kiʻi” also carries the meaning of “image” Uncle Imai told me and his classes were going to challenge young Hawaiian students to explore images of Native Hawaiians through the students’ own artistic expression. During the course students made a mural, carved something, and expressed themselves through poetry. Imai taught to the ‘ono (craving, desire) of the students. If the students wanted to carve bone they would work with bone. He taught them what it felt like to work the bone and he challenged them to think beyond the

\textsuperscript{209} Kalahele, 00;12;17-00;13;30.
\textsuperscript{210} This is the same program discussed earlier in the chapter.
traditional; the bone, he would tell a young carver, does not have to be a traditional fishhook.  

Uncle Imai was in constant search of ways to remedy the pain and trauma of his people. He joined with other artists and political activists to work with young people in Kalihi public housing, the “town kids” as he liked to call them. They gave town kids the tools needed to survive the gritty reality of the urban environment.  

Part of the solutions was programs like this where there are alternative ways to do things, alternative ways to think. If it work, work. No work. No do that again. ... To me knowledge, painting, skills, whatever all that, it’s another tool.  

Uncle Imai sees Hoʻoulu ʻĀina growing out of these early programs. At Hoʻoulu ʻĀina people are learning how to use tools that will bring them closer to the ʻāina and, like the tools in Uncle Imai’s toolbox, the tools at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina come from many sources.  

Kanaka Maoli resurgence is also an important outcome at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. The organization has given Uncle Imai a place where he can continue to make his art, a process that he writes about in the poem “Make Rope.” At the end of our interview Imai gave me a copy of this poem, a first person account of a young man’s interaction with an old man who made rope all day. No one paid attention to the old man, except for this young man, who finally asked him why he kept making rope. The old man answered

The Kaula of our people
    is 2,000 years old
    boy
    some time...good
    some time...bad
    some time...strong
    some time...sad

211 Kalahele, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 4, 00:07:37-00:10:36.
212 Kalahele, 0:15:39-0:21:49.
213 Kalahele, 00:14:25-00:15:04.
214 Kalahele, 0:33:59.
but most time
us guys
just like this rope
one by one
strand by strand
we become
the memory of our people
and
we still growing
so
be proud
do good
and
make rope
boy
make rope.215

From a young innocent exploring the outer edges of Honolulu town to a radical poet and artist to a respected rabble rousing kupuna, Uncle Imai has been a beacon in the birthing of a new Hawaiian consciousness. He is both the young man asking “why you make rope” and old man responding that it is because this is who we are as Hawaiians. Like the old man Uncle Imai’s metaphorical rope making is binding the lāhui together. Uncle Imai has captured in this poem the approach to knowledge production expressed in Goodyear-Kaʻōpua’s explication of Kanaka ʻŌiwi methodology. ʻŌiwi knowledge is produced by making rope, binding together the aho (cords) of lāhui, kuleana, ea and pono into ropes of knowledge. At Hoʻoulu ʻĀina people are making rope, weaving the kaula into ʻūpena (nets) of belonging in which people can heal themselves and become a part of the ʻāina; they can answer the call of aloha ʻāina.

Fierce Aloha ʻĀina Ten Years On
Puni Jackson leads a group of volunteers on the forest trail from ʻŌuaua to Māluawai.

She stops at a large pōhaku (boulder) jutting into the path. It is round and smooth, flecked

with green living organisms and streaked with mud. Water oozes from its pores. She touches her nose to the nose of the pōhaku then turns to the group to explain that she greets this pōhaku with the traditional honi (to touch noses in greeting). The pōhaku marks the boundary between the lower gardens and education center of ʻŌuaua and the ancient agricultural terraces and upper gardens of Māluawai.

Mother, artist, fierce aloha ʻāina, Puni Jackson is also the Program Coordinator at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. In the interview I recorded with her in 2016 she reflected on the philosophical and theoretical implications of the work being done at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Her insights into the on-going process of weaving ʻōiwi values into practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina are infused with self-deprecating humor and fierce aloha. With a note of levity she describes her job: “I’m coordinator here, which sometimes means … I’m like people’s mom. ‘Oh here you need a bandaid...’” adding with a note of discomfort, “and I’m the boss.”

Being the boss is an uncomfortable position for Puni. She recognizes though that the gift she brings to this organization as the “boss-lady” is the ability to navigate between two worlds—the circle of waiwai at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina and the culture of deficit thinking, what I describe in this dissertation as the settler colonial capitalist world. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is structured in concentric circles of protection. The outer ring of these circles of protection is the organizational structure of KKV. Within that organizational structure Puni engages in working with other KKV staff to write and administer grants that provide resources for Hoʻoulu ʻĀina programs. For example, in her role as boss-lady she works with KKV accounting to make sure the paychecks are delivered on time. Working with

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216 Puni Jackson, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 1., audio recording, January 6, 2016, 0:1:19.

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the accountant at KKV is made easier because the accountant participates in community
workdays and understands waiwai thinking. The accountant and Puni operate on the outer
ring that has the most direct contact with settler colonial state apparatuses and capitalist
structures of exploitation and accumulation.

Another perhaps more fulfilling part of Puni’s job involves working with staff to
articulate the ‘ōiwi values upon which to build long range plans for the organization. One
of those core values is aloha ‘āina. Puni is quick to point out that aloha practiced at
Ho’oulu ‘Āina is not the docile aloha that Teves critiques in the essay “Aloha State
Apparatuses.” As discussed in greater detail in chapter two, Teves argues that the
Hawaiian concept of aloha was co-opted from love that is intertwined with obligation,
reciprocity and respect to one focused on the uncritical love of God. In the throes of
settler colonialism, aloha becomes a state apparatus that interpellates Hawaiians into a
subjectivity that supports settler state hegemony.

Teves ends her argument with an admission that while she critiques aloha as an
apparatus of the state and as a means to control Native Hawaiian identity, she too is
interpellated into this Hawaiian subjectivity. This ambiguous relationship within the
politically active radical Native movement has produced a multitude of alohas with
qualification. In our interview Puni was also compelled to qualify what aloha means to
her:

I think that there is this perception that aloha is not welcome on the kūʻē front or
not useful, or there’s a passivity to aloha that doesn’t serve our long-term
objectives as a lāhui. You know I just disagree with that. Without aloha I
wouldn’t care. I wouldn’t be fighting for what I’m fighting for. I wouldn’t be
honoring the struggle and survival and resilience of my own grandparents and

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217 Teves, “Aloha State Apparatuses.”
parents. And so aloha is not this thing “Ohhh no, no, everything is going to be fine. Let’s just have aloha.” No. I not talking about that. (laughing) I not talking about my aunties singing “Let it be, let it be.” (laughing) late into the drunken night. We’re on a different pathway from that. I’m talking about fierce aloha. I love it enough to die for it. I love it enough to fight. I love it enough to sacrifice my ego. I love it enough to not allow anything to get in the way of what is the true abundant legacy given us -- to be responsible -- to be given to our children too. I have to love that fiercely to make sure that my great grandchildren receive it.²¹⁸

Fierce aloha rejects doormat aloha that settlers used to domesticate Hawaiians. In the passage above Puni marks the transition from the passive assimilationist aloha in the Teves essay—the kind of aloha invoked by “Let’s just have aloha”–to aloha that fuels radical transformation. Aloha has traveled from Ideological State Apparatus to an Indigenous ideological apparatus. Aloha is fierce love and coupled with ‘āina we have an Indigenous ideological apparatus that calls people into powerful and passionate relationship with ‘āina.

Aloha ‘āina is a pathway of cultural resurgence, a praxis that, as Jeff Corntassel writes, “embraces a daily existence conditioned by place-based cultural practices.”²¹⁹ Two values that Puni talked a lot about in our interviews were kuleana and waiwai, ‘ōiwi concepts that are inextricably tied to aloha ‘āina ideology. In the following sections I examine the ways that resurgence at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina is structured around kuleana, one’s responsibility to ‘āina and ʻohana, and waiwai, productive activity grounded in abundance.

**Cultivating Kuleana at Ho‘oulu ʻĀina**

We have relationship. The relationship creates the kuleana. We are motivated by a purpose, a mission, a legacy bigger than ourselves.

- Puni Jackson, November 2, 2017

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²¹⁸ Jackson, Ho‘oulu ʻĀina Interview 1., 0:10:09-12:00.
²¹⁹ Corntassel, “Re-Envisioning Resurgence,” 89.
Hoʻoulu ʻĀina and parent organization KKV have taken on kuleana for the ‘ili ʻāina of ʻŌuaua and Māluawai. This kuleana is a privilege and a right to exercise decision-making authority with respect to human activity on the ʻāina. Goodyear-Kaʻōpua describes kuleana as a mutual, shifting authority that emerges out of ‘ike kūpuna and acquiring knowledge through hands-on practice. Citing Kumu John Kaʻimikaua speaking on traditional ʻŌiwi notion of kuleana, she writes, “It is the practitioners themselves who lead in decision-making for they had the most intimate and in-depth knowledge of particular resources.”

The leadership at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina instills in everyone who works Hoʻoulu ʻĀina the importance of respecting kuleana that they hold to land and community and the kuleana held by others.

