Pursuits of Purpose

Dialogues between Environmental, Social and Individual Well- Being in Honolulu

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Submitted to the department of Cultural Anthropology of Utrecht University as part of the requirements for the master's program: Sustainable Citizenship

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Cover photo: View on Honolulu from Diamond Head Mountain

Abstract |

Understandings of the finiteness of earth's natural resources and structural unequal power-relations, leads people to wonder how change can be enacted. The thematic axis of this thesis is shaped by the concepts of well- being and sustainability. It demonstrates how social entrepreneurs in Honolulu, who centralize social and environmental well- being in their practice of social entrepreneurship, shape a pursuit of purpose that restructures social priorities. It reflects how the historical trajectory of Hawai'i has an ongoing influence on contemporary conditions in the community and thereby influences the practices of the entrepreneurs. Practices of social entrepreneurs in Honolulu take place on the verge of an indigenous and modern paradigm which function as umbrellas to capture and dissect perceptions of man's relationship with nature, affluent sets of values, attitudes and behavior. This thesis offers a perspective on sustainability as both a value and a lived practice in which one considers injustices that have been established in the past and future generations to come in one's actions. It draws on the concept of sustainable citizenship that expands the responsibilities of citizens outside the political domain and includes more roles of the individual. The role of the individual as a professional is highlighted. This shows that through the act of social entrepreneurship, the dynamic between the private and professional domain are redefined. Social entrepreneurs thereby challenge commercial world values for competition and financial success and encourage community relationships, restoration of ecosystems and normalization of Hawai'ian language and cultural practices. Through the practice of social entrepreneurship, a reciprocal dynamic between social, environmental and individual well- being is established.

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Prologue I

On January 20, 2017, Donald Trump was inaugurated as president of the United States. A little over a week later, I travelled to Hawai'i to conduct my fieldwork. I set out to link the concepts of well- being and sustainability to show how social entrepreneurs (SE's) in Honolulu, the state capitol, construct a way of life that embodies awareness of an interdependent relationship between oneself and one's social and natural environment. It is a worldview that contradicts Trump's decision making. SE's in Honolulu oppose individualism with a sense of communitarianism and contest the prioritization of monetary wealth with enrichment through engagement with all beings, human and non- human (*cf Wright 2012; Ingold 2011)*.

After his inauguration, Trump enacted a travel ban on incoming travelers from Yemen, Syria, Sudan, Somalia, Iran and Libya for 90 days and all refugees for 120 days while the U.S. government reviews its vetting procedure, looking for possible improvements[1]. This, to ensure the U.S. knows enough about travelers before allowing them into the country[2]. Following, on June 2, 2017, after I had left the field for a month, Trump states: "We're getting out,"[3] referring to the Paris climate accord. Both acts reflect his governance with an "American First" policy in which, according to him, he serves the interests of American citizens before those of outsiders, non- Americans. This has led to controversy within and outside the US borders. Dissatisfaction with the instated president has been expressed by protests and slogans as *#notmypresident*.

Located in the Pacific Ocean, at least a 5-hour travel by airplane from the U.S. mainland, the state of Hawai'i (figure 1), has been expressing its disagreement with decisions of the president elect. Considering Hawai'i to be a distant island community of minorities, on the travel ban, governor David Ige declares that "the diversity in his state is something to be celebrated – not curtailed – and that his state government is willing to push back against the isolationist impulses coming out of the White House"[4]. On the withdrawal from the Paris Accord, Ige has taken a firm stand against Trump's decision. Located in the middle of the ocean Hawai'i is vulnerable to the effects of the climate change model. The islands encounter rising

[1] http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-travel-ban-muslim-countries-supreme-court-hawaii-governor-looking-forward-comments-a7789966.html: DOI: June 20, 2017
[2] https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2017/06/22/trump-vetting-review-backdoor-travel-ban/419213001/: DOI: June 25, 2017
[3] http://edition.cnn.com/2017/06/01/politics/trump-paris-climate-decision/index.html: DOI: June 20, 2017
[4] http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-travel-ban-muslim-countries-supreme-court-hawaii-governor-looking-forward-comments-a7789966.html: DOI: June 20, 2017

sea levels, depleted fisheries and intensifying storms[5]. Ige signed two bills keeping the state in line with the goals and limits set by the agreement. Thereby Hawai'i has become the first state to ignore Trump's exit from the climate accord[6]. "Hawai`i will continue to fulfill its *kuleana* [responsibility] on reaching our energy, water, land and other sustainability goals to make island Earth a home for all"[4], Ige stated. His statement exposes a set of attitudes, values and norms that prevail on the islands and contradict Trump's policies.

The political domain and geographical distance are tangible indicators to distinguish Hawai'i from the US mainland. During my fieldwork, it would show that people on the islands experience a certain dichotomized relationship, on a profound level. On the islands people emphasize the importance of human relationships and value loyalty within those interactions. These relationships, that not only entail human-relationships but also the relationship between humans and the natural environment, are prioritized over individual prestige and accumulation of (monetary) wealth. Many of my research participants have expressed to experience this as different and distinctive from prevailing attitudes and behavior on the U.S. mainland. As Jael, one of my informants, explains over a beer at "Green Drinks", a network event for people interested in sustainability at the University of Hawai'i; "Here, people still drive normal, they don't drive like a crazy person and they actually stop at the crosswalk to let people cross the street"[7]. Throughout the course of my fieldwork I came to find that the establishment of the relationship between Hawai'i, then being a monarchy and the U.S., is contested.

The effects of and feelings and beliefs about this historical trajectory are multilayered. Among my research participants, it has led to an image of Hawai'i as a colonized community that has the highest vulnerability in relation to effects of global warming on the environment and of global economic interconnectedness on social justice[8]. Social entrepreneurs in Honolulu are driven to address issues that (are believed to) arise out of these dynamics. For example, the economic dependency on the U.S. mainland as opposed to being self-sufficient. Simultaneously, a colonized community as such, is also perceived as "having this really dynamic infrastructure of historical, environmental, social and cultural ingredients, that makes them really powerful in dealing with contemporary issues"[9], as Christine, one of my key informants explains during an interview. Thereby, in relation to

[5] https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/jan/13/moana-might-be-great-for-representation-but-its-not-all-heartwarming-for-hawaii?CMP=fb_a-culture_b-gdnculture: DOI: June 25, 2017.
[6] http://www.mlive.com/news/us-world/index.ssf/2017/06/hawaii_will_stick_with_paris_c.html: DOI: June 20, 2017
[7] Informal conversation, Jael, February 17, 2017.
[8] Interview, Christine, March 30, 2017.
[9] Interview, Christine, March 30, 2017.

creative problem solving, Hawai'i has come to be perceived by social entrepreneurs in Honolulu as a front runner, an example for the rest of the world. In this light, it is interesting to gain a more in-depth understanding of the evolving relationship between Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland. The following anecdote provides the reader a brief look into the experience of the Hawai'ian/American history trajectory and its multilayered effects. Simultaneously it gives insight in the effects of the presence of visitors on the islands.

"I was forced to be an American, you know", stated one of my neighbors while talking story on the 9S bus line to get out of Palolo Valley, an outer neighborhood of Honolulu. The tall dark-skinned man with black long hair locks must have been in his 70s. We met twice on the bus during my fieldwork. Like many others, he was interested in where I was from and what brought me to the islands. "Wow, you'z a long way from home gurl," he responded when I told him I was from the Netherlands and was staying for 3 months. Repeatedly, my interests combined with my appearance would surprise my neighbor and other participants for the both would not collide with the images they have had of a hauli, foreigner. Unlike other hauli's or snowbirds, visitors who spend their winters in Hawai'i, I appeared to be interested in people's stories. "You'z a smart gurl", my neighbor said when I carefully hinted that I was informed by the historical trajectory of the Hawai'ian islands and its people. This, as opposed to merely indulge myself in luxury at Waikiki Beach, the tourist hotspot on O'ahu with a boulevard filled with haute couture boutiques and fancy hotels alongside a widespread white sand beach and a clear blue ocean. The islands attract thousands of visitors' due to their aesthetics. It has become a true 'walhalla' for newlyweds as their honeymoon destination. Popularity among tourists has led corporations to buy up land and privatize beaches. In this context my neighbor continues, "I used to go there with the girl I was with, but not anymore. You know, things would have been different, we would have had more rights. We still would have had our land", he explains. I believe my neighbor would not have expressed his beliefs in regard to the position of Hawai'ians today, if I had not shown my empathy and sympathy with their situation[10].

His 'would haves' refer to a Hawai'i that could have been if it would not have been for the Christine missionaries, white business men and lawyers shaping the historical trajectory of the kingdom of Hawai'i. A Hawai'i in which people were often better off than many others around the world. After coming back from his world tour in 1881, King Kalākaua observed that "they had enough to eat and wear, and they were certainly happier than any people he had ever seen (..); they enjoyed music and the outdoor life; they never went to bed hungry;

[10] Informal conversation, neighbor 1, April 1, 2017.

no one robbed them (..)" (Daws 1974, 292). "I think the best thing is to let us be", said Kalākaua. But the Americans could never bring themselves to let the Hawai'ians be (Daws 1974, 292). The interference of Lorris Thurston, son of two missionaries, lawyer and politician and his friend physician S.G. Tucker, had led the king to sign off much of his authority in the constitution of the kingdom of Hawai'i in 1887 (Daws 1974, 242- 288). The monarchy transformed into a republic due to the overthrow of queen Lilliukalani by the US government in 1893 after which it became the Territory of Hawai'i in 1898. Many Americans believed that "Hawai'i's people were different from those of the United States and were unfit to be incorporated" (Daws 1974, 288). It resonates with the aforementioned 'us'/'them' rhetoric of my research participants. However, in 1959 Hawai'i was annexed by the US as its 50th state.

While talking story with Katherine, a very modest lady from Japanese/Hawai'ian descent, born on the Big Island, she mentions: "You know, basically, we are not even supposed to be here. This is occupied land." She continues in a very thoughtful yet clear way, "the American government overthrew our queen after they kept her imprisoned and forced her to sign over the kingdom to the US. That is how we became an American state[11]".

By simultaneously including herself in both "*we* are not supposed to be here" and "the overthrow of *our* queen", the complex effect of the relationship between the US mainland Hawai'ian is exposed. According Daws, "they [Hawai'ians] *chose* to operate within the conventions laid down by white men, and by doing so they put themselves at a disadvantage" (1974, 291). It contradicts my neighbor's comment, his experience and his belief that he was *forced* to be an American. It exposes the tension and the grey area of identification that is present on the islands today. While undergoing the transition, the Hawai'ians had lost much of their reason for living. They lost their leaders, many lost their land, and ultimately, they lost their independence. Their resistance appeared little (Daws 1974, 247, 280, 288, 291). "It was almost as if they believed what the white man said about them, that they had only half learned the lessons of civilization (Daws 1974, 291).

The turbulent historical trajectory of the islands and the US mainland is said to continue to reproduce structural (power) inequalities (*cf* Beck 2003). Namely, a high degree of dependency of the island community on import of products and goods from the mainland and a shortage on housing that has led the state to have the highest homeless rate per capita

[11] Informal conversation, Katherine, March 4, 2017.

in the country, is being (indirectly) traced back to this history by many of my research participants. These links are not directly being made by government officials. Yet, it has been acknowledged that the kingdom of Hawai'i was unlawfully overthrown in 1893. An apology resolution was signed by former president of the U.S., Bill Clinton[12]. This apology resolution also stated that "native Hawai'ians had never relinquished their sovereignty[13]. This statement resulted in what Christine, a strong and independent looking woman, whom I met working at a farm that rejuvenates Hawai'ian cultural practices and agriculture, explained to be a renaissance among Hawai'ians[14]. Namely, a group of 300 Hawai'ians occupied Makapu'u beach which sparked the strive for land ownership and ultimately a sovereign Hawai'ian nation[15]. Currently, they are going through a "second renaissance", as Christine mentioned. This second renaissance entails not only getting back their land, but also, their pride and dignity through re-discovering the (cultural) heritage, knowledge, the Hawai'ian ancestors have left them. It is a search for equity and social inclusion by restoring injustices that have been established in the past (*cf* Micheletti and Stolle 2012). It is a search that is supported by social entrepreneurs (SE's) in Honolulu, the primary research population of this study. In addition, it is their objective to increase recognition, validation, integration and normalization of Hawai'ian sets of knowledge, culture and language. Simultaneously, they draw inspiration from ancient (agri-)cultural and practices to address social, environmental and cultural issues. Thus, the influence of the Hawai'ian/American affairs as part of the historical trajectory of Hawai'i, on the (practices of the) SE's is multilayered. Therefore, I invite the reader to perceive this contextual sketch as a backdrop against which this research is conducted.

[12] https://www.hawaii-nation.org/publawsum.html: DOI: June 20, 2017.
[13] https://www.facebook.com/ajplusenglish/videos/912050258936482/?autoplay_reason=all_page_organic_allowed&video_container_type=0&video_creator_product_type=2&app_id=2392950137&live_video_guests=0: DOI: July 6, 2017.
[14] Informal conversation, Christine, March 17, 2017.
[15] https://www.facebook.com/ajplusenglish/videos/912050258936482/?autoplay_reason=all_page_organic_allowed&video_container_type=0&video_creator_product_type=2&app_id=2392950137&live_video_guests=0: DOI: July 6, 2017.

