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AARON KATZEMAN

Making Room for Earth in Hawaiʻi: Sean Connelly's *A Small Area of Land*

Abstract
In 2013, Pacific Islander American artist and architect Sean Connelly formed a geometric sculpture with 32,000 pounds of earthen matter at the now-closed ii Gallery in the Kakaʻako neighborhood of Honolulu. Titled A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)*, the work was composed of volcanic soil and coral sand—deemed by Connelly as "two of Hawaiʻi's most politically charged materials and highly valued commodities"—sourced from various locations on the island of Oʻahu. Connelly allowed his sculpture to slowly erode in the gallery over the course of its installation, a non-gesture toward what might seem to be uncontrollable disintegration.* A Small Area of Land *adds a divergent dimension to Euro-American art movements, pushing back against the rigidity and firmness of minimalism and the grand impositions of land art that initially inspired him. In doing so, Connelly expands the notion of "land" beyond a material or merely site-specific interest for artists into something that additionally includes more explicit references to structural systems of dispossession, exploitation, theft, and lasting injustices. Connelly's work amplifies relationships to land that do not rely on economic value in the extractive, capitalist sense so much as values that link Indigenous onto-epistemologies with ecological flourishing, providing an avenue through which we can think about histories of land, labor, and the increasing disassociation between the two, as well as how material choices are imbricated with personal and political complexity in Hawaiʻi.*

Keywords: *Sean Connelly, Hawaiʻi, decolonization, contemporary art, land art*

> All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.
>
> —Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*

> One could say, echoing Marx, that a specter is haunting Hawaiʻi—the specter of sovereignty.
>
> —Paul Lyons, "*Wayne Kaumualii Westlake, Richard Hamasaki, and the Afterlives of (Native/non-native) Collaboration against Empire in Hawaiʻi*"

In 2013, Pacific Islander American artist and architect Sean Connelly (b. 1984) formed a geometric sculpture with 32,000 pounds of earthen matter at the now-closed ii Gallery in the Kakaʻako neighborhood of Honolulu (Fig. 1). Titled *A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)*, the work was composed of volcanic soil and coral sand—deemed by Connelly as "two of Hawaiʻi's most politically charged materials and highly valued commodities"—sourced from various locations on the island of Oʻahu.[1] A number of local media outlets covered the project's installation, including one that suggested Connelly had become a "landowner" through the process of making the sculpture, an assertion based primarily on the substantial accumulation of natural resources needed for him to construct an artwork of such massive scale.[2] While this label is inaccurate, the very notion of an individual—artist or otherwise—as a *landowner* hints at the work's underlying implications, particularly as they pertain to the political history and present-day realities concerning land tenure in Hawaiʻi.

Figure 1. Sean Connelly, *A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)*, 2013. ii Gallery, Honolulu, 2013. Volcanic soil, coral sand, water, approximately 9 x 4 x 8 feet. Courtesy of the artist

In addition to his use of contentious materials, Connelly further charged the work by physically orienting it in such a way that it directly referenced the positions of the sun and

moon on the morning of August 6, 1850. The Kuleana Act was officially enacted on that day, effectively privatizing all land in Hawaiʻi under formal law for the first time and completing a process that had been initiated two years prior with King Kamehameha III's approval of the Māhele, which divided and allocated land rights to different governmental and societal entities. Less than 50 years after the Kuleana Act, the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown in 1893 by white businessmen aligned with American interests and supported by the United States Marines.[3] Sovereignty was never legally or properly relinquished in accordance with international law, with Hawaiʻi "annexed" to the United States in 1898 through a joint resolution of the US Congress rather than through an international treaty. The Government and Crown Lands of the Hawaiian Kingdom were then "ceded" to (read: seized by) the American government. The islands have been continuously occupied by American military forces since, becoming the 50th state in 1959, again through an internationally illegal but "democratic" plebiscite.[4]

To date, the ever-increasing militarized and tourist landscapes of Hawaiʻi enable the devastation, desecration, and bombing of places such as Puʻuloa, Kahoʻolawe, Mākua, and Pōhakuloa, and real estate developers have turned the islands into a playground branded as a paradisiacal, fantasy getaway.[5] Cultural and genealogical connections to ʻāina (land) are continuously threatened by processes of settler colonialism and denationalization and, sometimes, physically severed due to economic strain, displacing Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) and forcing them into diaspora or toward houselessness in their own ancestral homelands. Although the totality of colonization is impossible to concisely put into words, Martinican poet Aimé Césaire has suggested that it necessitates, among other things, "societies drained of their essence, cultures trampled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary *possibilities* wiped out."[6] In restrained response to these various historical transformations and their constituent role in issues still plaguing the Hawaiian islands and their peoples, Connelly allowed his sculpture to slowly erode in the gallery over the course of its installation, a non-gesture toward what might seem to be uncontrollable disintegration (Fig. 2).

The discourse around the agency of evolutions in land ownership and their lasting impacts has varied within the field of Hawaiian studies, from some scholars seeing the privatization of land as a necessary protective process in line with prior practices of land tenure to others viewing it as a coercive foreign imposition and the first-felled domino leading to the eventual overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and occupation that lasts to this day. The shifting discrepancies over land are but one of the many entangled "paradoxes" detailed by Kanaka scholar J. Kēhaulani Kauanui regarding contemporary Hawaiian sovereignty claims.[7] As I will argue, Connelly's own aesthetic decisions closely parallel these debates while simultaneously complicating them, weaving the conversation through current notions of "development" and into the speculative future.

Figure 2. Sean Connelly, *A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)*, 2013. ii Gallery, Honolulu, 2013. Volcanic soil, coral sand, water, approximately 9 x 4 x 8 feet. Courtesy of the artist

Connelly is one of many contemporary artists in Hawaiʻi who has strategically produced a type of decolonial aesthetics by adopting and altering established visual approaches, imbuing their work with social concerns relevant to the pae ʻāina (archipelago).[8] Here I am thinking—as a white, anti-imperialist settler with familial ties to Hawaiʻi—alongside art historian T.J. Demos when he avows, "The most compelling current artist models, in my view, join the aesthetic dimension of experimental and perceptual engagement with the commitment to postcolonial ethico-political praxis, and do so with sustained attention to how local activities interact with global formations."[9] Connelly's *A Small Area of Land*, in particular, adds a divergent dimension to Euro-American art movements, pushing back against the rigidity and firmness of minimalism and the grand impositions of land art that initially inspired him, specifically the work of Walter De Maria. In doing so, Connelly expands the notion of "land" beyond a material or merely site-specific interest for artists into something that additionally includes more explicit references to structural systems of dispossession, exploitation, theft, and lasting injustices, the implications of which are not only relevant for all contemporary art practices purporting to be ecological but also for liberation struggles throughout the Pacific and across

the colonized world. Connelly's work amplifies relationships to land that do not rely on economic value in the extractive, capitalist sense so much as values that link Indigenous onto-epistemologies with ecological flourishing, providing an avenue through which we can think about histories of land, labor, and the increasing disassociation between the two, as well as how material choices are imbricated with personal and political complexity.[10] If land in Hawaiʻi has long been subjected to the "cultural bomb" of American imperialism, *A Small Area of Land* asks what might be made from the rubble.[11]

Island Connections: From Mannahatta to Oʻahu

As hinted at in its full title, Connelly's *A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)* is what the artist has called a "critical regional reappropriation" of American artist Walter De Maria's (1935–2013) *The New York Earth Room* (Fig. 3); it is a visual contemplation of how De Maria's work of land art might look in a Hawaiʻi-specific context.[12] Connelly visited *The New York Earth Room* in 2012 at the suggestion of Filipino American curator Trisha Lagaso Goldberg, beginning their collaborative effort to realize *A Small Area of Land* at the ii Gallery the following year.[13] Permanently installed in its current configuration since 1977 and now maintained by the Dia Art Foundation, *The New York Earth Room* is an otherwise empty 3,600-square-foot loft in Manhattan's SoHo district whose floor is covered by dirt spread evenly to a depth of twenty-two inches.[14] Viewers are not allowed to enter the space and may only stand at the entranceway to the apartment. As a result, they are unable to see the entirety of the work as it wraps around corners and, presumably, continues throughout the rest of the interior.

This work by De Maria is actually the third iteration of the same conceptual idea. The first was titled *Pure Dirt, Pure Earth, Pure Land* and was the sole work in an exhibition called *The Land Show* at the Galerie Heiner Friedrich in Munich in 1968. The second used gravel rather than soil at the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt, Germany, in 1974.[15] The corresponding promotional poster for the Munich earth room—which included an architectural diagram of the gallery and a photo of De Maria himself—built upon the premise of "purity" in the work's title, stating:

> PURE DIRT • PURE EARTH • PURE LAND
>
> NO OBJECT ON IT
> NO OBJECT IN IT
>
> NO MARKINGS ON IT
> NO MARKINGS IN IT

NOTHING GROWING ON IT
NOTHING GROWING IN IT[16]

This idea of "purity" continues in the New York version, as the primary material in the work—like those of its predecessors—is not meant to be disturbed in any way. Even the glass barricade separating the viewer from the work shows very little differentiation in the soil composition; although "pure," it could very well be understood as "dead."[17]

Figure 3. Walter De Maria, *The New York Earth Room*, 1977. Earth, peat, bark, 3,600 square feet of floor space, 250 cubic yards of earth, 22 inches deep. © Estate of Walter De Maria; photo by John Cliett. Courtesy Dia Art Foundation, New York

The proclaimed purity of De Maria's dirt, however, is not so much inherent to the material as it is a condition consciously perpetuated and maintained by gallery attendants, who rake and water the dirt on a weekly basis and remove any unwanted growth and visible

change that appears in the form of grass, weeds, mushrooms, and mold.[18] These actions are necessary for the maintenance of *The New York Earth Room* because of its indefinite exhibition, but De Maria was already well aware of potential changes that might occur in the work from his first, much more temporary Munich room. As noted by art historian James Nisbet, De Maria commented on the unplanned effect that sun shining through the gallery windows had on altering the appearance of the dirt. Although De Maria's earth rooms appear to be unchanging, self-contained, and static, they have long been anything but. Rather, all three iterations of De Maria's earth rooms represent an *idea* that must be kept from becoming *impure*, despite the "impurities" being naturally-occurring products of the processes of evaporation, photosynthesis, and nitrogen fixation.[19] The desire for an unfluctuating viewing experience acts to destabilize the very liveliness of the material—the soil ages and becomes less viable in no small part *because of* the continual upkeep required to sustain the appearance of stasis. One might consider how these works by De Maria relate to longstanding critiques of environmental conservation, particularly as they mimic the American ideal of "untouched" wilderness that fails to consider how such presumed landscapes on the North American continent have always been culturally produced, maintained and altered by Indigenous peoples for thousands of years, with the "natural" being an arbitrarily-chosen stage that then has to be repeatedly reimplemented by forceful exclusion of human and non-human inhabitants alike.[20]

Similar to the general settler consensus around the importance of preserved national park space, *The New York Earth Room* has been praised for its perpetuity in a city where change seems inevitable and constant.[21] It is secluded, tucked away, and, therefore, a place for contemplation and reflection; if one were to visit it multiple times over any extended period, the only notable change should be within one's own self, be it internal or based on the differing experiences in arriving to the work. The dirt of *The New York Earth Room* acts as a repository, the work being less about the material itself and more the viewer's own personalized reaction or response to it. Even the interior of the apartment functions as a structural "mold," making the dirt completely beholden to its architectural frame.[22] It is, in a sense, confined by its own construction.