The Hoʻoulu ʻĀina ʻohana is comprised of people from across the archipelago. For this reason Puni has been providing opportunities for learning ‘ike kūpuna and strengthening practice. Kuleana is cultivated through opportunities for staff members to learn from masters with specific ‘ike kūpuna. Puni describes this process as

... very intentional, very drawn out, sensitive. ... Listening to what each individual staff member was interested in cultivating. What their gifts are. What gifts they want to grow. What their capacity was and where they wanted to grow their capacity. And creating mentorship [experiences] and even huakaʻi that allowed that growth.

The huakaʻi (excursions) sent students to farmers on other islands to learn techniques of cultivation for traditional foods. Other staff members developed relationships with foresters at the Department of Land and Natural Resources to learn various techniques to steward the forests at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.

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221 Jackson, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 1., 38:21.
Understanding personal kuleana is vital in Ho‘oulu ‘Āina’s decision-making structures. Resources are allocated based on the needs of the land, what Puni calls ‘Āina-led decision-making. Ho‘oulu ‘Āina staff are continuously assessing projects based on affects on the ‘āina based on knowledge available at the time. Staff members draw on knowledge from many sources including ‘ike kūpuna the traditional knowledge of this ‘āina; traditional knowledge of the guests from other lands who now call Hawai‘i home; and knowledge derived from Western scientific practices.222

Puni is interested in cultivating the distinct kuleana that individuals bring to their work at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina based on particular gifts of those individuals. The Ho‘oulu ‘Āina staff is a crucial resource for developing and running programs in each of the four project areas: lohe ‘āina (perpetuating traditional knowledge of place), koa ‘āina (organic reforestation), hoa ‘āina (community workdays and service learning projects), and mahi ‘āina (community gardening). Someone with an affinity for growing vegetables works in the mahi ‘āina program area, someone who has an affinity for forest systems works in the koa ‘āina program area, and those with particular ‘ike kūpuna share this knowledge in the lohe ‘āina program area. An individual’s work is focused in the arenas where they have the most talent and they work in other parts of the organization when needed.

This model of resource management is a good example of the coming together of indigenous and anarchist principles. Each person has specific kuleana to ‘āina and this kuleana is carried out in an organization that is structured along horizontal leadership principles in which individuals participate in decision-making based on mutual and shifting authority.

222 Puni Jackson, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina Interview 1a., field notes, December 7, 2016.
Puni stresses that people hired to work at Ho‘oulu ʻĀina need to hold a strong personal kuleana to the ʻāina. Some have kuleana to the lahui (people/nation) and their work at Ho‘oulu ʻĀina is aimed at strengthening the bonds of the lāhui. Others have grown up in Kalihi valley and their kuleana is to the familial relationship they have with the ʻāina. Others have no political or genealogical connection to the ʻāina but have made a commitment to learn ʻike kūpuna and translate that knowledge into practice at ʻŌuua and Māluawai. Kuleana at the personal and institutional level is the moral and ethical seed that empowers people to become actively engaged in the mission of Ho‘oulu ʻĀina to be a “welcoming place of refuge where people of all cultures sustain and propagate the connections between the health of the land and the health of the people.”

Cultivating Waiwai (Abundance)

It’s my job to create abundance—it’s our collective job. And money is part of a necessary abundance in this time frame.

- Puni Jackson, January 6, 2016

In the Pukui-Elbert dictionary “waiwai” encompasses many aspects of the concept of value. In certain contexts it refers to wealth in the form of goods and property or something that is useful and valuable. Waiwai also means abundance. In the popular Hawaiian hymn “Iesu me ke Kanaka Waiwai” (Jesus and the Rich Man) Jesus tells the Kanaka Waiwai (Rich Man) to give away his wealth. He refuses and is denied entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven. Waiwai in this context is understood as worldly possessions, goods and property. “Waiwai” also carries the meaning of use/value. Economics translated into Hawaiian is hoʻokele waiwai (to steer or navigate use/value). In these meanings of waiwai we see the influences of liberal capitalist thinking. A rich man must

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223 Puni Jackson, Ho‘oulu ʻĀina Interview 1b, field notes, March 17, 2017.
224 Ho‘oulu ʻĀina, “Our Mission.”
give up his waiwai to enter heaven. A noble act in the ideal but if we look at waiwai as an amplification of wai (water) the source of life, in reality it is the Native Hawaiian who is coerced into giving up what is valuable. Associating waiwai with liberal capitalist economy in the phrase hoʻokele waiwai solidifies the association of waiwai with wealth as the accumulation of profit through a system built on production and scarcity. These are the common translations for waiwai. In this section we examine the ways that economic activity at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina transforms this commodity and scarcity driven definition of waiwai into an alternate definition also found in the Pukuʻi dictionary – that of abundance.

Puni recalls the early days at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina in which garden practice was inflected by with discourse of scarcity:

In the beginnings of our work here people were fighting about eggplants—volunteer farmers stealing eggplants from each other.225 Fighting over eggplants, Puni observes, is a behavior that comes out of deficit thinking—believing that there is not enough. Deficit thinking is a part of a market economy that thrives on manufactured scarcity. Waiwai at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina associates wealth with abundance, generosity, sharing and reciprocity. Over the decade that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has been in operation waiwai has developed into the dominant practice. Farmers no longer steal eggplants from each other. Instead they work the garden alongside friends and neighbors and at the end of community workdays take home the fruits of their harvest.

In the fall of 2015 during a Wednesday workday, I first heard a waiwai discussion at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Dr. Derauf and a delegation from KKV were hosting a group of health

225 Jackson, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 1., 0:35:45.
administrators from across the U.S. on a site visit to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. When I came upon the group in the garden they were engaged in an animated discussion about the way Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s community garden was organized. A visitor asks why the garden isn’t divided into small plots of land that are then allotted to individuals to cultivate as they see fit. David responds that organizing the garden in that more conventional manner creates an atmosphere of scarcity. There will never be enough land for all those who want to garden and a power structure arises to manage the scarcity. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s community gardeners, he points, out work together under the guidance of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina staff to create waiwai or abundance for all. This emphasis on working together to create abundance is also a principle practiced in the anarchist and socialist traditions.

Another example of waiwai as transformative social relation occurred at a third Saturday community workday. At the end of these workdays the fruits and vegetables harvested that day are put out on tables for participants to take home. Everyone is encouraged to take as much as they need for their own table and to share with kūpuna, family and friends who would not otherwise have access to fresh food. On the day in question, volunteers are “shopping” at the table laden with the harvest. I am sitting at the registration table eating lunch with the volunteer coordinator. A young woman approaches our table with bags of fresh produce and hands me a twenty-dollar-bill, a gesture I read as payment for the vegetables. I tell her that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina doesn’t take

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money for the vegetables. The volunteer coordinator intercedes pulling out a small plastic bag with some bills in it. “We’ll be happy to take your donation though.”

I mis-recognized the act of giving and receiving in this incident but this mis-recognition on my part demonstrates the way that Ho‘oulu ‘Āina has consciously structured waiwai economics. There is no direct correlation between a twenty-dollar bill and the bulging bag of fresh organic vegetables that the volunteer had helped harvest. The vegetables are hers because she showed up and participated. The volunteer freely gives twenty dollars in recognition that Ho‘oulu ‘Āina needs cash to operate—a very different social relation than the experience of shopping at a supermarket. Money is not a fetishized stand-in for the exchange-value of the vegetables. Rather than a relationship mediated by an abstraction (the exchange of money for goods), the relationship emphasized is between people and the food they harvest from the land.

The third story of waiwai at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina comes out of the organization’s first fundraiser. After ten years of funding operations through individual donations, t-shirt sales and grants from public and private institutions, and, following a two-year investment in staff leadership training, the organization was, in Puni’s words, ready “to engage in a process where we might build capital.” In November 2015, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina hosted Mālama I Kekahi: Caring for One Another. The event challenged expectations for fundraising. Instead of making their pitch for funds in a comfortable environment such as a large well-lit ballroom, staff and volunteers escorted guests into the forest. On the trails of ‘Ōuaua and Māluawai they were immersed in the storied place. It was a risky endeavor and a test of the principle of waiwai, creating abundance through sharing.

227 Jackson, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina Interview 1., 0:44:20.
During the fundraiser staff members and volunteers created events tailored to specific sites. They shared stories of the ‘āina that they knew intimately. After touring the various sites guests relaxed in the open-air ‘āina café enjoying live music under the stars. They perused a market where they could purchase Ho‘oulu ‘Āina products and bid on silent auction items. Many of the people attending the fundraiser, having never been to the site, came in fancy dress. “They didn’t get the email to wear boots,” Puni recalled. There was rain and there was mud but throughout the night the people of Ho‘oulu ‘Āina took care of their guests. After the fundraiser Puni recalls,

I (heard) a lot of stories of people saying “I was just rolling my eyes because I had to go to this stupid fundraiser” or one person said “I was just going to show face and then leave.” but when they got here it was a happening, joyful … party and they were stoked and stayed.\(^\text{228}\)

The guests at the fundraiser were welcomed into a circle of sharing and they were given the opportunity to have direct experiences with the ‘āina.

