Uncle Sam's Language School

How American Hegemony and Imperialism Altered Learning of Japanese and Hawaiian Language in Hawai'i

Kacie Y. Manabe

Political Science 302 (Native Hawaiian Politics)
Mentor: Dr. Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio

Since the introduction of American culture, political systems, and educational institutions to the Kingdom of Hawai'i, languages other than English have often deteriorated or faced the threat of erasure from imperialist and colonialist structures. The United States' role in the erasure of Japanese and Hawaiian languages had varying effects from martial law orders to an outright legal ban in educational institutions. In this paper, I will examine the history behind (attempted) erasure of Japanese and Hawaiian language and how each had its own path to revitalization. I will also examine how Asian settler colonialism allowed Japanese to become a dominant language in education and the commodification of Hawaiian language into Japanese for tourism-related purposes. This inquiry also examines how Hawaiian language revitalization movements began and discusses the role of Hawaiian immersion schools in raising native speaker percentages. Hawaiian language revitalization also shows how revival efforts succeeded in the middle of the Hawaiian Renaissance and how Asian settler colonialism continues to constrain efforts for the decolonization of education in Hawai'i.

Introduction

The State of Hawai'i, priding itself on its diverse multicultural population, values the education of a second language for students in grades K-12. Private institutions like Punahou School have after school language immersion programs for K-8 students in Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiian language that are taught by teachers and high school students.[1] Public institutions, run by the Hawai'i State Department of Education,

1 Punahou School, "Language and Culture," Accessed 04 April 2019, https://www.punahou.edu/the-punahou-experience/cocurricular-programs/post/~board/after-school-programs/post/language-and-culture.

My name is Kacie Manabe and I am a 3+2 candidate in Political Science and a BA candidate in Asia/Pacific History. This article is my final paper for my POLS 302: Native Hawaiian Politics course. During the class, I learned about Asian settler colonialism and erasure of Hawaiian language since first contact with the west. I wanted to learn more about how Asian settler colonialism impacted language education and how political motive, power, and hegemony influence education. I hope to continue research into the politics of race relations and education as I begin the first year of my Master's in the Department of Political Science.

Mānoa Horizons, Vol. 4, 2019, pp. 1–9
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Manoa Horizons 4.indb 1 9/13/2019 8:16:05 AM

offer eleven different languages, seal of biliteracy graduation recognition, and cultural activities dependent on the school.[2] While Hawaiian language education has made a resurgence in the last thirty years, quality Hawaiian language education is far from Japanese language education, which has benefited from a legacy of settler colonialism and imported racism from the United States in Hawai'i. The value of relationships with Asia, specifically Japan, over the preservation and teaching of Hawaiian language has led the Hawai'i State Department of Education to offer Japanese language across the state in conjunction with community-driven events sponsored by organizations like the Japan-America Society of Hawai'i (JASH). Meanwhile, Hawaiian language has not received the same promotion as other second languages, despite being an official language of the State of Hawai'i. Hawaiian language immersion schools, through grassroots efforts, rallied Native Hawaiian communities to preserve language, pass on traditional cultural practices, and ensure literacy in the Hawaiian language to future generations. Although Japanese and Hawaiian survived threats by American governmental erasure, both languages experienced two different pathways to language revival.

History of Hawaiian and Japanese Language Deterioration

Both Hawaiian and Japanese languages suffered from similar colonialism-driven effects that forced speakers, learners, and teachers to conform with western tradition. The tale of each language tells how the legacy of American hegemony in the Pacific affected historical growth, hastened erasure, and created community-led revitalization efforts. Hawaiian language lost its battle to English, an "immigrant language" to Hawai'i, during the Kingdom period and into contemporary society.[3] The result of this erasure forced Native Hawaiians into speaking and learning English, which resulted in a rapid decline of speakers and educators fluent in Hawaiian. The Japanese language, which became an immigrant language, lost to English, then an immigrant-turned "native" language of Hawai'i, as a way to "Americanize" newly arrived immigrants from Asia. As a rising threat, Americans sought to quell the "Yellow Peril" forming on both the continent and in territories like Hawai'i. The desire to "westernize" populations of non-white people in Hawai'i created a sometimes violent translation that resulted in unforgivable traumas, of which only one ethnic group healed from and rose to prominence.

