Introduction

Our story of indigenous futures and economies of abundance focuses on two communities in Hawai‘i. Both are part of a global network of native spaces whose diverse practices coalesce around the organizing principle of anarcha-indigenism, a world-view grounded in indigenous land-based practice and knowledge systems that articulate with anarchist principles of fluid leadership and horizontal power structures. Indigenism is a fabric of social relationships that builds upon a people’s kinship with a particular place, embodied in reciprocal relations between humans and non-humans of that place.\(^1\) This examination of anarcha-indigenism in practice problematizes dichotomies of coloniality, particularly the dichotomy between rural and urban spaces. I want to trouble the settler colonial assumption that indigenous communities only exist in rural spaces and pre-modern temporalities, and that the ‘indigenous’ is a remnant of the past rather than a preferred alternative future.\(^2\)

I begin by introducing the places that are the focus of this chapter and my relationship to them. In both places Kānaka ‘Ōiwi figure prominently. Kānaka ‘Ōiwi refers to the people who trace their genealogy to the first people of this land. Other terms which I use interchangeably with this one include Native Hawaiian, Kanaka Maoli, and Kanaka.\(^3\) Rural Moloka‘i is predominantly Kānaka ‘Ōiwi. Living on a remote island with one supermarket, Moloka‘i residents develop a close relationship to that which feeds them – the ‘āina (land). The second stop on our journey is Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, a 100-acre nature preserve run by a community health center in Honolulu’s urban core. At Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, planting and restoring the natural habitat is a part of a community health regime. Both communities exist in a space that is actively modeling Kānaka ‘Ōiwi ‘āina-based social practices like aloha ‘āina (love for the land) and waiwai (abundance); practices that demand that humans participate in communal, reciprocal relationships with each other and with the non-human world.

I am Kānaka ‘Ōiwi. My mother’s mother has genealogical roots on Hawai‘i Island and my mother’s father has genealogical roots on Kaua‘i, at the other end of the archipelago. I grew up in a suburb of Honolulu, a graduate of the Kamehameha Schools, an institution endowed by the will of the last descendant of Hawai‘i’s first monarch, Kamehameha. The school’s mission is to educate Native Hawaiians to become good and industrious men and women.\(^4\) The school
was my anchor to being Hawaiian, as were my Native Hawaiian grandparents. We ate Hawaiian food, sang Hawaiian songs, danced hula and we always referred to Hawaiian culture in the past tense. The goal of school and family was to socialize me into the capitalist political economy of the United States. During the politically and socially unsettling late twentieth century, a time of resurgence in Kanaka ʻŌiwi values and practices, I was forced to re-evaluate my position as a privileged Hawaiian. I began a critical investigation of Hawaiʻi’s colonial history and began the hard work of (re)learning what it means to be Hawaiian. My work on aloha ʻāina and waiwai in places like Molokaʻi and at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has been a part of this learning process. Integrating the resurgent values and practices of my ancestors into daily life is a constant challenge in a society that is deeply invested in a capitalist economy and settler colonial power structures. These resurgent practices anticipate what I call indigenous futures in which they are not merely counter-hegemonic but the norm.

The belief that Western ingenuity will meet any challenge that arises in the natural or man-made world dominates neoliberal dreams of the future. This world, made better through technology, is anticipated in institutions like Singularity University or the aerospace corporation SpaceX. Singularity University’s mission is to prepare scientist-entrepreneurs to utilize the ‘exponentially growing technologies, such as biotechnology, artificial intelligence and neuroscience, to address humanity’s grand challenges: education, energy, environment, food, health, poverty, security, space and water.’ SpaceX designs, manufactures and launches advanced rockets and spacecraft to revolutionize space technology, with the ultimate goal of enabling people to live on other planets. The CEO of SpaceX, Elon Musk, recently proclaimed that there were ‘two fundamental paths’ facing humanity today. ‘One is that we stay on Earth forever and then there will be an inevitable extinction event. The alternative is to become a spacefaring civilization, and a multi-planetary species.’ Whether it is colonizing other planets or solving pressing problems on Earth using Western technology, these models depend on global capital for success, which means that global capital is setting the agenda and providing the solutions to a consuming public. Indigenous futures do not preclude science and human technology but these futures do demand that goals are pursued within an ethic of reciprocity and responsibility to human and non-human.