After the fundraiser staff and volunteers gathered to discuss the event. The group assessed problems in organization and follow-through leading up to and on the night of the event. The general feeling was that it was a success and the staff expressed overall enthusiasm for repeating the event. It was at this meeting that Imai Kalahele enthusiastically expressed his approval of the event by declaring that Papa and Wākea walk this land. Not only did the fundraiser raise enough cash to fund one staff person for a year, it also circulated waiwai in the broader community. As Puni says,

This is the first time that we created an event and had energy behind the objective to create abundance. We’re calling it a fundraiser but what we created was more than just financial abundance.\(^\text{229}\)

\(^{228}\) Jackson, 0:33:58.  
\(^{229}\) Jackson, 0:26:38.
Waiwai is more than creating an abundance of material goods. Waiwai opens up the possibilities for deepening relationships of mālama ʻāina (nurturing relationships with the land) and mālama kekahi i kekahi (nurturing relationships with one another).

**Conclusion**

We believe as our ancestors did that if the land is healthy then the people are also healthy.

-Puni Jackson in the video *Malama ʻĀina - Take Care Of The Land*

In the hybrid space that is Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, social structure is shaped by ʻāina and guided by the Ōiwi knowledge and values passed down from kūpuna. It is an extension of a community health center with a core mission to address the health needs of Kalihi Valley. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina also operates within the hegemony of a capitalist economy, pursuing monetary support from institutional donors at the same time that the organization actively models ʻāina-based social practices in which humans participate in communal reciprocal relationships with each other and with ʻāina. Through the practice of working with the land at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina KKV is re-aligning conventional medical practice, and introducing indigenous land-connected practice into the structure of a healthcare facility.

At Hoʻoulu ʻĀina social relations are not carried on the backs of greed, fear, and deficit; instead social relations are cultivated with aloha ʻāina to build respect among humans and with non-human existents. Aloha ʻāina is integrated into the organizational structure and practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Through ceremony, study and practice the people that work at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina are able to meet the demands of their area of kuleana be it bringing forward ōiwi knowledge and practice on the land through lohe ʻāina, implementing a balanced approach to reforestation through koa ʻāina, teaching others the essentials of growing food through mahi ʻāina or empowering new social relations based
on abundance and gifting through hoa ʻāina. In their daily work the staff practices “everyday acts of resurgence,” that re-establish kinship relationships to land and ancestors. The staff then carries everyday resurgence into their engagement with community. Participants in weekly and monthly programs and service learning projects are invited to participate in activities steeped in aloha ʻāina, kuleana and waiwai.

Staff members from the Program Director to Outreach Coordinators to farmers and foresters integrate place-based ethic into the economic, political, spiritual and social dimensions of practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Practice is organized around non-hegemonic grounded normativity that does not directly challenge State power. Instead Kānaka ʻŌiwi and allies have formed a community working towards radical transformation of social relations. Relationships of reciprocity, responsibility and mutual respect are cultivated in every staff member, which results in praxis that works to un-do gendered economic power relations and foster a vitalization of Indigenous social relations with all existents. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is, in Puni’s words, committed to “a long term generational strategy of fierce aloha that opens people’s ancestral connections no matter where their ancestors are from. So we can do what’s best for Papāhanaumoku.”

230 Jackson, 0:9:07.
Chapter 4: Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Discourse

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is a place of Indigenous resurgence in which everyday practices model relationships of kuleana (responsibility) and waiwai (abundance) in concert with existents past, present and future. In this chapter I examine examples of the ways that the community at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina map ancestral knowledge and responsibility onto future generations through the organization’s discursive practices. This chapter demonstrates enactment of Kanaka ʻŌiwi futurities, in other words engagement in practices of resurgence that look to the renewed and continued existence of Kanaka ʻŌiwi lifeways. Aloha and mahalo circles, Haumea in her many forms, Mama Koa in the upland forest, and Ola Koa, a project to repurpose invasives, are the specific discursive assemblages analyzed in this respect. I begin with the organization’s website.

An Invitation to participate: The Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Website

ʻO ka hā o ka ʻāina ke ola o ka poʻe
(The breath of the land is the life of the people.)

– Hoʻoulu ʻĀina website

The homepage on Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s website opens with the ʻolelo noʻeau (poetical saying) above, signaling that this digital space is a Hawaiian place in which people and ʻāina are intimately connected. The organization’s website, a rich visual experience complemented by textual information about mission, engagement, and fundraising, is for many their first encounter with Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Informational text is punctuated with poetry in Hawaiian and English that accentuate the reciprocal relationship between human and ʻāina. Further down the page is a passage that makes explicit the connections between health and land that are implicit in the ʻōlelo noʻeau that opens the homepage.

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina addresses the health needs of Kalihi Valley by strengthening the connection between people and land. Through four interwoven program areas, the
community comes together to create a one-hundred-acre upland resource of forest, food, knowledge, spirituality, and health activity. As we restore this land to health and productivity, we learn that healing is reciprocal. The value of reciprocity is introduced in this passage, as is the operating principle that community health comes from connecting people to the land. These concepts are repeated throughout the website.

The home page establishes Hoʻoulu ‘Āina as an unconventional health provider operating outside of health systems that are governed by market demands of the neoliberal economy and its narrow definition of health. The text and images invite those who are looking for a health care model that also embraces health as relationship between humans and ‘āina to join the activities at Hoʻoulu ‘Āina.

Visitors to the website can navigate to three sites – About Us, Engage, and Donate. On the “Our Mission” page of the website the introductory phrase reinforces the relationship of human health to the health of the land. It also explicitly opens the experience to all people of all cultures:

Hoʻoulu ‘Āina is a welcoming place of refuge where people of all cultures sustain and propagate the connections between the health of the land and the health of the people.

The text goes on to explain the relationship between Hoʻoulu ‘Āina and KKV.

Since 2004, Kokua Kalihi Valley (KKV) has been stewarding and sustainably developing 100 acres in the back of Kalihi Valley. Dedicated to cultural education and community transformation, this land was named Hoʻoulu ‘Āina, meaning “to grow the land” and “to grow because of the land,” based on the value that the health of the land and the health of the people are one.

Key phrases in the text include “stewarding and sustainably developing”; “cultural education and community transformation”; and “the health of the land and the health of the people.”

the people are one.” The text emphasizes the process of restoring and maintaining health through restoring kinship relationships with ʻāina.

At the end of the page is the organization’s list of Guiding Principles. These principles articulate a framework that challenges normative concepts of work.

• As we work, we listen to the land, and let it guide us.
• We work to heal and promote health.
• We work with the ahupua’a as our model for sustainability, encompassing environmental, economic, and social aspects of our community.
• We work in the spirit of reciprocity—celebrating experiential teaching and learning.
• We work together, inspired by our diversity, creating an ahu of shared connection and responsibility.
• We work with intentionality.
• We work in partnership.
• We work as an “and” culture, not as an “or” culture.
• We work to build community among those in and beyond the ahupua’a of Kalihi.
• We work to feel good, with a light heart and happiness, with openness, because we believe in this work.
• Creativity, experimentation, artistic expression and ho'omanawanui are integral to each of our guiding principles.

Work at Ho’oulu ʻĀina is imbued with listening, with healing and reciprocity, happiness, and openness. These guiding principles enable relationships of kuleana and waiwai within the community of Kalihi. It also invites those outside of the ahupua’a of Kalihi to participate.

The next page in the “About Us” section entitled “Our Intentions” describes the context in which these principles are put into action. The text invites rather than commands. Through repetition it reinforces the importance of creating meaningful relationships with ʻāina.

Nestled in the back of Kalihi Valley, Ho’oulu ʻĀina seeks to provide peoples of our ahupua’a, and abroad, the freedom to make connections and build meaningful relationships with the ʻāina, each other and ourselves.
Our program intentions seek to provide the landscape with which you can safely sink your roots into our lepo, ka po‘e and culture to nurture your indigenous identity. Join us as we work as an “and” culture, not as an “or” culture.

Images on this page accentuate nurturing “indigenous identity” – an identity associated by proximity to relationships with lepo (dirt), ka po‘e (people) and culture. The photos illustrate the four program areas described in chapter three. Lohe ‘Āina’s image is one of hands holding a koa bowl and a lei of ferns; Koa ‘Āina’s image is one of hands planting a koa sapling; Hoa ‘Āina’s image is one of young and old people carrying buckets of dirt, working the land; and Mahi ‘Āina’s image is one of a basket of shiny purple eggplants.

The Community Engagement section includes a page that speaks directly to educators who are looking for Service Learning experiences that emphasize place-based learning. The invitation to bring students to Ho‘oulu ‘Āina speaks directly to the organization’s ‘āina-based pedagogy.

Ho‘oulu ‘Āina staff believe in the benefits of place-based learning and ‘aina as our true teacher. Our service learning activities immerse the students in listening to the land and in turn they learn full reciprocity. ‘Āina is our true teacher. The pedagogy is focused on listening to the land. These values would be hard to incorporate into a DOE curriculum whose standards are based on settler society. Ho‘oulu ‘Āina’s statement of educational values is followed by an expanded explication of what students gain from ‘āina-based learning. The circle of reciprocity is the guiding metaphor.

