

Social

Process

in Hawaii:

A Reader

Peter Manicas

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SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII: A READER

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Preface

This volume was motivated by the need to provide an integrated set of readings for use in my large lecture section in the introduction to sociology. I had used selections from **Social Process in Hawai'i** but all had gone out of print. The opportunity to expand the project somewhat was irresistible.

Social Process in Hawai'i came into existence in 1935, a journal devoted primarily to the social situation in Hawai'i and was the product of the Sociology Club and its faculty advisor, Andrew Lind. Students edited, organized, and wrote many of the first articles. The first issue was mimeographed. But faculty and distinguished visitors, including Ellsworth Faris and Herbert Blumer, made early contributions.

Early sociology at the University of Hawai'i had a distinctly Chicago flavor. Romanzo Adams, trained at Michigan and Chicago, came as Professor of Sociology and Economics in 1920. While he urged a broad social science program, Hawai'i, like other universities in America, departmentalized itself with consequences which were contestably progressive. Lind joined the faculty in 1927, urged by Robert E. Park, who had visited Hawai'i at Adams' invitation. Lind's dissertation at Chicago, **An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawai'i** (1938), shows the influence of Park and the Chicago School. As Hans Joas has recently noted, the Chicago School could be described as a combination of pragmatist philosophy, of a politically reformist orientation to the problems of democracy under conditions of rapid industrialization and urbanization, and of efforts to make sociology into an empirical science while attaching great importance to pre-scientific sources of experiential knowledge.

In this volume, some of this flavor has been preserved. But there is, as well, attention to Adams' earlier interdisciplinary approach. Thus, many of the essays show a distinct concern for history and political economy. The effort overall is to help the reader to see connections, to identify causes and consequences, and to project possibilities and test them against assumptions and evidence.

Acknowledgements

The editor wishes to thank Professor Kiyoshi Ikeda, Executive Editor of **Social Process in Hawai'i**, for his permission to use materials from past issues of this wonderful journal and for his cooperation in helping me put it together. Plainly, the contributors are deserving of my many thanks. Professor Haunani Kay Trask was initially reluctant to reprint her essay since she felt that it was now out of date. Readers are urged to secure her new book, **From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i**. Similar considerations are true of several of the other essays. Still, these documents do provide a historical record and allow us to see changes graphically, both in

what was happening and how this was perceived I hope as well that further work is encouraged In this regard an issue of **Social Process** is being planned which picks up the political economy theme the theme pursued in the essays by Karl Kim and Ibrahim Aoude a guest editor of this forthcoming issue

Aside then for the two essays not published before the original dates of publication of the remainder of the essays are as follows

- Haunani Kay Trask *Hawaiians American Colonization and The Quest for Independence* Vol 31 (1984/85) pp 101 136
- Kekuni Blaisdell M D *Historical and Cultural Aspects of Native Hawaiian Health* Vol 32 (1989) pp 1 21
- Andrew Lind *Immigration to Hawaii* Vol 29 (1982) pp 9 20
- Virginia Lord and Alice Lee *The Taxi Dance Hall in Honolulu* Vol 2 (1936) pp 46 50
- Jane Dranga *Racial Factors in the Employment of Women* Vol 2 (1936) pp 11 14
- Douglas Yamamura *Attitudes of Hotel Workers* Vol 2 (1936) pp 15 19
- Kimie Kawahara and Yuriko Hatanaka *The Impact of War on an Immigrant Culture* Vol 8 (1943) pp 36 44
- Dean T Alegado *The Filipino Community in Hawaii's Development and Change* Vol 33 (1991) pp 12 38
- Kimie Kawahara Lane and Caroline Ogata *Change of Attitudes of Plantation Workers* Vol 9 /10 (1946) pp 93 97
- Kiyoshi Ikeda *Unionization and the Plantation* Vol 15 (1951) pp 14 25
- Edward D Beechert *The Political Economy of Hawaii and Working Class Consciousness* Vol 31 (1984/85) pp 155 182
- Bob H Stauffer *The Tragic Maturing of Hawaii's Economy* Vol 31 (1984/95) pp 1 24
- Joyce Chinen *Sectors of Productive Capital and Income Inequality in Hawaii 1975* Vol 31 (1984/85) pp 77 100

Introduction

It is very frequently said that Hawaii is a great 'laboratory' for social study What many people mainly have in mind is its multi ethnic character and to be sure this is not unimportant But even its importance derives from what is more important the stunning opportunity to develop an understanding of social change and social process in Hawaii¹

Why is Hawaii such a wonderful laboratory for the study of social process? We should begin with the obvious First Hawaii is a chain of eight major islands situated in approximately the center of the Pacific Ocean It is both isolated and incapable of sustaining many millions in many different sovereign states Even today it is five and half hours by air to California ten hours to Tokyo about the same to Manila and Sidney The population is today around 1 120 000 In 1890 it was but 89 990 and in 1950 499 794 Its geography and size make it an entity which we can study without many of the complications of larger entities which have been embroiled in world history for several millions of years Second it became affected by external intrusions relatively late but at the same time these intrusions had enormous consequences If the first remarkable fact about the place is its discovery and colonization by Polynesians some 2000 years ago the second is its very recent incorporation into world history when Captain James Cook quite literally bumped into the Islands The third of primary interest here is the speed and quantity of change that has occurred since

I

Bringing taro sweet potato coconut chickens and pigs the first peoples of these Islands established themselves and they flourished becoming what not unreasonably can be called one of the first affluent societies For reasons not clear to us the **kanaka maoli** as the Hawaiians called themselves ceased their north south ocean voyages about 1200 A D and remained in total isolation from the remainder of the peoples of the planet until Cook arrived During this period the **kanaka maoli** developed a powerful and unique culture It would be easy here to put aside the problems and injustices of pre contact Hawaii and to be nostalgic Our interest however is in getting some sense of the beliefs and mode of life of these remarkable people This is absolutely critical since these provide the point of departure for all that follows Indeed we shall not understand much of anything about Hawaii in the absence of such understanding

Two essays by Haunani Kay Trask and Kekuni Blaisdell provide a beginning but we must emphasize only a beginning It is tragically true that as regards the history of Hawaii much needs yet to be done Until very recently the history of Hawaii was written from a distinctly **haole** frame of reference It was not merely that such accounts were progressivist optimistic and decidedly ideological but even more obviously they failed to take Hawaiians seriously In the course of this introduction we will have several examples of this Trask provides a wonderful overview locating Hawaiian history into

the wider context of imperialism. She concludes with a sketch of the new consciousness of Hawaiians reflected both in the recent renaissance of Hawaiian culture and in the effort to articulate the meaning of Hawaiian sovereignty. Blaisdell offers an historical overview of the consequences of change which focuses on the health of Hawaiians.

Both Trask and Blaisdell identify what was surely the most critical process set in motion by **haole** presence: a devastating depopulation. This was the consequence of infections brought by Caucasians, infections to which the **kanaka maoli** utterly lacked immunity. If David Stannard's estimates of the pre-contact population of 800 000 to 1 000 000 are correct, as many as 650 000 died from 1778 to 1831.¹ By the time of the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, the **kanaka maoli** numbered but 40 000. But we should note also that it was not until the latter part of the century that the indigenous people were outnumbered. In 1893 there were perhaps 20 000 Caucasian immigrants and another 30 000 Asian immigrants.

It is quite impossible to overstate the importance of this holocaust as regards the entire nineteenth century development. For example, it is too often supposed that the native culture simply collapsed under the weight of a superior Christian civilization. This prejudice has been reinforced by the fact that Queen Ka'ahumanu ordered the abandonment of the **Aikapu** (literally sacred eating, but more generally the prescriptions which were essential to Hawaiian religion). But a moment's thought suggests that it would be remarkable if Hawaiians, including the Queen, were not profoundly struck by this thoroughly unintelligible devastation, and if they did not, in consequence, struggle to accommodate the horrible facts into their cosmological scheme, a scheme thoroughly tested by hundreds of years of experience. It is of some importance to note also that the first missionaries arrived just five months after the breaking of the **Aikapu** (in 1819) and that Ka'ahumanu did not accept Christianity until 1825.

We do here attempt to provide any sort of adequate account and readers are well advised to read carefully Lili'ala Kame'ele'ihiwa's excellent recent history.² As she writes in summary:

In traditional Hawaiian society the universe was pono [in a state of perfect harmony] when the Mo'i [what Westerners would call king or high chief] was pono. Conversely, when disaster struck, it was because the Mo'i was no longer pono: he or she had neglected the kahuna [priests and priestesses] or offended the Akua [Gods or Goddesses] and had to be replaced.

If the old Akua did not ho'omalua and preserve the Lahui [the Hawaiian people] even when the Mo'i was as faultless in his pono as had been Kamehameha, why should the Lahui continue to malama [care for, preserve and serve] the Akua? If Kamehameha's pono did not save lives, what would? (p. 81)

Queen Ka'ahumanu was faced with a stunningly difficult choice. But we ought not to jump to the conclusion that either she or the **maka ainana** [common people] rejected their culture or the old belief system. Quite the contrary, we can understand her action as an effort to restore **pono**. The consequence was a transformation of the old ways, not a rejection of them. Indeed, even today, in the absence of the old land system, a system which depended profoundly on the distinct culture of the Hawaiians, deep elements of Hawaiian culture are still very much alive. (See Trask.)

II

The central concern of Kame'ele'ihiwa's book is what Western treatments call the Great **Mahele**. But because it was such a great disaster for the Hawaiians, she rightly prefers to refer to it as the 1848 **Mahele**. Broadly, the **Mahele** involved the transformation of the traditional system of land use into a system of private property. We have some details of this in Trask's essay and they need not be repeated here. Here we can emphasize two things. First, the conventional interpretations need to be decisively rejected. Here again Kame'ele'ihiwa provides a rich source. Second, throughout the world, pre-capitalist societies have been transformed to capitalist societies. Sometimes, as in Western Europe, this transition was so gradual as to be nearly imperceptible. In the Hawaiian case, it was both rapid and recent. We can see how it occurred and its consequences in remarkable detail. Again, only a sketch can be provided.

Why did the **Ali'i** accept what was a profoundly revolutionary change? Some western writers have made it seem that their decisions were motivated by their acknowledgement of the 'superiority' of the new system; others attribute it to greed on their part. On the other side, some have suggested that they were already dominated by **haole** and quite literally had no choice. As should be expected, things were not so simple. I follow here Kame'ele'ihiwa.

She notes first that while westerners have defined **mahele** to mean to divide, it also connotes to share. Kame'ele'ihiwa argues that it was never the aim of the **Ali'i** to deny Hawaiians unrestricted access to the land and that their decision was motivated by a number of converging factors. We have noted that after 1825 the **Ali'i** incorporated the Christian God into their belief system. A further consequence of this was acceptance of the idea by many **Ali'i** that key **haole**. Gerritt P. Judd is an outstanding example, should rightly be considered **Kahuna**. Notice that was possible only insofar as the Hawaiian cosmological scheme was still compelling. But if Judd was a **Kahuna**, his advice had to be taken seriously.

Two arguments seem to have been convincing. There was first the argument that unless the land was secured by sanctions of the western legal system, it would be vulnerable to appropriation by foreigners. The threat was indeed real. French and British imperialism proceeded apace in the Marquesas, Tahiti and New Zealand. Indeed, in 1843 Lord George Paulet of

Her Majesty's Ship *Carysfort* turned his guns on Honolulu. With the advice of Judd Kaukeaouli (Kamehameha III) ceded the kingdom to the British. (A residue of this is the Union Jack in the Hawaiian state flag!) Admiral Thomas very shortly restored the sovereignty of the Hawaiian nation. But one can only speculate what the nineteenth century would have looked like had Hawaii remained a British colony. (As Kameleihewa points out, the restoration was the occasion for Kaukeaouli's famous proclamation *Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono* (the life of the Aina is perpetuated by pono).)

Second, the Calvinist *Kahuna* argued that once they held their taro patches and house lots in fee, the *maka'ainana* would have the incentive to become industrious, hard working, and Christian, because they alone would receive the benefit of their labor. (p. 202) This argument was as old as John Locke, who writing in 1690, had insisted that God gave the earth to the industrious and rational. It had been used by the Pilgrims in justification of their appropriation of the lands used by Native Americans in maintaining their way of life. Thus, with reference to the indigenous people of New England, John Winthrop, founder of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, had proclaimed

This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property. Any why may not Christians have liberty to go and and dwell amongst them in their wasteland and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their corn) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites?

Like Hawaiians, Native Americans lacked both the idea of private property and the piece of paper which alone for Europeans could give title. One might say, putting the best possible interpretation on the motivations of Judd and the other leading *haole*, that it was their hope that the *Mahele* would convert the *kanaka maoli* into yeoman farmers, cast firmly in the mold of Thomas Jefferson! Viewed from the perspective of this book, such an assumption implies both a stunning Eurocentrism and ignorance of social process.

As noted, Hawaiians lacked utterly a concept of private property understood as that which is owned and which accordingly is alienable, to be bought or sold. As Kameleihewa writes, "In traditional Hawaii, Aina was not owned but held in trust. In Native Hawaiian culture, if an *Akua* cannot be owned, then one cannot buy and sell and *Akua*, such as the Aina, unless the rules surrounding *Akua* or the symbolic meaning of Aina are changed." (p. 10)

It is fair to say that there is no way that the Hawaiians, *Ali'i* or *maka'ainana*, could have grasped the full meaning and consequences of the *Mahele*. Not only did it put into tension the most fundamental assumptions of the culture of the Hawaiians, tensions which still operate in Hawaii, but more obviously, modern capitalism, the development of plantation agriculture

the dominance by *haole*, the stunning loss of control over the land by Hawaiians, and the destruction of Hawaiian sovereignty were among its consequences, all realized in less than fifty years.

To be sure, as Kameleihewa writes, for the *Ali'i Nui*, the *Mahele* was a chance to join the foreign merchants in the pursuit of capitalist enterprise (p. 11) and to be sure, some Hawaiians profited. Some still do. On the other hand, it is also worth emphasizing that there were those who were highly suspicious of the *Mahele*, and for many of the right reasons.

Kameleihewa reports a petition of 1845 from 300 citizens of Kona which protested against chiefs selling land to the white men. They argued, "If you wish to sell or lease the lands, you should sell or lease them to your own people." (p. 193) Another group from Maui pointed out that *maka'ainana* were

not prepared to compete with foreigners. If you, the chiefs, decide immediately to sell land to foreigners, we shall be overcome, we to whom the land has belonged from the beginning, shall all dwindle away. (ibid.)

Kameleihewa notes that the *Ali'i Nui* tragically did not listen to them. What the *maka'ainana* did not understand was that Kaukeaouli and the other *Ali'i Nui* trusted their Christian foreign advisors because under the new religion they had learned to doubt themselves and to be afraid of making decisions contrary to the advice of their Christian *kahuna*. (p. 197)

It is also of more than passing interest to note that there had been a segment of the *Ali'i* who had always distrusted both the foreigners and their religion. Boki, cousin of Ka'ahumanu, had travelled to Britain and was fully aware of the provinciality of the Calvinists in Hawaii. He saw that as far as Europeans were concerned, the Calvinists in Hawaii did not represent European culture. Consequently, he profoundly resented the new set of Calvinist *kapu* being enforced by Hawaiians on Hawaiians.

He saw also that the sandalwood trade had not been the boon that the *Ali'i* had supposed. That instead, they had put themselves deeply in debt. It was natural for them to conclude that by selling land, they could redeem themselves. Hearing rumors of vast sandalwood forests in the New Hebrides, Boki decided to sail there, cut sandalwood, and pay off the debts, once and for all. Accordingly, in 1829, he sailed with two ships manned by 429 anti-Christian *Ali'i* and *maka'ainana*. (p. 90) It is an accident of Hawaiian history with potentially enormous consequences that all but a handful of these men were lost at sea, removing what was the strongest faction of the Hawaiian anti-Christians. Here again, one can only speculate what might have been.

III

In 1850, foreigners were given the right to own land. In 1846, William Little Lee and Charles R. Bishop arrived in Honolulu. As partners, they began

the Lihue sugar plantation on Kauai. Amos Cooke who headed the Chief's Children School began a partnership with Sam Castle a partnership which as the world knows was a stunning success. In 1851 Castle a good Christian wrote

While the natives stand confounded and amazed at their privileges and doubting the truth of the changes on their behalf the foreigners are creeping in among them getting their largest and best lands water privileges building lots etc etc

*The Lord seems to be allowing such things to take place that Islands may gradually pass into other hands*³

According to Lind in 1853 there were 1828 foreigners in Hawaii a meagre 2.5% of the total population. In 1852 293 Chinese men imported as contract laborers had arrived. In the next ninety years some 400 000 some with their families would come to Hawaii.

The sugar plantation was the decisive fact for the dramatic changes which followed. We can consider its development and consequences as falling into two main periods from 1850 to the overthrow of the Monarchy in 1893 and then the territorial period from 1900 to statehood in 1959 the beginning of the end of plantation agriculture in Hawaii.

Sugar cultivation was of course an obvious choice for the *haole* entrepreneurs but as Beechart argues it was the American Civil War which created an immense new demand. Up to this point Hawaii's production had been modest and as Beechart writes perhaps two thirds of the workers were Hawaiian. They would no longer suffice. The first major group to come were the Chinese. Between 1852 and 1897 some 56 000 Chinese were brought to Hawaii. The first Japanese arrived in 1868. By 1897 there were some 45 000. But between 1898 and 1907 an additional 114 000 had come. The third largest group was the last to come. Between 1907 and 1932 some 119 000 Filipino men arrived to work on the plantations. Throughout both periods smaller numbers came from other places including Portuguese Koreans Spanish South Pacific Islanders and others. Between 1881 and 1890 even a contingent of some 1337 had come from Germany (See Lind's summary).

Several of the essays reprinted in what follows deal with various aspects of Hawaii's multi ethnic population and several deal directly with it as regards plantations changing attitudes of workers and then with issues raised by unionization. These essays concentrate on the period from World War One to just after World War II.

Again several points need emphasis here. First and most obvious is the way that *ethnic conflict* became structured by the needs of the owners of the plantations. Plantation work is stunningly arduous backbreaking and monotonous. It is work done under a burning sun without even the redeeming

features of sociality except during breaks. As unskilled labor it pays little and requires a highly disciplined labor force. In the American south and in the Caribbean of course slave labor was the alternative solution.

It should have been clear to the *haole* planters that it would not be easy to persuade sufficient *kanaka maoli* to do this work. To the extent that the Hawaiian had alternatives he balked. Not only was he still deeply enmeshed in his subsistence way of life a way of life which did not involve working beyond satisfaction of immediate material needs but he could after picking up some extra cash easily quit. Viewed with *haole* eyes of course this was a sign of his innate laziness a stereotype which remains with us today. Indeed as Beechart points out each group of workers in turn was hailed as the solution to the need for an adequate low cost docile labor supply. And each would be in some respect deficient the source for a host of other racial stereotypes. They're too smart or they are sneaky or cheat or are ambitious or stick together etc etc. As Trask observes the fact that the First World (Western Europe and America) modernized first became a resource for conceptualizing Third World people people of color as people who could rightfully be dominated. Colonization as Trask writes involved an implicit and usually explicit racism. Of course racism is not unique to whites nor need it be argued that it did not exist prior to the development of modern imperialism. Still the laboratory of Hawaii provides an excellent chance to see racism in construction.

Three brief essays written in 1936 for the second issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* begin this discussion. Done as a research project for their introduction to sociology(!) Virginia Lord and Alice Lee offer a fascinating account of a phenomena now long gone that of the taxi dance hall a place where males could hire a female dancing partner. The way that race gender and the particular situation of the single Filipinos constructs choices for persons is vividly clear. Jane Dranga provides further insight into the construction of gender and ethnicity in her account of the employment of women in Hawaii during this period. Douglas Yamamura looks at hotel workers. At that time Honolulu had but two hotels on Waikiki.

Lind Ikeda and Beechart show how racism was used to control the plantation workforce. By isolating each group management could use one against the other. Ikeda and Beechart sketch from different perspectives the struggle to change attitudes and to organize for successful strike actions and they show the role played by mainland organizers who insisted that racial and ethnic differences had to be rejected. Kawahara Lane and Ogata writing at the beginning of the strongest period of successful unionization in Hawaii (from 1946 1958) give an optimistic view of the results of the union policy of group unity and racial equality. For reasons which they could not have predicted their hopes would not be realized.

But before turning to the developments produced by World War II one further point regarding immigration needs to be emphasized. Speaking very

generally two factors are especially critical as regards the capacity of immigrants to succeed in their new environment. First there is the question of what opportunities for employment are available and second there is the question of the resources available to the immigrant. *When* he (or she) comes and *what he comes with* are critical. We can see this very dramatically in Hawaii.

We should distinguish first those relatively few both *haole* and Asians who did *not* come to Hawaii as workers in the fields and who generally came with education and/or critical skills. Thus the 1828 foreigners in Hawaii in 1852 comprised one tenth of the population of Honolulu. Many especially the *haole* were well educated, some but especially Portuguese and Chinese were independent artisans or were able to establish small shops. There has been since a continuous immigration to Hawaii of people of this sort increasingly in the period after 1965. Some of course have been enormous successes in the earlier period for example William Lee and Charles Bishop (see above). Some have had more modest success establishing businesses in e.g. Chinatown and more recently in establishing restaurants, firms and corporations in Honolulu. But when taken together these immigrants, new and old, are hardly representative.

Nearly all of the 400,000 who came came to work on plantations. With the exception of the Germans these workers were peasants or farmers. Some had been dependent quasi-serfs in their homeland, some more nearly approximated independent farmers who had modest entrepreneurial skills. Most hoped to return to their homelands and some did. But all struggled to leave the plantation. Indeed it is fair to say that they left in the order that they came. The importance of this cannot be overstated. For as they left the plantation and found work in the modernizing urban environment of Honolulu they along with those who had already established themselves became the foundation for an emerging middle class. Another difference needs to be noted.

The first Chinese plantation workers came without families but many married Hawaiian women, establishing what became well respected families. Most of the first immigrant Japanese also came without families but many then took picture brides and after 1907 families predominated. This was important for several reasons. First concentrations of families could seek to reproduce inherited cultural forms. This in turn provided the basis for solidarity, always a resource for individuals. This also explains the relatively late out-marriage rates for Japanese in Hawaii.⁴ Second because women could also produce income working alongside males in the fields or in canneries, laundries and the like, families had combined incomes. As the second generation came to maturity and acquired education and skills the path was opened for what sociologists call upward mobility.

This phenomenon was especially important for the Japanese in Hawaii. World War II was critical. Japanese of course became subject to internment

and to direct racist attacks. And as Kawahara and Hatanaka point out the war forced choices on the Japanese in Hawaii. When it ended Nisei Japanese who had been educated at McKinley High and who chose to go to war against the Axis coalition returned with new aspirations and values. They became a vital political force in Hawaii, a fact of considerable importance since.⁵

In this regard as Alegado explains Filipinos in Hawaii were especially challenged. By the time they came not only had opportunities in Hawaii's rapidly changing economy been exploited by the earlier immigrant groups for example in Mom and Pop stores in small shops and farms but without Filipino wives and families Filipino workers were also forced to develop artificial family and kinship networks. Until after World War II Filipino plantation workers lived an ambivalent existence, not able to earn and save sufficient money to return home yet not fully committed to establishing for themselves a life in Hawaii. Filipinos late to come for plantation work have been late in achieving status in Hawaii.

The contrast with the Germans who came to work the plantations makes the point dramatically. Not only were they white and Protestant but they came with all sorts of skills. They were city people who were machinists, blacksmiths and had other craft trades. And they came with families. At Lihue they established a community, a school and a Lutheran Church. Their stay as plantation workers was predictably short-lived. For Germans in Hawaii assimilation was easy. Many of the names of streets in Honolulu bear names of members of these highly successful immigrants.⁶

How do the Hawaiians fit into the picture of ethnic social mobility in Hawaii? As noted Hawaiians were never integrated into the plantation economy. Rather many *maka ainana* maintained themselves by more or less reproducing their older mode of life in the changed conditions. They continued to plant taro and to fish. Many also found employment in public works or other low skilled occupations. This was perhaps not disastrous until the turn to tourism and rapid development which began in the 1950s. As Blaisdell points out in the 1960s rural Native Hawaiian communities already economically exploited were besieged by rapid encroachment on remaining agricultural lands. As land values and the cost of living skyrocketed the shift to tourism produced mostly low paying jobs. Most Hawaiians again found themselves dispossessed.

IV

The last four essays all treat aspects of what has occurred as regards social change in Hawaii since Statehood. Understanding these outcomes is surely a challenging responsibility. Stauffer argues that through foreign investment tourism has propelled a loss of control over Hawaii's future and that except for the very rich at the top of the income distribution most residents of Hawaii have had a precipitous decline in their real incomes. His account is important in that he offers a mechanism which tries to explain how

this has worked Chinen gives us a concrete sense of how income is distributed in Hawai'i looking at the effects of sectorial location gender ethnicity and education There are some surprises but generally we find that ethnicity and gender are critical variables in who gets what jobs As with Stauffer Chinen's data are now old and as in his essay we can suppose that things are if anything now worse In two essays published here for the first time Kim and Aoude show that foreign investment has dramatically accelerated the cost of living has continued to increase and opportunities for good jobs continue to shrink

There is one last very important test as regards Hawai'i as a laboratory It is too often assumed that whatever happened had to happen that there is something inevitable about social process and social change But if we argue that whatever happens *because* people make choices there is a contingency or openness about what happens in history Things might have been otherwise Consider here Ka ahumanu's problem or the decision of the Ali'i to adopt the **Mahele** To be sure actors always work with materials at hand and in this sense their options are limited One always chooses from among *some* alternatives but one does not choose the conditions or the alternatives which are made potentially available by those conditions Consider here also the contingencies that so critically defined Ka ahumanu's situation and how the consequences of her decision shaped the conditions in which later Mo'i had to make decisions

The test then regards the question of whether for Hawai'i after World War II there were alternatives to what has happened? Stauffer and Noel Kent⁷ believe that there were alternatives Beechert does not

Beechert argues that the impetus to develop Hawai'i's tourist industry came initially from local investors anxious to reverse the losses incurred after World War II Promoting this initiative was the fact that successful unionization had secured impressive benefits for workers and that Hawaiian sugar had now to compete with sugar produced elsewhere under conditions of severe labor exploitation The development of the Boeing 707 was also important since although ideally suited for tourism for the first time Hawai'i became a possible choice for lower income tourists This much would likely not be contested

Nor would Beechert deny that we make history He would however insist that given the situation a natural coalition of groups existed and that this group could not have done other than what they did For him the Big Five (Castle and Cook Alexander and Baldwin American Factors Theo E Davies and C Brewer) saw clearly that their future was in a development strategy based on tourism The ILWU having achieved success with plantation workers saw that the basic employment opportunity remaining in Hawaii [was] in what has been called the secondary market the preserve of dead end low paid casual labor It was he concludes to that arena that the ILWU turned in 1958 The construction unions and the other important interests

including the Dillingham construction and transportation businesses and the Bishop Estate also saw profits in this strategy Moreover political legitimization and leadership was provided by the Democratic party a new party in power which had come to power with a strong base among middle class Japanese Americans and Chinese who were themselves in a position to profit from tourist development Finally he argues that what was true of Hawai'i was more generally true of the American economy at this juncture that Hawai'i like the rest of the United States has been moving toward a structure of employment ever more dominated by jobs that are badly paid unchanging and unproductive

This is to be sure a powerful argument but it remains open to considerable criticism especially since it assumes not only that these were only possible players but that all of the groups did act in their best interest or at least in what they perceived to be their best interest It is just this which is contested by Stauffer and Kent For Kent the ILWU sold out exactly in the sense that they did not act in the best interests of their constituencies Similarly Stauffer argues that the strategy harmed not only wage workers but local big and small business as well Although he does not develop the idea in the essay reprinted here one could argue that with appropriate leadership land reform and a strategy of diversified development was possible That is it was not a choice between tourism and no tourism but of an tourism integrated into a development which encouraged other uses of the land including sustainable agriculture and diversified manufacturing Land reform would indeed have been critical since a full 64.60% of all land in the Hawaiian Islands is owned by five firms The largest three own 59%!

Questions about alternatives for Hawai'i have not gone away Kim and Aoude ask again but for the 1990's After giving an overview which adds considerable useful data and argument Aoude like Beechert concludes pessimistically For Aoude diversification of the Hawaiian economy to a point of significant decrease in dependency on tourism is rather impossible to achieve with the present context of the economic organization of society Kim is more optimistic although his analysis is not far from Aoude's He identifies a growth coalition and argues that the issues of self governance of local control of increasing democracy putting investment and planning decisions in the hands of people and workers are still vital political and economic topics for discussion And he is not threatened by the sovereignty movement in Hawaii He asks What if for example we ended up with a more democratic society under a sovereign Hawaiian state than the present system controlled by PACs special interests groups and those with land and power in Hawai'i?

Peter T Manicas

Endnotes

1 It was probably Robert E. Park who first employed the idea that Hawaii was a natural laboratory. The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory at the University of Hawaii was founded on this premise.

2 Lili'okala Kame'elehewa *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

3 Quoted by Kame'elehewa *Native Land* p. 301. Kame'elehewa rightly observes that while Judd opposed foreign ownership of the Aina, William Little Lee gave arguments that would be repeated in contemporary Hawaii: that foreign investment would mean great wealth and miraculous prosperity for the kingdom (p. 299). Perhaps one should apply Castle's argument to the present re-appropriation of Hawaii. The Lord seems to be allowing such things to take place that the Islands may gradually pass into other hands.

4 This is an enormously interesting topic. The initial work was done by Romanzo Adams *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan, 1937). Adams' work was informed by the vision that one people would eventually be created. While it is surely the case that ethnic out-marriage continues to be important, this vision fails to take seriously the idea that ethnicity is itself a social construction; that there is no uniform set of causes explaining out-marriage rates; and finally that the population of Hawaii is continually being altered by immigration.

5 See George Cooper and Gavan Dawes *Land and Power in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Benchmark Press, 1985).

6 Another group of special interest is the Portuguese, the only Caucasian group in Hawaii who are not considered *haole*. This is excellent evidence that race and ethnicity are social constructions. The reasons, however, are complicated. See M. Weinstein, J. L. Leon, and P. T. Manicas, "The Portuguese and Haoles of Hawaii" (Comment on Geschwender, Carroll Seguin, and Brill, *ASR*, April 1988), *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (April 1990), pp. 305-308.

A consequence of the anomalous situation of the Portuguese in Hawaii is that they found themselves trapped when the Plantation economy expired. As Caucasian but not quite white (WASP), the Portuguese had become *luna* (supervisors), a favored position in the plantation economy. But like the Hawaiians, many accordingly failed to acquire skills for the new economy.

7 See Noel Kent *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*, 2nd Edition (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

HAWAIIANS, AMERICAN COLONIZATION, AND THE QUEST FOR INDEPENDENCE

Haunani Kay Trask

THE COLONIAL ANALYSIS

The fact that the United States is a colonial power as well as imperialist is the best kept secret in the world.

Representative *Zimbabwe National Liberation Front*, 1977

Hawaii has been a colony of the United States of America since the early 19th century.¹ First through economic domination (beginning in 1810) and later through political incorporation (annexation in 1898), America came to control the lands and indigenous people of Hawaii. But until recently, neither Americans nor Hawaiians have understood this colonial status because America's ideology has represented itself as the main force of anti-colonialism around the world.²

The truth, of course, is that Americans have been colonizing peoples of color for nearly four centuries. During the long span of the age of discovery, the Indian lands that became America were first colonized by Indian-hating Europeans. Then, after the American Revolution, the rest of the continent was colonized by Indian-hating Americans. Indians accused America of inventing a nation by stealing land that was originally the Mother Earth of 10-12 million Indians (Dobyns, 1966: 395-416). Only white conquest and genocide brought these lands into an expanding United States, resulting in massive depopulation and dispossession of indigenous people through four centuries of encroachment. Without cultural and physical genocide against Indians, the United States would have been stillborn. But fed on the theft of Indian lands in her infancy, America became the most powerful imperialist nation in the twentieth century.³

Despite her bloody history, however, the understanding of America as a colonizing power has only recently taken hold. While wars of liberation in Asia, Africa, and India began to tear apart the European colonial system in the post-World War era, America was establishing its economic and military hegemony world-wide. Moving toward pre-eminence as the "leader" of the so-called Free World, America assumed the neo-colonial mantle in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific. Even Europe came within the American orbit (Greene, 1971).

The history of Indians, Blacks, Chicanos, and Asians revealed how white America rose to world power on the bones of her indigenous people and on the backs of other people of color (Jacobs & Landau, 1971). As in every other situation, land and labor became the

battleground Continuing Indian wars in the twentieth century historians showed were still being waged for natural resources on Indian reservations ⁴Blacks Chicanos and Asians enlarged the attack revealing how their slavery peonage and contract labor supplied the large work force needed to transform an agrarian America into an industrial America Together these groups unmasked the fallacy of work ethic America where rags to riches while ethnics allegedly built a super nation White success was no longer the result of personal effort but rather the structured goal of a system of savage exploitation of people of color

Voices of dissent began to apply the Third World analysis of colonialism to the position of people of color in America Thus beginning in the 1960s colonial theory encompassed exploited racial groups within imperialist countries and not only those in colonies geographically and culturally separated from Europe and America A connection was drawn between people of color in the United States and the larger process of European colonization throughout the world The Third World *abroad* became the Third World *within* and the analysis of colonialism was focused on America and its internal colonies In the words of sociologist Robert Blauner

The economic social and political subordination of Third World groups in America is a microcosm of the position of peoples of color in the world order of stratification Racial domination in the U.S. is part of the same historical drama through which white Western people expanded their culture and economic system bringing their rule to virtually all of the world (Blauner 1972:245)

Blauner argued that although Asians Blacks Chicanos and Indians are unique cultural groups they share a history of internal colonization as *people of color* They came to be Americans under different life conditions than white ethnics *Conquest* (Indians Alaskan natives and many Chicanos) *contract labor and peonage based on race* (Asians and other Chicanos) and *enslavement* (Blacks) characterized their historical experiences which have been different *in kind* from those of white people who were neither conquered nor enslaved and whose labor was sold under freer market conditions than those surrounding people of color For American Indians particularly colonization has been of such long duration and unrelieved severity they have had to struggle against extinction

Meanwhile for the white world the colonial agony of the Third World within like that of the Third World abroad has been the precondition for industrial capitalism The human and natural resources of both the continental U.S. and her overseas colonies continue to feed the American imperialist machine enabling the crime of endless wasteful consumption and the proliferation of a vast military network to maintain and expand that consumption

While America's colonization pattern has been very like that of her European forebears there is one obvious exception America has never given up any of her possessions either within her continental borders or beyond them Alaska Hawaii Samoa Guam Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands remain attached to the United States Micronesia and the Marianas continue to suffer a neo colonial legacy and the Philippines allegedly independent since 1946 is so closely tied to America it is a *de facto* colony

This hold over its colonies is of course a direct result of America's world hegemony But it is also a product of the myth of American democracy which in its mythic dimensions promises liberty and justice for all — whether on small island nations or large continental masses Since within this legitimizing myth colonialism has no place and colonies cannot exist they are transformed into self determining little Americas that have allegedly freely chosen to become territories or states attached to a distant nation When predictably counterposed to the Communist threat the ideology of democratic America thus works hand in hand with economic penetration and military presence to ensure continued American dominance The planned effect is therefore achieved America's colonial empire is simultaneously expanded and obscured

One of the long term challenges to this obscured imperium comes from the colonized themselves those wretched of the earth who live the fallacy of American democracy Thus the Black Movement the Chicano Movement the American Indian Movement the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and recently the Hawaiian Movement

Not only have these movements revealed America's colonialism at home they have connected their struggles to liberation movements in other parts of the world Just as the internal colonialism of the United States is part of the larger process of European colonization of the world so too are the liberation struggles of America's people of color part of the larger picture of Third World independence movements Along these lines Stokely Carmichael & Charles Hamilton explained the international significance of Black Power in 1967

Black Power means that black people see themselves as part of a new force sometimes called the "Third World" that we see our struggle as closely related to liberation struggles around the world

After discussing the struggle of black South Africans against white rule Carmichael and Hamilton concluded

This is but one example of many such situations which have already arisen around the world — with more to come. There is only one place for black Americans in these struggles and that is on the side of the Third World (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967 xi)

During the Vietnam War many American Asians identified their colonial status in the Chinatowns and Japantowns across the United States as extensions of America's exploitation of Southeast Asians. The racist war that American men fought against the 'gooks' and 'slants' overseas was seen by many Asians in America as part of the war waged against them by white Americans at home. The Third World of Vietnam was easily linked to the Third World of American Asian ghettos (Tachiki Wong & Odo 1971)

In the meantime Chicanos in the southwestern part of the United States struggled toward their own liberation. Defining their oppression as colonialism they identified with American Indians as a conquered people. In 1972 Rodolfo Acuña listed some of the experiences of colonization:

- 1) One's land is invaded by another people who use force, military or otherwise, to take and maintain control
- 2) The original inhabitants become subjects of conquerors involuntarily
- 3) The conquered have an alien government and culture imposed upon them
- 4) The conquered become victims of racism and cultural genocide and are relegated to a submerged status
- 5) The conquered are rendered politically and economically powerless
- 6) The conquerors feel they have a mission in occupying the area in question and believe that they have undeniable privileges by virtue of their conquest (Acuña 1972: 3)

Although only indigenous people suffered the invasion of their lands, Acuña's other categories applied in common to America's people of color.

Acuña argued with evidence from hundreds of years of Chicano oppression that the United States had taken Chicano land and exploited its people. He also concluded like Carmichael and Hamilton before him that a struggle for liberation was a natural response to American colonization.

One working definition of colonialism appeared in 1976. Formulated by a Chicano scholar, Mario Barrera, it was intended to apply in all colonial cases: direct and indirect, classic and neo, external and internal. From the perspective of a Third World American, colonialism was seen as

a structured relationship of domination and subordination among groups which are defined along ethnic and/or racial lines where that relationship is established or maintained to serve the interests of all or part of the dominant group (Barrera 1976: 3)

Through the lens of colonial theory the traditional problem of American race relations became a variant of colonialism.

With the birth of the American Indian Movement (AIM) this analysis was applied directly to the pattern of colonialism on the reservations. Indians argued that they were made powerless by

- 1) the dislocation of traditional agriculture
- 2) the transfer of common land to private ownership
- 3) the development of a ruling elite and
- 4) the development of an educated elite

The ruling elite occupied newly created positions of tribal authority serving as puppets of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in keeping unruly Indians under control. The educated elite meanwhile were trained in Western schools in the hopes that they would lead their people into cultural assimilation.⁵

While the American Government succeeded in developing the first elite, it failed in the creation of the second because educated Indians were precisely those who returned to the reservations to lead their people against colonial bondage.

As Indians made colonial theory specific to their own experiences, they also posed a radical alternative to Western imperialism. American colonialism began to be criticized from a unique cultural perspective that of an indigenous people who questioned the Euro-American's destructive relationship to the living earth. With this analysis the moral underpinnings of American society were brought to the forefront of national radical consciousness. Thus AIM leader Russell Means could state by 1982:

I do not believe that capitalism itself is really responsible for the situation in which American Indians have been declared a national sacrifice. No, it is the European tradition. European culture itself is responsible. Marxism is just the latest continuation of this tradition, not a solution to it.

The alternative in Means' view is the indigenous way.

the way that knows that humans do not have the right to degrade Mother Earth, that there are forces beyond anything the European mind has conceived, that humans must be in harmony with all relations, or the relations will eventually eliminate the disharmony (Means 1982: 28)

For AIM Indians, sovereignty is tied to a harmonious relationship

with the earth. The breaking of this relationship was the result of American colonization — a process inseparable from European consciousness — Marxist and capitalist alike — which views the world as but a resource for the industrial machine.

This AIM criticism like cultural criticisms from other movements of people of color contains a conscious rejection of assimilation to white American society. Obviously this is because assimilation is based on the assumption that Euro American culture is superior and should be adopted *for that reason*. (Ironically white racists also reject assimilation by people of color but for different reasons they support segregation in order to maintain white supremacy. Therefore one of the purposes of individual and institutional racism is precisely to prevent assimilation.) However radical people of color reject assimilation simply because the dignity of being Asian Black Chicano and Indian is not possible under colonialism. In the colonial world assimilation is beyond every thing else the assuming of a white mind a white consciousness it is the state of being colonized. By choosing to assimilate one chooses to give up one's true nature — being Asian Black Chicano Indian — to be white. Since it is impossible to become white one retains a dark skin but adopts the white mask (Fanon 1967a Jacobs 1971 283 309).

Thus in choosing their own struggle politics culture and identity radical Asians Blacks Indians and Chicanos repudiate the myth of assimilation and thereby the myth of American democracy as merely the justifying ideologies of imperialism. In their rejection of assimilation they take the first step toward psychological de colonization toward throwing off the yoke of the colonizer. Politically they assert their color and culture and its agonizing history rather than denying them as assimilation demands.

This assertion took the form of a cultural and not only political analysis in the cauldron of protest that was the 1960s and 1970s. Within a matter of years vast numbers of Asians Blacks Chicanos and Indians turned their backs on the false promises of white America and chose their own heritage and culture. Thus Chinatown Asians identified with China radical American Blacks began to look to long lost homelands in Africa Chicanos turned towards Mexico and indigenous Indian culture and American Indians in the cities participated in defensive resistance on the reservations. In a single short decade America's people of color mounted a frontal assault on American cultural hegemony asserting their own in its place. There were to be no more black skins under white masks.

Reclamation of a people's identity through various cultural activities appears to be a precursor of political and economic struggles for liberation. It is as if psychological de colonization must begin before the actual struggle for political control. Frantz Fanon thought cultural assertion crucial to the whole process of liberation. Amílcar Cabral African nationalist from Guinea Bissau believed this progression from

cultural to political struggle was characteristic of independence movements. In America his belief has been borne out time and again. When Blacks for example began to understand their oppression in colonial terms they searched for a cultural past in Africa and not only in America. Similarly American Indians who returned to the reservations from urban slums had reclaimed a spiritual power from their Indian heritage. In these cases cultural assertion was not only a repudiation of subjugation to white racism and white values but a positive statement of Black and Indian culture as preferable to Euro American culture. In the context of colonialism cultural struggle becomes central rather than peripheral to independence (Fanon 1965 Cabral 1973). The same has been true in Hawaii.

HAWAII AS A COLONY

The foreign songs have only eroticism no spiritual meaning. The dances are lascivious there is no sacred interpretation. The land is ravaged by concrete monsters neither the sea nor the sky is safe from destruction. There is racism — which our ancestors never knew. And neither the young nor the old can lie down by the wayside in safety as Kamehameha I decreed. There is nothing Hawaiian left it is all *haole* [white] now.

Lydia K. Aholo 1978
Hanai (adopted) daughter
of Queen Liliuokalani

The cultural and political assertions of movements on the American mainland have been echoed in several nationalist struggles throughout the Pacific. While the French and British are confronted by liberation movements in Tahiti New Caledonia and New Zealand the recently independent nation of Vanuatu has helped to focus the question of a nuclear free and independent Pacific.

This push for independence has been framed within the context of other anti colonial movements. On the opening day of the 1983 Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference (NFIP) in Vanuatu the Honorable Sethy Reganvanu Deputy Prime Minister of Vanuatu asserted the following:

This century has seen spontaneous massive and bloody resistance against the iniquitous system of colonialism. In these closing years of the century it is absolutely intolerable to allow the freedom independence and cultural heritage of small nations and cultural minorities to be denigrated and destroyed by the racial and cultural arrogance of larger nations. Independence for the peoples of these Pacific territories is their inalienable right as it is the inalienable right of all the peoples of all the world. That right is not negotiable. (Report of Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Conference 1983 25 26)

The NFIP conference was attended by a voting delegation from Hawaii. They willingly joined in the assertion of independence for Pacific peoples including themselves. They spoke about their own struggles against American colonialism for example against the large American military presence in the islands against the penetration of American and foreign multinational corporations against tourism and nuclear weapon storage in Hawaii.⁶

But while an understanding of colonialism is growing among some Hawaiians the process of psychological decolonization has been slower in Hawaii than in other Pacific nations. Part of the explanation for this is political. Hawaii like Alaska has entered the category of other states within America. Because of the myth of American democracy Hawaii's statehood has become an explanation of why it cannot be a colony (since it is the equal of other states) and instead why it must be an integral part of America rather than a territorial possession geographically and culturally distinct from America.

But the primary reason for the Hawaiians' lack of a critical consciousness is simply that colonization has taken its toll. For almost two hundred years American values and economics have undermined and transformed Hawaiian culture. After nearly a century of economic colonization by Americans in the 1800s Hawaii was annexed to the U.S. in 1898. With increasing capitalist penetration in the 20th century has come increasing racial oppression and exploitation of Hawaiians first under the missionary descended *haole* ruling class who governed Hawaii with an iron hand from 1893 to 1954 and later under the political power of descendants of Japanese immigrants who have dominated Hawaii since 1954. One result of this *haole* Japanese condominium has been a pervasive feeling of cultural and racial inferiority among Hawaiians. This attitude had kept them psychologically ensnared and politically crippled until the rise of the Hawaiian Movement in 1970.

At that point community struggles to preserve rural agricultural ways of life pitted oppressed Hawaiians against *haole* and Japanese capitalists anxious to develop Hawaiian lands for resorts and upper income subdivisions. As they lost their homes and farms to development Hawaiians experienced what generations of Hawaiians had suffered throughout the 19th century exploitation of their sacred *aina* (land) and their culture for the benefit of rapacious foreigners.

During the 19th century Western penetration in the form of Christianity and capitalism nearly destroyed Hawaiian cultural practices such as stewardship rather than ownership of the land sharing of work and its products the primacy of the extended family rather than the individual and the sacred inter relationship of all life. As the century advanced ever increasing numbers of *haole* and Asian immigrants to Hawaii demanded more land a larger socio economic slice of the capitalist pie and finally political control. To most of these non indigenous people who had arrogantly come to think of Hawaii as

rightfully theirs Hawaiians and their cultural ways were but backward yearning obstacles in the path of progress.

