Gardens of Political Transformation: Indigenism, Anarchism and Feminism Embodied

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If you let the land go, it'll take care of itself. What we need to learn is ... how to become a part of the ʻāina[1] – again. -
Imaikalani Kalahele, artist and poet

In this article, I demonstrate the ways that aloha ʻāina, anarchist principles of horizontal organizing and feminist critique of heteropatriarchy are embodied in praxis at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, a garden complex run by a community health center in urban Honolulu. As the epigraph above indicates, instead of saving ʻāina, humans need to rebuild severed relationships with ʻāina. This reciprocal relationship of people to land is a fundamental feature of aloha ʻāina, which I argue is a key element of the ideology that organizes Kanaka Maoli[2] political mobilization and nation-building. Theorization of aloha ʻāina as an Indigenous ideology emerges out of thinking and talking with collaborators while working with our hands in the earth.

The methodology I employ to theorize Indigenous ideologies is inspired by Robbie Shilliam's concept of knowledge cultivation, a way of thinking that turns and folds the material at hand "back on itself so as to rebind and encourage growth. This circulatory process of oxygenation necessarily interacts with a wider biotope, enfolding matter from diverse cultivations" (Shilliam 2015, 128–29). Methodologically, cultivation produces knowledge through building relationships and networks, where the individuals within the community are active participants in and contribute to concept building; mixing and folding in a process of oxygenation that feeds networks of distinct knowledge systems, encouraging flourishing without co-

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ercion or violent force. It is not knowledge produced by some higher authority for mere consumption by the subaltern (Shilliam 2015, 129). This approach resonates with the work of Uahikea Maile, who uses a "selectively promiscuous methodology of queer-Indigenous-anarchism" to theorize non-statist forms of decolonialization (2019, 65). In a similar manner, Kahala Johnson and Kathy Ferguson stage an encounter between anarchism and Indigenous thought that looks for "resonances across these fields of thinking and acting without insisting on correspodence or eschewing tensions" (Johnson and Ferguson 2019, 697).

The article unfolds in three parts. Part One situates my argument, both identifying my own positionality as Kanaka Maoli/researcher and situating my research in place. Part Two examines four arenas of praxis that demonstrate the articulation of indigenism, anarchism and feminism within an Indigenous model for healthcare in Hawai'i. Part three theorizes Indigenous ideologies and the role they play in nation-building.

Part One: Situating person and place

This section begins with a personal narrative that moves from my grandparents' entanglement with settler colonialism in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Hawai'i into my encounters with indigenism, anarchism, and feminism at Ho'oulu 'Āina.

Situating Myself

I am Kanaka Maoli. My mother's mother Lucy Kahikina was born to Kaneikolia and Amarillo Hazard Perry in the Kohala Mountains on Hawaii island. My mother's father, Edwin Puahaulani, was born to a Hawaiian mother in a fishing village in Anahola, Kaua'i.

My grandparents were born when Hawai'i was an independent nation. When they were babies, an oligarchy of Euro-American businessmen overthrew the lawful government and eventually gave the islands to the United States. As young adults, my grandparents moved to Honolulu, the urban center of the territory, where they

met and married. My grandmother taught school and my grandfather parlayed his skill as an accountant and money manager into a career in politics – successfully navigating between the descendants of plantation owners who controlled Hawai'i during the territorial years and the descendants of plantation workers who controlled Hawai'i in the post-statehood era.

When he was a teenager, my grandfather was sent to O'ahu to attend Kamehameha School, an educational institution whose mission was to provide young Hawaiians with

> . . . a good education in the common English branches, and also instruction in morals and in such useful knowledge as may tend to make good and industrious men and women ("Kamehameha Schools - Bernice Pauahi Bishop's Will and Codicils" n.d.).

My grandmother received a similar education at a seminary for girls near her childhood home in the Kohala Mountains. An in-depth discussion of the role of educational institutions in the settler colonial project to domesticate Indigenous subjects is beyond the scope of this essay: suffice it to say that my grandparents' education played a major role in their life choices. They decided that the best way forward for their family was to adopt practices and subject positions that allowed them to thrive within the confines of the settler state. Successfully navigating settler society did not extinguish their deep connection to place. My grandfather was happiest when in his garden or fishing at the shore and my grandmother loved to tell stories of her beloved Kohala mountains. They were active in Hawaiian social groups whose purpose was to perpetuate Hawaiian language and culture. Hawaiian was my grandparents' first language, their language of intimacy. They relished speaking Hawaiian together and with other native speakers, but they never encouraged their grandchildren to communicate with them in their mother tongue. In our family we ate Hawaiian food, sang Hawaiian songs, and danced hula, practices that captured the culture of our ancestors in a romanticized past.

I graduated from Kamehameha Schools and, like my grandfather, was socialized into the capitalist political economy of the United States. In college on the continental United States much of that socialization was undone during the politically and socially unsettled late twentieth century. Instead of assimilating into the capitalist political economy, my political identity formed around anti-capitalist and anarchist ideals. After completing film school, I returned home determined to use my filmmaking skills to help Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities tell their own stories.

However, before I could work in Hawaiian communities and participate in Kanaka Maoli nation-building, I had to (re)connect to place. I returned from the continent a privileged Hawaiian with tenuous connection to place and community. I needed to put down roots. This reconnecting began with digging my hands into the mud at Ka Papa Loʻi ʻo Kānewai (Kānewai), the system of loʻi on the banks of the Mānoa stream that is now one of the anchors of the Hawaiʻinuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa ("Ka Papa Loʻi ʻo Kānewai: Our Purpose" n.d.).[3] At Kānewai I learned laulima -- many hands working together to complete a task; and mālama ʻāina -- taking care of the land. I listened to kūpuna (elders) tell the stories of Kānewai and felt the lifeforce of the ʻāina. I joined with other urban Hawaiians seeking connection to place. At Kānewai I gained material understanding of aloha ʻāina and kuleana (reciprocal responsibility), cornerstone principles of political engagement in Kanaka Maoli nation-building.

