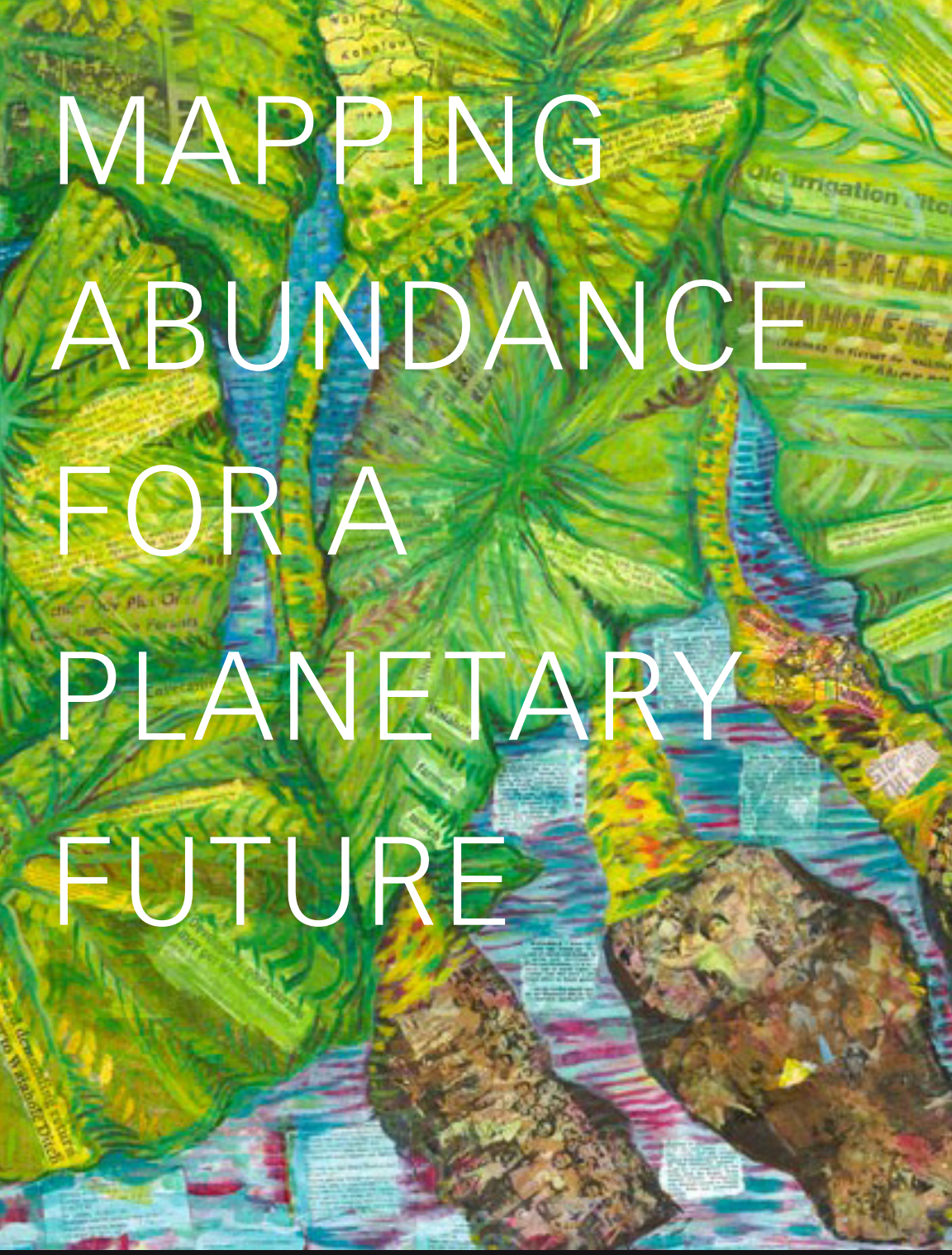

MAPPING ABUNDANCE FOR A PLANETARY FUTURE

Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai'i

Candace Fujikane

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CANDACE FUJIKANE

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Cover art: Mealaaloha Bishop, *Kalo Pa'a o Waiāhole*, mixed media, 1999. Image courtesy of the artist.

For the kūpuna who guided the way

For Tai and Kota

For all descendants

NĀ ʻAUMĀKUA

Nā ʻaumākua mai ka lā hiki a ka lā kau
Mai ka hoʻokuʻi a ka hālāwai
Nā ʻaumākua iā ka hina kua, iā ka hina alo
Iā ka ʻākau i ka lani
ʻO kīhā i ka lani
ʻOwē i ka lani
Nunulu i ka lani
Kāholo i ka lani
Eia ka pulapula a ʻoukou, ʻo ka poʻe Hawaiʻi
E mālama ʻoukou iā mākou
E ulu i ka lani
E ulu i ka honua
E ulu i ka pae ʻāina o Hawaiʻi
E hō mai i ka ʻike
E hō mai i ka ikaika
E hō mai i ke akamai
E hō mai i ka maopopo pono
E hō mai i ka ʻike pāpālua
E hō mai i ka mana.
ʻAmama, ua noa.

You ancestral deities from the rising to the setting of the sun
From the zenith to the horizon
You ancestral deities who stand at our back and at our front
You gods who stand at our right hand!
Breathing in the heavens,
Utterance in the heavens,
Clear, ringing voice in the heavens,
Voice reverberating in the heavens!
Here is your progeny, the Hawaiian people
Safeguard us
Growth to the heavens,
Growth to the earth,
Growth to the Hawaiʻi archipelago
Grant knowledge
Grant strength
Grant intelligence
Grant divine understanding
Grant intuitive insight
Grant mana.
The prayer is lifted; it is free.

—translation by Pualani Kanakaʻole Kanahele in *Kūkulu ke Ea a Kanaloa*

CONTENTS

NOTE ON THE TEXT

I have chosen not to italize ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, which is now the convention for texts about Hawaiʻi. I use diacritical marks—the kahakō (macron) and ʻokina (glottal stop)—in the text, except in those places where the authors I cite have chosen not to use them. In a paragraph in which I discuss a particular moʻolelo (storied history) that does not use diacritical marks, I will not use them in names with which I have used diacritical marks elsewhere in the text. I have made this choice in these cases to leave open other possible meanings of names.

I use the kahakō to mark plural words (kupuna/kūpuna, wahine/wāhine). In the case of the term "Kanaka Maoli," I use the kahakō when referring to plural Kānaka Maoli or Kānaka (people), but not when using "Kanaka Maoli" as an adjective. Some words that are spelled the same way have the kahakō and others do not, depending on the meaning: for example, Māui the kupua/the island of Maui. Other words have dual spelling: Molokai/Molokaʻi.

Moʻolelo published in Hawaiian language nūpepa did not use diacritical marks, but when they occasionally did so for clarification, they used an apostrophe for the ʻokina instead of the glottal stop.

I use the terms "Kānaka Maoli," "Kānaka ʻŌiwi," and "Kānaka" in reference to people of Hawaiian ancestry. I also use the term "Native Hawaiian," regardless of federal definitions that rely on blood quantum classifications.

The translations are not meant to be definitive but are rather working translations. Where possible, I have noted other possible translations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In 2013, on a day of heavy rain clouds at the Laukapalili Laukapalala loʻi kalo (taro pondfields) deep in Punaluʻu Valley, Daniel and Mealaaloha Bishop and I sit on a picnic table talking about the return of water to streams and the resurgence of kalo farming. I had been drawn to the Bishops' farm by Meala's painting entitled "Kalo Paʻa o Waiāhole," a glorious, epic portrait of the people of Waiāhole's struggle to protect the land and the waters that feed kalo. Kalo holds a special place in a Kanaka Maoli cosmology as the elder brother that they have a kuleana (responsibility, right, purview, privilege) to care for. Meala's painting is an exuberant study of kalo, depicting kalo leaves as maps of the ahupuaʻa, land divisions often, but not always, stretching from the mountains to the sea. These ahupuaʻa on the windward side of the island, in the Koʻolaupoko district, were the site of struggle for the people who stood for lands and waters depicted in the corm (root) of each kalo, all fed by the hard-won waters of Waiāhole. She illustrates the abundance of Kanaka Maoli economies of kalo cultivation, even at times when the state

and corporate diversion and theft of water has made it difficult for kalo farmers to continue their practices as Kānaka Maoli.

As we sit there talking about restoration projects in Waiʻanae, Kalihi, and Waiāhole, Danny's bright eyes crinkle, and he laughs, saying, "You know what? There are so many struggles going on, so many people doing important work, and so many victories! We need to connect the dots." As the clouds release their rain and we run for cover, his words strike me with their full import. There are so many land struggles and restoration projects in Hawaiʻi connected to one another, both by their work against the occupying state and developer tactics to wasteland the earth and through the moʻolelo (historical stories), oli (chants), and mele (songs) that inspire those who stand for the land—but each struggle is often considered in isolation from the others. In each of these dramatically different lands, however, the people are all pili (connected) to each other through the akua, the elemental forms, who connect these places through fresh and saltwater waterways.

Six years later, in 2019, after returning to Oʻahu from two weeks of standing for Mauna a Wākea at Puʻuhonua o Puʻuhuluhulu to stop the contruction of the Thirty Meter Telescope, I am having a conversation with Meala at the Benjamin Parker Farmers Market run by her son Hanalē. She tells me, "I feel it now, all the hae Hawaiʻi, all the Hawaiian Kingdom flags flying from trucks all over the islands to support the struggle to protect Mauna Kea, to show everyone that the lāhui is still here. When they forced us to take down our flags after annexation, all of the women started making hae Hawaiʻi quilts so that their children could still fall asleep under their own flag. Now we are flying the flags all over. I feel like, today, we are finally connecting the dots." She completed the thought that her kāne Danny had raised those six years ago, that through the stand to protect Mauna a Wākea, we are seeing the fruition of a mapping of abundance.

These two quotations frame the work that I have done in this book to map the continuities among these struggles, to map the ways that they are inspired by the abundance people create for themselves, particularly in this era of global climate change. Kānaka Maoli have rooted their strategies of resurgence in the heroic actions of akua in the ʻike kupuna (ancestral knowledge) encoded in stories, chant, song, and riddles. The akua are the elemental forms who guide the people in their daily lives, and the lives of humans and the akua who embody the lands, seas, and skies are inextricable.

Those I thank here are a map of those dots.