Map of Hawai'i

the Hawai'ian archipelago and its geographic location in relation to the mainland of the United States

Figure 1[16]

[16] http://www.eltjoschut.nl/Hawaii/Hawaii.jpg

Lexicon I

Translations

ōlelo Hawai'i	*English*
āina	land
aloha	love
aloha ‘āina	love for the land
hauli	foreigner
‘ike ‘āina	knowledge about the land or learning from the land
kuleana	responsibility
pono	righteousness and/or balance
malama ‘āina	to take care of and nourish the and
mauō	sustainability
na’au	intuition
waiwai	wealth of the community

Abbreviations

HGG	Hawai’i Green Growth
OoS	Office of Sustainability (at UH)
SE	Social Entrepreneur
UH	University of Hawai’i

Introduction I

"You see this whole area right here?", Uncle Dwight asked while pointing to the houses on the left side of the road, opposing the ocean on the right side of it. "This whole area, this whole area will be flooded when a tsunami comes"[17]. I refer to Dwight, an older man, my guess is in his 60s, as 'uncle' because in Hawai'i, it is common to refer to older people as 'uncle' or 'auntie'. It reflects the close knitted character of the island community and the respect young(er) people pay to elderly. As soon as I got in the car Uncle Dwight started passionately telling me about *his* land, *his* culture and the relationship, the respect *his* people have with and for the land, *their* land. While driving to one of the last fresh water springs on the Hawai'ian island of O'ahu, he goes on and explains: "you know, they took it from us and don't respect it, they don't get it. They just build houses and hotels wherever they want. You know why a Hawai'ian would never live in that house? 'Coz he knows, it will be gone when the ocean rises. You know what I mean?". At this point I am not entirely sure to whom Uncle Dwight is referring when he talks about 'they'. Later, I come to understand that he refers to the American government that 'took' the land of the Hawai'ians, that overthrew the Hawai'ian queen in 1893. It is the corporations he refers to that build houses without 'common sense'. Here, common sense resonates with awareness of how the land is situated in relation to the ocean. At large, this common sense refers to embodied attunement between man and nature (*cf* Ingold 2011). Which according to Uncle Dwight is inherent to and normalized within Hawai'ian cultural practices and imprinted in the *being* of Hawai'ians[18]. It is this kind of attunement, that the rich and wealthy, the non-Hawai'ians, who inhabit the homes alongside the ocean appear to be falling short of according to Uncle Dwight. It is them who do not take into account the impact of their buildings on the natural environment and the impact nature might have on their homes. It is 'modern- man' who, according to Uncle Dwight, does not understand the Hawai'ian perspective of man's existence which is embedded in a loving relationship with the *āina*, the land. He goes on, "you know what, look at the names of the streets. Whenever you see the letters w,a,i, it means that there is water there". In Hawai'ian, *WAI* means water and *WAIWAI* means wealth. 'Coz, you know, without water there is no life". It resonates with the words of a man in the documentary Island Earth by Cyrus Sutton, which I viewed during a public screening in Honolulu: "WAIWAI means wealth, and when there is abundance you are rich because it means that you have much

[17] Interview, Uncle Dwight, March 20, 2017.
[18] Interview, Uncle Dwight, March 20, 2017.

to give"[19]. Uncle Dwight is convinced that man's appreciative relationship with its equals which includes all beings, the seen and unseen, an attitude that 'taps into' nature's timing and flow, and a re-prioritization of our values would leave our island Earth to be a better place[20].

Both Uncle Dwight and the man from the documentary interchangeably use, (the conditions of) elements as land and water alongside parameters of well- being. Their rhetoric reflects the fashion in which different understandings of happiness, wealth and health, parameters of well- being, can be experienced and expressed, and how these understandings hold strong ties with elements of life that people value (Mathews and Izquierdo 2012). Society at large, the prioritization of continuous accumulation of (monetary) wealth and infinite consumption together with the absence of awareness of human's dependency upon environmental conditions, have been defining a lifestyle that has disenabled living systems to recover from human demands (Adams 2006, 11). As Barbara Johnston states "humans seem to have lost the ability to achieve, sustain, and reproduce a healthy way of life" (2012, 6). Whereas, awareness of these consequences has started to seep into the social imageries of people and structures their realities, sustainability appears to the stage as a concept that inspires societies to change its lifestyles and thereby contribute to a transformative change on an environmental and societal (Adams 2006: Appadurai 2006; Ingold 2011; Johnston 2012).).

This thesis uses the concept of *well- being* as a theoretical framework to gain understanding of people's value systems and links it to the idea of *sustainability*. This thematic axis, is analyzed through understandings and experiences of social entrepreneurs (SE's) in Honolulu, the capital of Hawai'i located on O'ahu. This thesis demonstrates how SE's, in their attempt to tackle environmental, social and cultural issues construct a pursuit of *purpose* on an individual scale that simultaneously restructures societal priorities. Their pursuits of purpose challenge commercial world values for competition, personal power, and financial success and encourage cooperation, altruism, community relationships, and autonomy that produce higher levels of subjective well-being (Sahlins and Kaiser in Bodley 2012, 11). It answers the central question:

> How do social entrepreneurs in Honolulu structure societal priorities through the practice of social entrepreneurship in which individual, societal and environmental well- being are interrelated and how can this dynamic be perceived in relation to the historical trajectory and contemporary conditions of Hawai'i?

[19] Fieldnotes, March 12, 2017.
[20] Fieldnotes, March 20, 207 and April 17, 2017.

Theoretical outlining

Throughout this thesis, well- being is understood as "an optimal state for an individual, community, society, and the world as a whole" (Mathews and Izquierdo 2010, 5). It draws on Mathews and Izquierdo's articulation that well- being "is conceived of, expressed, and experienced in different ways by different individuals and within the cultural contexts of different societies: different societies may have distinctively different culturally shaped visions of well- being. Nonetheless, well- being bears a degree of commonality due to our common humanity and interrelatedness over space and time. Well- being is experienced by individuals and its essential focus lies within individual subjectivity- but it may be considered interpersonally and intercultural, since all individuals live within particular worlds of others, and all societies live in a common world at large (2010, 5). Within the anthropological discipline, well- being is considered an analytic rather than an ethnographic term. Therefor it tends to be used "much more by social scientists than by a given people themselves in describing their lives" (Matthews and Izquierdo 2010, 9). This also proved to be the case throughout my fieldwork. Research participants did use well- being as a concept that relates to their sustainability related practices. However, affirmations as 'feeling good', 'doing well' together with terms as happiness and purpose were more common to be used by research participants in reference to their beliefs, experiences and feelings than the term well- being itself[21]. Along these lines it "must be remembered that this is not the study of well- being as actually experienced, which remains inevitably elusive, but rather of the cultural frameworks within which well- being is conceived of and expressed" (Mathews 2009, 169).

The central argument of this thesis primarily draws on two cultural paradigms. It is therefore important to note that it is "possible to make a comparison of different societies as to well-being, as long as this is done in a careful, culturally sensitive way. This can be done through what [Mathews and Izquierdo] term soft comparison, comparison based on (..) all the nuances of sociocultural context, ethnographically portrayed" (Mathews and Izquierdo 2010, 6).

Happiness

As a component of well- being, happiness forms an interesting domain where social priorities are set (Johnston 2011). This thesis departs from the idea that if individual and societal pursuits of happiness are synchronized with a notion of interdependency among all beings one's values,

[21] Fieldnotes February through April 2017.

behavior and actions lead to lifestyles that consider injustices that have been established in the past and can be endured by generations to come (*cf* Ingold 2011: Micheletti and Stolle 2012).

Happiness appears to be everywhere and nowhere, it fuels myriad personal, spiritual, and health quests. Happiness resides in pills, love, exercise, cars, laughter, worship, cosmetic surgery, consumer goods, soul searching. Whatever it is, it appears that we as a society don't have it. It seems that happiness never arrives—for the starting point of every story is that you are without it (Nordstrom 2012, 14). It represents an iconic "unfulfilled seeking". The often-used terminology of the *pursuit* of happiness reflects this characteristic of happiness. The phrase itself is an interesting but complicated concept. Conventional history and popular culture attribute the phrase to the genius of Thomas Jefferson when in an imaginative leap, he replaced the third term of John Locke's trinity, *life*, *liberty*, and *property,* in the constitution of the United States. In 1690, Locke wrote in a long and thorny passage: *The necessity of pursuing happiness [is] the foundation of liberty*[22]. Thereby replacing property by the pursuit of happiness. Over the years the latter has been interpreted and shaped in many different ways. For example, the pathway of fulfilment, of well- being, and of enduring personal joy[23]. Both the concept and the meaning people attach to it, vary across places, societies and different cultural contexts. There is no unambiguously single pursuit of happiness- rather, there are multiple pursuit*s* of happiness (Mathews and Izquierdo 2012).

On a societal scale, the notion of and strive for liberty has been taken upon by economists to pursue as much market-freedom, the least government interference and restrictions as possible. If one were to view the world as a constitution of economic, social, and political components, one then would see that the economic pillar has been prevailing and prioritized (Wright 2012). On a societal scale, prioritizing accumulation of monetary wealth has led to lifestyles that are induced by a culture of consumerism. A lifestyle reserved for and enjoyed by a relatively small portion of the world's population, the 'lucky few' (Peterson 2015). This given has been highlighting and reproducing structural inequalities between the global North and the global South (Peterson 2015: Ticktin 2011). It has caught off a large portion of the population from the benefits that came with industrial and technological progress (Peterson 2015). Thus, endless economic growth at the heart of a prevailing understanding of a pursuit of happiness has gone at the expense of a relatively large portion of the global population *and* the vitality of the earth. It leaves one to wonder if replacing 'property' by 'the pursuit of happiness'

[22] http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/46460: DOI: July 10, 2017.
[23] http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/46460: DOI: July 10, 2017.

has also led to an ideological change? A change that would lead people to pursue something different than possession?

Interconnectedness and sustainability

One thing that did change over the years, is the expanded ability for people to imagine what happiness might be, what it could look, smell and feel like outside their own private and direct sphere (*cf* Appadurai 1990). The disjunctive nature of globalization has enacted exchanges of cultural practices and imaginings (Tsing 2000). "Even the most out-of-the-way cultural niches are formed in world-crossing dialogues" (Tsing 2005, 122). Globalization is an often-expressed term that refers to a multidimensional dynamic of social processes that creates and emphasizes worldwide interdependencies (Appadurai 1990; Tsing 2000). Privatization of businesses and an affluent globalized economy have led to the articulation of this process. With the free market economy at its core, globalization is praised as well as feared for the consequences of its force (Appadurai 2006). Due to its reputation of being an all- encompassing, totalizing and homogenizing process, globalization is often accused of accelerating and increasing destructive mechanisms within society (*cf* Tsing 2000). But in turning one's gaze to the systematic features of world capitalism, it is easy to lose track of the specificity of particular capitalist niches (Tsing 2000, 340). Tsing suggests that "we might learn to investigate new developments without assuming either their universal extension or their fantastic ability to draw all world-making activities into their grasp" (Tsing 2000, 352). This thesis builds on this notion and demonstrates how social entrepreneurs maneuver through the niches of this seemingly hegemonic system and diversify understandings of the pursuit of happiness on societal and individual scale.

Their practices result out of awareness of the effects of continuous accumulation of wealth and infinite consumption as dominant parameters in individual and societal pursuits of happiness. Understandings of the effects of a globalized economy, gave birth to the idea of *sustainability*. The concept of sustainability dates back to around 30 years ago and is informed by the global climate change model. This model develops a construct of the globe that is unified, neutral and understandable through the collection and manipulation of information based on man's reason (Tsing 2005, 102; Argyrou 2005). It articulates the realization that places far apart from each other are connected for their basic survival (Tsing 2005, 102). It has led to an understanding of interdependency. When the notion of sustainability was introduced it was coined explicitly to suggest that it was possible to achieve economic growth and industrialization without environmental damage (Adams 2006,1). This attitude renders visible that the concept has been embedded in a cultural climate in which economic growth has not

been negotiable. In its premature stage sustainability was commonly thought of in terms of the environment versus the economy and thereby consisting of two components. Later the social or the 'people' component has been added. Thereby establishing the composition of a trigram: people, planet and profit (Adams 2006). The notion of sustainable development encourages (political and corporate) decision makers to take this trigram into account in their policies (Adams 2006: Micheletti and Stolle 2012).

By introducing the idea *sustainable citizenship,* Michele Micheletti and Dietlind Stolle include responsibilities for economic, environmental, and equitable development in the notion of citizenship (2012, 90). "It includes more actors as citizens and more arenas in which citizenship is practiced (..). In particular it stresses the responsibilities and practices of businesses and consumers and views both private and economic life as important centers in the making and performance of citizenship" (Micheletti and Stolle 2012, 90). This "emphasizes new responsibilities and expectations for individuals and institutions" (Micheletti and Stolle 2012, 89). This thesis uses this concept to analyze the new responsibilities and expectations on the scale of the individual and their practices as social entrepreneurs. On a societal scale, social entrepreneurs use entrepreneurial creativity to address environmental, social and cultural issues. Simultaneously they diversify understandings of the relationship between the private and professional domain[24]. With Fordism at the heart of industrialization, more social security and compensational benefits were introduced to workers. This simultaneously entailed the integration of "leisure time to consume the mass-produced products the corporations were about to turn out in ever vaster quantities" (Harvey 1990, 126). This period did not only turn decisions of corporations hegemonic in defining the paths of mass consumption growth, it also demarcated the ability to consume and enjoy leisure time as indicators for one's well- being. Thus, creating a seemingly homogeneous culture in which accumulation of monetary wealth has been prioritized, on a societal as well as a private scale (Castells 2012; Wali 2012). However, with industrialization and consumerism at the core of human's pursuit of happiness, the goal itself, *happiness,* has been threatened (Sahlins in Bodley 2012, 11). This thesis demonstrates how social entrepreneurs in Honolulu challenge prioritization of monetary wealth on a societal and individual scale by constructing a pursuit of purpose that draws on sets of values that prioritize (social) environmental well- being and thereby experience a sense of fulfillment in their lives. Through the act of social entrepreneurship, they are assumed to restructure prevailing societal priorities.