Situating Place

I was introduced to Hoʻoulu ʻĀina while in graduate school at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. Like my first experiences at Kānewai, participating in community workdays at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina rooted my understanding of aloha ʻāina (love of land), kuleana, (reciprocal responsibility) and waiwai (an economy based on abundance). It also eventually became the site of fieldwork for my dissertation.

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is a 100-acre complex of gardens and forest reserve

operated by Kōkua Kalihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services (KKV), a federally qualified health center that serves over 10,000 community members annually. In operation since 1972, the organization works to foster health in the broadest sense — physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual. KKV employs 180 staff who are fluent in 20 Asian and Pacific Island languages and dialects. They work out of nine locations throughout Kalihi valley — including two of the largest public housing communities in the state of Hawai'i; a 12,000 square foot health center; a 16,500 square foot Wellness Center; and a 4,000 square foot Elder Center. KKV has integrated practices that strengthen the connection between people and land in its health protocols through programs offered at Ho'oulu 'Āina (Kōkua Kalihi Valley website n.d.).

KKV and Ho'oulu 'Āina are situated in Kalihi, an ahupua'a[4] on the island of O'ahu that runs from the fishing grounds of Mauliola in Māmala Bay to the misty peaks of the Ko'olau Mountains. In 1835, Fredrick Bennet, an early tourist to the islands, described Kalihi as a land with "the finest soil in the world"(Bennett 1970, 202). Inspired by the narratives of travelers like Bennett, Europeans and Americans arrived in nineteenth century Hawai'i to settle, bringing with them new governance structures and ways of organizing economic productivity that challenged the established norms of 'Ōiwi society. In the era of 'ōiwi wale nō,[5] and well into the era of European influence, extended families in Kalihi cultivated taro in agricultural terraces along the streams running from the lush upland forests to the shore, where families tended numerous fishponds in the estuaries at Mauliola (Palama 2005, 12–13). This was the basis of economic life in Kalihi as it was throughout the islands in 'ōiwi wale nō times. In the ensuing century, settlers from Europe and America took control of vast tracks of land, transforming the economy of Hawai'i from sustenance agriculture to an economy based on industrial-scale production of sugar cane grown on large plantations (Cooper and Daws 1990; Kame'eleihiwa 1992; Kent 1993; McGregor 2007). Unsuited for industrial agriculture, Kalihi occupied the liminal space between the sugarcane plantations on the fertile plains of Central O'ahu and the business hub around Honolulu harbor.

Today, Kalihi is a working-class community in Honolulu's urban core. Free-flowing streams from the forested uplands are confined to man-made channels in the lowlands: the banks of these sluggish canals are crowded with warehouses, industrial complexes and occasional encampments of house-less people. The water's journey ends at Māmala Bay. The constant movement of cargo into Honolulu harbour and the hundreds of flights leaving and arriving at Honolulu International Airport daily has devastated the nearshore habitat of Mauliola. Adjacent to the airport, Hickam Air Force Station and Fort Shafter Army Base provide services to the ever-present military. Industrialization and immigration are the new stories carved into the Kalihi landscape. Urban development "forced the landless into fast-appearing slums. Project housing went up in the beautiful valleys of Kalihi and Pālolo, transforming them into ramshackle ghettos where drugs and crime stalked increasing numbers of unemployed youth" (Trask 1987, 138). Trask's observations on the displacement of the landless comes from an essay about the eviction of farmers and poor working-class families from Kalama Valley in 1971 to make way for a middle-class housing development. Trask argues these evictions were indicative of the growing tension between developers who controlled most of the real estate in Hawai'i and the state's poor and working-class residents. This was also the moment when young Native Hawaiians who put their bodies on the line at Kalama Valley realized their struggle, as Native Hawaiians, had a much deeper meaning. As Trask writes:

> Their collective effort to preserve the land rights of local people in that dry, 250-acre valley on O'ahu's east end would be remembered long after as the spark that ignited the modern Hawaiian Movement, an ongoing series of land struggles throughout the decade of the seventies that was destined to change the consciousness of Hawai'i's people, especially her native people (Trask 1987, 126).

The Kalama Valley struggle marked a turning point in political consciousness for Native Hawaiians.

At the same time that the momentum for Native Hawaiian self-determination was building, a group of concerned women, primarily Pacific Island immigrants now living in the Kalihi community, were working with a local pastor to bring services to Kalihi that state and local governments were unable or unwilling to provide. The result was KKV, an organization that has been serving Kalihi for nearly 50 years.

Over the years KKV has garnered national attention for its ground-breaking approach to community health. In 2004, the organization received a grant to develop a community engagement program called Acting Living by Design. In addition to opening a bike center where young people could learn how to repair and maintain bicycles, KKV proposed to establish community gardens where people could come together to grow food. The bike center was centrally located in a warehouse around the corner from the main clinic but finding an appropriate location for the garden was not as easy. KKV staff identified three potential sites for the community food cultivation project, including two public housing projects, an under-utilized city park, and an undeveloped state park in the upper reaches of the valley. Hamamoto, Derauf, and Yoshimura described the selection process:

> While the small barriers to development quickly arose for three of the four areas (e.g., city government red tape, slow pace of public housing support), State support in handing over management of the Kalihi Valley Nature Park to KKV was remarkably smooth (Hamamoto, Derauf, and Yoshimura 2009, S348).

With broad-based community support, KKV signed a lease with the state for the 100 acres which was to become the gardens and forest of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina emerges out of a desire at KKV to introduce Hawaiian land-based practice into its healthcare facility. Under the leadership of Kanaka Maoli artists and practitioners, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has become both a welcoming place for newcomers and a place of Native Hawaiian resurgence. It has grown into a site where Kanaka Maoli, immi-

grants and settlers alike come to heal from the trauma of displacement.

