

## ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:

DISSONANT BELONGING AND THE  
MAKING OF COMMUNITY:  
NATIVE HAWAIIAN CLAIMS TO  
SELFHOOD AND HOME

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In 1898 the United States illegally annexed the Hawaiian Islands over the protests of Queen Lili'uokalani and the Hawaiian people. American hegemony has been deepened in the intervening years through a range of colonizing practices that alienate Kanaka Maoli, the indigenous people of Hawai'i, from their land and culture.

*Dissonant Belonging and the Making of Community* is an exploration of contemporary Hawaiian peoplehood that reclaims indigenous conceptions of multiethnicity from colonizing narratives of nation and race. Drawing from archival holdings at the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa and in-depth interviews, this project offers an analysis of public and everyday discourses of nation, race, and peoplehood to trace the discursive struggle over Local identity and politics. A context-specific social formation in Hawai'i, "Local" is commonly understood as a multiethnic identity that has its roots in working-class, ethnic minority culture of the mid-

twentieth century. However, American discourses of race and, later, multiethnicity have functioned to render invisible the indigenous roots of this social formation.

*Dissonant Belonging and the Making of Community* reclaims these roots as an important site of indigenous resistance to American colonialism. It traces, on the one hand, the ways in which Native Hawaiian resistance has been alternately erased and appropriated. On the other hand, it explores the meanings of Local identity to Native Hawaiians and the ways in which indigenous conceptions of multiethnicity enabled a thriving community under conditions of colonialism.

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by

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## **A Note to the Reader**

The significance of names to a sense of community belonging is at the heart of this project. Indeed, the histories through which we name our communities are deeply nuanced and require, at the least, a short note. Throughout this text I use a range of terms to denote the indigenous people of Hawai‘i. Kanaka Maoli and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi are indigenous terms that translate respectively as “true people” and “bone people.” The reclamation of these ways of naming, however, is relatively recent. The terms Hawaiian and Native Hawaiian are more commonplace, in both my writing and the sources which I draw from. The capitalization of “Native” as both a specific identifier for Kanaka Maoli and descriptor is an intentional move to resist the colonial differentiation between “native Hawaiians” and “Native Hawaiians.” These categories are linked to a history in which the logic of blood quantum has construed “Native Hawaiians” as less indigenous than “native Hawaiians,” with the problematic outcomes of differential access to racialized welfare benefits.

## **Dedication**

To my 'ohana.

## Acknowledgements

Projects such as these are never solitary exercises. It has taken an entire community to bring me to this place. Mahalo nui loa, Seung-kyung Kim – for pushing, pulling, and supporting me along *every step of the way* – and Joe Ludes – for your enduring faith that such things can be accomplished. Mahalo also to Shawn Parry-Giles, Elsa Barkley Brown, Ashwini Tambe, and Janelle Wong. As a committee you have collectively steered me toward clarity in both my writing and thinking, and for that I am gratefully indebted.

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## ***Introduction: Until the Last Aloha ‘Āina***

Aloha mai kākou. It has been said that genealogies are paramount for the Kanaka

Maoli.<sup>1</sup> It seems fitting, then, that I should begin with part of my own.

*Josette Mercy and Irene Mary Kahalelaukoa, my mother and grandmother, were part of the generations of Hawaiians who were taught that our languages, both ka leo ‘ōiwi and Hawaiian pidgin, were shameful. So also my great-grandfather, Francis Holbrook, though he learned enough to gift my grandmother with a Hawaiian name whose full meanings are now lost. Before him, there was Louisa who composed Aloha Ku‘u Home Kaneohe, a mele written in honor of the beloved Ko‘olau Mountains that have watched over my ‘ohana for more generations than I can count. Haleakala, her mother, seems to have been a rather active aloha ‘āina until her death in 1908 at the age of sixty-one, though this part of the story comes in fragments as I re-learn a mother language that was stolen two generations before I was born.*

That I can only surmise the details of Haleakala’s life speaks toward the extent to which American colonialism has robbed the Kanaka Maoli of stories that sustained us for generations, connecting us to each other and the ‘āina, the land that is our home.

As a child my mother and grandmother could not tell me the stories of our Hawaiian family, could not fill in the meanings I hoped to understand as part of the first generation to benefit from the cultural revivals of the 1970s. Instead I was given my grandmother’s birth certificate with the words “Part-Hawaiian” inscribed under “Race” and a red book titled *The Descendants of Gerrit P. Judd*. It is true, the only connection I had to my Hawaiian genealogy was a book that chronicles the descendants of the man responsible for devising the Māhele, an ambitious but disastrous move toward private property which began the mass dispossession of Native Hawaiians from the ‘āina. And yet, this incomplete and fragmented genealogy

is the gift that I can now pass on to my children, woven together through frenzied spurts of genealogical research over many years.

This claim as Kanaka Maoli and to the 'āina is not one to be taken lightly. Indeed, it has been said that one's genealogy should be carefully guarded. And so I have stopped with Haleakala, the first of my 'ohana to marry a malihini (newcomer, foreigner). It is with her that my Hawaiian genealogy grows in ways that challenge Kanaka Maoli to see the lāhui as a multiethnic people drawn together on a common, Hawaiian ground.

*My mother, Josette Mercy, married Stanley Keith Soon. My dad was the son of Kiyoko Watanabe and Alfred Soon, respectively from Japanese and Chinese immigrant families that settled on Hawai'i Island and Kaupo, Maui. My grandmother, Irene Mary Kahalelaukoa, married Donald Camacho, born of a Portuguese immigrant family on O'ahu. My great-grandfather, Francis Holbrook, married Josephine Perry, a white American settler who by all accounts never seemed comfortable in island life. My great-great-grandmother, Louisa Hart, married and later divorced Charles Hastings Judd, Jr., grandson of the infamous Gerrit P. Judd. My great-great-great-grandmother, Haleakala, married Henry Jacob Hart, a white American settler whose penchant for capitalist enterprise led him to found the first confections shop in Honolulu.*

Far too often Kanaka Maoli struggle with the mixedness of our families. At mid-century blood quantum was the ground for this struggle, as some of us qualified as Hawaiian "enough" for access to a homestead while others of us did not. Yet the struggle with our mixedness lingers even as the deadly grip of blood quantum policies slowly loosen. Often we ask ourselves, "Does fully, wholly claiming my legacy as Kanaka Maoli enact a violent forgetting of my non-Hawaiian 'ohana?" And yet, this loyalty and aloha we feel to our 'ohana is the legacy of Kanaka ancestors who did not shame us for holding sacred our connection to *all* our mākua and kūpuna, regardless

of whether they were born of the 'āina or transplants to our shores. Acknowledging this legacy does not necessitate that we forgive those of our kūpuna whose actions have contributed to the mounting injustices against the Hawaiian people. *I may well never forgive Gerrit P. Judd.* Nor does acknowledging the mixedness of our families give leave for settlers to claim Hawaiian identity or to pretend that our mixedness is the product of a colonizer's democracy. Rather, seeing the mixedness of our 'ohana enables us to reclaim the multiethnicity of our islands as the product of Kanaka Maoli values that bind people to each other and the 'āina. It is a way to say that even after over one hundred years of occupation we continue to imagine and forge a lāhui whose flesh is multiethnic but whose bones are and always will be Kanaka 'Ōiwi.

### ***When Aloha 'Āina became Open Defiance: Conversations and Questions***

This project is born of the need to see the mixedness of Native Hawaiian families outside the lenses of mass depopulation and forced assimilation. To be certain, depopulation due to foreign disease and assimilation through the banning of language and cultural practices are conditions that have been threatening Kanaka Maoli survival for over two hundred years. Understanding multiethnicity through these lenses, however, narrowly construes the mixedness of Native Hawaiian families as merely a product of colonialism. Sometimes, Native multiethnicity may be framed as the demise of an indigenous people through policies that use the logic of blood quantum to measure Hawaiian-ness in degrees based on the last “full-blooded” ancestor. In other moments, Native Hawaiian multiethnicity may be hailed as living example of the triumph of liberal pluralism, though the colonial roots of this

mixedness are elided in such narratives. Alternately rueful and celebratory, both perspectives frame Native Hawaiian multiethnicity as inevitability, as something that was done unto us rather than something that we continue to struggle with, as something that we might claim as part of our Hawaiian-ness.

The question of what to do with Hawaiian multiethnicity simmers below the surface of many conversations about the boundaries of Hawaiian identity. It is a preoccupation that manifests in the intimate spaces of self-identification as well as the more visible arenas in which Hawaiians seek to protect our lands and forge our communities. Part of this dilemma is the existence of an overlapping social formation known in the islands as “Local.” Claimed by both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians, Local ethnicity is itself a multiethnic community that gained popularity as an identity in rural and working-class, ethnic minority social spaces of the mid-twentieth century. The relationship between Native Hawaiians and Locals, however, is not an easy one. Some time ago, for example, I stumbled across an internet video of a community meeting in Kahuku. The purpose of the meeting was to address land use issues along the North Shore of O’ahu. Though years ago now, I continue to be struck by one phrase, shared with the crowd by a Native Hawaiian woman moderating the meeting. Though I must paraphrase based on memory, her statement went something like this: “We’re Locals, some of us are Hawaiians, but we’re not here to debate that.” Odd to my ears then, I have come to realize that although many Native Hawaiians understand themselves as Local, a number of sovereignty activists dis-identify with this multiethnic social formation. This disavowal of Local identity is rooted in the ways in

which dominant narratives of Local naturalize U.S. colonialism, much to the detriment of Native Hawaiian well-being.<sup>2</sup>

And yet, despite this critique many Hawaiians continue to identify as such. For those who see the violence of dominant narratives of Local it is perhaps too easy to dismiss claiming Hawaiian-Local identity as *merely* a product of colonization. It becomes easy to miss the ways that Local ethnicity sustained important Hawaiian values through an era when Hawaiian-ness came with so much shame. In such moments it is important to remember the context in which Local ethnicity gained traction. Speaking of the 1893 imposition of English language in all Hawai'i schools, Keao NeSmith explains that many Native students were made to feel ashamed of their language and culture, under the threat of force. He writes:

Because of these humiliating childhood experiences, my grandmother and others of her generation transferred the “no Hawaiian” rule to home, hoping to spare their children the same humiliation and hurt. [...] While most Hawaiians of my grandparents’ generation were fluent Native-speakers who could recall accounts of Hawaiian heroes, genealogies, chants, and old songs, most of my mother’s generation know virtually nothing of these things, and thus cannot pass them on to their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, even if they wanted to.<sup>3</sup>

The absence of spoken Hawaiian in my childhood is mirrored in NeSmith’s narrative, a commonality that points toward decades of quietude among Native Hawaiians in which American repression was at its zenith. Today there are vibrant efforts to reclaim our language and learn from the handful of elders for whom it is their first. Such efforts are radically changing the way that Native Hawaiians see themselves in their homeland, opening new possibilities for a decolonized Hawaiian nation. Yet, in this moment of hope and courage I would like to pause and offer my respect to those

kūpuna who lived through the darkness of the mid-century; to those who used the tools they had at hand – Local ethnicity – to perpetuate a centrally Hawaiian connection between people and place. Their everyday resistance marks a refusal to abide by the logic of colonialism and a commitment to survive through the darkest of times.

The work of this project, then, is to stir the simmering pot: to imagine Native Hawaiian multiethnicity as a generative force that creates Local identity and forges a multiethnic lāhui standing in opposition to American colonialism. It is, as María Lugones urges, a *seeing of resistance* in the lives of those who suffer under colonialism:

As the colonality infiltrates every aspect of living through the circulation of power at the levels of the body, labor, law, imposition of tribute, and the introduction of property and land dispossession, its logic and efficacy are met by different concrete people whose bodies and selves in relation, and relations to the spirit world do not follow the logic of capital. The logic they follow is not countenanced by the logic of power. The movement of these bodies and relations does not repeat itself. It does not become static and ossified. Everything and everyone continues to respond to power and responds much of the time resistantly – which is not to say in open defiance, though some of the time there is open defiance – in ways that may or may not be beneficial to capital, but that are not part of its logic.<sup>4</sup>

Wherever indigenous people survive under conditions of colonialism resistance to the logic of capital tends to come as reclamation of selfhood in relationship to land. This may take many forms. For Kanaka Maoli, this resistance begins and expands from a collective understanding of the familial relationship we hold with the ʻāina. Haunani-Kay Trask has written:

My people were born of Papahānaumoku – Earth Mother – and Wākea – Sky Father – who created our bountiful Hawaiian islands. From

these islands came the taro, and from the taro, our chiefs and common people.

The lesson of our origins is simple. The land is our mother, and we are her children. If we care for our mother, she will care for us in return. The relationship is more than reciprocal; it is familial.”<sup>5</sup>

Hawaiian stories establish an indigenous claim to place by interweaving ‘ohana and ‘āina. Though the lenses through which we make sense of these stories today are colored by the experience of colonialism, they have been told for generations to connect the present with both past and future generations. I am particularly interested in the ways that contemporary retellings inform the ways Hawaiians reclaim selfhood in relationship to ‘āina in a context of colonialism, particularly because open defiance continues to flourish despite assaults on Hawaiian language and culture.

One year ago, on the slopes of Mauna a Wākea, Kanaka Maoli stood arm in arm to protect our sacred mountain, the piko (center) of the Hawaiian world where Papahānaumoku meets Wākea. With only their bodies and boulders to block the ascent of bulldozers, Native Hawaiians lived aloha ‘āina in open defiance of the multinational, \$1.4 billion Thirty Meter Telescope. This practice of aloha ‘āina, though given renewed force on the slopes of Mauna Kea, is deeply rooted in Native consciousness. The phrase itself has many meanings that stem from the familial relationship between Kanaka Maoli and ‘āina. In 1897, for example, James Kaulia layered the phrase aloha ‘āina with meaning, connecting aloha for the land to a responsibility to resist American colonialism.<sup>6</sup> Today aloha ‘āina continues to connote loyalty to the Kingdom and Queen Lili‘uokalani while marking also a resistance to the social and ecological degradations that followed capitalism to Hawai‘i.

There are so many reasons to watch with awe as aloha ʻāina is practiced in Hawaiʻi today. For me, though, the most striking part of the story that began to unfold on the slopes of Mauna Kea was the sheer number of people who came to stand in aloha ʻāina. The groundswell opposition to the TMT drew from a broad cross-section of Hawaiʻi that included not only Native Hawaiians who know and practice our language and cultural arts, but also those like myself who understand the value of these practices even as we struggle with the shame of not speaking our own language. We also witnessed Locals, both Hawaiian and settler, rising up in resistance to what some dubbed the “astronomy-industrial complex.”<sup>7</sup> On August 9, 2015, for example, an estimated 10,000 people converged on the streets of Honolulu to participate in the Aloha ʻĀina Unity March. Organized by Native Hawaiians and building on the momentum started by the kiaʻi mauna (mountain protectors), the march drew both Natives and settlers in a collective effort to express a shared commitment to the ʻāina.

In the documentary *Kumu Hina*, Hinaimoana Wong-Kalu explains to her young students, “In our culture we have the word called hōʻailona. Hōʻailona means sign, not just the physical sign, but a sign. When certain things happen, you think, what is the meaning, why did this happen?”<sup>8</sup> For me, the groundswell that began on Mauna Kea was my hōʻailona. It was my sign that there is something at work that is even larger than the first stand taken by the formidable kiaʻi mauna. Their fluency in the Hawaiian language made them heroes, but their ability to step across the chasm between Hawaiian, Pidgin, and English enabled them to raise a mountain in defense of Mauna Kea. What they tapped was a shared allegiance to Hawaiʻi that exists in defiant resistance to American colonialism. Lugones argues that the resistant response



is necessarily a shared activity, a “passing from mouth to mouth, from hand to hand of lived practices, values, beliefs, ontologies, space-times, and cosmologies” that constitutes the self in relation to community.<sup>9</sup> The groundswell was proof of a fundamentally Hawaiian collective life that informed the resistant response. But as my hō‘ailona it pointed to something more. The “passing from mouth to mouth, from hand to hand” occurred in three languages and the vastly different worldviews embodied therein. The kia‘i mauna sent out kāhea (a call) to a tremendously multiethnic community and they received a decidedly Hawaiian response.

The collective life of Hawai‘i is peopled in tremendous multiplicity. For those of us who claim Hawaiian ancestry, more often than not our genealogies are a living reminder of the multiethnicity of our island home. And yet, making sense of this multiplicity is a daunting task because so often mixedness and indigeneity are imagined as mutually exclusive.<sup>10</sup> To be certain, the push against blood quantum policies has enabled Native Hawaiians to connect with each other *despite* multiethnicity. But when I look at the groundswell I see a collective life *born* of a Native response to multiplicity. Mary Kawena Pukui has written about the Hawaiian concept of family:

‘Ohana, like taro shoots, are all from the same root. ... With Hawaiians, family consciousness of the same ‘root of origin’ was a deeply felt, unifying force, no matter how many offshoots came from offshoots. You may be 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> cousins, as we define relationships today, but in Hawaiian terms, if you are in the same generation, you are all brothers and sisters.<sup>11</sup>

In Hawaiian world views, ‘ohana is a unifying force. Though the waves of immigration were often beyond our control, the ways in which we made sense of the influx of foreigners is distinctly Hawaiian. Drawing from what Kēhaulani Kauanui

has described as the social nexus of the 'ohana,<sup>12</sup> Hawaiians forged multiethnic communities that reflected the Native value of mutual responsibility to each other and the 'āina. Hawaiian multiethnicity created the context in which Local would flourish in the latter half of the twentieth century. That the boundaries between Hawaiian and Local remain blurry should be honored as a feat of Native values that bind people to each other and 'āina.

At the same time the inconclusiveness of the boundary between Hawaiian and Local identities is also cause for caution, all the more so in the context of American colonialism. Hawaiian, as a social formation, occupies a tense space between varying conceptions of race, ethnicity, nation, and peoplehood. In the hegemonic U.S. paradigm “Hawaiian” denotes a racial category, though in the context of island life racial categorizations are seen as less salient than ethnic ones.<sup>13</sup> Further, as colonized people,<sup>14</sup> American national belonging cannot be taken for granted among Hawaiians, nor can the solidity of an indigenous national identity since the Hawaiian Kingdom that is currently occupied by the United States was multiethnic at the time of the overthrow.<sup>15</sup> Those who identify as Hawaiian weave in and out of these conceptions, even as they also identify with the term lāhui which denotes a peoplehood that exceeds national frameworks.<sup>16</sup> Local, as an explicitly multiethnic formation that overlaps considerably with Hawaiian, further complicates the social landscape because it is often appropriated and contradictorily mapped on to U.S. narratives of multiculturalism. These entanglements reveal the ways that communities are multiple, simultaneous, and often contradictory formations that have profound meaning in our social lives.

Owing to the current state of American colonialism, it is of utmost importance to politicize the overlap and fluidity of the boundary between Hawaiian and Local.

Candace Fujikane does this when she writes:

As a local Japanese woman, I ask myself, why do we claim a local identity? What purpose does that identity serve? I keep coming back to the position that to claim an identity involves responsibility. In my own work, I locate local narrative strategies that I think can help mobilize support for the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, narrative strategies that teach us about Hawai‘i’s struggles in progress.<sup>17</sup>

In both her scholarly work and social activism, Fujikane explicitly politicizes her social location as a non-Hawaiian Local, engaging in what Nira Yuval-Davis has described as a politics of belonging. Differentiating between *belonging* and the *politics of belonging*, Yuval-Davis explains that the former is about emotional attachment to a collectivity and the latter are political projects that shape these attachments.<sup>18</sup> Belonging, in this sense, is never static; it is “always a dynamic process, not a reified fixity, which is only a naturalized construction of a particular hegemonic form of power relations.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, although the politics of belonging of Local ethnicity are not always so explicit, U.S. hegemony in the islands points toward a need for attention to the ways in which Hawaiian and Local communities exist in opposition to American colonialism.

The work of this project, then, is to politicize Hawaiian and Local ethnicities as overlapping social formations that exist in resistance to American desires. The fractured locus, as Lugones theorizes, is the space inhabited by colonized peoples as they move through the world caught in tension between colonizing modernity and Native epistemologies. She explains that the possibility of identities that resist

colonialism “depends, in part, on lives lived in the tension of languaging at the colonial difference.”<sup>20</sup> That is, the fractured locus is a site of discursive struggle. For Kanaka Maoli, the meanings, boundaries, and overlaps between Hawaiian, Local, and American are part of that struggle. Sometimes, as on the slopes of Mauna Kea, aloha ‘āina becomes open defiance to American colonialism. Other times, as Lugones reminds us, resistance is a continuous, everyday practice that refuses to follow the logic of power.<sup>21</sup> The rapid groundswell of Hawaiians and Locals that answered the kāhea of the kia‘i mauna points toward an everyday resistance that does not abide by the logic of colonialism. The groundswell is a sign that aloha ‘āina was nurtured between Hawaiians and Locals in resistance to narratives that would naturalize the (already, always marginal) place of both within an American world.

As such, this project traces the discursive struggle between Kanaka Maoli and colonial conceptions of Hawaiian and Local as overlapping social formations. It revolves around two central questions. First, how have race, ethnicity, and multiethnicity been configured in hegemonic conceptions of Hawaiian and Local communities? Second, how do the narratives of Native Hawaiians register and resist hegemonic conceptions of Hawaiian and Local?

### ***(Re)Claiming Resistance: Methodology and Chapter Overview***

But I believe the main reason women lead the nationalist front today is simply that women have not lost sight of the *lāhui*, that is, of the nation. Caring for the nation is, in Hawaiian belief, an extension of caring for the family, the large family that includes both our lands and our people. Our mother is our land, *Papahānaumoku*, she who births the islands. Hawaiian women leaders, then, are genealogically empowered to lead the nation.

Haunani-Kay Trask<sup>22</sup>

Tracing the discursive struggle between Native and colonial discourses of Hawaiian and Local is the central work of this project. I am deeply invested in reclaiming a history of Kanaka Maoli resistance by wading through the tensions between hegemonic and oppositional discourses of community belonging. Even so, Kanaka resistance has always been peopled by both women and men. Haunani-Kay Trask has shared examples of Hawaiian women who have led the lāhui in opposition to American colonialism, even as she has elsewhere resisted alliance with feminism associated with the settler state. Trask has argued that haole feminism appears out of place in a colonial context in which inequalities between Native Hawaiian women and men are the product of the imposition of a foreign gender system underwritten by racial categorization and capitalist exploitation.<sup>23</sup> Understanding the processes through which Native Hawaiians have been subjected to these intertwined systems is what María Lugones has described as the coloniality of gender. Tracing the resistant response is a practice of decolonial feminism that grounds this project even as gender moves in and out of focus as a mode of analysis.<sup>24</sup>

As a practice of decolonial feminism this project weaves gender through analyses of social formations that coalesce around dissonant conceptions of race, ethnicity, and nation. In this way gender is an important lens through which coloniality and the resistant response can be understood.<sup>25</sup> Gender is examined as constitutive in enactments of community belonging, even as “women” are understood as ancillary to the story.<sup>26</sup> For example, I bring gender into particular focus in an analysis of hegemonic discourses of race, ethnicity, and nation by highlighting the ways that masculinity and femininity are differently deployed in the service of U.S.

nationalism. Conversely, when looking at Kanaka reclamations of Hawaiian and Local identities, the salience of gender as an analytic recedes as Native practices of bilateral descent prioritize instead a reading of the relationship between people and place.

Allowing gender to come in and out of view in my analysis of dissonant social formations is important for the ways in which it enables a focus on indigenous knowledges and a de-centering of the settler state. Intersectionality, as a prominent theory in U.S. women's studies, has been described as an heuristic device that allows for more fluid understanding of group boundaries and relations, "providing an interpretive framework for thinking through how intersections of race and class, or race and gender, or sexuality and class, for example, shape any group's experiences across specific social contexts."<sup>27</sup> However, the lenses of race, class, and gender in a U.S. context are insufficient for thinking about the impact of settler colonialism in Hawai'i. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan have coined the term "scattered hegemonies" to refer to the "effects of mobile capital as well as the multiple subjectivities that replace the European unitary subject."<sup>28</sup> They argue that a crucial part of feminist theory and practice entails developing meaningful understanding of the particularities – in context and content – of these scattered hegemonies, as well as an understanding of those counterhegemonic practices that are linked together in their various modes of resistance to modernist economic, political, and cultural structures. This project attends to the context and content of these scattered hegemonies at work in Hawai'i by working to understand how gender and class are woven throughout the dissonant discourses of race, ethnicity, and nation.

Although this project emphasizes an analysis of the dissonances between Native and colonial conceptions of race, ethnicity, and nation, it is in every step a practice of feminist interdisciplinarity. In speaking of the multiplicity and expansiveness of feminist scholarship, Katie King has argued:

Women's studies in layers of locals and globals moves differentially among the instantiations of gender and sexuality studies, feminist theory, studies of power, social structure and racial and class formations, and a variety of social movements in overlapping alliances, coalitions and political generations, inside and outside the academy.<sup>29</sup>

As an extended rumination on the concept of belonging, this project interrogates the way that power operates in multiple, simultaneous, and often contradictory social formations. In so doing it reveals not only the contours of communities, but also the dissonances between the constructions of each. This approach to belonging understands communities as not “simply” different; rather, dissonance has much to do with social inequality and the unequal distribution of power.

To trace these dissonances I draw influence from many (inter)disciplines to better understand the ways in which belonging is enacted within and across multiple, simultaneous, and often contradictory communities. This project draws from the theoretical framework and interdisciplinary practice of rhetorical history, which has been characterized by Kathleen Turner as a practice that helps us to “understand how rhetoric has enabled, enacted, empowered, and constrained the central concerns of history: human action and reaction.”<sup>30</sup> James Jasinski has noted that “communal reconstitution can take a variety of discursive forms and rely on different textual practices as specific questions of social and political authority, power, bonds of affiliation, meaning, value, and institutional practice are confronted and negotiated.”<sup>31</sup>

A constitutive approach to rhetorical history would seek to identify the specific textual forms drawn upon to generate conceptual change.<sup>32</sup> By approaching community belonging as a process – or as Yuval-Davis has explained it, a politics of belonging – I understand communities as constructed spaces that are subject to change over time. Drawing from what Jasinski articulates as a constitutive approach to rhetorical history enables an investigation of the representational strategies that underlie both American hegemony and Kanaka Maoli resistance.

The chapters of this project are arranged in such a way as to slice through colonizing public discourses of the settler state and reveal everyday narratives of Kanaka Maoli resistance. Chapter two is an exploration of the ways that pro-statehood public discourse produced the discursive illegibility of Native Hawaiian opposition to statehood. Based on archival holdings at the Hawai'i War Records Depository and the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory at the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, this chapter examines the discursive triangulation of haole/white-Asian/Japanese-Native Hawaiian in the statehood debates between 1940 and 1960. Drawing from U.S. Congressional documents, wartime propaganda produced on the continent as well as in the islands, and locally-produced pro-statehood materials, I argue that Congressional preoccupations with Japanese alienage centered haole-Japanese antagonisms in ways that alternately produced Hawaiian invisibility and hypervisibility. In both instances dominant discourses – from both the continent and among island haole and Asian settlers – rendered Native resistance inconceivable.

The colonizing discourses of the settler state were also used to appropriate Local multiethnicity into the language of U.S. multiculturalism. Chapter three offers



an examination of the ways in which public displays of American nationalism began to shift after the end of the Second World War, culminating in 1976 with the framing of Local multiethnicity as a product of American democracy. Drawing from the extensive newsprint holdings at the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, this chapter traces the shift from normative nationalism to liberal plural multiculturalism in annual Fourth of July events between 1941 and 1976. This shift affected the disappearance of Native Hawaiian land claims against the settler state and appropriated resistant cross-ethnic solidarities that had emerged at mid-century and coalesced around indigenous values that connect people with each other and place.

Taking cue from Lugones' assertion that people subjected to colonialism continually draw from their own epistemologies to stage both defiant and everyday resistance, the final chapter is reclaims Kanaka Maoli resistance against the settler state. Throughout this project I emphasize the ways that various competing discourses work to construct the meanings of Hawaiian and Local identities. In this chapter I continue this emphasis as my method shifts to qualitative interviews to capture the ways in which Hawaiians navigate the dissonance between indigenous and settler understandings of community and place.