Circle of Reciprocity
Here at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, we believe that there is a reciprocal relationship between the health of the land and the health of the people. We strive to provide meaningful experiential and educational activities for community members to reconnect to the land, health, themselves and each other. As a health center we are committed to growing and cultivating a strong community. Through time spent on the land, students begin to understand that community includes all; self, ka mauna, invasive species and the bugs. When students put their hands into the lepo they learn the values of aloha, laulima, mālama and leadership. Our staff enjoy
bridging classroom curriculum and ‘āina education to further fortify student learning experiences. If your school, group or organization would like to join us on the land, please contact us to schedule a visit.

Meaningful experiential educational activities help students reconnect to land, health, themselves and each other. Work – putting hands into lepo (dirt) – teaches students the values of aloha, laulima (many hands working together) and mālama.

Ho‘oulu ‘Āina’s website lays out an alternative approach to community healing and learning. In later sections we examine other ways that discursive practices at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina articulate structures that have the potential of displacing neoliberal regimes of authority and control.

Aloha and Mahalo Circles

In our opening and closing circles our prayers are in Hawaiian and sometimes to Papa, sometimes to Kapo, sometimes to Jesus, sometimes in Yiddish, (sometimes) just (listening to) the wind.

– Puni Jackson

In all aspects of work at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina circles are the opening and closing protocol. In this analysis, though, I focus on the circles that anchor community engagement programs on Wednesdays, Thursdays and every third Saturday, as these are days in which the invitation to participate is open to all comers. These aloha and mahalo circles are a doorway to understanding and eventually practicing ‘āina-based kuleana.

The aloha circle that begins the day’s work is a ceremony of naming and remembrance. The leader begins by introducing the ‘āina; the ahupua‘a of Kalihi, the ‘ili ‘āina of ‘Ōuaua and Māluawai. Then the leader asks everyone to introduce themselves, name the place they call home and a person dear to them who they bring to the day’s work. After each person in the circle shares their name, the place they call home, and the name of someone they are thinking about the various team leaders outline the work to
accomplish that day. The leader then invites a volunteer to offer a prayer to begin the day. The workday ends with a ceremony of gratitude, the mahalo circle, in which everyone in the circle speaks out loud something for which they are grateful.

Wide promotion of community engagement results in a diverse group of people facing each other in the circle. Community engagement is promoted, as discussed above, on the organization’s website. It is also promoted at KKV clinics, and in service learning programs at high schools and universities on O‘ahu. The people in these circles could be students from local high schools and colleges fulfilling service learning requirements or clients, staff and volunteers from KKV, or they could be activists engaged in Kanaka ʻŌiwi land struggles dropping in to connect with this aloha ʻāina space. For many this is the first time that they have been asked to reflect on their relationship with this or any land.

The act of forming a circle is a conscious practice of embodying aloha. Participants are given the opportunity to focus their attention on the group, be they strangers or family, friends or co-workers. If there is one requirement on community engagement days it is to participate in these circles. This includes reporters and camera crew from the evening news or bureaucrats representing the State. As Kat Burke describes it, “No one can be invisible,” and as we see later no one stands above the circle.

Kat is curious about and conscious of the ways that newcomers navigate the outsider/insider dynamic in the circle. In December of 2017, I spoke with her about this dynamic in aloha and mahalo circles. She describes the challenges that these circles can present:
Joining the circle is an invitation to rebuild relationship to land, others and yourself, that asks us to become vulnerable to connection. In the past I even came late to avoid the circle, feeling anxiety about articulating my emerging understanding of positionality as a haole settler in Hawai‘i, and was surprised to find that showing up and being in the circle actually alleviates that tension. For example, not knowing the name of the place we call home is an opportunity to find out. I have observed similar anxiety reflected in the faces and body language of some in the circle. This is one of the reasons why the protocols of the circle require strong and focused leaders. Kat offers her perspective on leadership in circles:

It takes a lot of love to hold and guide the energy of a group of over two hundred people, to prepare everyone to be open to the work, to each other, to listen to and be led by the land. Like healers hold space for transformation, group leaders hold space for connection with ‘āina and ancestors and community. Part of the work at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina is to cultivate staff members to give the gift of leading.

In the circle leaders invite those gathered into direct experience with ‘āina. For some this hailing is a familiar reminder and for others it is foreign and strange. Some are totally comfortable with the process while others are overwhelmed.

In the course of our conversation Kat referenced an article by Julie Kaomea that informs her thinking about this dynamic. In the essay Kaomea relates a number of cautionary tales about non-Indigenous people participating in Hawaiian cultural programs. Kaomea ends her article with an admonition to non-Indigenous people participating in these ‘Ōiwi programs to continually ask themselves, “Is this the time and place for me to step forward . . . to step back . . . or to step out?”

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232 Kat Burke, MPH, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina interview 5, in-person, hand notes only, December 20, 2017 and subsequent email communications.
233 Kat Burke, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina interview 5, in-person, hand notes only, December 20, 2017.
building relationships is most important and these relationships have an arc that is continuously being negotiated. “It’s like building any other relationship,” Kat told me, “I started as a guest, a visitor, at Ho’oulu ‘Āina.” She eventually moved out of the role of guest when the opportunity arose to use her skills to fulfill specific responsibilities in the organization.

The protocol of the circle can challenge a person’s identity, particularly people who enjoy positions of privilege and power outside of the circle. This protocol, as Kat says, “asks us to show up as ourselves.” Kat has noticed people with power and authority let go of their status, while others have a hard time leaving their privilege behind. Case in point is the visit of the Director of the Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR), the state entity that holds the lease to Ho’oulu ‘Āina land.

When Kat saw the DLNR Director in the aloha circle she noticed that her body language appeared guarded. Standing in a circle as an equal did not seem to be a comfortable role for her. In our conversation later Kat recalled a staff discussion about the Director’s participation at community Saturday. Puni said that the Director had asked for a podium to address the people. The Director was advised that Ho’oulu ‘Āina followed a specific protocol that involved everyone speaking in turn in the circle. Kat offered this interpretation of the situation:

By honoring the land as leader, as our grandmother, any “contest between the State and the circle is neutralized. The state has physical and legal authority to impose its will but at Ho’oulu ‘Āina, the DLNR Director’s authoritarian request is an anachronism.”

To those who know Ho’oulu ‘Āina protocols a speech by a representative of the State during circle time would seem foreign, out of place.

235 Email communication from Kat Burke, November 28, 2017.
Aloha and mahalo circles introduce newcomers to ʻike kupuna and prepare participants to experience work as relationship. In the horizontal flow of power, participants choose how they will engage with ʻāina. Most join a work crew on these community engagement days, but they are also free to not participate. Participants, though, are not free to impose their will on others as the Director of DLNR attempted to do.

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina operates under the auspices of a comprehensive health system and as such Hoʻoulu ʻĀina discourse is also infused with strategies to achieve good health. On the KKV website, the health system is described as one that provides not only medical, dental and behavioral health care to prevent diseases it also promotes health by sharing food and laughter, celebrating elders and children, dancing, planting, and remembering how to be a community. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has been supported by funding from foundations and other sources that, as Puni observed, ask Hoʻoulu ʻĀina to measure successful delivery of health benefits through determinants such as healthy food and healthy exercise. She explains:

These are like normal outcomes but what is the most powerful is that sense of belonging. That sense of belonging is so powerful and it is so missing. It’s about the connections that are ancestral, the connections that are community and family, connections to self and to akua, spiritual connections.

Newcomers are integrated into the practice of abundance at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina in the aloha and mahalo circles. These circles honor the gifts that each person brings and it also establishes a structure in which those gifts can be offered and received. In these circles of

aloha and mahalo participants experience being welcomed into a place where they belong and where they are asked to reflect on their own genealogy and connection to sacred land.

**Pāhola ke aloha (Spreading aloha)**
Pāhola ke Aloha (Spreading aloha) is another program that Ho‘oulu ʻĀina offers. Unlike community engagement events Pāhola ke Aloha events are targeted to specific groups from government departments and private corporations. In these events Puni and the staff engage with people who represent more than themselves. Participants are officers in corporations, or administrator for the Department of Education. Pāhola ke aloha programs are aimed at shifting the mindset of the current economic system by offering direct experiences of aloha ʻāina to individuals who can help shift those systems from within those organizations.

Pāhola ke aloha includes training activities that suggest ways to integrate Hawaiian values like mālama kekahi i kekahi, waiwai and aloha ʻāina into organizational practices. Activities have included learning a traditional skill like making koko (the knotted carriers for gourds), or working in the garden with mahi ʻai (farmers) or in the forest reserve with koa ʻāina (foresters).

Puni is interested in shifting systems by giving individuals the experience of being connected. The community engagement program shares ʻike kūpuna and the principles of kuleana and waiwai with a broad undifferentiated group of people, whereas the Pāhola ke aloha program targets the sharing to people who can more immediately transform, no matter how slightly, the organization’s values, practice and goals. This two-pronged approach opens the way for futures in Hawai‘i that are grounded in ʻike kūpuna, kuleana
and waiwai. As Puni describes it participants discover that they “really do belong to Papa, that’s a gift that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina gives.”