Part Two: Indigenism, Anarchism and Feminism in Kalihi Valley[6]

Unlike other community health centers, KKV has health protocol practices that strengthen the connection between people and land. Kanaka Maoli 'place-based' values are central to carrying out Hoʻoulu ʻĀina's mission: to be "a welcoming place of refuge where people of all cultures sustain and propagate the connections between the health of the land and the health of the people" (Hoʻoulu ʻĀina n.d.). These connections are made available to the community through public workdays. In the course of my research at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina I participated in community workdays and other volunteer opportunities and conducted a number of semi-structured interviews. My findings highlight the ways that indigenism and anarchism intersect in a place imbued with the force of Haumea, an ancestral mana wahine.[7] I observed ʻāina-based values of mālama kekahi-i-kekahi (care for one another), kuleana (reciprocity and responsibility) and waiwai (an economy based on abundance) in practice at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina alongside anarchist principles, including fluid leadership and horizontal power structures.

Mana wahine (ancestral feminine forces) and the many forms of Papa

A mottled green sign -- "This land is your grandmother and she loves you" -- greets people as they drive through Hoʻoulu ʻĀina's gates. Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is on the edge of the wao akua or, as Pua Kanahele explains, the realm of the generative spirits of the forest (Pualani Kanakaʻole Kanahele 2003, 11). Moʻolelo oral and written literature and history tell us that Papahānaumoku and Wākea, the progenitors of the Hawaiian Islands, live in the upper reaches of Kalihi Valley. In "Na mea kaulana o ka lipolipo o Kalihiuka" (The famous things in the depths of upland Kalihi), ʻŌiwi scholar Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe writes of the mana wahine spirit in the upper reaches of the valley:

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

Brandy Nalani McDougal (2016) writes that Mana wahine embody sacred feminine power and inherent authority and this power is evident at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Joey Miller, a Hoʻoulu ʻAina forester, describes the fertility of the valley as wahine in an interview for a video about Hoʻoulu ʻAina entitled "Hoʻoulu ʻĀina: Healing through Aloha ʻĀina" (Bezilla 2014).

The sign at the Hoʻoulu ʻĀina's entrance reminds all who enter of this sacred feminine power and authority, embodied as 'grandmother'. The importance of this relationship between mana wahine in the upland and Hoʻoulu ʻĀina was driven home to me when I heard Imaikalani Kalahele, declare, "Papa and Wākea are alive in this place (Hoʻoulu ʻĀina). Something I never knew as a kid."[8] He draws strength from knowing that Papa and her mate Wākea, the progenitors of the Hawaiian people, reside in Kalihi Valley.

Opening Protocols: A Welcoming Place of Healing

Work at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina begins and ends with joining hands in a circle. The aloha circle begins the day's work in a ceremony of naming and remembrance, and the workday ends with a ceremony of gratitude, the mahalo circle, in which everyone in the circle speaks out loud concerning something for which they are grateful. The people in these circles could be students from local high schools and colleges fulfilling service-learning requirements; clients, staff and volunteers from KKV; or Kanaka Maoli activists engaged in land struggles enjoying respite from soul-wrenching entanglements with the settler state. For many in the circles, this is the first time that they have been

asked to reflect on their relationship to land and community.

The act of forming a circle is a conscious practice of embodying aloha. Participants are given the opportunity to focus their attention on those in the group, be they strangers or family, friends or co-workers. One staff member describes participating in the circle thus: "No one can be invisible, and no one stands above the circle." Joining the circle, this staff member told me, is an invitation to rebuild relationship to land, to others, and to yourself. The experience also asks us to become vulnerable to these connections. This staff person told me that when she first volunteered at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina she found herself arriving late in order to avoid the circle. She felt anxious and self-conscious about being a haole (white) settler in Hawaiʻi. When she started showing up she was surprised to find that being in the circle alleviated such tensions.

Aloha and mahalo circles are doorways to understanding our collective kuleana (reciprocal responsibility) to ʻāina and community. The Program director, Puni Jackson, told me on community workdays it is important that everyone stand in the circle to begin the day, but once the aloha circle breaks, participants are free to choose how they want to experience the day. At Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, the emphasis is on self-care, healing, and learning to work in community.

ʻĀina-based healing

The organization's executive director, David Derauf, tells the story of the first group of farmers at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. They were Micronesian women diagnosed with diabetes who had been told they needed to exercise, a word which did not translate into their native languages: however, they did know about farming (Caron 2014). The women formed Hoʻoulu ʻĀina's first community garden group, meeting weekly in the part of the forest which they named the Pasifika agroforest. Being from different island cultures in Micronesia, they decided collectively to transform a tangle of invasive trees and underbrush into an agroforest garden consisting of plants from across the Pacific. They wanted to create a space that felt like home, a place where they could learn about each other through the food and medicinal plants

they would grow at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina (Simeona 2017).

Workday coordinator Darla Simeona tells the story of when the agroforest received its name. "The lead Auntie from the group named the garden Pasifika. She was adamant about the spelling of the name. When I asked why, the auntie responded, 'that's how we take it back.'" She meant, Darla explained, bubbling over with delight, "we were taking the whole of Oceania back from the colonizers"(Simeona 2017). Even in its earliest days, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina was creating self-organizing spaces operating beyond the settler-colonial pale in which Pacific Islanders could thrive.

Waiwai

Hoʻoulu ʻĀina operates on the economic principle of waiwai. Wai is the word for fresh water and the doubling of wai yields waiwai, the word for abundance and wealth. Hawaiians understand land as that which feeds us and abundant fresh water as that which creates wealth. The economy of Kanaka Maoli society in ʻōiwi wale nō (the time of Kanaka only) was based on creating abundance. In our time of contemporary Kanaka Maoli resurgence, this ancestral way of productive organization is called waiwai. Waiwai was not always practiced at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina. Puni Jackson, Hoʻoulu ʻĀina program director, recalls that in the early days "people were fighting about eggplants — volunteer farmers stealing eggplants from each other" (Jackson 2016). Fighting over eggplants, Puni observed, is a behavior that comes from deficit thinking: believing that we have to hold onto what we have because there is not enough.