Prior to recruiting participants I obtained approval from the University of Maryland Institutional Review Board. Following my approved procedure, participants were contacted through personal networks via paper or electronic mail. I used a snowball sampling technique, relying on word of mouth to broaden the search for potential participants. The only requirements for participation were that potential participants needed to self-identify as Native Hawaiian and be eighteen years of age

or older, though I did select participants to maximize age and gender differences among them. Recruitment began in June 2014 and all interviews took place on O‘ahu, Hawai‘i in June and July 2014. Before each interview the participants were briefed on the activities and purpose of the study, my desire to audio record the interview, and the voluntary nature of the study; they each signed and were given a copy of the informed consent form. In addition to general demographic data, participants were asked to reflect on three sets of questions. First, participants were prompted to consider the significance of their Hawaiian identity, with special care to identify moments when this identity became more salient or questioned. Second, interviewees were asked to explain whether or not they also identified as Local, with follow-up questions prompting them to reflect on Local identity in relation to experiences on the U.S. continent. Third, participants were prompted to explain the relationship between Hawaiian identity and other ethnicities that they might identify with. Lastly, one participant was also a notable public figure; additional approval was received to ask this participant about his public work in relationship to his Hawaiian and Local identities (Participant overview and full interview questions are included in Appendix A and B).

The process of data analysis and reporting follows an ethnographic approach that relies on direct quotation rather than content analysis, which often privileges numerical descriptions of the data.<sup>33</sup> An ethnographic method of analysis emphasizes the ways participants use language to construct their identities in ways that align with the rhetorical histories of the earlier chapters, enabling me to connect ideas across these disciplinary divisions. Given the overlapping and often contradictory ways that

Hawaiian and Local identities are manifested, interviews were transcribed and coded with particular attention paid toward the “ways by which alternative interpretations of cultural symbols can be displayed.”<sup>34</sup> Participant narratives revealed that even in moments not marked by open defiance, resistance to the discourses and material consequences of American colonialism were continually present. This resistance was marked by the persistent valuation of indigenous conceptions of ‘ohana in ways that constitute Hawaiian and Local as expansive, multiethnic social formations.

## ***Chapter Two: Americans in Hawai'i: Citizenship, Inclusion, and Hawaiian Statehood***

The territorial form of government was never meant to meet the complex political, economic and social requirements in the government that characterize Hawaii today. On these islands it has become a strait-jacket, cramping their growth and depriving their people of rights for which they have fully qualified and which are their American heritage.

“The Time is Now!” Hawaii Statehood Commission<sup>35</sup>

On the basis of the record and in view of the foregoing, the subcommittee concludes: ... 8. That Hawaii has been a Territory for 46 years, during which the people of Hawaii have shown themselves fully capable of self-government.

*Statehood for Hawaii – Extension of Remarks of Hon. Joseph R. Farrington, Delegate from Hawai'i in the U.S. House of Representatives*<sup>36</sup>

At mid-century, the social, political, and economic dominance of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States was firmly entrenched. Moreover, the desirability of inclusion in the folds of this “American” nation was unquestioned by island settler communities. So too was the assumption that the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and establishment of the Republic of Hawai'i, along with the subsequent annexation to the United States in 1898, were progressive steps leading inexorably to full membership in the finest of modern democracies. Indeed, envisioned as only a temporary state, the continuing status as a U.S. territory had created a palpable sense of unjust, and unwarranted, political inferiority among many island residents. However, as Haunani-Kay Trask has noted, such sentiment reflects a basic assumption that the loss of a Hawai'i governed by Native Hawaiians was nothing to

be mourned. American settlers imagined that Native Hawaiians were, “as a collective, culturally/psychologically incapable of learning how to bend our energies toward success in the modern world.”<sup>37</sup>

In this milieu the desire for statehood and the formal citizenship rights associated with national belonging worked to buttress U.S. power in the islands and the hegemony of U.S.-centered conceptions of the nation state. Hawai‘i-born Nisei presented themselves as normatively American in the years between 1940 and 1960. Their presentations must be understood against a backdrop in which the territorial status of the islands was a significant form of political disenfranchisement for island settler communities. The physical difference of “Oriental” bodies – and the perceived inability of these bodies to assimilate into “American” ways of social and political life – was a central point of contention that kept the islands stuck in the political margins of territorial governance. As such, this period was one in which the cultivation of a normative Japanese Americanism was highly prized and actively sought by island Nisei, as well as others within the ethnic Japanese community.

However, Nisei desires for inclusion must be understood as intertwined with the tacit dominance of haole settlers <sup>38</sup> (foreign settlers, with a specific connotation of whiteness) and deeply embedded in processes of Native Hawaiian dispossession of lands and sovereignty.<sup>39</sup> In this chapter I examine the ways in which the discursive and ideological space reserved for Native Hawaiians in dominant narratives of statehood underwent considerable shift between the late 1930s and admission in 1959. Though shaped largely by Congressional debates and reports, these national discourses circulated through a variety of haole and Nisei pro-statehood materials in

the islands. This shift is best characterized as a movement from invisibility to a misrepresented hyper-visibility, the terms of which were intimately tied to the wholesale acceptance of haole-Japanese antagonisms as the most significant barrier to statehood. In this context Native Hawaiian opposition to statehood became illegible with “Hawai‘i” and “Hawaiians” discursively and visually imagined as mere background against which haole-Japanese antagonisms would ignite and, later, resolve.

***Congressional Preoccupations, Disappearing Hawaiians: The Racializing Languages of Haole Management and Japanese Allegiance***

The U.S. Congress, with the ability to grant or deny Hawaiian statehood, largely set the terms upon which admission debates would be structured. While the desire for maintaining the ethnic status quo favoring haoles over Hawaiians and Asians was undoubtedly significant for haole elites, Congressional discourses of management and allegiance functioned to highlight haole-Japanese antagonisms as a key issue to be “resolved” before admission to the union. These racializing discourses were explicitly coded into the language of management and allegiance, where control by the haole oligarchy was maintained and Asian (particularly Japanese) assimilation was increasingly visible through sanctioned demonstrations of allegiance.

Sociological theorists Omi and Winant have described racial projects as an “interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines.”<sup>40</sup> The discourse of haole-Japanese antagonism constituted, quite obviously, a racial project that legitimated and sought to perpetuate haole dominance over ethnic Japanese in the

social order of island life. Yet it was also a project that confirmed settler assumptions about Native Hawaiians, facilitating the disappearance of their claims to kingdom by rendering Hawaiian opposition to statehood as unworthy of mention in Congressional reports and unintelligible in everyday settler discourses.

The seeming disappearance of Native Hawaiian perspectives that was achieved through racial triangulation with haole and Japanese settlers was not an invention of the statehood debates. Rather, it was a long-standing practice that ran counter to Hawaiian conceptions of genealogical belonging which, as a part of Native cosmology, ties all people of Hawaiian ancestry to the islands.<sup>41</sup> At the heart of this practice was the solidification of power in the hands of haole elites, involving Native Hawaiian land dispossession and the exploitation of Japanese migrant labor. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui has explained that through such practices “race, law, and citizenship in Hawai‘i were structured and sustained along a racial triangulation of haole-Hawaiian-Asian devised as white-Native-alien.”<sup>42</sup> In this configuration blood quantum (the measurement of blood by percentage as a proxy for racial purity) was a central organizing principle, requiring “Hawaiians” to demonstrate fifty percent blood quantum to be legally recognized as such. For example, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 provided for rural resettlement of Hawaiians while operating on the assumption of indigenous incompetence and Asian alienage. Blood quantum provided a means for gauging Hawaiians’ cognitive abilities and, as a consequence of high rates of cross-racial marriage, involved measuring degrees of assimilation through reproduction with haole settlers. Conversely, unlike their hapa-haole kin, Asian Hawaiians were subsumed into the category “Asian” and subject to

the injustices that came with anti-Asian sentiment and law.<sup>43</sup> In this configuration U.S. policy framed Native Hawaiians as disappearing, either into the “competent” category of haole or the “alien” category of Asian. In either case, the shift from genealogical belonging to blood quantum worked to increase haole control over both land and labor.

Though not the first time that continental understanding of race held sway over policies with profound impact on Native Hawaiians, the ability of the U.S. Congress to withhold statehood and maintain the islands as a territorial possession worked as an important disciplining mechanism which foretold further Native displacement. In her comparative analysis of race and gender in relationship to U.S. citizenship, Evelyn Nakano Glenn has shown that national-level directives provided a template for citizenship that local actors then could infuse with context-specific meaning. In this instance the power to deny or confer statehood enabled continental assumptions about race to inhabit (and dominate) local understandings of the admission process. It is important to acknowledge that many scholars have cautioned against superimposing dominant U.S. racial categories on the islands’ social context where ethnicity figures prominently. For example, Moon-kie Jung, an Asian Americanist and specialist in working class formation, has noted the importance of caution while using categories such as “Asian American” (a postwar social construct specific to the U.S. continent) in relation to prewar Asian ethnic relations in Hawai‘i.<sup>44</sup> However, as J. Kēhaulani Kauanui has argued about the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, dominant continental conceptions of race prevail when U.S. Congressional authority guides the interpretation of and acts upon island social



life.<sup>45</sup> Taking cue from both Jung and Kauanui, I argue that public debates and pro-statehood materials circulated in Hawai'i were shaped by Congressional demands that triangulated haole-Hawaiian-Japanese ethnic groups in relation to each other. The racializing discourses emanating from Congressional demands were threefold: tacit haole dominance through the language of democratic management of island resources, an explicit need to resolve the perceived problem of ethnic Japanese alienage, and the implicit disappearance of Native Hawaiian claims to their homeland.

The first set of discourses revolved around the local economy, the powerful oligarchy at work in the islands, and ideologies of U.S. capitalism and democracy. The political and economic dominance of island life by haole men, like their white and Anglo counterparts, was assumed.<sup>46</sup> On the continent prevailing norms of citizenship had long privileged both whiteness and masculinity, using assumptions of race and gender to enforce long-standing inequalities between groups of people.<sup>47</sup> Glenn has noted that nationality, allegiance, and standing have historically functioned as facets of citizenship which have been differentially applied to various groups (women of color, white women, and men of color) to withhold full legal status and the rights associated with citizenship.<sup>48</sup> Gail Bederman makes a related argument by tracing the ways in which white, middle class men utilized an emerging discourse of civilization to link male dominance and white supremacy in the consolidation of social, economic, and political power in the Progressive era.<sup>49</sup> Steeped in the legacy of ideologies of the superiority of whites over Hawaiians,<sup>50</sup> the oligarchical power of

haole men in the territorial government was reaffirmed by Congressional visitors from the United States.

Indeed, Congressional concerns only subtly register a sense of alarm over the domination of island life by haole men. Part of the invisibility of haole as a social group, as Judith Rohrer has explained in her recent work on haole social formation, is linked precisely to the history of colonialism formalized through the overthrow and annexation, a history in which “haole (singular) became the standard, the norm against which others were measured.”<sup>51</sup> As a consequence, Congress did not question the rightness of haole control and, by extension, their readiness for full the reciprocal rights and responsibilities that would come with U.S. statehood. Rather, the bar to statehood – so far as haole elites were indirectly implicated – was democratic management of island social and economic relations by way of the relationship between locally-based economies, landholding, and education.<sup>52</sup> Given the history of the 1893 U.S.-backed overthrow of the internationally affirmed constitutional monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the demands from Congress were somewhat paradoxical, if not surprising. Nonetheless, in light of global political developments at the mid-century – particularly the growing unease with Japanese expansion throughout the Pacific region and, later, anxieties over the spread of communism<sup>53</sup> – these demands for a more “democratic” management of the islands’ resources make perfect sense.

From the perspective of the Hawaiian and Asian laboring classes on sugar and pineapple plantations, haole control over the social, economic, and political life of the islands was anything but amenable to democratic processes. Characterized as an

oligarchy that concentrated nearly all of island capital in the hands of four prominent haole families and directed by sons and sons-in-law, the five largest island companies, known as the Big Five, were deeply entrenched by mid-century with a reputation for ruthlessness in relationship to laboring opposition.<sup>54</sup> Yet, by Congressional measures after the war, haole management of island life had produced a social order amenable to democracy. For example, in January 1946, a subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Territories arrived in Hawai'i to assess the readiness of the island community for admission to the union. These hearings, chaired by Henry Larcade (Democrat, Louisiana), de-emphasized the extent to which the Big Five continued to dominate local social, political, and economic relations. Joseph Farrington, the delegate from Hawai'i to the U.S. House of Representatives, testified:

That the Big Five dominates a great portion of Hawaii's economy; but this economic dominance has not prevented the establishment of many varied businesses, and there are good prospects for small business in Hawaii. Further, the influence of the Big Five has not prevented the enactment of progressive legislation in the field of labor, education, and health.<sup>55</sup>

Missing from Congressional accounts are the violent struggles between plantation owners and laborers that accompanied these progressive changes. Instead, the report acknowledges the continued concentration of capital but dismisses concern by growing numbers of small businesses and a socially progressive order as products of wise managerial decision-making on the part of the Big Five (rather than hard-won concessions by the working class). The ease with which the dominance of the Big Five is dismissed reveals the assumption that haoles would – and should – remain dominant in Hawai'i after statehood. In this way the ability of haole men to

demonstrate proper ideals of American citizenship was not read explicitly through the lenses of ethnicity, gender, and class. However, this language which refracted haole domination through the prism of tacit, yet ostensibly democratic, management of island infrastructures was nonetheless a racializing language that dovetailed with dominant continental conceptions of race, class, and gender.

The second set of discourses were also situated within mid-century political tensions, but relied on the explicit racialization of the ethnic Japanese community. In contrast to the seeming naturalness of haole belonging within the imagined community of American citizens was the perceived unassimilability of Asian ethnic minorities. This was particularly true for Japanese ethnics, including island-born Nisei, who in 1945 constituted 32.5 percent of the island population from a high of 42.7 percent in 1920.<sup>56</sup> In *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai'i*, Gary Okihiro has argued that, prior to World War II, the U.S. military and haole elite colluded to constrain the perceived “Japanese threat” through economic, political, and military means.<sup>57</sup>

By the war’s close, this “threat” had been – in the eyes of quite a few – suitably contained. For example, the same report that hailed the progressiveness of haole management remained, even after the war’s end, preoccupied by mainland perceptions of ethnic Japanese. The only racial-ethnic group mentioned explicitly beyond demographic statistics, the report reflects continuing apprehension and newfound exaltation of island Japanese. On the one hand, Nisei soldiers were commended:

Hawaii residents of Japanese ancestry constituted the entire original One Hundredth Infantry Battalion and by far the major part of the

original Four Hundred and Forty-second Combat Team. The record of those units, made in major offensives in the European theater, includes 5 Presidential unit citations, 1 Meritorious Service plaque, 65 Distinguished Service Crosses, 290 Silver Stars, 782 Bronze Stars, 10 Croix de Guerre (French), 3 soldiers medals (Italian), 50 Army commendations, and 82 division commendations.<sup>58</sup>

Like their soldier brothers and sons, the Issei and Nisei who remained in Hawai'i were commended for island defense units, participation in various wartime activities, and exceeding bond quotas. Moreover, the Larcade report noted that there had not been a single act of espionage committed by island Japanese during the war.<sup>59</sup> Despite such praise there was, on the other hand, a seeming sigh of relief as the committee reported that evidence of bloc voting had not been forthcoming and, at any rate, ethnic Japanese were still well under-represented in the Territorial legislature:

Such evidence of bloc voting as exists indicates that the practice has not assumed, and is not likely to assume, serious proportions. Members of the territorial legislature whose ancestry is Japanese constitute normally less than 20 percent of the total membership, although 32.5 percent of the total population of the islands is of Japanese descent.<sup>60</sup>

Paired with the earlier, group-specific notation that the percentage of Japanese ethnics in relation to the larger population had declined, such Congressional discourse assuages the persistent fear – both local and on the continent – that this group was poised to challenge the virtually unquestioned social and political dominance held by haole elites. In contrast to the language of democratic management that privileged haole men, the ethnic Japanese community was explicitly racialized through discourses which (eventually) acknowledged group allegiance to the United States but persisted in framing this group as naturally belonging in a subordinate position vis-à-vis ruling elites.

The third set of discourses in the statehood debates, in contrast to the visibility of haole-Japanese antagonisms, enacted the disappearance and illegibility of Native Hawaiians and, importantly, their opposition to admission. In “Hawaiian Statehood,” a 1954 report submitted to the U.S. Senate by the Committee of Interior and Insular Affairs, the desire for admission was framed as a goal that was long-supported by the Hawaiian people:

As the process of Christianization and Americanization of Hawaii continued and as that Nation proceeded through its constitutional development during the next 43 years, faith in the ideal of ultimate statehood grew stronger in Hawaii, and acceptance of that ideal by the people of this Nation likewise grew in strength.

On September 9, 1897, the Senate of the Republic of Hawaii ratified the treaty between Hawaii and the United States which had been signed the previous June 16. The preamble to this treaty recited:

The Republic of Hawaii and the United States of America, in view of the natural dependence of the Hawaiian Islands upon the United States, of their geographical proximity thereto, of the preponderant share acquired by the United States and its citizens in the industries and trade of said Islands, and of the expressed desire of the Government of the Republic of Hawaii that those Islands should be incorporated into the United States as an integral part thereof, and under its sovereignty, have determined to accomplish by treaty an object so important as their mutual and permanent welfare (Revised laws of Hawaii, 1945, p. 20).

The following year Joint Resolution 55, 55<sup>th</sup> Congress, 3<sup>rd</sup> session, sponsored by Senator Newlands, of Nevada, was adopted and approved July 7 (30 Stat. 750). This far-sighted measure, after reciting the fact that “the Government of the Republic of Hawaii having, in due form, signed its consent,” proceeded to annex to the United States “the said Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies.”<sup>61</sup>

This text frames “the people” of the Hawaiian nation as in unanimous support of admission. Of particular note is the notion that Native Hawaiians, through processes of Christianization and Americanization, purportedly desired statehood since its first proposition in 1854. They are framed as co-equal citizens of the Republic of Hawaii, possessing a will identical to a handful of haole elites whose economic welfare and political allegiance had always been with the United States. Unremarked in this retelling of history is that within the 43 years of growing “faith in the ideal of ultimate

statehood” the legitimate Queen and Cabinet of the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown, the government was occupied by haole elites whose insurrection made possible the Republic of Hawaii, and that both Lili‘uokalani and everyday Hawaiian citizens had been actively protesting this violation of their sovereignty.<sup>62</sup> The fait accompli of this text, offered as far-sighted historical fact to those Congressmen deciding the fate of Hawaiian statehood, was the invisibility of the coerced transition from Kingdom to Republic.

To be certain, Native Hawaiians were not monolithic in their views about statehood. As prominent sovereignty scholar-activist Haunani-Kay Trask has recalled, support for admission – and the speculative benefits and drawbacks for Native Hawaiians – was much debated within Hawaiian families and communities.<sup>63</sup> Nonetheless, Native voices of opposition are important because they suggest that there existed ongoing concern about Hawaiian welfare at mid-century when Congressional discourses were framing Native desires as identical to those of haole and Asian settler communities that overwhelmingly supported statehood. One voice of opposition was Senator Alice Kamokila Campbell. Kamokila, as she often referred to herself, was of hapa-haole descent and was elected by a large Hawaiian and Japanese constituency to serve the island of Maui as territorial senator.<sup>64</sup> As one of the few opponents speaking at the 1946 U.S. Congressional hearing on O‘ahu, Kamokila’s address is important for understanding the drastically changed world that Native Hawaiians were trying to come to terms with:

I appear before you gentlemen as an American believing in free speech and democracy and speak from the heart and soul of all Hawaii. Speaking on the subject of statehood for Hawaii, I do not feel that particularly during this period of world adjustment and for several

years thereafter, when we will be undergoing the reactions of our country's decisions, that we should forfeit the traditional rights and privileges of the Natives of our islands for a mere thimbleful of votes in Congress, that we, the lovers of Hawaii from long association with it, should sacrifice our birthright for the greed of alien desires to remain on our shores, that we should satisfy the thirst for power and control of some inflated industrialists and politicians who hide under the guise of friends of Hawaii, yet still keeping an eagle eye on the financial and political pressure button of subjugation over the people in general of these islands.<sup>65</sup>

Kamokila frames her opposition to admission in terms of weariness against Japanese allegiance, a desire to stop further immigration from Asia, and a condemnation of haole economic dominance. On the one hand, she voices concern over the threat to American democracy that ethnic Japanese purportedly pose to the United States, a position that was increasingly misaligned with U.S. geopolitical interests after the war. As problematic and displaced as this position was, the perceived need to limit ethnic Japanese influence in the islands was of continued significance for a Native Hawaiian population whose disenfranchisement had continued unabated for well over fifty years. On the other hand, Kamokila chastises Big Five business interests for the subjugation of the “general” population of the islands, which includes both Native Hawaiians and Asians, through continued importation of Filipino immigrant labor.<sup>66</sup> Here, too, Kamokila voices a position that centered Native Hawaiian needs, in nativist terms, in ways that no longer served U.S. goals in a changed world. Indeed, from the perspective of then-current U.S. geopolitical interests – the war between Japan and the United States had ended, independence in the Philippines was being celebrated, and a U.S. presence throughout the Pacific region was viewed as vital to looming Cold War tensions – Kamokila's position is confounding.



For island Asian and haole settler residents with a stake in being fully recognized as “American,” Kamokila’s position was illegible. Their everyday discourses in response to anti-statehood arguments aligned with the textual disappearance of Native Hawaiian opposition that was found in Congressional reports. For example, in a separate public debate at the University of Hawai‘i, a student reporter found that “her argument against statehood was so vaguely and illogically presented that it was difficult to take intelligible notes.”<sup>67</sup> However, from the perspective of a Native Hawaiian whose early education had taken place during the monarchy and who had seen the vast changes since Lili‘uokalani was overthrown in 1893, Kamokila’s position reveals a deep concern about what further changes will bring for the Native people of Hawai‘i. It is simultaneously an appeal to and resistance against U.S. power, reflecting a position that is trying to come to terms with tremendous loss in the language of the social order that was responsible for that theft. Kamokila closes her remarks with this plea, “Please take this message back to Congress: Hawai‘i and Kamokila ask nothing else but to be left alone.”<sup>68</sup> Unable to articulate an argument for deannexation and rendered illegible in the context of dominant statehood debates, Kamokila does what she can by making an appeal for time for Native Hawaiians to stem the tide of economic, social, and political disarray which had followed waves of European, American, and Asian immigration.

Before the outset of World War II Congressional leaders had a vested interest in buffering the continental United States from the social antagonisms present between island ethnicities.<sup>69</sup> Hawaiian statehood certainly had far-reaching implications for race relations on the continent and, consequently, Congressional

documents show a preoccupation with the “problem” of Japanese alienage and allegiance. Since the U.S. Congress functioned as the gate-keeper to perceived “sovereignty” from territorial control, this preoccupation worked as a powerful tool which normalized haole-Japanese antagonisms as a key issue in statehood debates. At the same time, however, tacit haole dominance and highly visible questions of ethnic Japanese loyalty functioned as part of a racial triangulation that achieved the disappearance of Native Hawaiian opposition. Though Congress did admit Hawai‘i to the union in 1959, none of this was assured in the midst of wartime hostilities. Rather, the preconditions of this resolution – that is, the visible shows of Japanese allegiance and the invisibility of Native Hawaiian opposition – were produced during and immediately after the war.

### ***Wartime Allegiance and the Production of Normative Japanese Americanism***

The post-war shift toward statehood was enabled by many factors, significant among them the production of a normative Japanese Americanism in wartime Hawai‘i. Throughout the war the question of statehood was deferred while the assimilability and allegiance of persons of Japanese ancestry remained of central import. Nonetheless, wartime anxieties about and among Hawai‘i’s Japanese community enabled, ultimately, the ideological production of a normative Japanese Americanism that would quell fears of alienage in the statehood debates after the war.

Normative Japanese Americanism was heavily influenced by propaganda (disseminated from the continental United States) that enshrined white, upwardly mobile nuclear families as the bastion of national values. In an examination of the

ideological workings of wartime rhetoric, Karen Engle has linked President Roosevelt's speech to congress in early 1941 to Norman Rockwell's iconic *Four Freedoms for Which We Fight* series. These freedoms – of speech, from fear, of worship, and from want – were engrained in national ideologies of patriotism by the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Already swirling in popular discourses of American nationalism, these freedoms were visually canonized through Rockwell's paintings. His series attained iconic status through the 1943 dissemination of propaganda posters by the U.S. government which underscored the ways in which the concept of “‘freedom’ is specifically made to signify American democracy and white, heteronormative bourgeois values threatened by the evil Axis Other.”<sup>70</sup> In such configurations to be Japanese was always and already beyond the boundaries of U.S. citizenship.

For the Japanese community in Hawai'i, the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 solidified this knowledge. The martial law declared that evening, Okihiro has argued, was at heart an anti-Japanese measure that had been long in the making.<sup>71</sup> In a candid interview, Maude Jones, a local haole, reveals how deep seated these hostilities were when she explains, “I can't stand the Japanese as a race. I don't like them, yet I get along very well with the old Japanese in my district.” Revealing a racist attitude that falls prey to the worst of stereotypes while simultaneously praising the exceptional Japanese, Jones' interview shows the ways in which individual Japanese had to work against an ideology that assumed both Japanese ingratitude and disloyalty:

Of course, we really have no one to blame but ourselves for the difficulty we are having with the Japanese. We have petted and

pampered them as we have no other group in the territory. From the very start, the Hawaiian government, and since then our own government, handed them everything.<sup>72</sup>

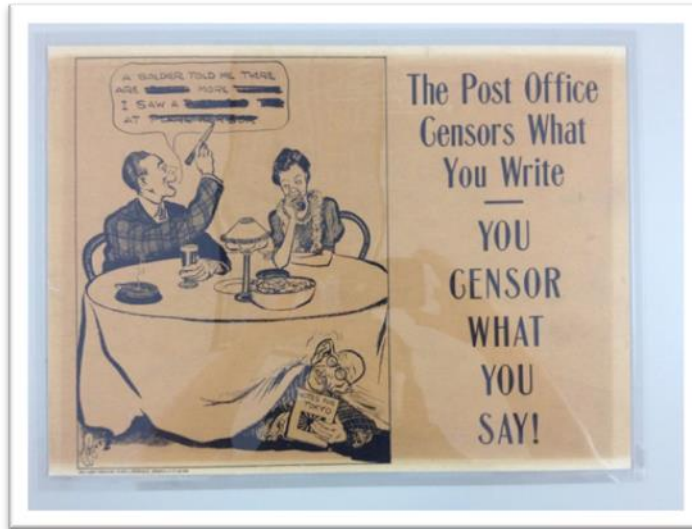
Instead of haole domination over the Japanese plantation labor force and the myriad methods of perpetuating the social and political status quo that favored haoles,<sup>73</sup> Jones sees a Japanese “problem” marked by ingratitude and rivalry with the ruling elites. Her anxieties reflect a growing fear of the “yellow peril,” a narrative which predated the war but was stoked to fuel anti-Japanese sentiment following the bombing of Pearl Harbor.<sup>74</sup> Following the above statement, Jones links Japanese ingratitude to a lack of allegiance to the United States:

The thing that really worries me is the way in which these Japanese flappers get hold of the enlisted men. Up our way you can see them waiting at the bus corner and you see them walking arm in arm along the street. I think this is the worst problem we have to deal with. (Interviewer asked whether she feared that the Japanese were trying to worm information out of them) Well, it strikes me that when they get a couple of drinks in them and they are feeling friendly, they are going to inadvertently reveal information that they have no business revealing. I have told some of the federal agents, and they admitted that it is a serious problem, and, of course, there is also what you might call the moral problem.<sup>75</sup>

This statement is a marked contrast to her earlier recognition that those of the older generation whom she knows personally fear that “in case of an invasion they would be out of luck with the Japanese because they have lost face by being loyal to the United States.”<sup>76</sup> Betraying an attitude wherein the idea of a patriotic Japanese American becomes a discursive impossibility, Jones’ distrust of Nisei women reveals a general assumption of Japanese disloyalty and the gendered ways in which everyday actions were understood as being potentially traitorous. Smoldering in her narrative is a naturalized acceptance of controlling images<sup>77</sup> which cast Nisei women

as untrustworthy and traitorous, using their other-worldly sexuality to entice white American men to reveal damning national secrets.

Reminiscent of the Dragon Lady stereotype that served alongside the sinister motives of Fu Manchu,<sup>78</sup> Jones' fear of Nisei women reflects a re-formulation of anti-Chinese stereotype of earlier eras. Her sentiment dovetails with U.S. wartime propaganda to sustain the public fear which legitimated martial law throughout the war and successfully curbed the civil liberties of Japanese Americans in the islands. In the image below, evening drinks and inebriation are all that is necessary for sensitive information to make its way to the Japanese military forces. Though the would-be spy is clearly recognizable as Emperor Hirohito, whose image abounds in wartime propaganda, the viewer is all-too aware that the emperor himself will not be the true eavesdropper. Instead, the image of Hirohito cautions white Americans residing in Hawai'i against a seemingly ever-present threat of Japanese espionage, gesturing toward the Japanese ethnic community as the embodiment of this threat. By juxtaposing white Americans with Japanese "enemies" this rhetoric underscored the importance of vigilant self-composure for the former and fueled anxieties such as those expressed by Maude Jones.