Hawaiian Language Erasure

Although Hawaiian language has existed for centuries, formal education of Hawaiian language in educational institutions did not begin until the 1820s, with compulsory education beginning in 1840.[4] The Kingdom of Hawai'i boasted high literacy that included 85,000 Native Hawaiians literate in Hawaiian by 1830, and by 1853, Hawaiian medium schools emerged to educate future generations in Hawaiian language. By 1882, five years before the Bayonet Constitution, one-third of students in Hawai'i schools learned in the Hawaiian language.[5] The 1860s brought a challenge to Hawaiian medium schools: English-centered education. Although English was a rising language, Kekūanaō'a, then-President of the Board of Education and father to Kings Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, argued against English as Native Hawaiian children primarily used the Hawaiian language outside of school.[6] Kekūanaō'a's report also suggested implementation of English medium schools was a political move by white elite businessmen to westernize Native Hawaiian children, arguing:

> "History teaches us that the life of every nation depends upon the preservation of its individuality among other nations. The theory of substituting the English language for the Hawaiian in order to educate our children, is as dangerous to Hawaiian nationality, as it is useless in promoting the general education of the people."[7]

English language presence rose in government as more western settlers came into power; despite Kekūanaō'a's cautionary report, the popularity of English medium schools increased.[8] Following the Overthrow of 1893, English replaced Hawaiian as *the* language in Hawai'i through literacy requirements in written and spoken English. As many Native Hawaiians received their education in Hawaiian medium schools, the new laws cemented a new racist ideology excluding native people from their land, politics, and language. Erasure of Native Hawaiian language meant all Native Hawaiians lost a part of their

2 Hawai'i State Department of Education, "World Languages," Accessed 04 April 2019, http://www.hawaiipublicschools.org/TeachingAndLearning/StudentLearning/Multilingualism/Pages/WL.aspx.

3 Thom Huebner, "Language Education Policy in Hawai'i: Two Case Studies and Some Current Issues," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1985, no. 56 (1985): 77.

4 Ibid., 77.

5 Ibid., 77.

6 Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1864, cited in Makekau-Whittaker, Kalani, 2013, *Lāhui na`auao: Contemporary Implications of Kanaka Maoli Agency and Educational Advocacy During the Kingdom Period,* PhD diss, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

7 Ibid., 102.

8 Huebner, "Language Education Policy in Hawai'i," 82–83.

identity, for language was a medium that expressed both surface level thoughts and hidden meaning, *kaona,* that made the language personal. Without Native Hawaiians who possessed knowledge of Hawaiian language, white businessmen and politicians forced the political leanings in Hawai'i to American foreign policy and financial interests.[9] The Republic of Hawai'i officially banned Hawaiian language in 1896 through Act 57, which mandated English-only usage in all educational institutions; any schools that did not conform, regardless of public or private status, risked their status of recognition by the Department of Education. Legal banning of Hawaiian language also came at a time when other mediums of Hawaiian culture became outlawed, with hula being a notable example. To reinforce assimilation into American culture and lifestyle, government officials propagated the idea of Hawaiian medium schools being inferior to the education offered at English medium schools. The new ban promoted student transfers to English medium schools, and demonized "thinking in Hawaiian," instead, forcing students to formulate thoughts in English.[10] After the implementation of Act 57, Hawaiian medium schools decreased from 150 in 1880 to zero in 1902 while English medium schools rose from 60 to 203 in the same time period.[11] The ban also marked the start of an era of Native Hawaiians who either grew up exclusively speaking English. Through its forceful eradication of native culture, the English language erased the necessity of Hawaiian.