Thus Hawaiian powerlessness in the 20th century has its origins in the 18th and 19th centuries. Fifteen hundred years of Hawaii's isolation from the West was shattered by European adventurers who brought disease and death to a primitive people in 1778. The massive depopulation of Hawaiians which predictably followed made them easy targets for the next and possibly most destructive group of foreigners American missionaries.

To missionaries as to many of the traders and businessmen Hawaii was one of the heathen places destined for the Americans' god and their system of profit. Thus in 1850 the Rev. R. S. Storrs spoke before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and linked the Manifest Destiny of territorial expansion with the crucial role of the missionary in paving the way for the capitalist economy.

If the manufactures of our country find their way to Africa and China to the Sandwich Islands and India in increasing abundance and produce correspondingly remunerative returns it is because the herald of salvation has gone thither seeking the welfare of the people changing their habits of life breaking down their prejudices and creating demands for comforts and wealth before unknown (quoted in Schlesinger 1974:345).

American diplomats like Charles Denby in China concurred with Storrs:

Missionaries are the pioneers of trade and commerce. The missionary inspired by holy zeal goes everywhere and by degrees foreign commerce and trade follow (quoted in Schlesinger 1974:345).

By the 1890s the decade when Hawaii would become a possession of the U.S. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts could publicly confirm America's policy regarding the role Hawaii was to play in the advance of civilization:

In the interests of our commerce we should build the Nicaragua canal and for the protection of that canal and for the sake of our commercial supremacy in the Pacific we should control the Hawaiian Islands and maintain our influence in Samoa and when the Nicaragua canal is built the island of Cuba will become a necessity. The great nations are rapidly absorbing for their future expansion and their present defense all the waste places of the earth. It is a movement which makes for civilization and the advancement of the race. As one of the great nations of the world the United States must not fall out of the line of march (quoted in Zinn 1980:291).

America's colonization of Hawaii meant at one level a transformation of the traditional economic system from subsistence production to a plantation economy and later with tourism a service society. Always a peripheral part of the larger world system of capitalism, Hawaii was never self-sufficient after European contact. Throughout the 19th century, Hawaii became increasingly dependent on the core capitalist countries and remains so today (Kent 1983).

At another level, however, colonization also demanded that Hawaiians either be removed from their lands or conveniently succumb to disease. Syphilis introduced by the original tourist, Capt James Cook in 1778, was but the first of a European scourge of bewildering incurable diseases that maimed and killed Hawaiians by the tens of thousands. Because of these *haole* diseases (among them influenza, measles, whooping cough, and cholera), Hawaiians suffered enormous depopulation. From an estimated 500,000 people at contact, less than 45,000 remained in 1878, a decline by a ratio of more than 10 to 1.⁷

With the demise of the people came the rapid demise of their culture. The kinship system of chiefly stewardship was replaced by a monarchy soon after contact and as a direct result of the introduction of Western firearms. With political centralization came other kinds of exploitation: heavy taxation, a large administrative structure, and finally a Western legal system aimed at the establishment of private property land tenure as a replacement for traditional land use where no one owned the land and everyone had rights of use and access to both land and sea. Paramount among these legal modifications was the Great *Mahele* of 1848 and the *Kuleana* Act of 1850. These acts comprised a major land redistribution forced onto the monarchy by Westerners (ex-missionaries and businessmen) who needed security in land tenure for large plantations.⁸

Hailed as bringing fee simple ownership to Hawaiians, these land divisions actually alienated the land from them. The *Mahele* and the *Kuleana* Act divided the lands thus: 1.6 million acres, about 39% of the land, went to 248 Chiefs; 1 million acres, about 24% of the land, went to the king; 1.5 million acres, about 36% of the land, went to the Crown; and only 28,600 acres, less than 1% of the land, went to the common people who worked the land, the *Makaainana*. This last group of Hawaiians made up about 99% of the population (Kelly 1980: 65-66).

While the *Mahele* divided the lands between the chiefs, king, and government, the *Kuleana* Act supposedly guaranteed to the *makaainana* fee simple title to small plots of land. But these lands could only include that which the tenant really cultivated. It did not include common pasturage or lands cultivated with others. Since taro cultivation, like fishing, was a group endeavor, separation of the individual from the group — a Western value — meant starvation for most of the people. Apart from the fact that few *makaainana* received any land at all (only 30% of the adult male population), the plots which they

did receive were often too small to cultivate successfully. As a result, Hawaiians either sold their lands or were prohibited from subsisting on them (Kelly 1980: 65-66).

The ostensible justification for these land acts was that they would preserve the rights of the people while satisfying the needs of foreigners for land. This, of course, did not happen.

In the first place, the needs of foreigners for land could not be satisfied since their economic system depended for its success on the continual expansion of profits. Thus, foreign desire for land might be temporarily abated by the *Mahele*, but it would never be quenched, as the subsequent history of 20th century Hawaii shows. The enormous economic power of Americans was on the rise, and it was essential that land become a spur to profits rather than an obstacle.

In the second place, traditional land rights had been successfully protected through the use of these rights by hundreds of thousands of Hawaiians over numerous centuries. The sudden division of the lands with a new alternative of private property could not possibly have had the beneficial effect on Hawaiians claimed for it. According to Marion Kelly, student of the *Mahele* period:

It was the Americans, Rev. William Richards and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, who drew up the plan called the *Mahele*. They convinced the Hawaiian king and the chiefs of the Privy Council to accept it. They told the Hawaiians that if they didn't convert to private ownership of land, any foreign invader that annexed the Hawaiian Islands would not recognize Hawaiian land rights. They said a foreign invader would take over everything, leaving the king, chiefs, and Hawaiian people landless. (Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report, Vol. I, 1983: 712)⁹

Of course, the history of the *Mahele* shows that private property land tenure was the death knell of the *makaainana*. They received less than 1% of the land. The chiefs and the king did better but, under increased pressure to sell these lands as well, the bulk of the *aina* (land) found its way into the plantation economy.

The *haole* (whites) triumphed. They were enabled to buy vast acreages, either from the *makaainana* who were starving, or from the chiefs and the government who were heavily indebted to Western merchants. In both cases, the results were the same. The great bulk of the land came under Western ownership. Kelly judges the role of the *haole* and the purpose of the land division in the following way:

It was the American missionaries who changed the Hawaiian land tenure system into the American system of private ownership of land. This was done to provide land for American enterprise and safe investment schemes for American money. (Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report, Vol. I, 1983: 712)¹⁰

Such an imperialist design with such devastating effects on the common people can hardly be called the birth of democracy. It is more accurately described as a triumph of colonial policy: the power of American foreigners to dispossess and subjugate an indigenous people — the Hawaiians.

The victory of the white settlers meant, in the words of political scientist Noel Kent, cultural debasement, economic destitution, and a third rate status for Hawaiians in their own homeland. Meanwhile, the division of the lands continued the policy of appropriating Hawaiian resources to further the ends of capitalist accumulation and had the ultimate effect of undermining once and for all the viability of the Hawaiian way. For the white entrepreneurial class, dispossession of the Hawaiians was an essential precondition for the flourishing of capitalist export agriculture. (Kent 1983: 32)

This export was to be sugar, grown on vast acreages of what was once the land base of the Hawaiian people. Thanks to a host of Americans, missionary and businessmen alike, foreign power had changed Hawaii's laws and customs to reflect those in the United States, and land legislation and agricultural practices [were] brought in line with foreign notions. (Kent 1983: 29)

It is important to point out the role of Western law in this land seizure. The imposition of Western concepts through the Great *Mahele* and the *Kuleana* Act was crucial to the taking of the lands. Legal scholar Neil Levy

Western property concepts were imposed on the legal structure and would facilitate the rapid, steady takeover of Hawaiian owned lands during the next several decades. Moreover, the government's commitment to selling its remaining land put Westerners, with their access to capital, in a position to take Hawaiian land through the legal procedures they had established. *Western imperialism had been accomplished without the usual bothersome wars and costly colonial administration* (Levy 1975: 857, emphasis added).

As trade was introduced throughout the 19th century, Hawaiians became increasingly embroiled in the needs of expanding European and American capitalism for various commodities: provisions, sandalwood, whale products, and into the 20th century, sugar and resort lands. British, French, and American military forces guaranteed access to these resources for their respective entrepreneurial countrymen, while the *ali* (chiefly class), enamored of Western luxury items, attempted in vain to control trade. Like their elite counterparts in the Third World, the *ali* became unknowing conduits for Western imperialism.

It is crucial to note here not only that Western economic expansion directly contributed to the destruction of Hawaiian society, but that

America, among others, pressed its commercial interests with military power. Even the dean of Western historians of Hawaii, Ralph Kuykendall, admitted that

The traders brought their difficulties to the attention of the United States Government, with the result that in 1826 two American warships visited the islands, their commanders instructed to investigate the situation and render all proper aid to American commerce. Herein we see the genesis of the national debt in Hawaii. (Kuykendall 1938: 91)

The practice of supplementing verbal demands with warships was used by nations other than the United States. For example, 1836 saw British, French, and American gunboats in Honolulu within a period of two months. In 1839, the captain of a French gunboat forced the Hawaiian king to sign a treaty. And in 1842, the French man of war that had taken over the Marquesas Islands and established a French protectorate in Tahiti, arrived in Honolulu amidst fear that the French would take Hawaii. In 1843, Lord George Paulet of England confiscated the islands and ruled them for five months. Another foreigner, Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, restored the kingdom to the Hawaiians later that year. But in 1849, the French took possession of the Hawaiian fort again over a dispute involving debts, and forced an unequal treaty on Hawaiians. (Kelly 1980: 59)

Throughout the 19th century, Hawaiians were at the mercy of foreign traders and warships. They were increasingly disadvantaged by forced treaties and agreements, and they were pressured into finding allies among the foreigners themselves. The pattern which emerges here is a classic one of colonization: the more powerful country dictates the economic direction of the less powerful nation, which in turn becomes increasingly dependent and helpless in the face of the colonizer's superior military strength.

Simultaneous with these military pressures had come missionary pressures for religious conversion, and, as we have seen, for a change in land tenure. When Kaahumanu, astute and politically ambitious wife of Kamehameha I, broke the religious *kapu* affecting eating, the people were cut adrift in a confusing world. Their fellows were dying in record numbers while their *ali* were dismantling rather than upholding the traditional way of life. The breaking of the *kapu* was like other major changes in the 19th century, the result of foreign impingement.

The example of the foreigners, their disregard of the *kapu*, and their occasional efforts to convince the Hawaiians by argument that their system was wrong, were the most potent forces undermining the beliefs of the people. (Kuykendall 1938: 67)

This judgement is confirmed by Marshall Sahlins in his recent work *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* (1981). As an interpretation

of western contact in Hawaii. Sahlins' analysis supports the general conclusion that foreign impact was directly rather than indirectly responsible for the breaking of the *kapu* (Sahlins 1981).

When the missionaries arrived from Boston in 1820, the population had already declined by more than 50%. There was a religious vacuum because the *kapu* had been abrogated the year before. Once the *ali* converted, especially Kaahumanu, the people willingly followed. In 1824, Kamehameha II died in England, and his brother, Kāiʻiʻōʻō, became king. Because he was a minor, Kaahumanu assumed the Regency. Under her leadership, Hawaii was officially a Christian nation by 1840 (Bradley 1968: 168-213).

More than the merchants, the missionaries were powerful agents of cultural destruction. While the traders came expressly for profit, leaving disease and alcohol in their wake, the missionaries came to settle. Boring from within, they spread throughout the islands, with churches in Waimea and Hilo, Lahaina, Honolulu, and Kauai. Convinced of their duty to Christianize and civilize, the missionaries insisted that Hawaiians had lived miserable lives before the coming of the West.

Under missionary eyes, the ancient Hawaiians had been ruled by bloodthirsty priests and despotic chiefs. Peopled by promiscuous women who murdered their own children, Hawaii was kept in vile darkness through the reign of a cannibalistic religion.

Without any evidence to support these malicious statements, the missionaries were nevertheless content to repeat them for posterity. The most vicious of the lot was haughty Hiram Bingham, self-styled leader of the mission. He began the memoirs of his sojourn in Hawaii with a characteristic description of Hawaiian culture during the 1400 years prior to his visit:

Looking back into the obscurity of Hawaiian history to inquire respecting the character of the unknown islanders who have passed over the stage of earthly existence in preceding generations, we may estimate their corruption and debasement by the principles and religious practices in which they trained and left their children, and by the vile songs and sports, the creeds and usages prevailing among them, and by the received narrative of the lives of their leaders. Their religion, their politics, their amusements, and the examples of rulers, priests, and parents, all tended to sanction and to foster lust and malevolence. The national history, so far as it was preserved and known by the people, must have continued, without the counteracting influence of a better religion than was known to them, to be debasing, instead of producing or promoting virtue. Violence, fraud, lust, and pollution pervade the whole history from the oldest traditions of the origin of their race, and of their system of religion, and whether that history be true or false, its effects upon the moral sense, so far as it was relied on, were deadly. Even the story that cannibalism was once practiced in

the mountains of Oahu does not show, as tradition relates it, that any king or chief cared to protect the people from the supposed devourers of men, or that any public sentiment at the time was expressed against it, any more than against human sacrifices to the gods, which it was believed the king and priests might offer and did offer at their pleasure (Bingham 1848: 23-24).

While other members of the mission were generally less vituperative than Bingham, they nevertheless shared his sentiments. Hawaiian culture and people were descended from a pagan, inferior race whose enlightenment it was the missionaries' burden to ensure (Bradley 1968: Dibble 1909).

With this view of Hawaiians, Bingham and his brethren were determined to replace the Hawaiian way of life with Western practices. Towards this end, Bingham continually pressed the *ali* for work-free Sabbaths, the abolition of the hula, the adoption of Western dress, the construction of Western houses, even the practice of Western burial. As the most trusted counselor of Kaahumanu, Bingham relentlessly instructed her in the necessity of moral reform through legislation. Thus, in 1824, Kaahumanu ordered her people to cease work on the Sabbath, which, in some cases, created real hardships for a people dependent on work in the fields and oceans for sustenance (Bradley 1968: 173-174).

The missionaries also wrought cultural havoc through the establishment of a Western-style educational system. Aided by the newly converted *ali*, the missionaries succeeded in opening some 900 schools by the late 1820s to teach reading and writing. Once again, Kaahumanu had paved the way when, in 1824, she required her subjects to receive a *haole*, i.e., missionary education.¹¹

Predictably, the first textbook was the Bible. From that small volume, Hawaiians were indoctrinated with a foreign morality based in original sin and the evil of man. And they were taught this frightening moral and philosophical system in their own native tongue.

Beyond the technical changes made by the missionaries in their reduction of the language to written form, the most critical change was in the use of the language as a tool of colonization. Where the language had once been inseparable from the people and their history, communicating their heritage between and among generations, it now came to be used as the very vehicle of alienation from their habits of life. The missionaries used the language to inculcate in Hawaiians a yearning to be Western, and a sense of inferiority regarding the Hawaiians' own culture, including their dance, habits of dress, their laws and rituals, even their matings and affections. Thus, as Frantz Fanon has remarked about missionaries in general, they did not call the native to God's ways, but to the ways of the white man, of the master, of the oppressor (Fanon 1965: 32).

Hymns that told of a suffering Jesus and a sinful humanity replaced chants of the origins of the universe the evolution of life forms and the geneology of an entire people No longer was an ancient history recited no longer were new chants composed A repressive sexual morality reduced the fecund sensual imagery of the Hawaiians to concepts of evil and filth For example where the Hawaiians once eroticized their environment with sexual names they were under Christian influence to rename their natural world as their children with safe English language referents Indeed an 1860 law required Hawaiians to have two names where before they had had only one and to call them selves by a Christian first name (Kimura 1983 173 197) This is how the Hawaiian people came to have so many Ruths and Davids Miriams and Johns among them

Meanwhile a foreign tale about a foreign god was daily recited and the Hawaiian *aumakua* (family gods) were gradually neglected for the story of a Jewish child from a far away land Hawaiians were unknowingly removed from the spiritual strength of their own time and place and refocused on another people — a white people — from a strange time and an alien place Native history and native culture were all but lost along the way

Fanon and others like Albert Memmi and Vine Deloria Jr have analyzed how colonization is above all a process of deculturation of the native people It is a pervasive totality which seeks the liquidation of a native people's systems of reference as well as the collapse of its cultural patterns (Deloria 1973 Memmi 1967 Fanon 1967 38 39) Because missionaries focused on transforming habits of thought (e g through their schools) styles of behavior (e g through their imposition of repressive sexual morality) and customs of governing (e g through their imposition of Western law) they were engaged in the breaking down of Hawaiian culture Their efforts were directed at uprooting natives from their customary life and then enslaving them with the artifacts of Western culture which ranged from Mother Hubbard dresses and the Sabbath to Constitutions private property and the notion of sexual sin What many Westerners call *acculturation* to their civilized ways is really *deculturation* in which as that defender of colonization O Mannoni long ago described the personality of the native is first destroyed through uprooting enslavement and the collapse of the social system (Mannoni 1956 40)

Nowhere was this deculturation more in evidence than in the school system which was according to historian Ralph Kuykendall in all essential respects an outgrowth of the work of American Protestant and to a much lesser extent of Roman Catholic missionaries its form and spirit were American (Kuykendall 1966 106)

While the ABCFM had explicitly forbidden political activity by the missionaries they nevertheless formed an alliance with the ruling *alii* By 1826 this alliance was so thorough missionary historian Sheldon

Dibble acknowledged that a union between church and state existed to a very considerable extent (Dibble 1909 78) Although vehemently protested by the merchant class who saw clearly that missionary dominance over the government meant temperance and anti prostitution laws the church state union in the early years of the mission set a dangerous precedent for reliance on the missionaries which was to reach its tragic peak during the reign of Kamehameha III Then under the tutelage of missionaries the lands were officially alienated from the people

While the missionaries preached the superiority of Western civilization the Hawaiian population continued to decline Ostensibly concerned with the increasing death toll from Western diseases the missionaries real concern was that the Hawaiians die as Christians rather than as pagans As for the survival of the Hawaiian culture the missionaries were determined that it pass from the earth as quickly as possible In their own words they wanted to produce an entire change in the former state of things in these islands and to aim at nothing short of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization (Quoted in Bradley 1968 180) This Christian civilization entailed the dominance of American values religion language economics politics even habits of dress and domestic behavior The missionary domain was to be secular and cultural not merely religious

Thus not only did American businessmen and missionaries invade Hawaii in the 19th century bringing disease and death but they successfully penetrated Hawaiian society at the religious economic and political levels creating a settler colony a mini America Anxious for incorporation into the United States these white settlers overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 with the willing aid of American military forces Over a hundred years of American economic and ideological power in Hawaii was then secured by annexation in 1898 (Kent 1983)

The racism surrounding the controversy over annexation deserves some comment What historian Christopher Lasch has pointed out regarding the 1898 Congressional debates over cession of the Philippines was equally true about the controversy over the annexation of Hawaii Both sides accepted the inequality of man — or to be more precise of races — as an established fact (Lasch 1973 71) Thus the substance of the debate focused on whether the Constitution should be applied in the colonies and whether the American empire should be hemispheric or global The question of whether Hawaiians should be consulted about annexation was answered by the likes of Senator Hoar who argued that asking what the Hawaiians wanted was as reasonable to take the vote of children in an orphan asylum or an idiot school (Quoted in Drinnon 1980 311)

Meanwhile in Hawaii annexation mania had characterized the 1890s The *haole* planters newspaper the *Advertiser* had warned its readers It is the white race against the yellow Nothing but annexation can save these islands (Quoted in Kent 1983 60 61)

As for the missionary element C M Hyde of the North Pacific Missionary Institute reiterated what his predecessor Hiram Bingham had always believed the Hawaiians were not fit to govern themselves especially as Hawaii was by the end of the 19th century mainly American in institutions and business Hyde reasoned after the overthrow in 1893

I see nothing better than immediate annexation I think that intelligent Hawaiians who have at heart the best interests of the country and the people are very generally of that opinion Give us annexation and plans will be at once pushed for such development of the country as can not be even thought of under any other circumstances Talk about a protectorate is idle We have had enough of legal fictions The institutions and connections of the country are mainly American Let us have the name as well as the appearance the real power as well as the nominal acquiescence and the Hawaiians will accept the situation They will have to make the best of it whatever may be decided upon for them (quoted in Blount 1895 827 828)

While Hyde was perfectly willing to dictate the future of Hawaiians he was incorrect about the intelligent Hawaiians According to Commissioner Blount sent by President Cleveland to investigate the overthrow Hawaiians were against annexation by a margin of five to one This is the main reason why the *haole* leaders of the Republic of Hawaii (1894 1898) conspired with the *haole* elite in America to prevent Hawaiians from voting on annexation altogether¹²

Finally Hyde could not resist linking the overthrow of a lawfully empowered government to the triumph of Christianity and prosperity He concluded his testimony to Blount by stating that the overthrow of an obstructive and ruinous social and political system [i.e. the Hawaiian Government] is the best preparation for the spread of the Gospel of Christ and the enjoyments of its privileges and blessings (quoted in Blount 1895 827 828)

As a result of these actions Hawaiians became a conquered people their lands and culture subordinated to another nation They were made to feel and survive as inferiors when their sovereignty as a nation was forcibly ended by American military power Rendered politically and economically powerless by the turn of the century Hawaiians continue to suffer the effects of American colonization land alienation unemployment and employment ghettoization the worst health profile in the islands the lowest income level a deep psychological oppression manifested in crime suicide and aimlessness and finally the grossest commodification of their culture for the international market of tourism This latest affliction of colonialism has meant a particularly insidious form of cultural prostitution The *hula* for example has been made ornamental a form of exotica for the gaping tourist Far from encouraging a cultural revival as tourist industry apologists contend

tourism has appropriated and cheapened the accomplishments of a resurgent interest in things Hawaiian (eg the current use of replicas of Hawaiian artifacts like fishing and food implements capes helmets and other symbols of ancient power to decorate hotels)¹³ Hawaiian women meanwhile are marketed on posters from Paris to Tokyo promising an unfettered primitive sexuality while Hawaiian men bare their bodies for sexually repressed tourists

This transformation of cultural value into monetary value has been called commodification — the process of objectifying a person or a cultural attribute for the purposes of profit making While capitalist society commodifies nearly everything the Hawaiian people suffer particularly because in addition to all their economic and social burdens their culture is plasticized for the world market

But while tourism has grown to monstrous proportions in Hawaii a protest movement of increasing magnitude has accompanied it Similar to the indigenous Indian Movement on the American mainland and to other indigenous movements in the South Pacific the Hawaiian Movement can be seen as one radical response to American colonization

THE HAWAIIAN MOVEMENT AND THE QUEST FOR INDEPENDENCE

Kau liu makou
Nui ke aloha no ka aina
We are few in number
But our love for the land is great

from *Mele o Kahoolawe*
by Harry Kunihi Mitchell

Like the American Indian Movement the Hawaiian Movement has evolved from a series of protests against land abuses through various demonstrations and occupations to dramatize the oppressed conditions of Hawaiians to assertions of native sovereignty based on indigenous birthrights to the land Occurring in the decade of the seventies and continuing into the eighties this progression marked a new consciousness among modern Hawaiians about their history their culture and their subjugation to Western values and institutions including capitalism formal education and Christianity

One result of this consciousness was a growing activism in rural Hawaiian communities to preserve the remnants of their life ways against encroaching urbanization and military use Resistance to evictions to commercial development of sacred sites and farming areas to suppression and commercialization of Hawaiian culture and to military occupation of Hawaiian land characterized one part of the Hawaiian Movement In the meantime the new consciousness also gave rise to a revival of artistic interest in things Hawaiian *hula kahiko*

(ancient hula) *olelo Hawaii* (Hawaiian language) and various forms of arts and crafts including canoe building and lei making

Along with this artistic flowering came a serious search for the spiritual source of Hawaiian culture. As many young people journeyed back through a century and a half of colonial repression to the pre-European sources of their culture, they discovered with the help of their elders that Hawaiian religion was rooted in a profound relationship to the land. Because Hawaiians took their sustenance from the land, their daily activities — planting, fishing, building, even eating — expressed spiritual as well as physical aspects of being. This understanding of life as a relationship between the spirit of the land and the people of the land, between material survival and cultural expression, between work and a respect for the wondrous and varied bounty of nature — all this shaped Hawaiian philosophy, music, art, dance, language, and indeed structured the core of Hawaiian kinship, the extended family or *ohana* (Handy *et al.* 1972, Handy & Pukui 1950, Charlot 1983, Trask 1983). The gradual relearning of this cultural heritage led activist Hawaiians to demand what their nineteenth century counterparts had demanded: a land base for the practice and transmission of their culture, especially taro cultivation and religious observances.

The Movement's growth from community struggle and cultural resurgence to collective assertions of Hawaiian claims for religious freedom, political power, and finally independence as a sovereign nation was preceded by a fundamental transformation in Hawaii's economy. From dependence on cash crops of sugar and pineapple, and on military expenditures in the first half of the 20th century, Hawaii's economy shifted to an increasing dependence on tourism and land speculation with rising investment by multinational corporations in the second half of the century.

After statehood in 1959, burgeoning tourism led to an overnight boom in hotels, high cost condominium and subdivision developments, and luxury resort complexes which necessitated ever growing demands for land. Concentrated land ownership, a problem since the onslaught of plantation agriculture in the 1800s, had actually increased in the 20th century. Small landowners controlled less than 10% of the land. The military, the State, and large private estates and foreign and American developers owned the remainder. As a result, large landlords drove up the price of land, capitalizing on the post-Statehood rush toward commercial development (Kelly 1980, Kent 1983).

Already economically exploited and culturally suppressed rural Hawaiian communities, which had been relatively untouched during the plantation period, were besieged by rapid development of their agricultural areas beginning in the late 1960s.¹⁴ These areas — among them Hana, East Molokai, Keaukaha, Nanakuli, Waianae, Waimanalo, Hauula — had managed to retain many traditional practices

such as taro farming, fishing, and the spoken Hawaiian language. Given the effects of educational and religious colonization in the 19th century, and the great decline in the native population, these Hawaiian communities, although remnants of a once dynamic civilization, were nevertheless crucial to the perpetuation of Hawaiian culture. Their threatened extinction by urbanization and other forms of development was correctly perceived by many oppressed Hawaiians as a final attempt to rid Hawaii of Hawaiians and their culture. In many ways, it was predictable that the Hawaiian Movement would begin and flourish in rural areas where the call for a land base would be the loudest.

While proceeding out of historical abuses of Hawaiian land and people, the Hawaiian Movement should be distinguished from other protest struggles in Hawaii by the demand for a native land base. (Other struggles include those involving the rights of non-Hawaiian residents — e.g., Filipinos in Ota Camp, the Chinese in Chinatown, and those involving preservation of the environment — e.g., the fight to stop the H-3 freeway and the Save Our Surf (SOS) struggle.) This call for land arises out of an understanding of the native claims of Hawaiians as the indigenous people of Hawaii.

Many community struggles — e.g., against evictions and development — raised the issue of land rights. At the beginning of the decade, communities often took a stand in terms of the rights of local people. The term *local* included Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian long time residents of Hawaii. The assertion of their rights to live on the land was opposed to the rights of property owners like the State, developers, and private estates.

But as the decade wore on, the assertion of indigenous Hawaiian rights as historically unique from the rights of immigrants to Hawaii began to characterize more community struggles. Independent of their local supporters, Hawaiians began to protest development by occupying lands, or by refusing to be evicted from land scheduled for development. They also protested through mass demonstrations, legal actions, and through cultural assertions such as the construction of fishing villages. These forms of protest placed the Hawaiians' demand to live and transmit their culture on a specified land base at the front of the movement. The rights of "locals" were not thereby opposed. But Hawaiians' historic and cultural claims to the land as the *first* and *origi*

nal claimants were increasingly seen at least by Hawaiians as primary. Struggles at Kukailimoku Village in Kona at Sand Island Mokauea Island Waimanalo Kahana Valley Waianae and Nanakuli on Oahu on the east end of Molokai in Hana Maui and the struggle to stop the bombing of Kahoolawe all illustrated concerns for a land base for cultural purposes. Emphasis was given to fishing taro cultivation Hawaiian religious worship and various aspects of Hawaiian culture such as dance and language. Unlike other non Hawaiian struggles these rural Hawaiian struggles were specifically concerned with the practice of Hawaiian culture. Because neither the people nor their culture can flourish without some kind of land base Hawaiians organized their protests around a crucial common demand land.

Claims to this land base were presented in several forms as an argument for reparations from the U S for its involvement in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government in (1893) and the subsequent loss of Hawaiian nationhood and sovereignty as a legal claim to special trust lands abused by the State and Federal governments (200 000 acres within the Hawaiians Homes Act and another 1.5 million areas of ceded lands in the Admissions Act) and by large estates (e.g. Bishop Estate and Lihoukalani Trust) and finally as a right of residence by virtue of indigenous status sometimes called aboriginal rights.¹⁵

Beginning in 1970 Hawaiian political organizations began to push their native claims at the same time that besieged communities organized against eviction and urban development.¹⁶ The Hawaiians a State wide grass roots political organization was formed in 1970 to redress abuses in the administration of Hawaiian Home lands. Meanwhile Hawaiian and non Hawaiian farmers in Kalama Valley tried to resist eviction that same year by the Bishop Estate and Kaiser Aetna who sought upper income residential development on agricultural lands. Kokua Kalama a militant Hawaiian organization was formed to help the residents resist eviction. Later as Kokua Hawaii this organization expanded to address the needs of Hawaiians State wide.

The following year the Congress of the Hawaiian People was created as a watchdog over the Bishop Estate while another State wide organization was formed in 1972 to lobby for reparations from the U S government. Called ALOHA (Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry) this organization's efforts eventually led to the establishment (in 1980) of a Presidential Commission to study the needs and concerns of the Hawaiian people including reparations.

By 1973 several organizations and struggles had appeared around the State. Tenants at Nawiliwili Niumalu on Kauai struggled against their eviction and against resort development. *kuleana* land owners on Windward Oahu organized as Hui Malama Aina o Koolau (The Association to Protect the Lands of the Koolau) to stop development of their agricultural lands. The Homerule Movement formed as a

political lobbying group for Hawaiians and the Waimanalo People's Organization fought eviction by the State.

In 1974 the first nationalist organization of the Movement *Ohana o Hawaii* (Family of Hawaii) appeared under the leadership of Peggy Hao Ross who has taken her case for the re establishment of the Hawaiian Nation to various world forums including the United Nations. Meanwhile grass roots Hawaiians in Kona occupied a shoreline area and constructed a traditional fishing village as a cultural action against planned resort development. On Oahu a major struggle erupted between farmers and land owners regarding urban sprawl into Waiahole and Waikane Valleys.

In 1975 the island of Molokai witnessed the birth of Hui Ala Loa (the Association of the Long Trails). As a political group representing a large Hawaiian constituency on Molokai Hui Ala Loa organized around naive issues from beach and forest access to water use and homestead land to preservation of taro cultivation and fishing areas to a moratorium on resort development. Meanwhile on Oahu two community struggles took place a successful fight by fishermen on Mokauea Island against their eviction by the State and a less successful struggle against eviction by residents of Heeia Kea on the windward side of the island.

The Protect Kahoolawe Ohana was formed in 1976 to stop U S military bombing of the island of Kahoolawe. As a State wide organization the Ohana served to link various land struggles on each island. It also asserted a Hawaiian cultural alternative — *Aloha Aina* love of the land — to Western practices of exploitation of both people and land. A non profit corporation of Waianae homesteaders Hoala Kanawai was founded to lay claim of the ceded lands trust.

In 1977 leprosy patients at Hale Mohalu began a long fight to prevent their relocation to Leahi Hospital. Their issue was abuse of both the patients (most of whom are Hawaiian) and the land which had been entrusted to the State by the Federal government expressly for the care of the patients.

In 1978 Kahoolawe Ohana members Hawaiian homesteaders and other supporters demonstrated at Hilo Airport against abuses of trust lands (part of the airport is built on Homestead land) and the bombing of Kahoolawe. Meanwhile the Hawaii State Constitutional Convention passed a bundle of amendments concerning Hawaiians which called for reforms in the Hawaiian Homes Commission protection of traditional Hawaiian access rights to the land and sea for religious and cultural purposes and for economic subsistence the promotion of the study of Hawaiian language history and culture the abolition of adverse possession of more than five acres of land and the establishment of an Office of Hawaiian Affairs administered by trustees elected by

Hawaiians and charged with the care of the land resources and revenues from the State and Federal governments specially earmarked for Hawaiians

In 1980 Hawaiian residents of Sand Island Oahu sought a live in cultural park but were evicted and arrested by the State. In 1983 Hawaiian residents of Makua Beach Oahu asserted their aboriginal rights to live on the shoreline in a traditional way. They were evicted and several arrests were made.

For over thirteen years — from 1970 to 1983 — Hawaiian discontent erupted in mass protests against land alienation and cultural destruction around the State. But where community struggles originally stressed the rights of local people the political organizations began with a specific focus on the abuses of Hawaiian lands and Hawaiian people. With the birth of the Kahoolawe Ohana in 1976 the discourse of protest expanded from a focus on land abuse to an argument for a positive alternative. Phrased in Hawaiian this alternative of *Aloha Aina* signalled the merging of political protest with cultural assertion. Thus Hawaiian communities did more than struggle against land development. They also argued for a *preferred alternative* to capitalism. Hawaiian land use ethics of preservation, conservation and respect for the sacredness of nature and harmony between people, their culture and their environment. These ethics were taken directly from Hawaiian culture.

This alternative was increasingly enunciated through the Hawaiian language evincing another example of the merging of the political and the cultural aspects of the movement. But use of the language also indicated a profound evolution in the movement itself.

1) Western terms and English language referents were eschewed in favor of Hawaiian terms and Hawaiian language.

2) this was clear evidence that psychological de-colonization had begun.

3) this shift signalled a growing move towards indigenous Hawaiian values.

4) these values gave Hawaiians pride and purpose beyond the activity of struggle and

5) increased commitment to these cultural values became a source of increased demands culminating in the ultimate demand for sovereignty and independence.

While the Hawaiian cultural revival focused attention on Hawaiian dance, language and history, Hawaiians active in native claims struggles began to feel a sense of righteousness about their cause. This righteousness and pride were mixed with anger at the discovery that Hawaiians had been kept ignorant of their history by the colonizers. For example many Hawaiians learned for the first time that they were fighting for a land base originally taken away by sugar planters and missionaries, two colonizing groups who had been praised in standard

history books. They also discovered that the U.S. long described as the saviour of Hawaii had actively participated in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government and in the extinguishment of the Hawaiian nation. Pride in things Hawaiian led to a critical look at things *haole* and to a growing understanding that the Americanization of Hawaii had meant the repression of Hawaiian people and the decline of their culture.

Through study, political action and cultural return, Hawaiians began to experience what indigenous people had experienced in the de-colonization period after World War II: a rejection of Western ways and a re-education in the ways of their ancestors. For Hawaiians, as for other Third World people, this process of mental decolonization led to cultural revival and political organizing. As Fanon and Cabral had predicted, the freeing of indigenous minds from the vise of the colonizers gave birth to a liberation struggle. American ideological hegemony in Hawaii was threatened by the very presence of the movement.

If charted against Western values, the indigenous values that radical Hawaiians asserted, as well as the threat that they posed, are immediately clear.¹⁷

<i>Hawaiian Values Aloha Aina</i>	<i>Western Values Capitalism and Individualism</i>
(Love of the people for the land)	(Primacy of the self reproduction of profit)
Sacredness of nature	Instrumental view of nature
Interdependence of people and nature	Domination of humans over nature
Protection of nature	Exploitation of nature
Conservation of nature	Endless consumption of natural resources
Respect for the inherent value of each living object	Commodification of people and nature for profit
Use and sharing among people of all resources	Individual ownership and individual benefit
Ohana (extended family the collective) as central	Individual as central
Laulima cooperation among people working together in harmony	Competition among people — Class against class individual against individual
Lokahi unity	Conflict class antagonism

To Hawaiians in rural communities who wanted to preserve taro patches fish ponds and other bountiful wild areas of nature to feed their families and to perpetuate their culture urban and resort development freeways gas stations and the rest were clear signs of a rapacious exploitative value system that placed gain over welfare waste and consumption over the needs of the common people

In stark contrast to Western culture Hawaiian values revealed a culture whose religion politics and economics were grounded in a fundamental love for the land and its people This culture presented an admirable — and to many Hawaiians — a preferred alternative to the *haole* or Western way of life More than this such an alternative if adopted by Hawaiian communities would ensure not only the preservation of the *aina* but also the perpetuation of Hawaiian people as *Hawaiians* rather than as *colonized Americans* In desiring to be what their ancestry had bequeathed to them Hawaiians followed a path taken earlier by other people of color rejection of the white mask and its values

The return to their culture thus gave to Hawaiians a sense of cultural pride and creative identity denied them by colonization In addition the more Hawaiians came to understand their culture through its actual practice the more they came to understand the need for land Political direction grew from that need until by the end of the seventies there was a unified call for a land base

The decolonization of Hawaiians was aided by connections with other people of color early on in the movement For example in 1971 Hawaiian representatives of the Kalama Valley struggle were sent to Black Panther meetings on the American mainland Upon their return the Kalama Valley support group Kokua Hawaii was reorganized along the lines of the Black Panther Party including the creation of a Minister of Defense This reorganization had been preceded by the visit of Panther Eldridge Cleaver to Hawaii He had spoken about the commonalities between Hawaiians and Blacks as colonized people

Indeed an exchange of militants between struggles formed one part of the outreach effort throughout the Movement In 1973 for example Russell Means and Dennis Banks visited Hawaii They brought the message of a common oppression as indigenous people Hawaiians active in Welfare Rights struggles attended conferences with Blacks and Chicanos in Los Angeles in the early seventies After the occupation of Kahoolawe by Hawaiian activists in 1976 several trips to the mainland were made to link up with Indian activists and other supportive groups In 1982 Hawaiian activists spoke at the First International American Indian Tribunal alongside Banks and Means as well as representatives from Third World countries in Asia the Middle East the Pacific Africa and the Americas

Visits from South Pacific islanders have also occurred For example radical Maori Tahitian and Micronesian delegates to the 1980 Nuclear

Free Pacific Conference held in Hawaii contributed enormously to the Hawaiians consciousness regarding their sovereign rights And the return visits of Hawaiian activists to the South Pacific have guaranteed an additional infusion of radical analysis into the Movement

These connections have deepened the Hawaiians understanding of their oppressed conditions as well as their sense of solidarity with Third World struggles In particular contacts with American Indians and Pacific Islanders have given movement Hawaiians a heightened consciousness about their status as indigenous people This consciousness has had a direct impact on political organizing both in Hawaii and internationally

The effects of international networking have increased the political sense Hawaiians have gained from community struggle and cultural revival Both sets of forces have shaped the Hawaiians demand for sovereignty This demand has appeared in several forms as a call for a completely independent Hawaii under the exclusive or predominating control of Hawaiians as a call for limited sovereignty on a specified land base administered by a single Hawaiian council but subject to U S Federal regulations as a call for legally incorporated land based units within existing Hawaiian communities linked by a common elective council as a call for a nation within a nation on the model of American Indian nations as a call for the return to a constitutional Hawaiian monarchy

While these forms are debated by Hawaiians in the movement questions about socialist/communist parties and their role including their positions on Hawaiian sovereignty have also received attention From the beginning of the movement in 1970 the Left and its socialist goals have been the source of intense controversy For many radical Hawaiians criticisms of the Left begin from the simple observation that Left parties do not as a rule have a substantial Hawaiian membership Thus Left participation in the Hawaiian movement is automatically suspect Indeed some Hawaiians resent the Left as much as Black radicals resented white liberals who sought to direct other peoples struggles in the sixties and seventies

But membership is only the most obvious problem More troubling to radical Hawaiians is the fact that the Left tends to adhere quite closely to a standard Marxist Leninist view of history and thus tends to concentrate organizing efforts in urban areas where the working classes live Now while most Hawaiians live in urban areas they are not the activists calling for an independent land base and a cultural revival It is the rural Hawaiians who have carried the movement and it is to them that the Left's ideology is abrasive appearing too *haole* (i.e. Western) anti-cultural and in specific strategic instances against the interests and rights of the Hawaiian people This last concern is especially crucial because rural Hawaiians are most impacted by the continued development of land

To these Hawaiians the Left ignores a central Hawaiian focus culture. Driven by a certain kind of historical analysis and ideology many Leftists view Hawaiians as regressive in the sense of historical evolution because they insist on preserving a spiritual and material relationship to the land. In a movement grounded in the indigenous people's land and culture such a position of neglect or outright hostility by the Left is bound to alienate Hawaiians.

Beyond this blindness is the deeper problem which it suggests to Hawaiians that Leftists have no geneological connection to the land no love of its history no profound attachments either culturally or materially to its great everlasting presence. Because they have no bonds with the land Leftists are often perceived as no different from other interlopers they are not of the *aina* Hawaii. Rather they are as Fanon says of the colonizers the others.

The Hawaiian emphasis on land and culture also raises serious questions about industrialization — a key element in the achievement of socialist designs. From the perspective of Hawaiian nationalists the Left cannot answer the criticism that industrialization destroys the spiritual relationship between humans and nature. For urban dwellers and other Westernized people this destruction is almost incidental an artifact of modern life. To the Left it is a historical necessity. But to indigenous people whose heritage is defined by such a relationship the loss of spiritual and material ties to the land signals an end to their way of life. The Left's often dismissive attitude regarding this concern has further divided them from Hawaiian nationalists. Unfortunately this division can be so extreme that in some cases Hawaiians perceive the Left rather than the capitalist Establishment as the enemy of the Hawaiian people and their indigenous rights.

These problems between the Left and radical movement Hawaiians will not be resolved because the disagreements are fundamental ones of first importance. As in other movements such as the American Indian movement some members of the Left will continue to support the Hawaiian movement despite their disagreements. Other Leftists will not offer support and will indeed join the forces of opposition. But the Hawaiian movement will continue whether or not the Left supports Hawaiian goals.

While members of the Hawaiian community discuss various paths toward self determination the question of *whether* Hawaiians should be working for a land base recedes into the background. The presence of nearly two million acres (half the State) as Hawaiian trust lands — however abused by the State and Federal governments — fairly guarantees that such a question is no longer at issue. The problem for nationalist Hawaiians therefore is *how* to proceed politically to achieve an independent land base.

Several suggestions have been put forward by various movement leaders and organizations which can be grouped under the following

strategies: active education of Hawaiians about their history and native rights and about the need for a land base; litigation against the State and Federal governments for abuses of trust lands and for reparations; offensive political demonstrations such as land seizures, illegal protests at restricted places and disruptions of institutional activity; offensive cultural actions such as religious worship on sacred sites closed to such worship, the construction of fishing villages and taro patches on lands scheduled for other economic activity and the disruption of tourist attractions which commodify and degrade Hawaiian culture. The purposes of offensive actions are threefold: they awaken both Hawaiians and the general public to Hawaiian problems; they assert rights through direct moves against abuse or in support of cultural practices; they advance the movement forward towards independence rather than holding it within the parameters of civil rights actions.

Such strategies have been used throughout the movement and will continue for the foreseeable future. With these events it is clear that the Hawaiian Movement has matured into a full blown nationalist struggle. Whether the quest for independence will lead to the establishment of a sovereign land base for Hawaiians depends on the force of the movement and the strategies of its members, particularly networking with international groups. But the desire for independence burns on.