Wartime propaganda poster.

“The Post Office Censors What You Write – You Censor What You Say”<sup>79</sup>

For local Japanese, characterized as ungrateful and disloyal for decades before the attack on Pearl Harbor, such propaganda buttresses the power of a flawed logic which conflated Japanese ethnicity with Japanese nationality.<sup>80</sup> Despite the persistent opinion of U.S. military command that ethnic Japanese were particularly incapable of allegiance to the United States, local Japanese were nonetheless encouraged to resist through everyday demonstrations of loyalty.<sup>81</sup> Local forms of propaganda engaged in the ideological work of demanding ethnic Japanese allegiance through the sanctioning of specific forms of patriotism. One such example was the 1942 Speak American campaign that was directed toward the immigrant generation and emphasized how to approximate proper allegiance through the use of English language. The text in the leaflet reads, “Pidgin is better than nothing. The American Language is best. But nobody wants to hear foreign tongues ~ especially the enemy’s.” Hawaiian Pidgin English<sup>82</sup> was dominant on plantations in which Japanese had grown to dominate the labor forces and served as a way for multiple language groups to communicate in plantation life. Significantly, pidgin enabled speakers of Hawaiian, English, and

Asian languages to understand each other. However, this laboring-class dialect was derided by local elites. In “Power, Status, and Hawai‘i Creole English: An Example of Linguistic Intolerance in American History,” Eileen Tamura has argued that the establishment of segregated Standard schools – schools in which the pidgin dialect was banned – served alongside anti-Japanese efforts to curtail foreign-language newspapers and schools in haole efforts to maintain power and privilege.<sup>83</sup> However, despite the inferior status accorded to this vernacular, Pidgin assumed a moral imperative in the service of U.S. nationalism in the Speak American campaign. Comprehensible to English language speakers, pidgin is transformed into a “step above” Japanese language use, which is conversely configured in opposition to the “American” language and is always and already antithetical to U.S. domestic security.



Wartime propaganda leaflet.

“Pidgin is better than nothing, The American Language is Best”<sup>84</sup>

One product of the Speak American campaign was fear and disengagement, particularly among first-generation Japanese with little to no English language comprehension. Such anxieties were documented by the Hawai‘i chapter of the American Friends Service Committee, a white American and haole-led organization

whose wartime mission in the islands specifically sought to address ethnic Japanese concerns and anxieties during the war. Their work included family visiting, English language classes, girls' and women's sewing groups that worked with local hospitals, Christian classes, maid and yardmen morale surveys, and serving as a link between incarcerated Japanese men and their families.<sup>85</sup> Through this work members found that fear was pervasive among ethnic Japanese:

A most unfortunate aspect of the English campaign was mentioned, in one of the sewing schools. From the facts, as far as known, it appeared that some necessary instructions, as well as some general conversation, were made in Japanese and had been reported to the Military Intelligence. This resulted in a visit to the school from that office, and the voluntary withdrawal of one of the class who could not understand all of the instruction given in English. The staff wondered as to the direction of the English speaking campaign; it would seem not quite reasonable that persons who need to continue their studies in sewing should feel the pressure so strongly as to lead to withdrawal from the school, and that persons should be expected to forego conversation.<sup>86</sup>

In such meetings members actively questioned the legitimacy of propaganda campaigns that worked to alienate and exclude ethnic Japanese who were visibly working to support the U.S. war effort. However, even among such sympathetic membership, the impact of anti-Japanese sentiment on this ethnic community was grossly underestimated. For example, in October 1942 members remarked:

In the group of women being taught English there is still a considerable amount of fear and uncertainty. They are afraid to go to the movies, or to leave their homes very far. They fear to do anything about reclaiming radios which have been turned in for removal of short-wave attachments, not knowing what to do. It was thought this matter could be cleared up by explanation to them of the government rulings. In spite of this fear an amusing story was told of one of the beginners' class who raises orchids. She said in her best English "Sometime I sell flower, I buy stamp, I like America."<sup>87</sup>



Contrary to committee members' perceptions, the fears intimated were far more extensive than a matter of clarifying government directives. Rather, members of the Japanese community were responding to decades of anti-Japanese sentiment which had been fueled not just by governmental policies, but deeply intertwined in the ideological fabric of local life. The recounted remark by the Issei woman reflects a keen reading of social expectations that local Japanese should demonstrate loyalty to the United States in the minutiae of their everyday lives. As demonstrated by the killing of local Japanese fishermen on December 8<sup>th</sup> and the unfounded incarcerations that followed,<sup>88</sup> this Issei woman knew very well what was at stake in her everyday proclamations.

Despite these fears, propaganda such as the Speak American campaign also functioned to make ethnic Japanese patriotism in the islands an ideological possibility. Japanese loyalty to the United States pre-dated the war, though Okihiro points out that such allegiance was coerced and "*Nisei* were to be driven to patriotism, with virtually no other choice."<sup>89</sup> However, for many youngsters Hawai'i was the only "home" they knew and loyalty to the United States was seemingly natural. In this period the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory at the University of Hawai'i confidentially interviewed island Issei and Nisei, asking them to reflect on their wartime experiences. One young woman, identified only as Miss S., explained:

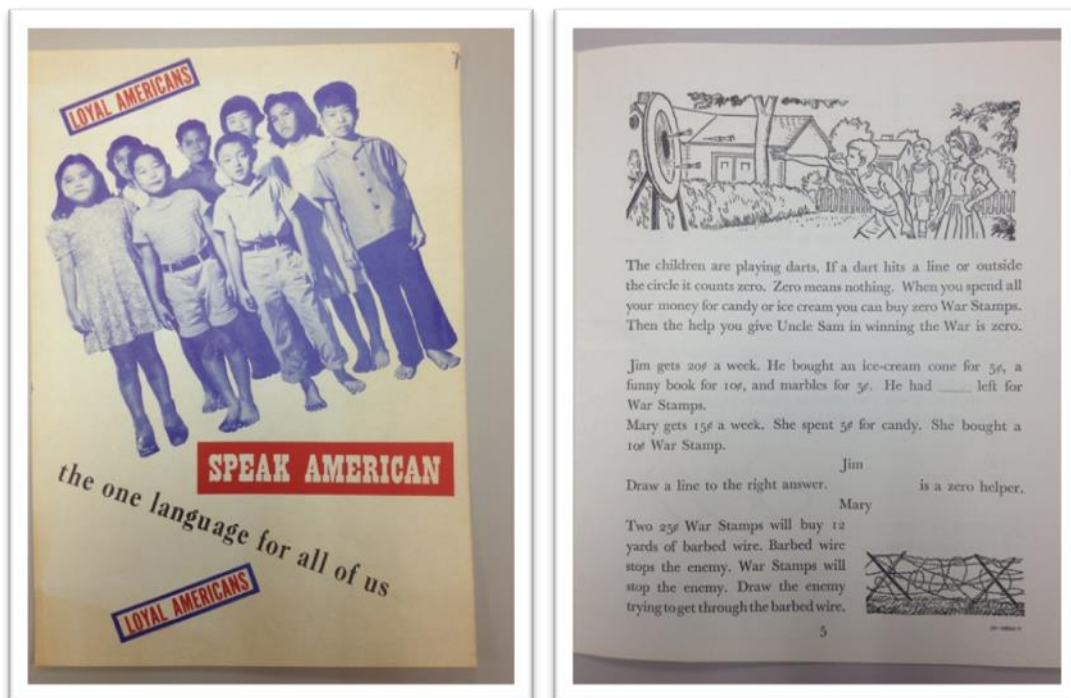
I am sick and tired of my enemy alien status. It makes me mad when kibeis who know nothing about America and who are thoroughly Japanese are enjoying American citizenship just because they were born in Hawaii. They lived in Japan all their lives and came back to Hawaii recently and they don't know what America is. I came to Hawaii when I was a year old. I attended American public schools and

I spent 5 years on the mainland attending college. So, even though I was born in Japan, I am far more Americanized than those kibeï. Those kibeï have no love or loyalty for America but they are full-fledged American citizens and enjoying all the privileges they don't deserve.<sup>90</sup>

Though born in Japan (and not technically Nisei), this young woman shares that growing up in the islands had fostered a love, knowledge, and loyalty for the United States that manifested in her deepest desire: to be an American citizen. Her palpable disdain for the state-imposed status as “enemy alien” is refracted through the creation of an insider status vis-à-vis kibeï youth born in Hawai‘i (with birthright citizenship) yet raised in Japan. Rather than assailing the unyielding power of the state that proclaims her an enemy within, Miss S. works vehemently to establish herself as belonging within the ideological boundaries of “American” and the legal terrain of U.S. citizenship.

Both driving and catering to this desire, the Speak American campaign produced visual and discursive markers of American patriotism that were crucial for a fledgling normative Japanese Americanism in which Nisei youth were taught to value “American” sensibilities over those of their immigrant parents. In the image below eight youth of various Asian ancestries stand resolutely as “Loyal Americans.” Rather than donning the “traditional” clothing that ethnic minority youngsters were frequently expected to wear in pre-war, multi-ethnic settings,<sup>91</sup> these youngsters are clad in clothing that replicates the attire associated with white American children. However, unlike Jim who, according to this children’s workbook, is still tacitly assumed to be an American despite failing to contribute to the war effort, ethnic Japanese youth had to contend with assumptions of foreign allegiance. Within this

ideological climate, the Speak American poster conveys not only that ethnic Japanese should speak in the “proper” language, but also that there are particular patterns of visual presentation which similarly work to unite the many Asian ethnic communities of Hawai‘i under the banner of American nationalism. Significantly, such modes of physical presentation and social interaction were not unfamiliar to Nisei youth. Indeed, as Miss S. explained in her narrative, Nisei youth had come of age immersed in these cultural norms. What was new in the wartime climate was the urgency in the thrust of American propaganda directed toward the disavowal of all things culturally Japanese. By making normative Japanese Americanism visually and discursively available in the Speak American poster series, the campaign held out the promise of belonging for Nisei youth raised in an anti-Japanese climate.



Left: Wartime propaganda poster.

“Loyal Americans Speak American – the one language for all of us”<sup>92</sup>

Right: Wartime children’s workbook.

*Victory Workbook Number Two*<sup>93</sup>

The Speak American campaign is one example of the ways in which Nisei desires for belonging were joined with U.S. nationalist propaganda to give credence to a set of everyday practices intended to eradicate all things culturally Japanese. That is, it was in the midst of fear and desire that the production of a normative Japanese Americanism became possible. I use this concept to denote the coercive production of ethnic Japanese allegiance to the United States; a coercion that came under duress initiated through U.S. social, economic, and political power, but was nonetheless widely adopted. From letters to the editor to waves of wartime volunteers, island Nisei took up the opportunity to prove their allegiance to the United States. Their visual and discursive production of normative Japanese Americanism sought to relegate “Japanese” to mere happenstance while naturalizing American patriotism. This is nowhere more apparent than in the reclamation of ethnic Japanese identity by island youth from “Jap” or “Tojo” to “Americans of Japanese Ancestry” or “American-Japanese.”<sup>94</sup> The reclaimed terms hold “American” as the noun to which “of Japanese Ancestry” and “-Japanese” become simply modifiers of a naturalized American identity. The intent of this discursive framing is to harness those qualities of American citizens – nationality, standing, and allegiance – and tether them to the racialized bodies of ethnic Japanese.

This process, while highlighting the ethnic dimensions of identity formation, was also deeply intertwined with ideologies of (white) masculinity and femininity. If the term AJA made a normative Japanese Americanism discursively possible, the gendered actions of that generation lent legitimacy to the claim embedded within this emerging ethnic identity. Young Japanese women and men sought to demonstrate

their allegiance to the United States in many ways, the most valued of which was reserved for men as soldiers in battle. In the midst of the Second World War the AJA soldier would come to embody the hopes and dreams of an entire community. When young Japanese men were finally granted permission to serve in the United States armed forces, one Nisei wrote to the *Hilo Tribune Herald*:

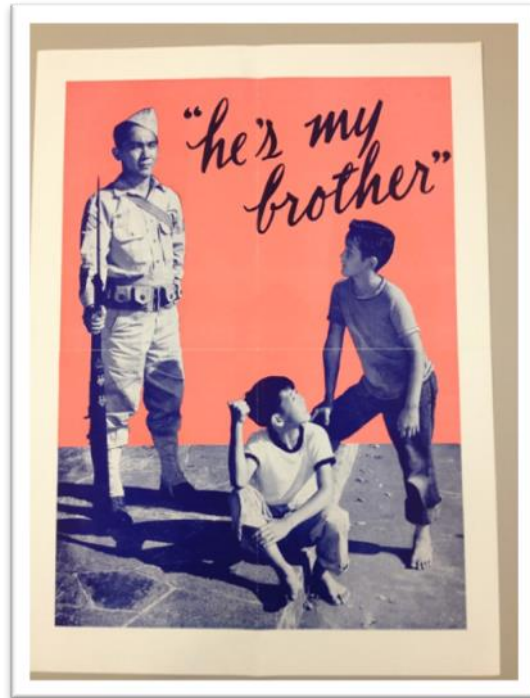
March 18, 1943, is and will be a memorable day to every A.J.A. Today, March 18, 1943, will be well remembered because the A.J.A. volunteers left their peaceful home, their beloved parents, brothers, sisters, and many friends to become soldiers in the United States army to defend their birthright and ours, too ... We, who were left behind, are envious of the lucky ones because we ourselves were not chosen. Our time and chance to be in the armed forces will come and I hope soon. So do we all.<sup>95</sup>

For this young man, AJA soldiers were fighting in the war on two registers. The first was for the abstract concept of freedom for which all soldiers were fighting. For the Japanese community, however, the war was also a fight on another register in which the Nisei birthright to be accepted as “American” was at stake. In a similar vein, one AJA soldier wrote of Yoshio “Ginger” Minami, a fellow soldier who died in the war:

Vague stories had come out of Kauai that Ginger’s uncle was that notorious Harada who had aided a Jap pilot who had landed on Niihau. Harada had saved face by shooting himself, yes, but it could hardly have been pleasant for his relatives living in a world at war ... Then came the “supreme sacrifice”, and like all similar tragedies this one was hard to realize. I read of Ginger Minami’s death in the newspapers, many months after it had happened. I saw an account of his memorial service in his home town on Kauai. And I read, also, in a letter from his best friend, that few people would know what Ginger had died for besides his country and its glory. He had a heavier burden than others, and he owed it to his family to fight more valiantly than the other soldiers. He tried his best. And now when friends smile at Jessie, they will not show in that smile, “Harada was your uncle”, but rather “Ginger was your brother”, and they will forget the sadness of Niihau for the wonder of America and her sons.<sup>96</sup>

Under constant duress and suspicion of espionage, expectations of allegiance to the United States were unyielding. The casual assumption that an island Japanese man should shoot himself for aiding a Japanese pilot who was downed islands away from the battle raging at Pearl Harbor belies an all-or-nothing allegiance in which island Japanese bore the burden of proof. Like Ginger, who had to redeem his family from such a “disgrace,” island AJA soldiers carried the burden of proving ethnic Japanese allegiance into the war and, though coerced, the famed deeds of the 442<sup>nd</sup> served as an irrefutable claim to American belonging.<sup>97</sup>

Accompanying these actions was the visual representation of the heroism of these AJA soldiers, which was an important sign of normative Japanese American masculinity. If, as Engle has noted, the abstract concept of “freedom” became visually associated with the values of the white, affluent, nuclear family through Rockwell’s *Four Freedoms* poster series, then a normative Japanese Americanism that sought to shore up these values would likely aspire to present itself in similar ways.<sup>98</sup> Local propaganda and recruitment posters, as well as newspaper coverage, did precisely this.



Left, top: Wartime recruitment poster.

"It's My Right to Fight for America"<sup>99</sup>

Right, top: Wartime recruitment poster.

"He's my brother"<sup>100</sup>

Left, bottom: AJA illustration of battle on the European front, featured in the Honolulu Advertiser.

"Fighting in the mountains"<sup>101</sup>

Right, top: Wartime war bond drive poster.

"They're fighting harder than ever...are you buying more war bonds than ever?"<sup>102</sup>

This 1943 war bond poster (bottom right) is one example of the visual representation of allegiance and valor distributed through the U.S. federal government. The forward charge of the soldiers in the background and deliberate focus of the soldier in the foreground alert the viewer to dangers which lie just beyond view. The motion captured in this picture cue the reader to the discipline and focus that these white soldiers have brought to the battlefield in defense of American freedom. With the doors to armed service finally opened to ethnic Japanese men that same year, local recruitment posters took a similar tone. In both of the locally printed posters (top left and top right) the AJA soldiers are focused on action beyond the frame of the image, the intensity of their gaze fashioned similarly to the white soldiers illustrated in federal materials. These posters, likely displayed in island Japanese neighborhoods, invoke a sense of pride for the Nisei men who volunteer for wartime service. This extends not only to those who enlist, but also to the families, as seen in the poster where a sitting boy points to his soldier brother with pride. Later, as members of the 442<sup>nd</sup> regiment began returning to the islands in 1946, the *Honolulu Advertiser* ran a featured series on the wartime movements of AJA soldiers in the European theater. Here, as in the federal bond poster, the charge of the soldiers is toward a threat to freedom that exists beyond the illustrated frame. By fashioning Japanese American (masculine) allegiance in line with federally distributed propaganda these materials were part of a visual discourse that functioned to shore up white, heteronormative masculinity.

In contrast to imagery that prompts the reader to conceptualize the grandiose protection of abstract freedom by Japanese American masculinity, normative



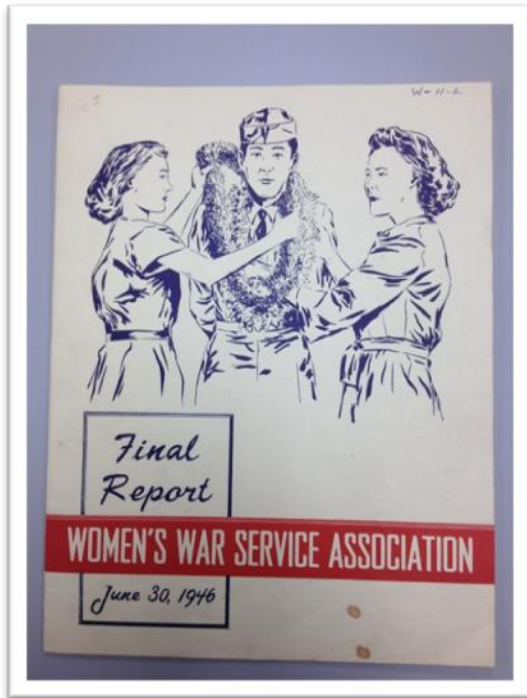
Japanese American femininity relegated AJA women to a secondary status. This was due in part to structural barriers that prevented women from gaining access to citizenship on their own accord. For example, some “alien” Japanese women had intended to gain citizenship through war service in a manner similar to AJA soldiers. Miss S., whose frustrations of being an “enemy alien” were discussed above, was dismayed that formal paths to citizenship were unavailable to her:

Now men of alien Japanese status are eligible for enlisting in the Army. They eventually get their citizenship in that way. So I thought the same privilege was given to women. I can't understand why women are not allowed to have the same privilege as men.<sup>103</sup>

In lieu of combat service AJA women engaged in activities that supported the war on the home front. Some, such as war bond drives and participation in labor safety initiatives were explicitly sanctioned by the federal government. Though deemed essential for a successful war effort, these activities were not avenues to citizenship and, consequently, exacerbated the dependent position that AJA women were in vis-à-vis AJA men.

Other activities, such as the island-based Women's War Service Association were locally-based and founded, quite literally, to place AJA women in a supporting role to AJA soldiers. It was comprised of women of Japanese ancestry with brothers, sons, and husbands in the U.S. armed forces. The group was seen as “one way to help the women of Japanese ancestry make a greater contribution to the war effort and at the same time gain better recognition for them.”<sup>104</sup> Activities included clothing drives for war-torn sites throughout the Pacific, partnership with the USO for an entertainment event for men in the armed services and other social activities for military personnel (including for AJA veterans), wounded soldier hospital visitations,

memorial services for members' sons/brothers/husbands, community observances for veterans, and making surgical dressings with the Red Cross.



*Final Report of the Women's War Service Association*<sup>105</sup>

Though founded by AJA women who desired to aid the war effort, the WWSA nonetheless reflected a reality in which the mission of women during the war was to support men. In this image structural barriers, such as a lack of avenues toward citizenship, were tacitly reinforced through visual discourses that portrayed women in a supporting role. It depicts two AJA women solemnly placing lei on the shoulders of an AJA man who is clearly an enlisted U.S. soldier. Unlike the man, whose gaze is again beyond the frame, the women are focused on him. The image underscores that the work of AJA women is to support AJA men. Their path to the desired status as "American" is dependent on the men in their lives. As described by Miss O.:

It may be my mother's way of comforting me. She says that the alien status matters less to girls because they get married and settle in the

homes ... My brother was one of the 442<sup>nd</sup> Regiment. He went through all the major battles in Italy. But he came back unscathed. Since his return, I feel much more secure. At least I am a sister of a soldier who fought in defense of the country. This fact seems to overshadow my shortcoming of being an alien. I feel that way anyway. I feel that no one would deport a sister of an American soldier.<sup>106</sup>

This narrative reveals that a major (and unfulfilling) consequence of aspirations toward a normative Japanese Americanism was a re-inscription of white, bourgeois, heteronormative gender roles in which a woman's status was dependent on the men in her life. Like many working and laboring class women coming of age under the influence of U.S. ideologies of (white) womanhood, the disjuncture between ethnic/racial experiences and womanhood were fraught even before the war. It is also significant to recall that the fear and desire which drove Nisei efforts to articulate a normative Japanese Americanism were the products of anti-Japanese wartime propaganda, such as the Speak American campaign. For young AJA women, ideological subordination and acquiescence to structural dependencies on men – ethnic Japanese or otherwise – was the price of American belonging.

For all ethnic Japanese, the costs of a normative Japanese Americanism were high and the payouts meager. Many, like Miss O., her brother, and his comrades, realized the limits to their inclusion. During her interview at the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, Miss O. expresses her frustration:

Boys who came back from the European theaters told me that when they went to Portland, Oregon, they were called 'Japs' by a bunch of haoles there. Our boys had their army uniforms on with all their ribbons for their services on the fronts. But they were treated as though they were the enemy ... I began to wonder if the citizenship did not mean much after all unless one is white.<sup>107</sup>

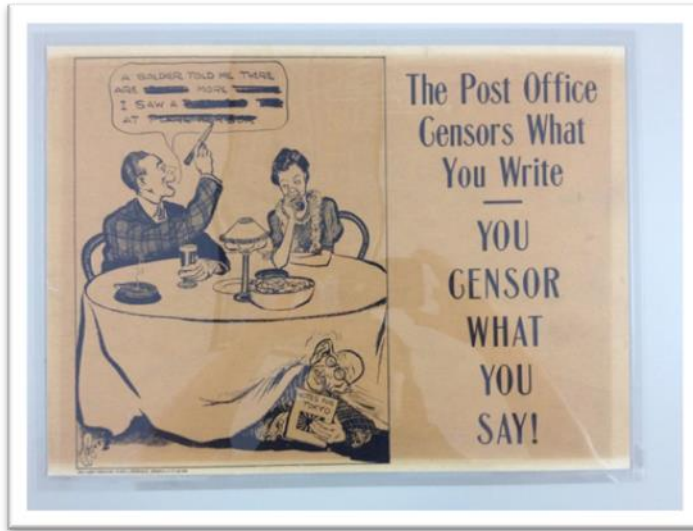
Despite this realization, U.S. citizenship with its attendant benefits remained coveted. As Miss O. goes on to say, “This feeling somewhat reduced my bitterness toward my misfortune of being an alien Japanese. But, of course, such a feeling of compensation is only superficial. I still want to become an American citizen and I would do everything I can to get it.”<sup>108</sup> A conflicted product of racist citizenship policies, Miss O. continues to yearn for citizenship in the only home she has ever known. At the time, however, there was no way for her to fully understand that the price for citizenship had been paid in full by the Japanese community during the war. Indeed, as the immediacy of war receded the seeds of normative Japanese Americanism that were sown under such duress began to bear fruit. Not only had island Japanese responded to continental fears of racial difference, the normative Japanese Americanism which they had cultivated resolved the haole-Japanese antagonisms that had blockaded statehood for so many decades.

### ***Feminized Hawai‘i and the Post-War Bid for Statehood***

The racializing pattern of Congressional fears and preoccupations had triangulated island groups in ways that assumed haole dominance, made visible the perceived “problem” of Japanese allegiance, and framed Native Hawaiians as a disappearing race whose opposition to statehood was incomprehensible. The war changed many things for island residents, particularly for the Nisei whose cultivation of a normative Japanese Americanism offered, at long last, the resolution to the haole-Japanese antagonisms which had stifled earlier admission efforts. During the war Native Hawaiians, like their Japanese counterparts, experienced shifting conceptions of their place in Hawai‘i and the American nation. Unlike the Nisei

whose lot had been irrevocably cast with the United States, Native Hawaiian investments in statehood were far more conflicted. As Kamokila Campbell's opposition suggests, the war had not alleviated Hawaiian anxieties about their place in the changing social order. Instead, wartime visual discourses had rendered Native Hawaiians invisible while harnessing Hawaiian cultural symbols as mere backdrop to American patriotism in the islands. This wartime invisibility was met with post-war hyper-visibility in which feminized Hawaiian women became alluring supporters of statehood. Much like the Congressional texts discussed earlier, the alternating invisibility and hyper-visibility were strategies that galvanized support of U.S. prerogatives and desires while rendering Native Hawaiian anxieties about statehood illegible.

While in the midst of war it was readily apparent that island propaganda had taken aim at threats of Japanese disloyalty. The visual discourses in posters and leaflets implicated all Japanese as potential threats and exhorted all residents to maintain composure lest seemingly neutral information inadvertently divulge secrets of national import. When focusing attention on haole-Japanese antagonisms in the islands, this poster can be read as a juxtaposition of white Americans with Japanese "enemies" which visually underscores the importance of vigilant self-composure for white Americans. However, through the lens of Native Hawaiian dispossession this poster, produced in Honolulu, can be read quite differently.



Wartime propaganda poster.

“The Post Office Censors What You Write – You Censor What You Say,” July 17, 1942<sup>109</sup>

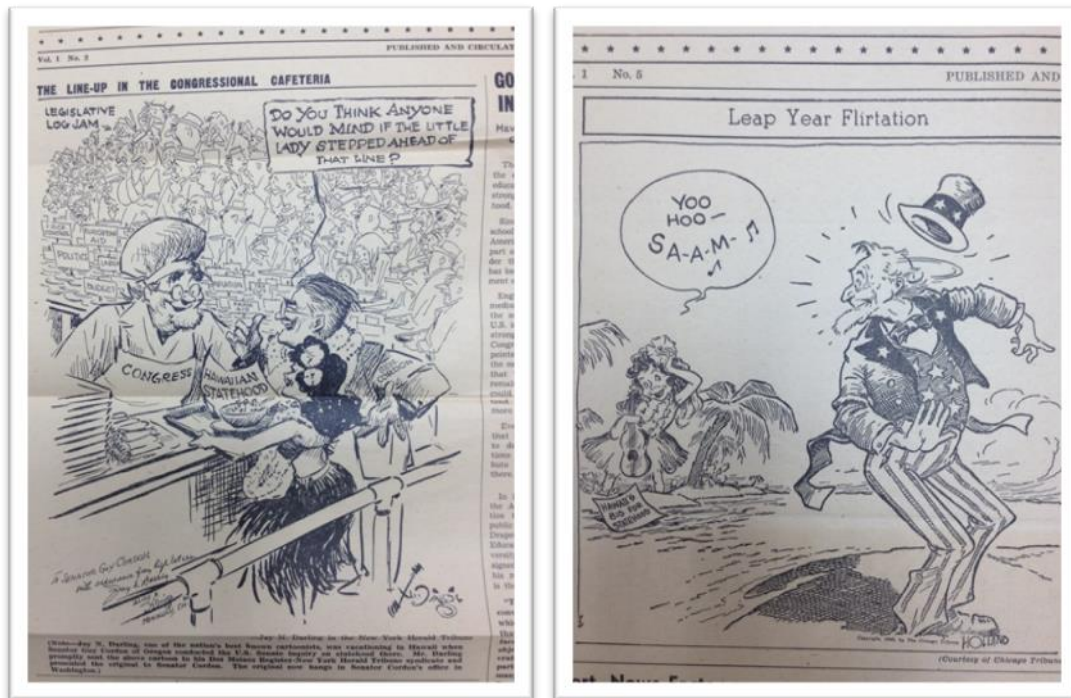
The poster is, presumably, calling on *all* island residents to be wary of revealing too much information. Indeed, Hawai‘i was so crucial to the U.S. Pacific fleet and war production that even seemingly mundane details of daily life were feared as containing important information that, when accumulated, would reveal national secrets. It is important to note, however, that the poster also naturalizes haole and white American power in the islands. It does this, on the one hand, by normalizing haole/white access to information important to U.S. national security, particularly among men. On the other hand, a degree of cultural literacy that comes with residency is confirmed through the lei worn by the woman, offsetting other markers of privileged haole identity such as formal dinner attire and expendable income during the war. The inebriated ease with which the pair enjoys their dinner, alongside the clearly uninvited intrusion of Emperor Hirohito, visually renders haoles and white Americans as legitimately belonging in the life of the islands. Hawaiians, as the Native people that may have a quite different stake in both the war and haole/white American presence do not even enter the frame of reference. As in Congressional

texts, Native Hawaiians disappear behind a preoccupation with haole-Japanese antagonisms.