**Mana wahine and the many forms of Haumea**

Haumea of the earth. Haumea who lives within each woman. She is that sacred space within a mother’s womb. She is the hīpuʻu or link to ancestors past and moʻopuna yet unborn. Haumea represents new growth. She is life. She is abundance.” – Announcement for the Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s second fundraiser September 3, 2017

Mana wahine figure prominently in the discourse at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Joey Miller describes the fertility of the valley as wahine and Uncle Imai draws strength from knowing that Papa and her mate Wākea, the progenitors of the lāhui Kanaka ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiian people), reside in Kalihi Valley. There are a multitude of names for Haumea including Papa, Papahānaumoku, and Hina.

Mana wahine are female deities celebrated in moʻolelo, the body of oral and written literature that is a major conduit of ʻike kūpuna (ancestral knowledge). “The moʻolelo relate Kanaka thought, history, geography, beliefs, and humor.” As Silva notes in her essay about Pele, Hiʻiaka and Haumea, mana wahine in moʻolelo are divine, human and parts of the landscape all at once. “From a Kanaka perspective, ʻāina is viewed as a sacred and physical manifestation of mana wahine, whether recognized in name as Papahānaumoku, Haumea, Pele, or Poliʻahu.” Mana wahine, McDougal writes in her

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237 Papa is one the many names of the mana wahine that reside in the valley. Jackson, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina Interview 1., 0:19:03.
239 Silva, 159.
essay about Hi`iakaikapōliopele, embody sacred feminine power and inherent authority.\textsuperscript{241}

Ho`oulu `Āina’s second waiwai celebration and fundraiser on September 3, 2017 was dedicated to Haumea. The name of the event was “He lau ke kino, a waiwai celebration honoring our grandmother earth, Haumea.” The event celebrated the organization’s tenth anniversary. Honoring Haumea at this milestone in the organization’s life points to the importance of sacred feminine power at Ho`oulu `Āina.

This sacred feminine power and authority is expressed in the sign that for many years stood at the entry to Ho`oulu `Āina, “This land is your grandmother and she loves you.” It is present in the “Ka Lāhui O Ka Pō, Birthing a Nation” workshops supported by Ho`oulu `Āina staff and resources.\textsuperscript{242} Mana wahine as grandmother `āina even made an appearance in a presentation Puni gave about aloha `āina on a panel at a meeting of the National Academy of Medicine’s Culture of Health Program. Puni was speaking on the Aloha `Āina movement at a presentation on a panel that included, in addition to Puni, Michael Collins, Immediate Past President, National NAACP Board of Directors speaking on Civil Right and Social Justice Movements and Harper Jean Tobin Policy Director of the National Center for Transgender Equality speaking on the LGBTQ Movement.\textsuperscript{243} In that presentation Puni tells the audience of health advocates from across the nation,

\textsuperscript{241} McDougall, 26.
\textsuperscript{242} For more on this project see Lindsey Kesel, “Bringing Back Birthing Traditions,” \textit{Ka Wai Ola: The Living Waters of OHA}, October 2017, Vol. 34, No. 10 edition, 14.
\textsuperscript{243} \textit{Reaction Panel: Successful Movements in Recent History:}, 2017, https://youtu.be/RGVK-rRmVnU.
The ʻāina is my grandmother, my great-grandmother. This land that feeds us – lands, ocean, all that feed us, all of our community – that is ʻāina and so aloha ʻāina means I love, I will protect, I will die for that which feeds us generationally.244

For Puni this discussion of aloha ʻāina as a successful political movement begins with the familial relationship that she has with ʻāina. This discussion highlights the difference between aloha ʻāina that emphasizes relationship and reciprocity, and the Civil Rights and Transgender Equality movements that emphasize an individual’s relationship to the legal framework of the state.

Haumea’s sacred feminine power is also present in stories that come directly from ʻāina, like the story of Mama Koa. I first met Mama Koa clearing the trail that connects ʻŌuaua and Māluawai. The crew leader introduced us to a tree with gnarly trunk and a canopy of crescent leaves quivering in the breeze. “This is Mama Koa,” he said, marvelling at her fertility, pointing to the baby koa trees on the ground that radiated from her scarred and ancient trunk.

Mama Koa’s story is also featured in a video produced by students enrolled in a graduate seminar in Indigenous Politics at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The narrator in the video describes Mama Koa’s story “as a metaphor of generational and perpetual success.” In the same video, one of the students, No‘eau Peralto, explains:

Our kūpuna understood what koa is – embodying both that of a warrior as well as that value of courage.245

Brian Kuwada’s essay “We Are Not Warriors, We Are a Grove of Trees” adds to this understanding of the relationship between koa, courage and warrior.

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244 Reaction Panel: Successful Movements in Recent History, 0:27:48.
In our language, “koa” is not used to describe those who fight in battles because it means “warrior”; it is used to describe those who fight in battles because it means “brave.” It means “courageous.”

Kuwada also argues that the life cycle of the koa tree is a model for koa aloha ʻāina engaged in Kanaka ʻŌiwi resurgence. Trauma he points out opens up the possibility of a stronger resurgence. “Koa seeds,” he writes, “can remain viable in the soil for twenty-five years or more. For them to germinate, they often have to be scarred or cracked first, yet they grow to amazing heights.” Koa also plays an important role in both ʻāina culture and human culture. Again Kuwada writes:

[Koa trees] fix nitrogen, cycle nutrients, and sequester carbon. They provide habitats for native birds and space in their understory for other native plants to grow, and their wood is used from (sic) everything from house timbers to canoes to surfboards to ʻukulele to weapons to calabashes. To grow through pain, sometimes from being broken, and then to give so generously of yourself, that is bravery and that is courage. That is koa.

Kuwada’s essay tells the story of koa aloha ʻāina sprouting up throughout the pae ʻāina to defend and protect ʻŌiwi futurities. He compares the bravery and courage of koa trees to these human koa who have defended Kanaka ʻŌiwi life and who continue to stand for a future “where Hawaiian values still guide decisions about Hawaiʻi” and “a world where everyone understands the sacredness of land.” People working at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina also embrace these aloha ʻāina values. Participants are introduced to Mama Koa as an embodiment of these aloha ʻāina values. She is resilient, designed to survive in times of trauma and stress, and able to procreate when circumstances improve.

Mama Koa carries both the values embodied in koa and the spirit of mana wahine.

Hers is a moʻolelo of resurgence and futurity that rises up from the ground. Her physical

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246 Brian Kamaoli Kuwada, “We Are Not Warriors. We Are a Grove of Trees.,” Ke Kaupu Hehi Ale (blog), July 6, 2015, https://hehiale.wordpress.com/2015/07/06/we-are-not-warriors-we-are-a-grove-of-trees/.

247 Kuwada.
presence and the telling of her story reinforces relationship between ʻāina health and human health. In the student video Mama Koa is likened to a warrior “standing her ground,” and holding the space for future generations. Mama Koa is a living reminder of generational aloha ʻāina. Every time someone hails her on the forest trail or retells her story of perseverance the relationship between human and forest existent is strengthened. The story of Mama Koa is enacting ʻŌiwi futurities in Māluawai by offering a living example of the reciprocal relationship between human and ʻāina culture.

Figure 1 Front cover of Ola Koa brochure

Ola Koa
In this section I analyze a brochure created to solicit donations for the Ola Koa reforestation project. The brochure lays out the values and political philosophy that drive the organization’s reforestation efforts in general and in particular the Ola Koa project. In doing so the brochure connects abundant futures to the knowledge of the ancestors. The brochure articulates three concepts: 1) generational sustainability that serves as a bridge from past to future; 2) production of goods and services at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina in general and
in the Ola Koa project specifically that is based on principles of kuleana and waiwai; and,

3) power and authority that emanates from kuleana and relationship to ʻāina.

Figure 2: pages 2-3 Ola Koa brochure

Open the brochure to the first page and you find the statement in large print that reads: “We honor, harvest, and repurpose the invasive to allow the native to thrive.”

Albizia and other large invasive tree species are marked as manifestations of abundance and not as rubbish or enemy. The facing page reinforces this relationship in a longer description of the goals of the Koa ʻĀina project:

On 100 acres in the back of Kalihi valley, the community is gathering to restore a Hawaiian forest, breathing life into the ancient relationship between land and human. This kinship is honored through Ho’oulu ʻĀina’s native Hawaiian reforestation project, Koa ʻĀina, where we harvest large invasive species to make room for native species to grow.

This opening statement establishes the ʻŌiwi land/human kinship. The next section places “invasive” into this kinship circle. Invasive species in the forest is not an Other. It is removed from destruction/evil discourse and placed in a harvest/repurpose discourse.

We are developing a woodshop and a portable mill where we can engage community members in repurposing the invasive lumber into objects that bring waiwai – true wealth – back into the community.