As the Zapatistas proclaim: “In the world of the powerful there is no space for anyone but themselves and their servants. In the world we want everyone fits.” Capitalism and colonialism, particularly settler colonialism, have historically left no room for other ways of being. During Western colonial expansion, Indigenous lifeways were threatened, obscured, and made irrelevant to survival. These lifeways were not eliminated but they certainly went underground. In the epigraph above, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation responds to this colonial power structure with a dream of an alternative world where many worlds fit. This sentiment is echoed by Ziauddin Sardar who writes that the future is colonized by a singular vision of humanity in which globalizing forces of neoliberal capitalism – forces that equate with ‘the values and canonical myths’ of Western society – are in control. Just as colonialism has obscured the histories of colonized peoples, it also obscures our futures through hegemonic discourse of the foregone and predetermined. In order to survive these globalizing forces, Sardar writes, Indigenous Peoples must, ‘start to think more concretely and imaginatively about the future’ in order to open the future to non-Western possibilities ‘and move from the future to a plethora of futures.’ I liken this visioning of a world where many worlds fit to active dreaming in the present, in anticipation of futures based in Indigenous values and economies of abundance.

It is a daunting task to challenge the notion that Western progress and development are the best, the right, the only trajectory for humanity. This belief in Western progress has fueled the
It has attempted to eliminate the Indigenous populations that resisted this conquest. Neoliberal globalization is an intensification of this colonial expansion, but whereas early colonialism was controlled by the state, the present iteration of colonial domination seeks to globalize corporate control of human behavior. This new form of colonialism goes beyond exploiting resources by promoting ‘a dominant set of cultural practices and values, one vision of how life is to be lived at the expense of all others.’

Indigenous Peoples have been fighting colonial control of their lifeways for generations. They continue to fight on many fronts: from within the colonial legal system by demanding Native rights, and on the ground where they physically blockade destruction of their sacred lands. In addition to these acts of resistance, Indigenous Peoples are engaged in resurgence. Resurgence involves acts of reinforcing the knowledge and values of ancestors in the practice of daily life in anticipation of futures where these values are the norm. These strategies of demand, block and resurgence are powered by indigenous cosmologies that settler colonial capitalist regimes, try as they might, have not been able to eliminate. I refer to cosmologies in the plural because the world of Indigenous futures is a world, as the Zapatistas declare, where many worlds fit. Unlike the homogenized, profaned future that corporate and state hegemonic powers offer as the only future possible, Indigenous futures actively dream a world of diverse peoples rooted to place and living in close relationship to the human and non-human world.

This chapter dares to articulate indigenous futures based on the values of aloha ‘āina and waiwai. The close relationship of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi to the non-human world is reflected in the language itself. ‘Āina translates as land or earth. The word is derived from ‘ai to eat and is glossed as that which feeds. Aloha ‘āina then is an abiding care for the land and all that feeds us. Wai is the word for fresh water and the doubling of ‘wai’ yields ‘waiwai’, the word for abundance and wealth. The land feeds us and fresh water creates abundance. In what follows, we first visit the island of Moloka‘i where Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and settler allies alike are integrating aloha ‘āina and waiwai into community-based development. Subsequently, we visit Ho‘oulu ‘Āina, an urban nature preserve operated by a community health center that integrates aloha ‘āina and waiwai into a comprehensive health-care system. Finally, we consider the ways that these two places are practicing decolonial futures in the present.

**Grounded normativity on Molokai**

Molokai is the last Hawaiian island. We who live here choose not to be strangers in our own land. The values of aloha ‘āina and mālama ‘āina (love and care for the land) guide our stewardship of Molokai’s natural resources, which nourish our families both physically and spiritually. We live by the historic legacy of pule o‘o (powerful prayer) left to us by our kūpuna (elders/ancestors). We honor our island’s Hawaiian cultural heritage, no matter what our ethnicity, and that culture is practiced in our everyday lives. Our true wealth is measured by the extent of our generosity.