Deficit thinking drives the capitalist market economy that thrives on manufactured scarcity. In contradistinction, waiwai assumes that there is and will be enough. Realizing abundance requires generosity, sharing, and reciprocity. Over the more than a decade that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has been in operation, waiwai has developed into the dominant practice. Gardeners no longer steal eggplants from each other. Instead they work the garden alongside friends and neighbors and, at the end of community workdays, take home the fruits of their harvest.

While hosting a group of health administrators from across the United States a member of KKV's staff articulated what waiwai economics looks like on the ground. I came upon the group in the Hoʻoulu ʻĀina community garden engaged in an animated discussion about the way it was organized. A visitor asked why the garden wasn't divided into small plots of land that would then be allotted to individuals to cultivate as they see fit. The KKV staffer responded that organizing the garden in that 'conventional' manner creates scarcity. There will never be enough land for all those who want to garden, and a power structure then arises to manage the scarcity. Community gardeners, he pointed, out work together under the guidance of Hoʻoulu ʻĀina staff to create waiwai or abundance for all, particularly for those with little access to fresh produce.

Another example of waiwai as transformative social relation occurred at a third Saturday community workday. At the end of these workdays the fruits and vegetables harvested that day are put out on tables for participants to take home. Everyone is encouraged to take as much as they need for their own table and to share with family and friends, especially those who would not otherwise have access to fresh food.

On the day in question, volunteers are "shopping" at the table laden with the harvest. I am sitting at the registration table eating lunch with the volunteer coordinator. A young woman approaches our table with bags of fresh produce and hands me a twenty-dollar-bill, a gesture I read as payment for the vegetables. I tell her that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina doesn't take money for the vegetables. The volunteer coordinator intercedes, pulling out a small plastic bag with some bills in it. "We'll be happy to take your donation though."

I misrecognized the act of giving and receiving in this incident, but this misrecognition demonstrates the way that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina has consciously structured waiwai economics. There is no direct correlation between a twenty dollar bill and the bulging bag of fresh organic vegetables that the volunteer had helped harvest. The vegetables are hers because she showed up and participated. The volunteer freely gives twenty dollars in recognition that Hoʻoulu ʻĀina needs cash

to operate — a very different social relation than the experience of shopping at a supermarket. Rather than a relationship mediated by an abstraction (the exchange of money for goods), the relationship emphasized is between people and the food they harvest from the land. At Hoʻoulu ʻĀina abundance is dependent on this reciprocal relationship between humans and other than human existents.

Kānaka Maoli at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina have tapped into the rooted knowledge of place in order to cultivate a praxis of aloha ʻāina. The organization that has emerged out of this work is a kīpuka aloha ʻāina. Kīpuka aloha ʻāina are spaces of resurgence that move beyond state-centric notions of nation-building (Peralto 2018, 101). This movement is facilitated by the praxis of embodied aloha ʻāina at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, a praxis that models preferred futures in which Kānaka Maoli, immigrants and settlers form a lāhui (people) who live and work free of the colonial structures of oppression, state capitalism, and heteropatriarchy. Praxis at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina is defiant indigeneity.

Part Three: Theorizing Indigenous Ideologies

Thinking with Teves' defiant indigeneity has been a productive framework with which to conceptualize the role of Indigenous ideologies in building Kanaka Maoli futures. As Teves writes, defiant indigeneity "constantly deconstructs, resists, and at times recodifies itself against and through state logics," it mobilizes performance of everyday practice in order to survive and annihilate conditions of colonialism and reproduces collective forms of "Indigenous being, belonging, and becoming" (Teves 2018, 11). What does this defiant indigeneity tell us about brittle hegemony in the Western liberal state and the resilience of Indigenous ideologies?

In this section, I discuss the challenges of moving beyond state hegemony and the role that Indigenous ideologies play in this nation-building process. Beginning with a critique of Western liberal democracies, we move into a discussion of the way that Indigenous ideologies organize resistance, resurgence, and Indigenous nation-building, concluding with a discussion of the ways that indigenism, anarchism and feminism carry the potential to create conditions for

radical social transformations.

A Critique of Western Liberal Ideology

Ideologies are maps to navigate social life, helping people adapt to complex political terrains by articulating relationships and setting boundaries. Ideologies organize collective desires, beliefs, and ethics into narratives and symbols that move people to political cohesion and action. This article is concerned with the ideologies of Western European nation-states that colonized the Americas and the Pacific, primarily England and Spain and to a lesser degree France, Germany and the Netherlands. The principles of this critique could be used to analyse ideological formations in other geo-political locations.

In the subterranean swirl of social imaginaries, Western liberal democracies and Indigenous peoples are seemingly incommensurable constellations. Market economies and notions of who constitutes a part of 'civilization' in Western liberal democracy hinge on the primacy of human thought and action whereas Indigenous ontologies are built upon known and unknown ancestral relations. Indigenous people experience their surroundings as relatives, as partners in the social life of place, an ideology in which all existents participate in the making of the world. Indigenous ideologies challenge Western political ideologies that rationalize as just, good and noble the violence of colonialism and the exploitation of capitalism.

This critique of Western liberal ideology draws on Teves' work with Althusser's concept of interpellation, the act of turning towards the voice of authority, and Žižek's concept of the traumatic kernel, "the leftover that cannot be interpelated," (Teves 2018, 43) in order to understand how aloha functions to both empower and disempower Kānaka Maoli. Teves' analysis of aloha calls attention to the way that aloha serves as a state apparatus that keeps us tethered to state power and authority. She writes:

> [We] hold onto aloha because we are told it is what makes us worthy; it shows the value of our culture on several levels, from a Hawaiian perspective, but also

> through the state, and under Western capitalism and the Western world that we have all been interpellated into (Teves 2018, 43).