De Maria was elusive and reluctant to comment on any authoritative meaning behind his art, once declaring, "Every good work should have at least ten meanings."[23] While it is difficult to disagree with De Maria's sentiment, his earth rooms are still less of an ideological articulation of any sort—discernible by their repeated installations in different locales with little distinction in form—than a "purely" aesthetic experiment, granted one notable for its novelty. In effect, the room of earth floating above street level in New York functions as a metaphorical island, with all the stereotypes that come with that particular kind of geographical landmass. *The New York Earth Room* perpetuates and parallels the notion of islands as a desirable place to which one travels for rest and relaxation, without any provocation to question the realities of its physical location, in this case the actual island upon which De Maria's

earthwork is located. The room does not collaboratively engage Manhattan's ecological qualities so much as it further entrenches the separation between "earth" and "city."[24]

It is through this extended analysis of *The New York Earth Room* that Connelly's interventions into the politico-discursive limitations of the Euro-American land art movement become more readily apparent, an assessment made legible through a decolonial framework of comparative island studies.[25] Such a framework reveals a stark contrast: De Maria's choice of *not* addressing the historical processes in Mannahatta—the Lenape name for Manhattan—with Connelly's engagement with Oʻahu. When compared to De Maria's earth rooms, Connelly's *A Small Area of Land* could easily be considered "impure," from its visible striation of differing soil layers to the fact that it was meant to deteriorate and spill out from its original enclosure, allowing the soil and sand the freedom to move in unplanned ways. Moreover, *A Small Area of Land* engenders a notably direct experience than the more passive, separated encounter with *The New York Earth Room*, the former's location within the center of the gallery allowing viewers to circumambulate the work at their leisure.

De Maria's earth rooms intentionally shift the area of focus from a singular object to a field, creating what art historian Jane McFadden describes as "a rendezvous of overwhelming material possibility: too big to see in its entirety, singular yet expansive…"[26] A plane of earthly materials, though, would not necessarily have the same impact in Hawaiʻi as it does in Manhattan, where De Maria's ability to "evoke the oceanic" is admirable in a city home to Wall Street and plausibly the world's most famous skyline.[27] Whereas De Maria's expansive field might indeed be experienced as an "idealized city version of dirt, appropriate for Manhattan"—a distinction further compounded by the designated viewing distance and the unseen labor necessary to keep organic growth from occurring—Hawaiʻi residents, even those who live in urban settings, are likely more accustomed to vast agricultural fields and ocean views, as well as the materials of red dirt and sand that somehow make their way into every crevice of one's life.[28]

To reorient one's perspective in Hawaiʻi, then, Connelly turned the horizontal upright as opposed to simply re-representing the landscape in the gallery. The direct bodily interference of his work was meant to make viewers more conscious of land in all of its various forms and allow soil to feel "novel" again.[29] The scale of *A Small Area of Land*—slightly larger than human-size at nine feet long, four feet wide, and seven feet eight inches tall—enticed viewers to come eye-to-eye with the sculpture, a phenomenological experience that calls to mind some of the defining theories from the 1960s regarding the minimalist object while materially disregarding them.[30] Along with the sensorial experiences of earthy smell and sound damping, viewers were initially allowed to gently touch *A Small Area of Land*, potentially leading to its quicker fragmentation. Indeed, no matter how minor the reverberations from breathing, speaking, and walking nearby might have been, the very presence of viewers contributed to changes in the work in some capacity.

By directly confronting materials normally encountered below one's feet, Connelly foregrounds the agential qualities of the soil and sand and, thus, the entirety of the land itself.[31] Importantly, the sculpture's verticality also hints at the density of Honolulu, directly associating the development of urban centers *with* earthly concerns rather than attempting to demarcate the two as separate entities. While De Maria's installation is purposefully maintained to resist any sort of growth or allusion to changes over time, *A Small Area of Land* morphs alongside the landscape as it acquiesces to forces that manifest inside *and* outside the gallery walls, evoking temporal notions of the geological and the everyday. Any sense of purity or concreteness is thus immediately destabilized by the crumbling materials and this spatio-temporal relationship to place.

Kuleana, Reshaped

Although crucial for dually situating the sculpture within and against the canon of land art, the differences outlined above are insufficient in fully grappling with Connelly's work. We must go beyond a comparative discussion to comprehend the Hawaiʻi-centric aspects of *A Small Area of Land*, which most demonstrably distinguishes itself from its New York antecedent by its orientation in the gallery space and the corresponding historical and political references to said placement. Connelly aligned the sculpture north-to-south, as evidenced by the incision on the back side of the work, and positioned it mauka to makai (parallel from the mountains to the ocean), following the common coordination of the Hawaiian unit of land division known as the ahupuaʻa. Kanaka historian and scholar Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa provides a succinct definition and summary of ahupuaʻa:

> The ahupuaʻa were usually wedge-shaped sections of land that followed natural geographical boundaries, such as ridge lines and rivers, and ran from mountain to sea. A valley bounded by ridges on two or three sides, and by the sea on the fourth, would be a natural ahupuaʻa. The word ahupuaʻa means "pig altar" and was named for the stone altars with pig head carvings that marked the boundaries of each ahupuaʻa. Ideally, an ahupuaʻa would include within its borders all the materials required for sustenance—timber, thatching, and rope, from the mountains, various crops from the uplands, kalo from the lowlands, and fish from the sea. All members of the society shared access to these life-giving necessities.[32]

The ahupuaʻa system was forged from trial and error and initially enacted to dispel territorial confusion, with credit for its original design and implementation given to the aliʻi (chief) Māʻilikūkahi during his reign on Oʻahu sometime around the fifteenth century.[33]

Māʻilikūkahi helped distinguish the different levels of land palena (place boundaries) on an individual island, from the largest being the moku, to the ahupuaʻa, to the ʻili, with each having a distinct purpose within this nested structure.[34] For about 400 years, the ahupuaʻa system of land tenure coalesced, merged, and intertwined with Hawaiian life as one cohesive system.[35] As noted by Kameʻeleihiwa, nearly everything one would need to live could be obtained from within any single ahupuaʻa. Most important was the quasi-communal aspect built into this framework of food production, resource management, and land relations; although there were still duties one was expected to perform for the betterment of the whole, and societal ranks that organized how land was utilized and for what purposes, no one person privately owned natural resources. The Western notion of individuals owning land as private property did not apply.

It was only with the arrival and permanent settlement of colonizers that the ahupuaʻa system and its corresponding way of life became threatened by foreign disease, altered by the encroachment of capitalist modes of production and, ultimately, shattered by loss of governance, the foremost variable being the 1893 overthrow. In 1848, King Kamehameha III—or Kauikeaouli—worked collaboratively with aliʻi to finalize the Māhele, one of the most studied and debated subjects in Hawaiian history due to its mass division of land amongst various "owners" for the first time. The Māhele was the logical result of the first formally written laws enacted through the 1839 Declaration of Rights and the 1840 Constitution. These, along with the founding of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in 1845, all paved the way for land privatization under codified law.[36] The Māhele defined to whom privatized land would be split, with interests divided in thirds to the mōʻī (king), top aliʻi, and the makaʻāinana (common people). This was followed by Kauikeaouli separating his own portion into what are still known today as Government and Crown Lands.[37] The 1850 Kuleana Act was, in effect, a legal extension and completion of the Māhele, as it specifically clarified and initiated the necessary methods to grant private land to the makaʻāinana, allowing them "the right to claim lands on which they had built homes, tended loʻi, and in other ways cultivated as property in fee simple."[38]

A Small Area of Land alludes to both the ahupuaʻa system and these epochal changes in land tenure. As mentioned, a diagonal incision on the front side of the sculpture corresponds to the positions of the moon and sun on the day the Kuleana Act was put into law: the quadrilateral slope faces the sunrise, the angle of the slope follows the altitude of the moon at the solar zenith, and the directional cut runs perpendicular to the sunset (Fig. 4). This celestial inclusion is far from original in the land art movement that Connelly's work cites, but the fixed, singular focus on the Kuleana Act is a bit peculiar given its normally overshadowed role in public discourse and academic studies about the Māhele.[39]