See Figure 2.
This text challenges the essentializing dialectic of ‘native good – invasive bad.’ As the text emphasizes invasive species are harvested and lumber from these invasive species is repurposed into objects that bring true wealth. Invasives are not waste but things that can be transformed into beauty and utility.

The text continues with a passage that links sustainability with native reforestation and the products that will be produced in the Ola Koa project:

We are aiming to create a sustainable native reforestation project, harvesting trees that damage Hawai‘i’s ecosystem and creating valuable carved and built products that reconnect us in our everyday lives to the mana of this land. Bridging the previous passage with this one is the notion that wealth is defined in terms of relationships and process and not the material good produced. The subtext on this page is that at the same time that an invasive species may be damaging the eco-system it also has value. It echoes the sentiment I heard on my first trip to Ho‘oulu ʻĀina that every plant that grows out of this ʻāina carries the mana (power) of this ʻāina. The final line of this block of text is in Ho‘oulu ʻĀina style an invitation to participate. “The project is called Ola Koa, and we’re inviting you to get involved.”

Figure 3: pages 3-4 Ola Koa brochure

249 See opening narrative in chapter 1.
250 Emphasis in original.
The next page makes explicit the generational component of abundance. Boldface text articulates the relationship between ancestral knowledge, young people, and survival of human culture and ʻāina culture. The first section connects ancestors to youth, cultural survival, and forest restoration:

*Sustainable practice* is learned from the ancestors of this land, Hawaiʻi. Investing in the skills of our youth ensures the perpetuation of ancient practice. This statement is a direct challenge to the settler state that seeks to replace ʻike kūpuna with knowledge and practice that supports Western liberal market based economies. Sustainability moves from ancestral knowledge into the future through teaching young people these ancient skills. The text continues: “And our choice to restore a native forest ensures water for future generations.” This is an oblique reference to the relationship between restoring a native forest and scientific data showing that removing certain invasives and replanting native forest plants restores ʻāina’s ability to store water. This in turn brings water flows back to the ahupuaʻa. The final sentence of the text on this page makes concrete the temporality of sustainability: “The aims of *Ola Koa* are to create sustainability generationally.” The project looks to manifest a future in which there is a balanced relationship between humans and water, rock, plant, and animal systems.

The generational relationship between past, present and future is reinforced by the images on the two pages: a young man tending to the rigging of a traditional wooden canoe at the waters edge; a photo collage juxtaposing native flowers, koa tree, buckets of tools and a smiling young woman; and a youngster using a traditional adze to shape a piece of wood under the careful guidance of an adult.

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251 See Figure 3.
The text superimposed over the adze-wielding youngster provides a more detailed description of what generational sustainability looks like at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. To make the case for support for Ola Koa the text cites the organization’s history of providing a place for people to come together as a community and reconnect to ʻāina. The text continues with a description of Ola Koa activities such as “carving, building, milling, sanding, creating and dreaming!” Invoking creativity and dreaming to carry Hoʻoulu ʻĀina into Kanaka ʻŌiwi futures is another way that the organization distinguishes its social relationships of production from social relationships imposed on people by economic mandates of capitalism.

The left side of the brochure’s centerfold addresses Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s relationship to the mana wahine (ancestral female gods) of the valley:

Following the stories of the land, we are inspired by Haumea, our ancestor mother earth, who makes her home at Kilohana, the highest peak in our mountain range here in Kalihi. We celebrate her stories of love and sacrifice, and the stories of our grandparents’ commitment to feed and honor her. Our work is Haumea’s legacy.\textsuperscript{252}

The image accompanying this text makes a powerful if subtle statement about the relationship between male and female. The image is of a man guiding an electric sander along a slab of wood; chips fly from the sander into the workspace. The image and text configuration on this page evokes the complementarity between masculine and feminine procreative power and between ʻike kūpuna (ancestral knowledge) and modern technology.

\textsuperscript{252} See Figure 4.
The other half of the centerfold is dominated by an architect’s rendition of Hale Laule. The hale is described in the accompanying text as “a sustainable forestry and invasive repurposing mill and woodshop for the community.” The text asserts the intention to “shift how we engage in forestry, economics, education, and community health.” Rather than a project to accumulate capital this is a project to bring abundance to the entire community. At the bottom of the page is another appeal for support: “Your support will help us launch Phase One of the hale-building in 2018 – a step toward growing creativity and sustainability in Kalihi!” This appeal makes explicit the relationship between creativity and sustainability and reinforces the social value of process over the end product.
Images dominate the next set of pages. On the left is a graphic representation of the relationship between the four components of the project.\(^{253}\) Planting native trees and harvesting invasives, education, products from the mill and workshop, and investment by community are connected in a circular flow. The text is divided into three sections. The first describes the products made in the workshop ranging from traditional one-of-a-kind pieces to machine-made production pieces. The facility will also be a community space:

We welcome engagement from young and old, new and seasoned woodworkers, and the space facilitates an open, experimental learning environment.

The next paragraph describes the relationship between humans and ʻāina that is cultivated by this project.

We harvest invasive trees so that there is room and resources in our forest for the native trees to grow: koa, ʻōhiʻa, lama, alaheʻe, ʻiliahi and others. We plant and harvest so the people of our community can grow. The native trees are our koa – our warriors – as are the foresters, carvers, canoe makers, luthiers, woodworkers and artisans.\(^{254}\)

The text moves from naming trees that will once again grow in the forest, to identifying the warriors of the project as both humans and trees, reinforcing the kinship relationship between human and forest.

The final paragraph describes the ways that supporters can contribute to Ola Koa. A close reading of the suggested ways to contribute to the success of Ola Koa indicates the multifaceted approach that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is taking to garnering support for this project. The first two, “volunteering your time and talents, donating tools or funding,” are well established in the organization’s discourse on support. References to both can be found on Hoʻoulu ʻĀina’s website and other promotional material. The second two, “purchasing

\(^{253}\) See Figure 5.  
\(^{254}\) Emphasis in original.
or commissioning products, or advocating for more support” are new elements of this discourse.

Asking supporters to purchase Ho‘oulu ʻĀina product indicates a new direction for Ho‘oulu ʻĀina; that of participating in a market economy. Following an indigenous anarchist ethos, though, the goods produced and sold in a market setting must contribute to community well being of all existents rather than exploit or extract from community well being.

I was particularly struck by the final phrase of this list of ways to contribute to Ola Koa. This is the first time that I have seen discourse that implies political action. The phrase “advocating for more support” introduces the possibility that supporters of Ho‘oulu ʻĀina programs will need to step forward as advocates for the organization, implying that there may be opposition to this project.

On the facing page there is an image of a man holding a traditional adze over a rough-hewn slab of wood while his other hand firmly caresses the wood. Behind him is the prow of a carved canoe and beyond that the forest. The image evokes calm concentrated strength. The text next to the image is a three-part definition of koa:

1. Brave, bold, fearless, valiant; bravery, courage.
2. Soldier, warrior, fighter, hero, martial. ho‘o.koa To act as a soldier; to cause to be a soldier. 255
3. The largest of native forest tree (Acacia koa), with light-gray bark, crescent-shaped leaves, and white flowers in small round heads. A legume with fine, red wood, a valuable lumber tree, formerly used for canoes, surfboards, calabashes, now for furniture and ukulele.

The text to this point has been focused on the visions that Ho‘oulu ʻĀina is holding for new relationships that are encompassed in Ola Koa. This definition of koa makes explicit

255 Emphasis in original.
that in Hawaiian thought the human manifestation of boldness and courage are like the manifestation of boldness and courage in the forest. The relationship between values, human subjectivity and non-human existent, are made concrete. The last line on the page exhorts the reader to “E ola koa, live like a koa tree.”

One of the goals of this brochure is to inspire individuals and institutional funders to contribute to the effort with time, goods or monetary contributions to Ola Koa’s capital campaign. In this brochure, at the same time that the organization makes an appeal to potential investors it makes it clear that economic production at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is done within the organization’s organizing principle of abundance and generational sustainability. This point is fore grounded in the end pages of the brochure. The text on the left invites community members to invest their myriad gifts in Ola Koa. The text explicitly lists “knowledge, money, energy, time, joy, hope, love, shovels, boots, stories, passions, plants, prayers...” leaving the gift giving open-ended with the trailing dot-dot-dot. Money is just one element desired and necessary for sustainability. This call to

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256 Emphasis in original.
257 See Figure 6.
participate ends with the assertion that community investment yields community abundance.

Collective investment of our gifts brings a return of generational and generative abundance: a healthy environment, a legacy of ʻāina-based learning, a culture of sacred foods, centuries of access to clean ʻāina, values-based economy, clear-thinking leaders in the next generation, clean water, the capacity of future generations to protect our land and culture in perpetuity.

The message to potential investors is clear that the return on their investment is a shift in economic paradigms – a return to an economy based on abundance rather than deficit.

The bold typeface on the right makes this shift explicit:

Our kūpuna taught us to make sacred space by welcoming others to share in our ʻumeke.\footnote{ʻumeke: bowl, calabash, circular vessel} That sharing is the aloha that pervades our work and our identity – all we do and all we are. Abundance lies within our understanding of and commitment to a shared legacy.