My deepest gratitude goes to my greatest teachers, who have taught me about aloha ʻāina and a great love for the lāhui (the Hawaiian nation,

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INTRODUCTION

ABUNDANT CARTOGRAPHIES FOR A PLANETARY FUTURE

One of the most visually stunning illustrations of a Kanaka Maoli cartography of climate change is the oral tradition describing the migration of the moʻo, the great reptilian water deities, from their home islands in the clouds to Hawaiʻi. In their lizard forms, the moʻo are formidable beings measuring thirty feet in length. In their Kanaka form, they are irresistibly beautiful women with great power, known to string yellow ʻilima flowers into lei while sunning themselves on rocks in pools of water. They are also desiring women, known to seduce men and to kill their lovers. If moʻo are depicted as elemental forms to be feared, it is also because they are the awe-inspiring protectors of water.[1] In the moʻolelo (storied history) of *Keaomelemele*, Moʻoinanea, the matriarch of moʻo deities, gathers her family of moʻo to accompany her from their cloud islands of Nuʻumealani, Keʻalohilani, and Kuaihelani to Oʻahu. They arrive in the ʻehukai o Puaʻena, the misty sea spray of the surf at the jagged lava cape in Waialua, and they make their way to the dark waters of the long and narrow ʻUkoʻa fishpond where the ʻakaʻakai (bulrushes) and the ʻuki (sedge) stir

with plentiful fish, then across the windblown plains of Lauhulu, perhaps to the Kaukonahua Stream, and from there to Kapūkakī:

> Ua hiki mua mai oia ma Puaena Waialua, aia malaila kona wahi i hoonoho pono ai i kana huakai nui, oia hoi ka huakai o na moo. Aia ma ke kula o Lauhulu ma Waialua, ua pani paa loa ia ia wahi e na moo. O ka hiki mua ana keia o na moo kupua ma keia paeaina, ma muli no ia o ka makemake o Kamooinanea, a penei e maopopo ai ka nui o na moo. Ua hoonoho palua ia ka hele ana o ka huakai, o ka makamua o na moo, aia i ka pii'na o Kapukaki, a o ka hope no hoi aia no i Lauhulu; a mawaena mai o keia wahi mai Waialua a Ewa, ua pani paa loa ia e na moo.[2]
>
> [Mooinanea] arrived first at Puaena in Waialua. There she arranged her great company of lizards. The plain of Lauhulu in Waialua was covered with them. This was the first time that the supernatural lizards arrived on these islands. It was through the will of Mooinanea. This is how we know of the number of lizards, she set them two by two in the procession. When the first of the lizards reached the incline of Kapukaki (Red Hill), the last ones were still in Lauhulu and between the two places, from Waialua to Ewa, the places were covered with lizards.[3]

From these words, we can imagine the stately procession of moʻo, their great tails sweeping from side to side, flickering between their reptilian forms as enormous lizards and their human forms as fierce men and women, making their way across the plains, with the Koʻolau mountains misted with rain to their left and the cloud-covered summit of Kaʻala in the Waiʻanae mountains to their right. The iwikuamoʻo, the continuous backbone of moʻo in this procession, foregrounds the moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy) of Moʻoinanea's line as they surge across the island, making visible the continuities of water (see plate 1).

The migration of the moʻo may have taken place at a time when kūpuna (grandparents, ancestors) saw cascading changes in the natural world, perhaps an intensification of heat, a lessening of rainfall, shifts in the migration patterns of the ʻanae (mullet), in the health of the limu (seaweeds), in the numbers of ʻoʻopu (goby fish) who propel their way up waterfalls hundreds of feet high. One thing is certain: the arrival of the moʻo signals a historic moment when Kānaka Maoli began to pay greater attention to the care and conservation of water and the cultivation of fish. The moʻo became known as the guardians who enforced conservation kānāwai (laws) to protect the springs, streams, and fishponds, ensuring that water was never taken for granted.

Encoded in this moʻolelo is the art of kilo, keen intergenerational observation and forecasting key to recording changes on the earth in story and song, and such changes were met with renewed efforts to conserve, protect, and enhance abundance. The procession of moʻo teaches us cartographic principles of the pilina (connectedness) of the myriad ecosystems spread along the land and crossed by vast arteries of surface and subterranean waterways. A harmful event in one place ripples out to all others, and by the same principle, a restorative change catalyzes far-reaching and often unexpected forms of revitalization. In these stories, careful observance honors the akua, a word that kumu hula (hula master) Pualani Kanakaʻole Kanahele translates as "elemental forms," and enables adaptive responses that turn potentially devastating conditions into renewed possibilities for abundance.[4]

Capital tells a different story of a changing earth. Capital expands its domain through the evisceration of the living earth into the inanimacies of nonlife, depicting abundant lands as wastelands to condemn them and make way for the penetration of black snake oil pipelines under rivers, the seeding of unexploded ordnance in militarized zones, and the dumping of toxic wastes on sacred lands. As the effects of global climate change reverberate across the earth, we are seeing the consequences of capital's extraction and exhaustion through the expansion of deserts, the acidification of oceans, the rising seas, and the extinction of species. Cartographies of capital are processes of mapmaking that often rely on insistence rather than substance, on force and will rather than on ground truths. Such cartographies do not therefore merely depict the symptoms of a planet laid waste by late liberal settler states and globalization but are themselves a primary driving force of climate change.

The struggle for a planetary future calls for a profound epistemological shift. Indigenous ancestral knowledges are now providing a foundation for our work against climate change, one based on what I refer to as Indigenous economies of abundance—as opposed to capitalist economies of scarcity. Rather than seeing climate change as apocalyptic, we can see that climate change is bringing about the demise of capital, making way for Indigenous lifeways that center familial relationships with the earth and elemental forms. Kānaka Maoli are restoring the worlds where their attunement to climatic change and their capacity for kilo adaptation, regeneration, and tranformation will enable them to survive what capital cannot.

When we consider these stories about the earth, cartography manifests human articulations of our radically contingent relationships with the planetary. The cartography of the procession of moʻo frames vital questions for us: How are the exhausted cartographies of capital being transformed by the

vibrant cartographies of Indigenous and settler ally artists, scientists, writers, and activists to restore more sustaining arrangements of life? How can abundance be mapped to show functioning Indigenous economies not premised on the crises of capital? How are lands mapped as having an ontology—a life, a will, a desire, and an agency—of their own? How can such cartographies help us to grow a decolonial love for lands, seas, and skies that will help to renew abundance on this earth?

Over and against the tactics of late liberal capital, *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future: Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai'i* foregrounds more expansive, relational Kanaka and critical settler cartographies that sustain life. As I argue, cartography as a methodology is critical to growing intimate relationships with ʻāina (lands and waters who feed) in ways necessary to our planetary future. In this way, mapping abundance is a refusal to succumb to capital's logic that we have passed an apocalyptic threshold of no return. Kanaka Maoli and critical settler cartographies in Hawai'i provide visual and textual illustrations of flourishing Indigenous economies of abundance. I argue that Kanaka Maoli cartographies foreground practices of ea—translated as life, breath, political sovereignty, and the rising of the people. Such ea-based cartographies teach us how to cultivate aloha ʻāina, a deep and abiding love for the lands, seas, and skies through which undercurrents of Kanaka Maoli radical resurgence flow.

Mapping abundance is a profoundly decolonial act. David Lloyd has argued that it is precisely the fear of abundance that is inscribed in neoliberal capital. Abundance is both the objective and the limit of capital: the crisis for capital is that abundance raises the possibility of a just redistribution of resources:

> Perhaps, then, we need to recognize that precisely what neoliberal capital *fears* is abundance and what it implies. Abundance is the end of capital: it is at once what it must aim to produce in order to dominate and control the commodity market and what designates the limits that it produces out of its own process. Where abundance does not culminate in a crisis of overproduction, it raises the specter that we might demand a redistribution of resources in the place of enclosure and accumulation by dispossession. The alibi of capital is scarcity; its myth is that of a primordial scarcity overcome only by labor regulated and disciplined by the private ownership of the means of production.[5]

Capital depends on growth through the manufacturing of hunger; thus, capitalist modes of production manufacture the perception of scarcity to produce

markets. To extend Lloyd's analysis, I argue that while capitalist economies proffer empty promises of imaginary plenitude, ancestral abundance feeds for generations. Writing from a Potawatomi perspective, environmental biologist and poet Robin Wall Kimmerer contends that recognizing true abundance erodes the foundations of capitalist economies: "In a consumer society, contentment is a radical proposition. Recognizing abundance rather than scarcity undermines an economy that thrives by creating unmet desires."[6] A Kanaka Maoli economy of abundance is one of māʻona, a fullness that comes from sharing, trading, gift-giving, conserving, and adapting. Economies of abundance create the conditions for people to see beyond the competition for scarce resources to our own regenerative capacity to cultivate abundance.

Capital produces a human alienation from land and from the elemental forms that constitutes a foundational loss. Humans compulsively try to fill this emptiness through an imaginary plenitude that commodifies land. In what I refer to as the settler colonial mathematics of subdivision, cartographies of capital commodify and diminish the vitality of land by drawing boundary lines around successively smaller, isolated pieces of land that capital proclaims are no longer "culturally significant" or "agriculturally feasible," often portraying abundant lands as wastelands incapable of sustaining life. Henri Lefebvre's articulation of a basic premise of geography holds true today: modes of production produce conceptions of space, and the process of urbanization in a capitalist economy is a trend toward the fragmentation, separation, and disintegration of space ad infinitum.[7] In David Harvey's words, capitalism is the "factory of fragmentation" that disperses production along multiple sites.[8] Such cartographies work to enclose and domesticate Indigenous places and their significance precisely because the seizure of land continues to be constitutive of the very structure of occupying and settler states. In Hawaiʻi, we can see the occupying state's logic of subdivision in a complex of state laws, ordinances, and policies, ranging from the tactics of phased archaeological inventory surveys to practices of urban spot zoning to definitions of thresholds of impact.

To map abundance is not a luxury but an urgent insistence on life. Envisioning and practicing abundance is a necessity in the face of the deadly consequences of occupation, settler colonial genocidal tactics, and corporate-induced climate change. Traditional Kanaka Maoli economies of abundance based on the cultivation of loʻi kalo (taro pondfields) were essential to recharging the aquifers and watersheds, but under colonial capital elaborate ditch systems diverted water away from valleys actively producing kalo to feed instead thirsty sugarcane. Parched streambeds lie in wait for the

return of water, stones like bones bleaching in the sun. Many Kānaka Maoli were forced to leave their cultivation of kalo because of capital's accumulation by dispossession and privatization.

In the last thirty years alone, we have seen an 18 percent decline in rainfall.[9] As kūpuna remind us in an enduring ʻōlelo noʻeau (proverb), "Hahai nō ka ua i ka ululāʻau" (Rains always follow the forest).[10] Kānaka Maoli knew that the rains were dependent on healthy forests that attract the clouds and recharge the aquifers through capturing rain and fog drip, and there were kānāwai (laws) in place to protect the overharvesting of trees. Yet over the years since the introduction of a capitalist economy, the depletion of the ʻiliahi (sandalwood) and koa forests led to the explosive growth of invasive species that drink three times the water of Native species. The majority (90 to 95 percent) of dryland forests, once rich with the greenery of kauila, uhiuhi, kokiʻo, ʻaiea, and hala pepe trees, has disappeared.[11] Overdevelopment has also led to the massive expansion of impervious concretization, causing the more rapid depletion of groundwater resources. In the last two decades, water table levels have dropped by more than thirteen feet, allowing saltwater to enter and contaminate the lower water table.[12] The occupying state has focused on expanding watershed protections and removing invasive plant species while engaging in the reforestation of Native trees, yet despite these efforts, corporate and military diversions and water banking for future development projects continue to exacerbate these conditions.