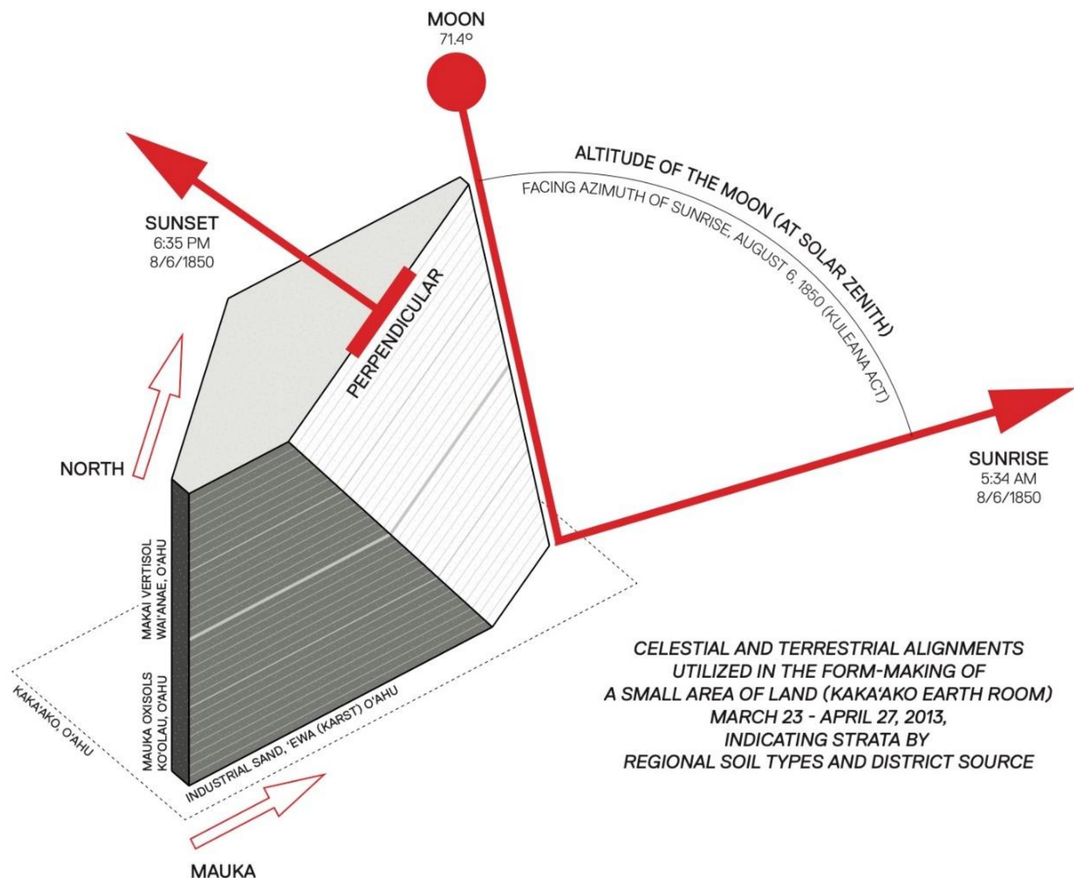

Figure 4. Sean Connelly, *A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)*, 2013. Digital architectural rendering. Courtesy of the artist

The dominant historical interpretations of the Māhele and the Kuleana Act—and, thus, corresponding narratives about land privatization—have long been decidedly negative, and the debates around such topics are incredibly rich, complex, and varied. Kanaka scholar Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio once deemed the Māhele to be "the single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society," while Kameʻeleihiwa has linked the act of privatizing land to the eventual overthrow, arguing, "The opportunity for economic control afforded to foreigners by the 1848 *Māhele* only served to make them greedy for overt political control, which they then demanded in 1893."[40] Kameʻeleihiwa further elaborated, "Appeasement of foreign desires was certainly a mistake: giving them an inch induced them to desire many miles, in fact, the entire four million acres of Hawaiʻi."[41]

Such understandings, however, have more recently begun to shift toward a more reconciliatory stance. For example, Kanaka scholar Kamanamaikalani Beamer argues that privat-

ization was not a foreign imposition so much as an acknowledged blending of Hawaiian governance with Western law, stressing the agency of Kauikeaouli and others in government in making decisions for the betterment of Kānaka and highlighting that "aliʻi *selectively appropriated* Euro-American tools of governance while modifying existing indigenous structures to create a hybrid nation-state as a means to resist colonialism and protect Native Hawaiian and national interests."[42] Others have highlighted how the Māhele and Kuleana Act were designed to enshrine makaʻāinana gathering rights in perpetuity, meaning almost all land in Hawaiʻi—no matter who owns the allodial title—was (and is) still "subject to the rights of native tenants," with the caveat that this traditional access is now potentially limited by differing readings of the law.[43] Kanaka geographer Donovan Preza, having conducted in-depth research on the perceived limitations and "failures" of the Māhele and the Kuleana Act, suggests that they actually helped *keep* Hawaiian lands in Hawaiian hands more so than previously believed, and that it was in fact the overthrow that led to the loss of governance over land in Hawaiʻi and, in turn, the chronicle of dispossession that lasts to this day.[44] Kānaka could very well have much *less* land today if the Māhele and the Kuleana Act were not enacted prior to the overthrow. In the face of increasing pressure from foreign missionaries and businessmen living in the islands, rapidly declining native populations from imported diseases, and potentially acting in preparation for a future overthrow, it is possible Kauikeaouli viewed the Māhele as a *protective* measure.[45]

These nuanced differences in legal land claims matter for the way contemporary sovereignty activists in Hawaiʻi approach their relationship to the United States, in turn highlighting potential limits of nationhood for those seeking decolonization beyond Western-derived forms of biopolitical governmentality. Kanaka scholar J. Kehaulani Kauanui delicately balances these various positions regarding land ownership, yet points out how they are, in effect, paradoxical at their core and often uncritically reassert aspects of colonial heteropatriarchy. She asserts that both of the prominent strains of Hawaiian nation projects—Hawaiian Kingdom nationalists seeking deoccupation and those seeking US federal recognition as a Native Hawaiian governing entity—"are lodged in normative legal frameworks and their respective property regimes" and thus "rely on a proprietary relation to land rather than a decolonial relation to the ʻāina outside of Western legal frameworks."[46] At the same time the Māhele secured the very governmental land bases upon which claims for nationhood hinge, for example, it provided the same legal mechanism later weaponized by non-natives to purchase obscene amounts of land, a legacy perhaps best exemplified by tech magnate Larry Ellison's purchase of nearly the entirety of Lanaʻi and, more recently, by Facebook owner Mark Zuckerberg's attempts to sue Native Hawaiian families for their land on Kauaʻi. Likewise, the recognition of a Native Hawaiian governing entity might essentially concede land ownership to the United States government for only a limited kind of political recognition in return. Instead of viewing these possibilities as the horizon, Kauanui follows others in asserting the concept of

ea, most commonly translated as "sovereignty" but also meaning "life" and "breath," as a realignment of the political notion following Hawaiian ways of being.[47] Driven by non-statist, Indigenous anarchist politics, Kauanui's position calls for discussions about land that do not rely on conceptions of ownership and instead prioritize responsibilities as they pertain to re-invigorating lasting genealogical kinship relations, though her analysis paradoxically does not necessarily outline the means for building mass political power to avoid the constant threat of further dispossession, nor how to take back that which has already been confiscated on a large scale.

A Small Area of Land is somewhat paradoxical itself, for its reference to the Kuleana Act operates in part to deflect from the actual historical event and, thereby, obscures a more incisive and dynamic reading of the work. Upon quick assessment—and with knowledge of the foremost narrative that pervades the topic of land privatization in Hawaiʻi—it would be easy to assume that Connelly marks the Kuleana Act as the starting point of enviro-cultural degradation that continues to this day, following closely to how Kameʻeleihiwa directly links the Māhele as a precursor to the overthrow. This reading would posit that *A Small Area of Land* condenses the histories of land tenure in Hawaiʻi to the length of the work's installation by essentially acting as a sped-up metaphor of time: at the exhibition's opening, the work began as a well-shaped, compacted form—representative of ahupuaʻa-based land management—before eventually disintegrating into disarray, with the Kuleana Act serving as the catalyst for such chaos. In only a short period, viewers witness the breaking up of land and, with it, the societal structure it bound together.

Further scrutiny, though, would ask if the Kuleana Act itself is the sole focus here. The word *kuleana* is most regularly used to mean "responsibility" in everyday vernacular, but it also has a historical legal definition that roughly translates to, among other things, "a small area of land," as specified by the amount one could receive from the Kuleana Act.[48] The correlation between these two seemingly disparate meanings is not arbitrary, for it had always been the responsibility of the makaʻāinana to care for their specific small area of land, although in a social, cultural, and political context that bears little resemblance to the present. With this in mind, *A Small Area of Land* foregrounds not only the histories of land in Hawaiʻi but, more specifically, the misuse and twisted meaning of the very word *kuleana* by Hawaiʻi's *current* private landowners, who perpetuate theft in the islands by way of capitalizing on the sand and soil, often under a semantic disguise of authenticity. Kuleana has become partly divorced from its origins, engulfed and morphed into a culture-washing buzzword weaponized to stifle potential discontent. If kuleana is a reciprocal relationship concerning one's responsibility to each other and the land, appropriation of the word is ultimately a misnomer under the exploitative system of global capitalism, financial speculation, and coercive governance and is in direct opposition to other moves to reclaim more radical practices of kuleana.[49] Presuming that Connelly did become a "landowner" through the sculpture's construction, his

allowing it to fragment and fall apart would suggest a willful neglect to his kuleana; however, this purported negligence can be pinpointed more precisely as one that prevails well beyond the role of the individual.

Whose Land is it Anyway?

Many of the social movements and resistance struggles in Hawaiʻi have revolved around land. The vexed histories of land privatization and continued military occupation are obvious indications of this fact, the modern trajectory of which is helpful for further situating *A Small Area of Land* in relation to environmental art globally and in Hawaiʻi. Kanaka scholar and prominent sovereignty activist Haunani-Kay Trask traces the birth of the modern Hawaiian political movement to the resistance against the evictions of farmers for new suburban development in Kalama Valley on the east side of Oʻahu beginning in 1970, where "community-based assertions for the preservation of agricultural land against resort and subdivision use" drove organized protest (Fig. 5).[50] During the struggle, the activist coalition Kōkua Hawaiʻi formulated their six-point Peoples' Land Program, including calls to "save our farm lands to grow food," "stop the developers who want to pour concrete over everything," and "get back our land from the few big landholders that have almost all of it," among others.[51] This was complicated by the fact that the entity threatening eviction was Bishop Estate, founded in 1884 by prominent aliʻi Bernice Pauahi Bishop following her death and currently the largest private landowner in Hawaiʻi. Bishop Estate's development projects help fund Kamehameha Schools, a private school for Hawaiian children. Despite being a Hawaiian-facing institution founded with educational intentions, the estate's trustees have long been controversially connected to Hawaiʻi's most rich and powerful, and, during the mid-twentieth century, "none of them had any sympathies for the land rights of Hawaiians or other local tenants."[52] As Trask notes, "In contrast to the Trustees of the Bishop Estate, residents of Kalama Valley were poor and landless."[53]

Since reemerging from Kalama Valley, the creed of aloha ʻāina (love of the land)—engrained within Hawaiian cosmology and thus much more complicated than a simple environmentalist desire to care and protect—has been the rallying cry behind demonstrations against further evictions and the impacts of militarization, tourism, and development on the destruction of important cultural and religious sites.[54] Despite the victories earned from this legacy of resistance—going back to armed opposition in response to the forced signing of 1887 Bayonet Constitution and the 1897 Kūʻe Petitions protesting the 1893 overthrow—Kānaka have become increasingly dispossessed of, and therefore disassociated from, their ancestral lands and priced out of the islands due to the misguided motives of those who dictate the economy

to appease the interests of the tourism industry and the military occupation it helps to conceal.[55] Such an alienation from their kuleana means Kānaka are not easily able to grow food through traditional agricultural practices. Working-class populations in Hawaiʻi have been all but shepherded to work in immaterial service jobs as a result of the imposed lack of economic variability, with hotels seemingly becoming "the new plantations."[56] Pacific Studies scholar Epeli Hauʻofa described the profound effects of similar processes of deterritorialization, writing, "To remove a people from their ancestral, natural surroundings or vice versa . . . is to sever them not only from their traditional sources of livelihood but also, and much more importantly, from their ancestry, their history, their identity, and their ultimate claim for the legitimacy of their existence."[57]