From my grandparents' generation to the present, Kānaka Maoli continue to be interpellated into the Western state while holding on the best we can to being Kanaka Maoli.

The state maintains control, Althusser posits, through force and through manufactured consent. The repressive state apparatus compels individuals to adhere to the ruling ideology and ideological state apparatuses call individuals to participate in institutions that reflect the class structure of capitalist society. The repressive state apparatus functions predominantly through violence or the threat of violence to maintain and secure state power. Althusser points out though that violence and the threat of violence does not guarantee compliance by the lower classes:

> *no class can hold state power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses* (Althusser 2001, 146, emphasis in original).

He goes on to demonstrate the ways that the repeated performance of ideological State apparatus rituals reproduce this desire to participate in the wage labor system (Althusser 2001, 173). This "ideological effect" imposes on subjects an obviousness "which we cannot fail to recognize and before which we have the inevitable and natural reaction of crying out (aloud or in the 'still, small voice of conscience'): 'That's obvious! That's right! That's true!'" (Althusser 2001, 172). Subjects of empire must recognize the authority of the State in order to be interpellated into it. Teves elaborates:

> When the subject turns toward the voice of authority in an act of interpellation, it is a moment of self-recognition because we want to become it's subject, because it provides us with an identity and security (Teves 2018, 43).

In the documentary, "The Perverts Guide to Ideology," Slavoj Žižek provides perspective on this question about an individual's relationship to ideology.

> Ideology is not simply imposed on ourselves. It is our spontaneous relationship to our social world, how we perceive its meaning and so on and so on. We, in a way, enjoy our ideology. To step out of ideology, it hurts. It's a painful experience. You must force yourself to do it (Fiennes 2012).

The relationship to our social world might feel spontaneous but Ideological State Apparatuses are continuously working to shape these relationships.

Western liberal ideology is a powerful force that calls individuals to participate in the market as free and equal individuals, even though freedom and equality are severely limited by the circuits of power controlled by the ruling class. Those in power manipulate social structures so that subordinate classes can enjoy the ritual of belonging to and participating in a civil polity built on empire while obfuscating the shackles that subjugate that polity to the ruling authority. As Žižek observes, it is painful to step away from that belonging, to act on one's own volition against the dictates of custom. Subjects of empire are conditioned to feel that they are active agents in empire-building but were/are, at the most, passive powerless observers.

Žižek uses scenes from the film "They Live" to illustrate this misrecognition (Fiennes 2012). In the film, aliens have embedded secret messages into the discourse and practices of everyday life. The embedded messages are revealed when the main character puts on special glasses: a fistful of dollars in his friend's hand becomes a fistful of notes inscribed with "This is your God"; a woman seductively splayed on a billboard becomes the directive "Marry and reproduce." The main character comes to blows with his friend when the friend refuses to give up his delusion and put on the glasses.

This is a double delusion, as Žižek explains. "[I]t consists of over-

looking the illusion which is structuring our real, effective relationship to reality. And this overlooked, unconscious illusion is what may be called *ideological fantasy*" (Žižek 1989, 32–33 Emphasis in original). This illusion arises out of humans' separation from nature. It is, as Žižek describes, a cleft that leaves a traumatic kernel around which human culture is built.

> All 'culture' is in a way a reaction-formation, an attempt to limit, canalize – to *cultivate* this imbalance, this traumatic kernel, this radical antagonism through which man cuts his umbilical cord with nature, with animal homeostasis (Žižek 1989, 5 Emphasis in original).

Both Žižek and Althusser universalize their theories on how ideology works, however they are, I argue, merely reflecting the effect that ideology has on those who are bound to the hegemony of Western states. It is these liberal democracies that have cut the umbilical chord with nature. The traumatic kernel Žižek references is Western society's withered relationship to place, a relationship that has been overwritten by the totalizing force of colonialism and capitalism.

The ideologies of Western liberal democracies draw on doctrines like manifest destiny to rationalize as just, good, and noble the violence that continues to be perpetrated on Indigenous peoples. Ideologies provide the fuel to power colonial expansion and capitalist exploitation. In the settler colonial state, expansion and exploitation are codified in legal doctrine and "universalized" as cultural norms and practices that discipline those within its territorial bounds into hierarchies of domination and repression. Indigenous ideologies are radically different from these ideologies. Rather than understanding the land and the 'other than human' as exploitable, to be Indigenous is to experience the land and 'other than human' as partners.

Indigenous Ideological Formations

'Indigenous' and 'indigeneity' become salient political concepts in the wake of Euro-American empire building and colonial expansion across the globe. As post-World War Two industrialization and capi-

tal accumulation through dispossession intensified, and as discourses of multiculturalism, hybridity, and homogenization engendered by the global economy expanded, existential threats to Indigenous homelands intensified. Indigenous peoples began to organize in regional and global blocs to counter these existential threats. As this political mobilization and coalition building progresses, organizers are discovering shared values and an Indigenous political subject is emerging in mainstream political discourse (Niezen 2003; Lightfoot 2016).

In a 1990 address to a world conference of Indigenous women, Haunani-Kay Trask acknowledged this unity in difference. In her speech she emphasized the need for her audience to "fashion new ways of resisting, of continuing as Native people"(Trask 1999, 108). She began by acknowledging the different lifeways represented at the conference. In addition to the geographic differences, she noted the "varied levels of forced assimilation, economic exploitation, religious missionizing, political and cultural oppression, and physical and cultural extermination" that participants had experienced (Trask 1999, 102). Her remarks also highlight the fundamental values shared by the women in the room.