To foreground abundance is not to romanticize a world seeing these changes in Hawaiʻi, or the catastrophic burning of the Amazon rainforests and the Australian bush, or the murders of hundreds of Indigenous land defenders.[13] In the work of Kanaka Maoli practitioners, we see generative ways of thinking of abundance in a time of climate change, neither through what Lauren Berlant has critiqued as "cruel optimism" nor through an antagonistic reading of the elements, but rather through Kanaka Maoli ancestral knowledges that value elemental forms in familial terms.[14] Practitioners strive to balance critical analyses of circuits of globalization with the moʻolelo about the currents of the oceans, winds, and rains that teach us an ethics of caring for the planet. In this commitment to restoring abundance, Kānaka Maoli stand with other Indigenous peoples who are on the front lines against global climate change.

Abundant-mindedness is a radical refusal of capitalist economies. "Abundance" is a word that grows out of Kanaka Maoli restoration projects, as practitioners assert their capacity to determine their own decolonial futures. Puni Jackson, program director at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina in Kalihi Valley, explains that so much energy is expended in deficit-thinking that strips Kānaka of agency

and reduces them to victims when, instead, that energy is better spent cultivating an abundant-mindedness as the foundation for building an inclusive lāhui, a broad-based collective of people committed to Kanaka Maoli land-centered governance.[15] She explains, "Because as a lāhui we need healing, all of us need healing, and it's easy to come to sort of a deficit-mindedness of 'no more 'nough' or 'poor thing Hawaiians' or 'we got all of this taken away,' but in the end we have each other, we have this 'āina, we have our babies, we have the heritage of our kūpuna that we are overwhelmingly blessed with, and so I hope to perpetuate that abundant-mindedness that I was raised with."[16]

Restoration projects show us that restorative events have outwardly cascading effects on ecological systems that are contingent on one other, and bottom-up cascades are as important in this era of global climate change as top-down cascades. If small, incremental adverse changes like a one-degree Celsius increase in global temperatures have exponentially harmful effects, other incremental changes to repair environmental damage, too, have exponential restorative effects that ripple out across ecosystems around the world. Mapping abundance offers us a way to rethink the scalar privileging of global corporate and state solutions over localized restoration movements. As Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing illustrates in her study of matsutake mushrooms, the difference between scalable and nonscalable projects is not ethical conduct but the fact that nonscalable projects are more diverse: "The challenge for thinking with precarity is to understand the ways projects for making scalability have transformed landscape and society, while also seeing where scalability fails—and where nonscalable ecological and economic relations erupt."[17] These moments of failure are the eruptions out of which unpredictable, entangled relationships are formed to enable unexpected conditions for life.

This book opens up another dimension to scalability by reconsidering the seeming precarity of relationships. Tsing's own project is one of tracking and mapping cultural formations globally that are like the filaments of fungal hyphae spread out into fans and tangles. What if these relationships have actually been tracked for generations and adapted to by Indigenous peoples in ways that have enabled their own flourishing?

HOW WILL THE EARTH RECOGNIZE US? A KANAKA MAOLI CARTOGRAPHY OF EA

Mapping abundance engages a different politics of recognition, one that centers not on the settler state's recognition of Indigenous peoples but on whether *the earth will recognize us*. To ask how the earth will recognize us

entails a decolonization of the Anthropocene. Kyle Whyte (Potawatomi) has argued that Anthropogenic climate change is an intensification of the environmental devastation wrought on Indigenous peoples by colonialism, and we decolonize and denaturalize the Anthropocene by showing how it is driven by the carbon-intensive economics of colonial capital and its twinned engines of industrialism and militarization.[18] Macarena Gómez-Barris has also argued for decolonizing the Anthropocene by "cataloging life otherwise, or the emergent and heterogeneous forms of living that are not about destruction or mere surival within the extractive zone, but about the creation of emergent alternatives."[19] *Mapping Abundance* seeks to employ both of these strategies that critique the operations of what Elizabeth Povinelli terms "late liberalism," a periodizing that considers how neoliberalism's governance of markets is part of late liberalism's governance of difference, specifically its claims to authority over distinguishing life from nonlife.[20] As I argue, Indigenous peoples contest late liberal geontopower by speaking to the ways that we must listen to the laws of lands, seas, and skies in ways that will enable these elemental forms to recognize us in the reciprocal cultivation of abundance.

Against cynical critiques of anthropomorphism, arguing for the higher consciousness of the earth goes beyond the hermeneutics of human-centered logics. We are given enough observable indicators to discern what is in the best interests of the earth and the contingent life systems on it. Kānaka Maoli have long engaged in the practices of kilo, meticulously observing and identifying these laws of the natural order, and the moʻolelo give shape to the elements who take human form and voice their desires. Their words form the basis for the kānāwai that answer to the higher authority of the elements in the natural world. There are 400,000 akua, which points to the careful specificity with which elemental forms are distinguished from one another, and each elemental form is invoked in ceremony. Papakū Makawalu researcher Kalei Nuʻuhiwa explains that the prayer "Ka Pule a Kāne," for example, lists dozens of Kāne akua, from Kāneikeaolewalalo (Kāne in the cloud floating low) to Kāneikeaopaliluna (Kāne in the cloud resting on the summit), from Kāneikanoe (Kāne in the fog) to Kāneikaʻohu (Kāne of the mist) to Kāneikapuahiohio (Kāne of the whirlwind).[21] These akua were identified and named based on the ancestral insights into the optimal workings of interconnected ecological webs.

Adaptation to changes on the earth is not a resignation; it means intensifying movements against capital's devastation of the planet and *simultaneously* activating ourselves to enact an ethics of care.

Definitions of abundance ripen across these chapters. Kanaka Maoli cartographies look to ancestral knowledges in moʻolelo (stories/histories), oli (chant), mele (song), ʻōlelo noʻeau (proverbs), nāne (riddles), and pule (prayer) to renew the sources of abundance on the ʻāina momona (fertile and abundant lands). We can lay a foundation for an understanding of abundance here through the voices of the kūpuna (ancestors). Nineteenth-century historian Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau defines abundance based on the shining fishponds that hoʻohiluhilu (beautify, adorn) the land:

> he mea no ia e hoike mai ana i ka nui o na kanaka o ka wa kahiko, a o ka maluhia pu kekahi kumu i paa ai, ina paha he kaua pinepine, a he kue kekahi me kekahi poe, a pehea la auanei e lokahi like ai ka hana ana a paa keia mau hana nui o ka hana ana i na kuapa. Ina aole lakou e ai ana i ka hua o ka lakou mea i hooikaika ai. Pehea lakou i hooholo ai i ke awa a hiki i ke anana, a i ka anae hoi a hiki i ka iwilei, a i ka ulua hoi, he anana a muku, a i ke aholehole hoi, hele a koa ka lae, i ka oopu hoi, ua hele a like ka unahi me ko ka uhu. Ma keia mau kumu akaka loa. O ka maluhia o ke aupuni ke kumu i paa ai ka hana ana i na kuapa, a o ka maluhia ke kumu i nui ai ka ia, a o ka pakela nui i kanaka kekahi i hiki ai kela hana kaumaha.[22]
>
> This shows how numerous the population must have been in the old days, and how they must have kept the peace, for how could they have worked together in unity and made these walls if they had been frequently at war and in opposition one against another? If they did not eat the fruit of their efforts how could they have let the *awa* fish grow to a fathom in length; the *ʻanae* to an *iwilei*, yard; the *ulua* to a meter or a *muku* (four and one half feet); the *aholehole* [flagtail fish] until its head was hard as coral (*koʻa ka lae*); and the *ʻoʻopu* [gobey fish] until their scales were like the *uhu* [parrotfish]? Peace in the kingdom was the reason that the walls could be built, the fish could grow big, and there were enough people to do this heavy work.[23]

Kamakau's description of the dimensions to these fish are wondrous today as illustrations of abundance as an index of good governance. Such effective governance recognizes the hunger of war and the fullness of peace, and when the people are fed, they are able to work together to build and maintain the massive stone walls of the fishponds.

Taking broader movements for Kanaka Maoli political sovereignty into consideration, I also chart a mode of land-based governance that enables the

cultivation of abundance: a mapping of ea. "Ea" is a word that brings together the layered meanings of life, breath, and political sovereignty, a rising—the rising of the people to protect the ʻāina who feeds physically, intellectually, and spiritually. The word "ea" is likened to the birth of the living land itself. ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language) scholar Leilani Basham describes a beautiful image of ea: "'O ke ea nō hoʻi ka hua ʻōlelo no ka puka ʻana mai o kekahi mea mai loko mai o ka moana, e laʻa me ka mokupuni."[24] In her introduction to *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua sets the foundation for the collection by engaging Basham's words. She explains:

> Indeed, "ea" is a word that describes emergence, such as volcanic islands from the depths of the ocean. In looking to mele Hawaiʻi—Hawaiian songs and poetry—Basham points out that the term "ea" is foregrounded within a prominent mele koʻihonua, or creation and genealogical chant for Hawaiʻi: "*Ea* mai Hawaiinuiakea / *Ea* mai loko mai o ka po." The islands emerge from the depths, from the darkness that precedes their birth. Basham argues that, similarly, political autonomy is a beginning of life.[25]

As the islands rise, ea is birthed, emerging from the fecundity of the ancestral realm of Pō. Goodyear-Kaʻōpua further explains that "ea is an active state of being. Like breathing, ea cannot be achieved or possessed; it requires constant action day after day, generation after generation."[26]

In such discussions of ea, the critical framework that has come to the fore is the analysis of occupation and the political status of Hawaiʻi as a sovereign nation-state under US occupation. Although the frameworks of occupation and settler colonialism are not necessarily mutually exclusive, activists have debated these different sets of discourses and outlined contrasting political processes for deoccupation and decolonization. Under the terms of international law that structure the occupation argument, "Indigenous peoples" refers to colonized peoples in a way that Kūhiō Vogeler argues is incommensurable with the occupation framework, which understands Kānaka Maoli as part of a multiethnic national citizenry under US occupation.[27] David Keanu Sai further argues that the US misrepresented Hawaiʻi as a "non-self-governing territory" in 1946 in order to disguise occupation under the cover of colonialism.[28] Others have argued, however, that occupation and settler colonialism are actually mutually constitutive. Goodyear-Kaʻōpua writes, "One might consider that a prolonged US occupation of Hawaiʻi enables the ongoing hegemony of a settler society—settler colonialism—with varying

aspects and effects."[29] Analyses of settler colonialism are useful in illustrating how occupation has made possible state tactics that seek to legislate Kanaka Maoli traditional and customary practices out of existence. Settler colonial practices naturalize occupation to the point where the citizenry sees no alternative to citizenship in the occupying state. Dean Saranillio aptly describes this foreclosure of other potential futures through the settler colonial rearrangement of desire invested in what Edward Said has referred to as "a future wish." Saranillio writes, "Hawai'i's U.S. statehood movement functioned in particular as a 'future wish,' a kind of settler abstraction of what Hawai'i could become if it were a state, and the American lifestyle one would have as a 'first-class citizen,' all of which positioned Kanaka 'Ōiwi forms of sovereignty, governance, foodways, and relations in Hawai'i as outmoded and a less deserving power than the emerging liberal settler state."[30]

J. Kēhaulani Kauanui has broadened the implications of settler colonialism by arguing that it encompasses the logics of "Western civilization" adopted all over the world: "As Walter Mignolo argues in *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*, coloniality manifested throughout the world and determined the socioeconomic, racial, and epistemological value systems of contemporary society, commonly called 'modern' society. This is precisely why coloniality does not just disappear with political and historical decolonization, the end of the period of territorial domination of lands, when countries gain independence. Given this distinction, one can see that coloniality is part of the logic of Western civilization."[31] In other words, if Hawai'i were to be deoccupied today, there would still need to be an ongoing effort to decolonize not only the institutional structures of everyday life, but the settler colonial logics and capitalist economies of scarcity that structure the popular imaginary.