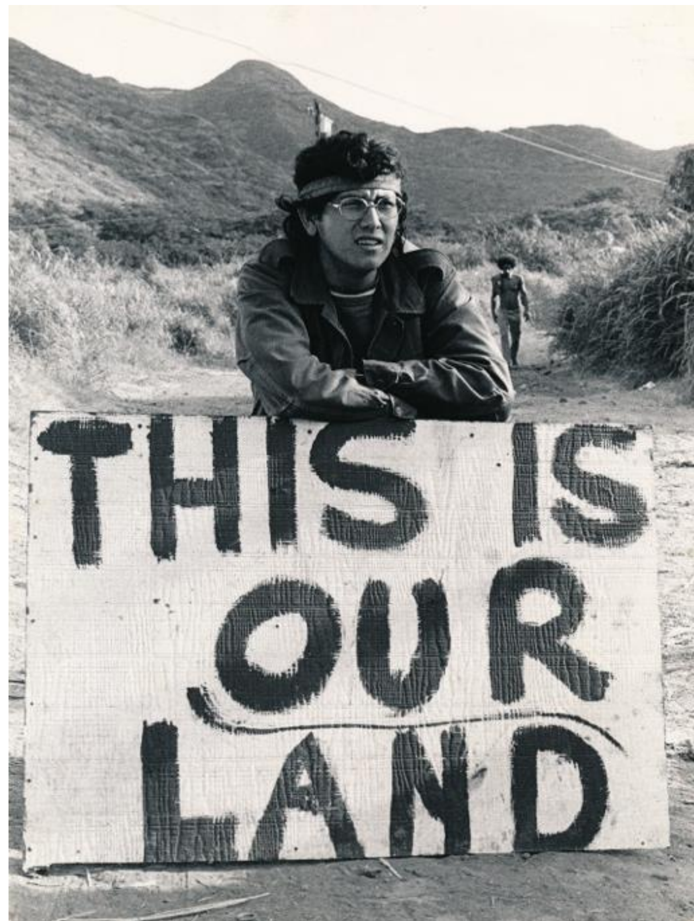

Figure 5. Ed Greevy, 1971. Photograph of unidentified Kōkua Hawaiʻi member at Kalama Valley. Courtesy of the artist

From an ecological perspective, this shift has been wholly unsustainable. The historical changes in land tenure, governmental systems, and zoning practices has resulted in close to

ninety percent of food having to be imported into the islands to feed a population comparable to the number that lived on the islands pre-contact, when no food was imported.[58] Furthermore, the US military, which is among the world's largest polluters and consumers of energy, continues to directly occupy large swaths of land in Hawaiʻi, including nearly twenty-five percent of land on Oʻahu alone.[59] Put simply, colonization and militarization are inherently environmental issues and must be regarded as such. Considering who has control of and access to land, then, should be of primary concern *before* one can even begin to think of any sort of ethically just environmentalism, an approach that would severely undermine a large portion of contemporary eco art and prompt us to question just how "ecological" it really is.

Let us briefly consider the early work of American artists Newton Harrison (b. 1932) and Helen Meyer Harrison (1927–2018) through this lens, as their practice is largely seen as evidence of the shift from the monumental works of land art and their often destructive impositions on the landscape to a more biologically-aware strain of eco art.[60] Their first collaborative work, titled *Making Earth* (1970), documented Newton working a pile of sand, clay, sewage, leaves, manure, and worms into material suitable and usable for planting—literally "making earth" outside the couple's studio at the University of California, San Diego.[61] A series of six photographs shows Newton watering the dirt, turning it, hoeing it, "shoveling and shoveling" it, "feeling and crumbling" it, and "smelling and tasting" it (Fig. 6). Despite the appearance of the photos having been taken on the same day, they represent the change in the soil's viability over a four-month period from something unproductive into something that could eventually be used to grow food and call attention to the increasing depletion of viable topsoil globally.[62]

In the exhibition catalog for the 1992 show *Fragile Ecologies: Contemporary Artists' Interpretations and Solutions*, curator Barbara Matilsky directly contrasts De Maria's earth rooms with the Harrisons' *Making Earth*, suggesting that "the material is really all they have in common." She continues, "the Harrisons ritualize the process of making earth from its elemental components and claim responsibility for creating a life-sustaining mixture, while De Maria uses the earth to alter perceptions of space."[63] Even if supposedly more "ecological" than *The New York Earth Room*, like De Maria's work, *Making Earth* includes nothing that would make one aware of the stolen land upon which the Harrisons were digging.[64] What is more, *Making Earth* can be read as placing the responsibility of responding to ecological crises solely upon the individual. Their images show *only* Newton working the soil; in later gallery reenactments of the work, the soil is gifted *only* to an individual upon the exhibition's ending.[65] Such an ecological effort is thus largely centered around the ability of a privileged few, something that even the most well-meaning person can only implement themselves through actual access to land, whatever form that might take.

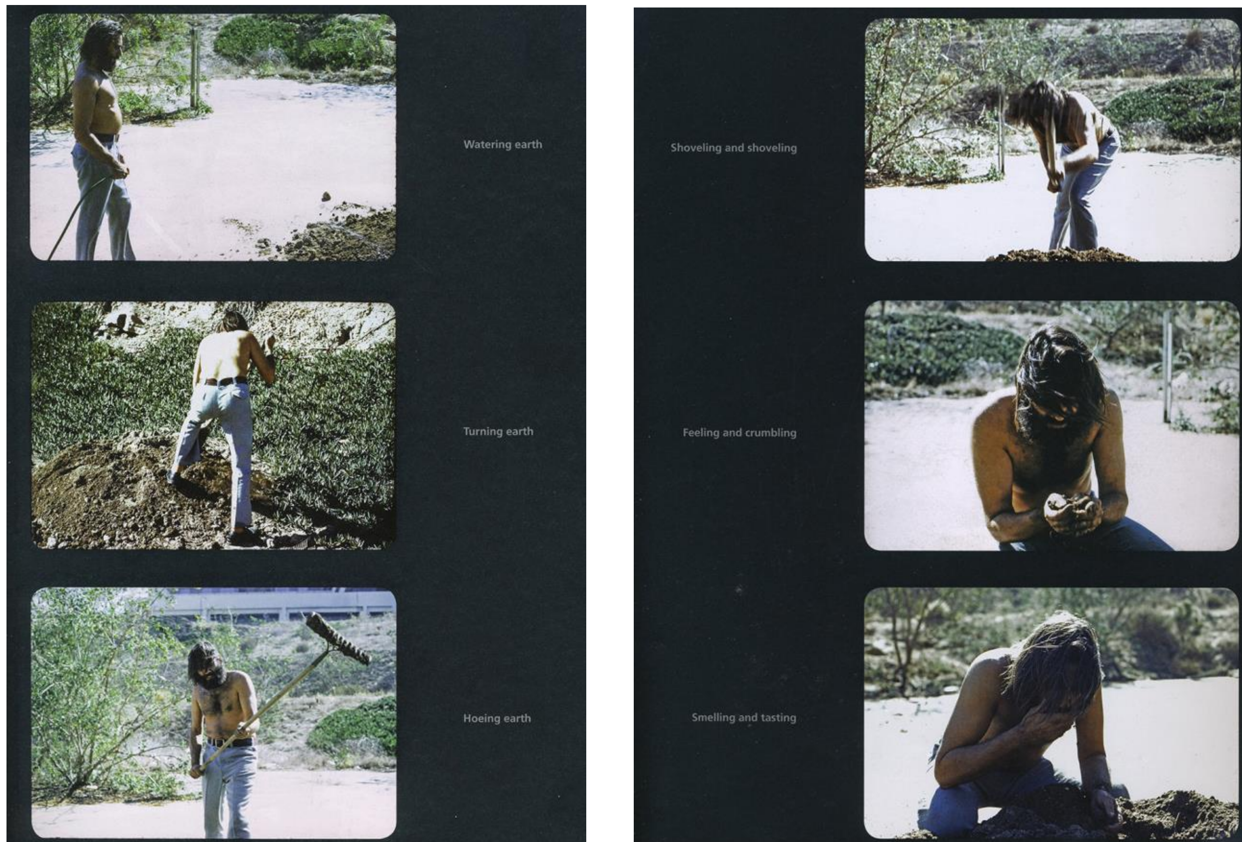

Figure 6. Newton Harrison and Helen Mayer Harrison, *Making Earth*, 1970. Photo documentation of performance with sand, clay, sewage sludge, manure, leaves, and worms. Courtesy of The Harrison Studio

What this and other similar calls to action ignore is the large-scale systems that have caused environmental catastrophe and, at the same time, largely prevent those without certain economic privileges to take part in what could be considered green individualism or lifestyle environmentalism based on liberal notions of individual freedom. Despite claims to the contrary, any attempt to make ecological art—particularly in a settler colonial context—that does not confront these facts is a contaminated kind of environmentalism based on the premise of theft, which will always only reassert the structural violence upon which it is founded.[66] For the farmers threatened with displacement in the land struggle in Oʻahu's Kalama Valley during the same year the Harrisons produced *Making Earth*, the effectual message of the work rings hollow and hovers close to being demeaning. These farmers were no doubt well aware of top soil degradation and sustainable agriculture, yet they still did not have the fiscal or political resources necessary to keep from being displaced for suburbanization.