Prevention of Japanese Language Learning

Japanese Language schools began in 1893 in Kohala, Hawai'i following the need to educate children of Japanese settlers in language and culture.[12] This came eight years after 1885, the arrival of *Gannenmono*, the first immigrants from Japan to Hawai'i. White elites who ran sugar plantations saw Japanese people as the solution to increase the labor pool to fuel Hawai'i's rising competitive sugar market. The American solution would make up 40 percent of Hawai'i's population by the 1920s, making Japanese settlers the largest ethnic group in Hawai'i.[13] Unlike Hawaiian language schools, which acted as compulsory day schools during the Kingdom Period, Japanese language schools were exclusively supplemental to English medium education. The decision for after school language classes created an opportunity for Japanese settler children to achieve biliteracy in English and Japanese. For most children, learning both languages was the first step in becoming "American," an identity that embodied freedom, the ability to pursue one's dreams, and one that belonged to one of the most powerful nations in the world. All students learned from an immersion curriculum based on standards produced by the Japanese Ministry of Education.[14] By 1910, six thousand Japanese students enrolled in twenty-seven Hongwanji-run Japanese supplementary schools in Hawai'i.[15] Teaching became the responsibility of parents, churches or temples affiliated with Christianity or Buddhism. Although harmonious at first, Christian and Buddhist teachers became at odds with each other, creating one of the first instances of "Anti-Americanness" in Hawai'i and the "sympathetic, proud Japanese imperialist" paranoia.[16]

Tensions increased further during the interlude between the world wars, as the American government became suspicious of Japanese people, including American-born *nisei* and *sansei*, second and third-generation Japanese, who never knew of Japan except for teachings by parents and language school teachers. The interwar period involved the Federal Survey of Education in Hawai'i (1919) to investigate "Anti-American" sentiment in 163 schools servicing 20,000 Japanese and Japanese American students.[17] The investigation into Japanese loyalty and potential threat of treason was also catalyzed by the collection of intelligence by the American Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI). Out of the public eye, the government hysteria over Japanese settlers and the Empire of Japan created investigations of prominent Japanese leaders, including teachers, who possibly had suspected ties to the Empire of Japan.[18] Closer to the Second World War, the Roosevelt administration commissioned the Munson Report, intelligence meant to prove Japanese settlers had ties to the Empire of Japan. However, while the Munson Report found ties inconclusive, American

9 Maenette K.P.A. Benham and Ronald H. Heck. *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i: The Silencing of Native Voices.* London: Routledge, 2013, 101.

10 Ibid., 103.

11 Katrina-Ann R. Kapā'anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira. "E Ola Mau ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i: The Hawaiian Language Revitalization Movement" in *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty,* eds Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Ikaika Hussey, and Kahunawaika'ala Wright, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 80.

12 Noriko Asato, "Mandating Americanization: Japanese Language Schools and the Federal Survey of Education in Hawai'i, 1916–1920," *History of Education Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (2003): 14.

13 Huebner, "Language Education Policy in Hawai'i," 77; Linda K. Kerber, "The Meanings of Citizenship," *The Journal of American History* 84, no. 3 (December 1997): 838–843.

14 Huebner, "Language Education Policy in Hawai'i," 85.

15 Noriko Asato, "The Japanese Language School Controversy in Hawai'i" in *Issei Buddhism in the Americas,* eds Duncan Ryūken Williams and Tomoe Moriya, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 50.