NOTES

- 1 Editor's note: Dr. Trask submitted this article with the proper diacritical marks on Hawaiian words. However, because of technical limitations of the equipment we use to produce *Social Process in Hawaii* we were unable to include them.
- 2 For the purposes of this article the term *Hawaiian* includes both full and part Hawaiians defined as those individuals whose ancestors were natives of the Hawaiian Islands prior to 1778.
- 3 For a discussion of Indian hating as ideology and as practice see Drinnon's exhaustive monumental study *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Empire Building and Indian Hating* (1980). Drinnon brilliantly argues that American attitudes and policy against Indians serve as a model for American imperialism overseas. He illustrates his argument with rich examples from the Puritan era through the Vietnam period.
- 4 The best account of the continued rape of Indian lands by the American government and by multinational corporations is

- Johansen & Maestas (1979) For personal testimony from Indians about their current plight on the reservations see Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz (1977)
- 5 See this analysis in *Oyate Wicaho* (Voice of the People) the news paper of the South Dakota American Indian Movement
 - 6 The delegation from Hawaii was composed of five voting delegates (four indigenous one non indigenous) two non voting Hawaiian elders (kupuna) and non voting staff people from the Pacific Concerns Resource Center in Honolulu
 - 7 For demographic information on Hawaiians see Schmitt (1968) For a general discussion of Hawaiian health in pre-contact and post contact times see Dr Kekuni Blaisdell's report on native health in the *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report* (1983) It should be kept in mind that the estimates for the pre contact population are guesses by Europeans who knew nothing about the culture or the inland settlements of the Hawaiians. My feeling is that the Hawaiian population estimate at contact will be revised upward as the Indian population estimate has been as a result of better archaeological work and statistical estimations based on it. To my knowledge no such work has been completed to date. Given my general understanding of Hawaii at the time of contact I have chosen the highest recorded estimate by a European because my sense is that the actual population was considerably higher
 - 8 Kelly (1956) gives a good description of the process of encroachment of Euro American private property land tenure on Hawaiian caretaking land tenure. Also see William Davenport (1969) for an analysis of the impact of the West on Hawaiian politics
 - 9 This quote is from a response written by Marion Kelly Mililani Trask and Haunani Kay Trask to the Draft Report of the Native Hawaiians Study Commission which is reprinted in the Final Report of the Commission. Ms Kelly wrote the section of the response that is reproduced here (1983)
 - 10 Kelly's judgment is based on research on the *Mahele* conducted over a period of some thirty years while she has been an associate of the Bishop Museum
 - 11 For a good general discussion of the effect of missionaries on Hawaiian language and the school system see Kimura (1983) For a more detailed analysis see Tagupa (1979)

- 12 Hawaii was annexed by Congressional Resolution. Hawaiians had no part of this vote. The estimate of Hawaiian feeling about annexation if it were to be put to a vote was made by Blount at the end of his report to President Cleveland. This knowledge was of course a fact of political life to the local *haole* elite and the American elite whose enemies would have defeated annexation if it had been presented on other procedural terms. But the question never was presented to Hawaiians in terms of a vote and thus America annexed Hawaii without the consent of Hawaiians
- 13 For one example among hundreds if not thousands of tourist industry apologists and their justification in terms of furthering the Hawaiian cultural revival see the editorial by A A Smyser on Hawaiian Problems (1982) and my response in A Hawaiian View of Hawaiian Problems (1982)
- 14 For statistics on Hawaiians see the *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report* Vol 1 1983. By 1970 tourists had increased five fold while Hawaiians suffered the worst fate of the five major ethnic groups (the *haole* Chinese Japanese Filipino and Hawaiian) higher unemployment occupational ghettoization in low paying non professional jobs high drop out rate for school lowest income levels overrepresentation in prison and drug treatment facilities worst health profile
- 15 For a thorough example of the reparation/restitution case see Mackenzie (1982). For a critique of the ceded lands trust see Trask (1978). For a critique of the Hawaiian Homes trust see Hawaii Advisory Committee to U S Commission on Civil Rights (1980) and the report of the Federal State Task Force on the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (1983)
- 16 The analysis in this section is based on my own research through oral histories and primary documents regarding the Hawaiian Movement. The only other analysis readily available is an article by Davianna McGregor Alegado (1980) but her article fails to distinguish Hawaiian struggles from other ethnic struggles. McGregor Alegado gives scant treatment to the trend towards nationalism either from a cultural or a political perspective and provides little in the way of a theoretical context through which to appreciate Hawaiian conditions. There is no treatment at all of problems with the Left
- 17 The indigenous values that contemporary Hawaiians assert are often taken to be fabrications of young and idealistic radicals

However knowledge of Hawaiian culture Hawaiian land tenure Hawaiian songs and chant and Hawaiian religion all reveal the great respect Hawaiians had for the land and their relationship to it The disbelieving should consult the work of Marion Kelly (1956) Craighill Handy (1972) Mary Kawena Pukui (1950) John Charlot (1983) and that masterful rendition of the Hawaiians themselves the *Kumulipo* (1981) Given the prevalence of Western culture and its values these need no citing

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1 Historical and Cultural Aspects of Native Hawaiian Health¹

KFKUNI BLAISDELL, M D

BEGINNINGS

Native Hawaiians are the descendants of the sea faring voyagers who about 2 000 years ago first settled on a cluster of islands later to be called Hawaii (Kirch 1986) These pioneers were members of a nation with a common habitus language and cultural heritage spread over thousands of islands forming a 20 million square mile triangle later named Polynesia in the middle of the earth's largest ocean subsequently called the Pacific (Kirch 1984)

Initially numbering perhaps 50 these colonizers had braved over 2 000 miles of open sea in double hulled canoes from their earlier home islands to the south currently believed to be the Marquesas (Kirch 1984 1986) Bringing major food plants such as taro coconut, sweet potato and banana and their dog chicken and pig they flourished (Handy *et al* 1972 Stannard 1988) Yet they continued their two way north south ocean journeys until about 1200 A D (Kirch 1984 1986 Handy, *et al* 1972 Stannard 1988) Thereafter they remained in complete isolation from the rest of the planet for about 500 years refining a civilization that was to fascinate the Western world (Kirch 1984)

By 1778, when Capt James Cook and his crew as the first European visitors arrived by chance these robust natives had adapted so well to their island ecosystems that they had attained a population of about 1 000 000 (Stannard 1988) the largest at that time of any of the dispersed 50 Polynesian societies (Kirch 1984)

BELIEFS

Traditionally kanaka maoli as the Hawaiians called and continue to call themselves trace their origins to Kumulipo (dark source) with the mating of Wakea the sky father with Papa the earth mother from which everything in their cosmos was derived including the aina (land) and all of its natural resources (Johnson 1982)

Simple forms such as the coral bud were followed in an orderly sequence of over 260 species by more complex ones such as the taro plant. Then was born Haloa the first kanaka from whom all kanaka maoli are descended.

Great men became chiefs and great chiefs became gods (Buck 1959). But then even honored ancestors of maka ainana (commoners) became aumakua that is ever present family guardian gods. Countless spiritual forces known by several generic names such as aka (shadow likeness) akua (god) and uhane (spirit) appeared as kinolau (many forms) not only as departed or present kanaka, but as plants, animals, rocks, the ocean, rain and the wind. Indeed the entire cosmos was living, conscious and communicating (Malo 1951, Dudley 1985, Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972, 1979, Handy and Pukui 1972, Kamakau 1964).

Because of common parentage from Wakea and Papa the kanaka maoli considered himself lokahi (one) with all in the cosmos from the beginning and forever (Johnson 1982, Malo, 1951, Dudley 1985, Kame eleihiwa 1986, Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972, 1979, Handy and Pukui 1972).

Gods by definition had greater inherent mana (special quantifiable energy) than kanaka. And ali'i (chiefs) had greater mana by birth than maka ainana. However even maka ainana could acquire mana by developing skills such as a master navigator, fierce warrior, productive fisherman, talented chanter or effective healer (Dudley 1985, Kame eleihiwa 1986, Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972, 1979, Handy and Pukui 1972).

In spite of the prevalent spirituality all in the Hawaiian cosmos was natural. There was nothing supernatural in the Western sense. Events could and were influenced by all of the numerous forces in the material and spiritual cosmos, favorable and adverse from the past as well as in the present. These included the individual kanaka's thoughts and attitudes as well as his actions (Dudley 1985, Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972, 1979, Handy and Pukui 1972).

Palua (dualism) of complementary opposites was also recognized such as sky and earth, day and night, sun and moon, male and female, right and left, hot and cold, fire and water, material and spiritual, health

and illness, good and evil, and life and death (Johnson 1982, Dudley 1985).

Pono or proper order or harmony of these interacting cyclic and opposing forces required conscious effort including each individual kanaka's participation (Dudley 1985, Kame eleihiwa 1986, Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972, 1979, Handy and Pukui 1972).

Kapu (sacred restricting taboo) established by the kahuna (priest specialists) sanctioned by the ruling ali'i (chiefs) and enforced by all was society's way of preserving pono for the common good. For the kapu fostered self discipline and responsibility in personal hygiene, health promotion, illness prevention, public sanitation and respect for the sacredness of nature (Bushnell 1966).

Imbalance of mana or loss of pono accounted for misfortune such as illness (Handy, Pukui and Livermore 1934, Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972, 1979, Handy and Pukui 1972).

While there was collective lokahi and interdependence with self, na au (gut, as the seat of thought and feelings), kino (body), uhane (personal spirit lodged within the skull), wailua (dream soul which occasionally wandered) and others such as ohana (family) including aumakua, kahuna and ali'i nevertheless individual self reliance was expected (Dudley 1985, Pukui, Haertig and Lee, 1972, 1979, Handy and Pukui 1972).

Each child was a precious pua (flower) assuring perpetuation of the race. Adults of course were the providers. And the elderly were esteemed. Death after a meaningful life was welcomed as a reuniting with one's kupuna (ancestors) in the eternal spiritual realm with completion of a recurring cycle of rebirth and transfiguration into kinolau or reincarnation into other human forms (Handy and Pukui 1972, Kamakau, 1964). Thus, the kanaka considered himself part of a continuum with his kupuna before him, all of his present ohana and nature about him during his physical existence or ola (life) on earth and with his offspring and succeeding generations after him. An individual alone without these relationships was unthinkable (Handy and Pukui 1972).

These relationships were promoted by frequent informal favorable thoughts an spiritual communication with himself others and all of nature punctuated by daily formal rituals to maintain pono or soundness of personal kino beauty and grace skills and social economic and psychic security (Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Handy and Pukui 1972) Pono with others and with nature assured mau ke ea maintenance of the life of the land (Dudley 1985 Kame ele hiw 1986)

The traditional law of the land was aloha aina or malama aina (love and care for the land) (Handy Handy and Pukui 1972 Dudley 1985 Kem elehiwa 1986 Handy and Pukui 1972) That is since the resources of the aina nurtured kanaka maoli it was the responsibility of kanakamaoli to care for the aina for his subsequent generations Thus kanaka were stewards not private owners of the aina Their subsistence economy required mutual malama For the fisherman provided his catch not only for himself but for all in the ahupua a (sea to mountain region) Similarly the taro planter shared his harvest And the mauka (upland) forester supplied wood for his fellow ahupua a residents (Handy Handy and Pukui 1972 Handy and Pukui 1972)

Conversely to intentionally harm others or anything in nature was to harm oneself

PRE WESTERN HEALTH STATUS

Cook's Journals of 1778 described the native men as above middle size strong muscular well made of dark copper colour (who) walk gracefully run nimbly and are capable of great fatigue (Beaglehole 1967)

The women have handsome faces are very well made very clean have good teeth and are perfectly void of any disagreeable smell

Because of their long geographic isolation of more than 500 years the kanaka of old were free of the epidemic contagious pestilences which were the scourge of the continents (Stannard 1988 Bushnell 1966 Blaisdell 1983) However they did have some focal infections including a low frequency of dental caries as observed in skeletal remains (Snow 1974 Chappell 1927)

Metabolic disorders such as gouty degenerative and rheumatoid arthritis are also evident in pre contact human bones so that other soft tissue maladies such as diabetes and atherosclerosis so prevalent among modern kanaka probably also occurred to some extent among those at risk, such as high fat and high salt consuming sedentary and corpulent ali i (Blaisdell 1983)

One case of apparent metastatic cancer to bone has been identified among the skeletal fossils recovered of over 1 100 pre contact natives (Snow 1974)

Trauma was probably the most common class of ailments

Poisoning was rare (Blaisdell 1985) Kava debauchery among some ali i was mild and the only form of drug abuse (Beaglehole 1967 Blaisdell, 1983)

The few documented instances of mental illness contrast with Cook's account of the natives as social friendly hospitable humane possessing much liveliness blessed with frank and cheerful disposition

Some congenital defects were known, the best documented being clubfoot which persists in highest frequency among modern Hawaiians compared to the other ethnic groups in Hawaii (Chung *et al.* 1969)

HEALTH PRACTICES

The traditional native diet of the maka ainana was superior to the usual modern Western fare for it was high in fibre and starch low in saturated fat and sugar and ample in protein minerals and vitamins (Miller, 1974 Dinge and Hughes, 1985)

Personal hygiene was fastidious with bathing two to three times daily and with careful individual disposal of body wastes (Bushnell 1966) The kapu maintained strict public sanitation and environmental protection This accounted for unknowing control of potentially harmful microorganisms

Vigorous physical fitness in recreation such as surfing and in work such as tilling taro field and constructing stone retaining walls for fishponds contributed to lithe muscular bodies (Beaglehole 1967 Dirge and Hughes 1985)

Wellness represented adequate personal mana. Illness resulted from loss of mana due to lack of pono with oneself others including spiritual forces violation of a kapu or external infliction from anai (curse) or ana ana (ill will from another) (Malo 1951 Handy Pukui and Livermore 1934 Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Kamakau 1964)

Once illness had occurred diagnosis was a matter of determining the mechanism of loss and mana and pono. Treatment was directed at restoring the lost mana and pono. As a start the patient himself especially if he were a maka ainana assessed and managed his illness having been trained since childhood in self reliance (Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Handy and Pukui 1972)

If he did not recover he would likely seek the care of an experienced kupuna lapa au (elder healer). Only if this failed, and he could pay the appropriate professional 'fee, such as a hog would he seek the care of a kahuna lapa au (physician priest) at the heiau ho ola (healing temple) (Malo 1951 Kamakau, 1964)

Medical practices included

Integrated psycho-spiritual methods of prayer drama revelation suggestion extra sensory perception faith healing sorcery and group therapy (Malo 1951 Pukui Haertig and Lee, 1972 1979 Kamakau 1964 Blaisdell 1983)

Physical methods, such as careful observation palpation body molding massage manipulation clyster enema hydro-thermo heliotherapy and fracture setting (Handy 1934 Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Blaisdell 1983 Snow 1974)

Pharmaceutics as part of rituals with symbolism empirical effective use of numerous medicinal plants such as the mild narcotic awa cathartics kukui and koali anti diarrheal pia poultices with popolo and noni and the mineral alae (Handy Pukui and Livermore 1934 Blaisdell 1983)

Surgery with incision of abscess prepuce subincision and minor resections with sharp bamboo bone or shell and amputation with basalt adze (Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Blaisdell 1983 Snow 1974)

Kanaka maoli (Buck 1951) were the most advanced of all Polynesians in

Experimentation with systematic observation of biomedical phenomena, detailed nomenclature and classification empirical clinical trials with medicinals human autopsy and animal research (Johnson 1982 Pukui, Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Kamakau 1964 and Blaisdell 1983)

Health education with ohana training of each child in self care experienced kupuna lapa au (elder healers) kahuna lapa au (physician priest) training of carefully selected haumana (students) and rigorous 15 20-year curriculum (Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Kamakau 1964 and Blaisdell 1983)

Establishment of specialized temples heiau ho ola for training of healers, research preparation of treatment materials and communication with the spiritual realm (Malo 1951 Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Kamakau 1964 and Blaisdell 1983)

This highly refined holistic and preventive health system harmoniously integrated in their social fabric with nature about them and their spiritual realm was to receive a devastating blow from contact with the West

WESTERN CONTACT

The fatal impact of foreigners beginning in 1778 on these most isolated of islanders initiated five main interrelated factors accounting for the grim status of kanaka maoli in their homeland today (Blaisdell 1987)

First was rapid depopulation from about 1 000 000 hardy natives at the time of Cook's landing to a nadir of 40 000 in 1893 at the time of the haole overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy (Table 1 1). This represents a 96 per cent decline a holocaust by any definition (Stannard 1988)

Initially this decimation was mainly from introduced gonorrhea syphilis probably tuberculosis and perhaps viral hepatitis by Cook's crewmen (Stannard 1988 Blaisdell 1983). There followed infectious diarrheas measles influenza pertussis pneumonia, mumps and recurring epidemics such as four major smallpox outbreaks and later leprosy plague scarlet fever diphtheria and rheumatic fever (US Congress 1988 Blaisdell 1983). These were infections for which the natives lacked immunity from over 500 years of isolation from the rest of the Pacific and the world.

By 1893 the 40 000 Native Hawaiians were also outnumbered by 50 000 foreigners (Table 1 1). The trend was to worsen so that only 20 per cent of current residents of Hawaii are kanaka maoli.

With the beginning slow upturn in the Native Hawaiian population in the early 1900s due to a rise in the birth rate in spite of high infant mortality there has been a progressive decline in their biological Hawaiianess. The current kanaka maoli outmarriage rate of 60% means the present figure of 8 000 pure Hawaiians will decline to less than 1 000 and that those with less than 50% Hawaiian will rise to greater than 70 per cent with entry into the 21st century (Muke 1987).

Second is foreign exploitation. This began at the time of Cook with the replacement of the traditional island subsistence sharing economy by the for profit barter and later money economy. Firearms

Table 1 1 Hawai'i Population Estimates by Major Ethnicity in 1778, 1893 and 1985

ETHNICITY	1778		1893		1985	
Native Hawaiian	1 000 000	100%	40 000	45%	184 800	19%
Pure	1 000 000	100	34 000	38	8 100	1
Part			6 000	7	176 700	18
White			20 000	22	300 000	30
Asian			30 000	33	392 000	40
Other					108 700	11
Total	1 000 000	100%	90 000	100%	985 700	100%

SOURCE Stannard and Department of Health

sandalwood lumbering whaling cattle ranching foreign military threats and later sugar growing brought foreign economic and political control of the ruling ali'i who were too easily swindled by greedy Western merchants (Agard 1982 H.K. Trask 1983)

Western (not Hawaiian) legalized theft of native lands started with the haole designed Mahele of 1848 which created private ownership of land (Kame eleiwiwa 1986 H.K. Trask, 1983). The Kuleana Act of 1850 that followed resulted in less than 1 per cent of the land being awarded to less than 20 per cent of eligible maka'ainana (Kame eleiwiwa 1986). The aina was no longer a sacred trust for all and the future but rather, a commodity to serve immediate individual material ends. Loss of land and access rights by natives led to disruption of ohana and their alienation from the planting fishing and gathering ecosystems of the traditional ahupua'a (Handy Handy and Pukui 1972 Kame eleiwiwa 1986 H.K. Trask 1983).

These pressures were mixed with suppression of native religion language art, dance music the lunar calendar, education and health care by Christian missionaries after their arrival in 1820 through their influence on the reigning monarchs and later by their assuming key

positions in the government (Kelly 1988 Kimura 1983 Tagupa 1981) Dismantling of the ohana and kahuna on the job learning systems and their replacement by de Hawaiianizing Western classroom methods did not train natives for leadership but for subservience to haole rule (H K Trask 1983 Kelly 1988)

American imperialism culminated in 1893 with the US armed invasion of the independent kingdom of Hawaii and toppling of the native constitutional government by white businessmen with the aid of the US minister (Blount 1893) An act of war cried President Grover Cleveland with US violation of existing treaties international law and the rights of an indigenous people (H K Trask 1983 McElroy 1923) The haole Provisional Government and the succeeding anti democratic self proclaimed Republic of Hawaii denied voting rights to the natives and other non whites based on their alleged racial inferiority (Castle 1981) Annexation of Hawaii to the US in 1898 was by Congressional Resolution without the consent of or compensation to the native people and with the taking of almost two million acres of their lands Cleveland said at the time of annexation a miserable business I am ashamed of the whole affair (McElroy 1923)

Exploitation continued after establishment of the Territory of Hawaii and continues today under statehood by a non Hawaiian establishment of the government the military and multinational corporations (H K Trask 1983 1985)

Third is cultural conflict Its pain was immediately felt by the kanaka maoli who encountered the Cook expedition For who could deny the greater mana of fire weapons metal instruments large sailing ships the wheel leather and clothing textiles books reading and writing and freedom from the punishment of kapu violations?

In 1819 despairing because the kapu were no longer effective the Hawaiian leaders themselves formally abolished these official sacred laws which also governed personal hygiene and public sanitation Gross pollution of person home the land and water followed (Blaisdell 1983)

Cultural conflict was also evident in the eagerness with which many ali pursued material luxury by exploitation of maka ainana labor in sandalwood and other trade (H K Trask 1983)

Collaboration with foreigners on their terms invariably results in conflicting values Even today every Native Hawaiian knows and feels the struggle within himself Traditional values call for group affiliation sharing with others caring for nature working together within the ohana system for common goals and respect for the inherent value of everything in the Hawaiian cosmos In contrast the necessity for survival in the dominant Western world fosters individual competitive assertion for personal power materialism degradation and commercialization of native culture language and religion with waste and destruction of the aina and other natural resources (Blaisdell 1987 H K Trask, 1985)

The constant pressure by the dominant Western society on Native Hawaiians to assimilate into the anti Hawaiian Western mode always carries the guilt of betrayal to the ways of native ancestors

Cultural pluralism so popularly promoted in the communications media and schools, with its promise of equal opportunity, has a hollow ring when it demands compliance to the Western not Hawaiian frame of reference for the Native Hawaiian in his own home land Non Hawaiians in Hawaii have their ethnic roots in their homelands elsewhere Hawaiians have no other home land than Hawaii Yet, in their native land they are compelled to behave as non Hawaiian Westerners in order to survive (Blaisdell, 1987)

Accentuating the pain of every Native Hawaiian is the increasing use, and therefore misuse and abuse of the term Hawaiian to refer to what is clearly not Hawaiian and sometimes even anti Hawaiian To kanaka maoli the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Hawaiian Airlines Hawaiian Telephone Company Hawaiian Electric Company Hawaiian Historical Society and non Hawaiian residents of Hawaii are not Hawaiian When Professor Gavan Daws concludes his publication Shoal of Time (1968) with the statement, Now we are all Hawaiian Native Hawaiians are not pleased For if non Hawaiians are Hawaiian then who or what are Hawaiians? Nobody? Is this the reason why Hawaiians must now be called Native Hawaiians?

This failure of non Hawaiians to respect the distinctive identity of Hawaiians as the aboriginal people of Hawaii in Hawaii with special rights is humiliating

A similar mind set extends to those non Hawaiians who become self asserted authorities on matters Hawaiian such as language and culture. The affront is worsened not lessened when some Native Hawaiians themselves not only tolerate but support such presumptions.

The clash of cultural values described above has resulted in loss of Hawaiian identity self worthiness and self confidence and for many despair and loss of willingness to live in a no longer meaningful society with resulting self destructive behavior (Blaisdell 1983 Blaisdell 1987 Marsella *et al* 1985 Andrade 1988).

Fourth is adoption of harmful foreign ways. Besides the vexing non Hawaiian attitudes described above kanaka maoli have too eagerly embraced unwholesome Western lifestyles.

In modern times a salient example is misnutrition by consumption of excessive saturated fat sugar and salt as in ready made commercially processed food importations promoted by profit oriented non Hawaiian corporations. Such highly advertised products contribute to the wide prevalence of heart disease hypertension diabetes obesity and cancer in Native Hawaiians as well as others of course (Dirige and Hughes 1985 Aluli and O Connor 1988).

Displaced and dispossessed few Native Hawaiians now have the opportunity and accessibility to live off the land and sea as in earlier times (H K Trask 1985).

Western self destructive habits also include consumption of tobacco alcohol and harmful illicit substances (Blaisdell 1983 Blaisdell 1987 Marsella 1985 Andrade 1988).

Economic and social assimilation pressures contribute to urban crowding fast lane automobiling reckless recreation lack of physical fitness increasing dependence on government welfare and ill coping with stress (Chappell 1927 Blaisdell 1987 Marsella 1985 Andrade 1988).

Fifth is neglect insensitivity and sometimes malice. The dominant Western society has been generally indifferent to the plight of

Native Hawaiians and often hostile toward their culture and practices. Some notable examples are here cited.

Since the early 1800s Christian missionaries have regularly denounced rather than recognized the now largely underground traditional healing methods (Pukui Haertig and Lee 1972 1979 Blaisdell, 1983 Kelly, 1988).

In 1859 because the natives were considered to be a dying race the Queen's Hospital was chartered by the government of the Kingdom "for treatment of indigent sick and disabled Hawaiians supported by a hospital tax and private subscriptions (Greer 1969). In 1909 11 years after US annexation a minority of the all white hospital corporation secretly deleted the terms indigent and Hawaiians from the hospital charter and ended government responsibility for the hospital. No longer was there free medical care for needy and sick natives (Hausten 1950).

In 1911, the Leprosy Investigation Station at Kalaupapa Molokai established by the US Congress closed after two years because Native Hawaiian Hansen disease patients refused to submit to culturally inappropriate and dehumanizing care at the facility (Bushnell 1968).

Growing resentment in Hawaiian communities in 1922 led the US Congress to set aside 200 000 acres of government land for social and economic rehabilitation of homesteaders with at least 50 per cent Hawaiian ancestry. The program failed because mostly third class raw lands were assigned without suitable infrastructure and financing for housing was inadequate. Most of the usable lands were commercially leased to non Hawaiian firms for income because no government funds were provided for administration of the program. In addition many of the most suitable lands were transferred for other government purposes without payment of rent (M B Trask, 1982).

Vital statistics by the Americanized Hawaiian government since 1900 have persistently demonstrated Native Hawaiians to have the worst health profile in the islands with the shortest life expectancy highest mortality rates and greatest rates for most chronic diseases (Blaisdell

1983 Blaisdell 1987) These deplorable health indices have been regularly ignored until the recent resurgence of Hawaiian activism

Even as late as November 1985 when the Native Hawaiian Health Needs Study was unveiled at a public conference (Bell 1985) top administrators in the Hawaii State Department of Health faced with the obvious question 'What is your department doing about this?' replied 'Our department is color blind. If Hawaiians choose not to use our services the fault is not ours'

Fortunately since 1987 the new director of the Department of Health has reversed the position of his department toward Native Hawaiians. He has established an all Hawaiian member Native Hawaiian Health Task Force and created a new Office of Hawaiian Health to improve his department's services to Native Hawaiians in their homeland (Fukino *et al* 1988)

A TURNING POINT

Post World War II brought a shift of Hawaii's economy from dependence on sugar, pineapple and military expenditures to tourism, land speculation and rising investments by multinational corporations (Trask H.K. 1985)

After Hawaii statehood in 1959 the burgeoning visitor industry with a boom in construction of hotels, condominium subdivisions and resort complexes demanded even more land. The relatively few large private landowners profited more as land prices shot upward.

In the 1960s rural Native Hawaiian communities already economically exploited were besieged by rapid encroachment on remaining agricultural lands.

Retaining remnants of the traditional lifestyle of taro farming, fishing, canoe building, reverence for nature, Hawaiian language, music and hula fostered by a supportive land base, Hawaiians in these communities began to resist. Kona, Sand Island, Mokauea Island, Waimanalo, Kahana, Wai'anae, Nanakuli, Hana and East Molokai became sites of protest over evictions of Native Hawaiians to make way for non Hawaiian *malihinu* (newcomers).

Formal land base claims by Native Hawaiians began to take several forms: reparations for the 1893 U.S. armed invasion and taking of Hawaiian nationhood, legal claim to ceded Hawaiian Homes and other trust lands abused by the State and Federal governments and by large Hawaiian private trust estates, and U.N. recognition of aboriginal land rights.

In the 1970s Native Hawaiian political organizations began to proliferate such as The Hawaiians, Kokua Kalama, Congress of the Hawaiian People, ALOHA, Hui Malama Aina, Homerule, Ohana O Hawaii, Hui Ala Loa and Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana. The latter not only opposed the military by bombing of Kaho'olawe but asserted a Native Hawaiian cultural alternative: *aloha aina* (love of the land) to the Western practice of exploitation of both the native people and their natural resources.

In 1978 The Hawaii State Constitutional Convention called for reforms in the State Department of Hawaiian Homelands, protection of Native Hawaiian access rights to the land and sea for religious and cultural purposes and economic subsistence, promotion of the Hawaiian language, history and culture, abolition of adverse possession of Hawaiian lands and the establishment of an Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA).

Native Hawaiians began to learn what had been suppressed in their school curricula: how white colonizers had taken their lands and how Americanization of Hawaii had meant repression of the native people and decline of their culture, just as had occurred with the American Indians and Alaskan Natives.

Mounting restlessness in Hawaiian communities was expressed in the 1983 Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report to the U.S. Congress (Blaisdell, 1983; H.K. Trask, 1983; Kimura 1983). The health section of that report, although buried in the Appendix for the first time, drew public attention to the poor health status of the Native Hawaiians and for the first time linked restoration of Hawaiian health to control over their lives by Hawaiians themselves by reclaiming their land base (Blaisdell 1983; H.K. Trask, 1983).

Although the US Congress took no formal action on the Commission Report in 1984 Hawaii's Senator Daniel Inouye prodded the US Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) to undertake a more comprehensive health study of the Native Hawaiians

The result was the December 1985 E Ola Mau Native Hawaiian Health Needs Study commissioned by Region IX of the DHHS and conducted by a health research consortium organized by Alu Like and the University of Hawaii

After the report was submitted the few Native Hawaiians who had participated as members of the research consortium established a permanent Native Hawaiian health professional organization in March 1986 to continue the work of the study and its implementation

The name E Ola Mau (Live On) was intentionally chosen for this new group to express the commitment of Native Hawaiians themselves to alleviating the health plight of their people (E Ola Mau 1986 88)

In May 1986 and again in March 1987 E Ola Mau participated with Alu Like OHA Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate and others in US Senate hearings on a Native Hawaiian health bill introduced by Sen Inouye However the bill failed to pass the Congress in those two years

Meanwhile other Native Hawaiian health organizations were undertaking health programs in their own Hawaiian communities Na Puuwai on Molokai completed a cardiovascular risk study and traditional Hawaiian diet study on Native Hawaiian homesteaders that attracted wide attention (Aluli and O Connor 1988) Hale Ola Ho opakolea in Nanakuli on Oahu was providing Native Hawaiian cultural health counseling services on the Wai'anae Coast In West Kauai Ho'ola Lahui Hawaii completed a health needs assessment of the Hawaiian community there and launched a physical fitness program (Fukino *et al* 1988) At Hanalei the Waipa Hawaiian Farmers Association started their own taro farm a healing center using traditional methods and a preschool Hawaiian language immersion program (Kapaka Arboleda 1988)

In August 1988 Sen Inouye conducted Senate hearings in these Hawaiian communities which resulted in extensive revisions in the Hawaiian health bill before it passed the Senate (E Ola Mau 1986 88)

On October 11 12 E Ola Mau was invited to participate in final wording of amendments to the Hawaiian health bill just before it received the necessary two thirds majority approval in the House of Representatives

On October 31 1988 The Native Hawaiian Health Care Act of 1988 was signed into law by the President

The Act authorizes \$196 million over three years for nine community based Native Hawaiian Health Centers to be established by Native Hawaiian organizations (US Congress 1988) The centers will incorporate traditional Hawaiian healers as well as Western trained health personnel in health promotion and disease prevention and primary health care services

A five member Papa Ola Lokahi will be responsible for coordinating planning training and health care research The members are E Ola Mau Alu Like OHA, University of Hawaii and the new Office of Hawaiian Health in the State of Hawaii Department of Health

The president also signed legislation authorizing \$78 million over four years for Native Hawaiian health professional scholarships (US Congress 1988) and \$750 000 for a Native Hawaiian Mental Health Research Center at the University of Hawaii (E Ola Mau 1986-88)

EDITOR'S NOTE

- 1 Dr Blaisdell provided correct Hawaiian spelling including the use of the macron in his manuscript. However technical limitations in the available fonts necessitated omitting these in the final publication. The editor takes responsibility for these changes.

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IMMIGRATION TO HAWAII

Andrew W. Lind

The entire span of the immigration movement to Hawaii extends intermittently over a period of more than 1 200 years—from the middle of the eighth century to the present. The arrival of the first human residents at these islands, however, continues to be an unresolved mystery, both as to when and how it occurred and whether the movement was purposely entered into or was the fortunate ending to a storm-tossed voyage by distant islanders seeking land into which to expand.

Archaeological evidence indicates that migrants from the Marquesas Islands must have survived such an adventure and lived on in Hawaii as early as A.D. 750.¹ Even wider barriers of 2 200 miles (3 540 km) of open sea were conquered in outrigger canoes by emigrants from Tahiti between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, following which Hawaii was again lost in the vast expanses of the Pacific for more than 400 years. Even after the discovery of Hawaii by Captain Cook in 1778, the physical isolation of the Islands was too great and their resources were apparently too limited to attract any large-scale immigration for nearly another hundred years.

Traders as Immigrants

The knowledge brought back to the Western world of a group of small islands in the north Pacific, distant more than 2 000 miles (3,220 km) from its nearest continental or sizable island neighbors, did encourage the captains of European and American ships, engaged in trade between Asia and America, to seek harborage at Hawaii's ports. Here they could restock with fresh water, fuel, and fruits and vegetables, make necessary repairs to their ships and equipment, and possibly recruit natives as additions to their crew. Except for the occasional sailors who found the charms of the setting and of life among the aborigines sufficiently tempting to jump ship until well along in the nineteenth century, there were surprisingly few residents who could be called immigrants in the sense of entering into an alien country intending to take part in

the life of that country and to make it their more or less permanent home

The historian James Jarves states that in 1810 the number of whites on Oahu embracing the majority of non-Hawaiians amounted to sixty some of whom were sober and industrious and much respected by the chiefs but the generality were idle and dissolute held in restraint only by the authority of the king.² One of the most reliable accounts, by a British resident on the island at that time indicates that the great majority had been left by American vessels "but the number was constantly varying and was considerably diminished within the year of his convalescent residence."³ Prior to the arrival of the first American missionaries in 1820 foreign-born residents of the Islands were few in number and consisted of transients—predominantly sailors a few traders beachcombers and adventurers

In the strict sense of entering a foreign country for purposes of settlement the small company of thirty-four New England missionaries who came to Hawai'i between 1820 and 1830 were the first modern immigrants but of this number only twenty-four stayed for the remainder of their lives. The presence however of this small number of committed settlers because it included women and children offered a nucleus of a foreign community to which visiting traders ship captains and sailors could attach themselves if they were inclined to settle in the Islands. By 1853, according to the official census a sizable group of 1 828 persons from at least thirty-three different countries had either drifted or purposely migrated to one or another of seven islands of Hawai'i chiefly, of course to the port towns.⁴ Although constituting only 2.5 percent of the entire population the immigrants together with their children born in Hawai'i, made up fully one-tenth of the residents in Honolulu, the one community of urban proportions. The great majority of the foreign-born at this time (80 percent) were either American British or Chinese and were occupied chiefly as tradesmen or artisans although close to 80 percent of the 364 foreign-born Chinese enumerated in that census had arrived in Hawai'i only the previous year recruited as plantation laborers and household servants

Assisted Labor Immigration⁵

The company of 293 Chinese men imported by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1852 as contract laborers was the initial wave of a veritable flood of

approximately 400 000 workers who were to transform the racial complexion and character of the population during the course of the next 80 to 100 years. European and American planters early recognized the greater assurance of the continuity and control over workers recruited from abroad than over the available native workers who might agree to work for a limited time but who could readily satisfy their basic needs without submitting to an arduous plantation regime. Until at least ten years after enactment of the 1876 Reciprocity Treaty admitting Island sugar duty-free to the American market the number of adult natives would have been quite adequate to man all the plantations if there had been any adequate motivation for them to do so. Since enslavement of the native population a practice common in developing plantation frontiers elsewhere, was out of the question under the Hawaiian monarchy planters fell back on the other alternative of imported labor under contract to serve for a period usually of three to five years enforceable by law

For a period of twelve years following importation of the Chinese in 1852 there was no further sustained effort by either planters or government to encourage immigration. Once the door had been opened, however the pressure of population particularly in China was such as to encourage a substantial flow of emigrants almost indefinitely, some of whom managed to provide their own transportation. The increasing market in America for sugar, occasioned by the Civil War, led to the establishment in 1864 of a government Bureau of Immigration for the purpose of superintending the importation of foreign laborers, and the introduction of immigrants. The hope of Hawaiian royalty and government administrators that the continuing decline of the native population might thereby be reversed was unquestionably a central consideration in the support given to this bureau, but its principal activities were devoted to recruiting plantation labor

The possibility of reinforcing the Islands limited labor resources from the surplus which might exist elsewhere was examined in the most diverse areas of the world and workers were canvassed and shipped to Hawai'i from such different regions as South China the Madeira and Azores Islands numerous islands in the Pacific of Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia from the Philippines Japan, Korea Mongolia Siberia the United States Puerto Rico, Spain Italy Poland Austria, Germany Norway, and Russia. Costs involved in recruiting and transportation and their amenability

Chronology and Composition of Labor Immigration 1852-1946

Ethnic Designation	Period of Arrival in Hawaii	Approximate Number of Immigrants	Percentage Composition			Dialectal Type or Area of Homeland from which Largely Recruited
			Men	Women	Children	
Chinese	1852-1885 1886-1897	28 000 27 000	98 89	2 6	0 5	Chiefly from Kwangtung Province Fukinese Puntí dialect (Chungshan) Hakka (near Hong Kong)
Portuguese	1878-1886 1906 1913	10 700 5 500	31 34	23 23	46 43	Madeira and Azores Islands
South Pacific Islanders	1859-1884	2 500	77	12	11	Gilbert Islanders Fijians Melanesians (New Hebrides Solomons) Marquesans Tahitians
Norwegians	1881	600	67	13	20	Vicinity of Oslo and Drammen Norway
Germans	1881-1888 1897	1 300	46	18	36	Northwestern Germany near Bremen and Nienburg
Japanese	1868 1885-97 1898-1907	45 000 114 000	81 81	18 18	1 1	Hiroshima Yamaguchi Kumamoto Fukuoka and Okinawa Prefectures chiefly
Galicians	1898	370	62	13	25	
U S Negroes	1901	100	--	-	--	Louisiana and Alabama
Puerto Ricans	1900-1901 1921	6 000	59	41		Recruited in Ponce and San Juan
Koreans	1903-1905	7 900	85	9	6	Southern Korea
Russians	1906 1909-1912	2 400	52	22	26	Siberia Manchuria
Spanish	1907-1913	8 000	34	27	39	Southwestern Spain Malaga Cadiz Granada
Filipinos	1907-1932 1946	119 000 7 300	87 82	8 6	5 12	Initially Tagalogs near Manila Later Visayans and Ilocanos

and efficiency as plantation laborers were primary factors in deciding which regions immigrants were to be drawn from and their number and sex

South China, as the source of the first and largest potential for contract laborers, could readily have supplied all the workers required on Hawaii 1 plantations until the time of annexation when American exclusion laws were applied to the Islands. The early recognition however that the desired control over the work force could be more readily exercised if it did not consist exclusively of a single ethnic group led Island planters to practice diversification. Although most of the many Chinese admitted to Hawaii 1 between 1852 and 1898 came from Kwangtung province and were known as Cantonese, the earliest labor immigrants came from Fukien province, and the dialectal and other cultural differences between or within the Hakka and Puntí groups from village to village figured in the effectiveness of the control which the planters could exercise.

Quantitative data relating to the labor migrations to Hawaii 1 are plentiful, but covering as they do such an extended time span (1852 to 1946) such varied ethnic groups and diverse administering agencies great care is required in the use and interpretation of such information. The following tabulation is intended primarily to indicate the sequential order and something of the circumstances under which these groups arrived in the Islands.

It should be noted that the data on the number of immigrants and their proportion among the two sexes and children are designated as approximate because of the inconsistencies and gaps in the recording. Especially in the case of the larger groups from the Orient where it was possible for immigrants to return to their homeland for a visit and later re-enter Hawaii 1 a second or more times, there were no certain means of eliminating duplications. Consequently the figures cited on the number of labor immigrants from China Japan, and the Philippines probably suffer more from such statistical inaccuracies than the data on the immigrant flow from other parts of the world. The age at which a child was counted as an adult has also varied from time to time.

The one recurring issue confronting promoters of immigration throughout the period of plantation dominance was to achieve some balance between the concerns of the planters in obtaining an adequate supply of

hardy disciplined workers at minimum expense and those of the government in restoring the declining native population. Quite clearly the overriding interest was economic resulting in a higher proportion of adult males than of adult women from all the regions drawn upon notably so among those from China Korea and the Philippines. Despite efforts by the government of Hawaii to require a specified percentage of women among immigrants—a minimum of 25 women to every 100 men at the height of the Chinese migration in the early 1880s and comparable ratios among other immigrants—subsequent customs and census returns indicate such regulations had not been followed at all strictly. According to the 1884 census for example the ratio of women was less than one in twenty in the entire Chinese population of the Islands and more than forty years after the end of Chinese labor immigration there were still 2 3 times as many men as women among their foreign-born residents of Hawaii.

Intervention of governments in certain countries from which labor immigrants were recruited obviously helped maintain a fairly normal age and sex distribution among the new arrivals. Where however, the ratio of adult males greatly exceeded 50 percent as it did so commonly Hawaii was bound to experience for years afterwards a legacy of social problems—vice violence and the personal despondency of any population lacking the immediate support of family and kinship ties. The high rate of interethnic marriage among immigrant groups with the highest disproportions of males has been of course one of the positive accommodations. In the case of the larger labor groups—especially the Chinese Japanese and Filipinos whose migrations continued over a considerable period of time—the later movements consisted less disproportionately of males than the earlier ones. This was partly a consequence of the reassurance brought back to the women and families in their native communities by immigrants who had made a satisfactory adjustment in Hawaii. Among the Japanese and the Koreans to a lesser degree the picture-bride movement after 1907 played an important part in hastening the building of a balanced population structure. Thus among the roughly 50 000 Japanese who arrived in Hawaii from the Orient between 1908 when the Gentleman's Agreement took effect and 1924 following the Oriental Exclusion Act there was a marked excess of females over males.

The great majority of the nearly 400 000 persons—men women and children—brought to Hawaii between 1852 and 1946 as part of the labor migrations came

under the auspices and at the expense of either or both the planters and the Hawaiian government (prior to 1898) and they were settled soon after clearance by customs and immigration agents in plantation communities scattered around the Islands. Relatively few of the immigrants, however remained permanently on the plantations and movement from plantations to urban or independent farming areas of Hawaii back to their homeland or to the American mainland made it necessary, over such a long period of time continuously to bring in new supplies of workers.

Because the departure from Hawaii was either complete or extremely heavy among South Pacific Islanders the Galicians Russians and Spanish, these groups virtually disappeared as separate entities in the population structure of the Islands before the close of the plantation era. Real or alleged economic opportunities in California of greater appeal than those in Hawaii have been chiefly responsible for the very considerable emigration from Hawaii of Japanese during the first decade of this century of smaller numbers of Portuguese (along with the Spanish) during the first two decades and of Filipinos during the second and third decades. It was generally the young unmarried men who were most likely to embark on another migration adventure while men encumbered with family responsibilities more commonly remained.

Promise of free transportation back to their homeland following a specified period of satisfactory employment in Hawaii was one of the strong inducements to immigration, especially among Chinese Japanese, and Filipinos, and one of which many subsequently took advantage. Many of the returnees however discovered that either they or the situation in their native villages had changed so markedly that life in Hawaii seemed the preferable alternative and consequently some became immigrants to Hawaii a second time at their own expense and without any guarantee of plantation employment. Unfortunately the official records afford no means of measuring the extent of this movement.

The direct impact on Hawaii's population of the labor immigration on behalf of sugar and pineapple plantations is perhaps epitomized in data of the 1930 Census indicating that nearly three-quarters (74 percent) of all the people residing in the Territory at that time were either themselves such migrants or their offspring. Despite the later transformations in Hawaii's economy from plantation agriculture to one

maintained primarily by military and tourist expenditures it could be said fifty years later that close to half of the people living in Hawai'i were themselves plantation immigrants or their descendants

Marginal Forms of Immigration

Annexation of Hawaii as a Territory of the United States in 1898 brought immediate consequences both as to the volume and the nature of the movements of outsiders to the Islands. During the three decades after Annexation the planters were responsible for introducing a veritable flood of more than 250 000 laborers chiefly from Japan and the Philippines but also including Portuguese Spanish Puerto Ricans Koreans Italians American Negroes and Russians. This sudden torrent was partly in response to the demands of expanding plantation production but also to conform with American labor laws.⁶ Moreover, the exemption of workers after 1898 from the penal labor system under which so many of the earlier plantation employees were bound by Hawaiian law was reflected almost immediately in a disposition among the workers to test this new freedom by moving about—to the expected greater opportunities on the American mainland or back to the homeland. Increasingly Hawai'i became for many people from abroad, not the site of permanent settlement for immigrants, but a way-station or stepping-stone for in-migrants and out-migrants, the terms more commonly and accurately used since Annexation.

Much the same trends developed although for different reasons with the in-migration from continental U.S. following Annexation. A large, although indeterminate number of young American males chiefly from the West Coast were enticed to the Islands as a newly discovered frontier in which to find adventure and fortune. But instead of the open opportunity they had anticipated the limited economic possibilities in fields other than low-paying plantation labor were largely occupied by industrious Oriental competitors which drove many Mainlanders home in disgust. Nevertheless a striking increase of the Other Caucasian (Haole) population more than five times in the course of thirty years—from 8 547 in 1900 to 44 895 in 1930—indicated that a sizable portion had found opportunities at skilled proprietary and professional levels where neither native Hawaiians nor labor immigrants could at that time offer much competition.

One of the earliest and most dramatic expressions of the transiency of the in-migration from the Mainland has occurred among the armed forces. From a relatively small contingent of 245 in 1900 their numbers at the time of the decennial census had mounted to 4 366 in 1920 to 27 000 in 1940, to 53 000 in 1960 and to 56 000 in 1970. During World War II there were times when troops stationed on the Islands greatly exceeded the civilian population in numbers and most of the more than half a million men poised for the final attack on Japan went ashore on Oahu a number of times. Throughout most of the postwar period, the military personnel together with their resident dependents have numbered no fewer than 100 000 persons and ranging from 13 to 16 percent of the total population.

Although certainly in-migrants to Hawai'i these massive additions to the resident population cannot be thought of as immigrants. The overwhelming majority expect to have a tour of duty in the Pacific lasting not more than two or three years. Especially since World War II, there has been a limited number of both officers and enlisted personnel or members of their families who have become sufficiently attracted by their sampling of Island life to take permanent discharge here either as a place of retirement or to enter some civilian occupation. This differs markedly however, from the war and prewar situations when Hawai'i was commonly known as the Rock and identified as a foreign exile to be terminated as quickly as possible.

Statehood in 1959 again focused widespread attention on Hawai'i, both in the American mainland and elsewhere in the world resulting in extensive in-migration. During the ten years immediately following the close of World War II, there had been a net outward movement of approximately 73 000 civilians,⁷ chiefly Mainlanders including defense workers returning home. Beginning, however, in 1955, partly in anticipation of the passage of statehood, the net flow back to the Mainland was reversed and continued so for the next twenty years.

A further analysis of in-migrants from the Mainland over this same period reveals that they were preponderantly male and relatively young with a median age of 24.2 years that they came notably from the three western states and that those with occupations were to a high degree (60 percent or more) of relatively high status in professional technical business.

managerial or office jobs⁸ Quite clearly a large although unknown proportion of the arrivals were young American floaters of both sexes without occupational moorings who were seeking some outlet for their restlessness and uncertainties. They found at least temporary harborage in the so-called hippie jungles, the religious communes, and the surfing settlements which have developed on the major islands, and a few of these establish more or less permanent attachments to the Islands, including the means of livelihood.