I scrutinize *Making Earth* here for reasons regarding not only actual land ownership, but also to segue into thinking about materiality, as the Harrisons did admirably begin with dirt unsuitable for growth and ended with soil fit for food production. If Connelly's *A Small Area of Land* serves to critique the distinct types of environmental art by De Maria and the

Harrisons while also considering the exclusionary power structures that preclude certain individuals from participating in land-use decisions in Hawaiʻi, one might assume a similarly attuned and delicate attention to materiality. Yet, there was nothing in the exhibition materials or the installation's wall text that directly revealed where Connelly had sourced the 32,000 pounds of sand and soil. This information was not a sealed secret so much as purposefully left unaccounted for in order to prompt the very dialogue, engaging an oral tradition of knowledge sharing. Connelly publicly detailed his soil research and acquisition in a later interview:

> I harvested a loamy soil from the mountaintop, which was used for the base, and sourced an expansive clay soil from the valley, which was used for the upper half of the sculpture. Conceptually, this turned the watershed upside down, while also allowing the sculpture to expand and erode at eye level without completely falling apart. It was like chemistry, but rather mixing soil types to control a change in physical form.[67]

The sand, on the other hand, was not directly procured from a location on Oʻahu but crushed coral sand from ʻEwa that was bought at Home Depot, further demonstrating the material's value as a commodity.[68]

Trained as an architect, Connelly opted for the ancient building technique of rammed earth for *A Small Area of Land*'s construction, a method not historically used in Hawaiʻi.[69] After first building a wooden scaffold frame, Connelly and various collaborators smoothed layer after layer of premixed soil and sand before ramming them into place one at a time.[70] Although some sort of stabilizer is necessary to prevent disintegration in rammed earth construction, Connelly deliberately did not use any. This decision was partly for aesthetic reasons but also because doing so would have made the soil completely unusable for future purposes. As planned, the soil was redistributed to a few locations upon the exhibition's completion, further dispelling Connelly's alleged status as "landowner." A large portion of the soil was donated to Hui Kū Maoli Ola, a native plant nursery on the windward side of Oʻahu, and some was utilized in planter boxes throughout the gallery's neighborhood.

While Connelly did not necessarily "make earth" in the same vein as the Harrisons, he was still conscious of its potential to be reused for different purposes. But Connelly was never necessarily interested in making earth, nor was he simply making an earth room—more precisely, he was *making room for earth*, creating a space where one was forced to question and contend with the political materiality of soil and sand and, thus, the reality of land in Hawaiʻi. The lack of information regarding the source materials and their afterlife therefore served to reaffirm Connelly's intent; *A Small Area of Land* was meant to draw attention to the discrepancy regarding where building materials are obtained on the islands and who has the financial

means to procure such materials, let alone the land upon which to construct anything. In doing so, though, Connelly partially incriminated himself in the same processes and structures he was trying to critique. Such an aesthetic decision risks misreadings from two antipodal positions: it does not account for less politically minded viewers, who might not draw the connections desired by Connelly, while others might see his material choices as equally disrespectful as that which he is condemning.

Figure 7. Kapulani Landgraf, *Ponoiwi*, 2011. Honolulu Museum of Art, 2013–2014. Multi-media installation. Courtesy of the artist

A more delicate handling of the fraught use of natural materials in Hawaiʻi is evident in Kanaka Maoli artist Kapulani Landgraf's (b. 1966) multi-media installation *Ponoiwi* (Fig. 7), included in the Maui Arts & Cultural Center's group exhibition *I Keia Manawa* (*In This Time*) in 2011 and as a solo exhibition at the Honolulu Museum of Art from 2013–14. *Ponoiwi*, the title meaning "righteousness right down to the bone," addressed the century-long practice of sand mining on the island of Maui for sugar cane processing and the building of military installations, in addition to the more general history of coral sand extraction from beaches across Hawaiʻi to be transported to Oʻahu for the purpose of concrete production and construction

projects.[71] Central to Landgraf's concern about this process is the controversial disturbance and removal of Hawaiian burial sites traditionally placed in unmarked sand dunes, resulting in the desecration of iwi kūpuna (ancestral bones).

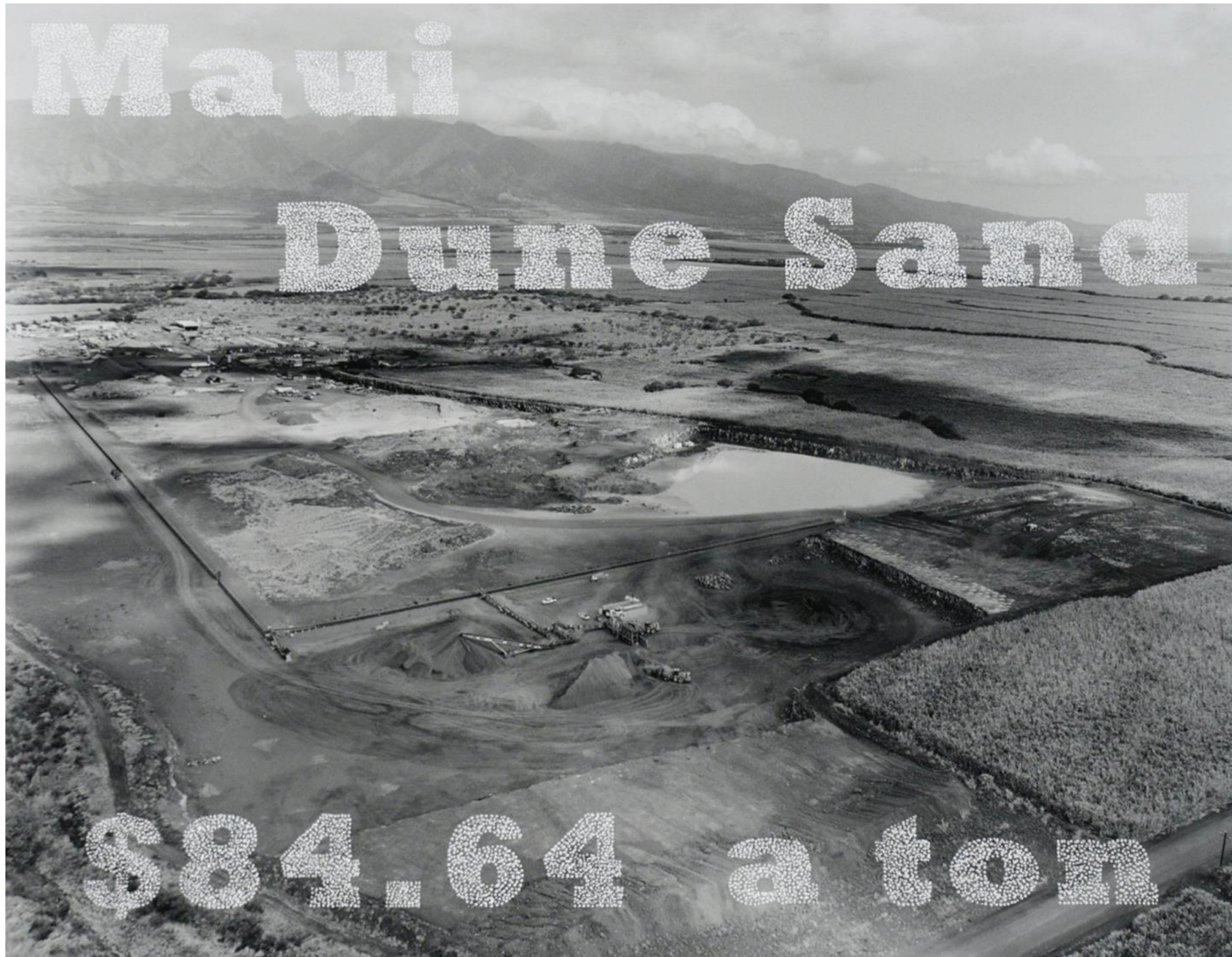

Figure 8. Kapulani Landgraf, *Ke one lele o Kamaʻomaʻo*, from *Ponoiwi* installation, 2011. Hand-etched gelatin silver print. Courtesy of the artist

Ponoiwi featured black and white aerial photographs of disparate mining sites on Maui, with Landgraf having manually etched details about each place's location on the photograph's surface (Fig. 8). Shovels were suspended in front of each photo with the corresponding name of the photographed area and text repeating a reburial oli (chant) written on the handles. These shovels did not epitomize earth-making, as seen in the Harrisons' work, so much as earth-taking, their suspension in the gallery meant to illustrate "the gouging of the land."[72] Landgraf's shovels, however, also subverted the destructive large-scale industrial mining depicted in the photographs, as she drilled holes into the cement-painted blades to

render them ineffective and unusable. Underneath each shovel was a small rounded pile of Hawaiian paʻakai (salt), a symbol of purification used in the reburial process. Sand would have been the far more obvious choice given the work's mining referent, but doing so would have implicated Landgraf in the extraction and dislocation of Hawaiian sand, the very problem she was addressing. Landgraf's refusal to bring a politically contested and culturally significant material into the gallery space clearly departs from the strategy employed by Connelly. Both *Ponoiwi* and *A Small Area of Land* comment on the speed and destructive power of development in Hawaiʻi, but Landgraf's tactfulness contrasts with Connelly's brashness.

In *Ponoiwi*, Landgraf both condemned past mining operations and warned against ongoing exhumations that occur with construction on the islands, such as the massively over-budget and long-delayed Honolulu Rail Transit Project. "[*Ponoiwi*] speaks to the constant development in Hawaiʻi at the cost of Hawaiian land, culture and people," Landgraf explained in an interview. "What's happening currently in Kakaʻako and the construction of rail in phases will set up the continuous disregard by the powers that be."[73] Although their material approaches differ, Landgraf's mention of Kakaʻako is one instance in which her interests converge with Connelly's. Indeed, salt also plays a role in Connelly's work, albeit in an indirect and discreet manner. While applicable to the entirety of Hawaiʻi, *A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)* is more precisely place-specific. The ʻili of Kakaʻako—the location in the work's subtitle—was historically home to poho paʻakai (salt pans); it is from this focused, bounded place where *A Small Area of Land*'s ultimate meaning becomes clear and—again, paradoxical to the sculpture's disintegration—convincingly solid. Considering *A Small Area of Land* as an unexpectedly ʻili-specific work of art further illuminates Connelly's historical and material choices. It is from Kakaʻako that the work reverberates outward, from the ʻili to the ahupuaʻa and the entire pae ʻāina.

Remembering the Future/Making it Personal

It is fitting that a sculpture about Hawaiʻi's changing systems of land tenure, use, and ownership was installed in the urban neighborhood that is perhaps the most pointed microcosm of Hawaiʻi's latest chapter of continual displacement, speculative real estate development, and arts-based gentrification. Kakaʻako is part of the Honolulu coastal plain within the ahupuaʻa of Waikīkī, located squarely between the famed tourist destination and downtown Honolulu. Kakaʻako traditionally had poho paʻakai, loʻi kalo (wetland taro patches), and loko iʻa (fishponds), and was correspondingly utilized for sustainable food production.[74] The neighborhood morphed into a multi-ethnic working-class community in the decades following the 1893 overthrow before transforming in the mid-twentieth century into an industrial zone. Recently, a proliferation of high-rise condominiums too expensive for most locals and shopping centers

geared toward tourists have quickly sprouted up.[75] The high-rises hover above numerous houseless communities—disproportionately consisting of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders—in the public parks and walkways of Kakaʻako, a very different picture of the neighborhood from the one painted for potential buyers and tourists.[76] Graffiti stencils around the area creatively play on the neighborhood's name, branding the sidewalks as "non kanaka'ako," a contraction highlighting the detrimental effects of Kakaʻako's development for Kānaka Maoli (Fig. 9).