[24] Fieldnotes February through April 2017.

Research Methods and Role of the Researcher

This research was carried out between February 2 and May 3, 2017. Along the lines of engaged anthropology this study has been collaborative, critical, reflexive and practical. Practical in that it is oriented toward the achievement of shared goals, and values- driven. Engagement is based on shared agreements that a certain way of living or doing is better than an alternative way (Besteman 2013, 3). The sets of values that social entrepreneurs embrace to enact a transformative change resonate with my personal and professional stance on the environmental, social and cultural issues the SE's address. I seek to study what and how (the study of) constructive elements in human life can contribute to illuminate corrective action and encourage transformative change (Johnston 2012, 7). I appreciate the analysis of anthropologists on (re)production of structural inequalities in contemporary society and respond to Barbara Johnston's (2012) call on anthropologist to shift their lenses and add their voices to the other end of the discourse on trouble; happiness, resilience, purpose. Here, gathered under the umbrella of well- being.

Tim Ingold (2005) suggests that the task of an anthropologist is to study *with* people rather than to study the lives *of* people. The qualitative methods of participant observation have enabled this engagement during my fieldwork (Juris 2008, 5-6). Through participant observation "a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 1). Whereas the anthropologist becomes its own research 'instrument' it is important to note that this thesis is a representation of the dialogue established through engagement with the research participants and myself rather than the unmediated world of the participants (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002, 81; Jordan 2001, 42). Although I tried to see the field with fresh eyes and make no assumptions about understanding things as Jordan (2010) suggests, I found myself to use my own referential framework to interpret the expressions and experiences of, and my interactions with the research participants. I chose to engage with many different people to grasp the broad scope of the (environmental, social and cultural) domain social entrepreneurs in Honolulu operate in. Throughout this thesis I bring forward the stories of individuals that exemplify my findings best. I use pseudonyms for individuals although I do mention the names of the organizations I have collaborated with. I engaged with approximately one-hundred research participants of which I identify twenty-nine people as social entrepreneurs, my key-informants. I conducted twenty-five semi-structured and open interviews among them in addition to informal conversations. The informal

way of verbal knowledge exchange in Hawai'i is referred to as 'talking story'[25]. In this act, the personal relationship is more central than the 'trait'. I came to find that creating and maintaining social ties enhances one's position within the community and opens doors. According to Jordan, age, gender, outsider status and lived experience of the researcher will also contribute to opening up some avenues of discovery but can also inhibit others (2001, 42). Throughout the course of my fieldwork, it would show that my appearance holds different connotations for many people on the islands. My blond hair, my body length and posture often made people assume that I was an American from the mainland. However, my accent led them to ask where I was from. Many were surprised to find out that I was interested in their experiences and stories, the webs of relationships they build, their expression of emotions, and the aesthetics of their everyday lives (Escobar 2000 in Wali 2012, 12). It became apparent that they were used to visitors who do not engage with local residents on a personal level. Entering the field, I experienced some inner conflict by establishing relationships and building rapport with my research participants while simultaneously interpret these interactions as research data. I have tried to retrieve from a point of reciprocity by offering my time as a volunteer to some of the social entrepreneurs. This despite the fact that I made sure to inform everyone who I encountered about the purpose of my visit to the islands and established informed consent; the agreement on the usage of our communication as input for this thesis. I came to an agreement with myself on this matter by offering my time and help to some of the social entrepreneurs. I volunteered with the Office of Sustainability at the University of Hawai'i (UH), at cultural learning center Ka'ala farms and helped out with a stream clean up with TreestoSeas. Volunteering gave the opportunity to get immersed in the daily activities of social entrepreneurs. Especially my role of a member of the production team of the organization of the statewide sustainability summit at UH led other doors to open. It showed that establishing and maintaining personal relationships in Hawai'i is essential to get access to certain places. Many times, people noted that I had been given access to a lot of places, other people usually don't get access to. Thereby referring to visitors as well as local residents[26]. The act of 'stepping into service' as a volunteer was very much appreciated by my research participants and was mentioned to be a proper way of adapting to the cultural context of Hawai'i. The triangulation of research methods was enhanced by attendance of the screening of two documentaries, a lecture at UH and the 'meeting of wisdoms' at the sustainability summit where the meaning of sustainability and the role of higher education within this debate was discussed.

[25] http://www.managingwithaloha.com/talking-story-is-what-we-do/: DOI: August 4, 2017.
[26] Fieldnotes February through April 2017.

Throughout the course of my fieldwork I have documented all my findings by writing down descriptive and methodological notes. I have also kept track of all my interactions in a journal which has enabled me to carefully analyze my findings in chronological order. In line with Diphoorn's preferred method *mosaics of data*, I have not distinguished personal, observational, and methodological notes. Such categorization might disregard the interconnectedness between emotions, method and knowledge (Diphoorn 2016).

In addition, academic articles on Hawai'ian culture and on well-being and sustainability within this cultural context are used as part of both my theoretical *and* empirical data. Throughout the thesis triangulation of English and Hawai'ian language is used. On the one hand this reflects the usage of language of the research participants. Also, in Hawai'ian, words have multiple meanings, by using the Hawai'ian word these meanings can become apparent. Additionally, to represent the characters of some of the research participants, the articulations of *pidgin* are used. Pidgin is the grammatically simplified form of different languages, established throughout the years in Hawai'i due to the different migration flows[27].

The actors

This thesis uses the term 'social entrepreneurs' to identify a community that shares common concerns over social, environmental and/or cultural issues. For this study gathered under the umbrella of sustainability. It is an ideological, rather than ethnic, religious, or class-based community (*cf* Pichardo 1997, 417). Through their daily (labor) activities; the act of social entrepreneurship, their sets of values, belief systems and affluent concerns about social, environmental and/or cultural issues are embodied. By "prompting individual and collective desire and action to give new meaning, restore dignity, make peace, sustain life and livelihood" (Johnston 2012, 16), social entrepreneurs are considered a driving force in enacting transformative change.

Commonly considered, social entrepreneurs are those who do this by building an enterprise (Dey 2016). This research expands this notion by including individuals who either employed by a social enterprise or any type of organization with a business-model that prioritizes the well- being of the (social-)environment over accumulation of profit. During my fieldwork, I was introduced to the notion of intra-preneur: those using entrepreneurial creativity to reform an organization from within. The Office of Sustainability (OoS) at the University of Hawai'i (UH) is a good example. This office changes the educational system from within by

[27] Fieldnotes, February 16, 2017.

supporting the university's sustainability goals. Lastly, through engagement with the OoS, I was introduced to a variety of students that share the sustainability concerns of the workforce. In addition, SE's within the workforce consider education an arena of influence, a domain where change can be enacted. Therefore, students are considered to be SE's as well.

As mentioned the issues the SE's focus unfolds in three terrains: environmental, social and cultural. It is important to note that these domains and the efforts of SE's to address these issues cannot be clearly separated, they overlap in numerous ways. For the purpose of clarity, at this point, I continue along this classification. The following efforts have proven to be most prominently represented by the SE's who I have engaged with. *Natural resource management*, this includes fresh water security, watershed protection and community- based marine management. Combined with the reduction of solid waste on the islands, streams and ocean, these efforts shape the environmental component. *Local food production* exemplifies an area that addresses the environmental and social component. In 'social' terms, local food production holds connotations with food security; decreasing Hawai'i's dependentedX position upon import and global market flows. Also, in socio-economic terms, "land values in Hawai'i are dislocated from the needs of the local economy, contributing to an affordable-housing shortage that has resulted in the highest per capita homeless rate and the highest cost of living in the US. Kanaka Maoli, native Hawai'ians (hereafter Hawai'ians), carry a disproportionate share of this burden, often being priced out of their own homelands[28]. Efforts to restore these injustices that have been established in the past (cf Micheletti and Stolle 2012) together with efforts to (re-)normalize Hawai'ian language and (agri-)cultural practices, shape the cultural indicator within this thesis.

As outlined in the prologue, the historical trajectory (as outlined in the prologue) that shows to have led to this position of Hawai'ians has led to initiatives of SE's that compose the cultural component. Formulated as such these are the cultural issues that SE's address. Simultaneously, ancient (Hawai'ian) (agri-)cultural practices form a source of inspiration for the SE's to address issues within the social and environmental domain.

Those SE's who are active in the field of education and politics operate as overarching entities by that interchangeably navigate between the three or within one of the components. The relationships between the environmental, social and cultural are intricate and not clearly bounded. Throughout the thesis the characteristics of and dynamics within this network will appear more vividly.

[28] https://www.theguardian.com/film/2017/jan/13/moana-might-be-great-for-representation-but-its-not-all-heartwarming-for-hawaii?CMP=fb_a-culture_b-gdnculture: DOI: July 27, 2017.

Structure

Social entrepreneurs construct a pursuit of purpose that seeks ongoing fulfillment through the practice of social entrepreneurship through which (social)environmental well- being is placed at the core of one's activities. They thereby restructure prevailing societal priorities. Following this central argument, Chapter I focusses on how SE's understand well- being on a societal scale. It shows that one's perception of man's relationship with nature herein is determinative. Chapter II demonstrates how sustainability, when considered as a lived practice, becomes an instrument that translates the sets of values and beliefs into behavioral sets. Additionally, this chapter outlines the active dynamics and mechanisms in the process of doing this and how the historical trajectory of Hawai'i has an ongoing influence in these processes. Chapter III demonstrates how, within an evolving understanding of well-being the boundaries, the separateness of the professional and the private collapse through the practice of social entrepreneurship. It thereby focusses on the effects on and the role of the individual in this evolving understanding of well- being.

I. Well- being I

"Does nature have intrinsic value? What value does 'native' have? How can we integrate research in addressing the real-world problems? How should human society be shaped?". Those are the questions Albie Miles, Assistant Professor of Sustainable Community Food Systems at the University of Hawai'i, West O'ahu posed during the 'Meeting of Wisdoms', between ancestral knowledge and modern sciences. This panel session was part of the state-wide Sustainability Summit 2017 for higher education, hosted by the Office of Sustainability (OoS)[29]. Central during this summit was the exploration of the intersection between ancient wisdom and science in search for sustainable solutions to address contemporary issues that affect the global scale and local communities. Mile continues; "Western knowledge can support traditional systems. We need to think critically about Hawai'ian history. We can't understand the present without an understanding of history" [30].

In search of a cultural shift of values that would harmonize human demands and the capacity of the earth to sustain (human)life (Castells 2012: Adams 2006), Hawai'i proves an interesting site that recognizes a continuance of emerging realities that are constructed through the experience of the dialogue between global processes and local dynamics (*cf* Tsing 2005). This first chapter provides insight in the dynamics between belief systems that inform the vision and practices of social entrepreneurs in Honolulu by addressing the questions Miles posed.

This chapter terms a 'modern' and 'indigenous' paradigm as umbrellas to capture and dissect perceptions of man's relationship with nature, affluent sets of values, attitudes and behavior. Both experienced and expressed to (re)produce the dichotomist relationship between two worldviews. It will become apparent that the worldview born out the modern paradigm, is considered to have resulted to a disconnected perception of man's relationship with nature, that ultimately has led to the inability of the earth to recover from human demands (Adams 2006; Herman 2016). The indigenous (Hawai'ian) paradigm, that draws on an affirmative relationship between man and nature, in which nature is considered to have intrinsic value, is perceived as a site of wisdom that offers answers to contemporary societies' environmental and social challenges (Herman 2016). Additionally, it will become apparent how the modern paradigm, on an ideological scale, has prevented the validation of an indigenous one. A challenge that SE's in Honolulu face. Ultimately it demonstrates how SE's consider a merge of both

[29] Fieldnotes March 16, 2017.
[30] http://blog.hawaii.edu/sustainabilitysummit/: DOI: August 6, 2017.

paradigms through validation and incorporation of indigenous values and practices necessary in the navigation towards, or to be in, an optimal state for individuals, communities, societies or the world as a whole that is able to be perpetuated (*cf* Herman 2016; Mathews and Izquierdo 2010, 5; Micheletti and Stolle 2012).

Illusion of separateness

"It is American greed you know", Mona, a lady in her 60s, from (partially) Hawai'ian descent states over dinner with her family. "They keep going and going, there is no stop. They worship money and things but no spirituality. You know, Hawai'ians are good in relationships. Back then [referring to the time when Hawai'i had no attachments to the United States] they already knew we are all interconnected. And our behavior and attitudes reflect that understanding"[31]. It reflects an understanding of todays globalized world that has largely been organized around the idealized notion of economic growth (Nordstrom 2012, 4). Mona's emphasis on 'American' here reflects the fashion in which people on the islands experience dichotomy between 'modern' values of which the U.S. mainland is considered to be a catalyst[32]. On the contrary, "for many indigenous people, well- being can only occur so long as each individual's life doesn't hurt other individuals or natural processes on which life depends. Hawai'ian's (..) recognize that money is peripheral to real abundance, which comes from the ability to live from the land (Derné 2010, 142).