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is a place where we learn to honor the gifts within each person. We learn that when we honor the ancestors of every ʻāina, no person comes with an empty ʻumeke.

We welcome the sharing of gifts in reciprocity.

We welcome the co-creation of a shared legacy.

We invite the sharing of abundance.

This brochure was produced to generate support for Ola Koa in the wider public. The text makes it clear that investment in generational sustainability requires more than money. It requires shifting priorities and imaginaries. The images and text in the brochure create a gestalt of generational sustainability in which young and old using adzes and electric tools produce goods for the marketplace that are useful and beautiful. The images and text can also be read as a call to become a part of Kanaka ʻŌiwi resurgency and invest in Kanaka ʻŌiwi futurities.
Conclusion
In this chapter I examined the ways that the community of staff and committed volunteers at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina work towards Kanaka ‘Ōiwi futurities in practice on the ground and discursively in stories presented to the broader society. The organization’s website introduces the major principles around which work at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina is organized. Aloha and mahalo circles orient newcomers to Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, calling them to listen and learn from the ‘āina and each other. Pā Hola ke Aloha introduces waiwai abundance and kuleana to people outside of the immediate circle of Ho‘oulu ‘Āina supporters. Narratives of mana wahine dwelling in the ‘āina bring ‘ike kūpuna into practice today and into the future. The Ola Koa project extends the health promotion mandate of the organization into the production of useful goods.

The brochure announcing the Ola Koa project is also a statement of the organization’s political philosophy expressed in the metaphor of repurposing invasive species and goals of teaching sustainability through waiwai. The statement in the Ola Koa brochure – “We honor, harvest, and repurpose the invasive to allow the native to thrive” – is a powerful metaphor for human relationships. Humans who bring destructive social relationships into the community can also be repurposed. This metaphor is made material in the aloha and mahalo circles which invite participants to repurpose themselves into productive relationship with the ‘āina. Invasives, like settlers, attempt to impose what in the long run is a toxic hegemony. In the Ola Koa project the toxicity of invasives is redirected into utility and beauty and at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina toxic practices that reproduce a culture of deficit are repurposed into acts of creative community building.
These narratives provide a map with which to navigate social life and as such express ideology. The Hoʻoulu ʻĀina map draws from the ancestral knowledge that emerges from relationship to ʻāina. To paraphrase Goodyear-Kaʻōpu, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina leads us to relationship with all existents living, passed, and yet-to-come, and these relationships lead us to radical relationalities that transcend settler geographies and maps. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, also reaches beyond the community of Kalihi as a part of an ʻŌiwi network of aloha ʻāina spaces that provide opportunity for Kanaka ʻŌiwi to practice resurgence, to heed the call of aloha ʻāina. Puni also expresses the desire that people who experience these connections at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina will return to their communities and create their own spaces of kuleana and waiwai expanding the network of aloha ʻāina spaces to such an extent that it overwhelms the culture of deficit prevalent in Hawaiʻi today.

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Chapter 5: Conclusion and Next Steps

In this dissertation I argued that indigenous ideologies emerge out of practice anchored in place and a worldview that embodies kinship relationship with land, plants, animals, clouds, rain, and the multitude of geological and meteorological existents of place. These relationships have developed across generations of being of and on particular places and therefore cannot be reduced to an abstract set of theoretical principles designed to contain all situations in all places. These relationships emerge out of specific material environments, and they are the springboard for enacting Indigenous futurities that transcend linear settler colonial temporalities.

Embodying Aloha ʻĀina

My intellectual journey began with the desire to understand the politics of decolonization. I wanted to interrogate the ways that Indigenous peoples in general, and Kānaka ʻŌiwi in particular, are moving beyond decolonization. I looked to theories of ideology to understand how ideology works in this decolonial movement. If ideologies emerge out of the material re-production of economic life in concert with values articulated through the social imaginary then I should be able to identify Indigenous ideologies articulated in Indigenous practice and knowledge systems. These Indigenous ideologies enable and reproduce Indigenous resurgence in ways similar to the ways that Western liberal democracies enable and reproduce class domination.

Reading Gramsci and Althusser on the role of ideology in the subjugation of the masses I conclude that Western liberal ideology disseminates a universalizing discourse of human rights and democratic freedoms that works to constrain and contain societies
within class structures that work to further imperial goals of Euro-American states.\textsuperscript{260}

Indigenous ideologies, on the other hand, are place-specific worldviews embracing the kinship relationships of all existents of that place.

Borrowing from Althusser I developed a theory of the way that Indigenous Ideological Apparatus function as an engine of Indigenous resurgence. Althusser theorizes the Ideological State Apparatus as structures that call individuals into subjectivities that reproduce relations of production within capitalism.\textsuperscript{261} Indigenous ideological apparatus call individuals not just away from subjugation to the State and capitalism but these apparatus also hail individuals into resurgent practices that strengthen relationship with land and all existents on that land. Resurgent practices also involve Indigenous peoples taking control of the stories that narrate our life. As Thomas King writes “Want a better ethic? Tell a different story.”\textsuperscript{262} Controlling the narrative is essential for radical transformation of societal norms.

In Hawai‘i, Kanaka ʻŌiwi ideology is shaped and constrained by `ike kūpuna, ancestral flows of knowledge that are anchored to specific places in these islands. As a response to the imposition of settler colonial rule, aloha ʻāina emerged from these flows of knowledge as a Kanaka ʻŌiwi ideological apparatus. Aloha ʻāina is a unifying discourse that calls Kanaka ʻŌiwi to political subjectivity. This apparatus is the backbone


\textsuperscript{261} Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)(January-April 1969).”

\textsuperscript{262} Thomas King, \textit{The Truth About Stories: A Native Narrative}, 1st ed. (Univ Of Minnesota Press, 2008), 164.
of ʻŌiwi strategies of kūʻē (resistance to state subjugation) and kūkulu (building resilient ʻŌiwi societies), both of which are key elements for Kanaka ʻŌiwi resurgence.

The case study of this dissertation, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, is hybrid space. It is a nature park run by a community health center that addresses the health needs of Kalihi Valley and beyond by strengthening connections between individuals and land. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is also a space of Kanaka ʻŌiwi resurgence. It calls Kanaka ʻŌiwi like myself to powerful and passionate relationships with ʻāina and ike kūpuna (knowledge of the ancestors). During the course of fieldwork at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina I have worked alongside countless Kanaka Maoli parents bringing their children to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina to ground their ʻohana in ʻŌiwi values and the practice of ike kūpuna. I have interviewed Kanaka ʻŌiwi who are able to bring ike kūpuna such as laʻau lapaʻau, Hawaiian herbal medicine, and ʻai pono, promoting health through eating Hawaiian traditional foods, into contemporary practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.263

At the same time, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is a space that addresses the health needs of all residents of Kalihi Valley as a part of Kōkua Kalihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services (KKV). I worked side-by-side with young people from the local high school participating in Saturday community workday as a part of their school’s service learning program. On Wednesdays and Thursdays I participated in work parties that were more intimate and included small groups from a variety of social service organizations, where service providers could work side-by-side with clients pulling weeds. On other days, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina staff might be hosting a group of administrators and teachers from the

263 ʻAi pono is a movement that connects healthy eating with ancestral foods such as kalo, ‘uʻala (sweet potato), and fish. The term is derived from ʻai meaning food and pono meaning balance
Department of Education who are working in the garden as a part of their leadership training workshop; or fifth graders from the local elementary school who are learning about ʻai pono by harvesting, cooking and then eating a delicious locally sourced meal.

Everyday practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is grounded in anti-statist values like waiwai (abundance) and kuleana (responsibility). The discourse of waiwai (abundance) defines wealth as abundance. This discourse does not directly challenge state power but it does in practice radically re-align social relationships. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina practices a protocol of aloha and mahalo circles that invite Hoʻoulu ʻĀina guests to embrace kuleana to ʻāina and community. The Ola Koa narrative shifts economic paradigms to an economy based on abundance rather than deficit.

As the narratives generated by Hoʻoulu ʻĀina gain amplitude and purchase beyond its physical space, though, it becomes legible to the settler state and faces the danger of appropriation by the Ideological State Apparatus. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has been successful to date in deflecting appropriation by state and corporate forces. To understand this phenomenon we have to understand its relationship to KKV, an organization that has thrived for nearly fifty years. Kōkua Kalihi Valley is a comprehensive health system that values process and horizontal flows of power, self-care, and responsibility to and participation in community. These values are reflected in KKV’s approach to healthcare:

“From our very beginning as a community-run organization in 1972, KKV has held close the idea that health is much more than visiting the doctor or taking the proper medications. Health is not something to be purchased, nor can it be given from one to another. Health is what we all do for ourselves, for our families and for our neighbors every day. It is where we live, what we eat, the opportunities we are given and take hold of, and the stories we tell our children. Most of all, we
believe that health is connection, belonging, culture and community—and we strive to be a center for community health in all that we do.”