Figure 9. Graffiti stencil, "non kanaka'ako," 2016. Courtesy of the author

In part due to these stark contrasts, the "revamped" Kakaʻako has been posited by urban studies scholar Tina Grandinetti to be a direct result of settler colonialism in the islands and part of the continued project of urban development *as* Indigenous erasure and dispossession. Not only are the majority of the newly built condominiums above the cost threshold for low-income residents, the exorbitant prices in Kakaʻako raise the cost of real estate—and, therefore, cost of living—in other nearby neighborhoods, which have long been more residential areas. As Grandinetti asserts, "By neglecting the urgent need for low-income housing

for a majority of Hawaiʻi's existing population, redevelopment in Kakaʻako constitutes a project of displacement by placing indirect pressure on the residents of Hawaiʻi, whether or not they live in Kakaʻako."[77] *A Small Area of Land* similarly mimics this pulsating outward effect, operating from within Kakaʻako to serve as a broader articulation about Hawaiʻi as a whole.

Figure 10. Street view of Sean Connelly's *A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)* on view at ii Gallery. Still from video by Vincent Ricafort, 2013. Courtesy of the artist

Kakaʻako's contrasting scenes of development and displacement were ongoing during the course of *A Small Area of Land*'s installation. The work was visible from the streets and sidewalks of the neighborhood; one could stand outside the gallery and see *A Small Area of Land* crumbling while being able to observe, with just a slight turn of the head, the construction of multiple high-rises (Fig. 10). Thus, Connelly's resonant critique of historical changes in land tenure continued through the work's existence, with Kakaʻako essentially acting as a present-day case study. The work was not specific to the ʻili of Kakaʻako due to its use of local materials; it was ʻili-specific for it resembled the condition of the surrounding neighborhood at the time of its exhibition, one with its cultural fabric being packaged anew. In fact, the very building where *A Small Area of Land* was installed at the ii Gallery no longer exists, in part because of these recent transformations. It has since been replaced by a shopping center and retail complex named SALT after the neighborhood's pre-existing salt ponds. The complex was developed by Kamehameha Schools, a subset of Bishop Estate, Hawaiʻi's largest private

landowners and the aforementioned foundation that spearheaded the Kalama Valley evictions.

Connelly himself seems ambivalent about the neighborhood's evolving and seemingly thriving art scene, saying, "On one hand it's amazing, because it's really grassroots. But, at the same time, when you really look at it, it's supported by KS [Kamehameha Schools]. So is this a façade of arts?"[78] While Trask noted the controversial makeup of Bishop Estate's trustees, Grandinetti further analyzes the principled conflicts that arise from the role of both Kamehameha Schools and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in the neighborhood, as their "development agendas in Kakaʻako inarguably ascribe to a neoliberal model of urban growth and capital accumulation." She continues:

> Both institutes argue that capital accumulated in Kakaʻako is then used to fund projects that actively serve the community. Thus, they imply, it is their duty to ensure that maximum revenue is derived from these properties. However neither body acknowledges that this accumulation nevertheless results in dispossession and the cementing of settler colonial geographies within the district.[79]

Grandinetti's use of "capital accumulation" builds upon Indigenous studies scholar Glen Coulthard's (Yellowknives Dene) application and adjustment of Karl Marx's theory of "primitive accumulation" to more closely pertain to settler colonial contexts. Coulthard explains that "acts of violent *dispossession* set the stage for the emergence of capitalist accumulation and the reproduction of capitalist relations of production by tearing Indigenous societies, peasants, and other small-scale, self-sufficient agricultural producers from the source of their livelihood—*the land*."[80] Coulthard further clarifies, "The historical process of primitive accumulation thus refers to the violent transformation of noncapitalist forms of life into capitalist ones."[81] Keeping in mind that the violent acts mentioned here can be understood as extending beyond bodily harm, Grandinetti highlights the ways in which contemporary capital accumulation in Hawaiʻi only re-inscribes the same violence upon which it is founded, that being the premise of setter colonial primitive accumulation. Decolonial scholars Eve Tuck (Unangax̂) and K. Wayne Yang have similarly detailed this ongoing process, asserting that "the disruption of Indigenous relationships to land represents a profound epistemic, ontological, cosmological violence. This violence is not temporally contained in the arrival of the settler but is reasserted each day of occupation."[82]

Such explications are precisely why revolutionary psychiatrist Frantz Fanon deemed land itself as "the most essential value" for a colonized people.[83] Urban planning scholar Annette Koh and Hawaiian Studies scholar Konia Freitas have aptly pointed out that buildings on occupied land do not "function as indigenous places because we call them by Hawaiian names," despite veiled attempts to the contrary, or—in the case of Kamehameha Schools'

SALT complex—if they appropriate naming conventions from the past for commercial interests today. Instead of these hollow measures, Koh and Freitas implore more truthful engagement with Hawaiian concepts of ahupuaʻa, kuleana, and aloha ʻāina, asking, "What would it mean to decolonize Honolulu so that we support the flourishing of indigenous values of land and kinship within the urban core?"[84] Likewise, the looming presence of *A Small Area of Land* appears to be asking each gallery-goer and passerby to consider how Kakaʻako would benefit from planning that takes more than just nomenclature inspiration from the past. Instead, would it be possible to re-inscribe systems of land use such as the ahupuaʻa and make use of the various ecological benefits that such a re-inscription might offer?

To this end, Connelly's other work begets one possible starting point, considering what might come from redefining urbanism as island living "rooted in Hawaiʻi's history, culture, and ecology."[85] In 2014, Connelly led a tour of Kakaʻako for the inaugural event of the psychogeography-inspired group 88 Block Walks, organized by artist and geographer Adele Balderston and named after the number of blocks that make up the neighborhood. According to the group's website, 88 Block Walks is an "ongoing series of walking tours [that] explores themes of gentrification, displacement, urbanization and generational change within Kakaʻako's cultural, historical and physical landscape."[86] Connelly's walk focused on the neighborhood's channelized and often completely paved-over streams and ʻauwai (irrigation ditches that lead to loʻi kalo from streams and back again).[87] Doing so showed the extent to which streams—the arteries and lifeblood of agricultural life in Hawaiʻi—have been completely left out of the urban planning process, acting as a conduit for reimagining a contemporary urban landscape in which streams are once again a focal point as opposed to something to plan *around*.

It is through such experimental excursions and ways of understanding the landscape that Connelly has been able to create an in-depth outline for the process of "recovering ahupuaʻa," or returning to the traditional system of land-use prior to land privatization as a means to move into the future. This ongoing project, titled *Hawaiʻi Futures* (2010–present), is less utopian in outlook than it is based on the already existing dialectical landscape, in this case an urban area that has very little in common with its pre-contact condition.[88] Utilizing his background in architecture, Connelly has created numerous three-dimensional interactive maps with geographic information system (GIS) software to visualize solutions to current and future issues such as flood risks, food insecurity, and public health on the islands, conceptually reframing the ahupuaʻa system as a kind of ʻāina-based technology that "engages the flow of resources and information." This pushes back against Western notions of progress and—in this case—urban planning, confirming "indigenous ways of living as legitimate coded science itself."[89] Similar calls to return to Indigenous-based land tenure practices have proliferated in recent years due in part to the climate crisis, forming the ecological rubric for extensive land-return across—and as part of the dissolution of—settler colonial states.[90] Even a 2019 special

report on land from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change noted the importance of so-called traditional ecological knowledge in curbing and overcoming challenges brought about by deforestation, desertification, and soil erosion, yet nowhere did the report suggest the possibility of land rematriation as a climate solution.[91]

As the epigraph from Marx and Engels at the beginning of this essay advocates, property relations in their current state are anything but permanent; the abolishment of land as "property" is not some unrealistic desire but, rather, something that must be actively and relentlessly pursued to make possible. The lingering dilemma in Hawaiʻi boils down to redirecting the notion of land in its entirety to something more personal, public, and communal than private, always alongside corresponding commitments to aloha ʻāina, anti-capitalism, and ea, with the understanding that such changes cannot take place in any truly meaningful extent under the current occupying government and without revolutionary Hawaiian stewardship. Herein lies the seriousness of Connelly's manifold interventions, notable for their capacious applicability now and later, whatever the political situation of Hawaiʻi might be. *A Small Area of Land* acts as a conduit to maneuver through such disputations, filling theoretical gaps and bringing viability to the future of the soil and earth upon which we all rely. "Whoever controls the land," Connelly ultimately reminds us, "controls the future of Hawaiʻi."[92]

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Notes

[1] This description for the project is from Connelly's website. "A Small Area of Land (Kakaʻako Earth Room)," After Oceanic Projects for Architecture, Landscape, Infrastructure, and Art, accessed May 10, 2021, https://www.ao-projects.com/ASAOL-2013.
[2] Lisa Yamada-Son, "Sean Connelly's Small Area of Land," *Flux Hawaiʻi*, August 6, 2013, https://fluxhawaii.com/sean-connellys-small-area-of-land/. The sculpture was also featured in the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* and the now-defunct *Honolulu Weekly*, as well as the architectural blog *BLDGBLOG*.
[3] For a general overview of Hawaiʻi's political history in relation to American colonization, see Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaiʻi* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1999).
[4] For more on Hawaiʻi's "statehood," see Dean Itsuji Saranillio, *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawaiʻi Statehood* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018). For more on the