The usage of 'indigenous' in anthropological discourse can be disputed and needs to be theorized clearly to avoid essentialism or exoticism. Among my research participants the words; indigenous, traditional, ancient and native, were interchangeably used. As in the case of Mona, it becomes apparent that she distinguishes a modern (American) worldview from an indigenous (Hawai'ian) one. Following Herman who moves away from defining 'indigeneity' as something that refers to an indigenous person or group, that is either "defined under internationally recognized proclamations such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, or within or about Indigenous communities themselves" (2016, 170), this thesis also "avoids such essentialist or political notions of being indigenous in favor of mobilizing a *behavioral* one" (2016, 170). This to bring about "new cultural discourse that helps reshape human behavior into a more sustainable direction" (Herman 2016, 163). In the context of this thesis this supports the vision of social entrepreneurs who operate on the

[31] Informal conversation, Mona, April 4, 2017.
[32] Fieldnotes, February 12, 2017.

intersection of the indigenous and modern paradigm. Thus, "embracing the holistic knowledge and wisdom found in traditional cultures, while also utilizing the advances in science and other areas of human endeavor" (Herman 2016, 170). When one of my informants, Mark, asked me if I considered myself to be indigenous, I answered hesitantly, "No I don't think I do". He states: "Everyone is indigenous to *a* place in the world. However most of us have been traumatized, we have become disconnected from the knowledge of the places where we are from. We have become disconnected from the knowledge of where our food comes from but also who lives next door. The way to heal from this trauma is going back to the root, to nature and to get to know nature again"[33]. A similar understanding is brought forth by one of my research participants, Christine: "the categorization of 'Westerners' or 'European', it separates people. Or like indigenous, you think of someone brown that comes from not having a lot, who's very barefoot, that's the kind of concept of indigeneity. But we have categorized indigenous because they are still the most connected to that ancient knowledge. They haven't been caught off. Everyone is indigenous, to a place, to the earth"[34].

The infrastructure born out of the valuation of economic growth and affluent privatization of corporations that has led people to become interconnected based on the flow of financial capital, commodities and people (Tsing 2005). But it is also this type of interconnection on the surface, that simultaneously created an 'illusion of separateness'. I sat down with Patrick, in between our preparations for the sustainability summit of UH, for an interview. Coming from a career in the corporate industry Patrick now devotes his creativity to solving social, environmental and cultural issues in Hawai'i as a consultant, has his own social enterprise and functions as an intra-preneur within UH. He reaches for a piece of paper as he starts to explain his idea on the illusion of separateness; "A useful concept to explain, that we operate consciously on a daily basis here", as Patrick points to the 'islands' above the straight line on his drawing (figure 2). He explains that people see the links, the connections on the surface but with the illusion that the interactions take place between separate entities[35]. He also writes down: *He Wa'a He Moku*; *He Moku He Wa'a.* Which translates in 'a canoe is an island; an island is a canoe'. This particular Hawai'ian proverb highlights the finite resources found on a voyaging canoe as well as on an island[36]. It could be used as a tool to help people imagine sailing thousands of miles with limited drinking water and essential supplies. It facilitates contemplation of our island resources and

[33] Interview Patrick, March 9, 2017.
[34] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.
[35] Interview Patrick, March 9, 2017.
[36] http://www.hookuaaina.org/he-waa-he-moku-he-moku-he-waa/: DOI: August 6, 2017.

the necessity of being good environmental stewards[37]. Both concepts can be translated to society at large that faces consequences of global warming and exhaustion of the earth's natural resources: "the island" and "the earth" –the minutely local and the whole globe," as Anna Tsing describes in her ethnography *Friction* wherein she vividly outlines the dynamics between global processes and local dynamics (2005, 155).

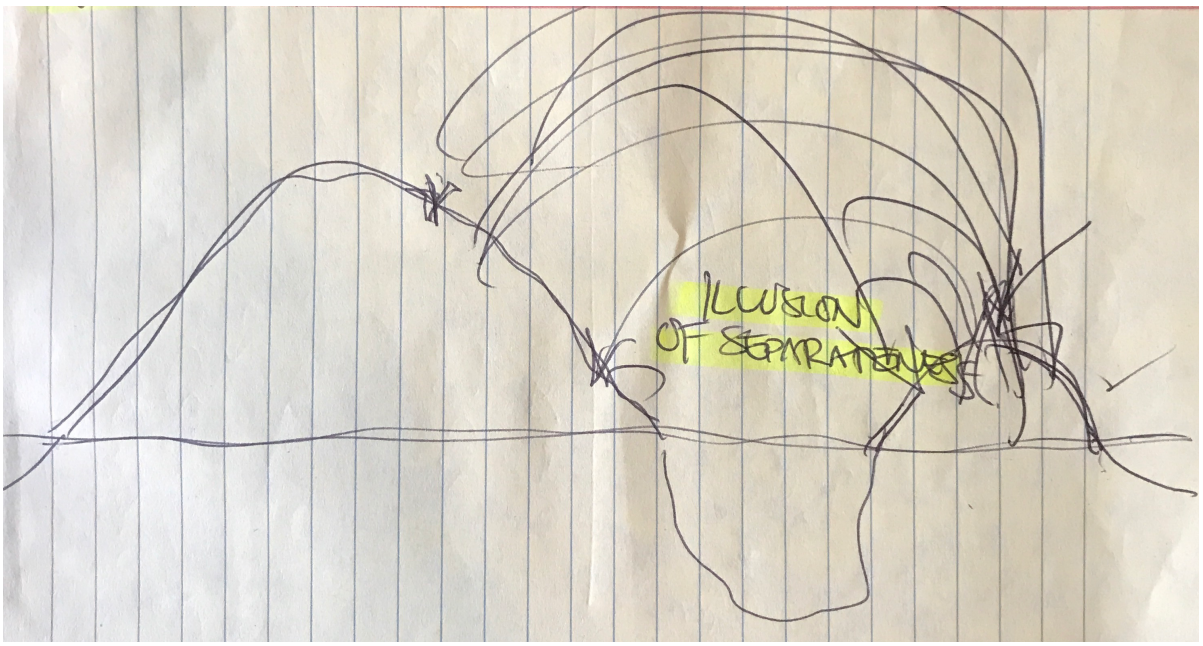

figure 2[38]

In sum, one could say that, the illusion of separateness has led to an understanding of interconnectedness, based on flows of financial capital, products and people rather than intrinsic conviction and recognition of an interdependent relationship among humans and between man and nature. It is an understanding of the relationship between man and nature that due to its construction was able to become dominant over the last few centuries (*cf* Argyrou 2005: Herman 2016).

Man and nature

The dominant perception of man's relationship with nature in the world has been aligned with a cosmology that finds its roots in the Enlightenment period. During that time, 'man' rather than a Christian God came to be perceived as the creator of its own reality (Argyrou 2005). By that time, the perception of indigenous and traditional societies, including the ancient

[37] http://www.hookuaaina.org/he-waa-he-moku-he-moku-he-waa/: DOI: August 6, 2017.
[38] "The illusion of separateness"; Fieldnotes March 9, 2017.

Greeks who regarded nature as an entity with a soul, a living and feeling organism and in which the world was understood in terms of flows of energies (and sometimes entities) across a permeable boundary between manifest and un-manifest realities, had long been discarded (Argyrou 2005, 2; Herman 2016, 165). Whether a machine, as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or a domain of life mechanistically producing new versions of itself, as in the nineteenth, nature came to be perceived as an intractable domain of danger. A domain that, above all, needed to be mastered and to be brought under control by 'man' (Argyrou 2005, 4). As Herman argues, (..) "nature was placed under the stewardship of humanity, and had no *intrinsic* value or active role in the evolution of the human spirit" (2016, 164). According to him, it is the lack of 'enchantment' in the 'rational' reasoning of man, "whereby the natural world—so full of life, agency and creative energy becomes inert and material, and the nations of beings with whom we share the planet become, at best, dumb animals, and at worst, mere matter" (2016, 164-165).

It is a perception that contradicts the phrase: "*He ali'i ka 'āina, he kauwā ke kanaka*, The land is the chief served by the people" (Pukui in Ho'omanawanui 2008, 205). This Hawai'ian proverb reflects the conviction that man is here to be in service of nature rather than its master. The embodiment of this 'traditional' perception of man's relationship with nature became apparent to me during the sustainability summit. As we, the production team of the summit, students and staff of universities of the outer islands, arrive at Camp Palehua, on the west side of O'ahu, we are welcomed by Heidi. Heidi is camp leader and asks us to take a moment to be mindful of the place where we are: "the mountains, *nature"*. She explains us the importance of asking permission to enter the property. This needs to be asked by visitors to both Heidi as guardian of the property but also to the unseen spirit(s) of nature and/or mother nature. She asks if there is someone in our presence who knows the words of the proper Hawai'ian chant that asks for this permission. One of the students from the island of Hawai'i steps forward and chants out loud. Hereafter, we continue our walk up to the bunks and shared rooms at the camp. The usage of this ritual to some is familiar, to others it was new. It is a ritual that would be repeated prior to different activities during the summit. Later, Celia, the 'mother' of the production team of the summit, who I had the honor to work with side by side throughout the conference, explains: "it is like stepping into someone's home, you know. When you would go out in the forest and pick flowers or fruit, you need to ask them [spirits, ancestors] permission. You wouldn't go around someone's house to just take something, right"[39][40].

[39] Informal Conversation, Celia, March 15, 2017.
[40] Fieldnotes March 15, 2017.

Integration of cultural practices as such is part of the mission of the Office of Sustainability (OoS) towards sustainable education. The normalization of Hawai'ian cultural practices is a shared mission among the social entrepreneurs who I have engaged with. For some this is an explicitly articulated mission, others contribute to the cause implicitly[41].

The perception of man being nature's servant is embedded in a Hawai'ian cosmology that offers the conviction that man is part of a family created by God. This family is shaped by the sky (the father), the earth (the mother), an older brother in the form of a taro plant (an essential to the Hawai'ian diet), and finally, the younger brother, *man* (Berry 2015). Man's existence is thereby embedded in a loving relationship with the āina, the land. Therefore, *land* is intrinsically valued as family that needs to be loved, listened to, nourished and thereby taken care off. It is sensed and expressed while Uncle Dwight offers me a ride home after our visit at the Kanewai spring, he mentions; "You know, she, mother Earth, has given us a lot. But she is tired, we [people] have exhausted her too much, we haven't given back to her as much or even more than we took. Now, she needs people like us to help her heal"[42]. Coming from a different background, born and raised on the U.S. mainland, and having been living on O'ahu for 8 years, Carry, who works for an organization that intends to establish cross-sectional collaboration among individuals, communities and organizations that are involved in sustainability practices across Hawai'i articulates: "I really feel the responsibility to steward, nature, essentially, the land, the ocean the air. And really to create conditions for that life to thrive. And in feeling that, that's my purpose, it drives me but I need to continually fill myself up so that I have more to give"[43]. In both cases the rhetoric testifies of intrinsic motivation of people to take care of nature. It shows that perceptions of man's relationship with nature are not simply ideas but also, inextricably, a specific *attitude* towards the (physical) world (Argyrou 2005, 4). Hawai'ian language incorporates this notion. It is rendered visible, for example, in terms as *aloha 'āina;* love for the land and *malama 'āina;* to care for and nurture the land. Acceptance and embodiment of these notions leads to a reciprocal relationship between man and nature (Herman 2016). The land can give back all that people need to sustain life for themselves and for their future generations[44]. David, a student of Hawai'ian studies at UH, explains that within this paradigm, the understanding of interconnectedness led Hawai'ians to consider 10 generations to come in their actions. "The amount of fish they would take out of the ocean for example, they would take just enough to

[41] Fieldnotes February through March 2017.
[42] Fieldnotes April 17, 2017.
[43] Carry, Interview, April 7, 2017.
[44] http://sustainablemeasures.com/Training/Indicators/Def-Hawi.html: DOI July 30, 2017.

feed the community, never more than necessary. It is this kind of thinking that prevented exhaustion of the natural resources"[45]. This system- thinking recognizes the existence of all elements of human and natural life in relation to one another[46]. Both the ritual of asking permission and management of natural resources through system-thinking reflect the notion that Hawai'ian well-being is tied first and foremost to a strong sense of cultural identity that links people to their homeland, the āina (Berry 2015, 1).

Knowledge

The notion that cultural identity among Hawai'ians is tied to the relationship with the land contradicts the cultural identification process of modern man who identifies himself through mastery of nature and thereby separates himself from the land. Mastery of nature came to be seen as the unmistakable mark of civilization, the core characteristic not of European 'man' but 'man' as such" (Argyrou 2005, 4). As Marx expressed this idea, 'man' makes himself and is himself only insofar as he remakes the world around him. The more he changes the world around him, the more he becomes his true self (in Argyrou 2005, 4-5). Being both the creator and subject, man's existence could only be validated through verification with his physical environment. Forms of knowledge and power were thereby legitimized with reference to man himself. This secure basis for knowledge at the dawn of modernity, was imposed by cultural conditions, rather than cut off from these conditions (Argyrou 2005; Tsing 2005; Herman 2016). The construct, a logic, that has to verify this truth had to be eternal, for the salvation of man's soul is to be made certain and guaranteed. This logic will be referred to as modern for within this logic man himself became the measure to know the world, man was placed at the center of the universe as both the Creator and the Subject. It has been this internal referential system that led to the physical and ideological expansion of Europe, Argyrou, argues (2005, 4). Following my informants, one could also say that the illusion of separateness finds its roots in this internal referential system modern man finds himself in. Along with industrialization it has disconnected people from the workings, the rhythm of nature[47] (*cf* Ingold 2011; Herman 2016).