While I take as a premise the political status of Hawai'i as an occupied territory, a focus on US occupation as the sole analytic makes it difficult for us to engage in the broader decolonial analyses that challenge Western epistemological formations. Indigeneity continues to be a material positionality that connects Kānaka Maoli to Indigenous peoples around the world and one from which multipronged work against occupation and settler colonialism can be mobilized. For this reason, I will use the term "occupation" to refer to the political status of Hawai'i, "occupying state" to refer to the United States and the State of Hawai'i, and "settler colonialism" to refer to the social and cultural processes, regimes of rhetoric, and juridical arguments with which the occupying state naturalizes its governance. Patrick Wolfe reminds us that "settler colonialism is at base a winner-take-all project whose dominant

feature is not exploitation but replacement . . . a sustained institutional tendency to eliminate the Indigenous population."[32] These considerations make clear that nonstatist organizing at restoration projects across the islands teach us that we do not have to wait for deoccupation or decolonization but rather that we can materialize that future beyond occupation and settler colonialism right now in the present. This mode of living a decolonial present is possible precisely because, as Goodyear-Kaʻōpua argues, ea as praxis provides a broad organizing foundation that defines "nation" as land based rather than state based, and that definition can be held productively open-ended, both in statist and nonstatist terms.[33]

In this way, Kānaka Maoli have joined a broader decolonial movement of Indigenous peoples who are not waiting for the dismantling of occupying or settler states or the return of their ancestral lands but are actively living that independent future beyond the occupying or settler state in the present. We live ea now, on a daily basis, in nonstatist ways that include the restoration of loʻi kalo (taro pondfields), loko iʻa (fishponds), ʻauwai (irrigation waterways), and ʻike kupuna (ancestral knowledge), as well as the cultivation of social relationships needed to grow a broad-based lāhui on the basis of Kanaka Maoli language, histories, knowledges, and practices. As Kānaka Maoli and other Indigenous peoples bring the land back into abundance, we see that this restoration of their land bases is key to the restoration of the planet.

FROM SETTLER ALLY TO SETTLER ALOHA ʻĀINA (SETTLER PROTECTOR OF LANDS AND WATERS)

Growing the lāhui, whether as a statist or nonstatist collective premised on Kanaka Maoli principles of land-based governance, has taken into consideration that settlers, too, can cultivate aloha ʻāina and a Hawaiian national consciousness, but aloha ʻāina for settlers must be informed by an understanding of settler positionalities and access to privileges under the operations of both occupation and settler colonialism. As we enlarge our tracking of global circuits of capital to a broader planetarity of interconnected life systems, non-Indigenous peoples around the world are following the lead of Indigenous peoples as land protectors. As a yonsei (fourth-generation) Japanese settler ally in Hawaiʻi whose ancestral lands are in Fukushima, Kumamoto, and Niigata, I have worked to move toward being a settler aloha ʻāina (land and water protector who affirms Kanaka Maoli independence) by engaging in synchronic, overlapping sets of practices: one set actively working to challenge the occupying state by making interventions into settler colo-

nial operations of land seizure; and one that affirms Hawai'i's independence through the revitalization of waterways, food systems, and our relationships with 'āina and with each other.

More than twenty years ago, Kanaka Maoli scholar, activist, and poet Haunani-Kay Trask argued that it is settler colonialism itself as a set of political conditions that institutes the genealogical distinction between Natives and settlers. As she identified people of color as "settlers of color," she also opened up a space for settler allies by reminding us, "For non-Natives, the question that needs to be answered every day is simply the one posed in the old union song: 'Which side are you on?'"[34] Trask's question foregrounds settler agency in a world in which we can choose to identify with the lāhui. We know that occupying and settler states established on capitalist economies have no future, dissipating the humanity of and possibilities of life for Indigenous peoples, Blacks, migrants, Muslims, queer and transgender people, the poor, and anyone who represents a refusal of white supremacy, of capital, of late liberal forms of settler normativity, whereas Kanaka Maoli and other Indigenous economies centered around caring for the living earth see our differences as enabling in helping us to grow our capaciousness as collectives, drawing together our own inherited knowledges for all of us to flourish.

Recent setter colonial studies scholarship has turned to Chickasaw scholar Jodi Byrd's use of the term "arrivant," which she borrows from African Caribbean poet Kamau Brathwaite's work and extends to include "those people forced into the Americas through the violence of European and Anglo-American colonialism and imperialism around the globe."[35] They call for the use of the term "arrivant" to complicate what they describe as a settler-Native binary, but we should also remember that Byrd describes not only settler colonialism but also an "arrivant colonialism."[36] What are the implications and pragmatics of extending the term "arrivant" to other people of color? Brathwaite's use of the term "arrivant" for African Caribbean peoples works to differentiate what Trask herself distinguished as the violence of slavery from those lived by other peoples of color. Trask never extended the term "settler" to Blacks, and, as Tiffany Lethabo King points out, Trask "created opportunities to think about conquest and colonialism as fundamentally constituted by slavery as much as they were constituted by genocide."[37] Eve Tuck, Allison Guess, and Hannah Sultan further tease out the complexity of the term "arrivant" by pointing out that while it can help to highlight the complicity of all arrivants (including Black people) in the processes of settler colonialism, the term also conflates people of color in a way that can also erase the unique positionalities of Blacks under settler colonialism and the

participation of people of color in anti-Black racism.[38] And that still brings us back to the question of our responsibilities to the lands where we live, whether we identify as settlers, arrivants, or otherwise.

As I see it, being a settler ally means an opposition to all forms of oppression mobilized by the occupying or settler state, whether anti-Black racism, racism against migrants, heteronormativity and heteropatriarchy, anti-trans discrimination, Islamophobia, or what Rob Nixon refers to as the "slow violence" of the environmentalism of the poor.[39] While different non-Native groups are mobilized under the operations of settler colonial capital, the United States—as a capitalist state, the occupying state, the settler state, the racial state, the carceral state, and the late liberal state and its heteronormative imaginary—takes on the multiple, overdetermined forms that compose the matrix of state power and assaults all who represent difference. I argue that considering relationalities under the conditions of settler colonialism requires our expansiveness in articulating the *simultaneity of overlapping positionalities*. We are always already simultaneously positioned, as both subjugated by settler state power and as settlers who often unwittingly support the state, and that's the kind of complexity I see Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi pointing out in her work: the simultaneity of "refugee settlers."[40]

While I will refer to the political status of Hawai'i as one of occupation, I call myself a Japanese settler ally or a settler aloha 'āina because I argue that these terms have their own capaciousness, one that grapples with settler colonialism and cultivates the seeds of a decolonial future. The descriptor "settler" roots us in the settler colonialism that we seek to dismantle so that we never lose sight of those conditions or the privileges we derive from them. At the same time, however, the term "settler ally" encompasses the *imaginative possibilities* for our collaborative work on ea and a land-based lāhui.

In 2012, Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua and I had a conversation about the possibilities of the term "settler aloha 'āina," and she writes about the importance of settler allies who exercise settler kuleana (responsibilities, rights, privileges, purview) given to them but who do not lose sight of their settler privileges: "Perhaps, such a positioning might be thought of as a settler aloha 'āina practice or kuleana. A settler aloha 'āina can take responsibility for and develop attachment to lands upon which they reside when actively supporting Kānaka Maoli who have been alienated from ancestral lands to reestablish those connections and also helping to rebuild Indigenous structures that allow for the transformation of settler-colonial relations."[41] The term "settler aloha 'āina" recognizes that our work encompasses, and yet is about more than, being an ally; our work focuses on materializing decolonization itself.

This is why I call myself a Japanese settler aloha ʻāina: because being a settler and being an aloha ʻāina are not mutually exclusive; instead, we can break the category of settler wide open by taking our places on the front lines of movements for deoccupation and decolonization. When 65 percent of the Hawaiʻi State Legislature is constituted by Asian settlers who are making harmful decisions that undermine Kanaka Maoli traditional and customary practices and environmental protections, we have to recognize the millennia of mālama ʻāina (caring for the land) that enabled Kānaka to identify the laws of the elements.[42] We need to help shoulder the kaumaha (weight, burden, grief) of settler colonialism by doing the difficult work that Indigenous people do against and beyond the settler state. While we are watching and learning, catching up on generations of teachings, we must also step in, i kū maumau, i kū huluhulu, i ka lanawao (stand together, haul with all your might, under the mighty trees), and help to carry that tree to build the canoe.[43] More settler aloha ʻāina can take our places in toxic juridical state spaces, testifying against the ways that the occupying state breaks its own laws and standing on the front lines against law enforcement officers armed with tear gas. And more settler aloha ʻāina can help to grow the foundation for the lāhui by helping streams to flow once again so that the kalo can ripen and the fish can spawn, while supporting a form of Kanaka Maoli governance that will sustain us past the ruins of capital.

The challenge for us as settler aloha ʻāina is to recognize that we are all born of these lands and to love them, to act according to the laws of the akua while also recognizing the genealogical relationships to land that Kānaka have and that we do not. For me, it's loving the people I call ʻAnakē (Aunty) and ʻAnakala (Uncle), who are Kānaka and who are not related to me genealogically, and loving their kūpuna, knowing that there is one foundation of this earth and that my ancestral lands in Kumamoto, Fukushima, and Niigata are of that same foundation with these lands in Hawaiʻi. As the corporate agents of the Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in my own ancestral lands announce that they will release unimaginable tons of wastewater contaminated with a radioactive isotope of hydrogen into the Pacific in ways that will enter into our flesh and bone in Hawaiʻi, I care for the lands, seas, and skies in Hawaiʻi, knowing that our efforts are necessary to healing the devastation caused by events elsewhere and that these regenerative effects will reach beyond in ways I cannot know. For all of these reasons, I love these lands without having to claim them, and I stand for them because they sustain me and my children.