Immigration Since 1965⁹

The National Immigration Act of 1965 while reflecting a significant liberalizing in attitudes toward the outside world throughout the nation probably had a more profound effect on the day-to-day experience in Hawaii than elsewhere. On the basis of the seven-fold principle of preference introduced in the act, it eliminated the national origin system which had prevailed since 1924 and thus opened Hawaii to a much larger flow of the family members and relatives of its citizens and alien residents of Oriental ancestry than had been possible before. The act also had provisions for the entry of professional personnel and both skilled and unskilled workers depending upon the certification of their need. Although the number of immigrant entries available to any single country outside the Western hemisphere was set at 20,000 a year, this was still greatly in excess of the number available to the countries of Asia in the past and has assisted greatly in reuniting families and reestablishing kinship ties for the large population of Oriental ancestry in Hawaii. Data as to the number of alien immigrants intending to reside in Hawaii and admitted during the ten years 1970-1979 reveal a continuing dominance of the four countries of Asia which played such a prominent part in the earlier labor immigration, although in a somewhat different order of prominence—Philippines 38,789, Korea 11,239, Japan 4,700, and China and Taiwan 4,618. Together these four countries provided 82 percent of all alien immigrants to Hawaii during this ten-year period. The largest number of immigrant aliens from any other country who expected to reside in Hawaii was from Canada, numbering a mere 921 persons, or 1.3 percent of the total. During the years 1961-75, Hawaii received more alien immigrants in proportion to its population than any other state—for example

in 1974 roughly 4.4 times that of the national average—and a disproportionate number of them refugees from Southeast Asia.

Unquestionably, economic factors were important in this latest type of immigration, but they have not exercised the exclusive and dominating influence they did at the beginning of the century. Selection of the emigrants has likewise been from higher economic level strata in the homeland or with sponsors in Hawaii better situated to provide for them during the difficult adjustments after their arrival. It is quite clear, too, that except for the refugees the new arrivals are far better educated and more technically competent than their precursors of earlier generations. Their inability at least at the outset to find occupational outlets in Hawaii commensurate with their status in the homeland has also been more trying. The age and sex distribution among the recent in-migrants has been much more nearly comparable to that of Hawaii's residing population.

These islands, so remote from other highly populated regions and so limited in natural resources for earning a livelihood, still continue to attract immigrants from all continents and the island areas of the oceans. Although the 1979 registration of 69,622 aliens constituted only 7.6 percent of the entire resident population of the state, the following list of only the fourteen largest contributing regions reflects a worldwide appeal which Hawaii evidently continues to exercise: Philippines 33,163, Japan, 13,090, Korea 6,123, China, 3,485, United Kingdom, 1,939, Canada 1,861, Vietnam, 1,732, Germany 687, Western Samoa, 651, Laos 602, Thailand 437, Tonga 426, and Australia 418. The global distribution of Hawaii's recent in-migrants is further accentuated by the inclusion of sizable numbers of aliens (100-399) from Mexico, France, West Indies, Portugal, Netherlands, New Zealand, South and Central America, Fiji, and the U.S. Trust Territory. It is also apparent, however, from the very much larger number of aliens admitted in recent years as intended residents, that these islands serve as convenient stepping-stones to the supposedly wider economic opportunities in states on the mainland.

Notes

1. Dates and distances chiefly derived from Ben R. Finney, *New Perspectives on Polynesian Voyaging*, in Roland W. Force, *Polynesian Culture History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1967).

- 2 James Jackson Jarves *History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu 1847) p 92
- 3 Archibald Campbell *A Voyage Round the World from 1806-1812* (Honolulu University of Hawaii Press 1967) p 118
- 4 Andrew W Lind *An Island Community Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago University of Chicago Press 1938) pp 104-105
- 5 The sociological background and significance of this phenomenon are further elaborated in *An Island Community* pp 188-244
- 6 Much of the statistical data relating to the movement of population in and out of Hawaii for the period 1898-1938 are contained in the reports of the U S Department of Labor on Hawaii especially of the years 1902 1903 1905 1911 1916 and 1939 and in sections on immigration and labor in Annual Reports of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior 1901-1932
- 7 Robert C Schmitt *Recent Migration Trends in Hawaii Social Process* 25 (1961) p 18
- 8 Department of Planning and Economic Development *Hawaii's In-migrants 1977 Statistical Report* 123 (1978)
- 9 Statistics for this section are largely derived from the annual reports of the State Immigrant Services Center 1973-1980 and from *The State of Hawaii Data Book 1980* (Honolulu State Department of Planning and Economic Development)

The Taxi Dance Hall in Honolulu

By VIRGINIA LORD and ALICE W LEE

THE TAXI DANCE HALLS

Clustered in a rectangle two by eight city blocks in size in the less elite business district are Honolulu's seven taxi dance halls. C L is most popular with slumming parties groups of people out to see the sights of the underworld and often students who like to feel they are doing something they should not. C L caters almost exclusively to service trade its patronage being made up mostly of sailors. It prides itself in being a high class joint and excludes such people as Filipinos on the grounds that they are not properly dressed. It is a hall upstairs with a wide straight well lighted stairway connecting it with the sidewalk. Around the entrance sit sellers of leis corals and boutonnières. The ballroom is just a large room whose floors are heavily painted varnished and oiled and beginning to show signs of wear. Lining the walls are benches where the girls sit and wait for dances or chat with the men. In one corner is a counter and an ice box where soda pop is sold. A peek into the ice box reveals about a dozen leis and corals presented to the girls by admirers. They are not worn because in the stuffy smoky room they wilt quickly and because they offer too much incumbrance to the hopping around of the girls. On a raised platform decorated with a gay orange moon tinsel silhouettes and palm trees the orchestra numbering about seven holds sway blazing forth old and tried melodies in a blatant and yet compelling fashion. When a lull occurs the customers are scarce the girls pair off and rather than let the music go to waste dance together

displaying an amazing series of intricate steps slides dips twirls and backbends. Because they have to be able to follow anyone they display rare ability and grace. They are marvelous dancers.

Even when a cop happens to drop in discovers a sailor pouring a little coke into a cup half filled with coca cola—to pass around to his friends and delivers a reprimand good natured humor still prevails. The air is more that of a private dance than that of a commercialized institution where feminine friendliness is for sale.

Very similar to C L in atmosphere but with a more varied trade is the C. Here one buys his tickets in a cubby hole in the wall on the level of the street. A clock is in plain sight on the wall there is a balcony from which one may view the sights of an alley or hide to sneak a sip from a flask. The lights are a little dimmer the floor feels a little more as if it had sand on it there are no garlands of crepe paper festooned from the chandeliers to the wall but otherwise in general aspect—the C and the C L are very much alike.

Dance halls that cater to Filipinos waste no money on overhead. The Filipinos have a need for feminine companionship and accept it under any conditions. They are offered partners room to dance and exceedingly hot music. These halls are smaller darker more crowded and to a considerable degree more odorous.

D is one of these—and across the street down a cobblestoned alley is the L—patronized by Filipinos only—and probably the most picturesque of the halls.

From within the walls of a roughly built and unpainted one story wooden structure behind the corner stores of a busy intersection comes bizarre music—American jazz with a Filipino accent. No other sound—no laughing or shuffling of feet—as is heard from the streets around the other dance halls—can be distinguished. Located over a swamp—this one can easily discover for himself from the peculiar odor—it has a series of hazardous steps, rickety unpainted, gaping and literally besprinkled with sputum and tobacco juice leading to the hall. Sitting on the benches against the walls hanging out the windows that extend all around the room are the patrons—Filipinos who are smoking idly, scratching their heads or picking their noses. Four painted Filipino and Porto Rican girls, each one with dangling earrings, constitute the dancers. In the background four older women slouch—the mothers of the girls who accompany their daughters every night to their employment. Of the old school they behave in chaperones and are wary and watchful.

Even though the orchestra—on a platform decorated with faded streamers and bunting and a picture of President Roosevelt—is banging away, most noisily, few pay much attention—neither dancing nor smiling nor speaking. The gloomy, sullen expressions of the men, numbering about thirty, do not change even when the proprietor bellows free dance. There is a rush toward the girls at this cry and the twenty-six who have no partners dance with each other. There seems to be something sinister in the atmosphere—for those blank, immobile expressions conceal strong emotions and fearful purposes. Down at the police station

is an array of metal implements—brass knuckles, knives and guns—most of which were lifted from the Filipinos of this particular district. They even include a harmless cap pistol and a queer wooden instrument arranged to eject a bamboo dart powered by the winding of a heavy rubber band. Here is where most of the knifing affrays take place with lots of serious injuries.

Half way between these two extremes—the C L and the "L" is the P—with its heterogeneous patronage—composed of every class—from soldiers to Filipinos. It is on the ground floor of a building having several chop suey houses and beer joints. A narrow passageway leads from the street to it, covered by a red and yellow striped canvas. With its lei sellers squatting in the passageway and its crowds of all nations—Portuguese, haoles, Japanese, Hawaiians, Porto Ricans, Koreans, Chinese, Filipinos—it has a sort of carnival air. Hanging from the ceiling is a large ball made of metal and brass which catches the light and sparkles. The windows are always lined with people peering in from the alley that flanks one side of the building.

The remaining two halls are the V and the R, both very dirty and crowded, both cater to all nationalities.

THE TAXI DANCER(1)*

The taxi dancers are all much alike in appearances. The average age is twenty-two years, with eighteen as the lower limit and thirty-eight as the upper, most girls being around eighteen years. Out of about three hundred girls*(2), forty are Portuguese, thirty-one are Filipino, twenty-eight are

*(1) The writers interviewed girls for this term project for the introductory course in Sociology.

*(2) See table.

pure Hawaiian twenty seven are Hawaiian Chinese twenty four are Japanese fifteen are Korean and twelve are pure Chinese. No girl admits having either Negro or Jewish blood. The older dancers are of the Caucasian races and the reason is an obvious one. They come from the mainland where dance halls have been operating for years and they are old hands at the game whereas in Honolulu dance halls are a comparatively new development. There has not been time for our native born to grow old in the business. Some pretty queer combinations appear in the mixtures of nationalities. For instance there are several Japanese Korean girls a Hawaiian Hindu extraction and a Portuguese Russian.

One distinguishing characteristic of the taxi dancer is the inevitable permanent wave. This added to plenty of mascara and eye shadow rouge and lipstick is supposed to render her sexually attractive. She usually chooses a dinner or cocktail dress of clinging form revealing lines and of medium length worn with sandals—for comfort and for durability.

The girls enter taxi dancing for many and various reasons. The majority of the taxi dancers have lived in the city and have homes in the city. Their family life is not usually ideal. As the girl reaches her adolescent period she desires better clothes and since she cannot obtain these through her parents she is forced to seek employment. Previous to becoming a taxi dancer the girl works in the pineapple cannery in private homes as a house maid or in a restaurant as a waitress. Monotony long hours and little pay are the rewards of these positions. However at this period she still retains her neighborhood or childhood friend. Through another taxi dancer or a patron of the dance hall probably

just a chance acquaintance or a friend of recent development the girl gains her introduction to this vocation. More than one girl is working to save enough money to go back to school. Several go to business college during the day and work all night. Some young girls who marry into the service to live a married life for a few years find themselves deserted when their husbands are transferred. To support their children they enter dance halls. Other girls have orphan brothers and sisters to support and more than one has a drunken parent on her hands.

One of the girls tells part of her story. After my step mother went to the Orient I ran away from my father because he treats me mean. He blames me for the desertion of my step mother because she had always scolded me. I always obeyed her and worked hard—washed all the clothes ironed swept and mopped the house and even cooked. All she did was to sew and very little at that. I worked in a haole house for almost a year until I met a girl who is a taxi dancer. She used to work as a house maid before. Boy! the first night in the dance hall was a thrill. I danced every dance. I was not neglected as at school dances where I was a wall flower most of the time. Besides dancing every dance and enjoying it I got paid for it too. Well I was at it for almost a year when I fell for a guy a soldier. He was very nice to me and I liked him but when I had to get married he would not do it. I know that he couldn't cause his folks in the states doesn't want him to. So I didn't mind not getting married cause he helped me pay for the hospital and doctor bill and he still gives me things. My baby boy is up Ka muk in the Boys Salvation Army home. I go up to see him once in a while. I still dance but I don't make

as much money as before. But I get along all right if I dance with the Filipinos. I hate to dance with them but I have to cause you know I have to live.

Another girl states. I was married at thirteen years of age to my husband who is ten years older than I. I am eighteen years old now and my oldest child is four years old. I have two other children. My husband does not have a steady job. He works in the cannery when they need him only during rush times. Since the cannery is two blocks from my home I used to work there and hurry home

to cook lunch and return to work. My neighbor who lives in the next two partitions of our building worked at nights in the dance hall. She saw how hard it was for me to care for my children and work in the cannery besides. So she told me about taxi dancing. She taught me how to dance and dressed me up with makeup and a cheap evening gown. I learned how to dance rhythmically. I earned more in one night than in three days working in the cannery. Besides that, I can stay home all day and take care of my children.

RACIAL ANCESTRY AND AGE OF HONOLULU'S TAXI DANCERS 1935

AGE	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	36	37	TOTAL
Hawaiian	1	2	5	3	8	4	2	2	2				1					28
Hawaiian Chinese	5	6	3	3	3	3	1	2					1					27
Hawaiian Japanese		1		1	1	1	1											5
Hawaiian American			1	1	1	1	1			1								5
Hawaiian Portuguese	1		2	2	5	8	1	1	1	2	1	1	1					4
Hawaiian Spanish																		2
Portuguese	8	5	4	2	5	8	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1			40
Portuguese English		1		1	1	2												4
Portuguese French			1	1	1	1	1											6
Spanish		1	1	1	1	2		1		1						1		8
Spanish Portuguese	1	1	1	1	2		1			1								8
Spanish Mexican		1	1	1														3
Spanish American		1	1															2
Spanish Filipino				1	1	1												3
Porto Rican	1	1	3	2		1												8
American			2	2	1	1	2	1		1			1					6
Irish						1	1		1									4
English															1			2
Russian			1	1	1													3
English German					1		1											2
French Italian																		2
Chinese							1											2
Japanese	3	3	4		1	1				1								12
Japanese Korean	7	4	5	2	4		1	1										24
Korean	1			1	1	1												2
Filipino	4	1	4	1	1	1				1	1	1						15
Others	10	5	1	2	6	3	3			1								31
TOTAL	45	36	42	31	41	29	11	8	8	8	6	1	3	1	2	1	1	274*

Ger French	18
Chinese Korean	18
Ger Jap Eng	18
Norwegian	19
Jap Spanish	13
Ger Haw n	19
Haw n Chi Port	20
Haw n Indian	20
Port Ger French	21
Irish Hawaiian	21
Belg American	21
Chi Filipino	21
Port Korean	21
Ger Haw n Chi	21
Jap Port	21
Ger Dutch	22
Chi German	22
Fil American	22
Haw n Jap Span	22
Port Russian	23
Indian Irish	23
Jap English	24
Italian	24
Haw n Filipino	26
Cuban	26
Port Italian	26
Span Indian	27
Samoan	27
Swed Dutch	27
Haw n Chi French	28
French Norwegian	31
French	38

*Police Registration for Approximately 72 Gals (Dancers) is Incomplete
Complete Lists Total About 350

Racial Factors in the Employment of Women

By JANET DPANGA

Employment Secretary of the Honolulu Y W C A

Employers in Hawaii generally express a racial preference in choosing employees. Obviously the type of work to be done is an important factor in selecting workers for so called racial characteristics seem to make one group more adaptable to one in dust than to another. Frequently physical characteristics such as size weight or strength provide a justification for some of the occupational choices but the majority of the stated preferences are based upon more subtle factors such as custom or tradition. The choices are often influenced by the employers familiarity and understanding of a race or upon a personal belief that the different groups possess distinctive traits. These beliefs have some foundation in the case of the first generation immigrants but there is less basis for distinction among the second and later generations. Many of the island born and island reared Orientals develop a stature comparable to that of the Caucasian or European races and certainly the fairly uniform educational and environmental pattern are creating a great similarity of conduct ideas and beliefs. The writer's personal observations and experiences covering a period of five years during which time a yearly average of more than 3,000 girls and women have been interviewed raise doubts as to how deep seated these "racial characteristics" are but the differences between the races are still important enough to seriously affect their success in the various occupations. The following are some of the common observations of employer with reference to racial factors in the employment of women in Honolulu.

HOUSEHOLD EMPLOYMENT

The Japanese are generally considered by employers as best suited for household work. They are usually quiet, scrupulously neat and clean in appearance, not given to gossip (at least not beyond their own racial group) and do not find detail and routine as monotonous as do the more temperamental members of other races. In the opinion of a great many household employers the second generation Japanese girl is not so satisfactory as the first generation. The Hawaiian born girl has been given outside interests through school contacts. She has, if a high school girl, been made somewhat aware of her own personality and the opportunities for self expression through community activities, especially those of a social and religious nature. Consequently she is interested and happy only on that type of job which gives her some time to follow individual interests.

The Chinese and Chinese-Hawaiian are greatly in demand but they do not figure prominently in the field. They are fewer in number and more attractive occupations are open to them. They are generally thought to be very successful with children, the aged and adaptable in cases of illness.

The Portuguese are unpopular and generally unsuccessful. The distinctive characteristics cited by employers are emotional instability and inclination to be talkative and intimately interested in the employer, his family and circle of friends, argumentative and a shade too independent to suit most employers. On the other hand, if the position provides the opportunity

portunity for sufficient social and recreational expression many Portuguese work with an industry and an initiative superior to that of the Oriental worker. Considerable antagonism is felt by the Portuguese toward the Oriental races because of the practically unanimous preference of the household employer for the Oriental. As a rule the Portuguese believe that Oriental popularity is a consequence of the supposed willingness of the Oriental to work for a lower wage. There is however no differential in the wage received.

Employers find the pure Hawaiian and the Caucasian Hawaiian inclined to be inattentive to detail and routine duties and likely to lose interest in the situation. In the care of children and invalids their calm and sunny dispositions could create a large demand for their services if it were not offset by their brief span of interest and attention.

The Caucasians of Nordic German and English descent are the nurses, governesses, housekeepers but rarely the menial servants. The island tradition in favor of the Oriental and Hawaiian servant has created in the minds of employers a feeling that a Caucasian has neither the docile disposition nor the servant attitude but must be treated as an equal socially to her employer. Hence she is given positions of responsibility having a social rating higher than that of the so-called domestic.

Taken as a whole the demands of the employers in this occupation present something of a paradox. They look for the servile attitude of the immigrant while at the same time and in the same person they require the ability to speak English and to be readily adaptable to modern household equipment. The modern Occidental pattern of living has been acquired by our Oriental peoples at the expense of the former obsequious and deferring attitude of servant towards

master.

OTHER OCCUPATIONS OF WOMEN EMPLOYEES

Commercial laundries and bakeries present a curious contrast as to racial selection. Portuguese and Asiatic Hawaiian women are highly desired in these industries. The attributes of both groups which make them desirable for this type of work are a sturdiness of physique and a gregariousness such as to render the close proximity of other workers satisfying. Quoting the remarks of one manager:

The Orientals are too small to operate most of the standard built machinery. They are more difficult to train because they want to ask questions. The white girls are too independent and resent being asked to do anything other than their regular duties. Neither can the white women or the races of smaller stature stand up under the steady repetition of the same movements day after day. But the picture is reversed in the offices of these plants. Here the Oriental girls are found busily and quietly at work on the routine duties of typing, daily records and reports and keeping accounts. Office managers have repeatedly expressed their appreciation for the accuracy and thoroughness of the work of Orientals but also stating that their present inability to become reliable secretaries is due to their limited command of the English language. This also generally bars them from positions as switchboard operators, information and order clerks.

Racial discrimination in the hotel and restaurant trades and in retail selling is largely determined by the nationality of the owners and managers—most of them preferring workers of their own race. In a few cases Oriental girls in their picturesque attire are employed by a white proprietor to lend color and atmosphere. Except for the brief pin of the N. R. A.

and regulations a wage differential has been in general practice. The Oriental waitress and salesgirl receiving a lower wage than the Portuguese and other Caucasians. Proprietors capitalize on the driving ambition of the Japanese to get ahead which leads them to work for a smaller wage. The Hawaiian and Caucasian races are relatively quick to detect and resent any unfair practice such as insufficient wage for too arduous work or too long hours on duty.

The clothing trades though small in the number of employees present a cross section of all the racial groups. The specialized type of work performed by the several groups however differs owing to employers' preferences to discrimination in rates of pay and to racial characteristics. In the smaller shops of women ready to wear the alteration departments generally employ Oriental girls who are directly under the supervision of the manager. But the larger shops use the Portuguese who work successfully without supervision. The Portuguese women from the old country have been well trained in needlework. The Portuguese girls who are engaged in the rather detailed work of the alteration of factory-made clothing seem to do so naturally without the aid of long courses of training used for the Orientals. Employers state that the Portuguese and the other Caucasians who have an aptitude for needlecraft show a keener style consciousness than do the Orientals. This is probably due in a large measure to the longer experience in the use of the Western style of clothing.

The Oriental women excel in the more severe types of sewing such as the tailoring of marine clothing, shirt making and the making of plantation workers' outfits. This is mainly copy work from standard samples and requires little originality on the

part of the worker. It is an ambition peculiarly of the Japanese parents that their daughters learn to sew. The family expenditures for clothing is much less when one or more in the family are skilled in sewing. Many girls make clothes for themselves and for other members of the family after the regular working hours and on Sunday. The great number of Japanese women who earn all or part of the family income by sewing has reduced the charge for such services to a very low figure. This situation causes antagonism on the part of clothing retailers and among other races whose living costs prevent them from working at an occupation so poorly paid.

THE EMPLOYEES' REACTION TO EMPLOYERS

Generally speaking the Haole* is considered by all races to be the best employer. The foreign-born employer of any race or the employer who retains distinctive nationality traits though born in this country is generally found to be difficult to work for.

Several attempts of an Oriental to employ Haoles has been unsuccessful. The Haole employee believes him to be more critical of the Haole than of the workers of his own race. The Oriental employer appears to the Haole to be lacking in common courtesy towards his employees. Probably a part is owing to an attempt on the part of the employer to combat the traditional feeling of inferiority with relation to the Haoles. In these cases the Haole employee is also faced with a language handicap which in itself breeds suspicion and misunderstanding.

In the case of the household worker we find much unwillingness on the part of an Oriental to work in an Oriental home. This situation is fairly true with all groups other than

*Hawaiian term for people of North European ancestry.

he whites. Objections are made on grounds of long working hours low rates of pay more strenuous work due to the larger families and the lack of modern equipment. Also the Oriental employers are more interested in the personal life of their workers and often assume the role of parents. This supervision is resented by the girl who has often gone to work partly to escape home control. Often Oriental employers request workers from other communities than their own so that the opportunities for gossip may be lessened. A Japanese business man in explaining his refusal to consider the appli-

cation of a Japanese girl well qualified for the position said: "I know her family well and he might discuss my business and myself at home. The Chinese household employer to escape the same difficulty does not as a rule employ a Chinese girl in order that the family conversation may not be understood by the worker. The Oriental household worker on the other hand objects to the close moral scrutiny of an employer of her own race and fears that any deviation from the parental code will be reported back to her home community."

WOMEN IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BY RACE FOR HONOLULU
1930

	All Classes*	Hawaiian	Caucasian Hawaiian	Asiatic Hawaiian	Portuguese	Porto Rican	Other Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino
Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory)	260	11	5	5	30	1	25	8	168	6	1
Operatives Clothing Industries	249				36	1	5	35	160	11	1
Saleswomen	478	7	15	11	61		139	110	129	2	2
Laundresses (not in factory)	359	13	2	6	33	4	4		281	7	7
Laundry Operatives	215	68	12	17	72	5	16	6	16	1	1
Servants	2 030	89	63	49	129	49	65	111	1 401	24	24
Waitresses	263	5	3	1	22	4	26	31	161	5	3
Stenographers and Typists	733	18	9	27	55		440	20	57	3	1
Barbers Hairdressers and Manicurists	230	1			3		34	1	189		1
Others Included											

Attitudes of Hotel Workers

by DOUGLAS YAMAMURA

The community of the hotel workers like most communities in Hawaii is cosmopolitan in character. We find all racial extractions represented. It may well be compared with the average community in Hawaii in its racial segregation. The managers, assistant managers, desk clerks, etc., forming the apex of this community are entirely Caucasians. At the broad base we find the Orientals who form the service group and occupy inferior quarters. The great majority of those at the bottom are unmarried men. The attitudes discovered in this community are a product in part of the occupation itself and in part of the larger multi-racial situation.

THE WAITERS

Typical of those at the bottom of the scale are the waiters, seventy-five per cent of whom are young Filipinos. The majority of them receive both room and board from the hotel in addition to the basic wage of \$37 to \$40 per month. The following is the Filipino's conception of himself and his profession. This particular view was expressed by a city Filipino, a high school graduate who came to Hawaii several years ago. He comes from the better class of Filipinos.

He wakes up early in the morning and prepares himself for a hard day's work. He combs his hair, inspects his nails and puts on an immaculately clean uniform. Nothing slipshod about him for he is to handle food. He is a waiter, the light-footed fellow who fleets about your table and serves your meals. His trade requires cleanliness, self-control, tolerance, good naturedness, politeness and obedience.

He must cultivate all these and must make his trade more of an art in itself.

I've spent over one third of my lifetime in this vocation and I ought to know plenty about it. It's not easy as it looks. The waiter doesn't know what to expect. He has to be obsequious in spite of anything and must put up with cranks that give him mental fatigue which to my way of thinking is more excruciating than bleeding wounds. He must bear undue reprimands from his boss and smile. If it's his lot to wait on people that are unreasonable and unhappy if they have nothing to complain about, he must bear it and make the best of it during their sojourn. Many a waiter finds peace by voluntarily forsaking his job to escape from them with pretext of some kind of ailment. But everything has its good and bad sides. The waiter has to deal with all sorts of people with varied habits, idiosyncrasies and temper.

The American is easier to get along with than the European. He treats his waiter not as does a lord to menial but as human being to human being. The European with his ancient background still has that attitude of lord to vassal or serf. The Englishman in particular still has it in his blood. He regards his waiter as a minus quantity and parts with ten per centum only after he's worn his waiter out. Most of his brothers from the Antipodes with very few exceptions are worse. They don't bother about their waiters. They are full of sing-song, thank yous, but thank yous can't pay for rent, gro-

This article is part of a larger study of the employees of the two largest hotels catering to the tourist trade at Waikiki.

ceries and ice

Being underpaid he has to make the best of his job to earn his gratuity. If he gives you his best service (there are ordinary services) he expects you to wax generous and tip him well. That's his main purpose. Tip is something you owe though you are not obligated to pay it. It's a tradition. Some people utterly disregard this traditional remuneration.

The waiter doesn't care who you are. You may be a bank president, a screen celebrity, a prima donna, a novelist, or a magnate of some kind of business. It doesn't make a bit of difference to him. You get as much attention as any man about town, clerk or salesman. He is not interested in your social position. The tip is all that matters.

The waiter has to put up with people who are too hard to please. There's the customer who complains he has waited one hour for his food when in reality not ten minutes have elapsed. The best thing to tell him is that food doesn't come in can always. But no waiter will do that. The head waiter like him understands the situation and since the customer is always right he administers a few tongue lashes. The waiter understands him but he doesn't take the reprimand to heart. It's all fake you know.

No waiter will admit that his job is a rosy one. On the contrary he is apt to say dirty things about it.

Perhaps the outlook on life or the attitude of the Filipinos can be best illustrated by the type of life they live. The average Filipino waiter is a very good dresser and spends a large proportion of his money on clothes. The waiter knows how to dress due to the contacts he makes at the hotel. However, some of them go to the extreme and try to wear something dazzling so that they can be the center of attraction. The waiter

wears the latest in men's wear as the guests from the mainland come in for dinner or for lunch. When he goes out on parties he tries to imitate them. The entertainment of the average Filipino consists of going to the taxi dance halls, movies, and very often to houses of prostitution. There is very little in the way of saving done by a waiter. He appears to spend all his money on entertainment and clothing. He tends to live only for today. He wants to receive recognition within the community and the method of approach has been to dress in the latest. He has to some extent received recognition in the Filipino community by his dress and his rather devil may care attitude toward money. Although he came to Hawaii principally to earn enough to live comfortably in the Philippines, he sends only a small part of his earnings back home to attain this goal. He is often promised to some girl back home and expects to get married after making good in Hawaii, but the type of life led by the men frequently turns them away from their earlier goal. The gardener Filipino who is looked on with scorn by the waiters presents a direct contrast. He is the diligent saver. His goal is to get enough money to return to the Philippines and settle down. He does not go for these entertainments nor does he dress in the latest.

THE BELL BOYS

The bell boys are chiefly unmarried Hawaiian born Japanese ranging in age from 16 to 30. Only two out of a total of 38 are married and both have non-Japanese wives. The average person in this community regards bell hopping as an inferior type of work. Here is the bell hop's lament on his job. This opinion was expressed by one who has been in the game for the past seven years and is one of the more cynical and observing boys. He is a grammar school graduate.

ate. Bell hopping is a good job for any young man before starting out in business. It trains you to meet people and to study them. However, I feel that the average boy doesn't do this. When I first worked here seven years ago I did not know anything. I couldn't meet people. I did not know anything about American ways and how to act among the many types of people. I learned all these things and in addition to speak. I found myself able to meet different situations with a cool head and I get along with people better.

It is surprising that so many of the Orientals in the city consider this job a low one socially. This job is looked down upon but it is a lucrative job. The average good bellman makes more money than an average good clerk. Since there is money in this game and there is no future outside, I feel that there are more chances for success as a bellman. One may save money and later invest in outside business. I have been here even years and supported a family during that period.

The majority of the bellmen are very low on the moral side, no doubt, because most of the boys who come to work here make so much easy money and they are not used to easy money. They see people having a hot time and they want to imitate this type of life. For entertainment almost every boy goes to the dance hall, shows and places where you can contact women. Most of them are drawn to this type of life by association with old hands. Very few take part in athletics due to the working hours. There is too much strain if one takes part in athletics and works up to midnight of the same night. He works twelve hours one day and six the next. The mind of most of the boys dwells on pleasure and good time with no thought of the future. Their good times mean association with women of the lowest degree. Most of us

when we first come here dress poorly and after a few years stress so much on clothes.

It is very important that all good bellmen have a keen sense of judgment of people. A smart bellman first notices his appearance—his clothing and the reply he gets from greeting the guest, the type of baggage he has and the conversation he carries on with the room clerk. A poor tipper always tells where he has traveled and where he stayed, e.g., expensive room does not mean that the occupants are good tippers. Usually the people that occupy medium rate rooms are the best. In this type of hotel people that have lot of stickers pasted on their bags are usually found to be poor tippers. They only want to show on their bags that they have traveled. Real persons do not show off. Bellmen can often instinctively tell or judge the character of the person by the facial expression.

Often a bellman judges the guest by the location from where they come. San Francisco people and those that come from the surrounding country are usually the best tippers. Northwest comes second. Southern people are poor—Chicago fair, middle west poorer than Chicago. New Yorkers are either extra bad or extra good, excluding the Jews. Usually prominent and nationally known figures are poor tippers. Actors and actresses are about the poorest. Los Angeles and Southern California people are poor movie executives and directors are much better than actors and actresses but Jewish officials are very poor. Worst of them all are the Europeans, particularly the Englishman. Australians are much better but New Zealanders are better than both. Local people are considered good tippers. Politicians are poor, doctors and lawyers good, bankers are poor and stock brokers good tippers.

The bell boy's constitution cried and ten commandment is to see everything hear everything and say nothing. How does a bell boy know a regular fellow? First of all he notices the clothes second baggage and thirdly just a hunch. He spots the guest coming thru the door starts to meet him and knows whether he is OK before he gets his hand on his luggage. The new traveler is reluctant to give his bag and mutters I'll take it it's not heavy. The hick travelers are never comfortable in the hotel lobby they can't sit still fidget around go to their room leave the hotel and come back. The old hand gets his paper lights a cigar picks an easy chair in the lounge and he's at home. It doesn't take long to spot the good tipper. As a rule he is an experienced traveler. He is neatly dressed clean and has good luggage. He may ask for a medium priced room and find that they are all gone. The clerk tells him the rate of the others and if he doesn't crab it's almost a cinch that he's not stingy with his tips.

When a bellman enters a party room he sees all just take a bellhop's word for that. He may not look as though he notices each little detail—a careless glove under the telephone book on the dresser a lei carelessly thrown on the dresser when the occupant did not have one on entrance into the hotel. If anyone but the manager asked him who and what he saw he would reply Nothing. But take a tip from the bellman he saw.

Parties often offer opportunities for a boy to short change the guest either by shorting a large bill or in many other ways—but he doesn't. The reason is that he runs a risk which is possibly not worth it. Even a bellman can't tell when a person is so intoxicated that he won't remember tomorrow. The regular bellman is honest because he knows it pays.

Does the bellman smile when he sees you come across the lobby the morning after the party? The smart bellman does not. He says Good morning Mr. X. He is pleasant but he never has a sly look in his eye to remind the guest of any indiscretion the night before. Mr. X's cigarette may need lighting and the bellman steps forward with a lighter. Light it says he but never will he even suggest by word or looks that he has ever seen Mr. X anywhere at any time. It pays in the long run.

There are a number of things which the bellman does for which he does not expect a tip. It's simply a matter of good business or what is known as hoomalimali or getting in with a guest. Lighting a cigarette helping a guest on or off with his coat or taking his letters to the mailbox after he has seen the guest purchase stamps.

After working here the boy's relation with the home is often torn because of the irregularity of hours. After working a few years the visit to their homes becomes less and less frequent. Most of the boys are good supporters and regularly send money to make up for staying away.

This game is a very hard game to get away from after a couple of years. There is a fascination in the game and the work is interesting because we see new faces and meet all kinds of people. After working a few weeks you find it easy. One who works in the office gets the same type of work day after day but in the hotel you see new faces and there is always something interesting going on. Actresses etc mean nothing but ordinary persons. A few months and the boys are not impressed by the reputation of the people and treat them just as any guest and seeking the autograph idea gets out of his brains.

The bell boys are given a low rat

ing, both socially and morally. This is in part a consequence of the attitude developed by the bell boy on the job and his daily habits. The average bell boy is a lover of good time. He is the frequenter of taxi dance halls bars show houses etc. The fact that the two married boys have selected wives outside their own group indicate that the parental mores have largely lost their influence. The boys very seldom visit their parents and there seems to be a widening gap in the relations of the parents to the son as time goes on. Possibly the parents are satisfied if their son sends some money every month and they do not recognize the loss of their parental control on other matters. The attitude of the average boy is to live for today. Tomorrow will be just another day. This comment perhaps illustrates his philosophy. "Why worry about saving I know I can earn some money tomorrow. He spends money freely knowing that he can earn more tomorrow. Very few bell boys have any definite objective in life.

Attitudes of the Caucasian workers are reflected in the following statement of a man who has been employed in various departments of the hotel. Few men arriving in the islands realize that there is little racial antagonism here and usually are not mentally prepared for the equality that the Japanese have been taught to expect.

The type of boy attracted by employment in the Bell department cannot always be taken as a fair example of Hawaiian born Japanese. He

is however fairly indicative of what American education has done to the oriental mind of this generation that is made him an entirely bewildered individual who neither understands the culture of one country or the other.

The dining room has presented grave problems since the opening of the hotel and in all likelihood will continue to do so. Caucasian waiters have been tried with little success. Japanese are apt to unionize and there are not enough eligible Chinese to fill the positions. The untrustworthy Filipino can be gotten in any number the work appeals to his childish vanity. It is very seldom, in Hawaii, that a born waiter can be found suited for this type of work.

It has been the practice to mix the three nationalities, thus allowing a degree of assurance against strikes.

Under the supervision of the hotel are the Hawaiian beach boys who play an important part in the entertainment of the guests and supplying the only direct touch the tourist gets with the Hawaiians.

The only discrimination is based on innate intelligence which would be found in any other city. Castles is guarded naturally but tends to be financial rather than racial. All of the many national and racial mixtures that have been grouped together in this organization are amicable in their relations proving that it is possible on a working basis, to utilize racial peculiarities to further good service.

The Impact of War on An Immigrant Culture

Kimie Kawahara
Yuriko Hatanaka

Hawaii is a microcosm of the many cultures which border the Pacific. To her shores have come immigrants from various parts of the world but especially from Asia and America. Each immigrant group has brought with it a distinctive culture and Hawaii has permitted each of these races or ethnic groups to follow many of its old world customs and traditions and to assimilate American culture only as it was disposed to do so.

Immigrants from Japan outnumbered all other ethnic groups and today [1943] persons of Japanese extraction comprise the largest single racial group in the Islands about 34 per cent of Hawaii's total population. This large proportion of Japanese in Hawaii is partly responsible for the fact that Japanese culture remained the most intact of the immigrant cultures in Hawaii. This same group has felt the impact of the present war to a greater degree than has any of the other cultural groups. Their relatively large population, their extreme adherence to old world customs and the status of their culture that of an enemy have subjected the group as a whole to criticism, suspicion and in some cases to suppression.

A visitor to the Islands before the outbreak of war would have seen many evidences of old world customs practised openly by the Japanese.

The people ate rice out of bowls with chopsticks. Rice was the staple food although for breakfast bread and butter seemed to have replaced the customary ochazuke (tea in rice). The Issei (first generation immigrants) lingered over their luxurious hot tea imported directly from Shizuoka, the center of the tea industry in Japan. Japanese women wore kimonos, their colorful native costumes with large obis or sashes and slippers for footwear. Large signs in Japanese characters were seen on Honolulu's streets especially in the so called Honolulu Ginza which was a miniature Ginza Street of Tokyo. Two large daily newspapers, The Nippu Jiji and "The Hawaii Hochi" were published in the Japanese language. Language schools were to be found in practically every community where there was any concentration of Japanese and were attended by the majority of Hawaii's Nisei or second generation Japanese.

In the homes various Japanese art objects such as paintings, family shrines and statues of clay and metal were to be found. Magazines such as Fujin club (similar to Ladies' Home Journal), Shoyo club and Shonen club (magazines for boys and girls) were to be seen piled together with local bulletins and comic strips. These were some of the cultural traits and old world customs which were most prevalent before the war and which have been subject to marked change during the war.

Material Culture

The material aspect of the Japanese culture in Hawaii has undergone an immense change. The desire of the local Japanese to be like others and to be as inconspicuous as possible have made them lay aside many of their traditional forms of dress. The war has also made them acutely conscious of the similarity between their physical and cultural characteristics and those of the enemy and has led them to eliminate culture traits which would cause antagonism and disapproval on the part of the other racial groups. They have discarded their kimonos and have adopted the American dress, shoes and stockings. Many women have also trimmed their long black hair to have it curled.

A study of the Japanese group in Kahului, which as a typical Japanese community on Maui where the old country influence has been particularly strong, reveals the attitudes of some of the Japanese in regard to the adjustments which they have had to make since the war.

Prior to the war kimono clad women were habitually seen doing their shopping at Kahului Market or at Ah Fook's. They were merely looked upon by the other racial groups with curiosity and were accepted as part of a colorful display of different cultures. Since the war these women have folded their kimonos and put them away in trunks filled with moth balls. Many of them were seen for the first time in Western dresses. Those who had previously acquired the habit of wearing dresses added shoes and handbags to their wardrobe in place of slippers and furoshiki (bundles wrapped up in cloth). But quaint figures in dress and slipper ensemble can still be seen at Kahului Market almost every day. They have yet to learn to accommodate themselves to the discomfort of ill fitting shoes.

There was a time immediately after the outbreak of war when women of Kahului went about in search of black materials to make black dresses because we can't wear Montsuki (formal black kimono stamped with family crests) any more.

An interesting conversation of a group of excited Issei gathered at the dress counter of a Main Street store in Kahului illustrates the developing pressure. It seems that all of the women had accommodated themselves to the dress situation except for one or two who continued to wear kimonos for shopping. The resulting reactions against these non conformists were expressed in the conversation.

Isn't it just like Mrs. and Mrs. tho? it's hard enough for us already without having them strutting around in kimonos.

She'd better be careful or she'll be picked up by the F B I agents. One day I saw a haole man staring at Mrs. at Ah Fook's because she was wearing a kimono. He must have thought that she

was boosting for Japan from the way he looked at her

The extreme opposite of this withdrawing tendency of the Japanese is shown by the Chinese and Koreans who tend to bring forth their old country apparel as a means of emphasizing that they are not Japanese

Food habits have also been profoundly affected by the war. This is owing to the lack of certain commodities rather than to a change in the appetites and interests of the group. Since the stock of foodstuffs which had been improved before the war has been almost completely exhausted the Japanese have found it necessary to adapt themselves to many new American dishes. Special foods such as *kazunoko* and *ika* (sea food) and *mochi* (pastry made of rice) were absent from the table on New Year's day this year and the loss was keenly felt in many Japanese homes. Eating American food has necessitated the use of large dinner plates and knives and forks in place of the traditional small plates, bowls and chopsticks.

Immediately after the outbreak of war rumors circulated that any objects which were 'Japanesque' were incriminating and that any Issei were being interned because of possession of them. During the days that followed almost every Japanese family had a thorough house cleaning and all objects which were kept for sentimental reasons were pulled out of trunks and destroyed. In many families the *kamidana* or family shrine which occupied a special niche on the wall and to which daily rites were performed has been taken down and burned sometimes with appropriate ceremonies. Flags and emblems of the enemy, portraits of the members of the imperial family and photographs of uncles and cousins in uniforms were destroyed. Books, magazines, periodicals and personal letters were also burned.

You mustn't keep anything in the house that has come from Japan because the investigators are very suspicious you know

Did you know that Mr. [] was questioned at his home and that the investigators took everything which looked suspicious to them? Why they even tried to take away the little boy's toy which happened to be a miniature Japanese destroyer sent to him by his grandpa. But he cried so they had to give it back to him

Immaterial Culture

The language of a group expresses its thoughts and beliefs and it contains all the subtle nuances which the group alone is able to understand and appreciate.

In Hawaii the language of the Issei group is a pidgin Japanese consisting of the dialects of the various *Kens* or prefectures such as Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Kumamoto, Fukushima, etc. which are represented here. To this

already heterogeneous language the Nisei have contributed their pidgin English and the result is sometimes weird and wonderful. The war has introduced several factors affecting this trend towards language assimilation. First of all the inevitable tendency of the other racial groups to identify the alien group with the enemy has made the Issei a very self-conscious group. Remarks such as the following have been heard from time to time among the Issei:

We mustn't speak Japanese because anyone may think that we were enemies

Don't speak Japanese in the busses because there are F B I agents all over the place and they can pick you up any time

At home with Japanese radio programs prohibited the Issei strain their ears to attempt to catch a familiar word or two of the news broadcasts in English. Also with the language schools disbanded the younger children are forgetting their Japanese vocabulary and are including more and more American words in their speech at home. Mother and Dad have become temporary students of these children. This is a significant fact in that it has greatly weakened the control which parents previously exercised over their children through their language. Also certain sentiments which any language conveys to its users in this case sentiments that are associated with Japan are gradually losing their influence.

Till the beginning of the present conflict Japanese language presses received their news directly from Japan via the official government news agency Domei. With their large circulation among the Japanese homes the Japanese language newspapers unquestionably played an important role in preserving the traditional mode of thought. The radio before the war was used not only as an instrument of entertainment but also to interpret the news. Local radio announcers broadcast Domei news on daily Japanese programs. Radio Tokyo aimed nightly at Hawaii with special programs. Today [1943] no alien Japanese listens to any broadcasts emanating from Japan; no local programs are broadcast in Japanese and only two of Hawaii's English-Japanese newspapers are allowed to operate under the code of wartime practices for the American Press. War news of the day no longer comes from Tokyo.

Recreation for the immigrants has also undergone a change. Before the war there were numerous theaters showing Japanese films. These theaters were well attended by Issei and Nisei alike and played an important part in the recreational life of the Japanese. They helped moreover to preserve much of the old world sentiment and helped the Issei recall the past. They furnished the Nisei with some idea of the cultural background of their parents, helping them to get a better understanding of the language and to gain

favorable impressions of Japanese customs and habits. It was the wish of every Issei parent to have his children understand the old way of doing things which often came into direct conflict with the American ways of his children. The movies were believed to have been an instrument in bringing this about.

Today no one dreams of going to a Japanese movie. Instead they have turned to American movies. Aged Issei couples are frequently seen toddling into a jammed theater where Hedy Lamarr and Spencer Tracy are being flashed on the screen. To many of them this is the first contact with the American ways of life expressed though the movies and doubtless many have found them quite shocking and altogether strange but they have quietly accommodated themselves to the situation. Perhaps in the future they may even begin to talk about them with some understanding.

Institutional Changes

The most important institution of any cultural group is the family. With the advent of war family relations of the Japanese in Hawaii have undergone marked changes. The decline in the position of the alien father is a noticeable one. The Japanese custom elevated the man in the family to such a height that his word was almost law as far as the immediate family was concerned. The father's active role has been lessened to a considerable degree. He is still looked upon for advice yet he has lost much of the influence that he exerted before the war. He feels inadequate and insecure in these times and so has come to depend upon a citizen son or daughter. The description of the wedding procedures in a particular family will help to illustrate this more clearly.

My sister's wedding, which took place this last April, was very different from brother's which was held about ten years ago. The role of the father in a Japanese wedding ceremony is very important. I was only nine when brother got married but I remember father discussing, planning, and giving consent to plans that formal ritual of drinking sake with the bride's clan. But sister's wedding, which took place last April, was quite the contrary. Her wedding was a quiet and simple church wedding. Father of course gave consent to the marriage but he did not take part in the customary rituals nor did he attend the church ceremony. Brother was there to take father's place. Father knew that there was no legal restriction saying that enemy aliens are not allowed to attend large gatherings but he nevertheless felt that it would be better for brother to perform his function at a time like this. The external conflict has caused an internal conflict in Father. Formerly practically every situation was specifically defined by his native customs and there was no question as to how he should behave there was only one way of behaving. But now he knows that these customs are frowned upon

by the general public. The constant repetition of situations in which he is not sure as to how he should behave has subtly changed his former status. This change has many second generation children this comparative independence and power of authority are novel experiences. Some are accepting and meeting their new roles intelligently others are not

On the other hand some of the stresses occasioned by the war have often served to increase family solidarity among the Japanese. Fear of internment and mass evacuation and a general sense of insecurity have tended to bind the group more closely. War time conditions of blackout and curfew have thrown members of a family together more often. This has given them an opportunity to exchange ideas and come to know and understand each other better. The possibility of members of a family being separated is increased during war times. This immediately creates a greater desire to be with one's own kin and leads to the intensification of the family solidarity.