> We are all land-based people, and some of us also sea-based people, who are attuned to the rhythms of our homelands in a way that assumes both protection of and an intimate belonging to our ancestral places. We have all been colonized by imperialist powers more or less resistant to our human needs for self-determination and self-government. And, at this moment, we face grave problems that range from environmental poisoning, nuclear radiation, and high infant mortality to land dispossession, economic marginalization, and militarization of our areas. These large commonalities have brought us together as Indigenous women fighting for our peoples, our lands, our very survival (Trask 1999, 102).

Trask goes on to expose the multiple ways that neocolonialism continued to subjugate Indigenous peoples economically and cultur-

ally through "brute physical and economic violence" and "skillful co-optation of cultural forms"(Trask 1999, 103). Indigenous peoples continue to push back against these totalizing norms and practices of the state, calling out the systems of authority that are destroying Indigenous social life in their homelands.

What ways forward are there once these iniquities are understood? Do Indigenous activists demand that the state recognize Indigenous rights, return our land, demilitarize our waters? The politics of demand and recognition attempts to engage the state within state structures, but as Corntassel and Alfred argue, the state is a shape-shifting creature that constantly reinterprets laws and agreements to satisfy the economic and political goals of the colonial project (Alfred and Corntassel 2005). A growing number of Indigenous scholars argue against using tactics of demand and recognition as the primary strategy, claiming that recognition of an Indigenous people by the state does not lead to true and viable self-determination (L. B. Simpson 2017; Coulthard 2014; Corntassel 2012).

Indigenous political action must balance a politics of demand that engages directly with the state and resurgent politics that turns away from the state. Rights-based arguments come out of the human-centric notion that land is to be owned and exchanged, that value must be extracted from all non-human existence. The material struggle for land that is tied up in this political reality of land claims and rights-based arguments is constantly pulling Indigenous communities away from the system of reciprocal relations and obligations that humans share with the land and with all existents.

It is necessary but not sufficient to negotiate for autonomy and Indigenous rights within state structures. Interventions must be made in the structural and subjective dimensions of colonial power through resurgent practices that regenerate Indigenous social relations. Individuals and communities must "turn away from the assimilative lure of settler-state recognition"(Coulthard 2008, 201). Corntassel expands on this concept of Indigenous resurgence:

> Being Indigenous today means struggling to reclaim and

> regenerate one's relational, place-based existence by challenging the ongoing, destructive forces of colonization. Whether through ceremony or through other ways that Indigenous peoples (re)connect to the natural world, processes of resurgence are often contentious and reflect the spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political scope of the struggle (Corntassel 2012, 88).

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

In turning away, what are we turning to? Leanne Simpson suggests that we engage in everyday embodiment of decolonial queer politics and everyday acts of resurgence which she notes compels individuals to acts of personal self-determination and freedom. These acts of reclaiming, she notes, move beyond the individual:

> But as I've witnessed this unfolding in various manifestations, these individual everyday acts of resurgence are starting to also become organized and collectivized, and it is in relationship to each other that we can enact and renew our political and governing practices (L. B. Simpson 2017, 194).

These organized and collectivized everyday acts of resurgence, I argue, are Indigenous ideologies, the maps that Indigenous peoples are using to navigate back to grounded relationship to land.

Recognizing kinship to land is the fundamental element in Indigenous ideologies, as Coulthard reminds us:

> The theory and practice of Indigenous anticolonialism, including Indigenous anticapitalism, is primarily inspired by and oriented around the *question of land*—a

> struggle not only for land in the material sense, but also deeply *informed* by what the land *as a system of reciprocal relations and obligations* can teach us about living our lives in relation to one another and the natural world in nondominating and nonexploitative terms (2014, 13; emphasis in original).

Coulthard names this system of reciprocal relations and obligations "grounded normativity," which encompasses "the modalities of Indigenous land-connected practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and our relationships with human and nonhuman others over time"(2014, 13).

Grounded normativity, then, describes a place-based ideology embedded in an interconnected totality that encompasses the economic, political, spiritual, and social dimensions of Indigenous life. Aloha ʻāina is grounded normativity expressed in the Kanaka Maoli political context.

If Indigenous peoples are to override the power of Western ideological formations there must be equally powerful voices of authority interpelating Indigenous subjects into relationship to place. This authority comes from ancestral knowledge, values, and beliefs embodied in the everyday experiences of being 'of-and-on' Indigenous ancestral land. Indigenous ideologies then work to provide political coherence to the ancestral flows of knowledge anchored to a specific place and the kinship relationship of humans to that which is 'other than human.' These relationships have developed across generations and, as such, cannot be abstracted into a set of theoretical principles designed to contain all situations in all places but are, instead, specific to relationships based in specific material environments.

Aloha ʻĀina – An Indigenous Ideology

In contemporary Kanaka Maoli society, aloha ʻāina functions as an ideological formation that calls people into relationship with ʻāina. These relationships become political commitments to counter the

move by the settler state to discipline Kanaka Maoli into capitalist social relationships. Hawaiians have a complicated relationship with aloha. Teves argues that during the stress and social upheaval of nineteenth-century Hawai'i, "aloha" was transformed into an ideological apparatus of the settler colonial state. This transformation had its beginnings in a mistranslation by Christian missionaries. Aloha was translated as unconditional love of God, a meaning Teves points out that does not track with usage in the time prior to the arrival of the missionaries. Before the arrival of Westerners "aloha" was defined within an 'ōiwi ontological matrix, not a Christian one. Citing noted Hawaiian scholars Mary Kawena Puku'i and George Kanahele, Teves observes:

> Aloha thus meant kindness and sharing, especially in the family or 'ohana setting where people are welcomed and all is shared, with the understanding that people gather to provide mutual helpfulness for collective benefit. This understanding of aloha alongside 'ohana reiterates the importance of community and the responsibility that comes with membership. This definition differs clearly from the missionary translation that turned aloha into a word focused on a love of God (Teves 2015, 707).