On the other hand, the phrase *'Ike 'Āina,* emphasizes oral traditions, cultural memory, and experience or a relationship with the 'āina (Ho'omanawanui 2008, 205). "The term can be translated as knowledge (*'ike*) about land (*'āina*), which suggests the Western discipline of

[45] Interview David, March 30, 2017.
[46] Fieldnotes March 9, 2017.
[47] Fieldnotes March 2017.

geography or geology. From an indigenous Hawai'ian perspective, however, the term includes, as Meyer (2003) wrote, learning *from* the land" (in Ho'omanawanui 2008, 204). This kind of subtlety allows one to learn to understand that Hawai'ian epistemology, places the environment at the core of human well-being[48]. Nuanced articulations about this intimate relationship between man and nature are experienced by the majority of my research participants. Although earlier outlined as affluent of Hawai'ian cosmology, this is not to say that this relationship is merely experienced as such by people from Hawai'ian descent or share the similar ontological conviction. Nor does it imply that *all* Hawai'ians share these beliefs, values and attitudes. It does however reflect the distinction being made between a belief system with affluent sets of values and attitudes marked as deconstructive due to its perception of man's relationship with nature; modern. And another belief system, indigenous and its affluent sets of values and attitudes appreciated as an example to influence the global climate that has been dictated by a modern paradigm (Herman 2016). The following passage exemplifies this further:

Christine and I sit down in downtown Honolulu. After being born and raised on O'ahu and the island of Hawai'i, Christine left to pursue a career in the tourist industry. After having travelled the world she came back. As she explains, she felt her *na'au,* intuition, pulling, calling. As she describes, it told her that it was time to come home and fulfill her responsibility, her *kuleana*. As I have come to understand during my fieldwork kuleana entails, in short, the responsibility to take care of your family as well as for the land where one is from. The latter, following Hawai'ian cosmology thus also considered family. Christine, who I am very thankful for sharing her life trajectory with me in a very open way continues, "After my return, I got to see the underbelly of what the tourism industry is actually doing to my people and my community and my beloved āina, you know, that raised me. *That* relationship right there is probably one of the most essential things one could do in facilitating transformation for individuals. That is, find their intimate relationship with nature again. Find the relationship with the place where they come from and who they are"[49]. Christine's narrative reflects a relationship of familiarity and affection between her and the natural environment. It also introduces one to the notion of belonging and identity in relationship to a place, to land. Following Williams-Kennedy (2004), "the natural features within the homelands of each indigenous cultural group are the symbols that contain important information. Indigenous people have drawn on this information to explain their origins, to make sense of their world and to practice and maintain their cultures. Reading the land is therefore only possible within the

[48] http://blog.hawaii.edu/sustainabilitysummit/meeting-of-wisdoms-panel-mar-16/: DOI: July 22, 2017.
[49] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.

context of stories, lores, and ways of relating to each other and their homelands" (in Ho'omanawanui 2008, 205). This notion helps to grasp why the reshaping of social structures and displacement ecosystems, effects of (among other dynamics) tourism, have affected Christine personally and her professional career.

Root knowledge

The cultural identity of Hawai'ians, similar to any place in the world, has been influenced, changed, evolved throughout the years (cf Appadurai 1990). The importance of ties to the physical world, to land in Hawai'ian tradition, knowledge about the (relationship with) land was due to meddling of Christian missionaries and white businessmen threatened to vanish (Daws 1974). As briefly touched upon earlier, this interference had led to a disadvantaged position of Hawai'ians in socio- economic terms. What preceded was the prohibition of speaking Hawai'ian language which automatically entailed impoverishment of the transfer of cultural knowledge. Namely, this knowledge had been transferred orally throughout history[50]. Following Argyrou's (2005) argument it has been the affluent attitude of the modern logic towards the physical world *and* the Other, the exotic, uncivilized native across the oceans. Today, the debate on the annexation of Hawai'i, the annexation itself and the historical trajectory towards it, is experienced as an act along the lineage of (cultural) 'mastery' by modern man. Or as colonization, as some of my research participants have expressed this development[51]. The debate is present, alive and in many cases precarious. The experience of the intricate effects of (unequal) ongoing power dynamics become apparent in Christine's narrative in relation to the effects of the travel industry on Hawai'i. She explains, that she was being confronted with the effects, such as a housing shortage among residents but also the simultaneous dependency upon this travel industry as a financial incubator for the local economy. The realization of these complicated relationships led her to seek different pathways outside of the corporate tourism industry. "It was kind of the incubator phase, the phase where I started realizing, where my purpose, and my sweet spot was". As we continue our conversation she explains that in order to navigate towards different occupations, she turned to her *kupuna*, elders, to seek knowledge. Since she feels that in search of addressing the social, environmental and cultural issues, her people and her land are facing, she could not turn to the same 'system' that had been (re)producing these unequal power structures[52] (cf Ticktin 2011: Argyrou 2005).

[50] Fieldnotes March 3, 2017.
[51] Fieldnotes February through May 2017.
[52] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.

As earlier stated, the secure basis for knowledge at the dawn of modernity, was imposed by man's rationale. Man, himself became the measure to know the world, man was placed at the center of the universe as both the Creator and the Subject (Argyrou 2005: Tsing 2005). The difficulty with the modernist subjectivity is that it "understands itself as the end result of a long evolutionary process that began at some 'point' in the distant past when itself did not exist" (Argyrou 2005, 140). At "some" point in time there was an Origin, the source, where life started. It relates to the question what Nature is. *N*ature (other than *n*ature) is, "the awe-inspiring, lawlike systematicity of the cosmos and of life on earth" (Tsing 2005, 88). Along with God, Nature exemplifies the most successful universal; that what counts for all and everything. It is an all- encompassing perceived *truth*. The search for this truth can be traced back to the Enlightenment period. Which entailed a search for empirical truth in which 'man' rather than a Christian God came to be perceived as the creator of its own reality. Forms of knowledge and power are thereby legitimized with reference to man itself. It led to the conviction that knowledge could only be gathered through man's reason. Alexander Rosenberg argues in the Philosophy of Social Sciences (2016) that the ontology one accepts, the truth one accepts determines the affluent epistemology and that consistency is important yet rare.

Eclectic knowledge

Modern culture thereby rejected the thought that "simple" natives could possess knowledge that could be superior to theirs (Laimana 2007, 35). Aurora Kagawa-Vivani, one of the panel members during the meeting of wisdoms explains that the expansion of this particular set of knowledge led her grandmother to be "a scientist during the weekdays and Hawai'ian on the weekends"[53]. It reflects how the rejection of the validity of the (Hawai'ian) indigenous knowledge led to two knowledge systems in one place[54]. The prohibition of Hawai'ian language and execution of cultural practices, led to a knowledge gap. However, Manulani Aluli Meyer, Director of Indigenous Education at UH West Oahu, moderator during the meeting of wisdoms states that indigenous epistemology endured for a reason. Indigenous epistemology allows one to "recognize relationships as verbs which infers the intentional quality of connection that is experienced and remembered (..). It is knowledge through *experience,* individual or collective, and a way of being via site-specific familiarity through years, generations, and life-times. (..) It is knowing shaped by purpose and knowledge prioritized by function" (Aluli- Meyer 2003, 98). This affirms with Tim Ingold's (2011) notion of a *meshwork,* a concept that offers a perception

[53] Fieldnotes March 16, 2017.
[54] Rosie Alegado in Fieldnotes March 16, 2017.

of what life is; a constitution of contingent lineages. Lines that reflect how things, through time, are formed into their present form by change or happening (Ingold 2011; Tsing 2005). Perceptions as these, enables one to move beyond the binary of object and subject. And similar, the binary of the global and local. If one translates this concept, this way of *being*, to contemporary society one would come to see the world as an interwoven web which reflects an idea of interdependency within at the scale of the globe (Tsing 2005, 101). It allows to normalize the multifaceted, multilayered element of existence, the notion that everything is connected[55].

Argyrou (2005) voices a critical stance towards this claim. He places the notion of a unified globe in the framework of environmentalism. According to him, environmentalism rests upon the very premises of a cultural logic induced by modernism. By perceiving the environment as one and equal to man, environmentalism tries to "efface the last and grandest of all modernist divides of the Whole - the division between humanity and nature" and thereby would be the internal referential system taken to its extreme (Argyrou 2005, 73-74). (Argyrou 2005, 74). With this stance, Argyrou is critical towards the use of the aforementioned concept of the meshwork by Tim Ingold. According to Argyrou, a concept as such, in which all in life is interrelated, can be placed in the "environmentalist vein". By arguing that any development is a reproduction of this logic, Argyrou puts a bold deadlock on any discourse that aims to enact *change.* Moreover, his argument does not leave room for the existence nor validation of other cosmologies and epistemologies. He does not allow "a critical distance from the common-sense platitudes and everyday assumptions of one's life and the powerful ideologies that keep one in their thrall" (Tsing 2005, 122).

Following Aluli-Meyer, it is indeed a challenge to comprehend the vast amount of difference the world offers. Our independently trained minds, are "currently withering in a hailstorm of uniformity, capitalistic assimilation and literal renditions of reality asserting a predictable empiricism now waiting to evolve" (Aluli-Meyer 2003, 98). "It is at these very sites of tension where the future of rigorous scholarship lies" (Aluli-Meyer 2003, 98). It is this eclecticism of knowledge, that Tsing describes as friction. Friction is "where rubber meets the road". It is not a synonym for resistance but "a reminder of the importance of interaction in defining, movement, cultural form and agency" (2005, 6). It is thus cross- cultural dialogue where creativity and possibilities of change can find their way to surface (Tsing 2005; Aluli-Meyer 2003).

[55] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.

The perceptions of Aluli- Meyer, Ingold and Tsing leave room for maneuver within the scholarly debate as well as in public practices so that a transformative change can be enacted.

In sum

This chapter has provided an outline of dominantly two paradigms, that shape the backbone of the belief and value systems that inform SE's in Honolulu. Within these paradigms different perceptions of man's relationship with nature have become apparent. The indigenous paradigm offers a perspective that links individual and or societal well- being to an intimate relationship between man and nature and thereby transcends the illusion of separateness. It shows that understandings of the relationship between man and nature influence one's experience of one's place in the world and defines the relationships between people and their (social) environment. It thereby contributes to what people define as "an optimal state for an individual, community, society, and the world as a whole", well- being. This chapter has also shown that the space that is created through friction between the modern and indigenous paradigm is considered a place where change can be enacted. The question of how knowledge, that is embedded in different epistemologies, can be communicated proves an ongoing debate at this time. The following elaborates on how SE's perceive the incorporation of the indigenous value system in their understanding of sustainability and their practices as social entrepreneur.

II. MAUŌ |

The perpetuation of well- being

"The world is realizing that there is a need to reconnect to land, to realize self- sufficiency, and incorporate reciprocity in its economic and social models. It is the global system that is realizing that, *that* is the model we need to move towards and that we all have a responsibility towards each other and our natural environment. It's the new story that is trying to become normalized. So, what are the mechanisms in doing that?[56]". Christine's reflection shows that she accepts the values and attitude forthcoming out of the indigenous paradigm and intends to seek ways to (re-)integrate this understanding of well- being on local scale in Hawai'i and expand it on a global scale. This chapter places this process of integration in the framework of sustainable citizenship. It thereby parallels current social, environmental and cultural issues with the historical trajectory of the islands while simultaneously designing a model, combining indigenous values and with modern techniques to restore the health of eco-systems and establish equity on a societal scale. The first paragraph thereby introduces sustainability as a lived practice[57]. Considering the importance of land in the indigenous paradigm, the second paragraph focusses on the notion of land and ties this to the concepts of (food)security and self-sufficiency. It places these notions in the context of the historical trajectory of the islands that is considered to have an ongoing influence on the disproportionate position of a large portion of the population in Hawai'i. The third paragraph shines light towards the future and focusses on how SE's envision the incorporation of a notion of reciprocity in economic and social models in Honolulu.

Sustainability as a lived practice

The well- being of today's global society depends upon the well- being of the earth. Born out of awareness of the finiteness of the earth's natural resources, the concept of sustainability was coined around 30 years ago. The term sustainability and sustainable development are effectively ethical concepts, expressing desirable outcomes from economic and social decisions but have been applied loosely to policies to express this aspiration. "The important matter of principle therefore becomes a victim of the desire to set targets and measure progress" (Adams 2006, 4). Thus, "despite three decades of explicit concern about sustainability, a concern increasingly part of the mainstream of international debate, the human claim on nature is increasing almost

[56] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.
[57] http://www.hawaii.edu/sustainability/hawai'i-sustainability-as-a-lived-practice/: DOI: August 10, 2017.

everywhere unchecked, and the problem of poverty is deeply persistent (Adams 2006, 7). Following the argument in Chapter I, this is due to a lack of intrinsic conviction that man and nature are dependent upon one another (Herman 2016). Dr. ‘Ohu Gon III explains that in their ancient culture, Hawai’ians thrived in a limited environment system without leaving a heavy footprint nor loosing self-sufficiency. Due to their understanding of their relationship with nature they made sure that only fifteen percent of the land, or less, was touched upon. Therefore, there was no need for a word as sustainability. Their way of life *was* sustainable, able to be endured by generations to come. He explains that cultural exchange flows have displaced ecosystems and self-sufficiency has declined[58]. “At the time of first contact with outsiders in 1778, the entire population of the Hawai’ian Islands was entirely self- sufficient. Now the islands import 92% of their food. Only 8% is produced or gathered locally. With the exception of Oahu, each island then, under the traditional *ahupua'a* system, supported more inhabitants than live on each island now” (Berry 2015, 2). Today, it is therefore critical to distinguish between what is sustainable and what is not. In 2016, it led the Hawai’ian Lexicon Committee to coin the word *mauō*. This Hawai’ian word for sustainability, is made up of two basic words; *mau*, stability, unbroken continuity, and *ō*, enduring in a healthy state. The word is thereby understood as *the perpetuation of well- being*[59]. This composition of the word thereby draws on Hawai’i’s cultural heritage and traditional knowledge in which sustainability was a lived practice[60]. The introduction of a new Hawai’ian word also reflects efforts to normalize Hawai’ian language.