Kimmerer contrasts the dangers of claiming to be "indigenous to place" with the necessity of becoming "naturalized to place":

> Immigrants cannot by definition be indigenous. *Indigenous* is a birthright word. No amount of time or caring changes history or substitutes for soul-deep fusion with the land. . . . But if people do not feel "indigenous," can they nevertheless enter into the deeper reciprocity that renews the world? . . .
>
> Being naturalized to place means to live as if this is the land that feeds you, as if these are the streams from which you drink, that build your body and fill your spirit. To become naturalized is to know that your ancestors lie in this ground. Here you will give your gifts and meet your responsibilities. To become naturalized is to live as if your children's future matters, to take care of the land as if our lives and the lives of all our relatives depend on it. Because they do.[44]

Naturalization can pose potential problems as well, but Kimmerer is addressing the urgency of the ways that settlers, too, must grow this greater sense of reciprocity. Eighth-generation kalo farmer Jerry Konanui explains that we have to "wehe ourselves," open ourselves up to Kanaka Maoli ancestral knowledges and the wonder of what cannot be rationalized away.[45] As settler aloha ʻāina we can wehe ourselves to love the land, even as we are learning the way to best enact practices that are reciprocal. While part of our kuleana is to play a supportive role, that should not prevent us from actively challenging the occupying state or standing against law enforcement. And there are many settler aloha ʻāina and aloha ʻāina who are not Kānaka Maoli who have taken on this kuleana, including longtime and more recent activists Gwen Kim, Butch DeTroye, Dean Saranillio, Setsu Okubo, Cody Nemet Tuavaiti, Barbara Altemus, Imani Altemus-Williams, Kim Compoc, Jim Albertini, Joni Bagood, Gino D'Angelo McIntyre, Tēvita Kaʻili, Deborah Ward, Marion Kelly, Sylvia Thompson, Ben Manuel, Ronald Fujiyoshi, Ken Lawson, John Witeck, Mary Choy, Steven Takayama, Ed Greevy, Innocenta Sound-Kikku, Kyle Kajihiro, and many others.

A CRITICAL SETTLER CARTOGRAPHIC METHOD

To engage in the practices of critical settler cartography, I argue that being a settler aloha ʻāina is to grow an intimacy with land that brings about more pono (just, balanced, and generationally secure) arrangements of life. It is to open ourselves up to a different consciousness by which we receive land-

based knowledge and by which we pass it on. I am slowly learning the beautiful intricacies and profound depth of ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi, to learn to think and write in Kanaka Maoli metaphors, to attend to the embodied theories that emerge organically from communities of practitioners. To walk these lands with the ʻAnakē and ʻAnakala who remember what their kūpuna saw and how they named places. To feel my hands blister and back ache from clearing the land of knotted hau thickets covering ancient loʻi kalo. To stand as a kiaʻi mauna (mountain protector) in a barricade of women against state police on Mauna a Wākea. To wade through thousands of pages of environmental impact statements and legislative bills. To feel my skin break out in rashes and hives in bodily responses to these documents. To feel my heart ache when University of Hawaiʻi attorneys attempt to discredit the kūpuna. To testify in support of Kanaka Maoli ancestral knowledges in juridical contexts. And to chant "E iho ana o luna, e piʻi ana o lalo" (What is above shall be brought down, what is below shall rise up) in unison from our jail cells, the voices of Kānaka Maoli and settler aloha ʻāina ringing across the halls when we are arrested for standing for the land. As a settler aloha ʻāina, I also join in the protocols of the lāhui. I give my aloha to the akua and the ʻāina by offering the hoʻokupu of my breath in pule (prayer), my body on workdays in loʻi kalo or at the loko iʻa, and the Kanikoʻo rains of my home in Heʻeia Uli whom I collect for the ahu of other places. All these practices honor and love the kūpuna who are not mine genealogically but are the kūpuna of this place where I live.

And I share in the joy, too, of these decolonial practices of growing ea and of striving to be in alignment with the akua. Kumu hula Pua Case reminds us that the mele "Mālana mai Kaʻū" teaches us, "Ohohia i ka hana ʻana aku e," we rejoice in the work, we move ourselves to the decolonial joy of standing together for the sacred mountain, Mauna a Wākea. Pua's words have inspired us with a profound sense of how much it is an honor to stand for the akua with other aloha ʻāina, as she tells us, "How I stand will not be shaped by who I stand against, but instead by who I stand for, and who I stand with."[46] This is the decolonial joy that we will pass on to our children so that our work will be intergenerational. Mapping abundance enables us to experience moments of wonder, even in the difficult work we do, and we grow the desire to return to this work again and again.

The critical settler cartography I engage in throughout this book is a methodology that is structured as a doubled praxis. Critical settler cartography first exposes the grandiose claims, contradictions, erasures, and ideological interests that drive settler colonial cartography. As I practice it in this book, that work begins with critiquing the toxic logics and imaginaries of

late liberal settler colonial cartography. Exposing the political interests of settler colonial cartography is the foundation of our work to fulfill our kuleana as settler aloha ʻāina who stand against the occupying state. We can make use of our own personal areas of expertise and fluency in state logics to dismantle their regimes of rhetoric and their exploitative material practices. These settler colonial cartographies also present the evidence that leads to their undoing, palimpsests of what they seek to erase, enabling us to unlock interlocking systems of power.

The second part of a critical settler cartographic method is to move the critique into the expansiveness of Kanaka Maoli cartographies that map familial relationality among humans, lands, and elemental forms, plant and animal ʻohana (family). As Renee Pualani Louis notes, "Kanaka Hawaiʻi cartographic practices are a compilation of intimate, interactive, and integrative processes that expresses Kanaka Hawaiʻi spatial realities through specific perspectives, protocols, and performances. It is distinctive from Western cartographic practices in that Kanaka Hawaiʻi recognize the forces of nature and other metaphysical elements as fundamental spatial relationships."[47] Kanaka Maoli cartographies of ʻiʻini (desire) and leʻa (pleasure) trace these lands with great tenderness and profound aloha ʻāina, planting this love for land, seas, and skies in those not from these places so that we will grow to care about their flourishing. Rather than reproducing the settler imaginary in the rhetorical abstractions and figures of the occupying state, we can learn how to think in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian language). Katrina-Ann R. Kapāʻanaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira describes the sensuality of Kanaka geographies as intensely physical and personal modes of relating to place, time, ancestry, and history. She argues that such a sensual knowledge of ʻāina grows out of five "sense abilities" and goes beyond them to include the "sense ability of naʻau [guts, mind, heart, seat of knowledge, or visceral core]," the intuitive, visceral responses to supernatural phenomena that deny "rational" explanation; the "sensibility of kulāiwi," a rootedness to the place of one's ancestry where the bones of the kūpuna reside; the "sense ability of au ʻāpaʻapaʻa," life according to ancestral time, measured in the lunar cycles, the seasonal cycles, and the life cycles of the earth; and the "sense ability of moʻo," the culmination of knowledge gained over generations in moʻokūʻauhau, a genealogical line remembering the lessons of ancestors and the ordering of space and time.[48]

This doubled praxis is inspired by an argument that Mishuana Goeman has made regarding the recovery of Indigenous lands through mapping. As a cautionary point, she reminds us that "(re)mapping is not just about regain-

ing that which was lost and returning to an original and pure point in history, but instead understanding the processes that have defined our current spatialities in order to sustain vibrant Native futures."[49] By deconstructing settler colonial logics, I foreground the ways that there are both precolonial and anticolonial forms of Kanaka Maoli cartography, and our understanding of both is necessary for abundant futurities.

MOʻOʻĀINA AS A KANAKA MAOLI CARTOGRAPHIC METHOD

The image of the moʻo procession helps us to envision relational Kanaka Maoli cartographies in a key concept: "moʻoʻāina." The word "moʻo," used to reference land, had surfaced repeatedly in my research on 1851 Land Commission Awards, and I began to see how it provides a powerful challenge to settler colonial mathematics of subdivision as well as the representation of land as nonlife in capitalist economies. Moʻoʻāina are the smaller land divisions that are part of a larger land base, genealogically connected to one another across ahupuaʻa, as the long iwikuamoʻo (backbone) formed by the moʻo akua in Moʻoinanea's genealogical line. What is deeply telling and beautiful about maps of moʻoʻāina is that they are defined by their relationality with that which lies on their edges, borders that are not boundaries of separation but seams of relationality. Tracing these relationalities becomes a method of grasping the integrity of land, the ways that the shapes of moʻoʻāina are defined by the rising and the setting of the sun, their locations in relation to the seas and the mountains, their relationality to larger ʻiliʻāina land divisions on their borders. Moʻoʻāina also teach us about the ways that elemental forms are shaped by the specific topography of each ahupuaʻa. Makanilua (Two winds, echoing with the word lua, the art of hand-to-hand fighting) is an ʻiliʻāina enclosed on two sides by low ridges of hills in Waiāhole where the Kiliua wind of Waikāne wrestles with the winds of Waiāhole. Keaomelemele is the golden cloud that gathers in the sea spray of Puaʻena, blown by the Moaʻe northeasterly trade winds across the face of the setting sun in Waialua that outlines the cloud in gold, and then is carried to her home in the cloud forest at the summit of Puʻu Kaʻala. They remind us, too, that landforms are often ʻohana (family) to each other, ecological continuities remembered through genealogy.