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

> As capitalism became normalized in Hawai'i and was practiced as the predominant form of "production"—when living sustainably off the land was no longer possible because many Kānaka Maoli lost their lands to plantation owners—to cope and adapt to this subjection, many Kānaka Maoli found opportunity and agency through the performance of culture. Participation in such activities, however, lent credence to the notion that the only value Kānaka Maoli had was their ability to perform aloha and that such performances were "natural,"

> indicative of who we used to and should be. Aloha, then, became, through ritualized performance, an expression of Hawaiian cultural difference (Teves 2015, 710).

The 'aloha state' apparatus interpellates Hawaiians into a subjectivity that supports the hegemony of settler society. It becomes obvious to haole settler and Hawaiian alike that to be Hawaiian is to perform a specific kind of aloha. "Aloha and Hawaiianness," Teves writes, "are then collapsed in the interest of quieting political dissent and facilitating capitalist development" (Teves 2015, 715). The 'aloha state' is an ideological apparatus that maintains state power and reproduces labor power for the settler economy. Aloha is a powerfully paradoxical concept that is both exploited by settler society and emblematic of who we are as Kanaka Maoli (Teves 2018, 42–43). To counter this paradox, Kanaka Maoli activists are now qualifying aloha with phrases like aloha ʻoia iʻo (true aloha) or in tropes like "fierce aloha not doormat aloha."

Aloha, in conjunction with ʻāina, is an Indigenous ideology that organizes collective desires, beliefs, and ethics into a narrative that provides political cohesion for Kanaka Maoli, calling Kanaka Maoli into reciprocating relationship to the world around them. Although ʻāina is commonly translated as land, it is not real estate. Derived from 'ai'-- to eat -- the word is glossed as that which feeds. Aloha ʻāina, then, is an abiding care for the land and all that feeds us.

Aloha ʻĀina crystalizes into ideological discourse in nineteenth-century political activism. This is when the Hui Hawaiʻi Aloha ʻĀina (Hawaiian Patriotic League) and the Hui Hawaiʻi Aloha ʻĀina o Nā Wāhine (Women's Hawaiian Patriotic League) formed. They organized immediately after a group of haole businessmen toppled the government of the Indigenous monarch. "Throughout the struggle," Noenoe Silva writes, "Kanaka Maoli who worked to hold onto the sovereignty of their own nation called themselves ʻka poʻe aloha ʻāina' (the people who love the land)." (Silva 2004, 130–31) In the aftermath of the insurgency the Hui mounted a vigorous campaign opposing annexation of Hawaiʻi by the United States. Reading every issue of *Ke Aloha Aina*, a Hawaiian language newspaper published

from 1895 to 1920, Silva unearthed the Kanaka Maoli response to the American empire. "The Kanaka," she writes, "had fought the overthrow and annexation with everything they had, and especially with discourse."(Silva 2014, 304)

During this period, Joseph Nāwahī, who in addition to publishing *Ke Aloha Aina* was a prominent member of the Hui Hawaiʻi Aloha ʻĀina, expressed what aloha ʻāina meant for the Kanaka Maoli:

> Alaila, o ke aloha i kou makuahine, kou aina, kou wahi i hanauia ai, oia ka mea e loihi ai na la, na makahiki o ke ola ana. [Thus, love for your mother, the land, the place where you were born, that is what will make the days and years of your life long.] (Silva 2004, 140)

The nationalism of ka poʻe aloha ʻāina was and still is grounded in our connection to the land, the source of our sustenance even as the illegal annexation of the archipelago to the United States forced Hawaiian nationalism underground.

Aloha ʻāina as a political organizing discourse arises again in the latter half of the twentieth century. Hawaiians began agitating for access to culturally significant lands and, eventually, for a return of lands stolen from Kanaka Maoli when the United States annexed Hawaiʻi. In 1987, Trask marked this transformation of Kanaka Maoli political consciousness when she observed:

> By 1976, the language of protest had changed from English to Hawaiian, with emphasis on the native relationship to land. The cultural value of *Aloha ʻĀina* (love of the land) was to characterize the demands of protesters into the 1980s. By then, the Movement had branched out politically to link up with American Indian activists on the mainland, anti-nuclear independence struggles throughout the South Pacific, and international networks in Asia and at the United Nations (Trask 1987, 126–27).

The Hawaiian political movement for self-determination and sov-

ereignty matured over the ensuing decades and aloha ʻāina is now a discourse and set of practices that organizes a diverse Kanaka Maoli community to resurgent praxis and political action.

Cultivating Interlocking Ideologies

Ideological apparatuses centered in grounded normativity like aloha ʻāina are necessary for Indigenous nation building. These Indigenous ideological apparatuses arise out of everyday acts of resurgence, hailing both individual members of Indigenous communities back to ancestral social relations and calling potential allies who have no genealogical connection to a given place to join in the radical transformation of colonial, economic and gendered axes of oppressions. Indigenism, anarchism, and feminism are interlocking approaches to un-do these multiple axes of oppression; indigenism against colonial power, anarchism against state power, and feminism against heteropatriarchy (Lasky 2011, 4). Process and relationship are key elements in the practice of resistance in all three and each engages in radical activism outside of state structures. These theoretical frameworks are reflected in real life projects on the ground.

Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua sees a parallel between kūleana, "a Hawaiian notion intertwining authority and responsibility," with notions of authority put forth by anarchist theorist Mikhail Bakunin (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2011, 147). This concept of anarchism, she notes, recognizes two forms of authority appropriate for human societies: "1) the power of natural laws, and 2) voluntary authority and subordination that shifts between people dependent upon context and an individual's expertise"(Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2011, 148). Goodyear-Kaʻōpua demonstrates that kūleana of Kanaka Maoli to ʻāina and community offers a means to build "post-imperial futures that carve autonomous spaces outside of the capitalist, private property system"(Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2011, 155). The interlocking ideologies underscore "the ways people recognize the authority within themselves"(Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2011, 131). They work in tandem to offer a promising theoretical frame from which to consider decolonial futures in which "protocols for interaction and solidarity across differences of race, gender, sexuality, class, nationality, and other

forms of identification" create affinities across difference that can transform the settler state (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2011, 132).