Given that the world’s ecosystems are out of balance requires people to not only reconsider their priorities it also asks them to adapt their mind and skillset to the understanding of the finiteness of the earth. In their search of redesigning education in Hawai’i by exploring the intersection of ancestral knowledge and modern empirical sciences, Matthew Lynch and Krista Hiser articulate sustainability as both a value and a practice. They refer to the competencies of the Mater Navigators of Polynesia as a leading example for contemporary society. Namely because they were able to “visualize an unseen destination, and conceptualize and implement a strategy to get there, navigate in a rapidly shifting landscape to a destination [one] may have never been to previously (..) [and] rapidly process copious amounts of data points and continuously adjust [one’s] strategy as new data is received”[61]. It is the type of

[58] Dr. S ‘Ohu Gon III “Lessons from a thousand years of island sustainability, TEDxMaui: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9fv_2XIJBk: DOI, August 10, 2017.
[59] Lynch, M. and K. Hiser “‘Ike Hawai’i and Sustainability: A draft (5) concept paper exploring the meeting of wisdoms between ancestral knowledge and modern empirical sciences through sustainability curriculum, pedagogy, and action” (2017).
[60] http://www.hawaii.edu/sustainability/hawai‘i-sustainability-as-a-lived-practice/: DOI: August 11, 2017.
[61] Lynch, M. and K. Hiser “‘Ike Hawai’i and Sustainability: A draft (5) concept paper exploring the meeting of wisdoms between ancestral knowledge and modern empirical sciences through sustainability curriculum, pedagogy, and action” (2017).

skillset that is considered necessary to create thriving and flourishing livelihoods in spite of the changes ahead[62]. It links people's behavior and sense of responsibilities to the conditions of the (social- environment).

Fixing the roof first

Responsibilities of different actors are addressed when sustainability is interpreted as both a value and a practice. Sustainable citizenship is a useful concept that not only includes consideration of generations to come but also includes awareness of injustices that have been established in the past into the understanding of sustainability (Micheletti and Stolle 2012). I speak with Gale, one of the older students at UH attending the sustainability summit, it becomes apparent that the island community of Hawai'i is considered to be on the disadvantaged end of an unequal relationship between the global North and Global South (Peterson 2015). At that point in time one of my observations was that sustainability related conversations often took place in reference to the local context of Hawai'i. I wondered why this was the case since the emphasis in my academic training had much been on the dynamic relationship between global and local scales (Tsing 2005). When I spoke to Gale about my observation she states: "There are so many issues within our community. There are too many people who do not have a roof over their head or go to bed hungry at night, we need to be able to take care of our homes first". She also adds; "The global is too big, it's too much ground to cover"[63]. Later during the summit, as Patrick and Celia reflect on the second day of the summit Patrick has a similar approach to my question: "If a rooftop is leaking, the roof needs to be fixed first before you start remodeling the house, right". He explains that if people want the world to become more sustainable as a whole, it is important to recognize the prior needs of local community. As he continues it becomes apparent that the first needs in Hawai'i are both material and emotional[64].

One of the most frequently mentioned issues on the islands with O'ahu in particular, is the high rate of homelessness. It is a development that is very vividly experienced as one walks down the boulevard of Waikiki, the tourist hotspot of Honolulu. As I walked towards the clear blue ocean I noticed a large amount of people laying down on the lanes of grass that separate the boulevard from the beach. At the time, not being fully aware of the scope of the amount of homeless people in Honolulu, I thought it were people enjoying a day on the beach. As I had a

[62] Lynch, M. and K. Hiser "'Ike Hawai'i and Sustainability: A draft (5) concept paper exploring the meeting of wisdoms between ancestral knowledge and modern empirical sciences through sustainability curriculum, pedagogy, and action" (2017).
[63] Informal Conversation Gale, March 17, 2017.
[64] Fieldnotes March 18, 2017.

closer look I came to see that the small tents they were laying in and the bags that were next to it were probably their only material possessions. I experienced it to be a harsh reality. Especially considering the amount of money tourists spend a night staying in the hotels and the clothes they buy in the high-end fashion stores right across the street, on the other side of the boulevard. While tourism on the one hand forms a prior way of income for the state, the possession of property by corporations in this industry has led housing prices to reach a point where it is nearly impossible for locals to sustain themselves financially. It has led Carmen, director of a drop-in center for homeless youth, to rephrase homelessness as *house*-lessness[65]. "It is not that all the houseless are drug addicts or troubled people, many have jobs and support their families. They're civilized people, like you and me, Carmen states. "They just have fallen through the cracks of our fragile system"[66]. Carmen's efforts to prevent houseless youth from falling further down these cracks. She offers immediate help while she simultaneously recognizes that the home- or houselessness issue holds ties with larger unequal economic relationships (Beck 2013). It highlights the importance of social sustainability. "Social sustainability, when taken as part of environmental and economic sustainability, recognizes that all people need more than a daily wage and returns attention to the consequences of focuses on local causes and solutions — local people are blamed and their lives upturned to address issues far beyond their control" (Peterson 2015, 273).

Similar to my roommates in Palolo Valley, a suburb of Honolulu, many residents of Honolulu work at least two or sometimes three jobs to be able to make a living for themselves[67]. The dependency upon import of products also contributes to the high cost of living in Hawai'i. It has led people to refer to sustainability in terms of survival and self- sufficiency[68]. If for any reason import of food is no longer possible, within a timespan of three weeks the island community will have not enough food to survive[69]. Peterson argues that inequalities as such "can often be neglected in discussions of sustainability, which is almost always perceived as an environmental issue rather than one with deep political and social implications (2015, 264). She continues her argument by stating that these inequalities are "often based in histories of conquest and colonization" (Peterson 2015, 264- 265). An argument that becomes apparent by linking the houseless issue to tourism which signifies a debate on property and land ownership. As described in the prologue of this thesis, this debate holds ties to a long and for many painful

[65] Interview Carmen February 14, 2017 and Fieldnotes February 14, 2017.
[66] Interview Carmen, February 14, 2017.
[67] Fieldnotes week 1, 2017.
[68] Fieldnotes February through April 2017.
[69] Dr. S 'Ohu Gon III "Lessons from a thousand years of island sustainability, TEDxMaui: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9fv_2XIJBk: DOI, August 10, 2017.

historical trajectory of Hawai'i and its relationships with (dominantly) the U.S. mainland. This is where ownership of land, often considered as merely material, substance (*cf* Ingold 2012), holds connotations with emotional damage among Hawai'ians that needs to be healed as part of the roof that needs to be fixed. As Patrick phrased it, "their dignity needs to be restored and trust has to be earned again"[70].

Given that in Hawai'ian cosmology the land is the source of life, Derné explains that Hawai'ians "could feel no well- being so long as the land is being injured (2010, 142). Dr. 'Ohu Gon III articulates of this feeling as, "To gain from the land, without thought of benefit of the land, is direct and conscious prostitution of not only a family member but also an elder"[71]. It reflects the depth of experienced deprivation of pride and dignity when land was to be occupied by corporations. As mentioned they only used fifteen percent of the land for their own use. The other 85 percent belonged to the Gods [72]. Additionally, "one's work on the land gave each inhabitant the right to live in a specific place (..). It differs from the idea of land ownership based on a paper deed rather than on the actual deeds of a lifetime" (Berry 2015, 2). It has been the ownership of land by unseen Hawai'ian ancestors that had not been acknowledged by the companies that 'took' or 'bought' this land to consume it rather than to preserve and nurture it[73]. Their formulas for the use of land replaced eco diversity by cows, pineapples and tourism. "It is ultimately what will destroy the foundation upon which our lives and identity are build", explains 'Ohu Gon III[74]. It shows that all human cultures are shaped and transformed in long histories of regional-to-global networks of power, trade, and meaning (Tsing 2005, 3).

Converting the way in which land is used and the knowledge gap that resulted out of prohibitions on speaking the Hawai'ian language and passing on knowledge on (agri)cultural practices for two generations[75], have increased inequalities in resources and power (Peterson 2015, 264). As Peterson explains, "centralized global actors like states and corporations are removing control from local communities with concurrent decreasing accountability to them. Dressler (2010) explains that "these kinds of unequal global economic relationships contribute to environmental problems but also can lead to other forms of inequality—in education, health, political power, and livelihood satisfaction (in Peterson 2015, 273).

[70] Fieldnotes March 18, 2017.
[71] Dr. S 'Ohu Gon III "Lessons from a thousand years of island sustainability, TEDxMaui: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9fv_2XIJBk: DOI, August 10, 2017.
[72] Interview, Uncle Dwight, March 20, 2017.
[73] Interview Uncle Dwight, March 20, 2017.
[74] Dr. S 'Ohu Gon III "Lessons from a thousand years of island sustainability, TEDxMaui: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9fv_2XIJBk: DOI, August 10, 2017.
[75] Informal conversation Celia, March 10, 2017.

Transformations of nature are occurring at an unprecedented rate with adverse human and natural impacts, which fall unevenly along dimensions of wealth and power" (Peterson 2015, 264- 265). It has contributed to dependency upon import of food and products from the mainland. Local food production is in this regard considered a way to alleviate this food insecurity. Increasing food security through local food production can be considered a central piece of building sustainable, resilient communities around the world (Mares 2014, 34- 35). Taresa Mares argues that attention to local food production has become intimately linked with social movements that challenge the global industrialized food system and find promise in more localized alternatives. She states, "In the face of climate change, dwindling fossil fuels, and sustained economic crises, people around the globe are seeking more sustainable and socially just ways to feed the world" (Mares, 2014, 34). Researchers have also "demonstrated benefits of local food production in terms of fostering community development and renewing connections between people and place" (in Mares 2014, 34). In Hawai'i, the later proves a relevant finding. Namely, turning focus to local food production as a way to alleviate food insecurity, also contributes to growing awareness and embedding of an understanding of well-being that is tied cultural identity that holds strong connotations with people's relationships with the land, the āina (Berry 2015, 1).

The future has an ancient heart

Social entrepreneurs involved in local food production turn to understandings of how land was shared and cultivated within the indigenous paradigm to increase the islands' self-sufficiency, restoring ecosystems through natural resource management. Simultaneously they thereby contribute to the normalization of (indigenous) Hawai'ian cultural practices. This becomes apparent during an interview with Amy, a social entrepreneur who's mission it is to increase accessibility and consumption of locally sourced seafood. Simultaneously she intends to improve profitability for producers and safeguard the vitality of their fisheries through *pono* fishing practices[76]. Pono, is the Hawai'ian word for righteousness and/or balance. It thereby aligns with the system- thinking competence as mentioned in Chapter I. System- thinking as a competence reflects "the ability to collectively analyze complex systems across different domains (society, environment, economy) and across different scales (local to global), thereby considering cascading effects, inertia, feedback loops and other systemic features related to

[76] Interview, Amy, April 5 2017.

sustainability issues and sustainability problem-solving frameworks[77]". Interesting during our interview I found was where Amy mentioned that part of her work involves educating fisherman. She explains that it is important to educate them about what sustainability is, how conservation and preservation of ecosystems works. She has come to find that merely imposing rules that determine how much fish one can catch does not work, "you need to show them an alternative", she states. Part of this alternative is showing them how working together with her business can also help *them*; how it can help the fishermen provide for their families[78]. The latter reminded me of a conversation I had with Jeremy, a taxi driver that had a clear observation of the dynamics of sustainability on O'ahu. He describes how he sees consciousness and awareness growing on the islands. His observation is that there is a relatively small grass roots population that tries to enact change, that is *able* to enact change. The population in the middle, the majority, might or might not be conscious but regardless, is unable to adopt a more sustainable lifestyle due to top down pressure[79]. Whereas the prices of imported food in Hawai'i are relatively high, imported fish for example still remains cheaper than seafood from the waters surrounding the Hawai'ian islands[80]. It reflects questions of scholars whether, despite these innovative transformations, the strategies endorsed by community food advocates perpetuate the reach of neoliberal logic in addition to race- and class- based inequalities, (Mares 2014, 35). "The discourse of food justice is inspired by movements for local food and community food security but argues that access to healthy and culturally appropriate food and the land on which it is produced is marked by structural racism and/or classism (Mares 2014, 35).

Christine, recognizes the need to continue to restructure these economic models so that ultimately the efforts of social entrepreneurs continue to become (more) inclusive. Central in the first renaissance of the Hawai'ians was the root, the foundation; culture and language. Now that the normalization of Hawai'ian language and cultural practices has been set in motion the central point in the second renaissance is redesigning the infrastructure of the economy. Christine states, "Because right now it's the economy, that is powering the world and all of our consciousness. It's an unhealthy form of economy, it's an extractive one, it's disconnected, it's not rooted in value systems[81]". As Castells et al. explain, the disconnected essence of today's global economy is an affluent of the culture of freedom "that paved the way for the wave of deregulation, privatization, and liberalization that shook the world economy, changing the

[77] Lynch, M. and K. Hiser "'Ike Hawai'i and Sustainability: A draft (5) concept paper exploring the meeting of wisdoms between ancestral knowledge and modern empirical sciences through sustainability curriculum, pedagogy, and action" (2017).
[78] Interview, Amy, April 5 2017.
[79] Informal conversation Jeremy, March 23, 2017.
[80] Interview, Amy, April 5 2017.
[81] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.

foundations of economic institutions and unleashing free market globalization" (2010, 2). Herman refers to the notion of economic man ''an alarmingly rational creature who invariably seeks his own interest, who reacts with lightning speed to actual and anticipated changes in his real income and wealth...he is conscious of no other activities which legitimately could engage a human being'' (Grampp in Herman 2016, 166). One could say that this economic man had been born out of individualism and is the inhabitant of the 'me first culture' (Castells et al 2012, 2). The understanding of wealth has thereby defined in monetary value and the individual as beneficiary as opposed to an understanding of wealth that benefits the community: WaiWai. Throughout this thesis it has become apparent how social entrepreneurs believe in the 'weaving' of the old and the new, of the indigenous and modern paradigm. When it comes to environmental issues, the indigenous paradigm offers a perspective that acknowledges the intrinsic value of nature which contributes to a sustainable way of natural resource management. Christine here explains that she beliefs in the 'braiding' of the two paradigms in economic terms as well. She explains that for long Hawai'ians considered money to be a "dirty word", she says. She outlines that there are millions of dollars coming into the islands every year but only 20 to 30 percent of that money actually stays in the local economy and circulates. 70 to 80 percent of that is going back to corporations. And while tourism has contributed to the disruption of the islands' ecosystems and displacement of land values, it might be possible to look at Waikiki and tourism in terms of wealth, like *wai,* water. And as Hawai'ians were able to divert the flow of water so it would benefit the community, it might be possible to shift the flow of money too. we might be able to shift the flow of this wealth. "Because it is not an issue of not having enough, it is an issue of diverting it to local economy. We just got to figure out how to get it back to us"[82]. Christine has taken upon the challenge as a social entrepreneur to diversify understandings of tourism and thereby diversify financial flows. She thereby stresses the responsibilities and practices of businesses and consumers and views both private and economic life as important centers in the understanding of sustainability (Micheletti and Stolle 2012, 90). It also shows that there is potential in the friction that is born out of the effects of tourism on the islands makes global connections powerful and effective (Tsing 2005, 6). It shows that both cultural paradigms are continually co-produced in the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference (Tsing 2005, 4).