This invisibility, however, would shift after the war. As sentiments on the continental United States moved closer to admission, a caricature of Native Hawaiian women – the hula girl – would come to visually embody the pro-statehood movement. In “Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire,” Adria Imada has argued that the hula circuits which brought Hawaiian performers to the United States functioned to introduce feminized Hawaiian bodies into the center of U.S. power in ways that domesticated Hawai‘i and its inhabitants enough to be brought into the folds of statehood.<sup>110</sup> Though the actual performers were often hapa-haole and, at times, of Hawaiian-Asian descent, the image of the hula girl was as a “Hawaiian.” Imada has argued that this imagery produced an “imagined intimacy” between Hawai‘i and the continent which enabled the ideological erasure of Asians from the islands. Imagined intimacy, like the production of a normative Japanese Americanism, was central to combating long-standing fears of the inability of persons of Asian descent to “assimilate” into “American” social and political life.<sup>111</sup> The product was a homogenized understanding of Hawai‘i and “Hawaiians” as both like and unlike the United States and “Americans,” although in both instances docile and amenable to U.S. hegemony in the islands.

While the hula girl gained popularity in clubs across the continent, the image also came to represent a “Hawaiian” desire for statehood. Thus, in marked contrast to the invisibility of Native Hawaiians in Congressional texts, popular visual discourses

of the statehood debate brought a hyper-visibility to the sexualized bodies of “Hawaiian” women.



Left: Pro-Statehood Political Cartoon.  
 “The Line-Up in the Congressional Cafeteria.”<sup>112</sup>  
 Right: Pro-Statehood Political Cartoon.  
 “Leap Year Flirtation.”<sup>113</sup>

Despite annual attempts to gain statehood after the war, it took over a decade for Congress to finally admit Hawai‘i into the union. Like travelling hālau hula, pro-statehood political cartoons circulated between island and continental newspapers. In these images the hula girl functions as the alluring and demure figure of Hawai‘i whose beauty and charm will entice Congress and the nation into admission, either through a sense of protective chivalry or lustful desire. In either case her feminized body contrasts with the masculine American figures. Though an about turn from Congressional texts which offer scant mention of Native Hawaiians, the figure of the hula girl comes to represent all of Hawai‘i – and certainly all Hawaiians – in the



statehood movement. Despite this difference the effect remains chillingly similar. In both sets of discourses the possibility of Native Hawaiian opposition to statehood has been rendered illegible.

*Concluding Thoughts:*

Throughout the Second World War and into the immediate postwar years, the specter of perpetual alienage clung to the ethnic Japanese community in Hawai'i. Decades of anti-Japanese hostilities all but ensured that Nisei desires for recognition vis-à-vis the United States would take normative forms. For Nisei youth, allegiance would be rewarded in the postwar period by full legal and ideological claim to American citizenship, as well as the attendant economic and political benefits of this belonging. At the same time, however, Native Hawaiians would face further dispossession from land, language, and culture. The statehood debates and eventual admission functioned as a dangerous precedent that not only idealized Japanese successes, but reconfirmed a dangerous silencing of Native Hawaiian opposition. Though the latter half of the twentieth century would witness the growing salience of Locals – an emergent social formation that transformed the ways in which Natives and settlers understood social relations in Hawai'i – the all too familiar invisibility of Native Hawaiian resistance would persist even as some ethnic minorities, such as the Japanese, thrived.

### ***Chapter Three: Contesting the Local: Cultural Citizenship, Appropriation, and Local Hawaiians***

The loyalty of the vast majority of the Japanese-Americans cannot be questioned, because they have stood the crucial test during the war better than almost anyone had dared to expect. They have proven to the United States their loyalty to the land of their birth is just as strong and steadfast as that of the other Americans. I believe that the record of Americans of Japanese Ancestry in the recent fighting constitutes an endorsement of the highest order of the American ideal.

To grant Hawaiian statehood would extend the domestic frontier of the United States proper 2,200 miles to the west. It would establish a desirable precedent in granting island peoples self-government and full political rights. It would be an example we could point to with pride – a wordless criticism of the colonial policy of nations which do not choose to extend to the people under them similar rights. It would mean that within the boundaries of the United States would be included a state which would set an example of full racial tolerance, a state made up of people of many races and creeds living and working together without friction. It would serve notice to the world at large that the Central and Western Pacific constitute a defense zone of the United States.

Sincerely,  
Student  
*University of Hawaii*<sup>114</sup>

The development of normative Japanese Americanism in the period between 1940 and 1960 was a political project – an enactment of a politics of belonging, to use Nira Yuval-Davis' concept – that reframed island Japanese as amenable to the reciprocal rights and responsibilities of U.S. statehood. The young Japanese women and men who took up this project were contesting the exclusive whiteness of U.S. citizenship, reframing “American” in ways that included “of Japanese ancestry.” The particularities of their claims – that one can be American without being raced as white – grasped upon a narrative of U.S. democracy commonly accepted by many white Americans, namely that “American ideals and political institutions were both unique

and universal.”<sup>115</sup> Taken from a pro-statehood informational booklet published by the student organization Associated Students University of Hawai‘i, the excerpt above features a fictionalized student at the University of Hawai‘i. In this narrative the student argues that the universality of these ideas paired with Americanizing educational efforts had successfully readied non-white island residents for statehood.

Such claims did a particular kind of work for hegemonic conceptions of U.S. citizenship. As evident in the emergence of normative Japanese Americanism during the war, efforts to Americanize non-white island residents enabled the implicit raced, gendered, and classed norms of U.S. citizenship to remain intact by heralding white Americanism as model and aspiration. At the same time, however, Hawaiian statehood also functioned as “wordless criticism of the colonial policy of nations” in the post-war years, obscuring U.S. imperial desires and securing its reputation in the international arena. Though the demonstration of a normative Japanese Americanism was a seemingly necessary precursor for statehood, the years following admission needed to produce proof that “a state made up of people of many races and creeds living and working together [could do so] without friction.” It is within this fictionalized student’s plea for statehood that two, overlapping conceptions of American belonging are revealed as differently positioned in defense of the U.S. as hegemonic nation vis-à-vis Native Hawaiian claims against the settler state.

On the one hand, normative Japanese Americanism is offered as proof that island Japanese rightly belong within the U.S. national community. On the other hand, the plurality of island peoples and the various ethnic cultures to which they belong offer the possibility of an alternate narrative of national belonging. This is a

different sort of aspiration, one in which “we” – with Hawai‘i as idealized microcosm of the nation – aspire to honor cultural difference while at the same time enabling marginal communities to gain access to the political structures of U.S. democracy. In the post-war years and, especially, as Cold War tensions increased, such narratives of national belonging gained widespread appeal and constituted what cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo has described as a claim to cultural citizenship,

An uneven field of structural inequalities where the dominant claims of universal citizenship assume a propertied white male subject and usually blind themselves to their exclusions and marginalizations of people who differ in gender, race, sexuality, and age. Cultural citizenship attends, not only to dominant exclusions and marginalizations, but also to subordinate aspirations and definitions of enfranchisement.<sup>116</sup>

The fictionalized student’s claim to belonging is both a response to the marginalizations bound up with territorial status and an exposition on what admission would mean for ethnic minority groups. Further, it is a claim rooted in the particularities of island life yet, due to the specific national context in which it was made, had far-reaching ramifications for larger discourses of race relations in the coming decades. As response to U.S. geopolitical imperatives in the international arena, the narrative functions as a claim to American cultural citizenship by transforming the multiple non-white groups that were once viewed as liability into the biggest asset Hawai‘i could offer the nation.

A deep contestation over the boundaries and meanings of Local ethnicity, a multiethnic group formation specific to the Hawaiian Islands, is at the crux of this multicultural narrative of national belonging. In this iteration emerging conceptions of Local ethnicity are appropriated in the service of settler colonialism – transformed

from a centrally Hawaiian perspective of the world that values adaptability and cultural exchange into a validation of American conceptions of democracy and equality that undergird U.S. multiculturalism. This appropriation has produced a social formation that, in recent decades, has appeared contradictorily complicit and antagonistic to U.S. hegemony in the islands. For this reason the relationship between Native Hawaiian dispossession and Local ethnicity has been an issue of protracted and increasing frustration for many sovereignty activists. In this chapter I trace the appropriation of Local ethnicity into the service of American nationalism and multiculturalism, a move that erases the centrality of Native Hawaiians to this emergent social formation. In so doing I identify the ways in which Native Hawaiian resistance to haole dominance and continental desires were nurtured and protected in an era deeply scarred by the silent, ubiquitous, and genocidal policies of the settler state.

### ***Local as an Emergent Social Formation***

Local, as a salient social formation in the islands, began to emerge in the latter half of the twentieth century and is nestled in multiple, overlapping systems of meaning. Today it is a group designation that is readily understood as multiethnic, although the contours of this broad consensus are differentially nuanced by Native understandings of peoplehood and settler ideologies that obscure Native displacement. Positioned at the interstices of these systems of meaning, Local ethnicity diverges from dominant U.S. narratives of race by claiming an ethnic and class norm that is markedly different from continental norms of white affluence. In so

doing, it exists in opposition to American desires and values, a position that owes much to the influence of Native Hawaiians on the meanings of this social formation. At the same time, settler claims of Local ethnicity often exist in troubled relationship with Native Hawaiian sovereignty activism, rendering Native displacement all but invisible despite a deep and long-standing association between Local and Native Hawaiian ways of being.

Local identity in Hawai‘i is not merely a way of noting that one lives in the islands. Rather, as historian John P. Rosa has explained, it “signifies a historical relationship based on commonality among working-class people of color and their differences from whites.”<sup>117</sup> Although the term was used prior to World War II, the discursive nuance and widespread use of the identifier “Local” increased in the post-war decades. A prominent narrative of the origins of Local identity was the 1931-1932 Massie case in which five young, working class men – all born and raised in Hawai‘i but of various and mixed Hawaiian, Japanese, and Chinese ethnicities – were accused of the abduction and rape of Thalia Massie, the white wife of a U.S. navy lieutenant. The case, which grew in infamy for the extrajudicial execution of Joseph Kahahawai by Grace Fortescue (Thalia Massie’s mother), Lieutenant Massie, and two others, came to signify key social cleavages in the islands. Rosa, who takes a discursive approach to understanding Local identity, has argued that narratives of the Massie Case have functioned as a way for island residents to “imagine a romanticized past, one where Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians joined in struggle against haole oppressors.”<sup>118</sup> In this way Rosa frames Local ethnicity as a social formation with growing salience in the post-war years and cites the Massie narrative as a focal point

that continually (re)constructs “Local” through a dialogue between “past and present, as well as a dialogue between Hawai‘i and the continental United States.”<sup>119</sup>

The discursive production of Local identity in the post-war years makes sense alongside the social-structural changes occurring in the islands at that time. It was during the two decades following the war that Hawai‘i’s interracial labor movement achieved significant advances for working-class ethnic minorities, Native and settler alike. Moon-kie Jung, a sociologist and labor historian, has argued that these advances were made possible through union activism marked by race-conscious interracialism. Initial pre-war advances by the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union (ILWU) gained momentum as wartime martial law was lifted. The ILWU was able to unite workers across the sugar, pineapple, and long shoring industries – the latter being deeply influenced by Native Hawaiians who organized networks across the islands and facilitated ties to unions on the continent.<sup>120</sup> The ILWU achieved unity across these sectors through a narrative that juxtaposed the power of the haole-controlled Big Five to the poor social conditions of working-class Hawaiians, Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipinos.<sup>121</sup> Significantly, the ILWU was able to do this despite cross-ethnic distrust and animosity among the working-classes. Such a feat was made possible, Jung argues, through a discourse that “incorporated and aligned the workers’ racial antipathy toward the haole elite that had long been racially refracted and not expressed in uniformly conflictual terms.”<sup>122</sup> In so doing the ILWU was able to effectively politicize Hawai‘i’s workers across ethnic differences and, important for the emerging discourse of Local identity, achieve post-war labor successes that offered proof of the value of cross-ethnic cooperation.

During these years Local, as an emergent social formation, would retain the characteristic valuing of cross-ethnic cooperation and apprehension toward American business and military interests. Jonathan Okamura, an ethnic studies scholar who specializes in social relations in Hawai'i, has argued that beginning at mid-century and continuing into the present, Local ethnicity has:

Emphasized a shared appreciation of the land, peoples, and cultures of the islands and a commitment to maintaining control of Hawaii's political and economic future from outside forces of change such as foreign investment, tourism development, in-migration from the continental United States, and immigration from Asia and the Pacific.<sup>123</sup>

The focal point of Local political activism, however, shifted over time to meet the changing socio-economic landscape of the islands. By the 1970s political resistance to Big Five abuses in sugar, pineapple, and long shoring gave way to collective organizing against land development that catered toward the exploding tourism industry and rapid influx of island newcomers. This effort was led by Native Hawaiians and came to a head in protests aiming to halt the displacement of long-time residents of Kalama Valley. Writing in 1987, Haunani-kay Trask documented this movement that sought to protect the valley from urban development:

While most of the Valley's residents were certainly Hawaiian, many others were not. However, they all felt their way of life to be closer to a Hawaiian rather than a mainland-*haole* style of living. By this they meant not only the easy-going attitude of Valley people to living in close proximity with pigs, food gardens, auto repair shops and lots of kids and dogs, but a larger concern for people and their daily happiness rather than for money, status, and achievement ... This emphasis on the "style" of local living prefigured many of the eviction struggles throughout the next 15 years.<sup>124</sup>

In this description Trask is juxtaposing *haole* with Native Hawaiian and Local ways of living. Significantly, there is deep overlap between Hawaiian and Local in this text



even as she is careful to differentiate between Native Hawaiians and Locals (framed exclusively as Asian settlers). This overlap was made possible, in part, because the sansei (third generation) Japanese, who were in their 20s and 30s at the time, claimed Local identity as part of an allied opposition against land development in Kalama Valley and other sites throughout the islands.<sup>125</sup> Their collective struggles, Trask notes, were “expressed as people’s rights to land, housing rights, the rights of ‘locals’ versus those of tourists, and the rights of tenants over developers and landlords.”<sup>126</sup> In that context “Native Hawaiian” and “Local” were readily understood as similarly situated in opposition to over-development driven by haole and Japanese business interests, as well as U.S. continental desires, even if there was growing dissent over the degree to which these social formations overlapped.

There was and is good reason for Trask’s careful delineation between Native Hawaiians and Locals. Indeed, although I have framed both post-war labor unionism and the Kalama Valley protests as social movements that feature and construct Local identity, there are very real dangers in narrating these movements in this way. Specifically, framing these varied movements as examples similarly constitutive of Local identity risks obscuring the continued social, political, and economic subordination of Native Hawaiians. For example, the ethnic group that gained the most benefit from post-war union activism was the Japanese, who saw rapidly rising social, economic, and political influence in the latter half of the twentieth century.<sup>127</sup> In marked contrast to the material benefits that began to accrue for island Japanese, opposition to land development had mixed results at best and certainly did not alleviate the social, economic, and political disparities faced by Native Hawaiians.<sup>128</sup>

As a consequence of these disparities claims of Local belonging that fail to attend to growing material inequalities yet naturalize belonging in the islands represent a grave injustice to Native Hawaiians.

Nonetheless, such a perspective of Local ethnicity makes visible Native Hawaiians as active agents in the construction of this emergent social formation. Indigenous feminist scholar Lisa Kahaleole Hall explains that at mid-century “‘Local’ and ‘Hawaiian’ were used interchangeably, or to be more accurate, ‘local’ stood in for ‘Hawaiian,’ and ‘Hawaiian’ disappeared.”<sup>129</sup> Although Hall’s larger argument is critical of the ways Local identity has been used to naturalize Asian settler belonging to the detriment of Native Hawaiians, her discussion of influence of Native world views in Local values is instructive:

Local culture is firmly grounded in key indigenous elements – Hawaiian culture’s inclusivity and openness to innovation and change; the structure of Hawaiian thought that underlies ‘pidgin’ English, and most importantly, the relationship to the land. ‘Local’-ness is about where you are from, and where you are.<sup>130</sup>

A perspective that makes visible Native Hawaiian activism among the working and rural poor is important for understanding how Local ethnicity came to be so deeply influenced by Native Hawaiian culture. It also reveals the ways in which Local can be understood as belonging to Hawai‘i, even as not all those who claim Local identity are Native Hawaiian. The significance of this perspective is twofold. First, it highlights continuity between late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century opposition to U.S. occupation and modern sovereignty activism. Throughout the first six decades of the century Native Hawaiians were subjected to English-language campaigns, rendered alternately invisible and illegible in statehood debates, and conflated with

destitution and criminality. Positioning Native Hawaiians in histories of post-war union activism is important for understanding that although their protest was not explicitly “Hawaiian” – as were the 1890s anti-annexation organizing, advocacy for the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, and land rights struggles of the 1970s – Hawaiian union activists were agents of change responding to the then-current context of colonial oppression. Second, making visible Native Hawaiian working-class and rural activists reveal the ways in which settler articulations of Local identity often appropriate a collective history that is grounded in Native conceptions of community and belonging. Although there are strategic advantages to sovereignty activism for framing “Local” as exclusively “Asian settler,” as Trask has done in her more recent writings, this perspective does not address the ways in which many Native Hawaiians continue to identify with Local ethnicity. In contrast, a perspective that insists on the visibility of Native Hawaiians *as Locals* highlights the appropriation of Local identity and creates space to understand the ways in which Local ethnicity has and can still function to support Native well-being and cultural survival.

### ***Local Settlers, National Belonging: Ethnicity, Appropriation, and Claims to U.S. Cultural Citizenship***

At mid-century there was nothing inherently “pro-American” about the emerging Local ethnicity. Indeed, the material commonalities between Asian settler groups and Native Hawaiians facilitated contingent alliances in post-war union activism and the 1970s Kalama Valley protests. However, by the latter decades of the twentieth century there was growing frustration among sovereignty activists at the

complicity between Locals of Asian descent and the United States. To be certain, this shift has much to do with the structural transformations that have taken place since the war, particularly those changes that materially benefitted the descendants of Japanese settlers. At the same time, however, the symbolic influence of the United States on Local ethnicity needs to be acknowledged to better understand how this social formation was contradictorily appropriated as a claim of belonging to both Hawai'i and the United States.

As in the war years, U.S. hegemony continued to inflect ethnic identity formation after the war, albeit in ways that were gradually changing to meet shifting national priorities during the Cold War. Mae Ngai has argued that pluralism in the post-war era marked a “strategy that recognized difference in order to efface it within the universality of liberal democratic politics.”<sup>131</sup> This pluralism, Ngai notes, entailed a formal commitment to equality in both immigration policy and domestic race relations. Her argument is instructive for understanding the articulation of post-war ethnic identities in Hawai'i: ethnic minorities were able to claim difference to the extent that the state was understood as the vehicle through which these differences would find resolution.<sup>132</sup> As part of this trend the centrally Hawaiian version of Local ethnicity was appropriated and contradictorily produced as also deeply American in its validation of U.S. conceptions of equality. For this reason the relationship between Native Hawaiian dispossession and Local ethnicity has been an issue of protracted and increasing frustration for many sovereignty activists. In an oft-quoted article published in 2000, Trask has written:

Today, modern Hawai'i, like its colonial parent in the United States, is a settler society. Our Native people and territories have been overrun

by non-Natives, including Asians. Calling themselves “local,” the children of Asian settlers greatly outnumber us. They claim Hawai‘i as their own, denying indigenous history, their long collaboration in our continued dispossession, and the benefits therefrom.<sup>133</sup>

The frustration voiced by Trask has produced a moment of pause, with many scholars taking note of tensions and exploring the ways in which Local ethnicity has enabled settler groups to problematically naturalize a sense of belonging within Hawai‘i.<sup>134</sup> Like these scholars I contend that settler ideologies and racism on the continent has had a profound influence on the formation of Local ethnicity. Indeed, the vigor with which normative Americanism was enforced throughout the first half of the century created a social context in which American belonging continued to hold meaning even as wartime imperatives began to dissipate. In this overdetermined atmosphere emergent Local ethnicity, though a centrally Native formation that existed in opposition to haole and continental abuses, was vulnerable to appropriation in the service of American nationalism. My approach diverges from existing scholarship to the extent that I work to denaturalize American allegiance in this emergent social formation, emphasizing the ways in which Local ethnicity has functioned, at times, as a claim of cultural citizenship *to the United States*.

This perspective diverges from important scholarly discussions which frame Local ethnicity as a claim of cultural citizenship *to Hawai‘i*. For example, Morris Young, a rhetorician, has problematized the ways in which Local identity has been used by non-Native, Hawai‘i-born youth to maintain a sense of connection to Hawai‘i as they attend colleges and universities on the continental United States:

What we see in the case of Hawai‘i are Native Hawaiians enacting cultural citizenship as a starting point for an imagined national citizenship and non-Native Locals also seeking cultural citizenship as

a way to maintain a claim on Hawai'i. What non-Native Locals face, however, is their own status as settlers/colonizers despite their identities of color and their own struggles against large corporate and American interests and racism.<sup>135</sup>

For Young, Native Hawaiians and Locals are, for the most part, conceptualized as two distinct social formations. Faced with continental racism while living off-island, Locals of Asian descent seek to construct a comfortable “home” through claims of cultural citizenship to Hawaii. Young pointedly notes that while living outside the organizing structure of Hawai'i these claims of cultural citizenship are complicit in the re-inscription of power inequities that facilitate Native Hawaiian dispossession.<sup>136</sup> However, by framing Local ethnicity as a nearly exclusive settler social formation, American allegiance forms a backdrop that is naturalized rather than interrogated as the focal point of a discursively produced and hegemonic articulation of Local ethnicity.

In my approach I read anthropologist Renato Rosaldo's conceptualization of cultural citizenship a bit differently, emphasizing the national, rather than regional, nature of now-hegemonic Local claims of belonging. Rosaldo has explained that cultural citizenship “refers to the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or Native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participation in the nation-state's democratic processes.”<sup>137</sup> The nation, as guarantor of rights and the medium through which they are exercised, is central for understanding the ways that marginalized groups claim cultural citizenship. Thus, like Young, I maintain that Local ethnicity is a social formation that emerged in Hawai'i and holds significance only in that specific context. At the same time, I emphasize the ways that dominant

articulations of Local function also as a claim of cultural citizenship to the United States. This perspective charts the ways in which Local identity was appropriated into the service of U.S. settler colonialism. More specifically, between 1940 and 1976 this identity – grounded in a set of Native practices that linked peoples with each other and the land, and born through working class and rural struggles – was de-politicized through an increasingly myopic focus on cultural difference. In the span of these years the normative Americanism that held sway during the war gave way to a post-war Americanism that involved a gradual tinkering with national belonging through ethnic minority claims of cultural citizenship. Ultimately, Local conceptions of politically grounded cross-ethnic relationships were appropriated into the emerging language of U.S. multiculturalism, rendering invisible Native Hawaiian displacement and demands against the settler state.

An important avenue for tracing this shift is through English-language newsprint coverage of 4<sup>th</sup> of July celebrations in Hawai‘i from 1940 to 1976. As a medium, newsprint in the English language is important for understanding island life in the latter half of the twentieth century. Prior to the Second World War the many different languages spoken in the islands were reflected in newsprint. The wartime Speak American campaign was an iteration of the long-standing drive to eliminate all languages other than English within the territory. This campaign resulted in the closing of many Asian language presses, most notably Japanese publications. However, coercive language campaigns had been directed against Native Hawaiians since the islands were illegally annexed to the United States in 1898. Noenoe Silva, a political scientist who works with Hawaiian-language primary source materials, has

argued that the banning of the Native language in territorial schools had a profoundly detrimental impact on the Native Hawaiian community.<sup>138</sup> She has found that throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century the Hawaiian language was integral for maintaining a collective identity that was centrally Hawaiian, even as European and American political forms were integrated into Native understandings of land and peoplehood. Hawaiian-language newspapers, such as *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, were an important site of resistance against foreign dominance and a way of ensuring the preservation of indigenous knowledge.<sup>139</sup> Over time, however, the cumulative effect of the banning of the Hawaiian language from schools took a heavy toll and the last Native press closed its doors in 1948.<sup>140</sup> As a consequence of these language campaigns, newsprint representations of Native Hawaiians, Asian ethnic minorities, and the emergent social formation Local were produced exclusively in English language presses in the latter half of the century.

As such, the ways in which English-language presses covered annual 4<sup>th</sup> of July celebrations can serve as a prism for viewing the converging meanings of American patriotism and Local ethnicity. Between 1940 and 1976 conceptions of “proper” Americanism gradually shifted to serve U.S. geopolitical interests in an altered global landscape. Highly symbolic moments, such as annual 4<sup>th</sup> of July festivities, enabled racial and ethnic minorities to demonstrate allegiance in ways that aligned with changing national priorities. During the war this allegiance reflected what I have been referring to as normative Americanism, a form of nationalism that Ngai has described as “of the highest order in order to mobilize its citizens to arms and sacrifice ... Drawn in stark terms and heavily dependent upon symbol and ritual,



it resists complexity and nuance.”<sup>141</sup> This stark wartime nationalism began to shift after the war. Historian Shirley Jennifer Lim has observed that during the post-war period beauty pageants held symbolic significance to racial and ethnic minority communities:

The beauty pageant was an all-American way to show how Asian Americans could stage individual opportunity and achievement through competition and arrive at an ideal female American citizen. Hence the beauty pageant enabled them to show that they knew and could distinguish ideal citizenship and ideal community, and thus were capable of exercising full American citizenship rights and privileges.<sup>142</sup>

Though beauty pageants did not always headline annual Fourth of July events in the islands, the various celebrations and, especially, parade floats were moments that served a similar function for ethnic minority communities seeking to demonstrate American allegiance and values. In these declarative moments, ethnic minority women were important community representatives whose bodies worked to resolve or otherwise make sense of the tension between visual markers of ethnic difference and normative conceptions of American citizenship. Lim has argued that the broad participation of Asian ethnic women in Cold War pageants were crucial performances that hid growing American expansion in Asia. Building on this scholarship, I offer an analysis of the ways in which ethnic minority and Local pronouncements of allegiance worked to conceal the displacement of Native Hawaiians in a U.S.-dominated Pacific. By tracing the ways in which 4<sup>th</sup> of July celebrations transformed over time it becomes possible to track how Local ethnicity came to be so deeply invested in U.S. hegemony.

Local ethnicity was not readily visible in 4<sup>th</sup> of July celebrations during the 1940s and 1950s, an era when normative Americanism continued to be the de facto expression of allegiance to the United States. In this context it is unsurprising that Local ethnicity was not expressed in newsprint coverage of the 4<sup>th</sup> of July. Instead, celebrations during the war tended to be somber commemorations marked by unambiguous displays of normative patriotism. As the hub of the U.S. Pacific theatre and amidst fears of Japanese “Fifth column” activity, island life during the war was strictly regulated under martial law.<sup>143</sup> Sanctioned events were “all-American” activities such as company picnics, baseball games, and U.S. military maneuver reviews. In 1941, just months before the United States officially entered the war, 4<sup>th</sup> of July was observed by an assembly of 2,000 Boy Scouts at ‘Iolani Palace. Unacknowledged is the not too distant past in which the Palace was the political center of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Instead island residents, Native and settler alike, were bound up in the rising tensions between the United States and Japan. Though the event was open to the public, masculine performances of patriotism took center stage as the Boy Scouts gave a collective pledge of American loyalty following a radio broadcast of President Roosevelt’s 4<sup>th</sup> of July speech.