effects of statehood, see Davianna Pomaikaʻi McGregor, "Statehood: Catalyst of the Twentieth-Century Kanaka ʻŌiwi Cultural Renaissance and Sovereignty Movement," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13, no. 3 (October 2010): 311–326, https://doi.org/10.1353/jaas.2010.0011.
[5] The connection between militarization and tourism is far from tenuous. Pacific studies scholar Teresia Teaiwa defines militourism as "a phenomenon by which military or paramilitary force ensures the smooth running of a tourist industry, and that same tourist industry masks the military force behind it." See Teaiwa, "Reading Gauguin's *Noa Noa* with Hauʻofa's *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the 'Polynesian' Body," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, eds. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham MD: Rowman & Litterfield, 1999), 251.
[6] Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review, 2000), 43. Emphasis in original.
[7] J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).
[8] I use "decolonial aesthetics" as it relates to the lineage detailed in Walter Mignolo and Rolando Vazquez, "Decolonial AestheSis: Colonial Wounds/Decolonial Healings," *Social Text: Periscope*, July 15, 2013, https://socialtextjournal.org/periscope_article/decolonial-aesthesis-colonial-woundsdecolonial-healings/.
[9] T.J. Demos, *Decolonizing Nature: Contemporary Art and the Politics of Ecology* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016), 12.
[10] Indigenous studies scholar Vanessa Watts (Mohawk and Anishinaabe) has proffered Place-Thought—"a theoretical understanding of the world via a physical embodiment"—as an Indigenous framework that is more apt than Euro-Western epistemological-ontological conceptions of the divide between being/knowledge. See Watts, "Indigenous place-thought & agency amongst humans and non-humans (First Woman and Sky Woman go on a European world tour!)," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 2, no. 1 (2013): 20–34. For how this pertains to Hawaiʻi, see Shawn Malia Kanaʻiaupuni and Nolan Malone, "The Land is My Land: The Role of Place in Native Hawaiian Identity," *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 3, no. 1 (2006): 281–307.
[11] "The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves." Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1986), 3.
[12] This phrase was used to describe *A Small Area of Land* on a previous version of the artist's website based on the architectural theory of critical regionalism popularized by historian Kenneth Frampton, referring to design eschewing otherwise completely universalist aesthetics for that which infuses more locally specific qualities. See Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend, WA: Bay Press, 1983), 16–30.
[13] Commonly pronounced as "two eyes," the name of ii Gallery was short for "indigenous international."

[14] While initially installed in this location—then Heiner Friedrich's gallery—from October 1, 1977 through January 31, 1978, it was not opened permanently to the public until 1980.
[15] The exact titles of De Maria's first earth room exhibition and the work itself are not completely clear, and naming differs between two dominant conventions. Various sources, including Jeanne Dunning and Suzaan Boettger, refer to the full title of the work as *50 M³ (1,600 Cubic Feet) Level Dirt/The Land Show: Pure Dirt/Pure Earth/Pure Land*. See Jeanne Dunning, "Thoughts on Dirt: Walter De Maria's *The New York Earth Room* and Robert Smithson's *Partially Buried Woodshed*," in *Artists on Walter De Maria*, eds. Katherine Atkins and Kelly Kivland (New York: Dia Art Foundation, 2017), 24–43; Suzaan Boettger, *Earthworks: Art and the Landscape of the Sixties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). The promotional poster referenced features only the "50 M³ (1,600 Cubic Feet) Level Dirt" portion of this supposed extended title, making that part seem more descriptive than anything. The naming convention I have utilized here follows James Nisbet, who suggests that *The Land Show: Pure Dirt, Pure Earth, Pure Land* was the title of the entire exhibition, with *Pure Dirt, Pure Earth, Pure Land* referring simply to the work itself. See James Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems in Art of the 1960s and 1970s* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), 41. The Munich exhibition is colloquially referred to as "The Land Show." Boettger describes the Darmstadt earth room as being "filled with beige boulders." Boettger, *Earthworks*, 275, note 58. Another source states the Darmstadt work consisted of "level gravel"; *Walter De Maria: Two Very Large Presentations* (Stockholm: Moderna Museet, 1989), 111. Based on photographs of the installation, I have utilized the latter's description.
[16] The poster is reproduced in James Nisbet, "Walter De Maria in Europe," *Archives of American Art* 52, no. 3–4 (Fall 2013): 49–53, https://doi.org/10.1086/aaa.52.3_4.43155518.
[17] Dunning refers to the dirt in *The New York Earth Room* as "slowly dying." Dunning, "Thoughts on Dirt," 38. Nisbet uses the phrase "utter deadness" to describe the Munich room. Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems*, 42.
[18] Much of what is known about the maintenance of *The New York Earth Room* has been shared by its longterm caretaker Bill Dilworth, who has been interviewed multiple times about his role and is cited in Dunning, "Thoughts on Dirt," 38.
[19] Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems*, 42.
[20] See William M. Denevan, "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 3 (September 1992): 369–385; William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 69–90; Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). For a more recent Indigenous critique of these ideas, see Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As Long as Grass Grows: The Indigenous Fight for Environmental Justice, From Colonization to Standing Rock* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019), 91–110.
[21] See, for example, Kyle Chayka, "The Unchanging, Ever-Changing *Earth Room*," *The Paris Review*, November 2, 2017, https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2017/11/02/the-un-changing-ever-changing-earth-room/.

[22] Dunning, "Thoughts on Dirt," 40.
[23] Walter De Maria, "Oral History Interview with Walter De Maria, October 4, 1972," interview by Paul Cummings, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-walter-de-maria-12362.
[24] For more about the environmental history of New York City, see Anne-Marie Cantwell and Diana diZerega Wall, *Unearthing Gotham: The Archaeology of New York City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); Eric W. Sanderson, *Mannahatta: A Natural History of New York City* (New York: Abrams, 2009); and Ted Steinberg, *Gotham Unbound: The Ecological History of Greater New York* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2014).
[25] This comparative framework is inspired in part by Macarena Gómez-Barris and May Joseph, "Coloniality and Islands," *Shima* 13, no. 2 (2019): 1–10, https://doi.org/10.21463/shima.13.2.03.
[26] Jane McFadden, *Walter De Maria: Meaningless Work* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016), 85.
[27] Dunning, "Thoughts on Dirt," 36. De Maria himself referred to the work as "minimal flat horizontal earth sculpture." De Maria, "Oral History Interview."
[28] Dunning, "Thoughts on Dirt," 38.
[29] Sean Connelly, "Island Urbanism: The City as Soil System," interview by Alexandra R. Toland, in *Field to Palette: Dialogues on Soil and Art in the Anthropocene*, eds. Alexandra R. Toland, Jay Stratton Noller, and Gerd Wessolek (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2019), 668.
[30] "The awareness of scale is a function of the comparison made between that constant, one's body size, and the object." Robert Morris, "Notes on Sculpture II," in *Continuous Project Altered Daily: The Writings of Robert Morris* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994), 13. The changing state of Connelly's sculpture more closely aligns with the material experimentations of postminimalism, such as that exemplified in Morris's *Continuous Project Altered Daily* (1969).
[31] I am thinking here of the proliferation of new materialist theory in academic literature but also want to contend with the appropriation of such ideas from Indigenous scholars. For an overview of the distance between the two lineages of thought, see Jerry Lee Rosiek, Jimmy Snyder, and Scott L. Pratt, "The New Materialisms and Indigenous Theories of Non-Human Agency: Making the Case for Respectful Anti-Colonial Engagement," *Qualitative Inquiry* 26, no. 3–4 (2020), 331–346, https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800419830135.
[32] Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 27.
[33] This system was then mimicked on other islands, as exemplified by ʻUmi-a-Līloa on Hawaiʻi Island.
[34] Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 32–44.
[35] For more on land tenure practices prior to the Māhele, see Marion Kelly, "Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaiʻi, 1778–1850" (master's thesis, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 1956).
[36] Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 116–153.
[37] See Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaiʻi?* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2007).
[38] Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2002), 53.

[39] Prominent examples of celestial components in works of land art include Charles Ross's *Star Axis* (1971–present), Robert Morris's *Observatory* (1971/77), Nancy Holt's *Sun Tunnels* (1973–76), and James Turrell's *Roden Crater* (1977–present). There is, however, a much different cultural significance in doing so in Hawaiʻi, where knowledge of stars, constellations, and their changing positions in the sky formed the basis of the science of oceanic seafaring, in which navigators intensively memorize star charts to successfully navigate the open Pacific without a physical compass or sextant. Likewise, lunar phases have long dictated patterns of everyday life, from farming to fishing to sociocultural commemorations.
[40] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 44; Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 310.
[41] Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 310–311.
[42] Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 3–4. Emphasis in original.
[43] Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 142–144. For more on the lasting effects of the Kuleana Act and gathering rights, see Maivân Clech Lâm, "The Kuleana Act Revisited: The Survival of Traditional Hawaiian Commoner Rights in Land," *Washington Law Review* 64, no. 2 (1989): 233–288; Jocelyn B. Garovoy, "'*Ua Koe Ke Kuleana O Na Kanaka*' (Reserving the Rights of Native Tenants: Integrating *Kuleana* Rights and Land Trust Priorities in Hawaii)," *Harvard Environmental Law Review* 29, no. 2 (2005): 523–572; Mark ʻUmi Perkins, "Kuleana: A Genealogy of Native Tenant Rights" (PhD diss., University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2013).
[44] Donovan Preza, "The Empirical Writes Back: Re-Examining Hawaiian Dispossession Resulting from the Māhele of 1848," (master's thesis, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2010).
[45] Such is the argument put forth by Stuart Banner, "Preparing to Be Colonized: Land Tenure and Legal Strategy in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *Law & Society Review* 39, no. 2 (June 2005): 273–314, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0023-9216.2005.00083.x.
[46] J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018), 80.
[47] Among others, see in particular Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, "Introduction," in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, eds. Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaikaʻala Wright (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 1–33.
[48] Paul F. Nahoa Lucas, *A Dictionary of Hawaiian Legal Land-Terms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1995), 61.
[49] See, for example, Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).
[50] Haunani-Kay Trask, "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, Oʻahu," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 21 (1987): 126. See also Neal Milner, "Home, Homelessness, and Homeland in the Kalama Valley: Re-Imagining a Hawaiian Nation Through a Property Dispute," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 40 (2006): 149-176.
[51] Trask, "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," 149.
[52] Trask, "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," 131.
[53] Trask," The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," 129.
[54] Prominent examples include the direct action praxis of the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana against the bombing of the island to the establishment of Puʻuhonua o Puʻuhuluhulu and the

nonconsensual attempts to construct the Thirty Meter Telescope atop Maunakea. For more on the Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana, see Jonathan Kamakwiwoʻole Osorio, "Hawaiian Souls: The Movement to Stop the U.S. Military Bombing of Kahoʻolawe," in *A Nation Rising*, 137–160. For more on the protection of Maunakea, see Uahikea Maile and Sarah Marie Wiebe, eds., "States of Emergency/Emergence: Learning from Mauna Kea," *Abolition Journal: A Journal of Insurgent Politics*, https://abolitionjournal.org/category/learning-from-mauna-kea/; "Mauna Kea Forum," *Radical History Review: The Abusable Past*, August 14, 2019, https://www.radicalhistoryreview.org/abusablepast/category/forums/mauna-kea/.