Leasing the land that became Ho‘oulu ‘Āina allowed KKV to provide aloha ‘āina programs in Kalihi. The complement of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi who gravitated to Ho‘oulu ‘Āina over the decade of its existence have adapted KKV values of self-care, responsibility to community and horizontal power structures to an ‘Ōiwi ideology of aloha ‘āina. Ho‘oulu ‘Āina has grown into a vibrant ‘Ōiwi space that has exceeded its original purpose to serve the health needs of Kalihi Valley. It is now a place for Kanaka ‘Ōiwi resurgence as well as a place that provides opportunities for guests of this land to work in healthy sustainable relationships with ‘āina and each other.

KKV has also expanded the reach of aloha ‘āina practice beyond the physical bounds of Ho‘oulu ‘Āina with the creation of Returning to Our Roots. This is an ‘āina-to-table initiative that takes the principles of kuleana and waiwai practiced at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina into the Kalihi Valley community. It runs programs at the KKV medical clinic, at public housing sites throughout Kalihi and at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina. Grounded in Hawaiian traditions and practices of land stewardship and collective work, activities are aimed at improving the health and well being of the Kalihi community. Programs include Ehuola, a program that helps Hawaiian families incorporate ‘ai pono as well as ways of living that honors kūpuna, ‘āina, and ourselves, and emphasizes Hawaiian cultural practice as primary preventative healthcare; and Ka Lāhui O Ka Po, “an eight week birthing series that focuses on the reclaiming of ancestral practices and the cultivation of connection as ways

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264 “Services and Activities - Kokua Kalihi Valley.”
to nurture healthy, happy births.” Returning to Our Roots is taking practices of aloha ‘āina, waiwai, and kuleana out of a recognizably ‘Ōiwi space into spaces like public housing complexes that are controlled by both Repressive and Ideological State Apparatus.

KKV, Ho’oulu ‘Āina, Returning to Our Roots avoid state appropriation by acting non-hegemonically. This triad of ‘āina and community based organizations do not seek to replace the hegemony of the settler state with another hegemony. It seeks instead to facilitate radical transformation within communities in spite of the state.

The triad is also building affinity networks with others working towards radical transformation of society. Two examples of affinity building came to my attention during the writing phase of this dissertation. In November 2017 the National Academy of Medicine spotlighted KKV as one of three community organizations working to create a “culture of health” by addressing health inequities. During the meeting in Washington D.C. at which KKV was spotlighted, Puni Jackson, Program Coordinator at Ho’oulu ‘Āina, led the group of about one hundred participants in a mahalo circle, a ceremony that asks all participants to express in one word or short phrase something for which they are grateful. In another part of the meeting Puni was asked to speak about the Aloha ‘Āina Movement in Hawai‘i on a panel entitled, “Successful Movements in Recent History.” In addition to Puni the panel featured Michael Collins, Immediate Past President of the National NAACP Board of Directors speaking on Civil Rights and Social Justice Movements and Harper Jean Tobin, Policy Director of the National Center for

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Transgender Equality, speaking on the LGBTQ Movement.²⁶⁶ Although there was a palpable gulf between Puni’s advocacy based on kinship between sacred ʻāina and humans and the advocacy of the other two speakers’ based in a state-bound legal rights frame, the panel and participants understood the importance of acknowledging and learning from the different approaches, and forging alliances to fight multiple forms of State oppression.

The second example is an experience I participated in at a recent Decolonizing Our Diets Dinner. Decolonizing Our Diets is a series of dinners put on by Returning to Our Roots that combine ʻai pono meals with speakers on a wide-range of topics. In November of 2017 I attended a Decolonizing Our Diets Dinner that celebrated Makahiki (an ʻŌiwi celebration of abundance), Lā Kūʻokoʻa (Hawaiian Independence Day) and the truth about Thanksgiving. The dinner took place in the outdoor tent at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina and featured traditional ʻŌiwi food like kalo and hōʻiʻo fern as well as squash and bean dishes to honor Native food traditions of the special guest from North America, Adae Briones-Romero, Cochita/Kiowa.

After dinner, speakers made brief presentations about Makahiki traditions that celebrate the bounty provided by the god Lono during the months of October to January, Hawaiian Independence Day celebrated by Hawaiian nationals on November 28th and the retelling of the Thanksgiving Day holiday from a Native perspective. In a radio report broadcast on Hawaii Public radio, Kuʻuwehi Hiraishi describes the group discussion that followed these presentations:

\[^{266} \text{Reaction Panel: Successful Movements in Recent History:}\]
... participant after participant recalled some history of struggling with their colonial past – the loss of language, displacement, cultural assimilation – and their shared solidarity in a more indigenous future.\textsuperscript{267}

Describing an activity as decolonizing in the context of providing healthy food normalizes decolonization across a broad community. Normalizing this discourse decontests it as a dangerous idea and instead integrates decolonizing practices into a health regimen. Decolonizing practices become as important as detoxification of the body.

Operating non-hegemonically within a robust `Ōiwi ideology creates an interesting affect relative to the State. In addition to building resurgence in Kanaka Maoli communities, programs at Ho`oulu `Āina and Returning to Our Roots provide vital social services to the Kalihi community. This creates a material bond between resurgence and well-being in `Ōiwi communities and health and well-being of the broader Kalihi community. Unintentionally the State becomes a participant in `Ōiwi resurgence and affinity building.

With funds from federal and state coffers as well as foundations funded by colonial/capitalist exploitation, Ho`oulu `Āina, Returning to Our Roots and KKV offer community engagement programs for Kanaka `Ōiwi, precarious populations, educators, and bureaucrats that encourage participation in practices of reciprocity and responsibility to community, programs that honor the sacred relationship between all existents. Ho`oulu `Āina, Returning to Our Roots and KKV are collectively transforming the resources of state agencies, charitable foundations, and individuals into abundance for Kanaka `Ōiwi, the community of Kalihi and beyond.

These examples of embodying aloha ʻāina resonate with Inayatullah’s statement that the promise of alternative visions of futures lies with peoples who are thriving in the margins of global capitalism in the beyond-West, who are able to think differently about their connection to place, who can see alternative possibilities borne of trauma and transcendence.  

Enacting ʻŌiwi Futurities

Futurist Jim Dator encourages us to think about the future(s) as “an arena of possibilities,” rather than a pre-determined path ahead.

– Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua
   “Independent Hawaiian futures: Bring on the EA-rator”

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, Return to Our Roots and their parent organization Kōkua Kalihi Valley have built strong and resilient Kanaka ʻŌiwi structures for strengthening community and integrating good health into productive activity. Their successes though are dependent to a certain degree on external circumstances that they have little control over. State and Federal policies towards community-based health care could change at any moment. State land use priorities could change such that the lease to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is not renewed, or renewed under unacceptable terms. The global economy could collapse. The changing global climate could drastically affect political, economic, and social relationships between all existents – humans, plants, animals, weather, dirt, and rock.

To borrow a phrase coined by futurist James Dator, there are tsunamis of change “sweeping towards us from the futures.” Is Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, and for that matter the many successful aloha ʻāina-based institutions across the archipelago, prepared to surf the tsunamis of change coming at us from the futures? “Tsunamis of change” is a metaphor

\[^{268}\text{Inayatullah, “Reorienting Futures Studies.”}\]
\[^{269}\text{Dator, “The Unholy Trinity, Plus One,” 34.}\]
that Dator uses to drive the point home that organizations like Ho‘oulu ‘Āina can best serve their constituency by engaging in the alternative futures seven-part visioning process. Taking the time to go through the alternative futures process, Dator tells us “helps people envision and invent preferred futures for themselves and their organizations and communities.”

Without a strong framework for creatively imagining alternative futures, Indigenous resurgence will always be playing catch-up to colonial structures and decolonization remains a hope and a dream. “One of the responsibilities of a futurist,” James Dator writes, “is to try to look a little farther into the future than most other people usually do (though all people can and should learn to do the same), and then to tell them about Emerging Issues--about new problems and new opportunities lying just ahead, but perhaps hard for most to see, over the horizon.” Alternative futures tools assist communities like Ho‘oulu ‘Āina to envision preferred futures in which the organization thrives in conditions of continued growth, collapse, disciplined recovery, and transformation. Alternative futures tools can move decolonization work into new terrains, new visions of resilient futures.

I began this dissertation stating that durable decolonization requires restructuring society to make room for alternative worldviews. I built an argument that Indigenous ideologies facilitate this process of decolonization by calling people to Indigenous resurgence, in other words reconnecting people with the relationships that were nearly

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severed by colonialism. I conclude that a commitment to decolonization is a commitment to Indigenous futurities that sustain the enduring relations with all existents, – humans, plants, animals, weather, dirt, and rock. Decolonization also requires a commitment to using alternative futures tools to build robust visions of resilience in any combination of the generic future potentialities.

This dissertation reflects scholarship that comes out of my political commitment to dismantle the toxic colonial structures in my homeland of Hawai‘i; structures that have attempted to eliminate the kinship relationships between my people and the ʻāina that have developed over millennia. I look forward to deepening relations with ʻŌiwi organizations like Hoʻoulu ʻĀina and to participating in shaping strong visions of preferred futures that allow us to surf the tsunami’s of change in ways that sustain enduring relations with all existents – living, passed and yet-to-come -- and move our collective decolonization work into new oceans of resilient ʻŌiwi futures.
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