16 Asato, "Mandating Americanization," 14–15.

17 Ibid., 12.

18 Gary Y. Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii: 1865–1945,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 173.

naval intelligence and the Roosevelt administration continued to promote Anti-Japanese sentiment, including in Hawai'i.[19]

Generational divides between *issei* and *nisei* further created a necessity for Japanese language schools as many *issei* only knew Japanese. Therefore, many *issei* had difficulties assimilating; as *nisei* and *sansei* were American citizens by birth, many already lived American lifestyles and learned English in schools.[20] As American naval intelligence investigated Japanese settlers across the United States and Hawai'i, Japanese language schools came under scrutiny, forcing teachers to drop curriculum based on traditional Japanese culture and history. Instead, teachers had to focus on teaching American values and patriotism. However, changes made to Japanese language and culture education did not stop American officials from targeting the Japanese community in Hawai'i. By World War II, many schools shut down as officials arrested community leaders, prominent figures, and teachers who were then interned in Hawai'i detention camps and in the continental United States. The implementation of martial law also prohibited gatherings of Japanese people, making language education difficult during the prewar and World War II era. Since many figures were *issei,* the Japanese community lost its foundation, forcing both adults and children to assimilate to American life and to forget the Japanese language entirely.[21]

How Japanese Language Became Successful

The dominance of Japanese language as a replacement for Hawaiian as a "native" language has been characterized by Haunani-Kay Trask:

> "A dead land is preceded by a dying people. As an example, indigenous languages replaced by universal (read colonial) languages result in the creation of 'dead languages.' But what is 'dead' or 'lost' is not the language but the people who once spoke it and transmitted their mother tongue to succeeding generations."[22]

Although the Japanese language suffered a similar fate to the Hawaiian language through Americanization and forced learning of English, Japanese did not have the same legal bans imposed on language education; as leaders were arrested, Japanese language schools simply shut down, and should schools reopen, the community could pick up from where they left off before internment.[23] The Japanese language restriction was also only a law under military rule. Following the return of a civilian government in 1944, Japanese cultural activities slowly resumed, including public Japanese language usage. Most of the opposition to Japanese language schools was not based out of fear of people of color but rather from policy from the Roosevelt administration and the ONI. Hysteria-based sentiment made language learning a political issue that only lasted into the wartime period.[24] Furthermore, the large population of Japanese in Hawai'i also provided a basis for Japanese social and economic influences in the islands, as it was unsustainable to fire and ostracize the largest ethnic group in the territory. Many industries such as agriculture and business had Japanese management or owners that contributed to the overall function of Hawai'i's economy.[25] Following internment and the "Yellow Peril" of the early twentieth century, Japanese language programs began in 1947 as part of an effort to revitalize Japanese culture in Hawai'i.[26] As *nisei* men proved themselves in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, Japanese settlers "began to openly express ethnic pride and confidence again" as many soldiers were also translators assisting in the war effort.[27] While a "collective excitement" catalyzed the motivation to reopen schools, 11,631 students enrolled in sixty-seven different Japanese schools throughout Hawai'i.[28]

The fight to reopen Japanese language schools in Hawai'i was not without problems, however, as the values between *issei* and *nisei* Japanese differed. Many teachers who were interned during the war either left Hawai'i or went into new professions in the postwar period. A lack of classrooms was also an issue since many schools liquidated or transferred ownership of school lands to comply with martial law.[29] Students at the new schools also learned Japanese as a second language, making the purpose of school to learn Japanese as a new language, rather than as a supplement to preexisting knowledge. Despite difficulties, the schools remained as cultural centers

19 Michi Nishiura Weglyn, *Years of Infamy* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1976), 34.

20 Robert Kiyoshi Hasegawa, "Unity of the Family," in *Talking* Hawai'i*'s Story: Oral Histories of an Island People,* ed. Michiko Kodama-Nishimoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 88–105.

21 Noriko Shimada, "Wartime Dissolution and Revival of the Japanese Language Schools in Hawai'i: Persistence of Ethnic Culture," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 1, no.2 (1998), 121.

22 Trask cited in Olivera, "E Ola Mau ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i,", 78–79.

23 Shimada, "Wartime Dissolution," 129.

24 Ibid., 145.

25 Huebner, "Language Education Policy in Hawai'i," 91.

26 Shimada, "Wartime Dissolution," 121.

27 Agnes Niyekawa-Howard, "History of the Japanese Language School," *Educational Perspectives* vol. 13, no. 1 (1974): 12; Shimada, "Wartime Dissolution," 134.