[55] For more on this early history of resistance, see Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

[56] Tina Grandinetti, "Urban aloha ʻāina: Kakaʻako and a decolonized right to the city," *Settler Colonial Studies* 9, no. 2 (2019): 231, https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2017.1409400.

[57] Epeli Hauʻofa, "Pasts to Remember," in *We Are the Ocean: Selected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008), 75.

[58] See George Kent, "Food Security in Hawaiʻi," in *Food and Power in Hawaiʻi: Visions of Food Democracy*, eds. Aya Hirata Kimura, Krisnawati Suryanata, Christine R. Yano, and Robert Ji-Song Ku (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2016), 36–53.

[59] See Barry Sanders, *The Green Zone: The Environmental Costs of Militarism* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009). For more on the effects of militarism in Hawaiʻi, see Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawaiʻi* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Haunani-Kay Trask, "The Color of Violence," *Social Justice* 31, no. 4 (2004): 8–16; Kyle Kajihiro, "Resisting Militarization in Hawaiʻi," in *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle Against U.S. Military Posts*, ed. Catherine Lutz (London: Pluto Press, 2009), 299–231.

[60] Nisbet, *Ecologies, Environments, and Energy Systems*, 99.

[61] Newton Harrison and Helen Mayer Harrison, *The Time of the Force Majeure: After 45 Years Counterforce is on the Horizon*, eds. Petra Kruse and Kai Reschke (Munich: Prestel, 2016), 18–20.

[62] Helen Mayer Harrison did eventually utilize the earth Harrison made in her own works, such as *Making Strawberry Jam/Strawberry Wall* (1972).

[63] Barbara C. Matilsky, *Fragile Ecologies: Contemporary Artists' Interpretations and Solutions* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 39.

[64] The University of California, San Diego is located in the area now known as La Jolla, which is on the unceded homelands of the Kumeyaay. As I write this note in fall 2020, the Kumeyaay are currently occupying Camp LandBack along the US–Mexico border attempting to halt construction of the border wall. Beginning in late 2017, Swiss artist Christoph Büchel faced immense backlash for proposing to preserve a number of US border wall prototypes as works of land art.

[65] *Making Earth* has been reenacted and exhibited multiple times since its initial documented performance, although always in a slightly different context than the original. From 1977–78, the Harrisons scaled up the project considerably with *Art Park: Spoils' Pile Reclamation*, in

which they attempted to reclaim a large piece of degraded land in Lewiston, New York. *Making Earth* was shown in Houston at the Contemporary Arts Museum's 1990 show *Revered Earth*, under the title *Making Earth Again*; in the 2018 Taipei Biennial; and most recently in the 2019 survey show *Counter Extinction Work* at Various Small Fires, a gallery in Los Angeles, under the title *On Making Earth*. In each of these latter cases, the Harrisons exhibited a wooden box of dirt containing manure, soil, and worms that staff shoveled and made into viable material over the duration of the respective installations, bringing the original durational performance recorded in the photos into the gallery space itself. Burlap sacks installed on the wall behind the container of dirt in the 2019 exhibition read, "Please. Take this earth to a place where the soil is poor. How will you know the soil is poor. You water it and not much happens. You leave it alone and not much happens. Feed this earth to this place where you find that the soil is poor. Thank you." Upon each show's closing, the soil inside the wooden box was distributed to visitors with the aim that they would use the soil in some capacity. The giving of soil is a poetic gesture, but not one that can be sized up on any noteworthy scale.
[66] It is only fair to note that the Harrisons created a work just a few years later titled *Meditation on the Gabrielino, Whose Name For Themselves Is No Longer Remembered Although We Know They Farmed With Fire and Fought Wars by Singing* (1976) that considered these issues in what is now Long Beach, California, although framed in a way that seemingly perpetuates the myth of Indigenous "extinction."
[67] Connelly, "Island Urbanism: The City as Soil System," 652.
[68] This and other uncited information was shared with me over a series of conversations and interviews with Connelly between 2019–21.
[69] Connelly has earned a doctoral degree in architecture from the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa and a master's in design from Harvard University Graduate School of Design. His professional art and architecture studio is After Oceanic. To properly construct *A Small Area of Land*, he consulted rammed earth building codes from Arizona and New Mexico.
[70] The process and resulting visible striation were akin to the cylindrical sculpture in Japanese artist Nobuo Sekine's (1942–2019) work *Phase—Mother Earth* (1968), which helped jump-start the Mono-ha movement. In *Phase—Mother Earth*, Sekine first dug a hole in the earth, using the same matter to then cast an adjacent positive form of the same shape and size. Importantly, he was only able to construct the sculpture into the desired form by interspersing cement through the newly unearthed material before compaction. Akira Tatehata, "Mono-ha and Japan's Crisis of the Modern," *Third Text* 16, no. 3 (2002): 224, https://doi.org/10.1080/09528820110160664. Like De Maria's earth rooms and the Harrisons' process of making earth, *Phase—Mother Earth* has been redone multiple times.
[71] See Kapulani Landgraf, "Ponoiwi," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawaiʻi*, eds. Hōkūlani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 37–44. An image from the series, *Waikapū* (*Sacred Waters*), is also included in Lucy Lippard, *Undermining: A Wild Ride Through Land Use, Politics, and Art in the Changing West* (New York: The New Press, 2014), 11.

[72] Kapulani Landgraf, "Q+A: Kapulani Landgraf on *Ponoiwi*," interview by Lesa Griffith, *Honolulu Museum of Art* (blog), http://blog.honoluluacademy.org/qa-kapulani-landgraf-on-ponoiwi/.
[73] Landgraf, "Q+A: Kapulani Landgraf on *Ponoiwi*."
[74] For a history of Kakaʻako, see Adele Balderston, "Voices of Kakaʻako: A Narrative Atlas of Participatory Placemaking in Urban Honolulu" (master's thesis, CUNY Hunter College, 2016).
[75] Despite their seemingly rapid construction, Kakaʻako's high-rises were decades in the making. There is an obvious disconnect and, in fact, inverse effect, though, between the city's initial plans for the neighborhood—meant to address a need for housing—and how the development has actually panned out, with median prices much too high for low-income residents. Although new condominiums are still selling, they are not necessarily inhabited, often becoming second or third properties for continental American and foreign investors, primarily from Japan. And despite focused attempts to gentrify Kakaʻako, local shop owners have claimed some neighborhood areas are like a "ghost town," joking that there must be some kind of power outage at night because so few people live in the buildings. Stewart Yerton, "Kakaako's Empty Condos: 'At Night, It's A Ghost Town Down Here,'" *Honolulu Civil Beat*, June 10, 2019, https://www.civilbeat.org/2019/06/kakaakos-empty-condos-at-night-its-a-ghost-town-down-here/. Notably, this development is also taking place in an inundation zone that will only be increasingly threatened in the future by sea level rise and worsening tropical storms due to global climate change. The issue of sea level rise was highlighted in a recreation of artist Eve Mosher's *HighWaterLine* project in Honolulu as part of the 2020 exhibition *Inundation* curated by Jaimey Hamilton Faris. See https://www.inundation.org/highwaterline-honolulu.html.
[76] Regular sweeps by Honolulu Police often force these communities to another, nearby location, where the inhumane process only repeats itself. See Adam Nagourney, "Aloha and Welcome to Paradise. Unless You're Homeless," *New York Times*, June 3, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/04/us/hawaii-homeless-criminal-law-sitting-ban.html.
[77] Grandinetti, "Urban aloha ʻāina," 236.
[78] James Cave, "Kakaako's Block F: Too Good to Last?," *Honolulu Magazine*, July 1, 2013, https://www.honolulumagazine.com/kakaakos-block-f-too-good-to-last/.
[79] Grandinetti, "Urban aloha ʻāina," 240. It should be noted that The Howard Hughes Corporation, a continental American real estate company, is playing arguably the largest role in developing Kakaʻako, yet their participation in such practices is not necessarily noteworthy in and of itself, for they operate under no claim to responsibly provide anything for Hawaiʻi's residents.
[80] Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), 7. Emphases in original.
[81] Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks*, 8.
[82] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 5
[83] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963), 9.

[84] Annette Koh and Konia Freitas, "Is Honolulu a Hawaiian Place? Decolonizing Cities and the Redefinition of Spatial Legitimacy," *Planning Theory & Practice* 19, no. 2 (2018): 281, https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2018.1456816.
[85] Sean Connelly, "Urbanism as Island Living," in *The Value of Hawai'i 2: Ancestral Roots, Oceanic Visions*, eds. Aiko Yamashiro and Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 89. For a continuation of these ideas, see Sean Connelly, "Our City as Ahupua'a: For Justice-Advancing Futures," in *The Value of Hawai'i 3: Hulihia, the Turning*, eds. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Craig Howes, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, and Aiko Yamashiro (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2020), 231-236.
[86] 88 Block Walks (website), http://www.88blockwalks.com.
[87] For more on Connelly's 88 Block Walks tour, see Anna Harmon, "The Lost Waterways of Hawai'i," *Flux Hawai'i*, August 20, 2014, https://fluxhawaii.com/the-lost-waterways-of-hawaii/. See also Tina Grandinetti, "Unearthing 'Auwai and Urban Histories in Kaka'ako," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i*, eds. Hōkūlani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 315–325.
[88] The entire "installation" is viewable at https://hawaii-futures.com. Again, Connelly's interests have land art antecedents, such as Robert Smithson's analysis of the work of landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. See Robert Smithson, "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Dialectical Landscape," in *Robert Smithson: The Collected Writings*, ed. Jack Flam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 157–171. In Hawai'i, the past is often referred to as *ka wā mamua*, or "the time in front or before," and the future as *ka wā mahope*, or "the time which comes after or behind." Such an orientation requires one to stand with "his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas." See Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 22–23.
[89] Tina Grandinetti, "Re-Scape the City," *Summit* 1.2 (2015), 101. See also Sean Connelly, "Recovering the Technology of Paradise," talk presented at TEDxMaui 2013, Kahului, Hawai'i, January 13, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vEe9XKOj3Mw.
[90] Two prominent examples of this on Turtle Island include the work by Yellowhead Institute in Canada—particularly their "Land Back" report—and The Red Nation's "The Red Deal," an Indigenous critique of proposals for a Green New Deal in the United States.
[91] The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, *Climate Change and Land: an IPCC special report on climate change, desertification, land degradation, sustainable land management, food security, and greenhouse gas fluxes in terrestrial ecosystems*, https://www.ipcc.ch/srccl/.
[92] "A Small Area of Land (Kaka'ako Earth Room)," https://www.ao-projects.com/ASAOL-2013.