A curious by product of the war has been the impact of the soldiers from the mainland upon the Japanese family. In some cases the effect has been quite disorganizing. In others the Japanese family has met the new situation with some degree of success as in the following case.

The Japanese immigrants have not resisted the mainlanders with whom they have come in contact. This is not true of all immigrants but it is true for a good number of them. I know many service men who feel perfectly at ease with the Japanese people in and out of their homes. Until a year ago I know Father never even thought of inviting service men from the mainland to the house. Today however he has a number of very good friends in the service who come regularly to our home. The boys who have found something of a home at our house refer to father as Pop and he seems to be rather fond of this affectionate name. Both Father and Mother who rather discouraged interracial dating before now do not seem to mind my association with service men. The contact with and the acceptance of mainlanders were difficult things for my parents and I know that they have done these mainly in consideration of their children.

Another case of a positive effect of the soldiers upon the Japanese family is illustrated in the following.

Father has been working for the K I Company for over thirty years. This makes it necessary for us to live close to the reservoir that father looks after and thus we have to live in a rather isolated spot. When the war started all the irrigation reservoirs that were concerned with the distribution of drinking water were taken over by the Army. They were made into military posts and soldiers were stationed as guards. Our

place was no exception and soon several soldiers were camping in our own yard. My alien parents of course felt very uncomfortable in this situation. My parents spoke a different language, they were of another cultural background, and thus had different customs and traditions; they were of different color; furthermore, they were enemy aliens. Besides these factors that went to make adjustment more difficult, there was in my parents the old ethnocentrism which is characteristic of any ethnic group.

In the beginning their association with the soldiers was merely on the impersonal and indifferent level. Then they began to say hello and good morning. Words were exchanged occasionally in Pidgin English; conversation was carried on more frequently; finally, father invited them to our home.

It seems that our family relations have been enriched by these new acquaintances. Whenever these boys visited us, it was necessary for me to sit in the living room with my parents and often interpret what the other was trying to say. This has decidedly helped to make my old fashioned father understand some of the American ideas and consequently has made a difference in his understanding of his children. To cite an example, Father was very narrow minded about social dancing. To these boys, dancing was a natural pastime and they talked about the good time they had at the U.S.O. dances. They told him how well these dances were conducted and mentioned some of the people who took charge of the dances. Before long, Father stopped condemning dancing and soon accepted it as just another social activity. New ideas and new ways of living that we second generation children learned at school sometimes used to create conflicts and often end in quarrels. But with the constant exposure to these ideas since the war, Father, in spite of his obstinacy, has learned to understand and to accept any of them. Father's change of attitude toward dancing is only one of the many changes that have come about. The significance of these changes lies in the fact that they have helped to lessen conflicts in the family.

Why have the immigrant Japanese laid aside the customs and traditions that guided their daily lives and accepted to some degree the culture of the American people? There are several reasons for this. One is the general fear of criticism from society as a whole; they want to carry on their activities with a minimum amount of criticism and condemnation. Another is the fear of internment and mass evacuation. (This fear has largely subsided, but in a few cases it still remains.) Still another is the concern over the safety and welfare of their children. The Japanese people at present are subjected to criticism from all sides; every move made by them is observed keenly by the community and any false move is severely criticized. Parents feel they should help their children in every way possible instead of adding to their difficulties.

They want to help establish some form of security for them. In many instances the immigrant family has realized that Americans must be brought up and taught to act in the American way.

A notable change in the social activities of the Japanese is the liquidation of many previously important clubs and organizations. The once important leader is now either interned or is leading a very quiet and inconspicuous life. Prominence in the Japanese community is no longer an asset, especially to the first generation.

The immigrant Japanese also refrain from practicing and observing certain customs for fear of being criticized by the public. The colorful festivities for Boys' Day, May 5, and Girls' Day, March 3, are things of the past. The large carp fish flags that used to adorn the house tops on Boy's Day have been tucked away. Beautiful dolls that were displayed on Girls' Day have been moth balled for the duration. As one student observes:

One never sees now the annual mochi tsuki, or mochi pounding, which used to come around a few days before New Year's Day. This was a special occasion in itself. The whole family turned out for this event. Mother steamed the mochi rice while father pounded the steamed rice into glutinous mass. Then young and old together formed the pounded rice into round mochi of varying sizes.

Religious practices have undergone an extreme change. The majority of Japanese people are of the Buddhist faith. Their activities are almost at a standstill at present due to the internment of nearly every Buddhist priest in the Islands. Religious festivals are no longer celebrated. The traditional bon dances which were staged in each district are things of the past. Great throngs of people used to gather upon these occasions to honor the dead. They would make merry by dancing around an elevated platform on which were men who furnished the rhythmic music for the dances. The customary lighting of hundreds of lanterns in the cemeteries is no longer practiced. The present war and its restrictions put a stop to all this during the first year of the war. Although the regulations prohibit mass people have refrained from this traditional practice. Again this is mainly attributable to the fear of practicing anything that is distinctly Japanese.

Prior to the war most Japanese funerals were arranged by the local neighborhood group or kumi for the family of the deceased and everyone in the community participated at least as spectators. At present because of the tabu upon alien group activities funerals have become limited to family services. The kumi system has ceased to function. Previously any death in the community was regarded as big news and was talked of until there were virtually no secrets of the dead left undiscovered. Although news of death at the present time is still big news and is passed on from person to person by word of mouth, much of the color and the subtle implications of the stories

have become minimized because of the absence of social gatherings. Community gossipers have a narrower range of activities being limited to the immediate neighborhood.

The elaborate marriage ceremony has disappeared from the local scene. The burdensome hair do with *tsunokakushi* (veil), *montsuki* and the *obi* (large sash) are no longer appropriate. The claim of the Issei that Japanese must get married in Japanese style has lost its strength and marriage for the Nisei has become a simple affair. All you need is five dollars and a judge, they say. The *baishakunin* (go between) and *noshi* (dowry) and the more subtle practices that can be continued without attracting attention of the other groups have managed to survive. The reception following the ceremony which was a grand occasion for the singing of native songs with the accompaniment of the handclasp has also passed out of the scene.

Assimilation

Normally assimilation is a slow and gradual process. In time of war as in the case of the Japanese today it is necessarily speeded up. It is not only accelerated consciously by the larger community in terms of such stimulations as the Speak American campaign and military and legal pressures but it is also speeded up unconsciously by the Japanese themselves. Many Japanese prior to the war lived in a sort of tolerated marginal position but the war has necessitated the abandoning of this position of sitting on the fence between two cultures. For a large number of Japanese, mainly the second generation, the choice was an easy one. For the first generation the situation produced an inner conflict. Most of them, however, feel a passive loyalty to Hawaii if not to the mainland United States. This may be due to their prolonged residence here in Hawaii and the economic and social opportunities accorded them. However, many new ways have been forced upon them since the war. Their acceptance of the new ways can hardly be called assimilation. It is more accurately a process of accommodation.

Assimilation is a two way proposition. It not only requires willingness on the part of the Japanese to acquire the American culture but it also requires an attitude of receptiveness on the part of the Americans. Thus far in Hawaii both the general public and the Japanese have promoted the slow process of assimilation through various accommodations. There is a constant fear in the minds of many Japanese that their assimilation will be hindered by some black sheep within their ranks and by short sighted and impatient Americans. It is perhaps well worthwhile to emphasize again that assimilation is normally a slow and gradual process. People will absorb only as much of a culture as they are able to. It takes time for any immigrant group to become a part of a new cultural pattern and to feel at home within it. Furthermore, a too speedy assimilation may even be detrimental to the group and the community as a whole. A short cut assimilation will likely result in personal and family disorganization and would affect the community adversely.

All these tangible and intangible changes in the cultural life of the community have made life in general more complex, confusing and bewildering for the Japanese in Hawaii. The mechanisms which used to operate so effectively in keeping their lives well integrated have ceased to function and they are faced with the problem of remaking a life pattern which is consonant with the pressure and needs of war time Hawaii.

Although some of the immigrant culture traits may be revived after the war, many of the changes will remain permanent. Many interesting phenomena of cultural assimilation and race relations will continue to occur and some day within Hawaii's laboratory of human relationships there will be found common interests, common memories and common loyalties. Then can we truly say that the peoples of Hawaii will have become one people?

The Filipino Community in Hawaii Development and Change

Dean T Alegado

Introduction

American social scientists and historians have abundantly documented the fact that ethnic communities and ethnicity are not only integral parts but salient features of the American social system and history (see Thomas 1990 Jiobu 1990 Schaeffer 1988 Banks 1984). They also agree that ethnicity and ethnic cultures contrary to the popular notions of assimilation and the melting pot ideology are exceedingly resistant to change or eradication. This article examines some of the factors that have contributed to the development and persistence of the ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii.

Like most ethnic communities in the United States it is difficult to speak of a single Filipino community in America. Filipino communities in the U.S. are quite varied—in size, level of socio-cultural development, character of social structures (i.e. informal and formal community institutions, relationship to the local/city/state political economy, etc.). The development of the Filipino community in Hawaii was initially shaped by the needs of the plantation-based political economy. The community has developed from one largely based on the plantation and composed predominantly of single men who lacked the traditional Filipino family/kinship system and community institutions.

Today the Filipino community is no longer predominantly plantation-based. The majority of Filipinos in Hawaii work and live in urban areas. The community enjoys a relatively balanced male/female sex ratio. More Filipino family and kinship networks exist today than ever before. Numerous Filipino community groups and organizations—social, cultural, religious, professional and entrepreneurial—exist throughout the state, giving the ethnic Filipino community its dynamism and distinctiveness.

There are three identifiable historical periods in the development of the Filipino community in Hawaii: the period before World War II, the post World War II period, and the post 1965 period to the present. A cursory examination of the community's history reveals two distinct and sometimes contradictory but interrelated social processes operating. The first involves the incorporation, gradual assimilation and amalgamation of the immigrants (i.e. those who arrived since 1906 until today) from the Philippines into the larger American nationality

or as in the case of Hawaii becoming local (see Okamura 1980 Yamamoto 1979).

An assimilation process occurs for all immigrants who come to settle permanently in the U.S. (see Glazer and Moynihan 1975 Gordon 1964 Park 1950). The objective basis for assimilation is the immigrants' integration into the political economy and social structures of their adopted country. The requirements of economic survival make it necessary for the immigrant to acquire basic understanding of American cultural practices. Their objective participation in the American socio-economic system as producers and consumers sets the basis for the linguistic and cultural changes that mark the process of assimilation and amalgamation. By amalgamation we mean the fusion or merging of distinct peoples into a new nationality.

Generally within two or three generations immigrants begin to lose touch with the homeland. They become monolingual in English and thoroughly attuned to the national culture of the U.S. and self-identify as American. The descendants of immigrants are effectively absorbed into the U.S. or American nationality.

The second process involves the social reproduction of the Filipino national minority or ethnic community in Hawaii. A number of factors have contributed to the development and continued existence of the ethnic Filipino community. The most important of these are the continuing large influx of immigrants from the Philippines, on the one hand, who replenish the Philippine nationality, ethnic culture and identity, and on the other hand, the continued subjection of Filipinos to anti-immigrant prejudices and institutional discrimination.

An important factor that has served as a powerful brake on the assimilation of non-white immigrants in the U.S. is racism. Essentially the process of assimilation in the U.S. has been polarized along racial lines (see Jiobu 1990 Geschwender 1978 Bonacich 1976 Daniels and Kitano 1970 Cox 1948). Whereas immigrants from Europe, with the exception of some eastern and southern Europeans, shed their ethnic minority status quickly and become in their own minds true blue Americans, the racial distinctiveness of non-white ethnics is reinforced generation after generation. The hyphenated designation (i.e. Filipino Americans, Japanese Americans, Mexican Americans, etc.) which non-white ethnic Americans carry is a mark of their imperfect assimilation into the American nationality. Thus distinct ethnic communities made up mainly of non-white Americans continue to be socially reproduced, while those of European descent experience the process of dispersion, assimilation, amalgamation and inclusion into the American social system and nationality.

The experience of the Filipino community in Hawaii supports the notion that ethnicity should not be considered a fixed cultural quotient that either simply persists as in the pluralist version of America or gradually diminishes as with the assimilation thesis (Yancey et al 1976). In reality ethnicity ebbs and flows depending upon the ecology or political economy of the cities or regions of the country in which ethnic groups find themselves. If people are commonly grouped by occupation and residence and share common institutions and services then ethnic solidarity should flourish and persist. If these factors are absent ethnicity should diminish.

The Pre World War II Filipino Community in Hawaii

The Filipino community has its roots in the plantation system dominated by the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) and the powerful Big Five companies (i.e. Alexander & Baldwin, Amfac, Theo H. Davies, C. Brewer and Castle & Cooke). Between 1906 and 1935 approximately 120,000 Filipinos were enticed or recruited by HSPA labor agents to work on the plantations (Sharma 1984, Teodoro 1981, Dorita, 1954). Almost all who arrived including a small number of families and women emigrated under the auspices of the HSPA. By 1926 the HSPA had ceased its practice of recruiting Filipino workers and paying for their passage to and from Hawaii. Despite the ending of active labor recruitment, however thousands of Filipinos continued to flow into Hawaii until 1934 when immigration from the Philippines was restricted by the U.S. Congress passage of the Tydings McDuffie Act. The act, also called the Philippine Independence Act, was passed by Congress due to the lobbying pressure of American labor leaders on the West Coast and their anti-Filipino labor agitation as well as certain agricultural interests in the U.S. that sought to limit the entry of Philippine agricultural products into the country. With the act's passage the migration of Filipinos to the U.S. and Hawaii from 1935 on virtually stopped (Dorita 1967).

Upon arrival in Hawaii Filipino contract laborers were assigned to the HSPA affiliated plantations throughout the territory. Their lives would now come under the dictates of the plantation bosses. They had no choice as to which plantation or island they would be assigned. Men from the same families, the same towns or provinces were often broken up and separated. They became totally dependent on the plantation for housing, medical care, food supply and even recreation. This was the first phase of proletarianization of Filipinos in Hawaii as they were integrated into the territory's political economy (Takaki 1983, Beechert 1985).

A number of factors played a role in the forging of the Filipino community in this early period of their history in Hawaii. Among these was the policy of the HSPA of segregating and separating workers of different nationalities and races (Takaki 1983, Beechert 1985, Fuchs 1961). Like the other immigrant laborers, Filipinos were assigned separate camps or housing on the plantations. This facilitated the spontaneous reproduction of Filipino communal and cultural practices including the use of Philippine languages. Each Filipino plantation camp generally contained several hundred workers including a few families and women. As more Filipinos were brought to work on the plantations, Filipinos gradually replaced Japanese as the backbone of the sugar and pineapple industries in the islands (Sharma 1984, Fuchs 1961).

While the planters generally placed all Filipinos in the same camp, they were also aware of the regional and linguistic differences among them and often took advantage of these differences to keep Filipinos disunited as an ethnic bloc. Thus even within the Filipino camp there existed separate Ilokano camps and Visayan camps. Despite these nuances, however, the process of assimilation and amalgamation of Filipinos into Hawaii's plantation working class was set into motion.

The nascent Filipino community made adjustments and adapted to the difficult social conditions they found in Hawaii. Despite lacking normal family structures and women, Filipinos on the plantation were able to develop artificial family and kinship networks. Two types of informal social structures were created by the early Filipino migrant workers. The first dealt with problems related to individual housing collectives. The other dealt with problems faced by Filipinos in the camp as a whole.

Generally there were between 5 to 10 men assigned to a bunkhouse or housing collective. Following Filipino cultural tradition, the oldest member of the house often acted as the authority figure, assuming the role of the older brother or father figure.

The orientation and goal of most Filipinos who came to work on the plantations in this period was to finish the term of their contract (3-5 years), save as much money as possible that could be sent home, and then return to the Philippines. Given the very low wages they earned at that time, it was not unusual for many Filipino plantation workers to have very little money left at the end of the month. In order for these men to meet their obligations to their families in the Philippines, they developed what has come to be called the *kumpang* system (see Cariaga 1937). Each month members of the housing collective or

bunkhouse would put a small amount of money into a pool. The men would then take turns in sending the large pool or pot of money to their families.

In some cases the *kumpang* was expanded to cover other members of the Filipino camp thus leading to the development of informal credit arrangements called the *amung* (Cariaga 1937). These informal credit associations later evolved into mutual aid associations called *saranays*. One of the main purposes of the *saranay* was to assist members in dire need (Alcantara 1981). For example, members would provide assistance to workers who met tragic accidents or untimely death. The *saranay* took care of the funeral expenses or sent money home to the family of the deceased.

These informal social structures and networks were the building blocks of the early Filipino community in Hawaii. The *saranays* were often formed by people from the same town. The larger *saranays* however reflected the regional origins of its members. Among these were the Ilocos Norte Aid Association and the Bisaya Hinabangay Association.

As an emerging community institution, the *saranay* was based on the plantation camp or town. It was not until the mid 1930s that there were attempts by Filipinos, often with the assistance of the HSPA, to bring together the emerging organizations scattered throughout the territory to consolidate them under a single umbrella. The effort to unite these Filipino community groupings was part of the campaign hatched by the HSPA to neutralize the attempts of Pablo Manlapit to bring Filipino workers under his Filipino Labor Union (FLU) (see Beechert 1985, Fuchs 1961, Manlapit, 1924). At this time, the FLU was the only organization with a territorial wide presence among Filipinos in Hawaii.

Besides the mutual aid associations and the attempts at forming a labor union to represent their interests, Filipinos organized masonic societies similar to those that existed in the Philippines (Okamura 1981). Among those formed in Hawaii were the Legionarios del Trabajo, Caballeros de Dimasalang, and the Gran Oriente Filipino. These societies were openly nationalistic and actively supported the campaign for Philippine independence from the United States. One of the central activities of these associations was the observance of Rizal Day, an annual event in honor of the Philippine national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, that was once widely celebrated throughout the Filipino community on December 30. Rizal Day became an occasion for all Filipinos to express their collective national identity as Filipinos and continuing love for their Philippine cultural heritage. Rizal Day celebrations played an important role in the maintenance of Filipino ethnic identity in Hawaii.

Another Filipino organization which developed a territorial wide following was the pseudo religious Filipino Federation of America (FFA) (see San Buenaventura 1990, Thompson 1941). Originally formed by the messianic Hilario Moncado in the late 1920s in California, the Filipino Federation of America was largely based among Visayans. The FFA later expanded to Hawaii among Filipinos and continues to exist in both states until today. A deeply religious and politically conservative social formation, the Moncado led FFA was viewed favorably by the HSPA. Moncado's image as the leader of the Filipino in Hawaii was supported by the ruling elite in Hawaii to counteract and downplay the influence of Manlapit among Filipino workers. The FFA discouraged its members from joining Manlapit's labor organizing activities.

Perhaps one of the most important and powerful institutions in the pre World War II Filipino community was the Philippine Labor Commissioner in Honolulu. It was the predecessor of the Philippine Consul General, the representative of the Philippine government in Hawaii. While purportedly working in the interest of Filipino laborers in Hawaii and representing the colonial authorities in Manila, the Labor Commissioner actually functioned as an agent of the Big Five and HSPA within the Filipino community. Cayetano Ligot, the longtime Labor Commissioner in Hawaii in the 1920s and 1930s, was perhaps the most notorious among them and often counseled Filipino workers to not bite the hand that fed them (Beechert 1985, Fuchs 1961, Manlapit 1924).

Early Filipino Calabash Family

The few hundred Filipino women and children who arrived in the 1920s and early 1930s provided the initial foundation for the emergence of a more rounded community life on the plantations. With the presence of Filipino women and families, the Philippine cultural practice of observing life cycle celebrations or rites of passage, such as weddings, baptisms and funerals, became an important focal point for bringing together Filipinos on the plantations.

Fuchs observed that given the small number of school age Filipino children before World War II, it was often a major community event whenever a Filipino youth graduated from high school (Fuchs 1961). It was an even bigger cause for celebration when a Filipino graduated from college. These occasions were not only observed by the student's immediate family but by his entire *partido* or kinship network and community.

The events that centered on the Filipino family reinforced the social reproduction of Philippine cultural practices in Hawaii. The observance of life

cycle celebrations among Filipinos in Hawaii led to the development of artificial kinship networks especially among the single Filipino men with no families (Alcantara 1981 Cariaga 1937). Flowing from the practice of having multiple sponsors for baptisms and weddings calabash family ties were established by single men and women who became *ninongs* (godfather) and *ninangs* (godmother). In this way the *ninong* and *ninang* became uncle and aunt which enabled single men with no families to enter into the extended kinship or *partido* network. Many of these *partidos* often crossed or overlapped with the *saranays* or Filipino community associations on the plantations particularly those based on regional or township levels.

Towards the end of the 1930s a number of events led to a change in the orientation of Filipinos towards their view of their life and future in Hawaii. One was the great distance between Hawaii and the Philippines which made it difficult especially for the single men to maintain close ties with the families they had left behind. Another factor was the harsh economic conditions most Filipinos faced during the Depression years. Thousands of unemployed Filipinos in Hawaii and the mainland U.S. were repatriated (McWilliams 1986/1944) Dorita 1967). Many Filipinos were unable to send money home to their families in the Philippines. Others cut their ties with the families back home altogether and decided to stay in Hawaii for the rest of their lives or to move on to the mainland if the opportunity arose. The outbreak of World War II completely closed the flow of communication as well as migration between the Philippines and Hawaii. It forced Filipinos to begin thinking of permanently sinking their roots and building a future in Hawaii.

Post World War II to Pre 1965 Period

The period following WW II represents the second phase in the history of the Filipino community in Hawaii. The war and the events that followed consolidated the feeling that was building up among most Filipinos in Hawaii before the war to settle permanently in the islands. The years following WW II witnessed more and more Filipinos becoming U.S. citizens especially those who had served in the armed services (McWilliams 1986). Others returned home to the Philippines to get married or to bring their families to Hawaii.

Among the main highlights of this period was the successful drive to organize Hawaii's longshore and plantation workers led by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union or ILWU. These organizing drives which resulted in a series of dramatic and sometimes bitterly fought

strikes were able to mobilize Filipinos to support the ILWU. Under the slogan of an injury to one is an injury to all the ILWU succeeded in breaking down divisions among Hawaii's workers based on race and nationality and united them on the basis of working class solidarity.

A corollary aspect of the ILWU led strikes was their success in winning Filipinos to struggle against narrow and sectarian blood or racial unionism (Beechert 1985 Zalburg 1979 Fuchs 1960). A crucial test occurred in the 1946 sugar strike when the HSPA imported more than 6 000 Filipinos from the Philippines—freshly liberated from Japanese occupation—to help break the strike (Beechert 1985 Zalburg 1979 Fuchs 1960). The planters hoped that the anti Japanese sentiment among Filipinos resulting from their bitter war experience would help break the solidarity forged by the ILWU between Filipino and Japanese workers. The HSPA ploy failed however as the freshly imported Filipino workers refused to scab against the strikers and instead supported the ILWU led strike.

The hardfought and lengthy strikes which marked the organizing drives of the ILWU became a central dynamic and focus in the life of the Filipino community on the plantations during this period. In the decade following the war the ILWU fought four major strikes which drew Filipinos into the frontline of the main social movements in Hawaii—the 1946 sugar strike the 1949 longshore strike the 1952-53 pineapple strike and the 1958 sugar strike. These strikes lasted between four to ten months. In the course of these struggles for basic trade union rights and for improved working and living conditions Filipinos on the plantations were greatly politicized and made important contributions to the struggle of all working people in Hawaii for greater democratic rights. As the largest ethnic group in the agricultural industries—sugar and pineapple—Filipinos made tremendous sacrifices and played leading roles in ensuring the victory of the ILWU in these strikes. During this phase of the Filipino community's history in Hawaii the ILWU became a central institution on all the plantation communities and was a great influence on the lives of Filipinos.

By the 1950s the pace of structural integration acculturation and assimilation of Filipinos in Hawaii was proceeding steadily. The number of immigrants from the Philippines in this period was small. The bulk of the community was still made up of those who came before World War II. The number of women and children however was slowly beginning to increase. The number of second generation Filipinos also was growing (Lind 1967).

With the ILWU's influence in the plantation communities at its height the number of Filipino mutual aid associations—and the need for them—began to decline. Most Filipino adult men and women on the plantations belonged to the ILWU and relied on the union to deal with their social problems ranging from immigration to alcoholism. The ILWU throughout the territory (and later state wide) set up a sophisticated system of organized social and recreational activities for its members—baseball softball basketball volleyball bowling and golf leagues. Members actively participated in these activities. In the process these social activities helped break down ethnic and racial divisions and fostered greater solidarity among the union's membership. Filipinos participated actively in these activities as a sizable part of the union's membership as well as of the communities on the plantations.

The 1950s saw the reorganization of the Filipino community with the active participation of Filipinos in the ILWU. Many of the smaller township or province based groups were consolidated and brought under the umbrella of a single organization on the plantation. Thus we see the establishment of a single plantation wide organization such as the Filipino Community Association of Waialua Waipahu Ewa, Kekaha, etc. It was not unusual during this period for Filipino leaders in the ILWU also to serve as leaders in these associations. These associations continued to organize the main social activities in the Filipino community—the annual Rizal Day festivity beauty contests terno balls (the traditional Philippine dress worn by Filipino women for important social occasions) etc.

While helping to consolidate Filipino groups into unified plantation wide associations ILWU members also played an active role in developing community organizations on the plantation towns which crossed ethnic lines. For example organizations such as the Waipahu Community Association and others like it in Ewa, Kahuku, Naalehu, Honokaa and elsewhere throughout Hawaii were formed during this period. These broader community wide organizations were open to anyone who wished to join and took up issues affecting the entire community. As in the Filipino community the ILWU played an influential role within these local community associations.

Another key institution in the plantation communities in which the ILWU played a central role was the Democratic Party. The impressive victories won by the ILWU on the labor front in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s was matched by an even more dramatic series of electoral victories won by the Democratic Party over the Republicans in this period. The labor movement in general and the ILWU in particular played a major role in the emergence of

Democratic Party dominance in Hawaii's electoral scene. For the most part Filipinos—who constituted the bulk of Hawaii's agricultural work force—identified with and supported Democratic candidates. A number of Filipino supporters of the ILWU ran under the Democratic Party banner and won (Fuchs 1961).

While the campaign for Hawaii's statehood was reaching its climax Filipino community leaders were seeking ways to maximize their participation in the political life of the broader society. Inspired by then Philippine Consul General in Honolulu Juan Dionisio Filipino community leaders began a drive to bring the scattered Filipino groups throughout the territory under one umbrella. Thus with the help of Dionisio the United Filipino Council of Hawaii (UFCH) was formed in 1959. The stated goal of the UFCH at its founding convention was to further the political economic and social aims of Filipinos in Hawaii. The Filipino here must first achieve unity through a common identification before they can be successfully integrated into the (larger) community (Okamura 1982 Fuchs 1961). Clearly the statement of purpose of the UFCH speaks of the desire among Filipinos to become an integral part of Hawaii. Filipinos were no longer dreaming of returning to the Philippines but were now determined to enter the mainstream of society in Hawaii.

The Post 1965 Period: Diversity, Growth and Change

The years following 1965 saw the beginning of the third major period in the history of Filipinos in Hawaii. As the era of the 1950s closed with Hawaii's statehood the 1960s saw the introduction of major changes in Hawaii and on the national level which would have tremendous impact on the Filipino community in the islands. Locally the 1960s saw the decline of agriculture—the sugar and pineapple industries—as the main foundation upon which the economic life of the islands is built. Tourism began to emerge as the main source of livelihood for most people in Hawaii. At the national level the passage of a more liberal immigration law by the U.S. Congress in 1965 would open the door wider for immigrants particularly those from Asia, Latin America and southern and eastern Europe.

Ironically these three events—the decline of agriculture the rise of tourism and Congress' passage of the 1965 U.S. immigration law—would contribute to contradictory but interrelated developments in Hawaii's Filipino community.

On the one hand the decline of agriculture would lead to the break up of the plantation based Filipino community as sugar and pineapple companies closed or phased out their operations in many plantation towns throughout the

islands (see Kent 1983 Matsuoka 1990 Fujimoto and Seto 1990 Miller 1989 Smith 1989). As the largest ethnic group in the sugar and pineapple industries Filipinos were the most affected by the gradual decline of these industries. Thousands of Filipino workers were forced to look elsewhere for jobs in the emerging tourism industry—in the hotels, golf courses, restaurants, and construction sites. In the process, Filipinos were breaking out of occupations they traditionally held and were being employed in non-plantation jobs. Many others were forced out of their former plantation communities to relocate to urban centers where more job opportunities existed. Thus, the structural integration of Filipinos into wider sectors of Hawaii's political economy was proceeding steadily.

While the phase out of sugar and pineapple and the growth of tourism were introducing changes in the Filipino community, at the same time other developments were taking place. The Filipino community was rapidly growing in numbers. This time the increase was the result of the growth in number of Hawaii-born second-generation children (Okamura, 1982; Lind 1969). The number of Filipino interracial marriages was also increasing. Immigration from the Philippines, which had practically ended in the years prior to and throughout World War II, resumed following the war. However, the number of Filipinos who arrived, with the exception of the so-called 1946 Boys, was relatively small.

Entering the 1960s, assimilation and amalgamation of Filipinos into the broader American nationality or local society (in the case of Hawaii) had become the main trend. Ethnic minority reproduction, however, was still dominant within the community. This was due to the still considerable size of the first wave (pre World War II) and second wave (post WWII) immigrants, which made up the overwhelming majority of Filipinos in Hawaii (U.S. Bureau of Census 1980, 1982; State Immigrant Services Center 1982; Carino 1981).

On the other hand, the enactment of the 1965 immigration law by the U.S. Congress greatly contributed to the persistence and social reproduction of the ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii. The new U.S. immigration law precipitated a major new wave of immigration from the Philippines to the U.S. and Hawaii. Two of the main thrusts of the new immigration policy were family reunification and recruitment of more skilled workers (Alegado 1988; Pido 1986). Thus, between 1965 and 1985, approximately 670,000 Filipinos entered the U.S. Many of these Filipino immigrants came by way of the principle of family reunification or the so-called family chain migration (Caces 1985). Thousands of highly skilled and educated Filipinos also made their way into the U.S., which often led to criticisms of the so-called brain drain from the Philippines.

Of an average of more than 40,000 Filipinos who arrive in the U.S. every year, ten per cent come to Hawaii (Operation Manong 1985; Carino 1981; State Immigrant Services Center 1982). A large majority of the new immigrants come from the Ilocos region of the Philippines, which has continued the dominance of the Ilokano linguistic group in the Filipino community in Hawaii.

An important result of the large influx of the third wave immigrants (post 1965) is the reinvigoration and reinforcement of Filipino culture and ethnic identity in Hawaii. Thus, despite the fact that Hawaii-born and raised Filipinos continue to increase in large numbers, this important social grouping in the community is overshadowed by the continuing presence and growth of the immigrant sector composed of the first wave, second wave, and the third wave.

At the same time, Filipinos in Hawaii continue to experience discrimination and anti-immigrant chauvinism (Alegado 1990; Haas and Resurreccion 1976). Employment discrimination in the work place serves to stratify systematically Filipinos into the lower and unstable sectors of the labor force—in the hotel and restaurant sectors of the visitor and agricultural industries (Okamura, 1990). Continued concentration in jobs associated with Hawaii's new plantations—as housekeepers in the hotels, as busboys and kitchen help in food/restaurant services, and as janitors in airports, banks, and other business establishments—sets the basis for the subjective reproduction of national culture and social relations among Filipinos. This stratification in the work place is reinforced by the re-emergence of ethnic enclaves—identifiable Filipino neighborhoods and districts in new and old urban areas of Hawaii.

In sum, the post 1965 period witnessed a number of trends in the Filipino community in Hawaii that were set into motion by several events. Foremost among these was the transformation of Hawaii's economy in the 1960s, the decline of agriculture and the rise of tourism, which began to break up the Filipino community that was largely based on the plantations. Filipino workers laid off from the sugar and pineapple industries were absorbed into various occupations in the rising tourism and resort development industries. As the jobs moved from the rural plantation areas of Hawaii to the urban centers and developing resort spots, so did the workers—including Filipinos.

A change in national immigration policy in Washington also ushered in new dynamic forces into the Filipino community. The thousands of new third wave Filipino immigrants who arrived in Hawaii under the 1965 immigration law reinvigorated Filipino ethnic identity and culture. Unlike the previous waves,

of Filipino immigrants the new arrivals viewed themselves as permanent residents of the islands. Thus while the local born second and third generation Filipinos were growing in numbers their presence continued to be overshadowed by the predominance of Philippine born Filipinos.

By the 1970s and 1980s two contradictory but interrelated processes were occurring in the Filipino community. On the one hand this period witnessed greater structural integration and assimilation of Filipinos into Hawaii's political economy. Filipinos were no longer isolated in their plantation enclave as the decline of agriculture forced many of them to find jobs in other sectors of the economy. Many moved off the plantation communities and established residences in new urban centers and towns. The size of second generation local as well as *hapa* or part Filipinos grew. More Filipinos than ever before were going on to secondary and college education. In short the children of Filipino immigrants were steadily and rapidly becoming assimilated into the local version of American culture and nationality.

On the other hand the immigrant population in the Filipino community—those who came in the first and second waves—who were already the dominant influence within the community—were further strengthened and replenished with the arrival of thousands of new immigrants due to the passage of a more liberal U.S. immigration policy in 1965. This is manifested in the emergence of a variety of new social formations and community institutions whose purpose and functions are to meet the social, cultural and economic needs of the Filipino ethnic community. The following section will discuss the role of these community institutions in the social reproduction of the ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii.

Filipino Community Institutions in Hawaii

Historically the emergence of ethnic solidarity among Filipinos is defensive in nature—that is, defensive reactions to what they perceive to be injustices committed against them by employers or those holding political power. Like other ethnic groups such as the Hawaiians, Filipinos do not express their ethnic solidarity simply because they share common occupations, residential or ethnic enclaves, or common institutions, but because they feel they have been long ignored and receive little from government. Though less overt and intense, Filipinos continue to experience discrimination and anti-immigrant chauvinism.

The ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii contains a variety of formal and informal networks of structured or institutionalized activities which serve to

bring individual Filipinos into complex sets of social relations. A distinct Filipino ethnic community has evolved in Hawaii primarily in response to the particular social and economic environment that Filipinos confronted in Hawaii. Among the most important factors that shaped the development of the Filipino community were policies of social control implemented by the plantations. The ability of Filipino immigrants to respond and adapt to the social conditions they found in the islands was also shaped by the cultural baggage they brought with them to Hawaii.

The key social networks and community institutions include family/kinship networks (also called *partidos*), various types of social organizations (mutual aid associations, sectoral interest groups, township/regional associations, cultural organizations), Filipino residential neighborhoods or districts, the community media, and the Philippine Consulate. This complex of organizations make up the various components of the ethnic Filipino community social structure. They all play particular roles in the sometimes contradictory but interrelated social process the Filipino ethnic minority is undergoing: change (assimilation and amalgamation into the larger American nationality and Hawaii's local version) and continuity (social reproduction and maintenance of Filipino ethnicity in response to racial and ethnic discrimination and continued immigration from the Philippines).

Community Organizations

Social club types. These types of organizations are the most numerous in the Filipino community. The majority of social clubs are the township or regional based organizations (i.e., Anak ti Batac, Marcos Town Association, La Union Circle, Cagayan Valley Association, etc.). The main purpose of these groups is to bring together Filipinos in Hawaii who originally came from the same town, province or region in the Philippines. These groups hold picnics, annual banquets and social dances, including the observance of town fiestas. Most of them are composed predominantly of third wave immigrants and have been formed only within the past 10 to 15 years. Social club type of organizations make up the bulk of the groups under the umbrella of various island wide Filipino community councils.

There are still a number of organizations formed as community wide Filipino associations. These are based on the plantation communities such as Kekaha, Waialua, and Waipahu, and are remnants of the Filipino community organizations initiated by the ILWU in the late 1940s and 1950s.

Mutual aid societies These organizations were the most prominent in the Filipino community before World War II. As discussed earlier, these *saranays* were based on particular plantation communities with the goal of assisting the immediate needs of their members. There were (and are today) territorial or statewide mutual aid groups such as the Ilocos Norte Aid Association of Hawaii, the Luzonian Aid Association of Hawaii, and the United Visayan Hinabangay Association of Hawaii. Besides helping their own members, these groups often provide aid to victims of natural calamities in their home provinces and regions in the Philippines.

Another type of mutual aid association that cuts across linguistic and regional lines are the masonic lodges or societies such as the Legionarios del Trabajo, Caballeros de Dimasalang, Gran Oriente Filipino, and the Knights of Rizal. These groups are among the oldest organizations in Hawaii's Filipino community and were established before World War II. Today, however, they no longer play as active and influential a role in the community as they did 30 to 40 years ago. Very few among the younger generation of Filipinos join these masonic lodges, and they are therefore in danger of going out of existence as many of their members are passing away.

Sectoral interest groups There are a variety of sectoral interest groups that have emerged over the last 20 years. These groups are often among the more socially and politically active and community minded among the various organizations in the Filipino community.

Business and professional associations These groups include the Filipino Jaycees, the Filipino Chamber of Commerce, the Philippine Medical Association, the Filipino Nurses Association of Hawaii, the Fil-Am Lions Clubs, the Hawaii Association of Filipino Travel Agents, the Filipino Lawyers Association, the United Group of Care Home Operators, and the Filipino Contractors Association of Hawaii. They represent the emerging business and professional sectors in the Filipino community.

Cultural and recreational groups While a number of Filipino cultural groups have their roots in the post World War II period, the overwhelming majority of cultural and recreational organizations have a recent history. These groups include the GUMIL Association of Hawaii, an organization of Ilokano writers, poets, and producers of theater productions. Some of the best short stories written by GUMIL members are published in *Bannawag*, the most widely read Ilokano magazine in the Philippines, which has a large circulation in Hawaii. Other cultural organizations in the Filipino community include various dance

singing and martial arts clubs. A group dedicated to discovering and developing Filipino performing artists is the Hawaii Talent Searchers Club. There is also a Philippine Language Club at the University of Hawaii organized by students and faculty.

Youth and student groups Since the 1970s, with the influx of large numbers of immigrant Filipino students in Hawaii public schools and colleges, there has been a rapid growth in the number of Filipino student organizations. In schools with large concentrations of Filipino students, there now exist student clubs with names such as *Susi ng Filipino* (The Key of the Filipino), *Bayanihan* (Association), and *Kaisahan* (Unity). Filipino student groups have also been established at the University of Hawaii campuses in Manoa, Hilo, and the community colleges. The membership of these Filipino student groups is predominantly third wave immigrants and a few local Filipinos. The most important development within this sector was the formation of *Sariling Gawa* (Our Own Work) at a statewide conference of Filipino students in 1981. *Sariling Gawa* has now become an annual conference which brings together Filipino student leaders statewide to discuss issues and problems of concern to Filipino youth.

Filipino religious organizations Among the most influential groups in the Filipino community in Hawaii are the Filipino religious organizations. The largest of these is the Filipino Catholic Clubs, which have a network scattered throughout the state. Filipino Catholic Clubs exist in parishes with large Filipino concentrations. While constituting perhaps the biggest base of support of the Catholic faith in Hawaii—including a large percentage of students enrolled in Catholic run schools—Filipinos, however, exercise very little influence or power in policy making or day to day operations of the church and its institutions in the state.

Another important social force within the Filipino community is the *Iglesia ni Kristo* (Church of Christ) and its well organized and predominantly conservative followers. Members of the *Iglesia ni Kristo* have been known to constitute a reliable base of support for the late Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos and his widow Imelda.

The Philippine Independent (or Aglipayan) Church, which has a large following among Ilokanos in Northern Luzon, has a presence in Honolulu. It holds services under the auspices of the Episcopalian Church. Smaller numbers of Filipinos belong to other religious communities including the Methodist Church, the Jehovah's Witness, and the Seventh Day Adventists. The pseudo religious group, the Filipino Federation of America, which attracted a fairly sizable

following before World War II still exists today but its membership has dwindled considerably. Unlike during its pre WWII heyday the FFA exercises very little influence in the Filipino community today.

Filipino civil rights and community advocacy groups The arrival of professional and college educated immigrant Filipinos in Hawaii and the increase in the number of Filipinos entering colleges and universities in the early 1970s saw the emergence of new political activism in the Filipino community. College age and younger Filipino professionals who had been exposed to student political activism in the Philippines or the civil rights and anti war movement on campuses in the U S began to draw together the Filipino community to deal with social and political issues affecting the community: employment discrimination and lack of affirmative action programs in the state; the need for bilingual programs in state social services and educational system; under representation of Filipino students in higher education; to advocacy of immigrant rights. The younger community activists also addressed problems faced by Filipino youths and senior citizens: affordable housing (in Chinatown and Waipahu's Ota Camp) and support for the Ethnic Studies Program at the University of Hawaii. One of the most controversial issues taken up by Filipino community activists was opposition to the martial law regime of President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines.

As a whole these issues were brought by Filipino activists into the agendas of community organizations and councils for deliberation. Sometimes symbolic resolutions were passed which called on state and county governments to implement more equitable hiring and employment practices. On rare occasions the community activists were successful in getting the Filipino community councils to form task forces to deal with issues such as the youth gangs and affirmative action in employment and education.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s Filipino community activists were involved in the following groups: Ota Camp/Makibaka Village Association; Ating Tao Conference/Kabataang Katipunan; Operation Manong; Union of Democratic Filipinos (or Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Pilipino/KDP); People Against Chinatown Eviction (PACE); Filipino Immigrant Rights Organization (FIRO); Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP); Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (CHRP); Friends of the Filipino People (FFP); and other issue based community task forces organized under the Oahu Filipino Community Council (OFCC). While the community activists constituted a small minority in the Filipino community their painstaking organizing and educational work throughout the 1970s and 1980s was critical in the gradual

political maturation of the community. Their efforts enabled hundreds of immigrant as well as local Filipinos to be drawn into political activism and the electoral arena. By the late 1980s many of the issues that were once considered radical political positions advocated by the community activists in the 1970s were enjoying widespread support throughout the Filipino community. Their political organizing and educational work contributed to strengthening Filipino ethnic identity and community awareness.

Filipino community media. Like other American ethnic groups that felt an irresistible need to express and record their experiences to share with fellow community members critically needed information and to educate the larger public about the issues, problems and interests that concerned the ethnic community, Filipinos developed their own ethnic media. Since their arrival in Hawaii in large numbers approximately eighty five years ago Filipinos have established a number of community media—ethnic newspapers, newsletters, radio and television programs—which addressed the social, cultural, economic and political interests of the Filipino community. These community media often utilized Philippine languages, mainly Ilokano, Visayan and Tagalog, in addressing their predominantly immigrant audience. English, however, is the main medium of communication used in the Filipino ethnic media.

Filipino community newspapers. From the very beginning Filipinos in Hawaii have struggled to develop their own ethnic newspaper. Many of these efforts were unsuccessful, however, largely due to financial instability and because of lack of support from a community which—until recently—has historically had a generally low level of education and literacy. Since the 1970s, however, as the community has grown in size and along with it the emergence of a sizable ethnic Filipino market, a number of Filipino newspapers have succeeded in establishing fairly stable operations. The most prominent is the *Fil Am Courier* which claims a circulation of 50,000. Like other ethnic newspapers, the contents of the Filipino community press are varied, but certain things are characteristic. The most important news articles are often those of events in the Philippines. But they also contain news about the Filipino community in Hawaii not available elsewhere—Filipino success stories, activities of Filipino organizations, social events (who got married to whom), Filipino short stories and poetry, and advertisements of Filipino business establishments. Ordinary readers as well as community leaders, professional writers and journalists contribute to Filipino community newspapers without pay. The Filipino community newspapers perform an important function as they enable members of the community to exchange ideas and information that would otherwise be un-

available Overall the Filipino ethnic press has historically stood as a guardian against unfair treatment of its constituency

Filipino radio and tv programs Like the Filipino community newspapers Filipino radio programming has been around since the 1930s Commercial radio stations in Honolulu such as KGU KPOI KUMU KAIM KZOO KORL and KDEO have had regular 30 minutes to one hour long Filipino programs over the years Other radio stations on the neighbor islands have also had programs catering to Filipino listening audiences The most popular radio stations that carry extensive Filipino community oriented programs are KISA and KDEO These programs broadcast news from the Philippines and about events in the Filipino community They play traditional and contemporary Filipino songs Filipinos have also made use of television as a medium to popularize Filipino cultural entertainment music dances and talents One of the most popular and the longest running program on Hawaii television was Faustino Respicio's Filipino Fiesta which began in 1950 and lasted until 1986 Today a number of weekly Filipino TV programs are on Hawaii television

Filipino neighborhoods/districts After the family/kinship network the second most important building block for the social reproduction and development of ethnic immigrant communities is the so called ethnic neighborhood or district These neighborhoods historically have been called ghettos or barrios and the American ethnic mosaic has seen various immigrant groups build such communities (i.e. Little Italy Chinatown Little Tokyo Little Havana, etc.) The emergence of the ethnic neighborhood sets the basis for the development of informal and more formal community institutions beyond the family or kinship network In the case of Filipinos in Hawaii the early Filipino neighborhoods in the pre World War II and pre 1965 era emerged in the plantation camps

The process of concentrating Filipinos into separate and distinct Filipino camps on the plantations as discussed earlier was not the result of the spontaneous assertion or subjective desire of Filipinos to be clustered together It was primarily due to the deliberate policy of the plantation bosses to keep the various racial and ethnic groups segregated in separate plantation camps and housing Isolated as a group and for the most part sharing the same cultural attributes such as language and regional backgrounds in the Philippines the plantation camps enabled Filipinos easily to maintain and socially reproduce Philippine cultural patterns

Despite the decline of old plantation towns and the expansion of urban development into former rural communities many Filipinos continue to live in

plantation communities throughout Hawaii This is due to the fact that Filipinos continue to comprise a large bulk of the remaining agricultural workforce in the state Until the mid 1970s a majority of Filipinos in Hawaii lived in residential areas considered rural Hawaii By the late 1970s however more than half of all Filipinos in the state were residing in areas categorized as urban (see Carino 1981) Among the rural towns on Oahu with large Filipino concentration are Waipahu Ewa/Ewa Beach Wahiawa/Whitmore Village Kunia Waiialua Haleiwa and Kahuku (U.S. Census 1982 1980) On Kauai Filipinos make up a large percentage of the population in the towns of Kekaha Waimea Hanapepe Hanamaulu and Kapaa On Maui large concentrations of Filipinos are found in Lahaina Puunene and Paia On Molokai Filipinos make up the majority in the towns of Maunaloa and Kualapuu and they constitute the overwhelming majority on Lanai On the island of Hawaii Filipinos form a large part of the rural communities in Naalehu Pahala Kau and Honokaa

In urban Oahu Honolulu's Kalihi Palama district is widely identified as a "Filipino district" (see Okamura 1982) Many Filipinos also reside in the Chinatown Liliha district of Honolulu Other urban areas in the state with sizable Filipino populations are Kahului on Maui and Hilo and Kailua Kona on Hawaii

For the most part the nature and function of the Filipino ethnic neighborhood like those of other ethnic communities were and are not signs of clannishness or unwillingness to assimilate into the mainstream society Rather they were and continue to be the first step toward Americanization Many immigrants arrive with little or no money no job and little or no knowledge of English in an island society culturally and economically different from the ones they had left In the Filipino ethnic community and neighborhoods the immediate needs of the immigrant were met Here they found information in their own language familiar food and lodging they could afford among people with whom they felt at ease Here they got help in finding work usually from relatives and ex townmates who spoke their language and could help them find a new job Here they found the sympathy and friendship of others who shared their values and life experiences These factors helped ease the cultural shock of immigration and made new beginnings possible

The Philippine Consul General The Philippine Consulate in Honolulu has historically been one of the most important institutions in the Filipino community Officially as an arm and representative of the Philippine government the mission of the Consul General is to look after the interests of Philippine nationals and immigrants in Hawaii The Consulate maintains ties not

only with the key Filipino community organizations and leaders but with major political forces in Hawaii as well including the governor legislators businessmen and corporations with interests in the Philippines military commanders of the U S armed forces in the Pacific based in Camp Smith and the local media.