My focus on moʻoʻāina builds on the work being done on the larger ahupuaʻa land division, foregrounding the ways that smaller landforms are related to one another not only within a single ahupuaʻa but also across ahupuaʻa. Kamanamaikalani Beamer and Lorenz Gonschor define ahupuaʻa

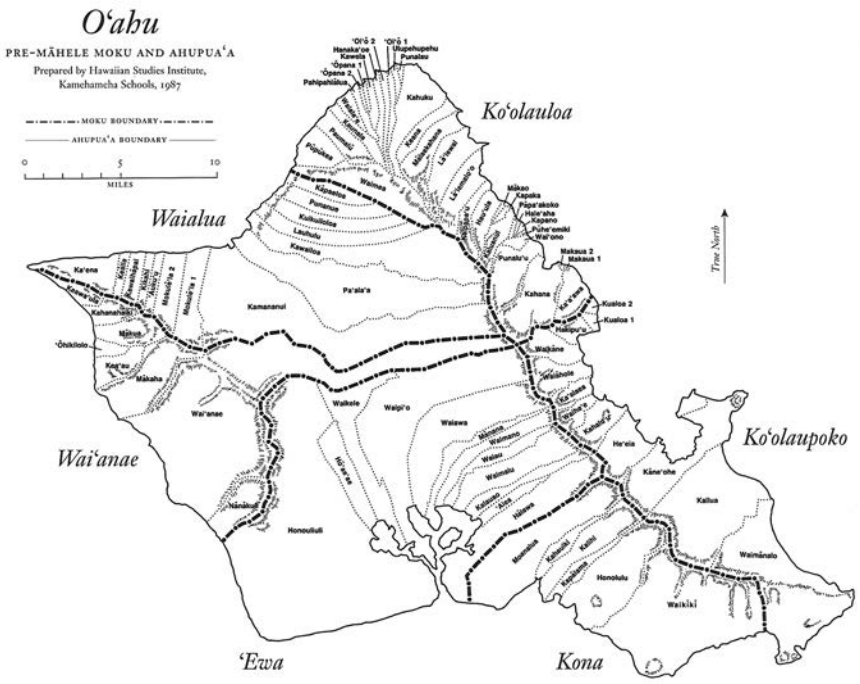

FIGURE I.1 Hawaiian Studies Institute, *O'ahu: Pre-Māhele Moku and Ahupua'a,* Kamehameha Schools, 1987.

as "a culturally appropriate ecologically aligned and place specific unit with access to diverse resources" (see figure I.1).[50] Beamer and Ka'eo Duarte have further illustrated that the ahupua'a were mapped by early Kanaka Maoli surveyors in efforts to secure the international recognition of Hawai'i as an independent nation-state and to retain Kanaka Maoli control over lands.[51] S. P. Kalama's *Hawai'i Nei* (1839) map is a monumental document that named and color-coded the ahupua'a of each island, preserving a complex system of Kanaka Maoli knowledge that continues to be used in mapping lands today.

As children in Hawai'i, we are taught the ecological continuities of ahupua'a. The clouds water the mountaintops with rains that travel down in streams; then the Kanaka-built 'auwai carry some of the stream water to lo'i kalo (terraced taro pondfields) and then return the water from the lo'i to the stream, now enriched with the nutrients from the lo'i kalo. These enriched waters travel down to the muliwai (estuaries), where the mixing of fresh and saltwaters provides nurseries for the pua (baby fish) cultivated in the

fishponds that open into the seas. Water vapor from ocean waters and aerosol particulates from wave action against the coastlines then seed new clouds to recharge the hydrological cycle.

The beauty of moʻoʻāina is that they remind us that water moves not just from the mountains to the sea but also laterally across ahupuaʻa, often in inexplicable ways. Clouds do not abide by man-made boundaries, traveling across them to water the land. They also remind us that there are intricacies in subterranean worlds that we cannot see, and moʻoʻāina enable us to think more expansively about the lateral relationality of ecosystems and the far-reaching impacts of settler colonial overdevelopment, as well as Kanaka Maoli movements for ea.

REFUSING THE OCCUPYING STATE, HONORING THE LAWS OF THE AKUA

In tracing an epistemological shift to Indigenous economies of abundance, I am also addressing the ontological turn in new materialist work that asks fruitful questions about the imagined distinctions between life and nonlife. Much of that theorizing has grown out of Jane Bennett's work on vibrant matter and her generative conclusion that we must "devise new procedures, technologies, and regimes of perception that enable us to consult nonhumans more closely, or to listen and respond more carefully to their outbreaks, objections, testimonies, and propositions."[52] The work of Bruno Latour, Mel Chen, Donna Haraway, and Kath Weston has been critical to accounting for the agency of more-than-human subjects, the earth as the distributed intentionality of all agents (human and nonhuman), the fragile divisions between the animate and inanimate, the importance of making kin in multispecies worldings, as well as the intimacies of visceral engagements and configurations of life at the molecular level.[53]

Even as these discussions challenge our conceptions of the distinction between life and nonlife, what is becoming more visible globally are the ways that regimes of settler late liberalism have used such distinctions as a tactic of control. Povinelli argues that, unlike biopower, which operates through the governance of life and the tactics of death, geontopower is "a set of discourses, affects, and tactics used in late liberalism to maintain or shape the coming relationship of the distinction between Life and Nonlife."[54] Under late liberal governance, geontopower authorizes itself with the capacity to regulate what constitutes life and nonlife and attributes to Indigenous peoples an inability to make such distinctions.[55] Yet the figurations of the "carbon imaginary," the

scarred space between life and nonlife, Povinelli argues, is tenuous at best, for "the more we press on the skin of life the more unstable it feels for maintaining the concept of Life as distinct from Nonlife."[56]

I build on Povinelli's work by amplifying her argument that Indigenous people are rejecting the very regimes of geontopower. Kānaka Maoli argue that it is not state recognition that they seek, but that, instead, the akua—the elemental forms of the natural world—have laws of their own and a higher claim to authority than human forms of governance. As Kanaka Maoli and Indigenous scholars and activists elsewhere have argued, federal recognition, as it has been defined by occupying and settler states, has proven to be the very means to consolidating their political authority. On June 23, 2014, the US Department of the Interior (DOI) held the first of fifteen meetings in Hawai'i and across the United States, raising five threshold questions regarding federal and state facilitation of a federal process to recognize a Native Hawaiian government. These meetings can be understood as part of a sequence of events dating from 1993, when President Bill Clinton signed the joint resolution that is now Public Law 103-150, thereby apologizing for the US military support of the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government and calling for a "reconciliation between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people."[57] Over time, multiple revisions of what became known as the Akaka Bill left many convinced that federal recognition of Hawai'i as a domestic dependent nation under the Department of the Interior would only ensure continued US occupation.[58]

At the DOI meetings, Kānaka 'Ōiwi and their allies gave overwhelming public testimony, with a resounding "A'ole!" (No!), to a federally driven form of recognition, calling instead for an end to US occupation and the restoration of Hawai'i's independence. Maile Arvin describes the powerful way in which these testimonies quoted testimony from kūpuna in the 1890s who refused the US annexation of Hawai'i.[59] As the Movement for Aloha No ka 'Āina (MANA) summarized in a public statement, "Throughout these packed hearings we witnessed an outpouring of love and patriotism as testimony after testimony rejected the proposed rule change, rejected federal recognition and reaffirmed over and over that the Kingdom of Hawai'i still exists as a subject of international law. And it is through international law that we expect to move forward to restore justice to our people, lands, and government."[60]

This refusal articulates with other Indigenous rejections of recognition politics. Dene scholar Glen Coulthard elaborates, "I argue that instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded in the ideal of reciprocity or mutual recognition, the politics of recognition in its contemporary

liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples' demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend."[61] Kanaka Maoli scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui further points to one irreducible condition: "The US government prohibits Native governing entities from securing international legal status as independent states."[62]

In stark contrast to the way that these hearings were actually about the settler state's demand for recognition, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson shows us how it is reciprocal recognition between people and Earth that matters for Indigenous peoples: the ways they recognize plant and animal nations, and the ways they are recognized in turn. She writes:

> Reciprocal recognition is a core Nishnaabeg practice. We greet and speak to medicinal plants before we pick medicines. We recognize animals' spirits before we engage in hunting them. Reciprocal recognition within our lives as Nishnaabeg people is ubiquitous, embedded, and inherent. Consent is also embedded into this recognition. When I make an offering and reach out to the spirit of Waawaashkesh before I begin hunting, I am asking for that being's consent or permission to harvest it. If a physical deer appears, I have their consent. If no animal presents itself to me, I do not.[63]

These acts of recognition constitute radical resurgence, a resurgence that refuses settler colonialism and instead locates Indigenous peoples in broader governing systems based on laws of the natural world that transcend human laws.

Kanaka Maoli cartography takes familial relationships with the akua, the elemental forms, as a premise, and cultural practices are grounded in chants and practices that ask the akua for their consent. There are protocols in place for asking permission to enter into a place and to gather. The elemental forms respond to these requests and recognize us through hōʻailona (signs). Sometimes the signs are elemental: a sudden rush of wind, the flick of a fish tail, a flock of nēnē flying overhead, or the mists that kolo (creep) in to hide a place from our eyes. At other times, kūpuna explain that they feel in their naʻau (seat of knowledge or visceral core) whether their actions are pono (morally right, just, balanced).[64] But to even know how to ask permission or to read hōʻailona, it is important to trace kilo practices of observation back to genealogical relationships.

Kānaka ʻŌiwi trace their origins to several genealogies, one of the most well-known of which is the Kumulipo, a mele koʻihonua (chant of

creation) that traces the genealogy of Kānaka Maoli back to the emergence of life out of Pō, the deepest darkness out of which all things emerge. Out of fiery heat and the walewale (primordial slime) of Pō emerges Kumulipo (Source of life) and Pōʻele (Dark night), then the coral polyp, the shellfish, the seaweeds and the grasses, the fishes, the vines, trees and shrubs, the birds and insects, the reptiles, the animals of the sea and the land, the landforms and cliffs, and the stars hung in space. Kānaka are descended from Papahānaumoku (She who is the foundation birthing islands) and Wākea (He who is the wide expanse of the heavens), who appear in the thirteenth wā or era.[65] This genealogy also appears in "Mele Hānau no Kauikeaouli," a mele hānau (birth chant) for Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III:

> ʻO Wākea ke kāne, ʻo Papa,
> ʻo Walinuʻu ka wahine,
> Hānau Hoʻohoku he wahine,
> Hānau Hāloa he aliʻi,
> Hānau ka mauna,
> he keiki mauna na Kea.
>
> Wākea was the husband, Papa,
> Walinuʻu was the wife,
> Born was Hoʻohoku, a daughter,
> Born was Hāloa, a chief,
> Born was the mountain,
> a mountain child of Kea.[66]

From their union is born a daughter, Hoʻohōkūkalani, and from the union of Wākea and Hoʻohōkūkalani is born a keiki ʻaluʻalu (premature baby) who is buried and from whose body unfurls the kalo (taro plant) named Hāloanakalaukapalili, the long rootstalk with the trembling leaf.[67] A second child is born, and he is Hāloa, the first aliʻi (chief). In this genealogy, Kānaka Maoli are genealogically descended from the land and are the younger siblings of Mauna a Wākea and the kalo. Through these genealogical connections, Kānaka grow aloha ʻāina and a responsibility to mālama ʻāina (care for) their kūpuna and elder siblings.

The range of our intimate relationships with land shifts across time and place. Sometimes the love is for a mother or grandmother, for Papa, the earth, and yet at other times aloha ʻāina is a lover's passion for a place, as Poliʻahu's cinder cones are embraced by Kūkahauʻula's pink glow at sunrise and sunset

on Mauna a Wākea, or it is the tender love for a child, as the love that Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana activists felt for Kahoʻolawe, an island bombed for decades by the US military for target practice. We can see desire for the land in the mele "ʻO Pāʻauʻau" by John U. Iosepa, which conveys the ʻiʻini (desire, yearning) underlying the love that the people have for the sea of Polea called Pāʻauʻau (at Puʻuloa, also known as Pearl Harbor): "Pau ʻole koʻu hoʻohihi i ka nani o Pāʻauʻau / Na wai e ʻole ka ʻiʻini ua noho a kupa i laila?" (I am endlessly entangled in desire for the beauty of Pāʻauʻau, / Who would deny the desire, those who have dwelled there until they have become intimately familiar with that place?).[68] This entanglement in desire for land is rooted in the kilo (observations) of one who has lived in a place until deeply well-versed in the expressions of the land.