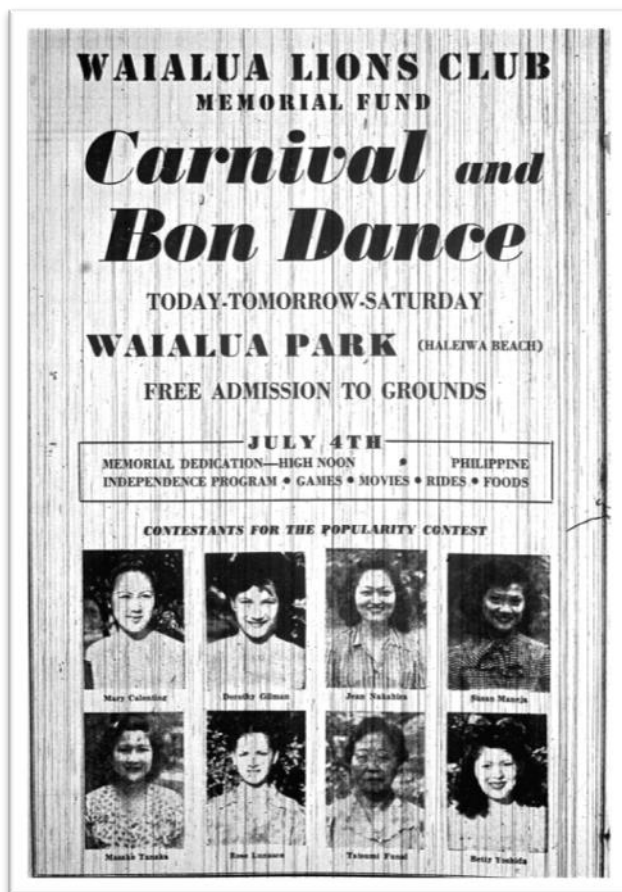


“Scouts Aid In Independence Day Celebration” in the *Honolulu Advertiser*<sup>144</sup>

In Hawai‘i the young scouts were of many different ethnic backgrounds, as suggested by the various surnames among members of the honor guard. However, these differences are secondary to the sameness of the scout uniform, itself reminiscent of the uniformed dress of U.S. soldiers who stood ready to deploy overseas. This event and published image – with uniformed scouts, commissioners, and army officers solemnly standing abreast each other – makes it clear that to be loyal in this moment is to aspire toward normative Americanism. The trope of the American soldier and masculine performances of patriotism would continue to hold center stage throughout the war. Headlining 4<sup>th</sup> of July events supported these sorts of masculine performances, ranging from bond sales to support the military campaigns.<sup>145</sup> In 1943 onlookers were entertained by “a colorful review and a thrilling program of drills and contests” by the Honolulu Office of Civilian Defense,<sup>146</sup> a multi-ethnic territorial

committee that partnered with the U.S. military to organize and serve the civilian population during the war.<sup>147</sup> These events, even when colorfully-staged, reflected the strict, militarized tone of daily life under martial law.

With the close of the war Fourth of July observances were once again celebratory in nature, moving away from wartime drills and maneuvers. In the immediate post-war years festivities included parades, carnivals, pageants, formals, picnics, regattas, and fireworks, as well as some cultural celebrations of island ethnic minorities. Though not yet characteristically Local, postwar celebrations reveal that this American holiday was beginning to be celebrated in ways that better reflected the multiethnic makeup of island communities.



“Waialua Lions Club Memorial Fund Carnival and Bon Dance,” in the *Honolulu Advertiser*<sup>148</sup>

In the above advertisement, for example, the surnames of the women in the contest reflect many ethnic backgrounds, unlike similar racial and ethnic minority contests on the U.S. continent, as well as larger national competitions which remained largely white in this period.<sup>149</sup> In a divergence from the 1941 pledge by the Boy Scouts, the 1947 celebration paired an “all-American” carnival and popularity contest with a bon dance, reflecting the cultural traditions of first generation Japanese in the islands. Such a line-up indicates that the explicit and implicit wartime prohibitions against the cultural celebrations of ethnic minorities, particularly Japanese, were beginning to relax. Taken together these examples offer a glimpse of a new vision of “American” that speaks to shifting national priorities and, importantly, is crafted in the specific context of island life. The multi- and cross-ethnic character of the 1947 July 4<sup>th</sup> celebration is a claim to U.S. cultural citizenship that served as an early example of the ways in which public performances of American patriotism were beginning to attend to the vast racial, ethnic, and cultural differences between island residents.

At the same time, however, the popularity contest reveals the ways in which (mostly) young ethnic minority women continued to navigate dominant American norms. Like the Boy Scout honor guard in the 1941 commemoration, the popularity contest reflected the various island ethnic groups even as they became legible as Americans in dominant forms of dress and composure. However, in contrast to the war years in which the masculine image of the American soldier functioned to embody national allegiance, women’s bodies had come to hold national significance as icons of post-war American capitalist values. In her study of Asian American beauty contests, Shirley Lim has argued that women’s bodies came to signify

American individualism and political ideals in the midst of increasing Cold War tensions. In this era beauty pageants contrasted highly gendered capitalist consumption by the American middle class with “the ‘drab’ socialist or communist proletariat.” Visual markers, such as the “correct shade of lipstick and wavy hair,” were understood as necessities in the performance of proper American femininity.<sup>150</sup> The women in the 1947 popularity contest appear to be carefully following these cultural scripts, with most contestants donning carefully painted lips, gently wavy hair, and blouses that follow fashions popular on the continent. Although these photos are not as glamorous as those sometimes found on the pages of Asian ethnic magazines and presses,<sup>151</sup> the contestants nonetheless reveal a nuanced understanding of how to embody proper American femininity.

This Fourth of July celebration, just on the heels of the Second World War, is significant for the way in which ethnic minorities simultaneously accepted and challenged the practices of normative Americanism that had come to dominate island life. In this moment two visions of “American” are beginning to coexist. The hegemonic version of normative Americanism – passively marked by whiteness – exists alongside emergent, context-specific claims to cultural citizenship. Although not yet clearly identifiable as Local, this multi- and cross-ethnic event is nonetheless an example of the ways in which ethnic minorities were beginning to symbolically reassert the value of their ethnic identities alongside their identification as American citizens. These assertions of cultural citizenship entailed an articulation of ethnic identity that was divergent from the racialized contours of normative Americanism but nonetheless deserving of access to the full rights to citizenship. These claims

would have profound ramifications for Local ethnicity in the coming years, as the cultural practices among ethnic minorities were more thoroughly articulated in relationship to a common (American) national identification. This process, repeated and naturalized in the postwar decades, provided the groundwork for a distinctly Local articulation of American patriotism, problematically mapping American patriotism over the emerging group identity of Local.

Between 1950 and 1976 island Fourth of July celebrations would continue to reflect an active negotiation of ethnic minority identities and normative Americanism, with Local ethnicity more clearly visible after 1970. In this era the emergent Local identity – grounded in a set of Native practices that linked peoples with each other and the land, and born through working class and rural struggles – was de-politicized through an increasingly myopic focus on cultural difference. In the span of these years the normative Americanism that held sway during the war gave way to a post-war Americanism that involved a tinkering with national belonging for ethnic minorities and, ultimately, the appropriation of Local conceptions of cross-ethnic tolerance into the language of U.S. multiculturalism. Significantly, U.S. nationalism functioned as the symbolic common denominator which pulled together disparate ethnic communities, even as these processes were uneven and reflected the differential socio-political positions of each group. For example, island Japanese claimed cultural citizenship through the identity “Americans of Japanese ancestry.” Year after year the most visible ethnic Japanese observance of the Fourth of July was the honoring of the AJA war veterans.



“Taps at Punchbowl,” in *The Honolulu Advertiser*<sup>152</sup>

In this image veterans gather to honor the fallen soldiers of the 100<sup>th</sup> infantry battalion and 442<sup>nd</sup> regimental combat team at Punchbowl National Memorial Cemetery. Dressed in suits and bearing wreaths for their fallen comrades, these AJA veterans are staking a claim to cultural citizenship for a community that, as Okamura notes, no longer bore the cultural markers of the Issei generation (first generation). Rather, the intense anti-Japanese climate before and during the war had all but ensured that the “cultural basis of Japanese American ethnic identity is Japanese American culture, not Japanese.”<sup>153</sup> In this annual commemoration the trauma of anti-Japanese hostilities during the war is glossed over and the memory of the fallen soldier becomes foundational for AJA claims of cultural citizenship. By invoking the sacrifice of these young men – and the community which they represented – island Japanese were able to assert the value of AJA culture alongside the legitimacy of their



demands for access to island power structures. These annual claims of cultural citizenship did the discursive work that later enabled the rising economic and political influence of island Japanese.

This narrative, though not its material successes, was similarly replicated by the island Filipino community. Unlike island Japanese, however, Filipina/o assertions reflected an active negotiation between allegiances to two different nations. By the second half of the twentieth century the relationship between the United States and Philippines had been transformed several times over: from a U.S. occupied territory at the 1898 close of the Spanish-American War to commonwealth status in the 1930s to Japanese occupation during the Second World War and, finally, formal independence in 1946 that nonetheless left the Republic of the Philippines weighted by heavy U.S. military presence. Significantly, Filipina/os – in both the republic and spread across trans-Pacific migration networks which included the United States – engaged in the complex process of making and re-making national identities as the status of the island nation changed.<sup>154</sup> This context framed the active negotiation of dual allegiances visible in Fourth of July celebrations in Hawai‘i. In 1950, for example, the Philippine Independent Club sponsored a float in the Honolulu parade that represents the Republic of the Philippines and the United States as coequals on an international stage. This float, which appeared in similar versions throughout the 1950s, stages two Ladies of Liberty – of the United States and the Republic of the Philippines – solemnly presiding over a court of Filipinas representing the major islands of the new republic. The newsprint caption reads: “‘Miss Liberty’ of the Unites States stands hand-in-hand with ‘Miss Liberty’ of the Philippine Republic...seated below are

brilliantly garbed princesses representing several of the principal Philippine islands.”<sup>155</sup>



“For World Freedom,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*<sup>156</sup>

In a cross-national context, the staging of the two Miss Liberties atop this float can be understood as an assertion of equality between nations. Such visual parity was significant because many Filipinas, both in the Philippines and abroad, were challenging the United States over issues of veterans’ rights, war reparations, and ongoing military presence throughout the island nation.<sup>157</sup> Visual parity between the Miss Liberties also stakes a claim for full belonging in Hawai‘i where the Filipino community, especially young men, had been disparagingly stereotyped as irrational and prone to violence.<sup>158</sup> Whether read through an international or local lens, the act of representing these Miss Liberties as equal counterparts functions as an assertion that Filipina/os possess the qualities necessary to be worthy subjects of a distinctly American version of democracy. This representation is a departure from dominant conceptions of American citizenship that had taken root in Hawai‘i by mid-century.

Instead, the float offers a claim of cultural citizenship by staging the Miss Liberties as equals presiding over a court of “brilliantly garbed princesses.” The visual narrative frames Filipino cultural difference alongside the qualities necessary for American democracy and freedom. In this way, as Shirley Lim has elsewhere noted, these young Filipinas come to be important community representatives whose bodies stake a claim to equality between nations and citizens.

This challenge, however, exists in tension with American hegemony. With a banner that declares, “The Philippines joins with the U.S.A. in celebration of our independence ... For Freedom and One World!” the young republic becomes imagined as newcomer to an American fight for democracy and freedom. Indeed, the long-awaited independence of the Philippines, symbolically granted on the same day as the United States, appears as a celebration of American virtues that are an overdetermined given amidst a Fourth of July parade in Hawai‘i. Nearly lost in this moment is an indictment of the effects of American imperialism, from colonial and neo-colonial dominance in the Philippine islands to the experiences of racism for Filipina/os in Hawai‘i and the United States. The work being done to narrate distinctly Filipina/o national identities is flattened in this context, with independence in the Philippines and justice for diasporic Filipina/os in the United States achieved only through the adoption of distinctly American conceptions of freedom. Thus, in this moment the float offers both challenge and recuperation: on the one hand, the Philippine Independence League challenges normative Americanism and U.S. imperialism through the visual assertion of equality and, on the other hand,

recuperates this critique through a valorizing of American understandings of equality and freedom.

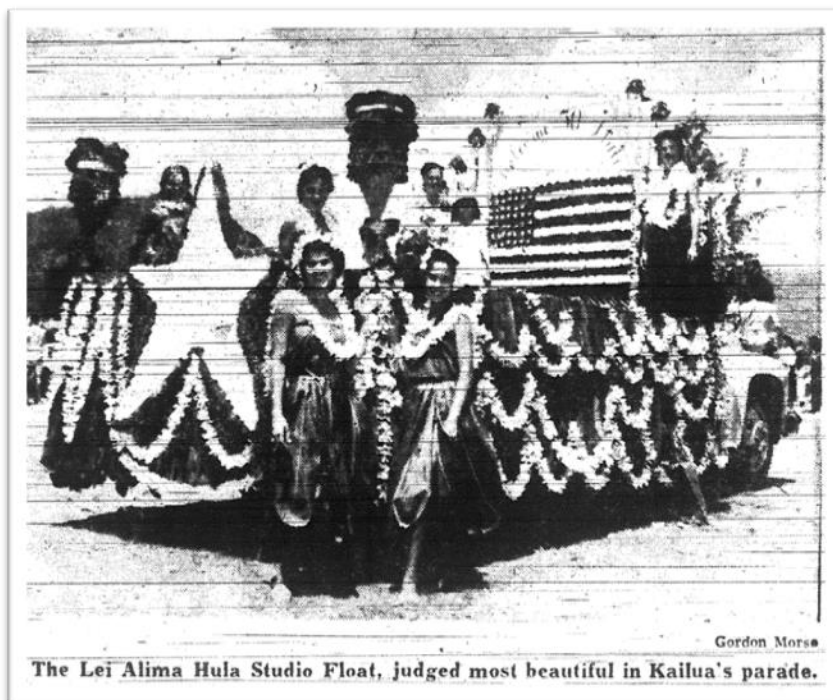
In the overdetermined nationalism of island Fourth of July celebrations these claims of cultural citizenship did more than assert belonging for individual ethnic groups. Together Asian settler claims produced a narrative of the complex cross-ethnic relations of the islands as both product and example of U.S. multiculturalism. Of this emergent multiculturalism, cultural critic Lisa Lowe has argued:

Multiculturalism supplements abstract political citizenship where the unrealizability of the political claims to equality become apparent: it is the national cultural form that seeks to unify the diversity of the United States through the integration of differences as *cultural* equivalents abstracted from the histories of racial inequality unresolved in the economic and political domains.<sup>159</sup>

The above examples of Japanese and Filipino Fourth of July performances reveal the ways in which the de-historicizing impulse of this emerging narrative worked to silence violent histories at the hands of the state. At the same time, as fraught as these performances were, there was space enough to mount a limited challenge to the ideals of normative Americanism that undergirded Asian marginality. Indeed, Japanese and Filipino claims of cultural citizenship sought to leverage shifting national priorities on the international stage, demanding greater political inclusion in the mobile power structures of the settler state. Yet in the overdetermined atmosphere of Fourth of July celebrations the legibility of these claims relied on an avowal of the fundamental rightness of the U.S. political system. What emerges is an intricate picture of Japanese and Filipino claims of cultural citizenship in which their assertions of belonging exist in tenuous alliance with emerging narratives of multiculturalism. By paying close attention to the shifting meanings and collective performances of

Americanism in this era it becomes possible to trace the ways in which cross-ethnic sociality came to be understood as a product of U.S. multiculturalism rather than a hard-won alliance between island ethnic minorities.

This is significant because, unlike early understandings of Local ethnicity, Native Hawaiian resistance to haole domination and continental desires recede from narratives of U.S. multiculturalism. Upon first glance, however, Native claims of cultural citizenship appear very similar to those made by island Japanese and Filipino groups. For example, the Lei Alima Hula Hālau won first prize for most beautiful float in the 1960 Kailua Fourth of July parade. Once vilified by American missionaries, hula had survived to become a driving (yet contested) symbol of the burgeoning tourism.<sup>160</sup> Given the popularity of hula in American culture at the time, it is unsurprising that this float held appeal for the judges and audience alike.



"The Lei Alima Hula Studio Float," in the *Honolulu Advertiser*<sup>161</sup>

In this image the dress of the dancers and musicians, as well as the decorative backdrop which includes two kahili, draw from easily recognizable symbols of the increasingly popular hula performances of mid-century. However, as the prominent star and U.S. flag on the float suggest, this cultural difference is performed in the name of U.S. patriotism. For the Native Hawaiians who belonged to this hālau hula – and not all members were necessarily Hawaiian – this enactment of cultural citizenship marks an effort to make sense of the relationship between Native Hawaiians and the United States. This was not too dissimilar from the annual AJA memorial ceremony and Filipino Miss Liberties float, where claims of cultural citizenship sought to reconcile ethnic identities with dominant conceptions of “American.”

Appearances, however, can be deceiving and this seeming likeness is the extent of similarity between Native Hawaiian and Asian ethnic claims to cultural citizenship. Indeed, though the hālau hula (hula school) was most visible in commodified “Hawaiian” attractions, they were also critical sites for the transmission of cultural knowledges that would later fuel the rise of protest in Kalama Valley and other sites throughout the islands. In contrast to Japanese and Filipino claims of cultural citizenship which resonated with the emerging narrative of multiculturalism, these protests were not easily translated into political demands that could be resolved within the settler state. As Trask has argued, Native Hawaiian losses cannot be addressed through the legal framework established by the U.S. Constitution.<sup>162</sup> That is, Native Hawaiian claims existed in ideological dissonance with the mobile power structures of the settler state. Their demands emanated from Native displacement and

were made against American systems of land and water ownership that had been threatening Native livelihoods since the mid-1800s. One such example was the open-beach and trails activism on the island of Molokai. On July 4, 1975 Hui Alaloa began a three-day hike across the island to challenge the legitimacy of modern right-of-way laws. Although Molokai is smaller and more rural than many of the other major islands, it has similarly been subject to public and private land ownership laws that deny Native Hawaiian access to the resources necessary for their material and cultural survival. Hui Alaloa sought to reclaim use of an ancient Hawaiian trail that provided access to lands and waters on the western end of the island.<sup>163</sup> This access, once guaranteed under the Kingdom of Hawai'i, was prohibited through private land ownership laws of the United States. The group's chairman, Walter Ritte, Jr., explained the purpose of their three-day hike:

"WE WILL NOT be trespassing on Molokai Ranch land this weekend," Ritte said. "Instead, we will be exercising our birthright as Hawaiians to walk on a Hawaiian trail."

"We are the original people of this land, and other people who come here have to learn that they cannot continue to step on us until we disappear into the dirt."

"WE, THE PEOPLE of Hawaii, own the beaches and we are going to go to those beaches whenever we want."

"We are not going to bow down before Molokai Ranch and say, 'Please give me a pass, so I can fish to feed my family.'"<sup>164</sup>

Although the press coverage included quotes from Ritte's speech rather than an extended narrative, both Ritte and Lueras (the staff writer of the article) dramatized the contrast between Native Hawaiian demands and the freedom honored in Fourth of July celebrations. Clearly echoing the Declaration of Independence, Ritte invokes the

familiar idea that a people who have long suffered under unjust authority have the right to oppose it. However, unlike the Declaration, Ritte narrates Hawaiian rights in relationship to a Native connection to land and water. The subject of this narrative claims rights based on an indigenous relationship to the islands which had been under constant assault from foreign systems of private land ownership. Thus, rather than an appeal to the mobile power structures of the nation, Native Hawaiian claims against the state (and the systems of land ownership that it supports) were tied to the land in a way that called into question the very legitimacy of U.S. presence in the islands. Perhaps the location of this article apart from coverage of other Fourth of July activities had to do with its separate locale and the activist nature of the event. Nonetheless, it is significant that, unlike settler minority groups, Native Hawaiian demands against the state do not include an avowal of U.S. authority. Rather, their political demands disavow U.S. presence and are consequently imagined as distinct from and, to some, irreconcilable with the emergent discourse of multiculturalism.

By the 1976 Fourth of July bicentennial celebration the stage had been set for the contradictory appropriation of Local ethnicity. On the one hand, Asian settler groups had articulated their demands in terms of the mobile power structures of the state and, importantly, had done so alongside emerging narratives of U.S. multiculturalism. On the other hand, Hawaiian demands reflected a distinctly Native connection to the land which disavowed the settler state, rendering their claims illegible in dominant narratives. This illegibility enabled the Local value of cross-ethnic cooperation to be used in the consolidation of multiple, differently situated claims of cultural citizenship into a distinctly “Hawaiian” multiculturalism that was



unabashedly loyal to the United States. Nowhere was this more evident than in the bicentennial performance, *Portrait of America*. Drawing 19,000 spectators to Honolulu's Aloha Stadium, the event featured performances by various island ethnic groups, including Native Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Portuguese, and Filipino. Newsprint coverage of this extravagant program alluded to the significance of Local identity in the performance, headlining with "Red, white, blue – plus Isle color" and highlighting the multiethnic character of the latter half of the event:



"Red, White, Blue – plus Isle Color," in the *Honolulu Advertiser*<sup>165</sup>

"IF THE AUDIENCE members were proud to be Americans, they were prouder still to be identified with their various ethnic backgrounds.

"Performers from Halau Hula o Maiki Dancers presented both ancient and modern hulas and were real crowd pleasers.

"Other ethnic groups provided stunning color in the second half of the program.

"To the din of exploding firecrackers, a green-and-yellow Chinese dragon snaked around the field. The Japanese did a "Yagibushi" festival dance featuring young girls and mama-sans wearing black-and-white kimonos and waving miniature American flags. Representatives of the Korean community did "Arirang." Portuguese dancers, dressed in multicolored skirts, danced "Chamarita." And Filipinos did a lively "Tinikling," a bamboo dance."

This excerpt from *The Honolulu Advertiser* frames the performances of various ethnic groups as the highlight of the program, describing them in careful detail after a cursory mention that old favorites, such as *This Land is Your Land*, “kept people humming along, tapping their feet to the rhythm and clapping in time.”<sup>166</sup> Reporting the program in this way centers the multi-ethnic character of Hawai‘i’s social landscape as particularly relevant for American patriotism in the islands, while the narrative description idealizes this social life. Beginning with a statement of ethnic pride – “If the audience members were proud to be Americans, they were prouder still to be identified with their various ethnic backgrounds” – the narrative goes on to describe the performances of ethnic *minority* groups, each adding “stunning color” to the revered red, white, and blue of the nation.<sup>167</sup> This narrative achieves two things. First, ethnic groups are imagined as cultural equivalents divorced from every day inequality. Indeed, as multicultural narrative, the visual parity produced on stage dramatizes a collective life hemmed in by American ideals of equality while simultaneously obscuring the social, political, and economic disparities that pervade island life. Second, haole power is refracted, disappearing from view when multicultural patriotism is being celebrated. To be certain, this omission was contained to the “colorful” segment and did not extend to the larger program. Significant here was the way in which the absence of haoles from the “ethnic” portion of the program is recuperated in a blurring of the nuanced difference between haole ethnicity and the whiteness which undergirds the “red, white, and blue” of the broader performance.

There is, however, a more troubling narrative at work, both in this performance and the broader news coverage of the bicentennial celebration. The absence of haoles from the “colorful,” ethnically diverse segment of the program has a double meaning when read across the context of island life. Specifically, the exclusion of haoles from this segment must be understood not merely as an omission that is recuperated in the remainder of the program, but also as an assertion of Local ethnicity that references an emergent social group that was historically positioned against haole abuses of power. To be certain, when read through the lens of continental race relations and the tendency for whiteness to remain unmarked, the seeming invisibility of haoles in the program points toward the ways in which haole privilege is being obscured. Yet in the context of 1970s Hawai‘i such an absence also reflects a social reality in which identification with Local ethnicity was exponentially growing in significance for working class and rural ethnic minorities. The absence of haoles in the explicitly diverse segment of the performance thus also worked to invoke pride in this collective life. However, in a celebration which marked 200 years of U.S. independence, such an invocation was remarkably troubling because it seamlessly imagined American nationalism as a defining characteristic of Local identity. That is, Local ethnicity in general, and its multi-ethnic character in particular, are decontextualized in the overdetermined patriotism of this bicentennial Fourth of July celebration. In this appropriation Local ethnicity becomes Hawai‘i’s claim to U.S. cultural citizenship by virtue of the newfound status as a model of American multiculturalism. However, unlike settler minorities whose claims of cultural citizenship were legible alongside their demands for inclusion in the mobile

power structures of the state, this appropriation was disastrous for Native Hawaiians. It took an emergent ethnicity that had centered Native Hawaiian beliefs, customs, and activism at the everyday level and aligned it with the colonizing power whose systems of land and water rights were irreconcilable with Native culture and livelihood. Thus, the fundamental incongruity between island and national conceptions of haole/whiteness within cross-ethnic relations enabled this performance to contradictorily map American allegiance over an emergent collective that was markedly opposed to haole abuses and continental desires. In this way the now-familiar and often-times contradictory positions of Local ethnicity vis-à-vis the settler state became the dominant voices narrating the contours of this emergent social formation.

*Concluding Thoughts:*

At mid-century the boundaries of Local ethnicity were particularly fluid, often referring to island-born people of color, Native and settler alike. The contrasting categories of reference were Native Hawaiian and haole, with the boundaries of Local identity encompassing all non-haoles whose ways of life aligned with Native Hawaiian beliefs and values. This version of Local ethnicity emphasizes cross-ethnic familial and community relationships, as well as the respectful coexistence of peoples, lands, and waters. Today Local ethnicity appears alternately complicit and antagonistic to U.S. hegemony, the convoluted product of deep contestation over the contours and meanings of this social formation over the last fifty years. Specifically, throughout the latter half of the twentieth century identification with Local ethnicity

spread alongside ethnic-specific claims to cultural citizenship. For Asian settlers, though not Native Hawaiians, these claims marked both a set of demands for inclusion and an avowal of the integrity of the nation state. In this avowal settler claims of cultural citizenship were able to align with an emerging narrative of U.S. multiculturalism, even as Asian ethnics continued to identify as Local. The result was a settler appropriation of Local ethnicity that reflected embedded power inequalities and marginalized Native Hawaiians and their worldviews. In this appropriation a hallmark of Local ethnicity – respectful cross-ethnic sociality – is re-imagined as the product of U.S. multiculturalism rather than an extension of Native Hawaiian worldviews. In this version of Local ethnicity belonging is claimed to both Hawai'i and the United States, where American cultural citizenship is contradictorily located alongside a desire to protect the Hawaiian Islands from the material effects of haole abuses and continental desires.

## ***Chapter Four: Reclaiming Resistance: Narrating Hawaiian and Local Identities***

"Our genealogy unites and strengthens us against those foreigners who would debase our culture and despise our race. Foreigners have tried to pretend that we all died off long ago, but here we are - 200,000 strong. Some of us carry many bloods and do not look as our ancestors did. Nonetheless, our indomitable ancestors live in us; we are the descendants of those who survived the disease and the degradation of the West. Our mo'okū'auhau give us mana, and we can rejoice in our survival."

Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa  
in *Native Lands, Foreign Desires*<sup>168</sup>

Over the course of the last 150 years the boundaries and meanings of "Native Hawaiian" have constituted a rather unexpected battleground. When Kame'eleihiwa wrote the above epigraph in 1992, the Hawaiian population was estimated at 200,000; today it is thought that Hawaiians number around 400,000.<sup>169</sup> This increase is the product of a shift in the way the U.S. census measures the Native Hawaiian population rather than an actual change in the number of people who lay claim to Native identities.<sup>170</sup> The expansiveness of new census measuring techniques which multiple racial/ethnic identifications is more in line, at least in the numeric result, with the ways in which Hawaiians have historically understood Native belonging. Even so, the metrics of population measurement are unable to capture the ways in which Native Hawaiians use mo'okū'auhau, or genealogies, to name our 'ohana and lāhui.

In Native Hawaiian world views 'ohana and lāhui, or family and nation, are deeply intertwined. Speaking of Hawaiian women's sovereignty activism, Haunani-

Kay Trask has explained, “Caring for the nation is, in Hawaiian belief, an extension of caring for the family, the large family that includes both our lands and our people.”

<sup>171</sup> Indeed, it was the connection between ‘ohana and lāhui that enabled Hawaiian women to shelter Native world views and mount resistance to American colonization. This resistance flourishes, as Trask notes, despite Native women’s confinement to the home and low paying jobs.<sup>172</sup> In her essay “Women’s *Mana* and Hawaiian Sovereignty,” Trask highlights Native Hawaiian women as leaders in significant efforts to maintain Hawaiian culture, community, and lands. At the same time, she has also argued that haole feminism appears out of place in a colonial context in which inequalities between Native Hawaiian women and men are the product of the imposition of a foreign gender system underwritten by racial categorization and capitalist exploitation.<sup>173</sup> While acknowledging the complex social landscape explained in Trask’s important corpus, this chapter shifts focus from movement leaders to the everyday narratives through which Hawaiians, both women and men, care for ‘ohana and lāhui. Their work involves narrating mo‘okū‘auhau in two worlds and, sometimes, multiple languages; it is a practice that draws from narratives of indigenous and Local belonging to suture the ruptures created by over one hundred years of foreign domination.