The office of the Philippine Consul General in Honolulu including its predecessor the Philippine Labor Commissioner has historically been a center of controversy among Filipinos in Hawaii. In the pre World War II period for example many Filipinos viewed the Philippine Labor Commissioner with disdain since he was regarded as an agent of the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association. The popular notion among Filipinos in Hawaii that the Labor Commissioner represented the interests of the plantation bosses and not those of the Filipino workers was supported by the fact that the Labor Commissioner's salary and housing were paid for by the HSPA (Dorita 1967). Among the most controversial Philippine Labor Commissioners was Cayetano Ligot who actively exhorted Filipinos to maintain cordial and harmonious relations with their plantation employers. Ligot worked tirelessly to neutralize the efforts of Pablo Manlapit to organize Filipinos into joining his Filipino Labor Union.

The Philippine Consulate in Honolulu was established after the Philippines gained independence from the United States in 1946. One of the most popular and well liked Consul Generals was Juan Dionisio. As discussed earlier Dionisio played a prominent role in the effort to unify the various Filipino organizations scattered throughout the islands into a state wide network under the umbrella of the United Filipino Council of Hawaii (UFCH).

Because of its role and function as an arm of the Philippine government the Consulate often plays an influential role in the internal political life of the Filipino community in Hawaii. The Consul General and members of its staff are almost always invited as guests or speakers to every important Filipino community function and event. During the long rule of the Marcos regime the Philippine Consulate was at the center of political controversy as it carried out its function as the representative of the dictatorship in Hawaii. From 1972 until 1986 when the Marcos regime was deposed by Corazon Aquino and the People Power Revolution the Philippine Consulate was the target of demonstrations by the opponents of the Marcos regime. In response the Philippine Consulate carried out its well known policy of rewarding its friends and punishing its enemies within the Filipino community. Thus for more than a decade the Filipino community was deeply divided often along regional lines between Ilokano and non Ilokano supporters of the Marcos administration and its critics. In the present period the division falls between the loyal supporters of the

Marcoses who are living in exile in Honolulu and the supporters of the Aquino government (see Ryan 1989).

But regardless of the political loyalties of the Philippine Consulate or the character of the government it serves it continues to be a formidable institution within the Filipino community in Hawaii. With a large immigrant base which maintains ties with relatives in the Philippines it is almost impossible for Filipinos to ignore the office and services of the Philippine Consulate particularly in matters regarding passport immigration taxes or any business transactions.

Conclusion

The ethnic Filipino community in Hawaii is more than the sum of its institutional parts. It has its own values and priorities its own social and political atmosphere determined by the cultural baggage its members brought from the Philippines and the circumstances of their lives in the new environment in Hawaii. Early Filipino immigrants who were largely of peasant origins from the rural countryside of the Ilocos and the Visayas in the Philippines and accustomed to relating mainly to their own extended families succeeded first in forming small localized institutions. However they soon established plantation island wide and even territorial or statewide organizations.

Some Filipino immigrants never affiliated with any Filipino community organization either by choice or because none was available. The majority however did affiliate and reaped many benefits. Through the formal and informal networks of the ethnic Filipino community they found companionship to ease the pain of loneliness and separation from their loved ones thousands of miles across the ocean. They received information in their own language to help them find jobs and establish artificial households. Mutual aid and other self help societies mitigated their poverty and social events alleviated their spiritual hunger. Recreational activities such as cockfights *terno* balls and taxi dance halls helped overcome boredom and kept them in touch with townmates. Nationalist and civil rights organizations enhanced their self respect. It is not surprising therefore that some social scientists view the participation of immigrants in the affairs of their ethnic communities as contributing to their rapid adjustment to their new environment in America (see Portes and Rumbaut 1990 Dinnerstein and Reimers 1988 Sellers 1977).

There are other benefits less tangible but equally important. The Filipino ethnic community offered status and recognition to people who otherwise might have attained neither. Outstanding Filipino entertainers athletes and politicians

are acclaimed by the larger Hawaii public but individuals with less spectacular abilities go unnoticed. Most immigrants with their broken English and Filipino accent and their menial jobs had few opportunities to feel important. But within their ethnic community as officers of their township association, mutual aid society or community council these immigrants and local Filipinos received the recognition they needed and deserved. Through the Filipino ethnic community thousands of talented men and women whose abilities might otherwise have been wasted are given opportunities to make significant contributions not only to the Filipino community but to the larger Hawaii society as well. Many Filipinos who received their basic training in their ethnic community organizations went on to positions of leadership in the larger mainstream society in Hawaii.

Finally the Filipino ethnic community institutions—neighborhoods, newspapers, social organizations, civil rights advocacy groups, etc.—helped fill the moral vacuum in the lives of immigrants. These ethnic community institutions were in the past and are today a positive force in support of stable and responsible participation in the social and economic life of the larger society. In a bewildering new environment they gave immigrants solid ground to stand on in determining what their priorities should be and how they should behave toward one another as well as to those outside of the community.

But there are negative sides to the Filipino ethnic community as well. Group pride sometimes can spill over into destructive chauvinism. Factionalism and narrow regionalism within the Filipino community even within community institutions can be a serious problem. Quarrels within Filipino community organizations and councils can be bitter even degenerating on rare occasions into threats as well as actual physical violence (Ryan 1990). But violence can be spiritual as well as physical. In their zeal to preserve traditional values and conservative political positions, Filipino community leaders can be cruel to nonconformists. New and sometimes controversial ideas have been sacrificed to tradition or worse still to pettiness or narrow mindedness. Some Filipino community organizations have created bureaucracies with their attendant dangers of corruption and lack of responsiveness to the people they were meant to serve. Some community leaders sometimes become less interested in leading and serving than in maintaining their own positions and enhancing their own fortunes. It is not surprising that younger Filipinos—and mavericks of any age—often find the organized Filipino ethnic community more stifling than stimulating.

Like all human institutions, Filipino ethnic community institutions reflect both the strengths and positive aspects as well as the faults and weaknesses of the

people who comprised them. Their problems were magnified by the fact that they struggled to survive in a non-Filipino society that was often indifferent or even hostile. Yet despite these difficulties the Filipino ethnic community organizations served their members well enough that subsequent generations have continued to maintain at least some affiliation with them.

The survival of the Filipino ethnic community and its institutions in the second and third generation is largely determined by the role these institutions have on the lives of new Filipino generations. Despite increasing participation in the life of mainstream Hawaii society, most second and third generation Filipino Americans maintain at least some ties with their ethnic community and many have deep commitments to particular institutions within the Filipino ethnic community. There are several reasons for this. Like the first generation immigrants they enjoy the companionship and recognition they receive in the Filipino community. Like the immigrants they have problems that could be understood and handled best by people with backgrounds similar to their own. Finally like immigrants even second and third generation locals experience discrimination and anti-Filipino chauvinism from the dominant mainstream society in Hawaii.

Over the past eighty-five years the Filipino ethnic community in Hawaii has persisted and evolved. The variety of community institutions that came into being and which responded successfully to the changing needs of the second and third generation Filipinos survived. Those that did not faded into insignificance. Changes in the character and nature of many Filipino community organizations and institutions reflect the changing needs and interests of the Americanized or local generations. Along with the idea of Filipino ethnicity as a cultural heritage, Filipino ethnic identity has persisted in an organizational or institutional form in the context and reality of Hawaii's changing political economy.

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Changes of Attitudes Among Plantation Workers

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Caroline Ogata

The people of Hawaii have been kept so busy with wartime activities that they have scarcely had time to ponder over the number changes that have taken place within their communities. Greater contact with the people from the mainland, the boom of wartime economy, vast movements of population, army and navy wartime restrictions, and the general tension of war have all contributed to the disruption of the normal routine of the quite Island Community.

One of the most interesting phenomena that has occurred in Hawaii during this period of unrest is the change in the attitude and outlook of the plantation workers as seen by their enthusiastic affiliation with organized labor. The process has been completed almost overnight after years of resistance from plantation owners and managers. To understand the significance of the change of attitude and outlook, the growing feeling of independence among workers, and the challenging of the inherited tradition of plantation paternalism, it is necessary to review briefly the history of Hawaii in the light of its basic economy.

During the first seventy years of its experience with the Western world, Hawaii figured chiefly as a port of call where Yankee and European traders and whalers could stop for refreshment and supplies on the long trip across the Pacific. During the brief period that the supply in Hawaii lasted, sandalwood was eagerly sought for sale in the Orient. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, a modest beginning was made in the cultivation of western crops for sale outside the Islands. With the signing of the reciprocity treaty in 1876 providing for the free entry of sugar in the United States, Hawaii came into its own as a plantation frontier.

The establishment of a large scale agricultural economy based on two major crops, first sugar and later also pineapple, made it necessary to import labor in large numbers from wherever possible. Immigrants from all over the world were brought to Hawaii to fill this need for unskilled labor. The children and grandchildren remember many accounts of the hardships and struggles of plantation life which have been told and retold by the old folks but which have not yet found their way into the literature of Hawaii.

Social control of the immigrant laborers by the planters was affected by numerous techniques. Two of the means of social control which evolved on the plantations were segregation of the different ethnic groups in camps and the paternalistic care of workers by the planters. Under the conditions which existed on plantations in the early days, all the necessities of life for the workers, food, clothing, shelter, and medical care, had to be provided by the planters if they were to be provided at all. Once established, however, the system of paternalistic care was continued as an effective means of labor

control. The system worked to keep the laborers docile and contented and has been effective as a device until fairly recently.

A restiveness about the restrictions imposed by plantation life has been increasingly evident, however, in various developments among the workers both inside and outside the plantations. The very rapid unionization of the workers on the plantations during the past year [1945] may be interpreted as evidence of the maturation of this urge for greater independence of action and participation in the affairs of the plantation community. But because few of the workers have had any real experience in democratic group participation, the union leader has had a difficult time in overcoming the workers' customary attitudes of unquestioning deference toward the plantation authorities. The typical attitude of the first generation immigrant worker on the plantation has been one of complete docility and quiet acceptance of prevailing conditions. This attitude might be expressed as follows:

As long as you work hard and do what you're supposed to do the plantation is the best place to be. You don't have to worry about rent, electricity, water or anything. Your children can get jobs in the fields or mills when they're ready to work. No need worry about the future, the plantation takes care of everything.

The union policy of group unity and racial equality is being spread to members of the first generation as rapidly as they are able to accept it.

The younger generation have been less satisfied with living conditions and have voiced their dissatisfaction more freely than their parents. It is only in the last year, however, that a practical way has been found whereby they could organize themselves for the purpose of demanding higher wages and better living conditions.

As a contrast, it is interesting to review an article in the 1940 issue of *Social Process* entitled "Life on a Hawaiian Plantation," based upon an informal interview with a second generation American born Japanese. The article tells of his ambitions and hopes and of his subsequent feelings of despair and hopelessness regarding the fulfillment of his dreams.

Sure I want to have a chance to go to the University like you folks to get something out of life, the good things in life, to know the worthwhile things that make life better. I want to meet the finer people, to go and see things, you know what I mean.

I sure envy you people on the outside. I am 23 years old and have lived around here practically my whole life. I've been brought up with pines (meaning pineapples) and cane, and I guess I'll die with them.

When I think of my family I wish I could do something to help them. I hate

to think that we are going to live on plantations all our lives. Yes, my parents have been working and slaving in the fields but they hardly have anything to show for it except that they have raised us.

I remember the first time I went to work. I was just turning fifteen. As soon as the pickers finished a row they would dump the fruit out the bags at one end and we could clear off the bottom edges of the pineapple and sort them according to size. We got 15c an hour. Day laborers made from 50 to 80 dollars a month.

Ten years from now I'll be living the same life as my parents. I hate to think of it. I want well, anybody wants to improve. You know that.

Today the outlook of the average plantation worker is more optimistic. There appears to be hope interjected in their conversations in informal chats and interviews by the writer with the workers on one of the plantations revealed a great change in the outlook, particularly among the younger generation, but also of the older generation of plantation workers. A young Japanese worker expressed a different feeling toward life on the plantation:

We haven't been satisfied with our wages and living conditions on this plantation for a long time but we couldn't do anything about it. We tried to organize but we couldn't get ahead because we had no protection or backing from any group. The boss fired anyone who tried to organize the men.

I moved to this plantation with my parents when I was nine years old and as far as I can remember things have always been the same around here—no improvement in the conditions. You can see how old and cramped the houses are. The few nice looking houses you saw on the other side of the camp are stoooges and the one that led up the boss's home are for haole workers. The majority of us are union men today. In a few months we're going to have an election and we're pretty sure that the men will vote for the union.

The war really helped us to get organized. With the CIO backing us we didn't have to worry about getting fired. You see, the employer can't fire any worker on union grounds now. Today we can do things in the open but not before.

The main reason why I joined the union is because I want better pay. Well, you can't just go up to the boss and ask for a raise or ask for some improvement in your house. It hasn't worked that way and it never will. Sure the boss says we get free house, electricity, water, etc., but we know

that all that's taken out of our monthly pay

A middle aged Hawaiian worker who proudly displayed his union badge told of his past experience in the plantation and of his present attitude toward the union

I been on plantation 24 years Look my house has been the same ever since I came here It's full of cracks I been asking for repairs for 3 years but they don't do anything yet My wife sick, but we don't have toilet So she has to get up and walk three houses from here and use the neighbor's toilet You seen our bath house outside huh? No more hot water I boil water in the big tin can for my wife

I join union because I think it's good I want more pay and maybe better house For 24 years I work and couldn't save any money All the money goes for rent food electricity etc The company takes out \$24 for rent I give up going to see the boss myself waste time I join union because I think we get things done

A young Filipino worker with wife and two children who has been living on the plantation since 1924 recounted his experiences in the following manner

I came here 1924 I go out cut cane Today [1945] still cut cane I like go back Philippines but no nuff money yet I get \$2 a day Only enough for kaukau. Nowadays wartime everything cost high no can save My wife work too She wash clothes When she start washing clothes the company take rent for her too No fair When they come ask me to join union quick I join I think union going help us In 1924 Filipinos had strike for more pay but that time only Filipinos strike This time Filipino Japanese Portuguese all join one union More better than way

A middle aged Portuguese worker who was a leader among the workers has much to say in regard to the plantation system and its paternalism and unionization of workers

I'm a mechanic and make pretty good money but I joined the union because I want to see all the workers get better pay

Most of the mill workers have joined the union so now gotta fight for the field hands When the little Wagner Act goes through the legislature the field workers will be able to organize because under the Wagner Act agricultural workers are separated from industrial workers The farmers on the mainland own small farms but in Hawaii the agricultural workers

on the plantations are just like factory workers They don't own land and they get paid by the hour and they have to obey the plantation owners They're not their own boss so they should be included with industrial workers The little Wagner Act will do that so that the workers in the fields can join the union too And I'm pretty sure the bill will pass because we have quite a lot of our men in the legislature this time We worked really hard to get PAC candidates elected Up until now plantation workers used to vote the way the boss voted, but they vote for their own candidates Of course some of them were still a little afraid that someone might find out how they voted but on the whole they did O.K. Just look at the election results

I think the union is going to get a lot of things done and it's going to change a lot of things around here The first thing we had to learn was to work together with other groups When I first came here I remember we were all put in different camps the Japanese in one camp the Portuguese in another etc Every time some kind of trouble began in the Japanese camp for instance some fellows would come around our camp to warn us to stay out of trouble In 1924 when the Filipinos went on strike I remember some fellows came around telling us to work because we were going to get extra bonus

Even today we have different camps for Portuguese Filipinos Japanese etc and when we first started to organize there were still some stooges but now they don't bother us too much

When asked how he felt the employers had reacted to this new action on the part of the workers he said

Of course they don't like it but what can they do? The union men are too strong

This note of self confidence is being expressed for the first time by plantation workers in Hawaii. The complacency and docility which have been characteristic of the workers are gradually being replaced by a new political and social consciousness. We see on the plantations today [1946] an aggressive step being taken toward greater independence and economic freedom which is bound to have important repercussions on the plantation social life.

The workers' affiliation with organized labor (CIO) has given them confidence and strength to assert themselves and to express their feelings against the traditional control of the planters. This step means the breakdown of the paternalistic master servant relationship with the development of a more impersonal industrial Labor Management relationship.

The union policy of group unity and racial equality which is also being

taught by the leaders must have a great influence upon the various ethnic groups and their attitudes toward one another. There is a growing awareness among the workers of the weakness of ethnic groups division such as that which existed up to now on the plantations. If education by the union along this line is continued with programs fostering positive attitudes among the different groups it may change the present racial attitudes existing on plantations and may in turn greatly influence the nature of race relations in Hawaii as a whole.

It is worth our while to extend our vision beyond the Hawaiian plantation and notice similar movements and changes taking place in the world today. Our own situation seems to be a miniature example of greater social changes affecting almost every area on the map. At any rate the persons identified with the local movement feel that they are one with the outspoken demand for economic freedom among many suppressed peoples of the world.

Unionization and the Plantation

Kiyoshi Ikeda

The union movement has provoked some of the most important changes in the operation and structure of the plantation system in Hawaii. This article is based on observations of changes that occurred on one plantation. Changes have occurred in several areas.

1 The most prominent feature is the change and the breakdown of paternalistic relationships in the community. Paternalism is used here in the two senses of the word: the possession of conclusive authority and control by this controlling group (the plantation) in matters of workers and a sense of responsibility and obligation on the part of the directing group for the welfare of the workers.¹

2 With the breakdown of the paternalistic pattern there have also occurred changes in the area of race relations and status relations.

3 Closely allied to the breakdown of the paternalistic pattern has been the shift from informalized individual relationships to a pattern in which practically every aspect of life in the community has become formalized and impersonalized.

4 A basic change in the power relationships between worker and management has occurred in the more adequate representation of worker interests. However, this change has also resulted in a loss of power on the part of the individual worker to wrest out his own arrangement and gains by having to depend upon formalized procedure and decisions which are handed down from the top levels of both management and the union.

5 With the gradual closing of resources in the Territory, unionization and increasing use of mechanized equipment together with the younger age groups culturally disqualifying themselves from field work and unskilled jobs on the plantation, there is increased concern about the problem of where plantation youth will find satisfying job opportunities.

The Breakdown of the Paternalistic Pattern of Relationships

To understand in some measure the role paternalism has played in the plantation system and how deep are the changes in the pattern, two aspects of the paternalistic relationship may be pointed out.

Benevolent Fatherly Relations

The first aspect which played a more important role in the earlier days of the plantation could in a sense truly be called a benevolent and fatherly kind of relationship. During this earlier period the fatherly and benevolent treatment arose of the manager's multitudinous decisions in seeing to it that the community was kept stable and meeting the basic needs of housing.

¹ Paternalism in Industry by H. Blumer Social Process Vol. XV 1

shelter and food. The sense of proprietorship over his employees felt by the planter often meant that claims were put on him by those below to be treated right and be given certain advantages.

Reminiscent of the paternalistic and benevolent interest of the planter in the workers are the excellent athletic and physical facilities for the workers: free medical care, free housing (before the question of perquisites came up), free use of utilities and festivals and celebrations in which the whole community participated. The May Day picnic, the Fourth of July festivity, Harvest Homes with all the bountiful gifts and entertainment, and Christmas with the toys for the children and all the merry making gave a round of community activities for the old folks but especially for the children. The latter felt oftentimes that life was perennial holiday on the plantation.

Some of the rules and laws set up by the planter were based on a fatherly interest and the desire to protect the workers from exploitation from outsiders. Blue laws, prohibition of liquor sales on the plantation premises, house rules governing moral behavior in the community, the exclusion of unwanted individuals like Democrats, traveling salesmen, professional gamblers, swindlers, and other persons who might exploit the workers suggest this type of interest.

Intimate and human contacts between individual workers and the manager and his staff which did occur in many instances gave life in the community a personal and warm touch. Friendships did develop which were rich in their own way.

Until his dying day my father received a warm Christmas greeting from a Haole supervisor whom he worked under. Even when the person became one of the big shots on a plantation on one of the outer islands the Haole man kept up his correspondence.

In fact a moral order of a sort did develop in which mutual claims and expectations were recognized. Indicative of this type of relationship was the giving of gifts at Christmas and New Year's to the bosses not only to suck around but also to fulfill an obligation with a gladsome heart. Whenever any important functions in the community were to be carried out—a birth ceremony, a wedding, a funeral, the celebrations of anniversaries of the various racial clubs—the manager and perhaps some of the top men were invited and given places of honor and warm cordiality. The visiting of the manager or his men especially in crisis situations meant a lot to the workers. Whenever financial or moral aid was needed in arranging a picnic, setting up a club, or whenever the use of plantation facilities was desired, all that one needed to do was to see the manager. More often than not whatever that was asked was granted.

Plantation Controls

At the same time, however, the plantation employed controls in seeing to it that a steady and tractable source of labor supply was available and in managing the operation on an economical and profitable scale. This fact gave a double edged character to life on the plantation. Some of the rules and regulations mentioned above as arising out of the paternalistic character of the plantation served this two fold purpose also. The clearest form of control evidenced itself in physical force in the use of labor. A closely allied form of control was the threat of being thrown out of job and home.

The first type of control disappeared rather early in the plantation system. The latter form has persisted until unionization in 1945-46.

The fear of losing a job and having no place to go always lurked in the thoughts of the worker even in spite of the facade of the paternalistic benevolent interest of the plantation. The paternalistic type of relationship was predicated upon the worker's staying in his place and knowing it. If at any time a worker got out of hand, became hot headed, independent in his action and thinking, became a rabble rouser, a labor organizer, or a Democrat, chances were that he did not last very long on this plantation. Numerous examples could be cited of such occurrences. Many times this was because of the capricious nature of the lunas or foremen who wielded great power to discipline and fire at will and be backed up by the manager.

Some of the more specific forms of controls which had the effect of keeping these groups of workers in place were

1. The exploitation of racial cleavages by importation of new immigrant groups and the playing off of one group against another.

The following account of the sugar strike in the 1920's by a Japanese plantation worker shows how racial differences played an important role in creating conflicts and tensions between groups.

I remember well the strikes in 1920. Both the Filipinos and the Japanese wanted to strike for higher wages. Manlapit (the leader of the Filipinos who was deported during the 1946 sugar strike) and his men wanted to strike as soon as possible. The Japanese wanted to strike in June when the season was in full swing and when the dry spell was around. In this way direct pressure could be put on the plantation.

But the Filipinos wanted to strike. When the Japanese went out to work, the Filipinos were waiting with cane knives or bolo knives at the crossing where the workers congregated and threatened the Japanese. We couldn't do anything but go home and stay home. The Filipinos were able to gain some concessions.

When we went out on strike in June the Filipinos did not help us but kept on working. We all had to move out of the plantation and live

with relatives or friends Portuguese and Hawaiians from Honolulu were employed at higher wages than what we had been getting in an effort to break the strike At the end of the strike we were able only to get a higher bonus rather than a higher increase in wages Now the workers get together and go out on strike so it is good

2 Use of house rules relating to misconduct in and around the premises maintained a great degree of control over the more irascible workers

3 Blacklisting of radical and dissatisfied workers or the threat of it even though vigorously denied by the plantation controlled the situation for many who might have gotten out of hand especially when jobs became scarce

4 The use of agents in the various racial groups to maintain order and peace in the various racial communities on the plantation These agents were often leaders in their respective communities or else acquired power and status by literally acting as policemen and spies for the company in being able to report breaches of working rules or of disparaging statements about the plantation made by workers In this relationship kowtowing making good or sucking around gained its clearest delineation This type of behavior was more the rule rather than the exception until the war years in the sense that a worker always felt he had to watch his step and his words

Paternalism as a Studied Policy of Control

In maneuvering situations and conditions so that some adequate control was maintained paternalistic claims and devices have been used up to the establishment of unionization and even up till the present time Two distinct aspects of this paternalism on the plantation have caused ambivalence and insecurity on the part of the workers

First claims which were internalized into the lives of the persons in the community acted as definite checks to persons trying to act out of turn either at work or in the community For many of the older generation these claims take on the character of gratitude for position and tenure which they feel they owe to the supervisory group The younger people have these attitudes thrown at them when parents insist that they listen to the wishes and the orders of the plantation In many homes discussions and even arguments occur over the matter of plantation regulation of their lives

Father Why not work on plantation? At least you got security Free house store can charge Plantation not so bad if you get used to it Not much pay but at least you can get married and live

Son Heck what you think You think I like only free house free this free that? I like one good job Look how cheap the pay Downtown get

better jobs What kind chance I got? You gotta suck around, no can squawk back, any time you get cocky luna can tell you go home aw waste time

Father But you dunno how hard we work to get this much After all the manager not that bad Look at it from the years you got ahead of you You never can tell when jobs outside going be no mo! Through depression war anykind you always can find job pay and steady

Others not directly part of the plantation supervisory staff support this same outlook A public school teacher on the staff of the school attended by plantation youths says

I can't see why boys and girls nowadays can't be happy with the plantation Canneries pay good money but if you look at it in terms of honest work canneries don't pay what you work for On the plantation at least you know that you are working for your money with earnest sweat

Besides the plantation has treated all the workers wonderfully in having all these things that we enjoy and take for granted You say that the plantation is bad in that they have treated the workers harshly but that is no longer true Instead the workers harshly but that is no longer true Instead the workers enjoy all sorts of privileges which city people do not

Young people are given the idea The youth of today are in a sorry state if they resist the claims of plantation management as felt by their parents and teachers

Public pronouncements by the manager and the company lunas in and out of their workaday relationships parents who felt that expectation of the plantation should be met have all served to control in large measure the behavior of most of the older generation and have also acted as psychological checks on persons trying to act out of line with plantation's wishes One senses now an attempt to base control on the idea that the plantation is a fine place to live

We have worked together too long and on too friendly a basis to permit anything to interfere or to diminish our spirit of Aloha We want to assure every employee that no punitive action will be taken against any employee Facilities of employment health recreation welfare and comfort will continue to be available as far as possible the symbol of mutual cooperativeness has always existed between management and employees at our plantation

Second a more objective form of control was the setting up of welfare plans and the industrial relations department with the expressed intent of serving the needs of the workers and stressing the mutual cooperativeness between worker and management. However the double edged character of the operations in serving worker and community needs and at the same time seeking more efficient and profitable means of using labor more or less defeated the objectives of these plans. The younger workers especially have wised up and have never for one moment looked upon these operations as beneficial in the true sense of the term.

Breakdown of Paternalism

It would be erroneous to say that unionization has caused the breakdown of the paternalistic system in its two major aspects but it seems true that unionization is inextricably woven into and has hastened the process of breaking it down. The moral order referred to in the first point held for a long time. People on the outside have commented upon the cooperation and friendly feelings which marked the relations between the supervisors and the workers on the job and in the community. This has held true for a large number of the first generation workers.

In the area of community activities the plantation has relinquished much of its active participation to the Community Association. What the plantation provided in terms of athletic facilities recreation and entertainment has become an integral part of the Community Association's activities. However with the loss of active financial support on the part of the plantation the Association has been faced constantly with the problem of financing its own activities.

Free housing and electricity ready access to use of plantation trucks and equipment credit from paychecks checkoff systems for paying up store credit and other financial matters all these free facilities have gone out of the window. Now a worker has to pay rent has to pay his own bills has to work out his own arrangements in the area of community living.

Paternalism in the area of personal relations has lost its hold in the sense that the workers are no longer bound by these relations of cordiality and timidity. Instead the sense one gets here is that of wariness at every move on the part of both the worker and the management. Efficiency is the keynote for the management while defensiveness at every point characterizes the worker especially when major changes in operation and organization are to take place.

During the 1946 strike personal relations which had developed between many of the older generation and the management became strained because of the ambivalent feelings of these men in regard to the plantation. In fact personal conflicts did prove to be serious with some of them. When the plantation asked for volunteer workers to irrigate the fields many of the them felt it was an obligation but with feelings running high they decided to stay

home. Added to this was the fact that they did feel that the union was a good thing in giving some measure of expression to their feelings of dislike for the more coercive treatment which they realized existed along with being treated humanly in working on the plantation.

But for the growing number of second generation youths the values that they were acquiring with education have posed and still pose a genuine problem. Being pushed by the first generation to get out and get ahead also being thrust forward by the equalitarian and democratic ideals of the American educational system and yet remaining in a situation with little if any opportunity to go up the ranks of the plantation have made for acutely ambivalent feelings on the part of many of these young people.

The conception of themselves which they have developed in this peculiar setting in which their hopes and ambitions are not reflected in reality perhaps provides the key to understanding many things which have occurred in the plantation setting.

With the younger workers paternalism as a personal relationship means little if anything. The image they more often have is that the plantation is out for its own benefit and whatever is handed out is aimed towards this end rather than interest in workers as such. Thus to them the plantation is not equated with kindness and benevolence. The department of industrial relations in their eyes is shot through with politics and attempts at personal gains. Grievances over housing job rating and other problems which face the worker are felt to be problems which the department is incapable of handling adequately since it is a plantation controlled agency.

Paternalism for the second generation workers has meant a two edged thing. What one gives one can take away. The threat that whatever was given was a concession which could be taken away has led to a feeling of cynicism about the plantation's programs for more efficient and profitable ways of running the company. The prevalent feeling is that whatever is given is but a palliative and does not come to grips with the basic issues around equitable sharing of the profits of the company and adequate representation of worker interests. Expressions such as these were and are still common. These dumb Haoles they think us no mo head. Why they bull shet and tell that we have all these good things like free house and security and whey they make plenty money. They no can fool us. One can clearly sense the disbelief at anything handed out by the plantation.

Changes in Race Relations on the Plantation

Unionization has occasioned important changes in race relations on the plantation. Two major aspects into which these race relations can be broken down are 1) relations among the non Haoles 2) relations between the non Haoles and the Haoles.

Relations Among Non Haoles

Relations among the non Haoles in terms of their respective ethnic identities are becoming less and less important in the functioning of the community and its activities. The Community Association shows this cooperation between these various groups. Before unionization the cleavages between these various racial groups were exploited as a means of political control (as was discussed earlier). Unionization has tended to make race a less important consideration in the relations between these groups. More so the union has seen to it that interracial solidarity and even more important worker solidarity be emphasized and maintained. Thus not only the membership but also the officialdom of the local unions has become as interracial as could be possible.

Whereas at an earlier period the theme was 'We Japanese (or Filipino Portuguese or Chinese) must stick together' now the line of emphasis is 'We're workers involved in a common fight to obtain our just demands'.

Relations between haoles and Non Haoles

Several years ago Dr. Robert E. Park observed: 'We have imported labor as if it were mere commodity and sometimes we have been disappointed to find as we invariably do that the laborers were human like ourselves. In this way it comes about that race relations which were economic become later political and cultural.'² In the eyes of the plantation worker the character of the disciplinary and supervisory relationships have become racial in the sense that to him it is not the supervisor but the Haole supervisor who supervises him.

This latter aspect of the relations between the Haoles and the non Haoles on the job and in the community has become pointed up much more since unionization. The plantation in having the character of a closed corporation at the top levels of management and a caste like division in the community has made for resentment against the Haoles. It is thought that the Haole acts like a sacred cow who gets what he wants and is exclusive and snobbish. The Haole supervisor may of course simply act the way he does because he and those like him are able to carry on the activities necessary for the company and for smoother social relationships at the top levels. On the other hand the paternalistic attitude the manager and his men take towards the workers who are mostly non Haoles has made for the feeling 'What's the matter with that damn Haole we can take care of ourselves. They don't have to tell us what to do'.

One example of the heightened feelings against the Haole during the 1946

² Our Racial Frontier on the Pacific Survey Graphic, IX (May 1926) p. 126

sugar strike may give a sense of how some of the workers felt against the Haoles

One day I go get job from the Haole man at the office Since I know how to fix trucks I ask for mechanic job They sign me up for mechanic job I go work next day I work as grease boy For two weeks I work as grease boy Night work hard work you know I work one more week night shift I feel as nough

Next day I go see the Haole in the office He tell me 'You ought to be grateful you have a job at least I blow my top I tell him Lissen you Haoles been shoving my old man around but you can't do that to me Us young guys won't take anything nowadays After I tell him off I no go back work but I get job in town

Now these feelings of resentment have become centered more around the jobs at the top levels which only Haoles seem to get. However feelings have not crystallized to the extent of overt actions and protests but are expressed more on an informal and covert level.

To counter the charge of discrimination and prejudice the industrial relations director has said that promotions are based on language and job skills the former of which involves Americanization. As these groups get more and more Americanized more and more promotions will be made.

Added to this promotions of non Haoles in lower and middle management positions have occurred at a faster rate since unionization.

The union is a good thing because it has opened up opportunities for the Japanese Before the union came in few Japanese were able to become lunas Now the pressure from the union has made for more promotions Yes there are bad things about the unions but now at least we can talk and act without fear and be heard

Although the Haole non Haole cleavage may become important later the present picture is that of worker contacts becoming important within the union and management becoming increasingly interracial so the cleavages take on more the character of a labor management dispute rather than of a racial conflict.

Formalization of Procedures and Changes in the Power Relationship

One characteristic which runs through the whole thread of the plantation organization is the politicking and pull favors and playing ball which personal friendships and unformalized administration lead to. Allocation of housing before the organization of the housing authority was often made in terms of knowing the manager and playing a ball with those who were able to influence the manager. This often led to a feeling of the unfairness of

management by those who were not able to get a better house or job

One can characterize the relationship in this sphere as one in which the power relationship between the worker and the plantation was heavily weighted in the direction of the latter. In many cases grievances over conditions of work and the issues in the situations were settled more often in favor of the plantation. In a situation where interests became irreconcilable the plantation could fire the worker or ease him out of the job into a more menial one.

Capriciousness in management and dependence on individual resources in the areas of job security and the settlement of grievances have resulted in different types of personal organization of individuals. These types may be arranged along a continuum from a personal organization revolving around the desire to get ahead and to use almost any means at one's disposal to one at the other extreme in which the individual begins to hate and to resent any brooking of individual honor and self respect.

The *okintama* (big balls) is a term applied to one whose personal organization revolves around the desire to get ahead within the system and to cure prestige and who feels he has nothing to lose. A brown noser in the services conveys the same meaning. Instances where lying, tattling on others to gain attention and making good in giving gifts and doing favors for the bosses are given by the older generation to characterize this type of person.

The definition prevalent during the period before worker organization was that a good worker could do no wrong in reporting some misbehavior of somebody else. Nowadays there is a clearer recognition among the management that people of the *okintama* type serve no good purpose in trying to develop more honest and healthier relationships between the company and workers.

In the wake of unionization formalization of procedure and changes in the power relationship and the decision making points have occurred. The formalization of procedure and administration has been extending over housing, grievances, promotions and the classification system so that individualized decisions and treatment no longer play the role they did earlier. Furthermore in equalizing the power relationship between worker and management the union was more readily able to formalize the procedures and administration over many of these areas. One indication of this close relationship between power and administration is the loss of arbitrary power on the part of the foreman or luna.

This statement by a Filipino worker gives a sense of the change that has occurred:

Jackass better than worker before. When Jackass sick, the plantation call doctor from downtown (Honolulu) to pau sick. They get all excited if Jackass sick. When we sick, if we no can go hospital we make (make in Hawaiian means to die). Doctor no come to us. Plantation no care

whether we sick or not. Now get union at least worker as good as jackass. Worker now no need worry about job too much.

Although formalization and more adequate representation of the worker interests have been made possible, decision making of major importance has been transferred out of the line or the word for the top levels in decisions over crucial areas like grievances and wages.

Problems for the Union Accompanying Unionization

Although the union has brought some measures of order and security into the area of industrial relations on the plantation, several problems have yet to be faced adequately. One of these is full acceptance of the union by the community and by the management. One example may suffice to show that the status of the union in the community is still instable. The union almost jeopardized its position in the community during the 1946 sugar strike by coming out against the Veterans Memorial Carnival as a Big Five Haole controlled affair. Unity over other issues had been strong but the whole community including the workers acted adversely to such a pronouncement. A feeling of community spirit over a common goal was evinced in which even a basic issue over the security and strength of the union could be overlooked. Haoles and non Haoles workers and supervisors all worked side by side without any feelings of resentment or bitterness.

Another problem of the union is that of assuring that its actions will tend to be in line with the worker interests and not based on political or irrational moves on the part of the union officers. This second problem seems to hinge on the first. A series of interviews with one of the local union officers who seems to have had the most insight as to the role and actions of the union in the scheme of things might help to give some conception of the union and the plantation. That the union is lodged in a situation where its status is insecure and in which interest and support seem to be lagging among the membership can be readily observed and verified. This is how K put it when asked whether the company fully accepted the union:

Yeah we know the company doesn't want us around. We have one of the best and smartest managers here and he's really smooth. You go in to talk about a grievance with him and he can make you come out and want to kick yourself in the rear. He can make you think that you were all wet about what you had to present and even take a point away from you. He can fool you so that you think that he will do nothing and even give and boom! you find you lose the case. Before I was a damn fool I used to go up to him and the Industrial Relations director and tell them what I came for. Nowadays us guys more smart I bargain with him. I tell him little by little and let them get sucked in. Before we used to get sucked in all the time. In a way I no blame the manager for the

way he acts Before we used to cuss him out for being dirty and chicken But now I know that he no can help it He gets his orders from the top and whether he likes it or not he has to stick to the line or policy In a way you gotta pity him But you sure can hate him when he catches you napping and take away a case from us But I can tell you that the companies sure don't like unions and say so They don't tell it to our face but behind our backs they talk about it

I don't agree that guys join the union just because they see the dollar Guys find the union a way of expressing themselves and their ideas Where before a guy had to shut up or get out now guys get the union if they need any help in settling grievances

Before I used to work hard because I wanted to get ahead I knew I worked hard but I never got a promotion You know for a fact that I used to haunt Y's office and asked him why I couldn't get ahead when others were able to do so He never gave me a satisfactory answer I still kept working hard but I no longer respected Y Before the union came he acted real hot (connoting arbitrariness and hot headedness) Nowadays he's a little more careful

One day W (another worker) approached me This was back in 1943 The company had sent out informants around the plantation to check on union activity and guys who got caught was in for a rough time He approached me in the corner of the mill and asked me Eh you like join the union? W expected a No from me for he feared that I was one of these go getters who wanted to get ahead But he said he was taking a chance In fact I was about the last of the mill men to be asked for they had been afraid of my spilling the beans I said Sure why you guys never ask me before? Then they gave me a union card The plantation knew but they couldn't check it

I got into the leadership in this way Us guys had to organize the workers by going from house to house after work At the meeting they asked us to report on how we were getting along I stood up and said I was sorry but I had only signed up forty members All the guys nearly fell down because they themselves had been able to get just a few After that I really got interested in the union organization

Many guys think this union run by the International That's not true The International office only recommends what to follow But before they do this they hash it out with the local officers as to how the issues will be met by the membership If there seems to be a good chance of passing when the vote comes up then the International goes right ahead The ILWU has a convention yearly at San Francisco About 300 delegates are there at that time You think that we just vote automatically Each of the 300 guys have a chance to say what they think about the issue and they have to go up to the front to say Usually guys get almost set to fight but we go by Robert's rules of order and keep order that way But sometimes terrific boy If there

seems to be too much opposition then the issue is dropped because Harry [Bridges] figures that keeping the union solid is more important than fighting and splitting over an issue

As to the kind of local the International wants it wants one with factions They like to see a local that is lively and aggressive Usually an International representative goes in there as trouble shooter and tries to fix things up And in the first place the officers figure whether the issue is too hot and it is they drop it like a hot potato When things get too hard for the local officers the International representative is called in to handle the situation In a way the local guys can't do too much when a big case comes up either with the company or the union

The Filipinos make the best union men The next are the Japanese old men They know how much better a union is compared to the old days The guys we get hard time with are the younger guys They had it a little smoother and they can't see why we act the way we do You know one thing, the veterans are good union men because they appreciate the changes that the union has made

The Closing of Job Opportunities on the Plantation

During the war Hawaii was still an area of open resources with opportunities still open on the outside Many of the worker and especially younger boys left for the higher paying jobs But with the cessation of war when jobs became scarce group after group of high school graduates faced the problem of finding jobs These graduates have more or less culturally disqualified themselves from most plantation jobs and are seeking better jobs Added to this is the fact that the highly mechanized and rationalized operations have been left with the choices to migrate elsewhere to join the army or to try to find a job in town

There does seem to be an indication that jobs on the plantation may open up again However if the ending of hostilities in Korea brings an era of peace the same problem of providing opportunities for youths on the plantation or elsewhere will arise again The problem of whether the plantation will continue to be a productive and profitable source of income for both management and labor is related to keeping an adequate labor supply and also maintaining a stable and ongoing plantation community

Whether the plantation can continue without renewing the labor supply with young blood whether the union can maintain itself in the face of lack of opportunities and migration of the young people whether the plantation community will become a ghost town with only old people and young children are questions to be kept in mind when thinking about the plantation and all that is occurring within its fold today

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HAWAII AND WORKING CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Edward D. Beechert

In recent years there has been increasing interest in analyzing the development of Hawaiian society and its political economy. Differing from the traditional political elite player type of historical analysis, some have tried to apply a Marxist scheme of analysis to the direction and character of Hawaiian historical development. Clearly, the anecdotal elite history leaves much to be desired. One knows a great deal about a handful of individuals and very little about the mass of people who have made up Hawaiian society and who have been the chief producers of the modern economy.¹

Two recent interpretations deserve special examination. Noel Kent's *Hawaii Islands Under the Influence* (1983) and Robert H. Stauffer's *The Tragic Maturing of Hawaii's Economy* (1984). Each of these finds the development of modern Hawaii's political economy to be retrograde and one which has exploited and to varying degrees degraded the condition of Hawaii's working class. Such developments as the transition from an industrial type plantation agriculture to a service type economy featuring a low wage tourist industry at one pole and government employment at the other are vividly described in the two works.

Several important problems are raised by these conclusions about Hawaii. Although Kent correctly describes and rejects Kuykendal's documentary approach to the political history of Hawaii, the majority of his analysis follows in that same tradition. The movers and shakers make decisions and the faceless masses follow along. Only in his conclusion does Kent come to the question of the level of the consciousness of the working class. Left unexamined are the many examples of working class behavior which suggest the dialectical nature of Hawaiian development. As is frequently the case in the use of the dependency model of analysis, there is an unstated but ever present assumption about a different historical experience which would have been available absent the described influences. Favorable or unfavorable judgements about investment patterns are made according to these influences. Something or someone would cause decisions to be made which would have resulted in a more benign situation. Put another way, dependency theory tends to decry the present as a distortion of a past which would have been more benign absent the outside influences.

Stauffer's work explicitly uses this model in applying a version of Latin American dependency theory to Hawaii's post 1959 development. By defining Hawaiian development as colonial rather

than true local development he finds the modern Hawaiian economy to be tragic. The model is similar to the one used by Kent and is based upon the ideas of Andre Gunder Frank (1967 1969) and the dependency thesis of international capitalism. To a lesser extent Paul Baran's (1957) thesis of underdevelopment is a model.²

In these studies the flow of capital from the metropolitan center to exploit the labor and resources of the dependent area determines the nature of economic development. Typically this is shown to be a type of development which promotes further dependency and poverty among the people of the dependent country and removes decision making to the metropolitan center.