At Hoʻoulu ʻĀina and its parent organization, Kōkua Kalihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services, indigenism, anarchism and feminism work together to cultivate a new and vibrant approach to community healthcare. The synergistic relationship between Kanaka Maoli values and practices and community-based, community-run health care models Indigenous futures that carry the potential to radically transform social and political structures in Hawaiʻi from the ground up.

Coda

As I finalize this article for publication, the United States is reeling from the effects of the Covid-19 global pandemic. Early on, as the infection spread from Asia to Europe to North America, Dallas Goldtooth posted this on Twitter:

> Let me get this straight: Europeans are banned from coming to America because of their chance of spreading disease amongst the population?? Well ain't that some shit? - Says every Native in America (@Dallas Goldtooth 7:55am 12 March, 2020).

Goldtooth's observation is a biting commentary regarding the effects of pandemics on the Indigenous peoples of the Americas.

On April 28, 2020, I woke from fitful, anxious dreaming with these words on my tongue, "Things fall apart, and we put them back together again." The phrase gave me some measure of comfort for it does seem that in every corner of the planet things are falling apart. The virus has stripped away the veil. In real time we witness the best of us working together, thinking through ways to maximize collective survival in a horrifying human situation, while the worst of us profit from the situation with little regard for collective futures. Social breakdown is not new or unusual for Indigenous communities. It was not so very long ago that viruses were weaponized by

white settlers to break down Indigenous social orders and eliminate them from the American landscape. There are lessons to be learned from the many Indigenous nations who continue to survive the ongoing trauma of empire: lessons about caring and community and paying attention to the land beneath our feet, the air surrounding us.

And then, on May 25th, 2020, as Covid-19 raged across the United States, George Floyd was murdered by a police officer in the presence of bystanders who videotaped the horror while begging to let the man go. Videos of the murder went viral and the smoldering pandemic of white supremacy in the United States erupted onto the streets and into the halls of government, precipitating a peoples' uprising against racism and white supremacy across the Global North.

Collectively held ideologies determine our actions and reactions to events around us. How will the call of Ideological State Apparatuses hold up in this time of physical and social pandemics? In Western liberal democracies, Ideological State Apparatuses protect wealth production for the ruling elite above all else. This has led to demands to reopen the United States economy even as the pandemic rages, infection rates soar, and the death count grows. And in response to protestors' calls to address the pandemic of murders of people of color at the hands law enforcement, the state answers by increasing the presence of law enforcement. When Ideological State Apparatuses cease to be effective in quelling dissent, the response is to amplify the repressive state apparatus.

Indigenous, anarchist, and feminist ideologies value relationships and communities. Indigenous nations, particularly those deeply engaged in resurgent praxis, have deep and abiding relationships with the land. Their very existence and resilience defiantly pushes against the appartuses of the state. Mutual aid, personal responsibility, and community building are touchstones of anarchist and feminist ideologies. In this time of Covid-19 and white supremacy pandemics, these communities and networks are also pushing against state apparatuses and learning to build resilience from within.

In Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access

Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance, Nick Estes writes of the resilience of Indigenous nations, which he likens to the mole burrowing underground hidden from view, in constant motion, conspiring for freedom with "the collective faith that another world is possible" (Estes 2019, 19). In this moment of physical (virus) and social (racist) pandemics there is much to be learned from this Indigenous resilience. As Estes observes:

> It is from everyday life that the collective confidence to change reality grows, giving rise to extraordinary events (Estes 2019, 19).

The extraordinary events Estes references are moments of courage and committment in the defence of Indigenous lifeways, like the fight at Standing Rock to protect the waters of the Missouri from the Dakota Access Pipeline.

Conditions seem ripe for extraordinary events to occur. Are conditions right for the networks of mutual aid and care scattered throughout the United States to build common cause with the Indigenous nations that co-exist within it? Can they work in tandem to force this state to address systemic inequities? By the time this article is published the world will probably be evolving into some kind of 'new normal'. I am hopeful that the grounded normativity expressed in everyday acts of resurgence and resistance that we have witnessed within anarchist, feminist and Indigenous circles will have pointed our social life towards one built on reciprocal responsiblities to place and all existents therein.

Notes

[1] ʻĀina is land and is derived from ai meaning to feed. ʻĀina is often glossed as that which feeds.

[2] Kanaka Maoli refers to people who are native, indigenous, aborigine, genuine, true, real, actual. I use the terms Kanaka Maoli, Native Hawaiian, and Kanaka ʻŌiwi to refer to descendants of the first people of these islands. I also use the terms maoli and ʻōiwi as adjectives to signify 'derived from the first people.' (Pukuʻi 1991)

[3] Loʻi are ponds where the Hawaiian staple kalo (taro) is cultivated.

[4] Ahupuaʻa are land divisions usually extending from the uplands into the ocean

nearshore and determined by geographic features and available resources.
[5] ʻŌiwi wale nō was introduced by Young and expanded upon by Goodyear-Kaʻōpua to emphasize "the foundational nature of seventeen centuries of settlement and societal development by Native Hawaiian kūpuna before foreign arrival" (Young 1998, 20; Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 2013, 250, note 1).
[6] The findings in this section are based on fieldwork between August 2015 and March 2018. I remind readers that like any living entity, priorities, programs and personnel have shifted over the years at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina.
[7] Mana wahine are female deities that embody sacred feminine power and inherent authority. See (Silva 2007; McDougall 2016).
[8] This statement was made during a meeting of volunteers and staff at Hoʻoulu ʻĀina, December 2015.

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