The work of this chapter, then, is to see what María Lugones has elsewhere seen: “tense movement, people moving: the tension between the dehumanization and paralysis of the coloniality of being, and the creative activity of be-ing.”<sup>174</sup> Lugones has theorized decolonial feminism as a practice that analyzes the “oppressing ← →

resisting relation” to see the ways in which the resistances of people living under the weight of colonialism are informed by indigenous world views. She writes:

But, instead of thinking of the global, capitalist, colonial system as in every way successful in its destruction of peoples, knowledges, relations, and economies, I want to think of the process as continually resisted, and being resisted today.<sup>175</sup>

This resistance, she continues, transforms over time in relationship to both indigenous and colonial world views and practices. I quote Lugones here so that I might see with fresh eyes the ways in which Native Hawaiians live in resistance to the logic of power. As Hawaiian scholar, activist, and musician Jon Osorio reminds us, this resistance includes everything from slam poetry to “guerilla mahi ‘ai” (taro farming) to legal action on behalf of an occupied nation.<sup>176</sup> To this list I would add Local ethnicity, though not the sort of Local performed in the 1976 bicentennial celebration. Rather, Local ethnicity as an extension of Native Hawaiian genealogical practices that connects people to each other and the land.

This is an important distinction. Much scholarship, the last chapter included, has framed Local as a multiethnic group along the tacit assumption that ethnic differences are principally navigated *between* subgroups. For example, the Local ethnicity performed at the 1976 *Portrait of America* Fourth of July event brought together visually recognizable ethnic subgroups on a public stage. With each ethnicity distinguished from the other by dress and cultural dance, the multiethnic character of Local identity is performed between visually discrete subgroups. Although ethnic intermarriage and the ordinariness of mixed-ethnicity individuals are often acknowledged, the Local subject in this context is imagined as *either* Hawaiian *or* Japanese and so on. This assumption locates the work of producing Local as a multi-



ethnic social formation outside the family. It is a move that centers scholarly conversation on American conceptions of abstract equality and multiculturalism, missing the important ways that Native conceptions of 'ohana and lāhui have informed Local ethnicity. In short, what is missing from such accounts are the ways in which resistant forms of Local ethnicity have been discursively produced in Native Hawaiian families that have quite often been navigating ethnic difference for generations.

This chapter, then, offers a glimpse into the ways that Native Hawaiians incorporate 'ohana and lāhui into their everyday understandings of Local ethnicity. Drawing from seven interviews with self-identified Native Hawaiians, I argue that Local ethnicity should be understood as a historically significant site of Hawaiian resistance to U.S. colonialism. Their personal narratives both draw from and reframe existing discourses of community belonging, revealing a deep overlap between Native Hawaiian and Local identities. What's more, participant narratives reflect a tense movement between U.S.-centered conceptions of multiculturalism and Native-centered connections between people and place. This tense movement points toward the ways in which Hawaiians continue to construct their communities in resistance to American colonialism, even when everyday resistances are not marked by open defiance. Significantly, despite tension between antagonistic conceptions of multiethnicity, participant narratives affirmed mutual responsibility between Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian Locals by centering Native conceptions of 'ohana to draw connections between people regardless of whether or not they are Hawaiian.

## *Stories of Resistance and Multiethnicity*

“Aloha mai. Aloha Kākou.

In Pacific Island cultures, genealogy is paramount. Therefore, I greet you with my family origins. I am descended of the Pi'ilani line of Maui and the Kahakumakaliua line of Kaua'i. I am Native Hawaiian, indigenous to Hawai'i.

My people were born of Papahānaumoku – Earth Mother – and Wākea – Sky Father – who created our bountiful Hawaiian islands. From these islands came the taro, and from the taro, our chiefs and common people.

The lesson of our origins is simple. The land is our mother, and we are her children. If we care for our mother, she will care for us in return. The relationship is more than reciprocal; it is familial.”

From “Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism”<sup>177</sup>

In an essay that is steadfastly critical of the ways U.S. feminism is complicit with the logics of settler colonialism, Haunani-Kay Trask opens with an insistence that genealogy establishes an inalienable connection between Kanaka Maoli and ‘āina (land). Contrasted with foreign notions of land ownership, Trask recalls the legendary mo’okū’auhau (genealogy) of Papahānaumoku and Wākea to establish a familial relationship between land and people. In this legend the ‘āina is born of the union of Papa and Wākea, as is their human daughter Ho’ohōkukalani. Through a sacred Nī’aupī’o (incestuous) mating between Ho’ohōkukalani and Wākea are born Hāloa Naka (kalo/taro) and Hāloa (the Ali’i Nui/chief; first Kanaka Maoli). In Native worldviews, then, the islands and kalo are elder siblings of Kanaka Maoli. This relationship accrues reciprocal responsibilities: The elder has a responsibility to feed and protect while the younger should serve and cultivate.<sup>178</sup>

This set of mutual responsibilities underwrote Mālama ‘Āina in the many centuries before James Cook arrived on Hawaiian shores in 1778. The social order was marked by a shared sense that the people had an obligation to care for the land, though different classes maintained different responsibilities. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa explains that although ali‘i (chiefly class) were of higher genealogical rank than the maka‘āinana (commoners), the relationship between the two was of mutual responsibility. The ali‘i were to protect and provide the conditions under which the maka‘āinana could thrive. In return the maka‘āinana were charged with cultivating the land and supporting the ali‘i.<sup>179</sup> Kamehameha, the ali‘i who was able to establish control over all the Hawaiian Islands, worked hard to protect these relationships in the face of ever-increasing foreign influence. Under Kamehameha ancient practices of Mālama ‘Āina remained intact and it could be said, “Hānau ka ‘Āina, hānau ke Ali‘i, hānau ke kanaka,” or “Born was the Land, born were the Chiefs, born were the common people; meaning, the Land, the Chiefs, and the commoners belong together.”<sup>180</sup>

Mālama ‘Āina and the social structures born of this worldview rapidly transformed as more foreigners came to Hawai‘i. Kamehameha managed to unify the islands, marking a shift from centuries of island-based control. During the mid-1800s Kāiulani, Kamehameha III, formalized a constitutional monarchy as part of an effort to interweave Native and foreign systems of governance. Such changes, as Noenoe Silva has noted, were undertaken in response to foreign aggression and a desire to legally establish and protect the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Well versed in international relations, Kamehameha III sought to protect his nation by

aligning the state to European norms while at the same time giving life to Native values within the government.<sup>181</sup> The influence of foreigners within the government continued to haunt the kingdom though Kamehameha III had, upon his death, “left the nation with a fairly workable constitution and with its status as a member of the family of nations as protected as it could be from the desires of the colonizers who were dividing the world among themselves.”<sup>182</sup> The monarchs succeeding Kamehameha III walked a razor’s edge. On the one hand, they worked tirelessly to respond to the concerns of their people who were divided over a number of issues facing the state. On the other, as Jonathan Osorio has argued, Kamehameha III’s successors fought ever-increasing foreign pressures that were given strength through the belief that the monarchy and “the entire government was a foolish and comic apparatus without their leadership and control.”<sup>183</sup>

This was, perhaps, nowhere more apparent than the reign of Lili’uokalani, Hawai’i’s last monarch and inheritor of the Bayonet Constitution. Forced upon, King Kalākaua, her brother and predecessor, at gunpoint, this document was an unrelenting attack on the people of Hawai’i. As a response to Kalākaua’s effort to prioritize Native practices, stories, worldviews, and well-being, the Bayonet Constitution solidified foreign control of the government, threatened monarchical lands that were held in trust for Native Hawaiians, and established, for the first time, literacy and property requirements for the franchise.<sup>184</sup> Significantly, the mass disenfranchisement functioned doubly: to erode the political power of working-class Native Hawaiians who were literate yet without wealth and to preempt the political influence of a growing class of Asian plantation workers. It was, as Osorio has pointed out, the

“very first time that democratic rights were determined by race in any Hawaiian Constitution.”<sup>185</sup> In January 1893, at the behest of her people who were suffering under foreign control, Lili‘uokalani took up the work of drafting a new constitution that would reclaim what had been stolen. This effort was the impetus for the overthrow of Lili‘uokalani’s government at the hands of American businessmen and politicians, with the support of U.S. Minister Stevens and the military strength of the USS *Boston* docked in Honolulu.<sup>186</sup> Though this breach of international law was carefully documented in an 1894 report submitted to the U.S. Secretary of State by Special Commissioner James Blount, the coup successfully removed Lili‘uokalani from formal political power.

It was less successful, however, at removing Lili‘uokalani from the hearts of her people who would look to her for leadership until her death in 1917. In the words of Jonathan Osorio:

The nearest word that we have for the nation is *lāhui*, a word that means “gathering,” “people,” “tribe,” and even “species.” We are, in the end, a distinct people whose commonalities extend far outside the ability of laws and constitutions to define us.<sup>187</sup>

That is to say that although the overthrow eradicated the formal structures of the Hawaiian Kingdom the foundation of *ka lāhui* persevered. It did so through the leadership of Lili‘uokalani who understood her position as monarch was dependent on the people. Noenoe Silva, who has uncovered a tremendous corpus of knowledge written in the Hawaiian language, relates one such example from a letter written by Lili‘uokalani and published in the newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina*:

In fact, in 1897, when a reporter told her that perhaps her niece Ka‘iulani would take the throne, Ke Ali‘i responded, “*na ka lahui ke*

Alii, a no ka lahui na Alii” (it is up to the lāhui who the Ali‘i is, and the Ali‘i are of or belong to the lāhui). This means that the people decide who their leader is to be. The queen’s commitment to open and inclusive processes, and to working with her people and encouraging them to work in coalition despite their differences, serve as an inspiration to her lāhui today, who are carrying on the struggle for their land.<sup>188</sup>

Drawing from Native world views that understood mutual responsibility between ali‘i and maka‘āinana, Lili‘uokalani’s responsiveness to her people suffused island life and reflected the continued connection between Ke Ali‘i and lāhui. Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman, a scholar of ethnomusicology, shares an important example of how this reciprocity continued even after the coup: During her imprisonment for treason against the provisional government responsible for the coup, Lili‘uokalani and her people communicated messages of leadership and loyalty through a series of mele, or songs, composed and published in Hawaiian language newspapers. Published over the course of months, these mele reveal the persistence of mutual commitment between monarch and people.<sup>189</sup>

More than these mele, ka lāhui at the turn of the century gifted their descendants with many other forms of resistance to foreign rule. One example is the January 1895 uprising led by Sam Nowlein and Robert Wilcox. In his mo‘olelo, or story, of the rebellion, Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada tells his readers:

*January 7, 1895, the slopes of Lē‘ahi:* Everyone waits for the sound of gunfire to echo in the darkness before the sun rises. The ground is soft and uneven after last night’s rain. Koa are ranged along the wrinkled flanks of the mountain in the gloom before dawn, crouching behind stones for cover. The faint light plays tricks, and swells the size of their force to four hundred or even four thousand. Some converse nervously in small groups, while others murmur quiet jokes to each other, others hum the tune to the mele ‘ai pōhaku as they lean out from cover, peering down at the dark shore below.<sup>190</sup>

As contemporary storyteller, Kuwada draws from *Kaua Kuloko 1895* to tell a history of resistance and the desire among many Kingdom citizens to restore Lili'uokalani to power. Kuwada's use of a written Hawaiian language account of the rebellion is important because, as Trask has experienced, oral histories of resistance have consistently been dismissed by haole scholars for lack of evidence.<sup>191</sup> Hawaiian language texts offer the sort of legitimacy that has eluded Hawaiian storytellers, though the power of these stories for the Hawaiian people has never depended on such evidence.

Another example of this legacy of resistance is the Kū'e petitions. Long forgotten in the U.S. Archives, the Kū'e petitions were unearthed by Noenoe Silva and provide written proof that the majority of Native Hawaiians opposed annexation. Alongside a related petition to restore the monarchy, the Hui Aloha 'Āina for Women, Hui Aloha 'Āina for Men, and Hui Kālai'āina worked together to gather 38,000 signatures in resistance to U.S. control. As Noenoe Silva has explained, "Even considering the likelihood that some people signed both petitions, the total number of signatures is impressive given that the population of Kanaka Maoli at the time was around 40,000."<sup>192</sup> Delivered to Senator George Hoar on December 8, 1897 and accepted by the Senate the following day, the Kū'e petition marks both Native Hawaiian resistance and an enduring faith that the United States would abide by international and U.S. laws.<sup>193</sup> Referencing Haunani-Kay Trask's infamous encounter with a haole historian who claimed that neither mele nor family histories offered "proof" that Native Hawaiians resisted annexation, Silva writes, "When the stories can be validated, as happens when scholars read the literature in Hawaiian and make

the findings available to the community, people begin to recover from the wounds caused by that disjuncture in their consciousness.”<sup>194</sup>

These two examples are part of a range of work among contemporary Hawaiian scholars to reclaim a past that was almost lost along with the Hawaiian language itself. The attack on Japanese language use during the Second World War was not the first incident in which the language of subordinated groups was subject to English-only policies. The 1898 banning of the Hawaiian language was the first and it was aimed to break the political power of ka lāhui Hawai‘i. Significantly, there was near universal literacy in the Kingdom. This astounding fact points toward a well-informed citizenry that remained abreast of local, national, and international affairs through voluminous newspaper publications in the Hawaiian language.<sup>195</sup> Turn of the century English-only policies were nearly successful in the extinction of the Hawaiian language and certainly contributed to the social, economic, and political subordination of Native Hawaiians. Though nearly lost by the mid-twentieth century, a growing revival of the Hawaiian language has led to the recovery of long-forgotten texts such as *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, Hawaiian-language newspapers, and the Kū‘e petitions. These texts hold tremendous meaning for contemporary Hawaiians.

Referencing the Kū‘e petitions, Silva explains:

The petition, inscribed with the names of everyone’s kūpuna, gave people permission from their ancestors to participate in the quest for national sovereignty. More important, it affirmed for them that their kūpuna had not stood by idly, apathetically, while their nation was taken from them.<sup>196</sup>

Such documents, marked with the names of the koa (trees/warriors) and maka‘āinana (commoners) who stood against the United States, offer a written record of Native



resistance. This, in turn, has enabled new narrations of Native resistance and helped storytellers and historians alike to see contemporary Hawai'i in new ways.

Like Kuwada and Silva, this project is invested in unearthing Native Hawaiian resistance even as I work to highlight, to a greater extent, the ways that this resistance existed in relationship to a community that was already multiethnic. For me, *Kaua Kuloko 1895* and the Kū'e petitions also tell important stories about a Native-centered multiethnic nation. The first story is read through the defense of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the formal state that held treaties with the United States and countries throughout Europe. In defense of Queen Lili'uokalani and the government which she represented, koa (trees/warriors) took up armed resistance to the U.S.-backed provisional government. These koa, named and described in *Kaua Kuloko 1895*, were not only Hawaiian but also of many other national and ethnic groups. Kuwada tells of the dawn before the rebellion: "Kānaka from the countryside kneel next to Chinese plantation workers and haole merchants. Snatches of whispered Greek and Japanese float on the wind, mixing with the low murmur of Hawaiian."<sup>197</sup> These koa took up rebellion as citizens of a multiethnic nation held hostage to American imperial desires. Yet after 1898 leaders of this nation no longer occupied the formal seat of government in Hawai'i. To be certain, Native multiethnicity continued to crop up as a site of contention in the formal sphere of U.S. politics, as was the case of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. However, the racializing logic of blood quantum and English-only language policies consistently worked to dismantle the world views upon which Native multiethnicity were premised.

Yet, as María Lugones has elsewhere argued, the destructions of colonialism are always incomplete. In the instance of Hawai‘i, Native multiethnicity has persisted, though it does so at the peril of appropriation into the language of U.S. multiculturalism. The second story, then, is a story of how Native multiethnicity has survived in spite of U.S. occupation and the genocidal policies of blood quantum and language dissolution. It begins with the anti-annexation Kū‘e petitions. Native multiethnicity, like Kānaka resistance, is written on the lines of the Kū‘e petitions. On these pages it is common to see signatures that reveal the existence of Native Hawaiians of mixed parentage. This is to be expected, since by the mid-nineteenth century there were many Native Hawaiians of mixed ethnicity. However, unlike the racializing logic of blood quantum that would gain dominance under twentieth-century occupation, Native Hawaiians sanctioned intermarriage and *drew no distinction between those with mixed or unmixed parentage*.<sup>198</sup> That is, Native Hawaiian understanding of community was marked by what Kauanui has described as an “expansive inclusivity” in which “genealogy is a Hawaiian form of world enlargement that makes nonsense of the fractions and percentage signs that are grounded in colonial (and now neocolonial) moves marked by exclusionary racial criteria.”<sup>199</sup>

It is this expansive inclusivity that grounds Local identity, centering Native values in a multiethnic social formation. As such, I locate the roots of “Local” as a social formation prior to the first known use of the term in the infamous 1932 Massie Trial and decades before the term was broadly circulating in island vernacular at mid-century. Historian John P. Rosa has argued that the Massie case functions as a focal

point that continually (re)constructs “Local” through a dialogue between “past and present, as well as a dialogue between Hawai‘i and the continental United States.”<sup>200</sup>

Yet as a focal point the Massie case gestures toward a set of pre-existing affiliations that shaped a friendship between five working-class men of various mixed Hawaiian, Japanese, and Chinese ethnicities (as well as the social antagonisms created through the colonizing presence of the United States military). That is, the Massie case points toward a social formation that predates both the trial and the widespread use of the term “Local.” My investment, then, is in reconstructing the dialogue around Local ethnicity so that its Native underpinnings visibly challenge the appropriation of Local narratives into the language of U.S. multiculturalism.

English-language newspapers of mid-century were complicit in this appropriation, narrating Local ethnicity as alternately complicit and antagonistic to U.S. hegemony in the islands. With broad readership the repercussions of this were far-ranging, influencing narratives of Local identity among Hawaiians and settlers alike. However, returning to María Lugones’ conceptualization of decolonial feminism urges a seeing of resistance in relation to colonialism:

And thus I want to think of the colonized neither as simply imagined and constructed by the colonizer and coloniality in accordance with the colonial imagination and the strictures of capitalist colonial venture, but as a being who begins to inhabit a fractured locus constructed doubly, who perceives doubly, relates doubly, where the “sides” of the locus are in tension, and the conflict itself actively informs the subjectivity of the colonized self in multiple relation.

Lugones is sending out a call to feminist researchers. Rather than merely seeing the appropriation of Local ethnicity it is imperative to see doubly. To answer the kāhea,

the call, is to see the ways that Hawaiians draw from Native epistemologies and community to inform Local multiethnicity as resistant response.

### ***Kāhea: Seeing Local Multiethnicity as Native-Centered Resistance***

Responding to the kāhea requires a searching for the ways that Hawaiians draw from Native understandings to resist now-dominant narratives of Local ethnicity. It is to see the ways that Hawaiians have leveraged the value of ‘ohana to maintain a multiethnic lāhui in resistance to the occupation of their government and dissolution of their political power. It is, on the one hand, to find the Native-centered foundation of Local ethnicity. On the other hand, it is to reclaim the multiethnicity of Local from the discourses that frame mixedness as a product of American democracy and multiculturalism.

For Hawaiians ‘ohana is an important organizing principle that structures social relations far beyond the nuclear or even extended family. In many of her writings, for example, Mary Kawena Pukui, a renowned kupuna, historian, and language expert, contextualized ‘ohana (family) in the Hawaiian language and world views. Writing with E.S. Craighill Handy, she explained that the term ‘ohana references the ‘oha, or shoot of the taro plant, as a way to conceptualize the interconnectedness of family. Literally translated as ‘all the offshoots,’<sup>201</sup>

‘Ohana, like taro shoots, are all from the same root. ... With Hawaiians, family consciousness of the same ‘root of origin’ was a deeply felt, unifying force, no matter how many offshoots came from offshoots. You may be 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> cousins, as we define relationships today, but in Hawaiian terms, if you are in the same generation, you are all brothers and sisters.<sup>202</sup>

To be certain, pre-contact family structures had been drastically transformed long before Pukui wrote on the subject in the twentieth century. Indeed, the introduction of private land ownership in the 1848 Māhele undermined the social practices which had enabled 'ohana structures to remain intact for centuries. These changes produced a profound sense of loss, with the long-standing emphasis on generation, genealogy, and gender in Native kinship systems threatened in tandem with land dispossession.<sup>203</sup> In the face of such losses rural Hawaiians with access to family lands are framed as the last bastions of a disappearing system. The kinship systems of displaced Hawaiians are, likewise, seen with sadness in light of the changes brought by landlessness. Today the vast majority of Hawaiians fall into the latter category.

Yet it is important to see not only the processes of colonization, but also the sites of resistance in the face of mass land dispossession. Kēhaulani Kauanui does this when she identifies the ways that Hawaiians still use the concepts of generation and genealogy to draw connections between each other:

Today when Hawaiians, upon meeting each other, ask other Kānaka Maoli who their 'ohana are, it is a call to identify themselves through both paternal and maternal lineal connections and a challenge to locate themselves genealogically. Since this may include hierarchal rank-status, genealogy can divide as well as connect. But more often these exchanges mark proximity. Such invocations are always contextual, political, and specific, depending on where the reciter is at that particular moment and in whose company she or he speaks.<sup>204</sup>

Significantly, genealogies based on bilateral descent enable the forging of context-specific associations without the negation of familial connections that are not shared between speakers. This is particularly important for understanding Native Hawaiian families as multiethnic because establishing a genealogical connection *between Hawaiians* does not in itself function to negate the significance of non-Hawaiian

family. That is, practices of bilateral descent enable Hawaiians to value a genealogical connection with each other and the land while simultaneously retaining a sense of value for their family members, traditions, and practices that are of settler origin.

Practices of identifying oneself through bilateral descent produce an expansive Kanaka Maoli community in which ancestry determines belonging. This is in marked contrast to the racializing practices of blood quantum which “measures” Hawaiian-ness based on degrees of separation from a “full-blooded” Hawaiian ancestor. Often figured in percentages, blood quantum is a measurement of presumed racial purity. For example, if a person has one “full-blooded” Hawaiian grandparent and three non-Hawaiian grandparents, their blood quantum would be 25 percent. However, blood quantum was imposed by the United States and not given its first statutory power until the 1921 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. Prior to this date, and especially in the years before haole interests came to dominate Kingdom politics, the children of interracial parentage were, in today’s language, considered to be “full Hawaiians.” Kauanui explains, “This means that Hawaiian identity at the time was primarily reckoned and recognized through cultural norms, not biological/racial logics.”<sup>205</sup> Significantly, the racializing language of quantum fails to attend to the ways that these cultural norms were rooted in Native conceptions of ‘ohana and principles of bilateral descent.

Today the ways that Hawaiians speak about their identification as Hawaiian bears the unmistakable mark of colonial policies of blood quantum. This is most visible in regard to accessing programs designated for Native Hawaiians. For

example, Mrs. Silva, a kupuna in her early eighties, identifies the stakes for being able to demonstrate 50 percent blood quantum, the legal minimum necessary to apply for a land lease under the HHCA. She had just recently moved back to O‘ahu after building and living in a house on Maui homestead lands:

Nowadays, quantum. But they’re looking to doing quarter, quarter percent it’s going to be because hardly anybody is half percent anyway. And you laugh, we never even knew how to calculate our percentage because nobody ever did that in our time, yeah. Eventually Auntie Billy was busy telling us we were more than fifty percent, but I don’t know how they arrived at that because we’re mixed. We have Chinese, we have English, so. But I qualify anyway because he out rightly gave it to me.

In her narrative Mrs. Silva references an administrative shift that allows a descendent of 25 percent blood quantum to inherit a land lease from a 50 percent parent. In so doing she demonstrates a keen understanding of the ways that blood quantum policies sort and award some Native Hawaiians while denying benefits to others. At the same time, however, Mrs. Silva is quick to point out the foreignness of blood quantum policies, which “nobody ever did” when she was growing up. In so doing she reveals the ways in which measurements of blood quantum are anathema to Native Hawaiian definitions of belonging.

It is this latter sentiment that dominates the everyday ways in which Kanaka Maoli conceptualize ‘ohana and community belonging. In her thirties and two generations younger than Mrs. Silva, Joy both references and dismisses blood quantum in her understanding of who may lay claim to a Hawaiian identity:

Being born Hawaiian, you’re Hawaiian. That’s my definition of it. It doesn’t matter what you are, you have Hawaiian in you, you’re Hawaiian. I would own up to any percentage of Hawaiian.

Throughout her interview Joy referenced the phrase “born Hawaiian” to establish familial connection as the proper way to claim Hawaiian identity. Significantly, in this instance she does so while simultaneously using the language of quantum. However, her use of the language of measurement is done in a way that, like Mrs. Silva, acknowledges its administrative strength while dismissing it as an appropriate language to understand community belonging.

Participants’ frequent reference to family in establishing Native Hawaiian identity reflects the continued significance of genealogies to draw connections between Hawaiians. Kauanui has explained the contemporary function of Hawaiian genealogies:

Through verbal introduction, people attempt to see how close they can get to others, dead or living. Hawaiians identify themselves through their ‘ohana – extended families – affiliations, and island locations. They use genealogical relationships to establish a collective identity through the social nexus of ‘ohana.<sup>206</sup>

The ‘ohana is thus the basis for an expansive collectivity in which familial ties bind people to each other. In this way establishing a genealogical connection has the power to transform strangers into ‘ohana. Recently at a funeral for her grandmother’s sister, Joy experienced firsthand the ways that genealogies connect strangers through the social structure of the ‘ohana. She explains:

So we went there and it was my dad’s aunty, the last of the generation. The whole place was packed. We’re all sitting there and when she [her father’s cousin] was up there talking about the lineage of the family she first started off with her mother. And then okay we have a sister, Rose, which is my grandma. Where are the Rose Kalahikis? And so we’re all sitting together and we raise our hands. Oh, there’s the Rose Kalahikis. And then she went to all the others...oh there’s the Kaua’i Kalahikis. I’ve never ever met or seen them and it was weird that we’re all sitting there in our little groups. Not knowing it, but of course, when you get up there you’re sitting next to your family and



stuff. But when she was up there and saying it, it was like, when she would announce the Rose Kalahikis. And everybody raise your hands and everybody is looking at us, the next group would raise their hands and we're all looking at them. So it was cool to see the little pods.

In this moment Joy is reflecting on the common sentiment that even in a room of strangers you are all 'ohana. The ability to create this moment in which the 'ohana can visualize connection between each other through "little pods" was made possible through the careful stewardship of the family's genealogy. In the Kalahiki family, the steward of this history collects and records all the births and deaths in the family so that these connections are remembered and passed on. Although this instance is exceptional given that the 'ohana had gathered specifically to pay final respects to a shared kupuna (elder), the practice of establishing connection between each other is an everyday occurrence in Hawai'i. It enables a shared sense of being that exists in tension with racializing practices based on phenotype and blood quantum.<sup>207</sup>

Genealogies also function as a way to make sense of one's kuleana. In the Hawaiian language kuleana holds multiple meanings which center on shared rights and responsibilities that may be both formal and informal.<sup>208</sup> In the above instance, the Kalahiki family genealogist took up the kuleana of remembering connections between 'ohana. In other instances, the kuleana for maintaining a family genealogy expands one's sense of responsibility. For Kekoa, a retired military officer in his late forties, a promise made to his late tutu (grandmother) is cited as the genesis of his work to deoccupy Hawai'i. In the realm of Hawaiian sovereignty activism, however, deoccupation is one of many hotly contested efforts to address the challenges Native Hawaiians face today. Deoccupation activists emphasize the Hawaiian Kingdom as an internationally recognized, multi-ethnic nation when Lili'uokalani was forced from

power. Though the citizenry was primarily Native, deoccupation efforts are not premised on indigeneity.<sup>209</sup> Kekoa links the kuleana he has to maintaining the family genealogy with a growing awareness of the responsibility he holds toward the nation.

He explains:

I promised my tutu I would know my genealogy before she passed away. I'm the oldest grandchild, so she told me, "Kekoa, know your genealogy because when you know who you are you will know what you need to do."

Although Kekoa was not able to fulfil this promise to his grandmother during her lifetime, he nonetheless remained committed to knowing his family genealogy.