[82] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.

In Sum

In search for sustainability, endurance of human-life on earth, the dynamics between the modern and indigenous paradigm shape the foundation of the practices of SE's in Honolulu. Throughout this chapter it has become apparent that environmental, social and cultural issues that SE's address are interrelated and intertwined. The social, environmental domain cannot be perceived separately and the historical trajectory of Hawai'i in which Hawai'ian, indigenous culture, continuously influences sustainability discourses. This chapter has highlighted how unequal economic relationships are rendered visible through interrelated issues as a high homeless rate, a high cost of living and dependency upon import and how local food production that incorporates indigenous values in its business models offers a possible solution. It has become apparent that normalizing Hawai'i's cultural practices is considered a way to restore dignity and equity for Hawai'ians but also the way to move forward and accomplish sustainable solutions that contribute to social and environmental well- being. This shows how sustainability as a lived practice is a consideration of the past and the future in one's actions in the present moment which then is a continuous unfolding movement. In the context of this thesis, through the understanding of SE's this is embedded in both the realization that land as 'property' can be transformed in one's understanding into an entity that humans can or need to live alongside with. This realization leads to intrinsic motivation to steward the land, nature.

The next chapter outlines the act of social entrepreneurship, in which the well- being of the social and natural environment is centralized influences the well- being of the individual, the social entrepreneur.

III. Entrepreneurship I

and living through purpose

"At the time, after my mother passed away, I went through that phase that every human, no matter what size, race or color you are, will go through. That was a big wave of spiritual awakening for me, in that simple question that every human has: What is my purpose? What am I living and breathing at this moment and time in history? Why? Why am I here?[83]". The questions Christine poses reflect the existential dimension of human life that can be considered a component of well- being. This component proves difficult to specify in most languages because there is no term for it. Mathews introduces the Japanese term *ikigai* as a useful analytical tool to come to phenomenological profiles of societies. This chapter uses the term ikigai, which Mathews translates as "that which most makes one's life worth living," whether one's work, family dream, or God" (2009, 167), as a guideline to demonstrate to what extent the act of social entrepreneurship can be considered the embodiment of the ikigai, purpose, of social entrepreneurs. Here, the 'entrepreneur' as individual is central focus. This chapter reflects the prioritization process of the SE's take place on an individual scale. It becomes apparent how the practice of social entrepreneurship contributes to being in a state of purpose. It shows that within this way of *being* boundaries between the private and professional domains collapse. And how, fulfilling one's *kuleana* through the act of social entrepreneurship, contributes to an ongoing reciprocal dynamic between individual, social and environmental well- being.

Setting priorities

Social entrepreneurs give new meaning to understandings of the term *entrepreneurialism*. Castells et al. explain that "entrepreneurialism took root in the culture of individuation that bypassed organized social action and state bureaucracies. (..) [Simultaneously], the culture of freedom and entrepreneurialism paved the way for the wave of deregulation, privatization, and liberalization that shook the world economy, changing the foundations of economic institutions and unleashing free market globalization (Judt in Castells et al. 2012, 2). Concerns and advocacy for social, environmental and cultural issues thereby became associated with the non-profit sector but thereby dependent upon funding from the government. Due to meddling of corporate interests in the political domain, Christine explains, funds are being cut. It asks for

[83] Interview, Christine, March 30, 2017.

diversification of financial resources to continue to be able to improve the conditions of the social and natural environment. Also, she explains, there is the issue of bureaucracy. Whenever non-profits receive grants or funding from the government it takes too long for change to become visible[84]. By taking the creative element of entrepreneurialism that bypasses bureaucracy and regulation, and use it for the greater good, change can be enacted faster. This, while the social entrepreneur safeguards financial continuance through its business- model, independent from governmental funds[85]. It reflects how individuals fit into, respond to, and change the system (Pichardo 1997, 411). During my fieldwork, I came to understand that social entrepreneurs in Honolulu, who have been defined as a community that shares common concerns over social, environmental and/or cultural issues, are in the process of redefining the practice of social entrepreneurship with a nuanced shift in focus towards *regenerative* entrepreneurship. Namely, away from minimizing harmful impact towards maximizing positive impact. This entails developing "human systems (such as agriculture, architecture, economic, industrial and social systems) which renew and revitalize their own energy and materials sources, so that they produce positive restorative impacts upon their environments"[86]. It is thus, perceiving business and entrepreneurialism in a different light. It is a repositioning of what for long has been at the core, accumulation of financial capital. It is not fully abandoning the notion of money, but reprioritizing it so that it is *a* component in a balanced social, natural and economic environment[87] (Wright 2011).

Collapsing boundaries between private and professional domains

Among social entrepreneurs, the prioritization processes within the professional and private spheres, collide and coincide through the act of social entrepreneurship. The career path that was set out at the dawn of industrialization was designed to create space for leisure time to consume the mass-produced products of corporations and it thereby demarcated the ability to consume and enjoy leisure time as indicators for one's well- being (Harvey 1990; Castells 2012; Wali 2012). It was a safe and linear path in which material wealth was assumed to be guaranteed. Mathews marks that "a remarkable change in recent years has been that increasing numbers of young people choose (or are forced by the lack of available career-track jobs) not to enter the career-track employment path of their fathers but instead chose to become temporary employees (..)" (Mathews 2009, 171). The linear career path as set out during the

[84] Interview, Christine, March 30, 2017.
[85] Fieldnotes February through April 2017.
[86] Lynch, Matthew. "[Re]Design: Regenerative business; beyond sustainability 1.0".
[87] Fieldnotes February through April 2017.

period of industrialization (Harvey 1990), is thereby rejected (Mathews 2009, 171). On a societal scale these considerations can be seen in the light of movements that are the product of the shift to a postindustrial economy and are concerned about the quality of life issues of post materialism (Pichardo 1997, 412). It is a response to the invasiveness of increasingly translocal market forces into longstanding practice of defining self through career and emergence of a workplace increasingly reliant on commoditized notions of the worker (Hoey 2010, 239).

Living through purpose

People are in search of a different way of defining their life paths. People experience that building a career to endlessly consume does not give them the satisfaction, the fulfilment, the experience nor the happiness they seek. Through the act of social entrepreneurship, a way of life is enacted that reflects integration of the private and professional domains in their lives. It is sustainability as a practice, integrated in one's (life)work. It reflects an expression of sustainable citizenship which "includes more actors as citizens and more arenas in which citizenship is practiced (..). In particular, it stresses the responsibilities and practices of businesses and consumers and views both private and economic life as important centers in the making and performance of citizenship" (Micheletti and Stolle 2012, 90). This "emphasizes new responsibilities and expectations for individuals and institutions" (Micheletti and Stolle 2012, 89). Contributing to the well- being of the social and natural environment thereby does not necessarily have to be perceived of as separate of one's ways to retrieve financial income to sustain oneself.

The space where the boundary between the private and the professional sphere is collapsed through sustainability as a lived practice, is where the ikigai of social entrepreneurs is rendered visible. It is where the existential dimension of human-life becomes apparent that helps to understand how meanings of well- being are negotiated. Mathews argues we need to consider the existential dimension of human lives "because a person can have good physical health, live in a humane and just society, be financially well off, and have reasonably good human relationships, and yet still not experience a sense of well- being. (..) It shows how even those who live comfortable lives in affluent societies may find their lives to be fundamentally unfulfilling. Something more is required for well- being. That 'something more' is a sense of the purpose and significance of one's life" (Mathews 2009, 168).

Coming from a background in the corporate world and having accomplished success in terms of establishing a profitable business, Patrick dissects a pursuit for happiness and financial

success from a life lived with *kuleana.* He explains that at the time he had set up a company that was making good profits, he felt a growing void in his being. He explains: "it is the archetype of the executive director who *identifies* himself *as* the one who sacrifices everything. It is a destructive identification process in which the matrix of success is based on perception of other people of what success is". The difference with living through purpose, with a sense of kuleana (responsibility) is, that the latter is triggered internally. The action put outward is intrinsically motivated, embedded in the conviction that it is his responsibility to steward the natural and social environment[88]. Patrick, continues to explain that then happiness is not the end goal. According to him it is a state of being that leads people to more productive but it is a temporary experience and not a goal in itself. He explains "it's not like I wake up every morning feeling really happy. But overall, I feel much more fulfilled because I think the impact that I have improves my environment. It's really driven by kuleana"[89].

Mathews refers to this internal process Patrick elaborates on as a pursuit of significance. The "pursuit of significance is the existential meaning of ikigai: as individuals, we seek to matter beyond ourselves, and ikigai can enable us to matter, by profoundly linking us to the social world, the source of meaning in our lives. Paradoxically, ikigai is also profoundly individual: although institutional structures of society may channel ikigai down certain paths, and pressure from others may nudge the pursuit of ikigai down some paths and not others, ikigai is something that no one outside of oneself can fully mandate" (Mathews 2009, 175). It is however different from the emphasis on personal happiness as a justification that constituted a significant shift in public morality within the culture of freedom (Castells 2012), that reflected a shift from fulfilling social conventions to following one's own inner prompting (Jankowiak 2010, 160). One could say that a pursuit of purpose, guided by a sense of kuleana, connects one to one's intimate relationship with the social and natural environment (again).

This can be traced back to the indigenous paradigm, where an intrinsic aspiration contributes to the well- being of the (social)environment arises out of awareness of interconnectedness and acknowledgement of intrinsic value of nature. It becomes apparent when I ask Carry about her motivations for the work that she does, being a facilitator and a connector for organizations in the field of sustainability. As became apparent in the first chapter of this thesis she feels the responsibility to steward, nature to create conditions for that life to thrive. She expresses that she feels that, that stewardship is her purpose and experiences a reciprocal dynamic within the act of this stewardship. She clarifies that it is in

[88] Interview Patrick, April 13, 2017.
[89] Interview Patrick, April 13, 2017.

nature where she is reminded of what her purpose is to thereafter steward this place[90]. Christine, explains that knowledge about her purpose is also found in nature. She, however approaches it from a stance point embedded in Hawai'ian cultural knowledge. Christine explains living through purpose as an "re-awakening to ancestral knowledge". For her this is tied to the importance of ancestry in Hawai'ian culture. Namely, she explains, "It is important to *always,* remembering the depth of where you come from. And that there is an almost, undefinable connectivity". Going back to Hawai'ian cosmology as outlined in the previous chapters of this thesis, it is in nature where family members, ancestors live forward. Thus, reconnecting with nature, in nature, allows one to be reminded of where one comes from. As Berry explains, "Accessing the *mana*, the spirit of the land is an everyday occurrence. For example, when a new project comes up for review by our local Design Review Committee, a Hawaiian member reminds us to go walk the site, not with camera or tape measure, but with our six senses attuned to what the site can tell us. In attending to our senses, we are brought into the present, where spirit can reach us, allowing *mana* to manifest" (2015, 2). Christine explains however that ancestral knowledge is something that everyone has within themselves and it is connected to a (physical) place, land, maybe not where one is necessarily is from but where one feels the most 'rooted' or where they feel the most connected with"[91]. It takes one back to chapter one where the notions of the illusion of separateness and root knowledge were brought forward. Patrick, who introduced me to the illusion of separateness (figure 1), explains along similar line of thought the concept of *super consciousness*. According to him, this is a source, a place where all individuals have access to. And on this level too are, interconnected[92]. One could say that it reflects the un-tangible, un-manifest dimension of interconnectedness (Aluli- Meyer 2013; Ingold 2012). This, as opposed *or* in addition to interconnectedness based on the flows of financial capital, product and the movement of people. The flows itself are not a physical manifestation, but the 'things' that flow *are* at least considered more tangible, to be understood through reason than something as consciousness. This level of interconnectedness is the process of globalization (Tsing 2000).

Being

The phenomena that the three entrepreneurs are exposed to, becoming aware of what their purpose is through feeling connected to either nature, land as a manifestation of ancestors or

[90] Interview, Carry, April 7, 2017.
[91] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.
[92] Interview Patrick, April 13, 2017.

superconscious, can be captured by what Aluli- Meyer refers to as effulgent coherence of physical, mental *and* spiritual knowledge. She argues that these are three aspects of "our holographic universe (..) and (..) they operate as beams of energy teaching us in separate ways about wholeness" (Aluli- Meyer 2013, 99). She argues that this is "where the path across dangerous waters lies (..), where science and culture must meet and cross" (Aluli- Meyer 2013, 99). The holistic perception of life that Aluli- Meyer introduces collides with Ingolds' (2011) vision and perception of life as a meshwork; a weaving of lines through which interdependent relationships between all beings is reflected. He argues that the perception on life, for this thesis perceived at the foundation of the modern paradigm, projects "a movement towards a terminal closure: a gradual filling up of capacities and shutting down of possibilities" (Ingold 2011, 3). He intends to break this idea open and replace "the end-directed (..) conception of the life-process with a recognition of life's capacity continually to overtake the destinations that are thrown up in its course. It is of the essence of life that it does not begin here or end there, or connect a point of origin with a final destination, but rather that it keeps on going, finding a wat through the myriad of things that form, persist and break up in its currents. Life, in short is a movement of opening, not of closure" (Ingold 2011, 3-4).