On Molokai, the most meaningful evidence of resurgence lies in the community’s ability to determine its own economic development priorities. These priorities are based on a set of principles articulated in various community-based development documents and summarized in the community vision statement above. Embedded in this statement is the call to individuals to be stewards of the island’s resources and to take on the responsibility of ensuring that the resources
are protected and available for generations to come. Sustainability starts with the community living with the land and its natural resources, that is, with people who are intimate with rather than strangers to the place where they live.

On Moloka’i, Kanaka ʻŌiwi constitute the majority of the island’s approximately 7,000 residents. In addition to Kanaka ʻŌiwi, Molokai’s population includes longtime residents (predominantly descendants of plantation workers) and recent arrivals (predominantly property white Americans). According to standards set by the neoliberal state, Molokai is a distressed community. Unemployment is high, and many residents live below the poverty line. There are also few amenities on the island, and most residents who make a commitment to living on Molokai provide for themselves by hunting, fishing and gardening. Families and neighbors commonly share work and resources. Molokai has a vibrant sustenance economy defined by relationships of sharing and reciprocity. Rather than use the more common term subsistence, I use sustenance, a concept developed by environmental activist Vandana Shiva. Subsistence is too often associated with the bare life of the subaltern, whereas sustenance emphasizes the active participation of people, not only in their own survival but in their thriving as well. ‘In the sustenance economy,’ Shiva writes, ‘people work to directly provide the conditions necessary to maintain their lives.’ This sustenance economy operates alongside the ubiquitous market economy defined by profit-taking and resource exploitation. The richness of the sustenance lifestyle empowers the residents to resist being victimized by the capitalist model of modernity that operates with structures of deficit, and measures well-being in terms of monetary wealth.

The community standard for good development is expressed in the vision statement cited above, which Molokai residents have used extensively to leverage public and private funds for community-based development. The vision statement articulates community priorities for development that can be presented to the outside. The foremost consideration is that development projects follow the principle of aloha ʻāina: to love and care for the land and its resources. Projects need to protect the island’s cultural and natural resources at the same time as providing meaningful livelihood and affordable housing for the island’s residents.

The vision statement has also been deployed with varying degrees of success to galvanize community resistance to exploitation of Molokai resources by transnational capital. Transnational corporate notions of economic progress are very different from community-based notions. For the most part, the handful of transnational corporations doing business on the island measures wealth in terms of capital accumulation rather than generosity. This leads to a complex, ongoing and ever-shifting power dynamic within and between community and corporations. In 2006, community protest stopped a luxury housing development at La’au Point, an environmentally sensitive shoreline area of the island. Members of the community have also resisted, with varying degrees of success, an industrial-scale wind farm and production of genetically modified seed corn on the island.

Political organizing on Molokai draws on social relations and practices that have evolved over centuries of living on the island. These social relations are a part of an ethical framework of grounded normativity, a concept developed by Dene scholar Glen Coulthard. Indigenous struggles that are anti-colonial and anti-capitalist, Coulthard explains, are ‘deeply informed by what the land as mode of reciprocal relationship … teaches us about living our lives in relation to one another and our surroundings in a respectful, nondominating and nonexploitative way.’ The ʻŌiwi value of aloha ʻāina is an expression of grounded normativity. Aloha ʻāina engenders community strategies for development on Molokai that anticipate nondominating and nonexploitative Indigenous futures.
Ho‘oulu‘Āina

I would like to now turn to an articulation of grounded normativity in a very different place, an urban environment facing a different set of challenges that requires a different set of strategies. Ho‘oulu‘Āina is an agricultural park on the island of O‘ahu situated in the upland edge of the ahupua‘a of Kalihi. Before colonization, extended family units in this ahupua‘a cultivated plots of land along the streams that ran from the lush upland forests through fertile estuaries and on into the ocean depths. Today, Kalihi is a working-class community in the urban core of Honolulu. Streams flowing from the forested uplands are confined to a man-made channel system by the time they reach the middle-class developments and the sprawling low-income public housing. In the lowlands, the banks of the sluggish canals are crowded with warehouses, industrial complexes and the occasional encampment of houseless people. The water’s journey ends at Māmala Bay, where on its eastern edge, cargo is unloaded at the docks of Honolulu harbor, and on the western edge, hundreds of flights an hour arrive and depart at Honolulu International Airport.