Both of these studies are curiously static in positing an unchanging dependent relationship and seem to rule out any possibility of change short of a revolutionary situation. The current crisis of world capitalism would seem to suggest that while strategies may be proposed and given striking titles (e.g. Pacific Rim Strategy) many factors can and do intervene to change those strategies or plans. Interestingly the most progressive forces for change in the un- or underdeveloped world are found squarely rooted in local history and traditions — not in ideological abstractions. Witness the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the FMLN in El Salvador, and the struggles in the Philippines, to name only a few. While these movements against capitalist exploitation are led by intellectuals of varying persuasions, their wide spread support is drawn largely from peasant populations who have for several centuries struggled against both local and foreign oppressors.

To reduce local history to a matter of the locus of capital is to fall into a fatalistic economism. It also involves casting the local bourgeoisie into the role of benevolent capitalist at best, or that of subservient lumpen bourgeoisie at worst (Frank 1972). The evidence would suggest that they are very likely neither. Holders of wealth usually make an effort to multiply that wealth and may send their capital in various directions. The scanty evidence available for Hawaii suggests that the local bourgeoisie did invest heavily in the local sugar industry after 1875. They also invested heavily in foreign economic opportunities including the Philippine sugar industry, oil manufacturing interests, railroads, and other opportunities on the mainland. From an early point (1859) the missionary families Castle and Cooke had New York financial advisors to assist in the placement of their surplus capital. Walkers *Manual of Far Western Corporations and Securities* (1911 1960) is filled with the names of Hawaiian investors in non-Hawaiian activities, as well as non-Hawaiian investors in Hawaiian sugar companies. Five of the large Hawaiian plantations were organized as California corporations between 1882 and 1899, including Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar.

Several important problems of definition and methodology need to be examined. The method of historical materialism would seem to sug-

gest that such conclusions, stated or unstated, are distinctly outside the framework of a Marxian analysis. While the writers cited have located the motive force for change in the productive forces of the society — in fact forces which determine civil society — they seem to have fallen by the wayside in projecting later history as the goal of earlier history. Thereby history receives its own special aims and becomes a person ranking with other persons. In effect, such history becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy (Marx 1981: 57-58).

The theme I want to explore here is best expressed in Marx' statement of the problem:

This conception of history depends upon our ability to expound the real process of production starting from the material production of life itself, and to comprehend the form of intercourse connected with this and created by this mode of production [i.e. civil society in various stages] as the basis of all history. [At each stage of history] there is found a material result, a sum of productive forces, an historically created relation of individuals to nature and to one another, which is handed down to each generation. It shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances. (Marx 1981: 59)

Consider for a moment the problem of defining the working class of Hawaii. On a crude level, it is often assumed simply to be those who work. From this simple fact, it is assumed that there is a consciousness which translates into an awareness of the social relations of production. More frequently, the evidence of militant behavior, particularly organized strikes, is assumed to be a measure of class consciousness. Although class is clearly one of the most ambiguous of all Marxian terms, the development of consciousness seems more clearly marked out than most aspects of class analysis. The problem is whether or not the working class, 'one among many competing interest groups' is constrained by legal, systemic barriers, or is transformed into a consciousness which acts as the agent of the workers in their struggle against capitalism, free to direct its power toward obtaining control over working conditions, perhaps to be the revolutionary gravedigger of capitalism (Aronowitz 1974: 420).

The problem is not easily resolved. It has been pointed out that the worker frequently holds private views which contradict his organizational views. This is seen most often when workers accept the political recommendations of a union even if they hold private views quite different. (The class political attitude of the workers is not at all the same as, and sometimes even contradicts, the sum totals of their private views. (Harrington 1974: 133))

Marx divided the approach to class into two segments. On the one hand, there is the history of class struggle, as in the Manifesto. This has been termed the macro level of class struggle. At the point of class

consciousness one is dealing with the micro level of analysis. Although these two aspects are inseparable it is important to distinguish between the two. In the sense in which we are using it here class comes into existence at the point where classes begin to acquire a consciousness of themselves as a class in relation to another class.³

This is the point at which confusion and difficulty set in. The dynamic relationship which defines class is too frequently frozen to facilitate examination. The difficulty of using the concept however does not preclude a careful examination.

In one of his early writings Marx clearly posed the problem of dealing with this dynamic relationship. Private property, he said, is compelled to maintain *itself* and thereby its opposite, the proletariat, in *existence* (Marx & Engels 1956:51). In effect, the condition of the working class at any given point in history is a reciprocal of the ruling class organization of the means of production. A measure, then, of the state of society is to be found in the conditions of employment — the social relations of production. These two aspects of the dynamics of class must be considered simultaneously. Thus, to speak of the economy only in terms of capital investment and to discern in the source of that capital significant conclusions as to the nature of the economy is to ignore the fact that the patterns of investment will create a dialectic which will produce changes in the attitudes and responses of the working class. That the working class does not respond in an automatic manner is only to admit that while men make their own history they do not make it just as they please but are conditioned by all of the inherited circumstances and traditions (Marx 1883:13).

Marx described two levels of class consciousness. In one sense the workers form a class *in itself* and in a higher sense a class *for itself*. In this latter role organization is the means by which class consciousness expresses itself. It is through this means that the working class endeavors to bring about the changes in the work relationships (the social relations of production) which will objectively alter the conditions requiring change. As one examines the political economy of Hawaii over the years it becomes clear that the condition and consciousness of the working class are responses to the conditions imposed by capital. At each point of examination we find the responses of the working class as they perceive the situation are often incorrect. The problem of false consciousness is one which recurs with a dismal frequency.⁴

If one uses the technique of the dialectic to organize the meaning one cannot draw conclusions about tragic maturing or falling under the influence of capitalism and the many other similes used to identify and describe the Hawaiian political economy. The particular level of development one perceives at any given time is already in the process of change.

In the studies under review there is the implication that the economy has taken a turn for the worse, creating menial jobs instead of more

fulfilling, ego-satisfying employment. To suggest that such a development is the product of failed decisions of leaders is to ignore the history of capitalism (Kent 1983:137-153). A recent forum on tourism was devoted largely to attacking the industry for its creation of menial type employment without ever explaining what alternatives might have been created in the way of employment. This static mode of analysis obscures the important fact that the quality of employment under capitalism is no more than the sum of (1) the efforts of the employer to control wages in order to insure the maximum profit and (2) the resistance of workers to these efforts. If employment can ever be said to be menial in itself a dubious proposition, then this is a commentary on the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Employment *per se* cannot be menial or demeaning; the conditions attaching to the work can be, and often are, demeaning. This was the condition of the plantation workers until 1944.

The work of society can and should be carried on under conditions which maintain the dignity of the individual. This is measured by the level of remuneration and the relations prevailing in that employment. If the working class has sufficient consciousness of its role and has moved to express that role, the work required to be done will not be demeaning, menial, or whatever perjorative term is employed. Attention should focus instead on the qualities which degrade the work condition.

The description of work as demeaning or trivial echoes exactly the complaint Marx launched against the Hegelian and early 19th century critics of mass movements when there was a tendency among socialist writers to decry the "spiritless masses." The answer Marx suggests to this tendency is applicable here:

The Great appear great in our eyes
Only because we kneel
Let us rise!

But to rise it is not enough to do so in thought and to leave
hanging over our real sensual head the real palpable yoke
that cannot be subtilized away with ideas (Marx 1956:111)

In the following section we will review briefly the major points of development in the Hawaiian political economy from the beginning of the sugar industry to the development of the modern service sector, with a focus on the awareness and responses of the Hawaiian working class as a result of these transformations.

THE WORKERS RESPONSE TO HAWAIIAN CAPITALISM

Beginning then with the notion that

H story does nothing it possesses no immense wealth it wages no battles It is man real living man that does all that that possesses and fights history is not a person apart using man as a means for its own particular aims history is nothing but the activity of man pursuing his aims (Marx 1956 125)

we can examine the responses of the workers of Hawaii at each of several critical junctures in an effort to determine the level of working class consciousness

Westerners were struck by two important facts on arriving in early nineteenth century Hawaii The abundance of vacant land and the benign climate suggested the great wealth which this combination had produced elsewhere In contrast with the poor soil and complex political conditions surrounding the Caribbean sugar producing islands and the Latin American plantation economies the Hawaii situation seemed positively outstanding

Between 1826 and 1850 vigorous attempts were made to convert the Hawaiian commoner into an appropriate western oriented labor force while efforts were made to convert the Hawaiian communal land system⁵ to a fee simple private property status suitable for capitalist investment Idleness was proclaimed a vice and was an offense under the rapidly evolving western style political structure The crumbling Hawaiian political authority attempted to convert the traditional power of the ruling chiefs based upon a communal society into one of wealth accumulation based upon the laboring class Hawaiian The results were indifferent to say the least

A survey conducted by the western type government in 1846 revealed the degree of the failure to convert commoners into compliant wage workers⁶ Reports from all areas of the islands showed the Hawaiians refusal to work for low wages They could only be attracted into wage labor for varying periods of time when the offer was attractive enough to persuade them to leave their subsistence activities The demanded wage levels were seen as further evidence of the unsuitable nature of the Hawaiian Clearly an agricultural export economy could not survive on what was seen as exorbitant wage demands⁷

It was this refusal to submit to low wages which played a major role in the enactment of an indentured labor system in 1850 duplicating the previous experiences of other sugar producing areas of the world The Masters and Servants Act of 1850 provided for the signing of labor contracts which were to be enforced by penal sanctions The act almost incidentally provided for the importation of indentured workers⁸

The initial flurry of sugar planting and the crude efforts to refine sugar slowly dwindled between 1836 and 1861 as the lack of capital and

of an adequate market forced a majority of the planters out of the business Spurred by the sudden appearance of a market created by the American Civil War sugar production expanded rapidly after 1861 from 572 tons in 1861 to 8 865 tons in 1864 This market continued with the growth of the pacific coast population which became a virtual monopoly market for Hawaiian sugar

Planters had considerable difficulty in financing the development of land and the mills The semi arid nature of much of the available land dictated the building of expensive and massive irrigation systems to ensure the expansion of production Rapidly changing sugar refining technology was also prohibitively expensive Hawaiian sugar could not meet the pacific coast market with the old low grade cake sugar of earlier years It was at this point that the Honolulu merchant community entered the picture to finance the expansion of the plantations in company with loans from the Hawaiian government⁹

Up to 1875 labor demands in sugar had been met largely with Hawaiian labor At that point some two thirds of the sugar workers were Hawaiian and only small numbers of Chinese had been imported Although there had been much discussion of the labor question before 1875 it was mostly empty rhetoric induced by the Hawaiian s demand for decent wages

Financing was the greatest obstacle to expansion With the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1875 the pattern changed dramatically Admission duty free to the American market meant in effect a subsidy of 2 1/2 cents per pound of sugar above the market price (Taylor 1935 16 62 65 McClellan 1899 8)

The demand for capital changed the entire structure of the industry With ready capital available the industry expanded furiously Equally great was the demand for labor The declining Hawaiian population could not supply much more than the numbers already engaged The Hawaiian aristocracy fearing a loss of sovereignty sought unsuccessfully to replenish their numbers with cognate populations Rapid increases in the numbers of Chinese workers temporarily met the need Chinese and later Japanese immigrants were seen as solutions to this labor shortage problem As the number of foreign laborers grew fears of inundation by the never ending flood of single male Asians grew

Objections to Chinese from both Hawaiian and American political interests led to efforts to Europeanize the work force principally with Portuguese workers The extreme cost of importing Portuguese families and their tendency to depart Hawaii for California almost immediately led to the search for Asian sources other than Chinese Indentured labor conditions had little appeal to European workers whose complaints about abuse tended to attract unfavorable attention from the U S and European press and public The only available Asian source of laborers was Japan and eventually in 1885 an agreement

was reached for the importation of Japanese workers under a three year contract

Under the Masters and Servants Act a contract worker faced drastic penal consequences for a refusal to work as ordered or for leaving the employment before the specified term had been met. In theory the law also required the master to meet all of the conditions of the contract and forbade the use of corporal punishment, debt peonage, or unilateral extension of contract, reduction of wages or failure to provide housing and/or food, if specified in the contract. Needless to say in such a system the worker was at a serious disadvantage. Workers brought to the magistrate on charges of refusing bound service could be given jail sentences and fines. Until such fines and the trial costs were met the worker was confined to prison. In theory, if not in practice, there was no limit other than life to the length of such terms. In practice these penalties were confined to more modest levels. Workers in prison produce no sugar.

Chinese workers quickly responded to the coercive conditions of indentured labor. A majority remained as sugar workers beyond their initial term, largely as free workers. As free day workers they organized a labor form which put them into a more advantageous position as regards discipline and supervision, always a sore point in plantation labor, and which allowed a more normal employee-employer relationship than that assumed under the master-servant relationship (CJS 1936 [56] 24). Forming themselves into labor companies, they contracted with the planters through their self-appointed leader for the service sought. The money thus earned was divided according to their own rule. This system of labor contracting continued on into the annexation period. Japanese workers formed similar groups (Hawaii Kingdom Board of Immigration 1882:98).

A situation was thus created whereby three distinct labor forms could be found at any given time: indentured labor under penal compulsion; free day labor able to withdraw at any time for any reason — or discharged without notice — and a self-organized gang labor system contracting their services. This latter system closely resembled the *padrone* system found among Italian workers in southern U.S. agriculture in the late nineteenth century. Such self-selected groups were almost always ethnically distinct.

Given the pressure to expand production after 1875, labor was in steady demand. This pressure limited the plantations in the degree of authority they could exert and certainly limited the extent of abuse which might have otherwise been used. Worker responses to the conditions on Hawaii plantations in this period were largely limited to individual reactions to personal abuse or group abuse. The conditions of work did not permit the possibility of organized resistance or defense.

The major concern of the planters was (and is) to maintain a firm control over the cost of labor. Cultivating and harvesting accounted for

approximately sixty per cent of the total labor costs of sugar production. To prevent wages from rising, sugar plantations everywhere have relied upon a steady flow of replacement labor to maintain a relatively low level of wages and to provide a regular exodus of workers. The system of free workers, both individually and in gangs, was an attractive option to the sugar planters because it meant they could expand or limit production according to the price of sugar without the fixed cost of maintaining a large indentured labor force. Free workers could be hired or laid off according to production needs. The important proviso was the maintenance of an adequate flow of imported surplus laborers who could be used to deflect wage increases. The scale of expansion suggests that the planters had neither the choice nor the luxury of shifting labor forces to suit notions of control. From a total of 20 plantations in 1870, the number had grown to 75 by 1890. The work force increased from 3,260 to 37,760 in the same period. Clearly, the magnitude of the change reflects a far-reaching change in the social relations of production.

The introduction of Japanese workers recruited by the Japanese government under the Convention of 1885 also sharply affected the conditions of labor relations. Indentured for three years, the Japanese worker was under the nominal control of the Japanese government, including an Inspector of Immigrants. The control was nominal because such officials, of whatever race, tended to be exploiters of their countrymen rather than their protectors, as is suggested by their title. The number of Japanese workers remaining in Hawaii, as well as the eagerness of those at home to be recruited, suggests that the conditions were not intolerable or unfavorable for the majority of workers. The volume of money sent back to Japan between 1885 and 1894 averaged approximately two million yen per year (Okahata 1971 [2] 226).

There is little or no evidence of any sense of cohesion or group identity among the different groups and types of workers in this period of free/unfree labor. Such evidence as exists suggests little more than spontaneous protest, often in large ethnic groups.

The growing number of free workers led by 1893 to attempts to impose new controls over this body of laborers. Even before the overthrow of the monarchy, efforts were made to impose an internal pass system to control the movement of workers under the guise of a national registration law for all adults. The move was vetoed by the Queen.

Shortly after the overthrow of the monarchy, the constitution was amended to permit the importation of what amounted to Chinese serfs bound to labor on the plantation on pain of arrest and instant deportation. The presence of 18,000 free Japanese workers was seen as a distinct threat to the maintenance of a low wage structure. There were too many planters willing to offer higher wages to obtain skilled, experienced labor. That the workers were able to bargain for better condi-

tions or higher wages is evidenced by the complaints of the raided plantations (Beechert 1981 forthcoming)

ANNEXATION AND NEW LABOR TERMS

The annexation of Hawaii in 1900 and the abolition of the penal contract brought drastic changes to Hawaii. Although supporters of annexation played down the dramatic change in labor relations, arguing that more than half of the workforce in 1900 was made up of free workers, the planters had lost the one effective device for maintaining some degree of control over the pressure on wages. Chinese workers were completely cut off by the Exclusion Act and Japanese became the mainstay of the labor force. There now were only the two possibilities of gang contracting or day wage labor. The rising frequency of labor disturbances (there were several strikes by Japanese workers between 1900 and 1909) suggests the importance of that third, unfree element in restraining labor actions.

It was at this juncture that the racism which pervaded labor relations in Hawaii began to damage the situation. From the reluctance of the Hawaiian to accept substandard conditions was derived the notion of the innate indolence of the Hawaiian. Such ethnic stereotypes quickly enter into the conventional wisdom of the community and are accepted without question. Each group of workers in turn was hailed as the solution to the need for an adequate, low cost, docile labor supply. Each in turn, from the Chinese to the Filipino, was to be deficient in some respect — most often in failing to respect their employers' need for low wages and more work. As a general rule of thumb, each group moved from the position of saviours of the industry to that of devils to again, acceptable, when the latest group proved to be intractable. One typical example of this progression is seen in the description by the U.S. Commissioner of Labor in his *Report on Labor in Hawaii 1905*:

The Chinaman was the more steady and reliable but less energetic [than the Japanese]. The Japanese represents the radical, the Chinaman the conservative side of oriental civilization. His white employers consider him [the Japanese] mercurial, superficial and untrustworthy in business matters. (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1905:34-35)

Within a few years, another U.S. official reporting to Congress added a description of the last two groups to be imported to Hawaii: Puerto Ricans and Filipinos. He said, "The Porto Rican [sic] was considered very much inferior to all the others until the Filipino was brought in, and it is conceded by all that the latter is the poorest specimen of man that was ever introduced into the Islands." (Hawaii Territory Board of

Immigration, Labor and Statistics 1911:34). The circle was now completed — each ethnic group, without exception, whether Asian or European, had been tested and found seriously wanting.

Sugar plantations around the world have displayed remarkably similar tendencies in their attitudes toward workers and techniques of control. In almost all cases, labor came from Asia or Africa, and to a limited extent from the Pacific Islands. In all cases, the labor force was racially distinct from the managerial class. In turn, the managers were either the ruling class or their direct representatives. Throughout the nineteenth century, and in some cases until 1914, labor control was based upon an indentured labor system modeled after the British Masters and Servants relationship, varying in details and degrees of control from place to place (Graves & Albert 1984).

One of the more significant ideas of labor control in all plantation economies was that of exploiting racial differences. A corollary was to justify rigid control on the basis of racial inferiorities. At its optimum, the exploitation of racial differences presumed the presence of a sufficient number of surplus workers to enable the threat of substitution, which acted as a coercive device for each of the groups represented.

Given Hawaii's restricted access to alternative labor sources, this technique remained primarily a verbal, ideological proposition. Employed on an ascending scale in the strikes of 1909, 1920, and 1937, the technique proved costly and ineffective. There were never sufficient numbers of racially different skilled workers available to replace the massive numbers involved in these strikes.

The global recitation of ethnic deficiencies was a part of the worldwide psychological rationalization of labor exploitation. The eminent sociologist Max Weber in 1893 commented on the poor working conditions of the Polish immigrant workers in the Prussian sugar beet industry, explaining the demonstrably poor working conditions and treatment as being due to the fact that the Poles came from areas of lower standards of living (Low Kultur) than the workers of Prussia (High Kultur):

It is not possible for two nationalities with different bodily constitutions, stomachs of different construction, to quite freely compete in one and the same areas. It is not possible for our workers to compete with the Poles. (Weber 1893:75)

The substantively different situation after annexation is seen in the Japanese strikes of 1909 and 1920. The first strike was organized through the Young Buddhist Association groups and was led by Honolulu intellectuals associated with the Japanese language press. The Japanese had given early signs of a quick adaptation to American labor techniques. Strikes in 1903 and 1904 showed considerable ability to organize and present grievances, and considerable discipline among the workers. Although confined to single plantations, they were quite effective.

tive in securing redress of many of the grievances. The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) organized in 1894 did not have sufficient control over the industry to effectively organize a uniform labor policy. In part through this strike and even more so in the case of the 1920 strike the HSPA gained greater authority and uniformity of policy. The strike of 1909 affecting only Oahu plantations presented a cogent, highly analytical statement of the grievances of the Japanese workers. Most of these grievances were non-economic, dealing with the quality of supervision, housing, camp conveniences, as well as details of organization and wages (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 1910).

Although the strike was technically lost and the employers refused to recognize the Japanese organization in any way, the workers made their point and forced drastic changes in the handling of labor. The employers resorted to a favorite mainland device — jailing the strike leadership on a variety of criminal charges. The expectation was that the workers would be unable to function without their leaders — a firmly held but seldom realized expectation.

In addition to a pay raise, the strike focused attention on the poor and chaotic housing situation of the plantation camps, a major grievance of the workers. A program of camp improvements was initiated by the HSPA, creating a new function for this employers' organization. The rapid expansion of the industry after 1875 had forced the location of camps in remote areas in order to get the workers reasonably near the work site. By 1909 the cane field locomotive had made such isolation unnecessary. The small, isolated camps were segregated by race, not so much from any deliberate policy but from the order of arrival and the worker's felt need for ethnic homogeneity in these scattered communities.

The total lack of adjacent communities forced the plantations to create their own communities and to supply these with the necessary community services. With this necessity came an opportunity to exercise control over the workers by controlling access to housing and essential services. The worker had no alternative other than to leave the plantation and migrate to the urban areas of Hawaii — few and far between. Eviction from plantation housing became a device of labor control after 1909, reaching a climax in the strike of 1920.

THE WORKER'S RESPONSE 1920-1937

The Japanese were organized this time into a federation of plantation unions. Whereas the impetus for organization had come from urban intellectuals in 1909, this time it came from unions organized on each plantation, carefully excluding urban intellectuals, particularly newspaper editors. The Filipinos imported as the principal labor force after

the cutoff of Japanese labor in 1907 had formed a Filipino Federation by 1920. Their organization, however, was of a different order than that of the Japanese. Organized by a charismatic leader, there was little formal organization and no clear means of rank and file participation. The Filipino Labor Union more closely resembled a patriotic religious organization than a labor union.

Despite these differences, an amazing degree of cooperation between the highly organized and financially strong Japanese union and the disorganized, poorly financed Filipino union was effected. This cooperation was in the face of a massive campaign of sabotage by employer agents, language differences, cultural differences, and severe limitations on finances (Beechert forthcoming, Reinecke 1979). Although the racial pay scales and grossly inadequate pay levels resulting from World War I inflation were important, the issues again were more than wages. Issues of respect and decent housing were equally important.

The severity of the strike and the spectre of racial cooperation in the labor force once again dictated a massive reorganization of the labor force and its deployment by the planters. A decision to switch over to cultivating and harvesting contracts and to reduce the use of day wage labor to an absolute minimum was implemented immediately at the conclusion of the strike. The HSPA created an Industrial Welfare Bureau to oversee the implementation of a sweeping program to convert plantation camps into communities, focusing on housing, recreation and medical care. In other words, a full scale program of welfare capitalism was implemented, based squarely upon a similar movement on the mainland in large scale industrial organizations.

The combination of a shift to short and long term contracts for a majority of the field workers and the new welfare program was effective in several ways and a failure in others. The program achieved the short term goal of reducing labor militancy and slowing the outflow of workers. Within two years the well organized and broadly based Japanese plantation unions had vanished, never to reappear. The Japanese increasingly moved off the plantations and into urban occupations. The conversion of the remaining Japanese to mill work, skilled labor tasks, independent cane growing and contracting work accomplished the HSPA's purpose with efficiency.

For the growing numbers of Filipinos in the work force, the outcomes were somewhat different. Entering at the lowest skill levels, the Filipinos were effectively concentrated in field work. Although the welfare program produced a degree of HSPA control undreamed of in earlier years, the Filipinos remained stubbornly nationalistic and independent. Reforming their union, the Filipinos began in 1923 to prepare for a new round of struggle. The strike of 1924, one of the least planned, most badly conducted strikes in Hawaii's history, has been called by its principal historian, The Filipino Piecemeal Sugar Strike. The strike was nonetheless drastic in its consequences, tragic in its

violence and vivid evidence of the basic failure of the welfare capitalism program to achieve its basic goals (Reinecke 1963 Brody 1980 48 81)

No other major strike [in Hawaii] was so haphazardly planned or conducted or failed so completely. Reinecke concluded. Drawn out over seven months on four islands in turn resulting in the death of twenty people (four police and sixteen strikers) the strike nonetheless demonstrated conclusively that welfare policies and labor control techniques based upon racial stereotypes were failed policies. Although the strikers were seldom unified in their views when the companies resorted to instant eviction of men and families even unsympathetic Filipinos felt they could not abandon their fellow workers and moved out with the strikers. This was as it had been in 1909 and 1920 convincing evidence of the nationalistic solidarity and ethnic cohesion among the principal groups of workers.

It has been suggested by one recent writer that the 1920 strike was a terminal point in the development of class consciousness of the sugar workers emphasizing two elements the attempt at Filipino Japanese cooperation in 1920 and the evolution of their own language the creole language often termed pidgin (Takaki 1983 174 179). The principal student of Hawaii's creole language has particularly cautioned against this conclusion. He explained that

the makeshift language of the plantation environment of Hawaii has been the perfect type of the species that the emigrants like the East Indians indentured to the British Caribbean lands and Mauritius came under condition approaching in many ways those of free immigration. In such an environment they were perhaps more apt to retain their language [The conditions] were favorable for the maintenance of ethnic solidarity and morale among most of the groups coming to Hawaii and hence for the retention of their language (Reinecke 1963 111 113).

Reinecke's conclusion is borne out by the fact that the Japanese segment of the workforce formed no more labor organizations and made no overt gestures of support for the striking Filipinos in either 1924 or 1937. Nor had the Filipinos learned from their previous experiences in 1920 and 1924. The appearance of mainland labor organizers was a harbinger of the changes which were to take place in Hawaii's labor struggles. In 1937 mainland organizers reflecting the modern Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) tradition of non discrimination urged the Filipinos to organize *all* sugar workers. This suggestion was rejected summarily by the leadership. Neither management nor the workers had learned much from the 1924 strike and both

attempted to replay the scenario (Beechert 1981 122 123).

From the Hawaiian's resistance to exploitation during the conversion of the communal society to the 1937 strike there is ample evidence of the *potential* of the working class to move to a level of awareness of their quality as a class *for itself*. This is the point at which class consciousness can be truly said to exist and the point from which the potential comes into being for an organization to express that awareness.

This consciousness does not depend on subjective factors but on objective factors. It is based according to Marx on the reality of the structure of property relations in society. The many responses of the workers of Hawaii to the rapidly evolving political economy of the nineteenth and twentieth century represent their degrees of awareness of their position in relation to the bourgeoisie. At each point however the workers essentially responded by retreating into their nationalistic linguistic camps for the protection and security to be found there.

The potential for class consciousness required the arrival of an organization which incorporated certain basic ideas in its organization. Coming to Hawaii first as the representative of Hawaii's longshoremen the emergent CIO brought to Hawaii the notion of the class *for itself* — a long step forward from the ethnic militancy of earlier years. On the urban level the Communist Party arrived in 1937 to bring its ideas on labor organizing to Hawaii and to participate actively in the rapid pace of labor organizing which began at that point (Beechert 1979).

The pre world war II campaign in Hawaii was primarily initiated by local workers. The longshoremen moved by the Pacific Maritime strikes of 1934 and 1936 organized themselves and applied for charters. Between 1936 and 1940 they demonstrated a remarkably different level of class consciousness and working class cohesion than had previously been the case.

The different attitude was evident in the inter racial solidarity displayed at Port Allen Ahukini in 1940. Striking longshoremen evicted from their plantation homes in keeping with the old employer policy of paternalism refused to be divided into the three basic groups — Hawaiian Japanese and Filipino — and moved out in a body and remained out over a protracted period (208 days). The significant element this time was the presence of a sophisticated labor organization which recognized racial and ethnic exploitation as one of the principal tools of the employer (Zalburg 1979 48 50).

This movement spread to the plantation workers. The United Cannery Agricultural Processing and Allied Workers CIO (UCAPAWA) began to sign up workers on Kauai. More significantly this effort attempted to organize the workers politically. Two Kauai senators members of the island aristocracy were replaced in the Territorial legislature with worker endorsed candidates a harbinger of things to come.

POST WORLD WAR II

When organizing was resumed after the period of martial law in 1944 the modern labor period may be said to have emerged. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) campaign carefully planned was based upon two basic perceptions. The first was that the employers of Hawaii — the so called Big Five — were the same employers the workers in California dealt with as warehousemen longshoremen or sugar refiners. Frequently even the corporate name was the same. The second basic principle of the organizing was that ethnic or racial distinctions served only the employers' interests. Under no circumstances would the ILWU permit these differences to intrude on the organizing drive. The union assumed from its experience with similar problems on the Pacific Coast that the union could and must focus on the social relations of production — the conditions on the job — and not on superficial distinctions. These ethnic or nationalistic considerations could be recognized and acknowledged but never permitted to become a basis for organizing (Goldblatt 1979).

The first fruit of the ILWU organizing was evident in the 1946 industry wide sugar strike. The union effectively neutralized the tactic of evicting striking workers from plantation housing with the announcement that all of the 33 000 sugar workers would vacate their houses if any were evicted thereby creating a massive problem of social welfare. Despite the use of the draconian Territorial riot and picketing statutes the strike was firm even though the union had not completed the organization of field hands. Ethnic solidarity worked to make the strike successful in this initial test of industry wide bargaining. Despite the victory the union still faced formidable tasks of consolidating its units and overcoming ethnic differences (Lelling 1980).

The employers corroborated this analysis by the ILWU leadership. Anticipating a resumption of organizing suspended during WW II the employers had organized the Hawaii Employers' Council in 1943. They installed James Blaisdell former Executive Director of the San Francisco Bay Area Warehouse Owners Association and provided him with the necessary funds and organization to deal with the same ILWU he had met so often since 1936.

Between 1944 and 1958 the ILWU conducted a steady well planned campaign of winning for sugar pineapple and longshore workers a respectable share of the wealth these industries produced and the measure of dignity heretofore lacking in Hawaii's labor relations.

Three strikes stand out as the evidence of their basic success. The 1949 longshore strike demonstrated the ability of the workers to support and maintain a six month long strike to meet the combined power of the Territorial government and business and still win their basic demand for an end to the colonial wage pattern. The point of this

strike was to convince both the community and the workers that the workers could and must make such objectives their goal. They did.

The second strike demonstrated the ability of the ILWU to successfully incorporate a nationalistic tendency into their strategy. In the disastrous 1947 pineapple strike the union suffered a serious setback in the form of humiliating contract conditions. The workers at *Hawaiian Pine* on Lanai all Filipino sought and secured permission of the leadership to reject the subsequent contract in 1951. As Louis Goldblatt of the ILWU (1979) explained there were no traditional strike issues. These guys were angry at the company because of their contemptuous treatment over the years. For over 200 days the Filipino workers held out inflicting a loss of over \$25 000 000 on the company. When the company asked for settlement the ILWU used the occasion to restore industry wide bargaining which had been lost in 1947 a wage increase and most of the social community demands of the Lanai strikers.

The third strike was perhaps the most decisive. For obscure reasons the employers — basically the Big Five — decided to force a showdown with the ILWU over the 1958 sugar contract. The union had prepared for just such an eventuality by building up a large strike defense fund.

The Aloha Strike so called for its good spirit and community support lasted for 179 days. The ILWU secured an impressive retirement program a housing policy which made available reasonable cost housing for its members a comprehensive medical coverage program which included families and a meaningful wage increase. A sugar worker at this point was almost literally a white collar worker in terms of benefits and job security. Mechanization had taken its toll of the work force but the workers through their union had secured a greater portion of the returns from mechanization than in any other industry.

Kent (1983) characterizes the ILWU as a union which "sold out" in 1952 by abandoning its Marxist principles and dismisses them from any further consideration. It is difficult to understand just what is meant. Given the National Labor Relations Act which carefully controls the scope of labor negotiations Marxist principles are never on the bargaining table. Maintaining a high level of worker participation in a highly democratic organization the ILWU would seem to be one of the more successful unions in achieving the Marxist goal of raising worker consciousness while building a strong organization.

THE QUESTION OF STATEHOOD AND THE MODERN POLITICAL ECONOMY

Both Kent (1983) and Stauffer (1984) see in statehood a decisive step in Hawaii's modern development — a step into the maws of world capitalism and regressive development. The development of the tourist

industry is seen as the direct outcome of this manifestation. Stauffer characterizes the situation by showing that in 1950 local capitalists had approximately \$44 million *more* invested in outside corporations than in local corporations which created a positive balance for Hawaii. By 1971 the situation was reversed and outside capital *exceeded* local capital by \$763 million resulting in a corresponding outflow of payments. A further evidence of the decline of the Hawaiian situation is seen in the heavy spending for infrastructure such as roads, airports, sewers and water systems. As Stauffer puts it, not only was the private sector 'sold off' but a heavy public debt was incurred as well.

Here one needs to step back and examine the national picture. State and local capital outlays had risen dramatically in the last two decades. Simply put, the expansion of population, the movement into the suburbs, and the long neglect of the infrastructure occasioned by the Depression and World War II, required massive outlays of funds. State and local borrowings increased on the order of 339% and 236% respectively in the period from 1950 to 1964. This was in dollar terms from \$2 billion in 1945 to 23.1 billion in 1971 for state borrowings (O'Connor 1973: 195).

In this context, Hawaii's rapid increase in bonded debt appears in line with the national experience. In that same period, Hawaii reversed a long term population decline and began to rapidly increase its population, which, without regard to tourism needs, would have required an expansion of infrastructure.

More important than the sources of the capital are such facts as the development of the trans-ocean airplane which made feasible the transportation of large numbers of new, relatively low income tourists, as compared to the Lurline class of tourists. One has only to read of the near bankruptcy of Matson in 1950 and the comical operation of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel on the American Plan to realize the difference between modern mass market tourism and the older elite, relaxed tourism catering to the wealthy (Worden 1981: 123-124).

The impetus to develop Hawaii's tourist industry came initially from local investors anxious to reverse the losses incurred after World War II and to increase the flow of profits from their investments in local concerns. Harold Rice badgered American Factors in 1955 into changing the Kaanapali Coast from a poor sugar growing area to a profitable land development scheme. He was tired of seeing all the revenue from Pioneer Mill going to American Factors, and he was especially incensed that Pioneer Mill had paid no dividend since 1944. What bothered many of the wealth holders in Hawaii was the relative failure of Hawaii corporations to show the rapid appreciation in the price of securities as compared to what their holdings in mainland corporations were showing. This resulted in a demand for an end to the incestuous interlocking, now unprofitable corporate management and a summoning of executive talent (Fuchs 1961: 393-394).

And what was the response of the workers to this rapidly changing economy? In the service sector, i.e. the urban areas, the workers were ready and more than willing to carve out their share of the proceeds. The militancy evinced by the plantation had long since spilled over to the urban Honolulu worker. In 1952, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 5 served notice on the newly organized profitable Matson hotels that the workers were ready to receive *their* share of the proceeds. The situation can be described by a quote from the *Honolulu Advertiser*. Led by an alien rabble rouser [Art Rutledge], some 800 workers walked out of the three Matson resorts here Thursday leaving 11,500 guests of Hawaii in a state of confusion, frustration and disgust. (Reinecke 1970: 22-23).

The conclusion of that strike was seen by the members of Local 5 as having a significant meaning. After two weeks, the strike was settled. More important than actual gains was the respect that Local 5 won for its strength and militancy. (Worden 1973: 122). The workers and their organization clearly understood the nature of the changes taking place and made a vigorous effort to establish their rights and position. That the effort was not always successful is only a comment on the resilience of capitalism and the ongoing struggle which confronts labor. One cannot assume, as do Kent and Stauffer, that somehow local capital or some alternative pattern of development was available.

One can use the core periphery model to examine the situation confronting workers in Hawaii, but not in terms of the world capitalism model of dependency theory. On a national level, we are confronted with a consolidation of large scale capital — truly an era of monopoly capitalism. This development has

produced two distinct types of business enterprise in the United States. A few hundred corporations with extensive market power at the center or core. Around them, in industries or branches of industry that the big corporations have not yet invaded, nearly 12 million small and medium sized firms — the economy's periphery — continue to survive. (Edwards 1979: 72).

In this stage of capitalism, we find a considerable change in the conditions confronting the Hawaiian working class. With plantation labor converted into a stable, well paid class of skilled workers, the basic employment opportunity remaining in Hawaii is to be found in what has been called the secondary market — the preserve of dead end, low paid casual labor. It was to that arena that the ILWU turned in 1958, recognizing that further organization of the working class could only come in the service sector — the area of prospective growth.

The major unions in construction and the service industry have long recognized that if the *local* people were to be able to remain in Hawaii, there would have to be a considerable expansion of employment. Con

struction was the most promising way of creating high wage employment. Their endorsement of the Democratic Party program of development may have been short sighted and may have produced an inferior development. No reasonable alternatives for employment of local people came forward.

The alternative to development in the decade since statehood was emigration for employment or poverty in Hawaii. From the perspective of a young person seeking employment, carpentry or hotel work offered a more attractive prospect than *unstable* alternatives. The realities of the American economy cannot be overcome by structural analyses which disguise the nature of the transformation of the national economy. By 1979, 43 per cent of all Americans employed in the non-agricultural economy worked in services or trades. Put another way, since 1973, more than 70% of all *new* jobs in the private sector have been in these two low paid, short time, dead end sectors of employment (Rothschild 1981). Hawaii, like the rest of the United States, has been moving toward a structure of employment ever more dominated by jobs that are badly paid, unchanging and unproductive. That the unions have not been as successful in altering these conditions in the tourist industry as they were in the basic industries of Hawaii suggests only that the character of the opposition has changed.

Workers in the United States generally have not been successful in coping with the rapid development of service sector, low wage, low security employment.

The working class has been unable to challenge capitalist hegemony because it is split into fractions. Each of these fractions has different immediate interests and has pursued these separate interests in the political arena. The result has been a demise of class interests and the rise of fraction issues (Edwards 1979:203).

Here in Hawaii, as elsewhere, the worker has been isolated by the shift of grievance procedures away from the work site. This loss of job control has been accompanied by a corresponding tendency toward formalistic, bureaucratic union administration (Brody 1978:198-211).

Despite these setbacks, workers in Hawaii and their unions continue to struggle. Organizing in the hostile environment of the National Labor Relations Board, the union record here is about equal to that of mainland unions — they win slightly less than half of the representation elections entered. No Union is a frequent winner — evidence of the massive anti union campaign launched by the media and by corporations and now joined if not led by government.

Confronted with unemployment and decreasing welfare assistance, workers are frequently forced to choose between a tourism development or no job. One cannot assume that history has stopped or that the basic struggle of class interests has ceased. The old class lines of

cleavage continue to exert their force, only now they do so within the context of class fraction politics (Edwards 1978:201). In a capitalist political economy, the workers do not dictate the terms of struggle. The only point about which we can be certain is that the class struggle will continue. There is no guarantee of short term victory. As one working class leader put it, 'A revolution is not a dinner party'. Out of this situation can come a new level of struggle and working class unity. An essential pre condition is to recognize the problem and not to blame the victim for the crime.

NOTES

- 1 The classic example of this type of history is Ralph Kuykendall's *The Hawaiian Kingdom* 3 vols (1958). Gavin Daws' *A Shoal of Time* (1968) is a modern version of this type of history, heavily dependent upon Kuykendall, but trying to develop a synthesis from the mass of data. A somewhat different approach was tried by Lawrence Fuchs in *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (1961). A most useful, but often flawed work, *Hawaii Pono* relies upon mass produced research which often creates careless stereotypes and has a poor grasp of labor. A little noted book, probably the best single effort at an analysis, is John Reinecke's *Language and Dialect in Hawaii* (1969). Reinecke locates the development of the Hawaiian creole language in the political economy of Hawaiian development. See particularly Chapters 3 and 5.
- 2 The word *metropole* is the obsolete form of metropolis, the parent state of a colony (See Frank 1967:1969). For a comparison of countries and their experiences, see Crockcroft *et al* 1975 and Baran 1957. Fagan (1983) gives a general comment on these theories of development.
- 3 The most eloquent use of this concept is by E. P. Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). See also Meszaros (1971) and Hobsbawm (1971).
- 4 False consciousness is used here in the manner of Georg Lukacs. The basic categories of man's immediate attitude to the world (Lukacs 1971:89). See also Gabel (1975).
- 5 In pre contact Hawaii, the chiefly system depended upon a distribution of the land to subordinate chiefs, who in turn made it available to commoners. The commoner's principal attachment was to his extended family and particular ohana (Handy & Handy 1972).

- 6 The survey found Hawaiians were indolent and indifferent to attempts to engage them in wage labor unless wages were high. In those situations particularly in Lahaina and Honolulu there was no shortage of Hawaiian workers at adequate wages (Robert Wiley, Minister of Foreign Affairs, *Annual Report 1848* Answers to Questions Addressed to all Missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands May 1846.)
- 7 Marx describes this tendency in a vivid passage. The enemies of progress outside the mass are precisely those products of *self debasement*, *self rejection* and *self estrangement* of the mass which have been endowed with independent being and a life of their own. The mass therefore rises against its own deficiency when it rises against the independently existing products of its *self debasement*, just as man turning against the existence of God turns against his own religiousity. But as practical self estrangements of the mass exist in the real world in an outward way, the mass must fight them in an outward way. (Marx 1956: 110-111. Emphasis in the original.)
- 8 The Hawaii Penal Code of 1850 was unique among the indenture acts employed in world sugar production in that it made no distinction between native workers and imported labor save in the permissible term of indenture — five years for local labor and up to ten years for imported labor when the contract was signed abroad. This latter provision was never effective since political circumstances and international considerations dictated much shorter periods. Basically three years became the common period of indenture after 1885 and five years prior to that time. For example, the British authorities would not permit the signing of contracts of Chinese workers abroad. When the worker arrived in Hawaii, the five year rule could be applied. The Japanese government dictated the three year term for Japanese immigrant workers.
- 9 Early expansion of the Islands' sugar industry was largely financed by the mercantile houses of Honolulu. Pioneer planters generally had few resources. After 1875 local private capital resources became inadequate and the Hawaiian government had to come to the rescue. (Mollett 1961: 61.)

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THE TRAGIC MATURING OF HAWAII'S ECONOMY

Robert H Stauffer¹

The removal of a large share of the affected countries' previously accumulated and currently generated surplus [capital can] not but cause a serious setback to their primary accumulation of capital (Baran 1968 143)

This article explores the current status of Hawaii's balance of trade and investment with the mainland U.S. and the rest of the world. It goes on to discuss the effect of these investment patterns on the islands' business classes and local government. The impact of Hawaii's maturing economy on its people is then addressed. This article argues that we must distinguish between growth for outside capital and true economic development which benefits all sectors of Hawaii's population. Growth for outside capital can occur independently and sometimes to the detriment of true local development.

CURRENT BALANCE OF TRADE

When looking at the modern era in Hawaii's economy, it is noteworthy that a primary device used to drum up public support for Hawaii's statehood was the old saw: taxation without representation. That is, Hawaii's residents sent taxes to Washington before 1959 but could not elect voting members to Congress to decide what share of that money would come back to the islands. The implication was that the islands' residents would get a fairer share of federal tax monies if they became a state and opened their shores up that much more to American investors.

What is not mentioned in the record of the struggle for statehood is that in 1958, for every \$1.00 sent to Washington as federal government payments, Hawaii received \$2.39 in government services, while in 1980 island residents received only \$1.96 for every dollar sent to Washington (Department of Planning and Economic Development 1982a: 162, 3, 172, 3).² Other figures show that while Hawaii had a positive net balance of trade in 1958 of \$129.7 million (in 1980 dollars), by 1980 the corresponding figure was a negative \$529.7 million.

The islands as a whole exported \$100 million for every \$144 million imported in 1958, creating a preliminary negative balance in the *current account* of \$497.6 million. (See the appendix example for an introduction to these types of balance of trade figures.) Hawaii did not need to draw on its reserves, borrow money, or sell off its assets to balance its trade (the standard solutions discussed in the appendix). Instead, it received economic aid in the form of the above-mentioned federal subsidies. These federal subsidies³ funneled to the islands were so substantial in 1958 that Hawaii had a final *positive* balance of trade of

\$129.7 million. Once the Washington subsidies were included for every \$1.00 of goods and services exported, imports were kept under 93 cents.

The *current account* was therefore balanced and the economy appeared healthy. But as the economy matured things changed. By 1980 the preliminary balance of trade ratio — not counting federal subsidies — was only slightly improved: \$1.41 in imports (cf. \$1.44 in 1958) for every \$1.00 exported. But because of the growth of the economy, the size of the negative balance of trade was over two billion dollars, and there was no equivalent growth in federal subsidies to balance the current account.

As will be shown in this article, the expansion of the economy since statehood is closely tied to the sale of local productive assets to non-residents and the creation of new assets under non-resident ownership. One result of this has been that the preliminary negative balance of trade has grown to 18.3% of the Gross State Product (GSP) versus only 13.8% in 1958. Put another way, as the economy grew, so did both the real and the relative size of the slice of the current account owned by overseas investors (Heller & Heller, 1973).

The current account figures provide an *indirect* method of tracing the proportion of overseas owned productive assets in Hawaii. Published by the State of Hawaii's Department of Planning and Economic Development (DPED, 1982a), these figures show the trade of goods and services between Hawaii and overseas locations, including the U.S. mainland. The figures include the payment by Hawaii of interest on loans and the payment of profits on Hawaii's assets which are owned by overseas investors. The figures show that an increasing amount of fees and profits has been exported since 1959, reflecting the declining local ownership of Hawaii's productive assets.

By 1980 the federal subsidies — relatively smaller since island residents gained representation for their taxation — could not stem the flow of local funds lost to non-residents. Instead of the positive *net* \$129.7 million balance of accounts posted in 1958, the total balance for 1980 was *negative* and over one-half billion dollars. In effect, for every \$1.00 of goods exported in 1980, instead of a net 93 cents in imports as in 1958, there was now \$1.08. This represents a relative decline in Hawaii's balance of its external accounts of over 16% since 1958 (DPED 1982a 20.1.26.7.172.3).