28 Shimada, "Wartime Dissolution," 137.

29 Ozawa, Gijyo, "Hawai Nihongo Gakko Kyoikushi," Honolulu: Hawai'i Kyoiku Kai, 1972, 290.

for the Japanese community, which include *Obon* (festival honoring deceased ancestors), *taiikusai* (sports day festivals), and *bunkasai* (culture day festivals).[30] Widespread teaching of the Japanese language began in public schools beginning in 1959. Known as the "Frontier Project Asian Languages," the pilot program boosted Japanese language education to 1,882 students in elementary and 69 teachers by 1962.[31] Since then, Japanese language programs across Hawai'i expanded to nearly every private and public school. The language remains a popular choice in schools, with the opportunity of working in Japan, Japanese popular culture or knowing a "useful" foreign language in Hawai'i being primary reasons.

Asian settler colonialism also played a role in the rise of Japanese language and settler hegemony throughout Hawai'i. As a people once oppressed by American businesses, Asian settlers, particularly Japanese settlers, use their history of oppression and resistance to show how Hawai'i became a multicultural, harmonious state.[32] However, oppression originally began as the result of mass migration, which revealed a mixture of Japanese colonial pursuits influenced by American military activity in the Philippines during the early twentieth century. Oppression of Asian settlers to fuel American business ventures created the victimization narratives used to justify Asian settler colonialism, and namely, Japanese settler hegemony, throughout Hawai'i.[33] Emphasis on Japanese language rose out of beliefs in Asian settler colonialism as a means to promote industries like tourism that promote a Hawai'i commodified for the usage of tourists and foreign investors. Although there are populations of Japanese settlers who do not speak Japanese or had minimal education in the language, Hawai'i business interests continue to push Japanese language education as a way to maintain businesses that rely on mainland Japan. In most spaces occupied by "locals" and tourists, signage and reading materials have dual English and Japanese text. Customer service agents and businesses across the islands have some staff fluent in Japanese. The targeting of Japanese tourists, investors, and first generation settlers has created a prioritization of continued settler hegemony as means to appease the United States, the federal government, and Japan, a significant contributor to the overall economy of Hawai'i.

As tourism became a dominant industry in the islands, Japanese also became a "useful" subject in schools to reinforce the idea that "knowing Japanese will unlock all job opportunities." The rise of the Japanese language is a consequence of Asian settler colonialism. As a scapegoat for racist, white hegemonic legacies in Hawai'i, Japanese embodies a victimization narrative that paints a picture of "persevering" past racist treatment by standing together.[34] Commodification of the Hawaiian language and its translation into Japanese tricks tourists into believing that saying "*aroha*" in social media posts allows one to be in touch with "local" culture. In reality, this mentality weakens the original meaning of Hawaiian words like "*aloha*" to cheesy greetings for tourist purposes. Japanese remains one of the most consistently translated languages for tourism documents, signs, and information. Although the State of Hawai'i and the Hawai'i Tourism Authority (HTA) want residents to believe Japanese is the language of the State's future, the language also pushes out Hawaiian as an "official" language. As Japan is Hawai'i's largest market, HTA uses tourism to maintain Japan-Hawai'i relations through offices in both Hawai'i and Japan. Running offices in both Hawai'i and Japan, HTA uses massive marketing plans to entice Japanese visitors while pitching potential for partnerships between companies in both regions. The marketing derives from the commodification of Native Hawaiian values such as "aloha" and promise of large profits that utilize Native Hawaiian lands, cultural practices, and language in the process[35] The tourism website even promotes the idea of the "aloha spirit" that visitors can instantly understand once they experience Hawai'i's natural scenery and a brief lesson in history:

> "Today, anyone from around the world can experience "aloha spirit" in Hawai'i during their visit. One can make their trip more enjoyable through the rich history and culture while interacting with the wonderful nature such as the sun and beautiful ocean."[36]

The commodification of the Hawaiian language through Japanese continues to perpetuate the success of a settler language rather thoan of an official language. By appropriating Hawaiian words to fit Japanese language, agencies like HTA give tourists a false sense of the history behind the islands, which in turn, continues the misguided Japanese language he-

30 Shimada, "Wartime Dissolution," 137–139.

31 Ozawa, "Hawai Nihongo Gakko Kyoikushi," 318.

32 Candace Fujikane, "Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in* Hawai'i," eds Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), 2–3.

33 Ibid., 20.

34 Nadine Ortega, "Settler Colonialism Still Defines Power in Hawai'i," *Civil Beat*, 20 November 2017, Accessed 19 April 2019. https://www.civilbeat.org/2017/11/settler-colonialism-still-defines-power-in-hawaii/.

35 Hawai'i Tourism Authority, "Japan," Accessed 19 April 2019, https://www.hawaiitourismauthority.org/what-we-do/brand-marketing/japan/.

36 Hawai'i Tourism Authority, "ハワイの歴史," Accessed 19 April 2019, https://www.gohawaii.jp/hawaiian-culture/history.

gemony. The same Japanese settler politicians whose families suffered from oppression and Americanization during the early twentieth century have turned their backs on the Hawaiian language and culture revitalization. Instead, Japanese settler politicians like Daniel Inouye have created a prioritization of Japanese settler hegemony and culture that maintains their power in office. The continued colonial practices by Japanese settler politicians have reinforced the same oppression the United States enforced on Japanese, only in the contemporary era, this oppression has transitioned into Japanese oppression of Native Hawaiians and their language and culture. The lack of accountability in stopping the commodification of Hawaiian language has resulted in complacency with continued settler colonial practices in multiple sectors of Hawai'i such as politics, business, tourism, and education.[37] Officials for the State of Hawai'i continue to allow the progression of the Japanese language with a lack of recognition to the issues, trauma, and racism established by both white imperialism and Japanese settler-colonialism.

(Re)implementation of Hawaiian Language in an Asian-Dominated Homeland

> "Modern Hawai'i, like its colonial parent the United States, is a settler society; that is, Hawai'i is a society in which the indigenous culture and people have been murdered, suppressed, or marginalized for the benefit of settlers who now dominate our islands . . . Injustices done against Native people, such as genocide, land dispossession, language banning, family disintegration, and cultural exploitation, are not part of this intrasettler discussion and are therefore not within the parameters of civil rights."[38]

Hawaiian language throughout the Republic and Territorial bans proved damaging to then-fluent Hawaiian speakers and future generations who grew up in a monolingual, foreign language setting. As Hawaiian relies on each word having a specific meaning, one out of many possible translations, Native Hawaiians lost the ability to understand *kaona*, hidden meanings, behind *mo'olelo, oli, mele*, and everyday conversation. The erasure of language also made Native Hawaiians uniquely and disproportionately illiterate in their own language, a trait other Polynesian civilizations did not share.[39] Resurgence of contemporary Native Hawaiian movements to reinstate Hawaiian language education came with the Hawaiian Renaissance beginning in the 1960s. After an attempt by Congress to pull funding from Bishop, Lili'uokalani and Lunalilo estates, Native Hawaiians mobilized against the threat of continued erasure by protesting and coming together in solidarity.[40] The movement also brought renewed political pressure to repeal the Hawaiian language ban in schools, creation of Hawaiian language immersion schools, *kupuna*-descendant interactions in Hawaiian, and the recognition of Hawaiian as an official language in Hawai'i.[41] Myron B. Thompson warned, "Hawaiians must use the power of politics and education... if they are to change their status as a disadvantaged people." Actions taken by Native Hwaiian community leaders and the native population turned a continued racist legacy of erasure into a new history of agency and revival. Native Hawaiians were no longer "passive resistors" as history portrayed. Rather, the Hawaiian Renaissance created a new image of Native Hawaiians, a people who valued the culture expressed in their native language dedicated to reclaiming Hawaiian identity.