Ho‘oulu‘Āina is part of Kokua Kalihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services (KKV). In addition to providing medical, dental and behavioral health care, KKV also promotes ‘health by sharing food and laughter, celebrating elders and children, dancing, planting, and remembering how to be a community.’ The majority of the patients at KKV are immigrants from the Philippines, Marshall Islands, Samoa and other Pacific island groups, as well as Native Hawaiians living in the valley. KKV introduces Ho‘oulu‘Āina on its website with this:

KKV sees the ‘āina [land] as a vital member of the community, and so we are pleased to offer opportunities for community gardening, reforestation, environmental education and the preservation of land-based cultural knowledge at Ho‘oulu‘Āina (the Kalihi Valley Nature Preserve). In this ‘welcoming place of refuge for people of all cultures,’ healing the land heals us as well.

Ho‘oulu‘Āina’s beginnings go back to a decades-long struggle between residents and the State and private developers over the best use for the land. One resident involved in the struggle suggested to her doctor that KKV create a park on the land where the community could garden and enjoy outdoor activities. The desire of residents in the valley to protect the health of the land and the desire of KKV to protect the health of the people converged, and Ho‘oulu‘Āina came into being. The collective activities of the organization are effectively operationalizing transformative social relations involved with food production and healing arts. These social relations are an example of anarcha-indigenism. I offer as examples of the modeling of these principles my first experience volunteering at Ho‘oulu‘Āina, and a lesson in waiwai economics.

Just past a wooden bridge over a free-flowing Kalihi Stream, shaded by green and lush forest, is the turn into the Ho‘oulu‘Āina driveway. The only sign marking the driveway reads: ‘This land is your grandmother and she loves you.’ Driving into the gravel parking lot, I am immediately immersed in community. To the right is controlled chaos in and around a large open tent. A line of sorts snakes from a table at the entrance of the tent across the lawn. On the left, at the far edge of the lawn, is an ahu (stone altar). Offerings of a hand of banana and ti leaf woven into a shiny green lei have been placed on the rock structure. Beyond the ahu is a lush border of greenery and glimpses of a massive ulu tree, papaya trees, and rows of garden greens. Beyond that, Norfolk pines reach upward through a vertical spread of albizia and, towering above the forest canopy, the green peaks of the Ko‘olau mountains touch the sky. The air is cool and the sun brilliant.
At the tent, the volunteer coordinator and her helpers distribute waiver forms to newcomers. ‘Please sign the waiver. You have to do it once a year,’ they implore the crowd. I sign the legal form filled with language of warranties and responsibilities, and then sign in for the day on a more welcoming sheet that asks:

‘What’s your name? Where are you from? How are you feeling?’

A double subjectivity is embedded in this protocol of signing-in. On the one hand, the waiver forms interpellate us as subjects of the state and its legal system. The daily sign-in sheet, on the other hand, reinforces the volunteer’s relationship to homeland and personal well-being. Like ripples through water, word spreads that it’s time to begin. People gravitate to the lawn. The leader of the opening protocol calls out:

‘Aloha! … Aloha! Please join the circle.’

As the crowd of around 100 people forms into a circle she continues:

Welcome to Ho’oulu ‘Āina. We begin every community workday with an aloha circle. In this circle 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’re bringing with you today. It could be a kupuna who has passed on or someone you hold dear. The first introduction though is to the ‘āina. We are in a 100-acre nature preserve that encompasses two ‘ili ‘āina or land divisions. We are standing in the ‘ili of ‘Ōuaua and makai of us is Māluawai.

After we introduce ourselves and speak the name of our home and someone dear to us, work crew leaders describe the projects for the day: harvesting herbs, weeding and harvesting in the vegetable garden, weeding in the Pasifika agro-forest, planting bananas in the upper garden, preparing lunch in the kitchen, and participating in the story crew. Roles in the organization, like circle leader, sign-in coordinator, and work crew leaders are responsibilities with permeable boundaries. At community workdays, volunteers who have been participating at the park for a long time lead work parties, orient newcomers, and participate in capacities similar to those of paid staff.