Similar to the moment of recognition Joy experienced at her grandaunty's funeral, Kekoa began to see connections as he learned his family genealogy. He found that his family was part of a chiefly lineage on Hawai'i Island:

It goes all the way up. It actually began with Liloa, with 1400s and it ended with my grandmother's father and his sister. My tutu's name is Judith, named after her aunty. I saw that and was like, "Wow." And then I saw the title of the genealogy and it said "Mo'okū'auhau Ali'i," which is genealogy of chiefs. I was like, "What? Chiefs? No kidding, I never heard of that." But then I'm looking at the names in this genealogy and I could see all my cousins and uncles names drawn from this genealogy. I found out later my tutu knew the genealogy, she was the genealogist for our family. But she didn't teach me the genealogy, she said *know* it.

Kekoa, like Joy, was struck by the ways that a family genealogy could reveal connections between 'ohana. Yet in his narrative Kekoa also emphasizes *knowing* his family genealogy. Although it is unclear whether or not his grandmother purposefully refrained from teaching him the family genealogy, Kekoa sees her directive to *know* it as the genesis of an expanded kuleana that includes his work toward deoccupation. Citing archival work necessary to learn about his family in the Kingdom era, he

explains that the process of learning opened new questions about the relationship between Native Hawaiians and settlers and led him to his position on deoccupation. For Kekoa then, genealogy was important not only for the ways that it enabled a tracing of a particular family history, but also because it opened up a fuller understanding of the relationships that underwrote a Hawaiian national identity.

Lastly, the social nexus of the 'ohana continues to structure a set of responsibilities between individuals, families, and the natural world that includes both land and water. As explained above, the collective genealogy told through the legend of Papahānaumoku and Wākea establishes a familial relationship in which 'āina is the physical manifestation of Papahānaumoku, mother of all Hawaiians. In this world view Hawaiians have a responsibility to care for 'āina, which in turn provides for the 'ohana. To be certain, these relationships have drastically transformed since European contact, most notably through the 1848 Māhele which introduced Western notions of private property.<sup>210</sup> Indeed, the last 168 years have been marked by mass dispossession as Native access to lands and waters have been methodically reduced to a mere fraction of what was once guaranteed in the Kingdom. Long-standing stewardship practices are threatened with the loss of access for subsistence uses and the parallel move toward capitalism. For example, Frank, a fisherman in his early forties, lamented the transformation of Native fishing practices:

As a fisherman, in Hawaiian culture we fished a certain way. That's lost. I believe you go out there and you catch what you need and the ocean takes care of us. That's lost today. Nobody does that.

Although Frank does not detail how much fish he typically catches or the extent to which he relies on his catch for income, it is clear that he understands his livelihood

in relationship maintaining healthy fish populations. He contrasts hook fishing with using nets that can lead to over fishing, explaining:

Before you used to have your net fishermen, your divers, and your hook fishermen. They're all different people. Each had their own talent, they did their own role. Me, it's all done by hook. Those who used to go out and surround fish with nets, the traditional method is you leave the net open on one side and the barracuda would decide how much fish you would take. He would chase out the rest of the school and what was left in the net is what you get. Nowadays they're just catching the barracuda too, taking it out of the equation. Now it gets over fished.

Significantly, after disappointing financial losses as a truck owner and operator, Frank relies on the ocean for the well-being of his 'ohana. His mourning over the loss of Hawaiian culture is intimately intertwined with the material threat that over fishing poses to his family. In this context the social nexus of the 'ohana establishes a materially grounded connection between people and lands/waters that inform Native Hawaiian opposition to developments and practices that disrupt island ecosystems.

Even as 'ohana continues to structure Native Hawaiian relationships with 'āina the use of land and water for capitalist profit has had a profound effect on this connection. These changes are particularly acute on O'ahu, which has the highest level of urban development in the islands. To be certain, there continue to be rural areas where long-standing practices of mutual care between people and land thrive. For example, families on O'ahu would often travel to other islands to reconnect with 'āina and 'ohana. This was the case for Sherrie, who grew up on O'ahu but would frequently be sent to the island of Molokai to learn from her grandparents and connect with 'ohana. Now in her late thirties, she explains:

I was always sent to Molokai. To learn how to fish, crabbing, clean limu. Every summer so I can learn. Even if it was just two days, my mom then would send me there, spend time with my grandmother.

For Sherrie's parents the financial cost of sending their daughter to another island was well worth the price because it meant she would experience 'ohana. As an outgrowth of this time spent with family Sherrie learned Native practices of food gathering and ocean stewardship from her elders. However, for those who have lost familial access to 'āina, the relationship between 'ohana and 'āina has changed dramatically. This was the case for Kalei, an active member of her hālau hula (hula school) and professional advocate for Native Hawaiian access to medical care. Now in her late forties, Kalei reflects on what the loss of 'āina meant in terms of the childhood lessons she learned about 'ohana:

The land is the land and people will live off of it, develop it or not develop it. I think to my elders it was important to them because that's all you had. I think for us, in our generation, we never had it. It was never ours, so it's hard to attach to the kin-ness of having land and developing it and using it to feed your body when you've never had it. So, it's morphed over time in terms of what's important. Now we've been told land is important, we've been told the 'āina, but never experienced it.

Although her kūpuna shared their knowledge and sense of responsibility for 'āina, Kalei's narrative reveals the ways that land dispossession created dissonance between the stories of her kūpuna and her experience as a young Hawaiian. Even in this absence, however, the kūpuna of her family diligently worked to ensure a strong sense of 'ohana for her generation:

One thing that my parents did do when we were young, my cousins that had lived all over the nation, every summer they made it that we were always together. All the kids came to Hawai'i no matter where you were from. And even came from the outer islands and we all met every summer for a month at a time to hang out. And it was their way

to make sure we stayed connected. It just takes effort, planning, to make sure these things are happening.

For Kalei, the “kin-ness” of ‘āina changed in the absence of an enduring and direct familial connection to land. What was lost was an intimacy that comes with direct knowledge of how to mālama ‘āina (care for the land) because, unlike Sherrie, Kalei did not learn through doing with her kupuna. At the same time, although Kalei and her cousins did not learn about ‘āina in the same way as Sherrie, the annual gathering of her generation nonetheless functioned as a way to renew connection to it. Beyond mere convenience of who lived where, these annual gatherings cultivated a connection to ‘āina by linking a sense of ‘ohana with the particularities of place. Thus, though direct knowledge of stewardship was lost for Kalei’s family, what remained within their control was the cultivation of enduring relationships between the children of her generation alongside a *sense* that ‘āina should be cared for.

Significantly, even in this context the importance of mālama ‘āina survived mass land dispossession. Today these values are passed on through ‘ohana, even as direct knowledge of how to do it is done both within families and through community organizations. Kalei explains the latter, reflecting on its importance to Native survival:

There’s a lot of resurgence that I connect to. Things that are going on with different foundations, things that are going on with land utilization. I’d like to get involved more with land appropriation. I think we’re getting way too much development here. But it’s more to save ourselves. But I think what Papaku [no Kameha‘ikana] is doing – so Papaku is an organization that formed to make sure that the principles and the ideals of Hawaiians are communicated, getting transferred. I love the idea. We’re not going to tell you how, but we’re going to make sure that you’re responsible to transfer the ideals. Because if you think about it over time the amount of Hawaiian is not

so much. If someone is not organizing how to transfer the knowledge, then we're going to lose the Hawaiian-ness, period.

Papaku no Kameha'ikana is a community organization founded in 2005 whose work "encourages and enables families to understand and live and practice Hawaiian values and cultural traditions." Their family-oriented projects incorporate cultural practices, such as oli (song) and mo'okū'auhau (genealogies), with the work of mālama 'āina, such as maintenance of lo'i (taro patches), sacred pōhaku (stone) sites, and beach clean-ups. In referring to the work of Papaku, Kalei is reflecting on the role of community organizations as spaces for families to re-learn and practice Native Hawaiian values in a context in which there has been a break in the passing on of knowledge. Her support is not merely a reflection that development on O'ahu has reached a point of unsustainability. Rather, Kalei sees environmental stewardship as deeply intertwined with Hawaiian survival. Through her narrative it is possible to see the ways in which understandings of mālama 'āina, 'ohana, and lāhui continue to mutually affirm and construct each other.

The persistence of these interconnections is important to consider in light of the multiethnicity of Native Hawaiian families. In contemporary Hawai'i one would be hard pressed to find a Hawaiian family that is not ethnically mixed, as long-standing practices of intermarriage have led to a prevalence of multiethnic Hawaiian families.<sup>211</sup> Importantly, though Hawaiian families are remarkable in their multiethnicity and subjected always to the colonizing ideologies of the settler state, Hawaiians have retained a strong sense of peoplehood. Osorio writes:

Careful conservation, sharing resources, cooperation and consensus, honoring ancestors, protocols that demonstrate respect for one another, and definition of wealth that is indicated by family relations, healthy

lifestyles, and community connections along with monetary security – these are all Pacific Islander cultural hallmarks that have been assaulted by Euro-American ethos of individual achievement and profit, and a reliance on the marketplace not just for trade, but as the foundation of its values.<sup>212</sup>

The continued connection between mālama ‘āina, ‘ohana, and lāhui is evidence of the desire to maintain this sense of peoplehood in resistance to Euro-American desires. At the same time, the persistence of these ideas alongside the rich multiethnicity of Hawaiian families suggest the need to understand mixedness from a particularly Hawaiian perspective. That is, to better envision ka lāhui Hawai‘i – the Hawaiian nation, for lack of a more precise term – it is necessary to understand the ways in which ‘ohana and the value of mālama ‘āina bind settlers to Natives on a common, Hawaiian ground.

Indeed, it is precisely this mixedness that has plagued Native Hawaiian efforts to assert claims of peoplehood, particularly when those claims are toward formal forms of recognition. In some respects, this mixedness has been addressed by Kauanui’s examination of blood quantum and her argument that Hawaiian genealogies are a practice of expansive inclusivity that counter to the logic of percentages. In this context claiming Hawaiian identity is a process of tracing ascent and does not function to negate claims of non-Hawaiian identity and kin.<sup>213</sup> My investment, however, is a bit different. I am interested in the ways that Native Hawaiian genealogical and kinship practices inform Local multiethnicity, marking a community of belonging through blood, marriage, and friendship. Practices of expansive kinship that tie non-Hawaiians to ‘ohana and ‘āina produce a multiethnicity that eschews U.S.-centered ideals of abstract equality. In contrast to appropriated



forms of Local multiculturalism, such as the 1976 *Portrait of America*, narratives of Hawaiian-centered Local multiethnicity emphasize a collective life mediated through 'ohana and guided by values of mālama 'āina.

Historically, Native Hawaiian kinship practices included a range of protocols for bringing outsiders into the 'ohana. Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui cite high rates of out-marriage of Hawaiian women to haole and Asian men as the catalyst for the disintegration of 'ohana.<sup>214</sup> The tone of their text is one of loss in which the authors are looking to capture an anthropological snapshot of Native Hawaiian ways of life that were quickly disappearing at the start of the twentieth century. To be certain, the changes brought about by a rapid influx of settlers and ideas had a profound impact on Native life. However, rather than imagining these ways of life as disappearing altogether I highlight the ways that narratives of Local multiethnicity reconstitute these values in a new Hawaiian world. Today, though mass land displacement has changed the relationship between 'ohana and 'āina, there is still a desire to cultivate this intimate relationship. Mrs. Silva, whose father was one of the few Hawaiians awarded a Hawaiian Homes land lease before he passed away, explains the desire:

My father was awarded the land in 1986, I think. And 81 of them didn't make it onto the properties when they actually said it was ready, in 2001 I believe. So, when I took him to visit Maui, I think he knew he wouldn't make it back to the property. So, we came home and legally he signed it over to me. And I said, "Dad, why are you giving me this property. I have my home, I have everything," I said. "I believe that Gerald will make it a home," that's what he said. Home. So that's how I got the land.

When her father was awarded his lease in 2001, Mrs. Silva was already a grandmother herself. Knowing that he would not be able to cultivate an intimate relationship with the land, her father relied on his 'ohana to carry on the task.

Significantly, he turned to Mrs. Silva and her husband Gerald, who is not himself Hawaiian but whose ability to mālama ‘āina could be relied upon. Gerald’s willingness to work the land was indicative of his established place in their multiethnic ‘ohana. She goes on to detail the ways in which Gerald facilitated an intimate relationship between their ‘ohana and the ‘āina awarded to her father:

On Maui my husband was the one that did the land. He planted every seed of grass and he did all the labor and all the work. And when we were turning back I went down to see the people, certain friends that became very close, and they said, “Mrs. Silva, we love your ‘āina up there.” And they were wondering why I was going to leave. Anyway, what I tried to tell them is that family is of this land. And even my granddaughter’s boyfriend, he says, “Grandma,” – he’s a different nationality – he said they refer to him as being haole. And I said, son, you’re of this land. You’re born of this land. You are Hawaiian. I don’t care what. When we cut, our blood flows. You’re born of this land. So that’s what being Hawaiian means to me.

Showing me photographs of the work completed on the homestead, it is clear that mālama ‘āina was a family affair. Many of her children labored with Gerald to build the house and cultivate the yard, which then became an important gathering place for the ‘ohana. It is this intimate relationship between ‘ohana and ‘āina that grounds Mrs. Silva’s understanding of Hawaiian-ness. Her narrative reveals that regardless of racial or ethnic characteristics – expressed commonly as nationality in Hawai‘i – ‘ohana and norms of mutual responsibility between family and land constitute an expansive kinship network that flourishes in multiethnicity.

As suggested through Mrs. Silva’s narrative, the principles of ‘ohana to which Native genealogies are a part continue to structure multiethnic Hawaiian families in very important ways. For example, the practice of understanding genealogy through bilateral descent produces a sense of connection and value to all kūpuna (elders)

regardless of whether they are born of the land or new to Hawaiian shores. Thus, although Hawaiian descent is often central to self-identification, it is not taught in exclusionary ways. In response to an inquiry about the significance of Hawaiian ancestry to her identity, Kalei explains:

Yes, in a cultural sense. It's a responsibility, you know. I've been taught to be responsible about maintaining and managing and exploring other cultures but remembering where you come from. What are the values and things that are important to us Hawaiians? Respect, kindness, and humility. When you're raised that way, that's what you do.

With her grandparents figuring centrally in her understanding of Hawaiian identity, Kalei recalls that although Hawaiian-ness was central to her upbringing there was an expectation to value and respect non-Hawaiian cultures and identities. Respect, kindness, and humility toward others were taught as an important part of being Hawaiian. Kalei applies this lesson not only in a general sense, but also toward her understanding of 'ohana and the respect due to kūpuna without regard to whether or not they are Hawaiian:

I have to. I have to because my grandparents on both sides. You know, they don't talk, "Well you're 20 this and 80 that." No, "You're this from us and this from us. So now you're both of those." We don't really relate like that.

Pointing toward the absurdity of blood quantum logic, Kalei contends that there is no way she could value her Portuguese ethnicity less than her Hawaiian. The familial connection reinforces the expectation that Kalei exhibit respect, kindness, and humility as Hawaiian values. Thus it is in the context of a multiethnic 'ohana that Kalei comes to value mixedness as a part of both her family and the broader social landscape.

Claiming and valuing this mixedness, however, can be a challenge under the weight of American colonialism. Joy, for example, refers to herself alternately as a Hawaiian Local and “Americanized” Hawaiian. The seeming interchangeability between the two terms points toward the extent of dominant discourses to frame Local identity. With a sense of guilt, Joy explains the difference she sees between herself as an “Americanized” Hawaiian and an ostensibly more “authentic” Hawaiian:

Some people are just real hard core. Like my cousin, who is like, she knows how to speak Hawaiian, she teaches her kids that, she believes that we really need to educate our children on what the truth was and make sure that we live our lives that way. Whereas with me, I feel like I’m definitely more Americanized, I don’t feel such a need for such deep culture of it, which could be kind of sad, because I’m American, because I understand that we live in this society.

It is clear in her narrative that Joy sees value in maintaining Hawaiian language and culture. There is a sense of sorrow for what has been lost and continues to be threatened. At the same time, however, the social realities of colonization make it difficult for Joy to see herself as anything other than assimilated. Following a familiar discursive strategy that frames sovereignty-oriented Hawaiians as hopelessly divorced from political reality, Joy resigns herself to the practical position of being an Americanized Hawaiian. In so doing she draws a discursive line between “authentic” and “Americanized” Hawaiians without realizing that the practices she describes as Hawaiian Local resonate deeply with indigenous conceptions of ‘ohana.

Indeed, what Joy frames as a line that divides Hawaiian Local and “authentic” Hawaiian identities might more accurately be imagined as a tension. That is, Hawaiian Local identity exists in tension between Native conceptions of ‘ohana and the colonizing discourse of multiculturalism. Indeed, dominant discourses

problematically appropriate Local multiethnicity as a triumph of American democracy. The impacts of public discourses such as that of the 1976 *Portrait of America* performance are evident in the ways that Joy contrasts Hawaiian Local with “authentic” Hawaiian:

I bunch that up with being Local and living in Hawai‘i because Hawai‘i is such a melting pot and it is kind of a part of it. It’s like there’s no defining line between okay, that is Hawaiian. Whereas with my cousin it’s like this is Hawaiian and this is what we do. And this is ... because she’s other things as well and this is Portuguese, which is what she is. I feel like it just kinda spreads over kind of thing.

The resonance with American multicultural narratives is clear in the melting pot reference, though the juxtaposition between American and Hawaiian identities is far more significant. In this comparison, which relies on the interchangeability between “Americanized” Hawaiian and Hawaiian Local, multiethnicity and mixedness are rendered outside of Native conceptions of self and ‘ohana. Claiming and valuing mixedness in this perspective is only possible as a product of American multiculturalism.

However, when asked to expand on what Hawaiian Local meant to her, Joy describes a set of everyday practices that refuse to abide by the logic of individualism and capital accumulation. Joy again begins with a contrast between herself and her cousin:

I use my cousin because she’s such the extreme, and I respect that because she’s so educated, she’s fluent in Hawaiian, her kids are. So I think that’s so cool. But, how she’s very into the culture of it, speaking of the language, her kids go to immersion schools where they pound taro. They’re really learning the culture, how the Hawaiians used to live and really passing down all of that stuff.

Versus me, I would say it’s more Hawaiian Local, where, you know, the food is a really big thing ... I’m not so engrained in that ... I’m

more just, extended family is family, you know what I mean, people who aren't related are family. And so I would say that that is where I ... I don't know, I'm more, I don't know if I'm answering your question. But, that is where I identify with more Local, just the openness of how people are, like my house is your house kind of thing, oh you can come over, food, you want some food. And I feel like food is a big part of it, I think I said that before too. But, just kind of opening your house like that, considering people who aren't related family. That kind of stuff.

Compared to her cousin who is an active participant in language and cultural revivals, Joy sees the practices of Hawaiian Local as less “authentic.” Things that she values as part of her Hawaiian Local identity – openness of family to include near, far, and non-blood relatives, as well as the sharing of resources – are not attributed to practices of ‘ohana and the mutual responsibilities that emanate from these familial connections. To be certain, many of the ways of understanding the integration of kith and kin in Hawaiian conceptions of ‘ohana have been lost under conditions of colonialism.<sup>215</sup> These losses crop up as anxiety in Joy’s narrative and point toward the significance of language and cultural knowledge that she has not yet committed to. It might be easier to see, for example, the ways that the values associated with Hawaiian Local identity are grounded in Native world views if they are lived through language. Nonetheless, that Joy and other participants continue to value collectivity and expansive family formations point toward the endurance of Hawaiian conceptions of ‘ohana in their understanding Hawaiian Local identities. In short, the expansiveness and mutual responsibilities in Hawaiian conceptions of ‘ohana are at the heart of Local identity.

*Concluding thoughts:*

In an effort to see Native resistance I have purposefully waded into dangerous territory, blurring the boundaries between Hawaiian and Local to reveal the ways in which Hawaiian values ground Local identity. While I am out in this territory it is important, too, to reclaim Local multiethnicity from colonizing narratives of multiculturalism. All too often mixedness and indigeneity are framed as mutually exclusive. But, as Hawaiian families reveal, multiethnicity can be a valued part of Native life that is understood through indigenous world views. To reclaim Local multiethnicity I turn one last time to Kalei: as an active learner of Hawaiian language and cultural practices she draws on the wisdom of our kūpuna to connect contemporary mixedness with Kanaka Maoli survival. Drawing from knowledge of hula and mele, Kalei offers a response that reclaims Local multiethnicity as a Native practice:

For me it just means that you understand that we are a place of many cultures. We are respectful to everything you need to be, including each other and when you're not respectful you're not Local. For me it's not connected to being Hawaiian, it's connected to Hawaiian-ness, which is an expectation ... Hawaiian-ness means we are going to live as a community, and we're going to respect each other as a community. There's this hula that I've learned it's called 'Au'a 'Ia, it's very prophetic. But basically way before government started some kūpuna start to be prophetic, very prophecy-like, and basically what they described was that government is coming, government is coming before government got here, and very much said, "We will gather our people" – and there's a hula that goes to this – and "We will gather our people and gather our values and we're going to keep them close because it's important." And I think Local people know that no matter, if you're in the circle we're going to keep you close. Those people that don't want to be in your circle, refuse, can go away. And so people who refuse to be Local, meaning a community, if you don't want to be that then you need to go away. That's where the term haole came from because haole really means not knowing. And so if you're not in the circle and you don't want to play nicely, then you're not knowing what's important to us and how do we live on an island. So 'Au'a 'Ia is actually a really good explanation about what they thought was

coming and what actually came; about how they were going to organize, the Hawaiian people were going to organize before Americanism came. And what they were going to stand for and what they were going to teach their children about what it was. They knew it was going to go away. The 'Au'a 'Ia is very important.

Referring to a prophetic chant composed by 'Ai Kanaka, Kalei tells a story of change that centers Hawaiians as active agents. In her narrative she reclaims the production of Local multiethnicity as a distinctly indigenous response to the arrival of newcomers to Hawaiian shores. As agents Hawaiians understood the value systems that grounded their world and actively sought to preserve them even as they incorporated foreigners into their midst. This telling of a collective past is tremendously important for Kanaka Maoli sense of self because it reclaims multiethnicity as an active response to a changing world. It enables a seeing of indigeneity and mixedness through the same lens in ways that resonate with the aloha Hawaiians feel toward their *all* of their 'ohana.



## ***Concluding Thoughts: Lō'ihī***

In February 2016 a historic, though highly contested, gathering of Native Hawaiians was held minutes away from my childhood home. Known as the Na'i Aupuni aha, the event was designed as an eight week constitutional convention in which forty elected delegates would produce a governing document for Native Hawaiians. Initiated in collaboration with the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, an organization affiliated with the State of Hawai'i and mistrusted for widespread mismanagement, the Na'i Aupuni aha was wracked with controversy from the beginning.

Viewed by many as an administrative measure intended to produce federal recognition similar to Native American tribes, the Na'i Aupuni aha faced much opposition for a variety of reasons. For long-time sovereignty activists, the process was perceived as invalid. This group voiced concerns about mismanagement of the voter roll, a failure of OHA, Na'i Aupuni, and the U.S. Department of the Interior to take seriously those positions that seek redress at the international level, intimidation tactics in recruiting voters, and an overall lack of transparency. Far different from Native Hawaiian sovereignty activists, the Na'i Aupuni aha was also opposed by the neo-conservative Grassroot Institute of Hawai'i. This non-profit organization brought a suit to the U.S. 9<sup>th</sup> Circuit Court of Appeals, alleging that the Na'i Aupuni election was a breach of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment. The latter group succeeded in stalling the elections, though Na'i Aupuni skirted the legal stay by inviting all candidates to the event. Despite widespread opposition, the Na'i Aupuni aha did indeed take place and produced a governing document, albeit with nearly five times the original number of

participants (no longer delegates since there were no elections) and only half as much time.

Throughout the Na'i Aupuni aha Native Hawaiian sovereignty activists continued to demonstrate their opposition to both the process and the emerging "Constitution of the Native Hawaiian Nation." The most notable outcome of this opposition are the many Aha Aloha 'Āina that have taken place throughout the islands and on the continent. Conceived of as "the people's aha," Aha Aloha 'Āina are now an ongoing series of community gatherings that are aimed at "normalizing independence" and reviving the lāhui based on an adapted kino structure.<sup>216</sup> A well-respected Hawaiian historian of the nineteenth century, David Malo completed *Hawaiian Antiquities* in 1839. In it he used the metaphor of the kino, or body, to describe the ways that all parts of Kanaka society are necessary for a functioning lāhui. From the mahi'ai (farmer) to the mo'i (king), all were integral to the whole.<sup>217</sup> As contemporary adaptation of the kino structure, Aha Aloha 'Āina is temporarily eschewing formal leadership and focusing on rebuilding a strong foundation for the lāhui. Through these aha Kanaka Maoli are able to contribute to Native well-being based on their self-identified skill set. Unlike the Na'i Aupuni process that relegates most Native Hawaiians to a mere vote for or against ratification of the new constitution, the Aha Aloha 'Āina prioritizes grassroots involvement of all Kanaka Maoli as a process of relearning and rebuilding an indigenous-based socio-political structure.

In my own activist work, I have taken up the cause of Aha Aloha 'Āina. Drawn to the purposeful inclusivity of these gatherings, I appreciate the space that

this process gives for Kanaka Maoli to work through what it means to revive the lāhui in a world that has profoundly changed in the nearly two hundred years since Malo completed *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Though the struggle with Kanaka Maoli mixedness is comparatively new, I recognize also that lāhui has never been an exact match to modern conceptions of nationhood that structure available avenues for formal recognition. For me, the intellectual interventions of this monograph come to have meaning in Aha Aloha 'Āina where Kanaka are working to reclaim indigenous-based structures in the wake of over a century of colonial rule. Far from a complete map of uncertain terrain, this project might yet function as a tool by which Kanaka Maoli navigate the challenges ahead.

It is a social reality that Hawai'i is a tremendously multiethnic place and it is neither desirable nor efficacious to imagine a future for the islands that tears apart the communities that have been learning and living together for generations. At the same time, there is a distinct difference between "Hawai'i for Hawaiians" and "Hawai'i *only* for Hawaiians." Those who would discredit Kanaka Maoli desire to protect and maintain our connection with 'āina interpret Native claims – restoration or otherwise – as the latter. A key intervention of this project has thus been to language Native claims as legitimate resistance to the erasures of colonialism. In an era of outright racial animosity, U.S. hegemony in Hawai'i meant that Native Hawaiians were erased from statehood debates as haole-Japanese antagonisms festered then dissipated. Later, with changed geopolitical imperatives, Native-centered Local multiethnicity was appropriated into the emerging language of U.S. multiculturalism. In both instances colonialism, the source of indigenous displacement, disappears from critical view.

This project resists Native erasure by re-centering colonial practices of displacement that bring about an indigenous, but not exclusionary, claim against the settler state.

Understanding the nuances of “Hawai‘i for Hawaiians” requires a different entry point. The affective ties Kanaka have with malihini turn the practice of aloha ‘āina into a careful consideration of how to center indigenous values and practices while honoring the differences that we have incorporated into our communities. Reclaiming indigenous mixedness is one way to name and claim this struggle. Rather than accepting the narrative that Hawai‘i’s multiethnicity is the product of a colonizer’s democracy, the second intervention of this project has been to reclaim the ‘ohana as an important site in which indigenous-centered conceptions of mixedness have endured as an everyday resistance to colonialism. In a similar vein, this project also provides a language for speaking of Local identity as embodying a set of Native practices that prioritize the health of communities and ‘āina over individual profit. In so doing, I purposefully politicize Local identity in ways that align with the rebuilding of lāhui taken up at the Aha Aloha ‘Āina. “Hawai‘i for Hawaiians” comes to be imagined as a site in which indigenous values are justly centered while Local, as a product of Native mixedness, underwrites a set of social relations that tie people to each other and ‘āina. Though far from a complete theory of solidarity, this politicized Local enables the work of revitalizing the lāhui to be shared with those willing to prioritize the indigenous practice of aloha ‘āina.

*Lō‘ihi*: Twenty miles off the coast of Hawai‘i Island is Lō‘ihi. One day the flowing magma will break the surface and a new island will be born to the Hawaiian

archipelago. Deep below the water now, I have faith that Lō‘ihi will rise. So, too, for the Kanaka Maoli. This project is my offering to a collective struggle in which Hawaiians are reclaiming our pasts to imagine ourselves anew.

We are in the midst of a change, brought about by generations of Hawaiians who, since the 1970s, have been leading the way in efforts to renew our language, cultural practices, and protect our lands. It is a time of both excitement and anxiety. Excitement because in this revitalization we see parts of ourselves that were buried under a century of colonial domination. But there is anxiety in this moment, too. Anxiety because in this revival we fear losing parts of ourselves that we love that seem not quite Hawaiian “enough.” How do we love our wonderfully mixed ‘ohana in a Kanaka world?