It relates to the rethoric that SE's use when referring to living a life through purpose. Carry explains that it is about 'tapping into the movement, the flow of life' and Christine refers to a similar dynamic as "listening to the calls from her intuition"[9394]. It is a dynamic that Ingold signifies as 'attunement'. This why of being, however, contrasts a prevailing perception in today's society in which "objectivity is divorced from subjectivity and (..) the topic of spirituality has become a pink crystal New Age embarrassment to all forms of Science" (Aluli- Meyer 2013, 94). This notion sketches an image of the contrast, the friction SE's experience between an indigenous and modern paradigm on an individual scale. Carry describes the friction she experiences in her efforts to attune to the flow of being as an open movement in which an opening for intuitional knowledge is being made as perceiving life in a non- linear way in a dominantly linear society. She explains that it often takes a lot of energy to "push against the grain", try to raise awareness and change the tide of lifestyles that are systematically ingrained with a prioritization of the individual as a separate entity and are structured around standardized conceptions of time, organizations and work[95]. As Christine explains that she considers social entrepreneurs in this sense as pioneers to create a path[96].

[93] Interview, Carry, April 7, 2017.
[94] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.
[95] Interview, Carry, April 7, 2017
[96] Interview Christine, March 30, 2017.

In sum

It has become apparent that the theory of ikigai explored in this chapter, can enable one to study the different relations of individuals to society within the sociocultural structurings of what matters most to them (Mathews 2009, 182). This chapter has shown how social entrepreneurs experience how, on an individual scale, the prioritization process takes place. It has become apparent that through the act of social entrepreneurship standardized linear career paths are traded for the experience of fulfillment. This, through a life path shaped around the pursuit of significance motivated and fueled by a sense of responsibility to steward one's (social) environment. Happiness then can considered to be subservient to fullfilment and is experienced as a temporary node in one's pursuit of significance. These pursuits are embedded in a perception on life that rests upon a notion of interdependence in which one's essential relationships with the natural and social environment are experienced as a verb that infers the intentional quality of connection that is experienced and rememberd (Aluli- Meyer 2013).

Conclusion I

In contemporary global climate, awareness of the finiteness of the earth's natural resources and reproduction of structural unequal power relationships is growing. Money and wai, happiness and purpose, are words that have proven to be intricately linked among social entrepreneurs in Honolulu in the ongoing negotiation of the meaning of well- being; "an optimal state for an individual, community, society, and the world as a whole" (Mathews and Izquierdo 2010, 5). It is a negotiation that takes place within a space influenced by global forces and local dynamics. It is a place where realities and social priorities are being shaped and constructed. It has shown that it is the meaning people attach to these words and the (absence of) value systems in which these words are embedded that structure life paths and societal priorities.

The pursuit of happiness is a phrase that as a metaphor has been used to "compare individuals (..) in the cultural formulation, social negotiation, and institutional channeling of their sense of what makes their lives worth living" (Mathews 2009, 167). It resonates with the conception that this thesis has drawn on, namely, that it is ultimately the cultures that come to dominate social practice, which will determine our *collective fate* (Castells 2012, 13). In this light it has been interesting to ask; *How do social entrepreneurs in Honolulu structure societal priorities through the practice of social entrepreneurship in which individual, societal and environmental well- being are interrelated and how can this dynamic be perceived in relation to the historical trajectory and contemporary conditions of Hawai'i?* This final chapter offers a synthesis of the arguments made throughout this thesis and a reflection and discussion on the research process and suggestions for future research.

Synthesis

Social entrepreneurs who address social, environmental and cultural issues by using entrepreneurial creativity, structure societal priorities through acknowledgement of intrinsic value of nature and thereby accepting a perception of the relationship between man and nature that aligns with Indigenous Hawai'ian cosmology and ontology. By having a holistic perspective on life, in which the manifest and un-manifest, the seen and unseen dimensions of life are interconnected and interdependent, the illusion of separateness is transcended (Ingold 2012; Herman 2016; Aluli-Meyer). This awareness forms the cornerstone, the foundation in the indigenous paradigm in which indigenous refers to holistic knowledge and wisdom found in

traditional cultures, rooted in the understanding that the world is interconnected. This as opposed to a modern paradigm that rests upon the conviction that man is separate from nature and the idea that interconnection is established between separate entities; the illusion of separateness (Ingold 2012). Society at large, the validation of one's existence as constructed within the modern paradigm that has led to the systematic expansion of ideology and physical space (Argyrou 2012) can be transformed when the root is understood as in the indigenous paradigm (Herman 2016). Man, then *is*, because he is a node within a constitution of contingent lineages. Lines that reflect how things, through time, are formed into their present form by change or happening (Ingold 2011; Tsing 2005). Man, then is because of his relation to the world (Aluli Meyer 2003). In the world today, a perception as such prevents the tendency to turn space into place and land into property (Herman 2016). Social entrepreneurs perceive education a domain where the foundation, the value system where social priorities are being formed can be shaped and reshaped.

In their efforts to address social, environmental and cultural issues, SE's perceive the indigenous paradigm as a model that supports them in their ways of addressing contemporary issues on a local and global scale. It leads social entrepreneurs to structure behavioral priorities around a sense of responsibility to steward the natural and social environment. In this sense, the vulnerability of its geographical location, the history and culture of Hawai'i are considered a testament to the ability of Hawai'ians to manage natural resources and maintain balance of ecosystems. SE's contribute to normalization of Hawai'ian language and cultural practices by drawing on this knowledge in their activities as social entrepreneurs in the fields of natural resource management and local food production. This contributes to the healing process of Hawai'ians and the restoration of their sense of dignity that due to unequal power relationships between the islands and the U.S. that have been established in the past. It has become apparent that issues as homelessness, displacement of land values and ecosystems and decreased self-sufficiency of the islands hold strong connotations with this historical trajectory. It shows that environmental, social and cultural issues are intractably linked. Efforts that address these issues, require ongoing attunement to the present moment with consideration of the past and the future (Ingold 2012: Micheletti and Stolle 2012). Through this attunement and alignment of one's behavior with awareness of one's actions social entrepreneurs become sustainable citizens through which sustainability appears 'a lived practice'.

Lastly, social entrepreneurs structure priorities on an individual scale through which the boundaries between the private and professional domain collapse. It has become apparent that 'living through purpose', the movement itself, is that which makes life worth living for social

entrepreneurs Honolulu. It differs from the commonly understood perception of the pursuit of happiness that reflects a journey towards a goal, a destination in the future, that never arrives (*cf* Nordstrom 2012). Living through purpose as one's ikigai, that which makes life worth living, is an active state of being. It is a verb which activates social entrepreneurs to enact a multilayered transformative change that is reflected in domains as shown throughout this thesis.

It has shown that social entrepreneurs in Honolulu advocate for the deepening of socialist and environmental components over the economic pillar in contemporary societal hybrid (Wright 2001). It is in the ongoing negotiation of values and affluent sets of behavior where change is enacted. It is where; different understandings of truth and knowledge can lead to embracing the holistic knowledge and wisdom found in traditional cultures, while also utilizing the advances in science and other areas of human endeavor (Herman 2016), and technologies for renewable energy and conservation biology can restore the health of eco-systems. And, when rooted in value systems, can address socio-economic consequences of unequal relationships established in the past. Social entrepreneurs while living through purpose, transform institutions from within and mold societal expressions of what life is and what well-being entails.

When the understanding of money as merely beneficial for the individual is replaced by an understanding of waiwai, wealth of the community; Happiness is understood as a temporary experience within the one's pursuit of purpose rather than as a goal in itself; and one's kuleana is expressed through the act of social entrepreneurship, an ongoing reciprocal dynamic between individual, social and environmental well- being and a transformative change on societal scale can be enacted.

Reflection

Perceiving sustainability as a value within a framework of well- being shows that it covers social, environmental, cultural and economic components. This has led me to engage with a wide variety of people, social entrepreneurs who address issues in all these domains and intent on enacting a transformative change on a societal scale in an intrinsic way. The findings in this thesis reflect the experiences of social entrepreneurs and the local context in which they operate as truthful as possible. I have carefully assessed those stories that exemplify larger processes best, and the total collection of data has contributed in shaping the image of the context that the social entrepreneurs operate in. Yet it should be considered that this reflection is the result of engagement over the limited time of three months in which

this research was conducted. Therefore, the depth of the experiences of social entrepreneurs and the influence of the historical trajectory of Hawai'i on contemporary conditions can only reach as far as my personal ability to grasp this complexity while linking it to larger societal phenomena.

Throughout my fieldwork I have been confronted with the limitations of my own referential framework in interaction with my informants. The one that to me has become most apparent is that I have become more aware of the effect of the reproduction of structural inequalities, as reflected in the historical trajectory of Hawai'i, on feelings of dignity and pride in the context of well- being. Although I have been motivated to advocate for a social and environmental just climate, I have become more profoundly aware, that personally I have not been the victim or subjected deprivation of pride or dignity due to structural inequalities between the Global North and Global South. Thus, I can only sympathize and empathize with those who have. I can only try to listen as closely as I can to try to understand what the effects of these structural inequalities are on one's experience of well- being. Ultimately, to collaboratively move forward towards a just and inclusive societal climate.

Along this line I believe that further research would enable a more thorough understanding of the dynamics between indigenous and modern worldviews and how this intersection can contribute to address the 'real world' problems as Albie Miles has posed. In this regard, I feel strongly about the role of anthropology as a discipline that studies where societal movement or shifts occurs, how these are motivated and how the study of this movement ultimately can contribute to generating capacity to support a regenerative change.

The choice to focus on constructive elements of human-life has been motivated by my observation that within the anthropological discipline there has been a tendency to show how destructive forces come into being, are being reproduced and what effects they have on 'the ground'. Our efforts to study, communicate, and advocate for transformative change demonstrate that an engaged anthropology of trouble is a dominant concern in our discipline (Johnston 2012). Neil Thin argues even that, sociocultural anthropology has been institutionally averse to the study of well- being and have most anthropologists labeled it a 'banal' concept, a too boringly uniformity to merit attention (2010, 24). But "to study the institutions, customs, and codes or to study the behavior and mentality without the subjective desire of feeling by what these people live, of realizing the substance of their happiness … is … to miss the greatest reward which we can hope to obtain from the study of man (Malinowski 1978 [1922] in Thin 2010, 24). Moreover, it appears that "in a world full of trouble, anthropologists focus on dark matters with hopes that their critical analysis of ulcerating conditions will illuminate corrective

action and encourage transformative change. Yet, the cautionary concerns of the case- specific anthropologist are often muted or eclipsed (Johnston 2012, 7). The focus on constructive elements of human life, as in this thesis, allows acknowledgement of anthropological contributions on the display of the (re)production of structural inequalities while simultaneously study how the study of well- being might function as a driving force in transformative change.

In this light, I have come to know Hawai'i as a place, a community, that is vulnerable to the effects of global warming and in socio-economic terms a place where land values are disconnected from the needs of the local economy. However, due to the vulnerability of its geographical location, the history and culture of the islands are a testament to Hawai'i's creative problem-solving abilities and resilience. I consider Hawai'i as a leading example in addressing contemporary issues that our global societies face.

Epilogue I

Due to possibilities for ongoing collaboration with some of the social entrepreneurs in Honolulu, I decided to go back to the islands. Drawn to know more about the way in which social entrepreneurs in Honolulu shape a way of life that collapses the boundaries between the private and professional sphere, I decided to go back to Hawai'i and write my thesis in Honolulu.

Since there are no direct flights between Amsterdam and Honolulu I entered the United States at LAX International Airport, Los Angeles. It was here that I was confronted with the ongoing unfolding execution of President Trump's protectionist policies. Being a student combined with my decisions to move out of my apartment and not immediately apply for a job that would secure my financial resources after graduation, alarmed the custom agents enough to take me aside and further question me on my motives for traveling to the United States. There were not enough guarantees and certainties reflected in my story that would support my intention to travel back to the Netherlands after my visit. The necessity of 'proof' of these kind of guarantees, reflects the contrast with the lifestyle, the kind of being, social entrepreneurs in Honolulu strive to be- in and I have been inspired by. Throughout my fieldwork, during my engagement with social entrepreneurs, I had come to understand that it is within the process of letting go of these certainties that alignment with the flow of life can be found[97].

After having granted permission to enter the country, I was happy to be back in Hawai'i. I met with Uncle Dwight who welcomed me to the islands. "Next time, you just come straight to Hawai'i. They won't give you trouble here. Just fly to Asia and then come", he said. While we continue to 'talk story', he tells me with great joy and pride: "We got it! The natural spring, the property its ours now. Now, we can turn it into a learning and healing center, you know. It shows that things are changing!''[98]. As I meet with Christine it becomes apparent that she is also optimistic about future developments and the integration of values in modern systems. She has been continuing to set up an alternative travel program that invites visitors to the islands to know more about the impact they have on the islands and how they could contribute to the well- being of the community and the environment[99].

[97] Interview Carry, April 7, 2017.
[98] Informal conversation, Uncle Dwight, July 2017.
[99] Informal conversation, Christine, August 2017.

The ongoing development of Uncle Dwight's and Christine's efforts to remodel the core of prevailing modern systems continues to fascinate me. I consider my experience with the customs agents at the U.S. border a testimony of the ongoing push and pull between global forces and local dynamics and between conventionality and innovation. The space that is created through this friction is a place for endless possibilities and change.

August 13, 2017.

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