The leader then reminds everyone present to be mindful while working and to take care of each other. Individual accountability to the collective whole is a guiding principle of both anarchism and indigenism. She then closes the opening protocol with an oli (Hawaiian chant) that honors the ‘āina of Kalihi.

Controlled chaos resumes as volunteers self-select into one of six work crews. Self-selection is a marker of anarchist social organization. Everyone there is asked to take personal responsibility for their participation in the workday. I join the story crew. The leader of this group is a staff member who is responsible for writing reports to foundations that support Ho’oulu ‘Āina programs. She wants to build a database of stories from volunteers to share with funders. The three of us in the story crew are to visit each work site observing, listening, and asking participants to respond to the prompt ‘this place is…’ At the end of the workday the leader will compile our stories into a narrative she can use in grant reports.

For the next two hours, I move 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 responds, ‘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 didn’t realize this could be a problem. The ensuing discussion centered on how to help those not familiar with the
Hawaiian language to become more comfortable with the language. Here is an example of the anarchist principle of horizontal leadership. At the table a relative newcomer’s experience of place is taken as seriously as someone who has worked at the park for years.

In the upper garden area of Māluawai, young people are busy digging holes for banana shoots. I ask what Ho‘oulu ‘Āina means to them. ‘We love this place and this place loves us,’ one of them shouts and returns to digging. This is a common sentiment. People who spend any time working at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina develop this kind of reciprocal relationship of aloha with place.

While in Māluawai, I engage in a lengthy conversation with a staff person who has lived and worked at Ho‘oulu ‘Āina for most of the ten years that the park has been in operation. He works primarily in the dense forest of trees and underbrush separating the Māluawai garden from the garden and gathering place in ‘Ōuaua. ‘Aren’t all the invasive plants a challenge?’ I ask him. He points to a tree at the edge of the jungle that surrounds the clearing. It is perhaps a foot and a half in diameter, growing tall and straight.

That’s an albizia. They are damaging forests all over Hawai‘i. We can’t let those trees take over our forests. But that tree – it does not make sense to cut down that specific tree. Someday it could make a good canoe.

Like many other introduced species, albizia (*Falcataria moluccana*), a native to lowlands in the Molucca Islands (Indonesia), was brought to Hawai‘i as an ornamental as well as to reforest the land after imported ungulates caused massive deforestation. This is yet another example of colonial violence to the land brought about by the introduction of foreign species that destroy native eco-systems. The point being made by the staff person, though, 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 eco-systems, 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. ‘Knowledge comes from working the ‘āina,’ he tells me. Having lived and worked at Ho‘oulu ‘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.

I have returned to Ho‘oulu ‘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 Ho‘oulu ‘Āina requires that those who show up collectively engage with networks of humans, plants, animals, weather, dirt, and rock in complex relationships of knowledge cultivation. This is the essence of grounded normativity.

According to Puni Jackson, the program director at the park, Ho‘oulu ‘Āina operates on the ‘Ōiwi economic principle of waiwai, associating wealth with abundance, generosity, sharing and reciprocity. These principles are structured into community workdays. At the end of these workdays the fruits and vegetables that were harvested that day are put out on tables for participants to take home. Everyone is encouraged to take food for their own table and to share with family and friends. In addition to the giveaway, food grown in the garden is distributed to the elderly and others in Kalihi who have limited access to fresh vegetables and fruits. The produce is also used at Roots, the restaurant operated by KKV.
At one such community workday, I participated in a lesson in the economics of abundance. Volunteers are in line for lunch while others are taking vegetables from the table laid out with the day’s harvest. I am eating lunch at the registration table with some of the Ho’oulu ‘Āina staff. A young woman approaches with bags of fresh produce and hands me $20, a gesture I read as payment for the vegetables. I tell her that Ho’oulu ‘Āina doesn’t take money for the vegetables. The volunteer coordinator sitting next to me intercedes, pulling from her registration folder a small plastic bag with some money already in it. ‘We’ll be happy to take your donation though,’ she says and graciously accepts the gift.