The 1978 Constitutional Convention opened the path to reinstating Hawaiian language into everyday fixtures of society in Hawai'i. Following the ratification of Article X, Section 4 of the Hawai'i State Constitution, instruction of the Hawaiian language began in schools. However, this victory was short-lived as public school Hawaiian language demand dropped by 50 percent from 1977 to 1984. The teaching of Hawaiian Studies was a lesser issue as the field itself was inherently interdisciplinary; however, teaching of Hawaiian language proved to be a greater issue as kupuna who knew Hawaiian were not readily available.[42] In addition, after school programs similar to that of postwar Japanese language schools did not provide enough time or support to create a foundation for students of Hawaiian.[43] Racist thoughts of "why could Hawaiian language not transition to after school programs like the Japanese" did not take into account the ongoing legal ban of Hawaiian language and the intentional erasure first by elite white politicians, then Japanese settler politicians who rose to power. Creation of a Hawaiian language movement also saw issues with the continued rise of Asian settler colonialism. Even with the steady reintroduction of

37 Ida Yoshinaga and Eiko Kosasa, "Local Japanese Women for Justice (LJWJ) Speak Out against Daniel Inouye and the JACL," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in* Hawai'i," eds Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), 296.

38 Trask cited in Fujikane, "Introduction" 1.

39 William H. Wilson and Kauanoe Kamanā, "For the Interest of the Hawaiians Themselves": Reclaiming the Benefits of Hawaiian-Medium Education," *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 3, no. 1 (2006): 157.

40 Carl Kalani Beyer, "Counter-Hegemony in Hawai'i: The Success of the Hawaiian Language Immersion Movement," *American Educational History Journal* 45, no. 1/2 (2018): 57–58.

41 Olivera, "E Ola Mau ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i," 81.

42 Beyer, "Counter-Hegemony in Hawai'i," 59.

43 Wilson and Kamanā, "For the Interest of the Hawaiians Themselves," 166.

Hawaiian back into the islands, many, including former Governor Ben Cayetano, saw Hawai'i as an Asiatic place, one that had better ties to a continent across the Pacific Ocean than with its own native community.[44] Asian, specifically Japanese, interests in the islands continued to outweigh the reasoning for Native Hawaiian sovereignty, decolonization and deoccupation, and reincorporation of the Hawaiian language into mainstream life in Hawai'i. Yet, the Japanese have not leveraged enough of their privilege and dominance in reinstating the Hawaiian language within the greater movements for Native Hawaiians, which has resulted in a continued relationship with the American federal government and the legacy of imperialism.[45]

However, in 1984, 'Aha Pūnana Leo opened the first Hawaiian immersion preschool to create opportunities for lifelong language acquisition. Although created illegally, as Hawaiian language educational bans in public schools would not be repealed until 1986, the school served as a learning community that focused on language acquisition from interaction with native speakers.[46] Creation of Hawaiian language medium schools was inherently a political move, as many institutions defied the law to provide opportunities for Native Hawaiian children to learn their culture while also providing parents an alternative to the American education system. The school's hallmark curriculum fostered parent-child involvement, which involved Hawaiian language immersion at home. This fostered a Hawaiian first model that emphasized fluency of Hawaiian while offering opportunity to learn English as the students grew older, as English is spoken almost everywhere in Hawai'i.[47] 'Aha Pūnana Leo paved the way for other immersion schools to appear, such as Ke Kula O Kehehena, where students learn in a Hawaiian medium setting for elementary education. The continuation of Hawaiian immersion from preschool into elementary creates a crucial period for language acquisition that will not fade upon English study in high school.[48] With the assistance of the University of Hawai'i, Hilo's Hawaiian language and Hawaiian Studies programs, charter schools like 'Aha Pūnana Leo and 'O ka Papahana Kaiapuni have provided more families with opportunities to reinforce the Hawaiian language in the home setting by promoting usage with family members, friends, and those without fluency in Hawaiian as part of a community effort.[49]