I want to press against the limitations of heteronormative conceptions of desire that privilege cisgender and heteronormative imaginaries. This desire for ʻāina is a desire for lands who often embody both female and male elements. As kumu hula Pualani Kanahele Kanakaʻole teaches us, Mauna a Wākea, the sacred mountain, is both male and female.[69] For this reason, I have chosen to refer to lands with the gender fluid pronoun "they" and with the living pronoun "who." As we see in the moʻolelo of *Keaomelemele*, the desire that Hina and Kū feel for each other as a wahine (woman) and a kāne (man) seeing each other for the first time is based not on binary gender identifications but on the ways that the land has tutored them in lessons of beauty. Human physical beauty is defined by the poetic descriptions of lands: Hina is compared to "he maikai Waipio he alo lua na pali" (the elegance of Waipiʻo with its matching cliffs) and Kū is compared to "he ohia la e noho mai ana i ka malu o na lau laau o ka waokele" (an ʻōhiʻa lehua tree standing out amid the leafy shade of the forest).[70] The land is the primary referent for beauty, desire, and pleasure. These accounts of land enable what Kalaniʻōpua Young describes as a restorative condition of queerness that rearticulates "cissettler" colonialism, a queer love ethic that activates the transformation of violence and "disarms and indeed tenderizes the people to care again to wake up and act upon that intuition."[71]

LEARNING THE ARTS OF KILO TO MAXIMIZE ABUNDANCE

In Hawaiʻi, the occupying state invests minimally in climate change solutions with shortsighted goals. Instead of viewing the health of entire systems, "sustainability" models are often designed as quick fixes. As limu (seaweed) gathering practitioner Billy Kinney explains, "We should be working toward

creating and sustaining systems of holistic health and productivity that aid in the revitalization of ancestral abundance, in all our communities, instead of trending on possible quick fixes that require an unrealistic amount of scaling up. Thinking you can heal mother earth with only a sustainability mindset is pulukeke."[72] What Kinney focuses on here is a broader restoration of the earth based on the reciprocity between people and the earth, including long-term relationships that are being built between practitioners of both Kanaka Maoli ancestral scientific knowledges and decolonized STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) knowledges.

Vital to understanding climate change is the Kanaka Maoli art of kilo, the intergenerational observation of elemental forms that has been recorded in story and song. Kilo is a practice of reading omens in the elements, in cloud formations, moon phases, ocean currents, politics. Practices of kilo engage in observing, forecasting, adapting, and activating ourselves to respond to climate events and their impacts on all areas of life. Papahulilani researcher Kalei Nuʻuhiwa explains, "When you kilo, when you observe closely, you are no longer afraid of the natural events that are happening in the world. You cultivate that relationship that our kūpuna had with the natural world."[73] Only when we have tracked the fine patterns of daily and seasonal changes for baseline recordings can we recognize the anomalies that are hōʻailona (signs). Kilo is not adaptation as resignation; it is an active analytic that enables us to anticipate change and to act to maximize their potentially abundant effects.

When Kanaka Maoli scientists kilo, they refuse an antagonistic framing of global climate change events; rather, they see the elemental forms as ancestors in a changing world. At a Lāhui Hawaiʻi Research Center keynote panel titled "Kāne and Kanaloa Are Coming: How Will We Receive Them? A Kanaka Talk (Take) on Climate Change," Noelani Puniwai, Kiana Frank, Oceana Puananilei Francis, Rosanna ʻAnolani Alegado, and Kealoha Fox described the rising sea level as the return of the akua Kanaloa (deity of the deep consciousness of the ocean) and the flood pulse events as the return of Kāne (deity of fresh waters and hydrological cycles).[74] In her work, Puniwai, a Hawaiian studies professor who specializes in natural resources and environmental management, explains,

> If you know your akua, if you are pili to your akua, if you have aloha for your akua and understand their functions, you will know how to work with them and how to respond to them. We, too, must change. We have to adapt to the elements. The first adaptation is that we must know who

> the akua are; the akua are different on each island, and we have to know the akua of our places. When we know our akua, we can call their names and activate them and ourselves.[75]

The 400,000 akua are identified by the places where they dwell, and we are being called upon to fine-tune our kilo skills to the point at which we can distinguish their land-based characteristics from one another so that we can see for ourselves how they are related to specific atmospheric, oceanic, or reproductive convergences and cycles. The akua also interact with one another so that Kāne's freshwater presence helps to mitigate the acidification of Kanaloa, and the moʻolelo teach us about their elemental relationships with one another.

In one of the most beautiful expressions of ea, kiaʻi o Keʻehi and cultural anthropologist Kēhaulani Kupihea explains that kilo makes it possible for her to activate herself on a "kupuna vibration." In ceremony and protocol, the chanters' voices vibrate as they call out to the akua for guidance, protection, and knowledge, and when their voices align with ancestral vibrations, this becomes a catalyst for events to occur, as I discuss in chapter 5.[76] Similarly, in chapter 4, Kealoha Pisciotta describes the way that we are "brought into alignment with the akua" in order to move action.

Researchers from the Edith Kanakaʻole Foundation have designed Papakū Makawalu as a methodology for the art of kilo by categorizing and organizing the natural world. It is based on a methodical, holistic view of the Hawaiian universe and is the foundation of knowledge for understanding and becoming intimately involved with the systems of natural phenomena and their life cycles.[77] As Kanahele explains, Papakū Makawalu appears in wā ʻumikūmākolu (thirteenth era) of the Kumulipo, beginning with Palikū and Palihaʻa, the male and female ancestors of Haumea. Kanahele identifies Haumea as the ancestor who teaches Kānaka about the three houses of knowledge that comprise Papakū Makawalu: Papahulilani, Papahulihonua, and Papahānaumoku. Kanahele defines these houses in this way:

> Papahulilani is the space from above the head to where the stars sit. It is inclusive of the sun, moon, stars, planets, winds, clouds, and the measurement of the vertical and horizontal spaces of the atmosphere. It is also a class of experts who are spiritually, physically, and intellectually attuned to the space above and its relationship to the earth.
>
> Papahulihonua is inclusive of earth and ocean. It is the ongoing study of the natural earth and ocean and its development, transformation, and evolution by natural causes. It is also a class of experts who

> are spiritually, physically, and intellectually attuned to this earth and its relationship to the space above and the life forms on it.
>
> Papahānaumoku is the embryonic state of all life forces. It is the birthing cycle of all flora and fauna inclusive of man. It is the process of investigating, questioning, analyzing, and reflecting upon all things that give birth, regenerate, and procreate. It is also a class of experts who are spiritually, physically, and intellectually attuned to things born and the habitat that provides their nourishment and growth.[78]

Kanahele uses the word "attunement" to describe the intimate relationship between Kānaka and ʻāina, similar to conceptions of a kupuna vibration and an alignment with the akua. It is the pilina (connectedness) of all life-forms that governs these ecological systems.

Papakū Makawalu practitioners established Hui ʻAimalama in 2013 to revive practices of Kaulana Mahina (the planning of planting, fishing, and other practices by the lunar calendar) as a climate change tool. Organizers Kalei Nuʻuhiwa, Olani Lilly, Malia Nobrega-Olivera, and Micky Huihui focus on traditional Hawaiian educational pedagogies, and they bring together experts, practitioners, and scientists to teach Kaulana Mahina as an adaptive strategy for survival and flourishing, "to revive and enjoy the privileges of living in the season with the natural cycles of the environment, track natural occurrences around us by the lunar cycles and control the human responses to a changing climate with the intent of surviving."[79] The understanding of ʻaimalama is that kilo practices approach what appear to be the precarities of climate change and, instead, ground those changes in observable data regarding the interconnection of moon phases with the growth of plants, the spawning of fish, coral, and shellfish, the propagation of limu (seaweed), the patterns of winds, rains, and stream and ocean currents.

As much as this book honors the careful practices of kilo that are specific to each place, I do not reveal the specific locations of sacred places. I map the moʻolelo on the ground only when they are wahi pana (celebrated places) that are well-known and are noa (freed) from kapu (sacred prohibition), those that are either discussed in previous publications or that I have been given permission to share. In other cases of wahi kapu (forbidden places), I do not speak their names.

The image of the procession of moʻo forms the iwikuamoʻo (backbone) for this book, one that takes us from the moʻoʻāina lands of Waiʻanae to the lands

of Moʻoinanea on Mauna a Wākea. I trace the moʻo topographies in chapter 1 to identify the Kanaka Maoli relational cartography of moʻoʻāina as itself a methodology from our recovery of the birthplace of the kupua (supernatural being) Māui in Waiʻanae, a method of tracking continuities that we can use against settler colonial mathematics of subdivision. Chapter 2 expands on the movement of moʻo across the land by considering maps in motion in huakaʻi (embodied, relational journeys) that teach us how to grow aloha ʻāina for lands in their many kino lau (bodily forms). In Waiʻanae, on an environmental justice bus tour first organized to protect the birthplace of Māui, Kanaka Maoli and critical settler cartographies map the continuities of resource extraction and industrial dumping emblematic of the larger settler colonial processes driving climate change, while foregrounding Kanaka Maoli maps of abundance used to protect these places.

Chapters 3 and 4 take us to the waters and stones of Mauna a Wākea and the stand that Kānaka Maoli and settler aloha ʻāina have taken against the construction of the proposed Thirty Meter Telescope (TMT). Chapter 3 considers the ways that the occupying state sets up rhetorical regimes to shore up "thresholds" between what it deems life and nonlife, specifically in the occupying state's denial of standing to Moʻoinanea, a reptilian water protector in the contested case hearing against the telescope. Against these degradation thresholds, Kānaka and their allies map the continuities of the waterways of Mauna a Wākea recorded in chants, songs, and the moʻolelo of Kamiki. Chapter 4 looks more closely at the life of pōhaku (stones) as ancestors who stood with eight hundred people against the TMT on June 24, 2015. In a visual illustration of the genealogical continuities of the Kumulipo, as well as of Kanaka Maoli genealogical pilina to the moon and the stars, row upon row of water protectors lined up on the mountain in ways that recall for us the procession of moʻo, spiraling their way back to the piko (the umbilicus) of Mauna a Wākea.