Ho’oulu ‘Āina has consciously structured food sharing so that there is no direct correlation between the bulging bag of fresh organic vegetables that the volunteer had helped harvest and the $20 in her hand. The vegetables are hers because she showed up and participated. She freely gives the $20 in recognition that Ho’oulu ‘Āina needs cash to operate. This is a very different social relation from purchasing food at a supermarket. It models an alternative future where money and barter exchange systems operate side by side.

Conclusion

As a young person growing up in suburban Honolulu, aloha ‘āina and waiwai were not prevalent concepts. At school I was taught that satisfaction was derived from being productive in the capitalist economic system, but I also inherited from my family a latent love for place and desire to live in an environment where generosity was the norm. In this chapter I examined the ways in which waiwai and aloha ‘āina are the embodiments of place-based knowledge and values, and I argued that they are resurgent today in the everyday practices of two very different populations – one rural and the other urban.

It is important that Ho’oulu ‘Āina and the Molokai community be read together in order to problematize the dichotomies of coloniality. Rural Molokai is perceived as an authentic indigenous space – an idea that is reinforced by Molokai residents themselves who refer to their island as ‘the most Hawaiian island.’ This subjectivity affirms the perception that the colonized indigenous subject is enclosed in the rural. Indigenous practice at Ho’oulu ‘Āina demonstrates the viability of these practices outside of the confines of the rural. Both communities exist in a space that is actively modeling Kanaka ʻŌiwi ʻāina-based social practices such as waiwai and aloha ʻāina, practices which demand that humans participate in communal reciprocal relationships with one another and with the non-human world.

Both communities also operate within the hegemony of the capitalist economy. On Molokai practices which are born out of ancestral knowledge and lifeways are integrated into a community development strategy that also seeks to include state and private capital investment. Ho’oulu ʻĀina actively pursues monetary support from institutional donors as well as individual participants. The ability of the Molokai community and Ho’oulu ʻĀina to operate in both economic spheres disrupts the colonial hold on the future referred to above by Sardar. The colonial future is a continuation of current trajectories in which human-designed technology alone can solve the Earth’s problems. To move out of a colonized future into a truly post-colonial future requires that these relationships be torn down so that new relationships can emerge. Molokai and Ho’oulu ʻĀina are part of a network of communities that are modeling these new relationships.

The future is a dream that as a global society we are collectively dreaming. What values are we carrying forward in this dreaming? As the dream world unfolds into the present, communities – including the two profiled in this chapter – are actively dreaming post-colonial worlds, Indigenous futures: a world where many worlds fit.
Mary Tuti Baker

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Waiwai and indigenous futures


Notes
1 Principles of anarcha-indigenism are developed in: Lasky, ‘Indigenism, Anarchism, Feminism’; Ferguson, ‘Becoming Anarchism, Feminism, Indigeneity’; Day, ‘Void Mirror.’ For another theorization of the intersection of indigenous political action and anarchism, see Alfred, Was’a’e.
2 For a discussion of settler colonialism and attempts at eliminating the native, see Wolfe, ‘Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native.’
3 For an explanation of the use of this term see Young, Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past.
4 ‘Kamehameha Schools - Bernice Pauahi Bishop’s Will and Codicils.’
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6 ‘So, What Is SU?’
7 Woolf, ‘SpaceX founder Elon Musk plans to get humans to Mars in six years.’
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13 Maui County Data Book 2015, 11.
16 Shiva, Earth Democracy, 17.
18 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks.
19 Ibid., 60.
20 Ahupua’a is a traditional Hawaiian land division that generally runs from the mountain forest to the ocean depths.
21 Kokua Kaliihi Valley website, ‘Home’.
23 Institute for Alternative Futures, ‘Case Study: Kokua Kaliihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services,’ 3.
24 ‘Albizia Tree Removal Project.’
26 Mahalo (thanks) to Puni Jackson and the staff at Ho’oulu ʻĀina for their support of this project and to colleague Mo Wells for cogent comment on early versions of this chapter. I take responsibility for the ideas expressed in this text.