In the contemporary period, Hawaiian language immersion and medium schools have large support from entities such as Kamehameha Schools, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), the Native Hawaiian Education Council, and the University of Hawai'i. The creation of *Nā Honua Mauli Ola*, a guidebook in the teaching of Hawaiian language, became a pillar to educators interested in place-based learning, emphasis of family interaction, and outreach to other communities such as the neighborhood, non-Hawaiian language immersion educators, and institutions. Yet, the presence of Hawaiian language schools also places Native Hawaiian-serving institutions at risk of state funding; like other Department of Education schools, Hawaiian language immersion schools also compete for funding. With 17 percent of primary and secondary school students in Hawai'i being enrolled in an immersion school, this growing rate increases the need for space and resources to offer more opportunities for children in Hawaiian language and studies. The ongoing sovereignty movement and the debate between decolonization and deoccupation also affect the way immersion schools receive funding; although distinction as a "Native American" or as an "indigenous" population will assist funding, the labelling of Native Hawaiians as "indigenous" has been a contentious topic since the Hawaiian Renaissance. Native Hawaiians were not "indigenous" to American lands but rather members of an independent kingdom with international recognition and development like other Western and Eastern powers.[50] Yet, even in light of struggles, the number of fluent and highly proficient Hawaiian language speakers with bilingual proficiency in English has grown to 5,000 in 2018 from 50 students in 1983.[51] Hawaiian language immersion schools have achieved significant accomplishments since creation in 1984, but many institutions have a long path ahead to achieve Kingdom era levels of literacy in the Hawaiian language.

Conclusion

Although the Hawaiian and Japanese languages suffered a similar threat of erasure, Americanization, and forced assimilation, both languages have had different paths to revitalization. Americanization and hegemony created a position for a settler colonial language to become a dominant form of communication. Japanese language literacy started as a result of preserving culture and maintaining pride in heritage after decades of trauma caused by the American government. Although not banned entirely, Japanese people faced forced assimilation

44 Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters: A Thought Piece on Critiques, Debates, and Indigenous Difference," *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, no. 3–4 (2013): 281.

45 Ibid., 283–284.

46 Olivera, "E Ola Mau ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i," 82–83.

47 Wilson and Kamanā, "For the Interest of the Hawaiians Themselves," 167.

48 Ibid., 168.

49 William H. Wilson, "Hawaiian Goes Home: The University of Hawai'i Helps Return the Traditional Language of the Islands to Everyday Use," *Tribal College* 3, no. 2 (1991): 8.

50 Monica Morris and William H. Wilson, "The Hawaiian Language Shall Survive," *Civil Beat,* 01 November 2018, Accessed 19 April 2019. https://www.civilbeat.org/2018/11/the-hawaiian-language-shall-survive/.

51 Ibid.

through English-only laws implemented in the martial law era of Hawai'i. The rise of tourism also supplemented the contemporary push for Japanese language learning, which conflicts with the increasing gentrification and commodification of Hawai'i. In the case of the Hawaiian language, Hawaiian was a dominant communication tool up until the 1860s, when the necessity for the English language was stated by Western settler elites. The Annexation and Overthrow of Hawai'i catalyzed erasure of language, resulting in a language ban until the 1980s in public and private K-12 educational institutions. Efforts by the University of Hawai'i and the Hawaiian Renaissance shifted the paradigm, however, and opened the pathway to allow the creation of Hawaiian language immersion schools. While the Japanese language has significantly healed from traumas endured in the twentieth century through a cultural dominance in Hawai'i, the Hawaiian language continues to piece together centuries of hurt from an ordeal that almost erased the language forever.

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