Chapters 5 and 6 are paired by tracing the corridor of the hau flowers that mark the footsteps of Haumea along the waterways across the Koʻolau mountains. In chapter 5, I follow the moʻo and manō (shark) movements in subterranean waterways that have enabled Kānaka to map vertically the papa (strata of the earth). As Haumea gives voice to the higher consciousness of the sovereign land, she illustrates a profound knowledge of the waterways traveled by the moʻo and the manō into the mountains. These waterways are now threatened by subterranean monsters in the theater of militarized neoliberalism in the Pacific: storage tanks filled with 187 million gallons of jet fuel one hundred feet above the aquifer. At the nearby Hoʻoulu ʻĀina and Hoʻōla

Keʻehi restoration projects, children are learning about the sovereign land and about long-term reciprocal relations. Chapter 6 maps the yellow hau flower paths of the moʻo blooming from one restoration project to another. In the continuation of the love story of Haumea and Wākea, Haumea multiplies her moʻo body forms as beautiful women who pack the plains of Kualoa to battle the army of Kumuhonua, just as the people have fought to restore Waiāhole stream waters and the Hale o Meheanu Fishpond in Heʻeia. On the cover of this book, we see how Mealaaloha Bishop maps these water struggles in the rhythms of her painting, while her son Hanalē plants kalo by the moons. The path of yellow flowers reminds us that the hau has long protected ancient kalo terraces and fishponds where regenerative effects unfold, opening up the possibilities that each ʻāina momona (fertile lands) project affords the other.

In this book, mapping abundance in Kanaka Maoli and critical settler cartographies is an embodied experience of the land on huakaʻi (physical, spiritual, and intellectual journeys), where we bear witness to the wonders of the akua. We understand mapping abundance as a sensual experience, as when Kānaka Maoli and settler aloha ʻāina stand with the Waimānalo Limu Hui to haku (braid) the deep red-brown limu manauealoa (seaweed) into lei limu that we drape around our necks and swim out to wrap around pōhaku (stones) along an ancient pāhonu (turtle enclosure). The spores from these lei limu are carried by the currents to seed new limu gardens along the coast of Waimānalo and in unexpected places we may never see. In this way, mapping abundance restores, imagines, and grows a sovereign present for an abundant planetary future.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

Parts of this chapter appeared previously in "Restoring Independence and Abundance on the Kulāiwi and ʻĀina Momona," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 969–85.

1 Kamakau, *The People of Old*, 83. *Keaomelemele* was first serially published by Moses Manu in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* from 1884 to 1885.
2 Manu, "He Moolelo Kaao No Keaomelemele," April 11, 1885. See Note on the Text.
3 Manu, *The Legend of Keaomelemele*, 157.
4 For a discussion of akua as elemental forms, see Kanahele, *The Living Earth*, 5.
5 Lloyd, "The Goal of the Revolution," 209.
6 Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 115.
7 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 27.
8 Harvey, *Spaces of Capital*, 121, 123.
9 Hawaiʻi Community Foundation, "Wai Maoli Hawaiʻi Fresh Water Initiative," 2013, https://www.hawaiicommunityfoundation.org/strengthening/fresh-water/; Matt Yamashita, "'The Rain Follows the Forest' w/ Jason Scott Lee,"

YouTube, February 10, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4TELmkk-Dpo/.

10 Pukui, *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau*, 50. Although not printed in the text, "no" should have a kahakō: "nō."

11 Kaʻahahui ʻo ka Nāhelehele, "About Dry Forests," accessed June 4, 2020, http://www.drylandforest.org/about-dry-forests/.

12 Fletcher, Boyd, Neal, and Tice, *Living on the Shores of Hawaiʻi*, 124.

13 Gómez-Barris, *The Extractive Zone*, xix.

14 Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 1–2, 122.

15 Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert define "lāhui" as "nation, race, tribe, people, nationality," but I am using a more contemporary definition based on the way that Kānaka Maoli are using the term in current stands to protect lands. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 190.

16 Hui Mauli Ola, "Puni Jackson: Leo Kupa Podcast #2," YouTube, June 20, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQPkfKJeItU/.

17 Tsing, *The Mushroom at the End of the World*, 42.

18 Whyte, "Indigenous Climate Change Studies," 158.

19 Gómez-Barris, *The Extractive Zone*, 4.

20 Povinelli, *Geontologies*, 168, 173.

21 Nuʻuhiwa, personal communication, May 2, 2019.

22 Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii," December 2, 1869.

23 Kamakau, *The Works of the People of Old*, 47.

24 Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawaiʻi," 50. Goodyear-Kaʻōpua honors Basham's political refusal to translate her words. I will honor that refusal here.

25 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, introduction, 4–5.

26 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, introduction, 4.

27 Vogeler, "Outside Shangri-La," 253.

28 Sai, "A Slippery Path toward Hawaiian Indigeneity," 102–3.

29 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, introduction, 19.

30 Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire*, 11.

31 Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty*, 199.

32 Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism*, 163.

33 Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, introduction, 4.

34 Trask, "Settlers of Color," 20.

35 Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, xix.

36 Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, xix.

37 King, *The Black Shoals*, 59. King writes powerfully about the importance of the "shoaling" of the twinned dates 1441 (commencement of the Portuguese slave trade) and 1492 (Columbus's voyage and the genocide of Indigenous peoples), both marking the ongoing violence of conquest. I disagree with King's subsequent sentence, however, when she argues that Native women like Trask foreground an "emphasis on genocide and slavery *rather than* coloniality and sovereignty as reigning discourses" (emphasis mine). Trask was making an argument that both sets of discourses are important: slavery *and* settler

colonialism, abolition *and* decolonization. See Trask, "The Color of Violence," 82, and "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony," 47. For an essay that illustrates that Black Lives Matter in the Kingdom of Hawai'i and in Oceania, see Enomoto, "Where Will You Be?"

38 Tuck, Guess, and Sultan, "Not Nowhere," 4.

39 Nixon, *Slow Violence*, 2–3.

40 Lê Espiritu, "Vexed Solidarities," 9.

41 Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, *The Seeds We Planted*, 154. See also Aikau, Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, and Silva, "The Practice of Kuleana," 160–62.

42 This is the ethnic breakdown for the 2019 Hawai'i State Legislature that I collected by calling legislators' offices in March 2019.

43 Malo, "I Ku Mau Mau," in *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, shared by Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele and translated by Ainsley Halemau, online at Huapala: Hawaiian Music and Hula Archives, accessed August 6, 2020, https://www.huapala.org/Chants/I_Ku_Mau_Mau.html.

44 Kimmerer, *Braiding Sweetgrass*, 213–14.

45 Hawaii SEED, "Jerry Konanui on Kalo, Biodiversity, Ancient Wisdom, and Modern Science," YouTube, February 6, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bE7K3NXFU1I/.

46 Case, personal communication, July 11, 2019.

47 Louis, *Kanaka Hawai'i Cartography*, xviii.

48 Oliveira, *Ancestral Places*, 94–113.

49 Goeman, *Mark My Words*, 3.

50 Gonschor and Beamer, "Toward an Inventory of Ahupua'a," 79. Beamer explores the ahupua'a in greater depth in *No Mākou ka Mana*, 41–42.

51 Beamer and Duarte, "I palapala no ia aina," 73–74, 78.

52 Bennett, *Vibrant Matter*, 108.

53 Latour, *Facing Gaia*, 98; Chen, *Animacies*, 2; Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble*, 2; and Weston, *Animate Planet*, 10.

54 Povinelli, *Geontologies*, 4.

55 Povinelli, *Geontologies*, 35.

56 Povinelli, *Geontologies*, 40.

57 Apology Resolution, Pub. L. No. 103–150, 103rd Cong. Joint Resolution 19, November 23, 1993.

58 US Department of the Interior, "Procedures for Reestablishing a Government-to-Government Relationship with the Native Hawaiian Community," June 20, 2014, http://www.regulations.gov/#!documentDetail;D=DOI-2014-0002-0005.

59 Arvin, *Possessing Polynesians*, 160–61.

60 Movement for Aloha No ka 'Āina (MANA), "MANA official press statement regarding OHA governing entity," Facebook, July 16, 2014, http://www.facebook.com/notes/movement-for-aloha-no-ka-%CA%BB%C4%81ina-mana/manaofficial-press-statement-regarding-oha-governing-entity-july-162014/717387041665365.

61 Coulthard, *Red Skins, White Masks*, 3.
62 Kauanui, "Resisting the Akaka Bill," 319.
63 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 182.
64 Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, *Nānā i Ke Kumu*, 155.
65 *He Pule Hoolaa Alii*; Liliʻuokalani, trans., *Kumulipo*.
66 Pukui and Korn, *The Echo of Our Song*, 17. I have changed "mountain-son" to "mountain child" since "keiki" is not gendered.
67 Handy, Handy, and Pukui, *Native Planters*, 74, 80.
68 Nākoa, *Lei Momi o ʻEwa*, 22.
69 Kanahele writes, "Mauna Kea is both female and male. Mauna Kea's physical manifestations of rock, soil, water, and ice, are female attributes; his elevation establishes his maleness as it brings him closer to the celestial seat of his father Wākea" (in University of Hawaiʻi at Hilo, *Mauna Kea Comprehensive Management Plan*, i).
70 Manu, "He Moolelo Kaao No Keaomelemele," September 6, 1884; the English translation is in Manu, *The Legend of Keaomelemele*, 100. I discuss this in detail in chapter 2.
71 Young, "Home-Free," 12.
72 Billy Kinney, personal communication, March 4, 2018. "Pulukeke" is "bullshit."
73 Kalei Nuʻuhiwa, opening remarks, ʻAimalama Conference, University of Hawaiʻi, Maui College, Kahului, August 9, 2018.
74 Noelani Puniwai, Kiana Frank, Oceana Puananilei Francis, Rosanna ʻAnolani Alegado, and Kealoha Fox, "Kāne and Kanaloa Are Coming: How Will We Receive Them? A Kanaka Talk (Take) on Climate Change," keynote panel at "Ko Hawaiʻi Pae ʻĀina: Mai ka Lā Hiki a ka Lā Kau," the Third Annual Lāhui Hawaiʻi Research Center Conference, March 30, 2019.
75 Noelani Puniwai, "Climate Change," Puʻuhuluhulu University, Mauna Kea, July 24, 2019.
76 While at Puʻuhonua o Puʻuhuluhulu, I was able to speak with kumu hula Kekuhi Kanahele about beginning this book on mapping abundance with "Nā ʻAumākua," which has been so important to my daily requests for guidance on this project. She said that invoking the akua and their guidance is always a good way to set the intentions and the foundations of a project. Personal communication, November 30, 2019.
77 Kanahele, *Kūkulu Ke Ea a Kanaloa*, 30.
78 Kanahele, *Kūkulu Ke Ea a Kanaloa*, 33.
79 Nuʻuhiwa, Lilly, Nobrega-Olivera, and Huihui, "ʻAimalama," 5.

CHAPTER ONE. MOʻOʻĀINA AS CARTOGRAPHIC METHOD

Epigraph: Eric Enos, testimony sent to Souza and Hammat, February 13, 2007, published in appendix D of Souza and Hammat, "*Cultural Impact Assessment*," 144.
1 Walterbea Aldeguer, bus tour narration, Waiʻanae, May 8, 2010.