The answer is to turn, as Hawaiians always have, to our mo‘okū‘auhau. Tell our genealogies and the stories of our families in ways that remind us that ‘ohana is the place where both Kanaka and malihini reside. In this retelling we reclaim what colonialism has stolen from us: the knowledge that Hawaiians have survived in mixedness, not in spite of it. Local has always been possible only through Native Hawaiian values that connect people with each other and ‘āina. The work of this project has been to re-claim and politicize Local. As reclamation, this project looks back at a century of colonialism and sees the ways that Local preserved indigenous values of ‘ohana and aloha ‘āina in an era when being Hawaiian came with so much shame. As politicization, this project looks ahead toward the future of our lāhui. Always, already in dissonance with modern conceptions of the nation-state, our lāhui will continue to thrive in its mixedness even as it struggles to be legible in a modern

world. The challenge before us today is one of translation: How do we translate the mixedness of our 'ohana and the multiethnicity of our lāhui into collective struggle? How do we make that struggle legible to those whose lives overlap with ours but are, nonetheless, differently bound up with it? How do we do this without losing ourselves?

For these questions I have few answers, but am reminded once again of the story of 'Au'a 'Ia. As a lesson of resilience it reminds us that being Kanaka Maoli is an active doing in the midst of change. It is a process of looking at our values to understand the things we need to survive as a people – our language, cultural practices, and land – and gather these close as we move forward in a world that is so often set against us. In this I have faith.

Kū Kanaka. Let us imagine ourselves anew.

## Appendix A: Interview Participants – Overview

Name*	Gender identity and age	Race/ethnicity/nation**
Frank	man, 42 years	Hawaiian (race)
Joy	woman, 34 years	Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Korean (ethnicity)
Kalei	woman, 48 years	Hawaiian (race, ethnicity) Hawaiian-Portuguese (nationality)
Kekoa	man, 50 years	Hawaiian (Kingdom national)
Sherrie	woman, approx. 34 years	Hawaiian (race)
Mrs. Silva	woman, approx. 80 years	Hawaiian, mixed (nationality)
Vance	man, approx. 35 years	Hawaiian (ethnicity)

\* All names have been changed to protect the identities of the interview participants

\*\* In Hawai'i "nationality" is sometimes used interchangeably with "ethnicity." Kalei and Mrs. Silva use "nationality" in this sense. Kekoa identifies as a national subject of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

## **Appendix B: Interview Questions**

### **General Questions:**

1. What is your age and gender?
2. What race would you identify as? White, Black or African American, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, or Mixed Race?
3. What ethnicity would you identify as? Examples include haole, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Hawaiian, Samoan, etc, or Mixed Ethnicity?
4. What is your nationality?

### **Question set #1: Is being Hawaiian an important part of who you are?**

1. Does being Hawaiian sometimes seem more (or less) important to you?
2. Have you ever been told that you were not “Hawaiian enough?”
3. If yes, what was the circumstance?
  - What was your first reaction to this challenge?
  - What “proof,” if any, did you provide?
  - Was this “proof” enough to satisfy the inquirer?
4. How has your Hawaiian identity influenced the public work you have done on behalf of Native Hawaiians?

### **Question set #2: Do you also consider yourself to be local?**

1. Many people have mainland family nowadays and there are even children who may have never lived in Hawaii. Do you have any family on the mainland?
  - If yes, would you consider some, all, or none of your mainland family as local?
  - What makes them seem more or less local?
2. Have you stayed on the mainland for an extended period of time?



- If yes, did others treat you as less local when you would come back to visit/moved back?
3. If they answer yes to either #1 or #2 above: After living on the mainland did appearing/acting Local seem important to being able to call yourself Hawaiian?
    - If yes, was being local more important to you or to others?
  4. Does appearing/acting Local help or hinder the public work you have done on behalf of Native Hawaiians?

Question set #3: Many Hawaiians also identify with other ethnicities, such as Chinese, haole, Samoan, etc. Do you identify with ethnicities other than Hawaiian?

1. If yes, do you see these ethnicities as of the same significance as Hawaiian?
  - If no, can you explain how being Hawaiian is different from being [fill in ethnicity based on their prior response]?
2. Have you ever been questioned about being Hawaiian based on how you look?
3. If yes, in what ways have you had to “prove” that you are Hawaiian?
4. How does the prevalence of multi-ethnic individuals and communities in Hawaii influence your work on behalf of Native Hawaiians?

Question set #4: As a public figure who advocates for changes that would benefit Native Hawaiians, what are the biggest challenges that you face, in terms of either collective action or advocacy?

1. Has grassroots organizing been challenging due to conflicting ideals?
  - If yes, please describe the conflicts that have arisen, your reaction to such conflicts, and how you see your efforts moving forward.
2. Has grassroots organizing been challenging due to a lack of interest?
  - If yes, please describe why people seem to be unwilling to support this effort which you are so passionate about.

Closing Protocols

1. These are all of my questions. Is there anything else you would like to add about your experiences of self-identifying as Native Hawaiian? Of advocating on behalf of Native Hawaiians?
2. Lastly, if I have any further questions regarding your answers, could I contact you in the future?

## Glossary

ʻāina. Land

aliʻi. Chiefly class

aloha ʻāina. Love for the land; also connotes loyalty

hālau hula. Hula school and/or troupe

hapa haole. Denotes mixed Hawaiian and haole parentage

haole. Originally referred to any foreigner; now refers specifically white foreigner

hōʻailona. Sign

Issei. First generation Japanese immigrant

Kanaka Maoli. Similar to Hawaiian, translates as real or true people

Kanaka ʻŌiwi. Similar to Hawaiian, translates as bone people

kāhea. Call

kiaʻi mauna. Mountain protector

Kibei. Refers to a person with birthright United States citizenship who was raised in  
Japan

koa. Tree, warrior

kuleana. Responsibility

kūpuna. Grandparent, elder (plural)

lāhui. Refers to Hawaiians as a people, nation

mahi ʻai. Taro farming

makaʻāinana. Commoners

mākua. Parent (plural)

malama ʻāina. Care for the land

malihini. Newcomer, foreigner

mele. Song

mo'okū'auhau. Genealogy

mo'olelo. Story

Nisei. Second generation Japanese, children of Issei

'ohana. Family

## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," *Signs* 21, no. 4 (1996): 906.
- <sup>2</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no.2 (2000): 4.
- <sup>3</sup> Keao NeSmith, "Tutu's Hawaiian and the Emergence of a Neo-Hawaiian Language," *Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* 3 (2003): 68.
- <sup>4</sup> María Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," *Hypatia* 25, no. 4 (2010): 754.
- <sup>5</sup> Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," 906.
- <sup>6</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 147.
- <sup>7</sup> Though it is unclear where this term emerged in relation to Mauna Kea, the term has been used by Jon Agar, *Science in the Twentieth Century and Beyond* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2012), 474.
- <sup>8</sup> Dean Hamer and Joe Wilson, *Kumu Hina*, documentary, directed by Dean Hamer and Joe Wilson (May 20, 2014; Honolulu, HI: Qwaves, 2014), DVD.
- <sup>9</sup> Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," 754.
- <sup>10</sup> Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 423-424.
- <sup>11</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui, H.W. Heartig, and Catherine A. Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu* (Honolulu, HI: Hui Hānai, 1972), 167.
- <sup>12</sup> J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 40.
- <sup>13</sup> Jonathan Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2008), 6-7.
- <sup>14</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 26.
- <sup>15</sup> D. Keanu Sai, "A Slippery Path Towards Hawaiian Indigeneity: An Analysis and Comparison between Hawaiian Nationality and Hawaiian Indigeneity and its Use and Practice in Hawai'i Today" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA's 49<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention, *Bridging Multiple Divides*, Hilton San Francisco, San Francisco, CA, March 26, 2008), 69-72.
- <sup>16</sup> Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 253-254.
- <sup>17</sup> Candace Fujikane, "Reimagining Development and the Local in Lois-Ann Yamanaka's *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre*," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 38 (1997): 41.
- <sup>18</sup> Nira Yuval-Davis, "Belonging and the Politics of Belonging," *Patterns of Prejudice* 40, no. 3 (2006): 199, 204.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.
- <sup>20</sup> Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," 751.
- <sup>21</sup> Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," 754.
- <sup>22</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 94.
- <sup>23</sup> Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," 913-914.

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- <sup>24</sup> Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," 747.
- <sup>25</sup> Studying "women" produces a different analytical focus than "gender." In the former, sustained focus on women is maintained, but at times the relationship to larger social processes is underdeveloped. In the latter, gender is framed as permeating "a variety of practices, identities, and institutions." However, one critique is that sustained focus on women's concerns are lost in this framework. See: Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo, "Gender and Immigration: A Retrospective and Introduction," in *Gender and U.S. Immigration: Contemporary Trends*, ed. Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 6-9.
- <sup>26</sup> Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 224-25.
- <sup>27</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 208.
- <sup>28</sup> Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "Transnational Feminist Practices and Questions of Postmodernity," in *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices*, ed. Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 7. 1-33
- <sup>29</sup> Katie King, "Theorizing Structures of Women's Studies," Unpublished Manuscript (n.d): n.p.
- <sup>30</sup> Kathleen Turner, "Rhetorical History as Social Construction: The Challenge and the Promise," in *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, ed. Kathleen Turner (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 8.
- <sup>31</sup> James Jasinski, "A Constitutive Framework for Rhetorical Historiography: Toward an Understanding of the Discursive (Re)constitution of 'Constitution' in the Federalist Papers," in *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, ed. Kathleen Turner (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 75. 72-92
- <sup>32</sup> Ibid., 81-83.
- <sup>33</sup> David L. Morgan, *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988), 64.
- <sup>34</sup> Jim Thomas, *Doing Critical Ethnography* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 43.
- <sup>35</sup> "The Time Is Now!" *Hawaii Statehood News*. Hawaii Statehood Commission, February 12, 1948, n.p., Call #30.09, Statehood Movement – folder 2, Original Subject Files/Cataloged, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>36</sup> U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on the Committee on Territories. *Statehood for Hawaii – Extension of Remarks of Hon. Joseph R. Farrington, Delegate from Hawaii in the House of Representatives*. Washington, DC, GPO: 1946: page 8, Box 20, Folder 1-ST (Statehood), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>37</sup> Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony," 5.

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- <sup>38</sup> Haole is a Hawaiian term with a direct meaning of foreign. However, as a social group haole refers to white settlers, often possessing social, political, and economic influence in the islands. The term began to gain current meanings on sugar and pineapple plantations, with haole landowners and local (Asian settler and Native Hawaiian) laborers existing in respectively dominant and subordinate social relationships. See especially Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002): chapter six.
- <sup>39</sup> Eiko Kosasa, "Ideological Inclusion: U.S. Nationalism in Japanese Settler Photographs," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (January 1, 2000): 70.
- <sup>40</sup> Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 53-61, quote from p. 56.
- <sup>41</sup> Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 43-49.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.
- <sup>44</sup> Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2006), 56.
- <sup>45</sup> Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 75.
- <sup>46</sup> Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 243-250. See also Jung, *Reworking Race*, 17.
- <sup>47</sup> For discussions of citizenship as centered on whiteness, Ian Haney-López has interrogated the rationalization of racial inequality in U.S. immigration and naturalization law and David Roediger has linked whiteness to common conceptions of citizenship through an analysis of white working class formation. See: Ian Haney-López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 3 and 5-9. See also: David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 2007), 139. For discussions of citizenship as centered on masculinity, Cavarero has examined the alternating exclusion and homologization of women vis-à-vis the state and society through confinement to a domestic sphere that is omitted from modern political theory. Carole Pateman's analysis of the persistent conceptual omission of mothering duties performed by women *for the state* lends credence to what Cavarero identifies as the homologization of women into the political sphere. See: Adriana Cavarero, "Equality and Sexual Difference: Amnesia in Political Thought," in *Beyond Equality and Difference: Citizenship, Feminist Politics and Female Subjectivity*, ed. Gisela Bock and Susan James (New York: Routledge, 1992), 32-47. See also: Carole Pateman, "Equality, Difference, Subordination: The Politics of Motherhood and Women's Citizenship," in *Beyond Equality and Difference: Citizenship, Feminist Politics and Female Subjectivity*, ed. Gisela Bock and Susan James (New York: Routledge, 1992), 17-31.
- <sup>48</sup> Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 54. For further discussion of nationality and allegiance, see: Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 245. See also Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 128-129 and 200. For further discussion of

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- standing, see: Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 245. See also: Judith N. Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 3; Roedigger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, 53-57.
- <sup>49</sup> Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 23-30.
- <sup>50</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 252-253.
- <sup>51</sup> Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 6.
- <sup>52</sup> U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. *Hawaii Statehood (to Accompany S. 49). (83 S. Rpt. 886)*. Washington, DC, GPO: January 27, 1954: pages 14-15, Cabinet 10, Box B, Government – Territorial, Statehood Movement, Uncataloged Subject Files, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI: 3-14.
- <sup>53</sup> Mansel Blackford, *Pathways to the Present: U.S. Development and Its Consequences in the Pacific* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 18-20.
- <sup>54</sup> Jung, *Reworking Race*, 11-42.
- <sup>55</sup> U.S. Congress. House. Subcommittee on the Committee on Territories. *Statehood for Hawaii – Extension of Remarks of Hon. Joseph R. Farrington, Delegate from Hawaii in the House of Representatives*: 8.
- <sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.
- <sup>57</sup> Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991), 126-128.
- <sup>58</sup> U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Territories. *Statehood for Hawaii – Extension of Remarks of Hon. Joseph R. Farrington, Delegate from Hawaii in the House of Representatives*: 4.
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- <sup>62</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 123-203.
- <sup>63</sup> John H. Whitehead, "Anti-Statehood Movement and the Legacy of Alice Kamokila Campbell," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 27 (1993): 58-59.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.
- <sup>65</sup> Statement of Alice Kamokila Campbell, January 17, 1946, pages 481-504 in Congress, House of Representatives, Subcommittee of the Committee on the Territories. *Statehood for Hawaii*. 79<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> session. 1946 [Y4.T27/1:H31/44]: 482.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 484.
- <sup>67</sup> *Statehood forum – Rev. Katagiri & Kamokila Campbell*, March 1, 1946, Box 20, Folder 1-ST (Statehood), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>68</sup> Statement of Alice Kamokila Campbell, *Statehood for Hawaii*: 491.



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- <sup>69</sup> Ann K. Ziker, "Segregationists Confront American Empire: The Conservative White South and the Question of Hawaiian Statehood, 1947-1959," *Pacific Historical Review* 76, no. 3 (2007): 441-442.
- <sup>70</sup> K. J. Engle, "Putting Mourning to Work: Making Sense of 9/11," *Theory, Culture and Society* 24, no. 1 (2007): 64-66, quote on pp. 66.
- <sup>71</sup> Okiihiro, *Cane Fires*, 195-224 and 274, esp. 209 and 274.
- <sup>72</sup> Jones, Maude. *Interview with Miss Maude Jones*, March 13, 1943, page 3, Box 10, Folder 27-Japanese, Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>73</sup> Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*, 207-215.
- <sup>74</sup> Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men: Labor, Laws, and Love* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 101. See also, Okiihiro, *Cane Fires*, 269.
- <sup>75</sup> Jones, *Interview with Miss Maude Jones*: 4.
- <sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.
- <sup>77</sup> Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 69-70.
- <sup>78</sup> Espiritu, *Asian American Women and Men*, 106.
- <sup>79</sup> "The Post Office Censors What You Write," July 17, 1942, n.p., Folder 1, Drawer 1K, Professional Posters, Morale, Oversize Materials, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>80</sup> This is a simplification of familial life that often traversed between Hawai'i and Japan, and was structured by restrictive U.S. immigration laws.
- <sup>81</sup> Okiihiro, *Cane Fires*, 198-252.
- <sup>82</sup> Hawaiian Creole English is the contemporary derivative of Hawaiian Pidgin English developed on sugar plantations. It is commonly referred to as "pidgin English." See Eileen H. Tamura, "Power, Status, and Hawai'i Creole English: An Example of Linguistic Intolerance in American History," *Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 3 (1996): 432.
- <sup>83</sup> Tamura, "Power, Status, and Hawai'i Creole English," 432-433 and 440.
- <sup>84</sup> "Pidgin is Better than Nothing – The American Language is Best," Date unknown: n.p., Box 52, Folder 9, Speak American Campaign: Handbills and Leaflets, undated, Uncataloged Subject Files, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>85</sup> American Friends Service Committee, *Report for 1943*, 1943: pages 1-6, quote on page 1, Box 1, Folder 1-American Friends Service Committee, Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>86</sup> American Friends Service Committee, *Minutes of Staff Meeting*, November 9, 1942: page 2, Box 1, Folder 1-American Friends Service Committee, Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>87</sup> American Friends Service Committee, *Memorandum of certain matters discussed at Staff Meeting*, October 26, 1942: page 1, Box 1, Folder 1-American Friends

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- <sup>88</sup> For example, Matsue Kida recounts the deaths of Sutomatsu and Kiichi Kida, her husband and 21-year old son. The two killed by United States airplanes while returning from a fishing trip on December 8, 1941. Her husband's cousin, also a fisherman, was arrested by the Coast Guard and incarcerated at Sand Island for a month without word of his status given to his family. From Kida, Matsue. *Interview Report of Mrs. Matsue Kida*, January 22, 1947, pages 1-2, Personal Narratives, Diaries, Letters, File 50, Original Subject Files/Cataloged, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>89</sup> Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 201 (italics in original).
- <sup>90</sup> Miss S. *Interview with Miss S.*, October 1944, page 1, Box 11, Folder 12-J(AA) Japanese (Aliens by Accident), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>91</sup> Valerie Matsumoto, "Japanese American Girls' Clubs in Los Angeles during the 1920s and 1930s," in *Asian/Pacific Islander Women: A Historical Anthology*, ed. Shirley Hune and Gail M. Nomura (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 181-184.
- <sup>92</sup> "Loyal Americans Speak American – the one language for all of us," no date, no page, Box 52, Folder 9, Speak American Campaign: Handbills and Leaflets, undated, Uncataloged Subject Files, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>93</sup> "Victory Workbook Number Two," no date, page 5, Box 5, Folder 20, Schools-at-war Bulletins, War Bonds, Uncataloged Subject Files, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>94</sup> "From a Loyal Girl Whose Heart is Hurt." *Honolulu Star Bulletin*. August 21, 1944, n.p., Box 63, Folder 2, War Clippings – AJA (Gift of Barbara Nishioka), Uncataloged Subject Files, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI. And "From an AJAX." *Hilo Tribune Herald*. March 25, 1943, n.p., Box 1, Folder 5 – AJA Letters, Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>95</sup> "From an AJAX": n.p.
- <sup>96</sup> Seiko Ogai to Dr. Lind, March 10, 1945, pages 1-2, Box 11, Folder 12-J(AA) Japanese (Aliens by Accident), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>97</sup> Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 274.
- <sup>98</sup> K.J. Engle, "Putting Mourning to Work: Making Sense of 9/11," *Theory, Culture and Society* 24, no. 1 (2007): 64-66.
- <sup>99</sup> "It's My Right to Fight for America," no date, n.p., Box 103, AJA Recruitment, Morale, Oversize Materials, Hawai'i War Records Depository, University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, HI.

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- <sup>100</sup> “He’s My Brother,” no date, n.p., Box 103, AJA Recruitment, Morale, Oversize Materials, Hawai‘i War Records Depository, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>101</sup> “Fighting in the Mountains.” *Honolulu Advertiser*. July 1946, Second Section, Box 63, Folder 2, War Clippings – AJA (Gift of Barbara Nishioka), Uncataloged Subject Files, Hawai‘i War Records Depository, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>102</sup> “They’re Fighting Harder than Ever... Are you buying more war bonds than ever?” 1943, n.p., Box 5, Folder 10, 4<sup>th</sup> War Bonds – Literature and Correspondence, War Bonds, Uncataloged Subject Files, Hawai‘i War Records Depository, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>103</sup> Miss S., *Interview with Miss S.*: 1.
- <sup>104</sup> Women’s War Service Association. *Final Report*, June 30, 1946, page 5, Box 21, Folder 8-W (Women), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>105</sup> Women’s War Service Association, *Final Report*, June 30, 1946, front cover, Box 21, Folder 8-W (Women), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>106</sup> Miss O. *Interview with Miss O.*, August 22, 1946, page 2, Box 11, Folder 12-J(AA) Japanese (Aliens by Accident), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.
- <sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.
- <sup>109</sup> “The Post Office Censors What You Write”: n.p.
- <sup>110</sup> Adria L. Imada, “Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (March 1, 2004): 114.
- <sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*: 136-38. See also: Jane Desmond, “Invoking ‘The Native’: Body Politics in Contemporary Hawaiian Tourist Shows,” *The Drama Review* 41, no. 4 (December 1, 1997): 96-97.
- <sup>112</sup> “The Line-Up in the Congressional Cafeteria.” *Honolulu Advertiser*. February 23, 1948, page 1, Folder 2, Statehood Movement, Cataloged Subject Files, Hawai‘i War Records Depository, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>113</sup> “Leap Year Flirtation.” *Hawaii Statehood News*. March 22, 1948, page 1, Folio 2, Folder 11-ST (Statehood), Confidential Research Files, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>114</sup> “Hawaii 49<sup>th</sup> State.” *Hawaii Statehood Commission*. May 3, 1946, n.p., Call #30.09, Statehood Movement – folder 2, Original Subject Files/Cataloged, Hawai‘i War Records Depository, University of Hawai‘i, Honolulu, HI.
- <sup>115</sup> Ziker, “Segregationists Confront American Empire,” 459.
- <sup>116</sup> Renato Rosaldo, “Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism,” in *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights*, ed. William Flores and Rina Benmayor (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2004), 37.
- <sup>117</sup> Rosa, John P. “Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Cultural Production of Local Identity in Hawai‘i.” *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (January 1, 2000): 99.

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- <sup>119</sup> Ibid., 100.
- <sup>120</sup> Jung, *Reworking Race*, 66, 110.
- <sup>121</sup> Ibid., 160-174.
- <sup>122</sup> Ibid., 160.
- <sup>123</sup> Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 117.
- <sup>124</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O'ahu," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 21 (1987): 131.
- <sup>125</sup> Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 131-32.
- <sup>126</sup> Trask, "Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," 130.
- <sup>127</sup> Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 131-32. See also: John H. Whitehead, "Anti-Statehood Movement and the Legacy of Alice Kamokila Campbell," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 27 (1993): 59.
- <sup>128</sup> Trask, "Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," 150-51.
- <sup>129</sup> Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "'Hawaiian at Heart' and Other Fictions," *Contemporary Pacific* 17, no. 2 (2005): 406.
- <sup>130</sup> Ibid., 406-07.
- <sup>131</sup> Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014): 234.
- <sup>132</sup> Ibid., 234, 245.
- <sup>133</sup> Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony," 2.
- <sup>134</sup> See the special issue of *Amerasia Journal*: "Whose Vision?: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i" *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000).
- <sup>135</sup> Morris Young, "Native Claims: Cultural Citizenship, Ethnic Expressions, and the Rhetorics of 'Hawaiianess,'" *College English* 67, no. 1 (2004): 99.
- <sup>136</sup> Ibid., 94.
- <sup>137</sup> Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California," *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 17, no. 2 (November 1994): 57-64.
- <sup>138</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, "I Ku Mau Mau: How Kanaka Maoli Tried to Sustain National Identity Within the United States Political System," *American Studies* 45, no. 3 (2004): 24.
- <sup>139</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 8-10.
- <sup>140</sup> Silva, "I Ku Mau Mau," 28.
- <sup>141</sup> Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 171.
- <sup>142</sup> Shirley Jennifer Lim, *A Feeling of Belonging: Asian American Women's Public Culture, 1930-1960* (New York: New York University Press, 2005): 138.
- <sup>143</sup> Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 209-211.
- <sup>144</sup> "Scouts Aid in Independence Day Celebration," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 5, 1941, n.p.
- <sup>145</sup> "Keep It Waving!" *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 4, 1942, 1.
- <sup>146</sup> "OCD Wardens Plan Review," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 3, 1943, 1.
- <sup>147</sup> Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971): 168-75.
- <sup>148</sup> "Waialua Lions Club Memorial Fund Carnival and Bon Dance," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 3, 1947, n.p.

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- <sup>149</sup> Lim, *A Feeling of Belonging*, 125-126, 144.
- <sup>150</sup> Ibid., 133.
- <sup>151</sup> Ibid., 135-136.
- <sup>152</sup> "Taps at Punchbowl," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 5, 1952, 1.
- <sup>153</sup> Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 131.
- <sup>154</sup> Denise Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities: The Making of the Modern Filipina* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012): 24.
- <sup>155</sup> "For World Freedom," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 5, 1950, 8.
- <sup>156</sup> Ibid., 8.
- <sup>157</sup> Cruz, *Transpacific Femininities*, 183.
- <sup>158</sup> Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i*, 156-159.
- <sup>159</sup> Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1996): 30 (emphasis in original text).
- <sup>160</sup> Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012): 12-15.
- <sup>161</sup> Morse, Gordon, "The Lei Alima Hula Studio Float," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 5, 1960, n.p.
- <sup>162</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 26.
- <sup>163</sup> Lueras, Leonard, "Hikers to demonstrate Hawaiian 'rights.'" *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 4, 1975: A8.
- <sup>164</sup> Ritte, Walter. Quoted in Lueras, Leonard, "Hikers to demonstrate Hawaiian 'rights.'" *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 4, 1975: A8.
- <sup>165</sup> Ong, Vickie, "Red, white, blue – plus Isle color." *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 3, 1976: A3.
- <sup>166</sup> Ibid., A3.
- <sup>167</sup> Ibid., A3.
- <sup>168</sup> Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 322.
- <sup>169</sup> Koren Ishibashi, "Hawaiian Population Update," *Policy Analysis & System Evaluation (PASE) Report* (Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools, 2004), 4.
- <sup>170</sup> Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 13.
- <sup>171</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 94.
- <sup>172</sup> Ibid., 94.
- <sup>173</sup> Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," 913-914.
- <sup>174</sup> Lugones, "Toward a Decolonial Feminism," 754.
- <sup>175</sup> Ibid., 748.
- <sup>176</sup> Jon Osorio, "Hawaiian Issues," in *The Value of Hawai'i: Knowing the Past, Shaping the Future*, ed. Craig Howes and Jon Osorio (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), Kindle edition.
- <sup>177</sup> Trask, "Feminism and Indigenous Hawaiian Nationalism," 906.
- <sup>178</sup> Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 23-25.
- <sup>179</sup> Ibid., 44-49.
- <sup>180</sup> Ibid., 64.
- <sup>181</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 337-38.
- <sup>182</sup> Ibid., 43.

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- <sup>183</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 210.
- <sup>184</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 126-127.
- <sup>185</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 243-244.
- <sup>186</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 129-130.
- <sup>187</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 253-254.
- <sup>188</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 202.
- <sup>189</sup> Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman, “Aloha ʻOe: Honoring Hawaiʻi’s Last Sovereign Ruler, Queen Liliʻuokalani,” (paper presented at E Mau Ke Ea: the Sovereign Hawaiian Nation, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C., January 17, 2016).
- <sup>190</sup> Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, March 16, 2016 (8:11 a.m.), Blog entry, “We are not warriors. We are a grove of trees,” *Ke Kaupu Hehi Ale*, July 6, 2015, <https://hehiale.wordpress.com/2015/07/06/we-are-not-warriors-we-are-a-grove-of-trees/>
- <sup>191</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 118-121.
- <sup>192</sup> Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 151.
- <sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 158-159.
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- <sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.
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- <sup>197</sup> Kuwada, “We are not warriors,” n.p.
- <sup>198</sup> Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 15, 57-60, 168-170.
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- <sup>200</sup> Rosa, “Local Story,” 100.
- <sup>201</sup> E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu, Hawaiʻi* (Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing, 2006), 198.
- <sup>202</sup> Pukui, Heartig, and Lee, *Nānā I Ke Kumu*, 167.
- <sup>203</sup> Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu, Hawaiʻi*, 15-16.
- <sup>204</sup> Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 40-41.
- <sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.
- <sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.
- <sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-43.
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- <sup>209</sup> Sai, “A Slippery Path Towards Hawaiian Indigeneity,” 70.
- <sup>210</sup> Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 287-298.
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- <sup>215</sup> Handy and Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System of Kaʻu, Hawaiʻi*, 15, 44-45, 65, 67, 73.
- <sup>216</sup> Refer to Aha Aloha ʻĀina at <https://ahaalohaaina.com/the-kino/> (accessed April 17, 2016).

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<sup>217</sup> David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, trans. Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson (Honolulu, HI: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1951), Kindle edition.

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