This negative external balance is not just a matter of losing previously accumulated as well as currently generated surplus. It can be argued that this loss means a decline in the local economy and a loss of jobs because the rate of re-investment of profits in Hawaii may not be as high as it might be if profits remained here. It can be further argued that this loss leads to a general decline in average per capita disposable income and wages with its corresponding drop in living standards.

Another implication of the depletion of Hawaii's locally owned capi-

tal stock is a deepening dependence on outside sources for investment capital, leading to further debt. This, in turn, only leads to higher levels of current account loss as the profits and fees exported to non-residents (\$1.4 billion in 1980 alone) continue to rise. Indeed, it can be argued that these supplies of non-resident capital could have been, until only recently, Hawaiian-owned.⁴

Beyond these arguments, however, it remains the case that the \$529.7 million negative external balance in 1980 — to use the words of the State's economists — conceptually indicates a claim held by non-residents on future production by Hawaii (DPED 1982a 171). The net result of the maturing of the Hawaiian economy is that local residents are, in effect, involuntarily or unknowingly mortgaging their future surplus labor to satisfy current costs and to cover profits sent to non-residents.

In summary, Hawaii has a net external investment account which is negative (see Figure 1).

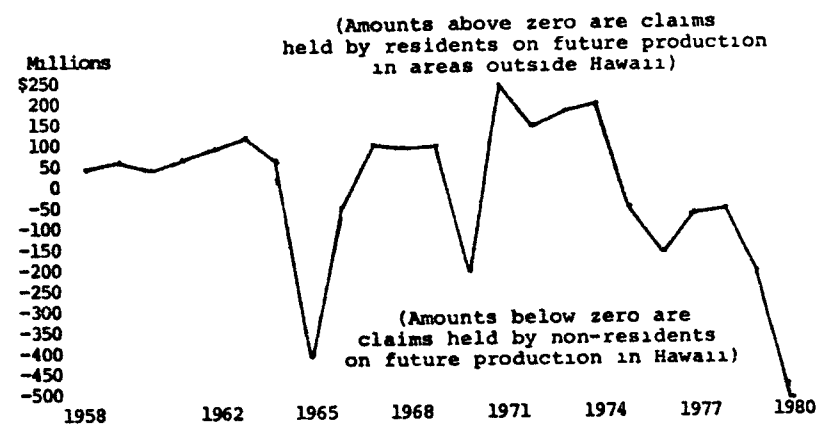


Figure 1 Annual Net External Investments Owed to (or by) Non-Residents in Millions of Current Dollars 1958-1980 (DPED 1982a 172-3)

It has a *negative* balance of trade equal annually to nearly a fifth of its Gross State Product (see Figure 2). It has a growing amount of exported funds in the forms of profits and fees paid to non-residents equal to one eighth of its annual Gross State Product (see Figure 3). And it has a general evacuation of its remaining major locally controlled enterprises and reserves of capital (DPED 1982a 172.3). Judging by recent trends, it seems likely that this decline in the status of local capital

stock and Hawaii's general standard of living will continue unless economic policies are changed

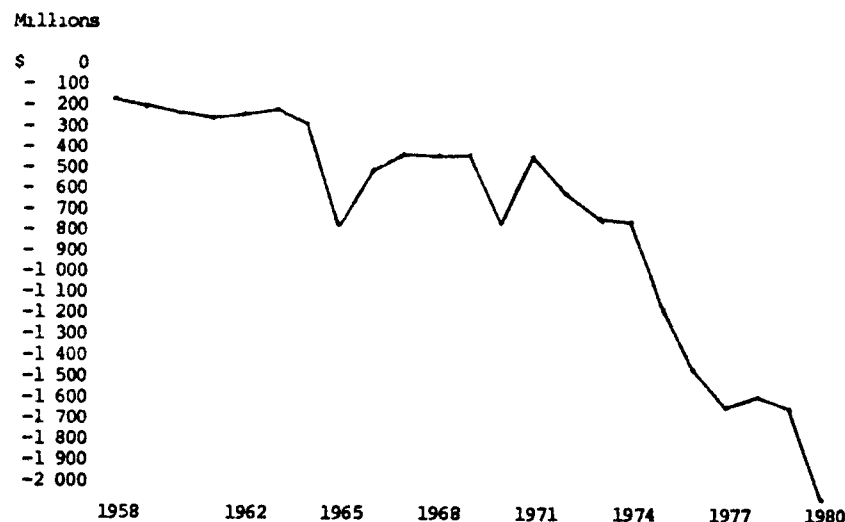


Figure 2 Annual Hawaiian Balance of Trade in Millions of Current Dollars 1958-1980 (DPED 1982a 172-3)

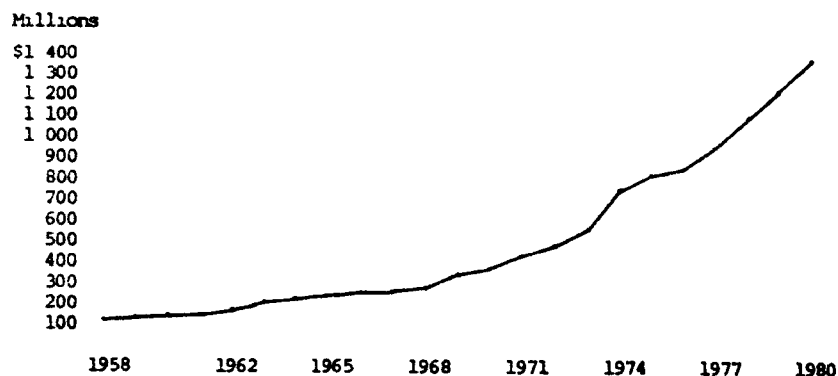


Figure 3 Annual Outflow of Local Funds via Payment of Fees and Profits to Non-Residents in Millions of Current Dollars 1958-1980 (DPED 1982a 172-3)

THE BUSINESS SECTOR

The maturing of Hawaii's economy at least since 1958 has produced changes in the relative size of the slices of the economic pie (GSP). There has been a 4.1% decline in the share of GSP going to labor (see Figure 4).⁵

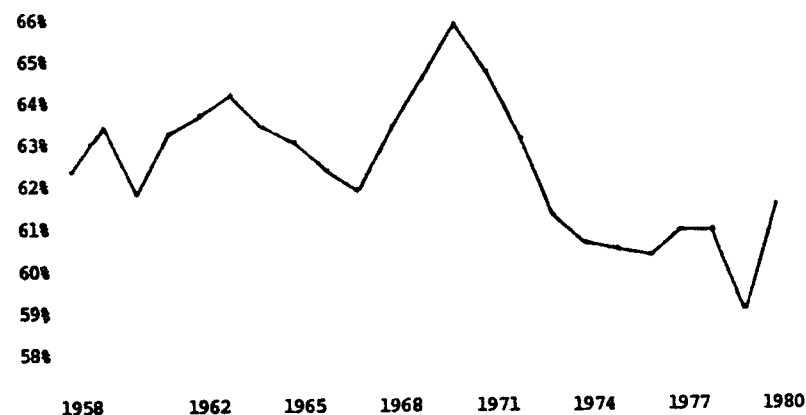


Figure 4 Wage and Salaried Workers' Income as a Percentage of the Gross State Product 1958-1980 (DPED 1982a 20-1 1983a 1)

and a substantial 38.3% cut to the small business class share (see Figure 5). Note the general decline in the small business class share of the economy during the first third of the 1958-80 period. This was followed by a further decline of 25.1% during the second third and another decline of 17.6% during the most recent period, making a total drop of 38.3% clearly leaving the small business class the hardest hit since statehood.

During the first third of the 1958-80 period the big business class share of the economy's income actually declined slightly followed by another small (under 1%) decline in the second third. During the most recent period however the big business class slice increased in size 34.1% for a total gain of 33.4% (see Figure 6).

The general flow of investment into Hawaii in recent times has coincided with three distinct changes relating to big business. First the relative decline in the role of the *local* resident big business class as compared with the *non resident* big business class. Second the reduced

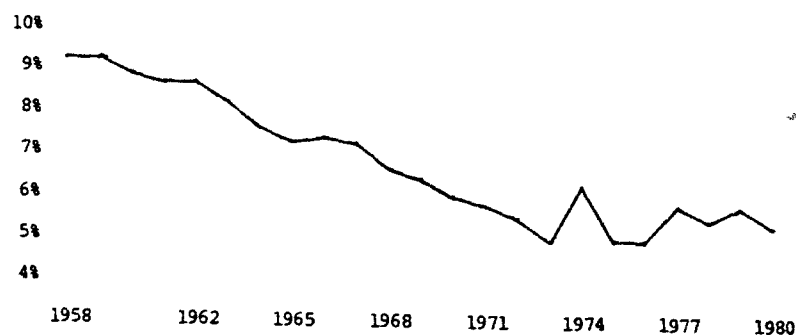


Figure 5 Small Business Class Income as a Percentage of the GSP 1958-1980 (DPED 1982a 20-1 1983a 1)

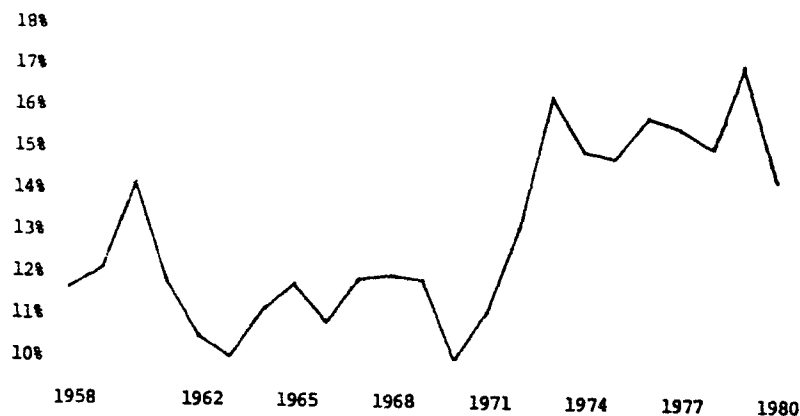


Figure 6 Big Business Class Income as a Percentage of the GSP 1958-1980 (DPED 1982a 20-1 1983a 1)

local role of the old line Hawaii corporations as compared with overseas capital. And third, the decreasing portions of these local corporations owned by residents.

Although the proportion of the GSP accounted for by the local big business class has expanded at the expense of labor and small business

that expansion is small compared with the amount of capital exported overseas to Hawaii's true present big business class — the primarily non resident owners of Hawaii's productive assets. These are individual investors and corporations based on the U.S. mainland and in Japan, S.E. Asia, the Middle East and other overseas locations.

Hawaii's local big businesses are also on a relative decline. Of the six large companies which formerly made up Hawaii's main corporate structure, three have been sold outright to outside interests. The stock of the remaining three is increasingly held by outsiders, and the present areas of investment of these companies are away from the islands. Two of these have announced the move of their headquarters out of Hawaii, and the other is expected to follow.

The three local companies owned by non residents are C. Brewer & Company, Theo H. Davies and Dillingham Corporation. Amfac and Castle & Cook have announced their corporate move away from the islands, and the remaining company — Alexander & Baldwin — has large corporate offices outside of Hawaii.

Table 1 shows the proportion of locally owned stock in major Hawaii corporations as of December 31, 1982. In the spring of 1983, Dillingham Corporation converted to a closely held private corporation primarily owned by non residents and no longer trades its stock openly.

Table 1 Stockholdings (in Thousands of Shares) of Hawaii Residents in Selected Major Hawaiian Companies 1982 (DPED 1983b 407)

Company	Shares held in Hawaii	
	Number Of Shares	Percentage of Total Company Stock
Alexander and Baldwin Inc	3,979	43.3
Amfac Inc	2,850	19.1
Bancorp Hawaii Inc (owner of Bank of Hawaii)	2,739	36.0
Castle and Cooke Inc	2,975	10.6
C. Brewer & Co. Inc	0	0.0
Dillingham Corp	4,470	32.5
First Hawaiian Inc (owner of First Hwn Bank)	2,139	63.9
Hawaiian Elec. Co. Inc	2,336	31.5
Hawaiian Telephone Co.	0	0.0
Maui Land & Pine Co. Inc	1,592	88.4
Pacific Resources Inc	7,132	65.7
Theo H. Davies & Co. Inc	0	0.0

Of the twelve major corporations listed in Table 1, only three are listed as having majority resident control. But even this figure is misleading. For example, in interviews with executives of the companies concerned, it was found that the 20% of Pacific Resources stock

held by Alexander and Baldwin is considered locally owned. But A & B is in turn primarily owned by non residents. Over 28% of First Hawaiian's stock considered locally owned is held by the Damon Estate and A & B. Damon's beneficiaries in turn are primarily non residents.

Maui Land and Pine, a relatively small firm concentrated on Maui which has been experiencing losses recently due to its unsuccessful diversification into the tourist industry is the only one of the 12 firms truly locally owned (by two principal stockholding blocks).

What does this mean? Simply that the economy had previously been organized in a local hierarchical system with surplus flowing to the top. The top was made up of local residents who tended to keep the surplus capital at home through re-investment and through maintaining local ownership of local productive assets. But now that the top has been largely bought out, the surplus is increasingly exported to non-resident owners. The potential for local political or labor influence on this outside capital is naturally slimmer than previously existed with local capital.

But that is only half of the picture. While being bought out, the old Big Six have also been humbled by a build up of new productive assets through direct outside investment (much like the Honolulu owned build up of hotels on Kauai in the appendix example). This has resulted in a further increase in the amount of funds exported as fees and profits.

The exported fees and profits represent surplus no longer available for investment in the local economy. So large is this lost surplus that the \$1.4 billion exported in fees and profits from Hawaii in 1980⁶ could have paid all local sales taxes, corporate income taxes, individual income taxes and real estate taxes.

The money paid in fees and profits to non residents represented 12.1% of the GSP. In effect, the first hour everyone worked every day of that year went into the creation of wealth which was then entirely paid to non residents.

According to a Bank of Hawaii economist, the bulk of these payments to non residents are bankwired out of Hawaii the evening after they are accumulated and deposited. These funds added up to \$1,400 for every man, woman and child in the islands, so an average family of five saw itself short \$7,000 in after tax cash because of the fees and profits paid to non residents. This outflow in the current account equaled \$4 million daily or \$2,500 every minute of every day.

The outflow of \$1.4 billion in 1980 was not purely profits, to be sure. It was made up of three roughly equal types of payments to non residents. One third consisted of profits. Another third was payments for fees. Quite often, however, such fees are a form of transferring funds to a home office for services rendered and are a form of profit transfer. The final third consisted of payments for things such as flights on non locally owned airlines.

Obviously, the last group of payments and some of the second group are not all pure profits being exported. Yet, if these home offices and transportation companies had been locally owned, the funds would have stayed in Hawaii and strengthened the local economy. Thirty years ago, most of the companies operating in Hawaii, including the Matson shipping company with its monopoly on Hawaiian U.S. transport, were locally owned.

The exported fees and profits have increased in size by 296.1% as adjusted for inflation between 1958 and 1980 (DPED 1982a 26.7.172.3).⁷ This is a change from 1953 when instead of exporting profits there was an importing of net profits to local residents. Hawaii received \$26 million income on its investments overseas that year, and only \$23 million was returned overseas on investments in Hawaii. Since then, exported profits have increased nearly 60 times over, and there has never been another year of net imports of profits (Schmitt 1977:555).

* * *

During the modern period when the Hawaiian economy has been undergoing its particular type of development, small business proprietorships have been particularly hard hit. In 1958, 86.3% of them made a profit. By the late 1970s, this figure dropped to 65.8%, meaning that over a third of the proprietorships actually were losing money (Schmitt 1977:568.9; DPED 1982b:378). In the same period, small business share of the GSP steadily declined (see Figure 7).

During the first third of the 1958-80 period, the proportion of economic activity accounted for by small business declined somewhat. During the second third, there was a further decline of 24.8%, and in the current period it fell another 38.8% for a net decline to the small business class of 54.0% (see Figure 7).

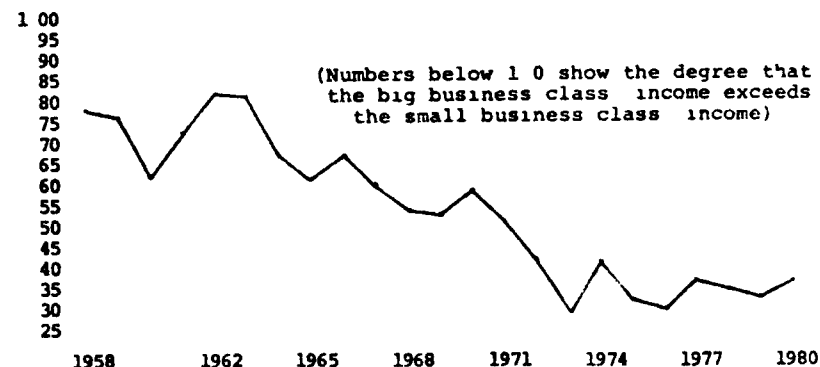


Figure 7 Ratio of Small to Big Business Incomes 1958-1980 (DPED 1982a 20-1 1983a 1)

These adverse trends for small business have not come about by accident or oversight. The government of the State of Hawaii has energetically worked toward a particular type of economic development. Total business taxes as a percentage of government revenue fell by 13.9% between 1958 and 1980 while the percentage contributed by personal taxes paid by residents has risen 36.9% (DPED 1982a 64-5). But the government has not favored all business equally. Government policies have actually increased local small business taxes while providing relative reductions in total business taxes primarily to non-resident big business owners and speculators.

As general business taxes have been proportionately cut, the tax burden on local small business proprietors has actually *increased* due to two major factors. First, big business can purchase away from Hawaii their wholesale goods and services which go into their final products sold in Hawaii. Such purchases are spared much of the weight of the state's wholesale business tax, as is the case for all transactions dealing with local commerce consummated outside the state. Local small business, not enjoying such a wide field of maneuver, must therefore carry the full brunt of such taxes on purchases and sales. Secondly, there has been a shift in the local business tax system towards regressive employer taxes which hit small businesses the hardest while completely exempting speculators.

As a result of these policies, labor-intensive small businesses which purchase goods locally are penalized and driven out of the marketplace while capital-intensive big businesses which purchase goods outside the state, or simply speculate locally, pay a much smaller percentage of their incomes as tax.

While it is outside of the scope of this article, a preliminary analysis of government policies regarding the taxation and subsidy of businesses in Hawaii has uncovered the following rules:

- (1) Rewards are given to businesses with dealings outside Hawaii and penalties are given to those businesses making local purchases.
- (2) Rewards go to investors and speculators and penalties go to employers.
- (3) Rewards are given to capital-intensive mechanization and penalties to job-creating employers.
- (4) Rewards flow to employers of part-time labor and penalties go to full-time employers and
- (5) Rewards are made to businesses which utilize labor not covered by social insurance programs (through various manipulations of labor laws) while penalties accrue to those employers who do give full social insurance program coverage to their labor force (Stauffer 1982).

Some writers suggest that the particular type of economic growth seen in Hawaii should be labeled *dependent* development (e.g. Kent 1983). This theory holds that with expanding Gross National or State

Products coinciding with declining real wages and a loss of local control over local productive assets, local economies become dependent on outside sources of capital for further economic growth.⁸ In 1950, for example, Hawaii residents had \$44 million *more* in investments outside Hawaii than non-residents had in the islands. By 1971, this situation was reversed and non-residents held \$763 million more in investments in the islands than vice versa (Schmitt 1977:557).

GOVERNMENT POLICY

The State of Hawaii receives a majority of its revenue from a unique pyramid tax (similar to a Value Added Tax or VAT) that is not charged directly to final retail buyers but rather is a tax of varying amounts charged to all wholesale and retail sellers. A senior state tax department official has estimated that if the state's VAT-type tax was converted to a normal sales tax, it would need to be raised from its current limit of 4% up to 11% or more to generate the current level of revenue. While the tax appears low (0.5% to 4%), Hawaii actually has the *de facto* highest sales tax equivalent (a regressive form of taxation) in the country.⁹

Primarily because county government does not pay for public education in Hawaii, the county real estate taxes charged to landowners are some of the lowest in the nation.

Total state tax collections for 1980 were \$1.1 billion, including state VAT, income and corporate taxes. Total tax collections for the counties were \$0.2 billion, for a total of just under \$1.3 billion. If exported fees and profits to non-residents (\$1.4 billion) went towards government services, *all* local taxes could have been abolished in 1980, and there still would have been a surplus for the year of over \$90 million to spend on further public purposes (Chamber of Commerce 1983:4).

Local public debt has increased from \$214.4 million in 1958 to \$925.5 million in 1971 to \$2,359.5 million in 1982 (DPED 1983b:267; Schmitt 1977:649). Local governments have primarily kept their credit alive through their protective relationship with the federal government. Without such easily acquired credit, a very real fiscal crisis might have already arisen.

It is a common misconception that local government has impropor-tionally expanded in relation to the GSP since 1958. In actuality, local government has simply maintained its position relative to the GSP. However, who is paying for local government *has* changed.

The wealthy have seen the percentage of government revenues contributed by local inheritance taxes *fall* by 17.5% between 1958 and 1980. Corporate income taxes have *fallen* a relative 23.3%. Personal income taxes — the bulk of which is paid by average income people — have *risen* 28.2%. Non-taxes like car registration fees, which are the most regressive form of local government revenue because they hit the common citizen the hardest, have *risen* 90.3% (DPED 1982a:66-7).

Federal government actions in Hawaii have followed a similar pattern.

over the past two and a half decades. While the size of the federal involvement in Hawaii has remained about the same (or shown a slight decrease) in relation to Hawaii's GSP, federal taxes have shifted away from the big business class to the citizenry.

In an effort to make up the loss in revenue no longer collected from the rich, residents have seen government, especially since 1980, raising social security, gasoline and other regressive tax and non tax revenue programs aimed at the general public. Where these new taxes have not been sufficient, public debt has been expanded which in turn increases the amount of government expenditures paid to the debt service account (i.e. payments to primarily wealthy non resident investors in the public debt).

In the current State biennium budget (1983-85) for example, the poor's primary welfare program costs \$91 million or \$45 per resident annually in taxes, while the debt servicing program costs roughly \$300 million or \$148 per resident. The welfare program is actually shrinking as its 4.5% annual growth rate is less than the rate of inflation. Meanwhile, the debt servicing program, already over three times larger, is expanding with a 10% annual growth rate (Tax Foundation of Hawaii 1983:4-5).

While local government has remained about the same size in proportion to the GSP, who pays its taxes and who gets its benefits has changed. As a whole, it would appear that the rich, and primarily the non resident big business class, have benefited in both cases.

WAGE AND SALARY WORKERS

If local big and small businesses have been hurt, the effects of the maturing Hawaiian economy have been felt most acutely by the average residents of the islands who work for a salary or wage. Between 1970 and 1982, the average annual wage and salary payments per worker in Hawaii declined in real terms by 22.3% (see Table 2).

One common response to these statistics is that at least Hawaii has a relatively low rate of unemployment. But so did the antebellum (pre Civil War) American South. Jobs *per se* should never be the focus of discussion. Jobs *adequate to support a family* should be (see Table 4). Furthermore, Hawaii's level of disguised unemployment and under employment may also be substantial. Women, while historically a major part of Hawaii's work force, may well be feeling the brunt of these factors, together with certain ethnic groups (Chinen 1984).

Another common response to these statistics was voiced by an economist who suggested that the real wage declines shown in Table 2 should be understood in the context of similar trends in the U.S. as a whole. Hawaii's decline in wages, however, has been notably worse than the U.S. as a whole, as will be discussed later in this article.

Table 2: Average Annual Wage and Salary Payments in Constant (1970) Dollars per Worker by Category of Worker: 1970, 1980, and 1982 (DPED 1982b:290; 1983b:322-3:372)

Category of Worker	1970	1980	1982	(Percent Change)	
				1970-1981	1980-1982
Federal	\$9,752	9,480	8,732	-10.5	-7.9
State	8,759	6,367	6,478	-26.0	+1.7
County	8,726	6,658	6,645	-23.8	-0.2
Private	6,849	5,694	5,339	-22.0	-6.2
Total	7,424	6,075	5,768	-22.3	-5.1

Table 3: Average Annual Wage and Salary Payments per Worker as Compared to the Cost of Living, Both in Current Dollars: 1970, 1981, and 1982 (DPED 1982b:290; 1983b:32-372)

	1970	1981	1982	(Percent Change)	
				1970-1981	1981-1982
Total Workers	\$7,424	14,471	15,367	107.0	6.2
Index (1970=100)	100.0	194.9	207.0		
Family Budget	\$12,776	31,893	34,032	166.4	6.7
Index (1970=100)	100.0	249.6	266.4		

* Family Budget is the intermediate budget for an urban family of four persons on Oahu as estimated by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. It includes consumption, gifts and contributions, social security, disability payments, and personal income taxes.

While wages have dropped in real terms in Hawaii, they have nevertheless shown increases in current dollar terms. The current cost of living, however, rose during this period at a rate 55.5% faster than the rise in wages (see Table 3). For every dollar in pay raises between 1970 and 1982, the cost of living rose \$1.56.

While this is startling enough the fact is that wages are continuing to fall behind the cost of supporting a family at an accelerating rate (DPED 1982b 290 1983b 322 372)

In 1970 two average salaries in Hawaii produced \$14 848 while an average family budget was \$12 776 permitting all the bills to be paid by two working parents with 16% of the family's income left over. By 1982 this positive balance was replaced with a *shortfall* of 10% (DPED 1982b 290 1983b 322 372)

The average local wage in 1982 was \$15 367 with a moderate family of four's budget estimated at \$34 032. The recent development of declining real wages means that both spouses working average full time jobs cannot even provide a moderate standard of living for their family. This fact has long been true for workers in the high profitable (i.e. high surplus producing) hotel industry where an average wage of \$11 004 in 1982 meant two spouses holding down three full time jobs still could not make ends meet for a moderate standard of living (see Table 4). Apologists for the figures shown in Table 4 argue that the low rate of pay for retail and hotel jobs should be understood within the context

Table 4 Comparison Between Cost of Living and Wages/Salaries for Various Job Categories 1982 (DPED 1983b 322 372)

Category	Amount	Number of Full-Time Jobs Needed by Parent(s) to Support Family
Family Budget	\$34 032	n/a
Avg Pay All Industries	15 367	2 2
Avg Pay Federal Jobs	23 263	1 5
Avg Pay State Jobs	17 258	2 0
Avg Pay County Jobs	17 703	1 9
Avg Pay All Private Jobs	14 223	2 4
Avg Pay Ag Jobs	13 370	2 5
Avg Pay Light Industry including Mill Jobs	16 015	2 1
Avg Pay Retail Jobs	9 428	3 6
Avg Pay Hotel Jobs	11 004	3 1

that a greater proportion of part timers students etc are employed in those industries as opposed to career oriented workers (Indeed most workers in the hotel and service industries are part time. This means that the part time salaries actually received by hotel and retail workers are actually below the already low figures shown in Table 4. As such the 3 6 or 3 1 jobs needed by parents in these industries to support their families may be underestimates.)

But the scarcity of even moderate paying jobs and the expansion of job opportunities primarily in the retail and hotel industries (and at the above noted wage levels) does not bring welcome news to the serious career oriented adult facing today's job market in Hawaii.¹⁰ In any event it is a fact of life that it now takes 2 2 full time average paying jobs in Hawaii to support a family of four whereas in 1970 it took only 1 7 (DPED 1982b 290 1983b 322 372)

Table 5 1981 Honolulu Annual Wages and Salaries as Compared with Average Wages in Seven Similar Western U.S. Metropolitan Areas (Stanford Research Institute 1982 A-21) *

Occupation	Average Annual Wage	Percentage Below West Coast Average
Secretaries	\$12 480	20 6
Typists	10 920	3 1
Accounting Clerks	9 672	24 9
Key Punch Operators	11 648	2 5
Computer Operators	10 400	33 4
Computer Programers	18 928	7 0
Computer Systems Analysts	24 752	5 2
Electronics Technicians	17 992	12 4
Vehicle Mechanics	23 525	4 7
Truck Drivers	18 512	15 4
Shippers and Receivers	13 499	21 7
Warehousemen	16 370	3 3
Forklift Operators	13 208	32 0
Janitors Porters & Cleaners	10 400	12 3
1980 Engineering B.S. Grad	18 008	25 0

* The seven Western cities are Phoenix Arizona San Diego San Jose and Sacramento California Vancouver and Seattle/Everett Washington; and Portland Oregon

For many years it was thought that high wages locally balanced off Hawaii's cost of living. "At least wages are higher here" was a common comment. It is surprising therefore to find that despite a cost of living 32% above the mainland the average wages and salaries paid in Hawaii are not simply declining but are already largely *behind* those paid in other states particularly in the western U.S. In Table 5 for

example not a single Honolulu job classification makes more than the average in comparison cities. Honolulu is now the most expensive U.S. city to live in, having overtaken even Anchorage, Alaska (Star Bulletin 4/19/82 A5).

The decrease in wages and salaries shown in Table 4 in relation to this rising cost of living in the last decade means that if a family earned \$15,000 to pay its bills in 1970, those same bills would cost \$39,960 in 1982. However, that family's earnings from doing the same amount of work would have risen to only \$31,050, for a shortfall of \$8,910, resulting in a decline in their standard of living.

Put yet another way, in 1970 two wage earners with average incomes could pay all the costs of a moderate standard of living with a \$5,445 (1982 dollars) surplus. In 1982 the same family would have a shortfall of \$3,298. This adds up to a total decline of \$8,743, which is a drop in income of over 22%. Such a decline places the bulk of families in Hawaii now below even a moderate standard of living (DPED 1982b 290, 1983b 322-372, U.S. Bureau of Census 1981 404-471).

Robert Schmitt, the state's chief statistician, recently commented on the comparison of the local standard of living with that of the mainland:

Inflation has climbed at a faster rate in Hawaii in the last decade than it did on the Mainland.

In that same period from 1970 to 1980, Hawaii's rate of growth in per capita income was the lowest in the nation.

Hawaii's cost of living rose from about 20 percent above the national average for a four person family in 1970 to 32 percent in 1980.

At the same time, Hawaii's per capita income, which was 18 percent above the national average, had shrunk to 3 percent above the national average.

Our cost of living has increased more rapidly than the Mainland and at the same time we ranked lowest among the 50 states and the District of Columbia in percent of increase [of] per capita [income]. So we're losing ground rapidly. Sad isn't it? (Star Bulletin 5/12/81 A6)

Put another way, in 1970 wages in Hawaii were 2% below mainland wages, as adjusted for the cost of living. In 1980, however, local wages were 29% below those on the mainland on average — a relative drop of 27%. This decline was on top of a fall in mainland workers' real earnings of over 12.9% between 1973 and 1980 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1981 404).¹

In 1979, 11.5% of the total state income was paid out in profits and fees to non-residents. At home, the poorest 43.3% of resident adults in Hawaii individually received adjusted gross incomes of under \$10,000 and altogether received just 15.0% of total adjusted gross state income. This total was roughly equal to the income of the wealthiest 3.1% of resident adults that year, who individually had adjusted gross incomes

of over \$50,000 and together received 13.7% of the total adjusted state gross income. So at least some residents were profiting from the maturing local economy. Four residents had adjusted annual gross incomes of over \$500,000 in the year 1970; there were 50 in 1979 (DPED 1982b 14, 37, 239-40).

While unabashedly controversial, it is my conclusion from the above data that, with the exception of the decimation of the native population during the 18th and 19th centuries (caused primarily by the introduction of biological agents), never before in the history of Hawaii has the standard of living of the average citizen declined to such a degree and in such a relatively short time as statistics show for the 1970-1982 period.

SUMMARY

Before 1982, the Economics Division of the Bank of Hawaii provided a gauge of the local economy through their Index of Business Activity. This was a composite index of eight business indicators which were adjusted for inflation and graphed back to 1960.

The index was discontinued in April 1982 and did not go out on a note of optimism. It showed slowed growth during the recessions of 1966-70, 74 and 80. The best period of sustained growth was in the 60s (peaking around 1969 with an average sustained growth rate of 14.3%). This represents the benefits of outside investment. But after that high point came an accelerated slowdown in the 70s — verified by other economic figures discussed in this article — as the economy experienced the liabilities of outside ownership. Between 1980 and 1982, the index actually decreased at an average annual rate of 3.0%.

The 1980-82 average decline was the only negative showing in the index's history, and the decline had begun to accelerate. The last annual rate available from the bank was a 5.6% decline in 1981-82, and the final monthly figure, extrapolated at an annual rate, showed a decline of 7.2%. The bank's concluding statement on the index was that it continued its downward course and remained below the previous month's figure for the thirteenth consecutive month (Bank of Hawaii 1982:4).

It was noted earlier that expanded outside trade has produced an overall negative effect upon Hawaii. This is largely because increasing that trade volume expands the islands' deficit and so leads to a sell-off of local capital reserves or productive assets in an effort to balance the trade deficit. A second factor arguing against expanded trade is that, at least since the time of statehood, Hawaiian exports have consistently fallen behind inflation in value, while imports have consistently risen in value ahead of inflation. As such, Hawaii faces outside trade with the deck stacked against it because the price of exports and imports are not

set locally and can be — and have been — set against Hawaii's best interests¹¹

It is my opinion that a further study of economic data will show the following tending to especially occur in Hawaii during external trade related recessions

- (1) the big business class share of the GSP spurts forward
- (2) the local labor class share of the GSP declines
- (3) Hawaii's negative balance of trade increases
- (4) the islands' negative net external investment (i.e. IOU) account owed to non residents gets worse and
- (5) there is greater demand for more outside investment

Two facts are plain from all of the above data. First, the economic facts of life for the average citizen of Hawaii are bad. Second, the policies behind Hawaii's peculiar form of open door economic development and expanded trade over at least the past two and a half decades are today worthy of critical review and debate.

It is non-resident big businesses, their owners and associated speculators who have benefitted since 1959 from the maturing of Hawaii's economy, as have a small portion of the local populace allied with that economic class. The vast majority of Hawaii's people, on the other hand, have seen a deterioration in their living standards in recent years and the data examined in this article points toward a continual and perhaps accelerated deterioration of living standards unless local policies are changed.

CONCLUSIONS

The criteria which have been used to characterize [Hawaii] as an example of successful development are increasingly recognized as being insufficient. GSP growth is not enough. It also becomes clear that the political and social implications of having adopted an [economic] strategy such as [Hawaii's] are indeed rather negative (Villamil 1979:242).

The facts of modern Hawaiian development are plain. Growth has occurred. The size of the GSP has expanded as has the level of local business activity (especially involving those businesses representing non-resident capital investment). State figures (DPED 1982a:20-21) indicate that the GSP increased about nine-fold between 1958 and 1980 in current dollars, or three times in constant dollars. The Bank of Hawaii's economic index also shows this tripling of the economy in real terms since statehood.

Such growth through an open door policy towards outside investment serves as an objective example of the results of trickle-down supply-side economic policy. Despite the economy tripling

in size, average real wages are *falling*. In effect, only the economic squeeze has trickled down, while the expanded economy has led to a general upward redistribution of wealth.

We have seen how the maturing of the Hawaiian economy has widened this gap between the rich and non-rich. Had the wealth created in Hawaii in 1980 been kept at home and equally divided, for example, the average family of four would have had an income of \$49,332, over twice the \$22,750 that average families received in actuality (DPED 1983b:339-347).

This would have been more than enough to set aside capital for reinvestment and still provide for a more than adequate standard of living. In short, it would also have ameliorated many current social problems concerning housing and other shortages. It would have helped ease the multitude of troubles stemming from the stress of inadequate incomes and the widening gap in the distribution of wealth.

But the results of local government policy to open up Hawaii's economy to outside investment has caused more than a decline in wages. It has precipitated the rising supremacy of non-resident big businesses (sometimes referred to as transnational corporations or TNCs). It has led to the takeover and break up of the old local big business sector (the Big Six). It has led to the general decline of local small business. And it has squeezed the local wage and salary earning class.

The time has come for a broad debate over an open door economic policy which has manifestly failed. In the marketplace of competing social classes, it is time for change and a swing of the pendulum towards a fairer and more equitable distribution of the *control* of Hawaii's productive assets and of the islands' currently generated wealth.

APPENDIX

The types of numbers discussed in this article are difficult to work with, even for those familiar with them. Therefore, I have prepared a hypothetical example to illustrate the concepts involved, which is similar to the actual situation affecting Hawaii today.

Let us say that we are looking at Honolulu and Kauai a hundred years ago. Honolulu has a *capital stock* of \$100 million and Kauai has one of \$50 million.

What do we mean by *capital stock*? For an answer, let us go back in time to the landing of the first people at these two places. These humans found certain plants and animals available on the land and in the sea, which, with a certain amount of exertion, could be taken and eaten. A value can be placed on that natural environment.

If humans had left this initial *stock of capital* in its purely natural form, that stock would remain at a constant level. But humans did not. After spending whatever number of hours per day needed to simply

feed themselves they then invested additional surplus labor which created surplus stocks of capital. They created pathways and roads. Irrigation systems and agricultural and aquacultural complexes were built. Structures, instruments and equipment were made. These and other changes had effects on the capital stock, increasing it most of the time perhaps decreasing it at others. The sum total of *productive assets* is the *capital stock*.

The *changes* in the capital stock can be viewed as part of a *capital account* in national income accounting terms. Additions to the capital stock represent a positive flow of accumulated surplus in the economy or credit to the capital account. Decreases to the existing capital stock (through depreciation, destruction or trade) represent a debit to the capital account. Usually capital stock will increase over time because most people will not work extra hours — invest their surplus labor — unless they receive some material benefit as a result. In this hypothetical example, the capital stock or *accumulated surplus* rose to \$100 million for Honolulu and \$50 for Kauai.

For our purposes, let's assume the capital stock of Honolulu and of Kauai are owned by the residents of those two places. If these early settlers did not practice monetized exchange of the products of labor, we might expect either hierarchical or communal control of the capital stock. If the humans had been money oriented but economically democratic, we might expect a broad decentralized pattern of ownership. If the humans had been oligarchic, we would see ownership of the capital stock in the hands of a relative few — a big business class.

In foreign trade terminology, the *capital account* shows the changes of capital stock in each locale, and the *current account* shows the trading going on between the two. Let's say that Kauai and Honolulu's economies are capitalistic and Kauai sells raw sugar and some other agricultural commodities to Honolulu for \$10 million in one year. Honolulu in turn sells Kauai \$10 million in processed goods and technical services. The result is an even balance of trade between the two places.

As long as this current account remains balanced, the only changes in the capital stock of the two places would be internal ones. Extra (surplus) labor might expand the capital base, raising the capital stock of one or the other. Ill advised changes might just as well decrease it.

Now let us say that Honolulu managed to sell \$12 million in goods and services to Kauai in one year, while Kauai exports only \$10 million to Honolulu. Trade between the two is now unbalanced, and Kauai has what is called a negative balance of trade. Kauai's trade deficit creates an immediate debt to Honolulu which must somehow be paid off.

One solution to this deficit problem is to dip into Kauai's capital stock reserves. It has, after all, amassed \$50 million of capital over the years through surplus labor. Most of this capital stock is in the form of structures, equipment, etc. But some of it is just reserve money in the bank, and \$2 million of this reserve money could be taken out and given to Honolulu to pay off the deficit.

Kauai has now given Honolulu \$10 million in goods and \$2 million in capital reserves in exchange for \$12 million in goods and services from Honolulu. Trade is now balanced. The only cost is that Kauai's capital stock has been reduced from \$50 million to \$48 million.

Now let's say that the following year trade is once again unbalanced and Kauai owes Honolulu another \$2 million. This time Honolulu offers to give a loan to Kauai. Things are balanced as far as trade goes, but Kauai now has a capital stock of \$48 million in assets and a capital account debt of \$2 million, for a net value of \$46 million. The next year trade is again in Honolulu's favor with Kauai owing another \$2 million. But now a new factor comes into play. It seems the loan from Honolulu had pretty stiff interest terms attached to it, and Kauai now must pay \$1 million in interest for the year. To pay this total deficit off, Kauai sells Honolulu a \$3 million hotel on Kauai. Kauai's locally owned capital stock is therefore reduced to \$43 million.

The year after, through tight austerity measures, Kauai agrees to buy from Honolulu only \$10 million worth of goods, for which it exports the same value of goods to balance its trade. But Honolulu still wants \$1 million in interest for the year on its previous loan, and collects another \$1 million in the surplus (profits) created by the hotel which it owns on Kauai. The result is that Kauai still owes \$2 million to Honolulu for the year, and must sell off that much more of its capital stock.

Worse, some of the residents of Kauai are now starting down the road of putting in surplus labor to create surplus capital (profit at the hotel) that in no way benefits themselves or their local economy.

At this point, Kauai's leaders might decide to try and solve their economic problems through expanded investment and greater economic growth. Honolulu capitalists are encouraged to invest \$10 million to build new hotels on Kauai. This results in an increase in the capital stock, but Kauai has a \$10 million debt to the Honolulu investors, plus future payments in the form of profits on the investment.

The size of Kauai's economy has now expanded, but it is not owned by Kauai. The new hotels simply create further surplus (profits) which are taken by the overseas investors. It is possible that the money being borrowed by Kauai to balance its current account was previously *Kauai* reserve monies paid out to Honolulu. Honolulu investors are now beginning to collect interest and profits on loans and investments to Kauai made up of *Kauai* money being loaned back to *Kauai*.

Kauai, therefore, is becoming economically dependent on Honolulu as its control over its own capital, poor economy disappears through a steady drain of capital. But these negative trade figures result from, and point toward, the previous sell off of ownership of the productive assets of Kauai.

This article explores the connection between negative trade figures and the sell off of capital stock with regards to the current situation between Hawaii as a whole and its overseas trading partners.

NOTES

- 1 Roland Kotani Franklin Odo Sam Pooley and Robert B Stauffer all associated with the University of Hawaii at Manoa are acknowledged for their editorial assistance on the article
- 2 Some economists note nevertheless that \$1.96 back on every dollar sent to the United States is still a good deal for Hawaii because it represents an inflow of purchasing power
- 3 The federal subsidy funds referred to in the text are technically known as federal transfer payments and represent the gap between funds sent to Hawaii by the United States and those sent to the federal government by Hawaii
- 4 Some economists suggest that this export of funds is justified because the original investment came from outside. I do not believe this to be the case however. At the end of WW II Hawaii owned more investments (and collected more funds on those investments) outside the islands than vice versa. Relative to most colonial and semi colonial areas of the world Hawaii was at that time remarkably capital rich and under local autonomous economic control. While certain local political forces may have wished to humble local big business capitalists by bringing in outside capital Hawaii did not need that capital to sustain its economic growth. The original investment which created the local economy was at its foundation local and *not* outside capital. Although outside capital may have assisted in the importing of machinery and other industrial equipment the major assets in Hawaii's development came from the expropriation of land from native Hawaiians from revenues raised through Hawaii's role in trade and through the surplus produced by the labor of Hawaii's people
- 5 The State of Hawaii's published and unpublished economic figures have been utilized in this article as they are the best available and have the longest track record. It should be noted that while they are the best available many people question the credibility of even these official statistics. One of the difficulties with the statistics is that they do not give any direct figures relating to economic classes in the islands. The state's wages and salaries account for example includes remuneration paid to normal working people and salaries of high corporate officials more properly considered part of the big business class. Corporate earnings include big company revenues as well as those of small businesses. A discussion with one of the state's economists and access to some of their raw data has helped but at best the three classes referred to in the text are rough approximations and the figures given are valuable primarily because they are constantly applied over the 1958-80 period. For the labor class statistics shown in Figure 4 the first third of the 1958-80 period showed a slight increase in its share of the GSP and a further small (under 1%) gain during the second third. In the most recent period however labor's share was down 4.8% for an overall drop of 4.1%.

- tics shown in Figure 4 the first third of the 1958-80 period showed a slight increase in its share of the GSP and a further small (under 1%) gain during the second third. In the most recent period however labor's share was down 4.8% for an overall drop of 4.1%.
- 6 This figure *excludes* the cost of imports
 - 7 Between 1958 and 1970 exported fees and profits in real terms increased by 140.0%. They increased another 65.0% in real terms between 1970 and 1980 for a net increase since statehood of a substantial 296.1%.
 - 8 Villamil (1979) gives an excellent readable introduction to the dependency school of thought. A professor of planning in Puerto Rico his chapter on Puerto Rico 1948-1976 *The Limits of Dependent Growth* (pp 241-260) clearly shows both the promises and the tragedy of dependent development.
 - 9 Revenue from (generally non progressive) personal and (low) corporate income taxes is also collected by the state.
 - 10 Recent government proposals to encourage high technology industries to locate in Hawaii do not promise much for the average worker either. Most of the workers in California's Silicon Valley for example are non unionized and are paid less than \$5 an hour.
 - 11 An example of this problem is the 1973 rise in oil prices and accompanying recession which represented a quantum leap in non resident big business class income from Hawaii and exacerbated the State's balance of trade problems (see DPED 1982a 171-182).

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SECTORS OF PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL AND INCOME INEQUALITY IN HAWAII, 1975¹

Joyce N Chinen

Many studies of the social situation in Hawaii have noted that income and occupational patterns seem to be related to such characteristics as ethnicity education and sex but it is difficult to find a study that systematically explores the social structural bases of these patterns. Most studies have taken a socio historical approach and assume that over time social conditions will tend to either improve or deteriorate for certain populations (Lind 1980 Fuchs 1968 Daws 1968 Kent 1983). Thus in this study of income inequality in Hawaii a structural approach will be used. It will begin with a brief review of some recently used theoretical perspectives on income inequality discuss the rationale for using a structural approach and then formulate some research questions to guide the study. Following this section the research methodology including the variables and data set to be used will be described. Finally the results of the analysis will be reported and discussed.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Studies of income inequality in the United States in recent years have focused on wage differences but there is not yet agreement on which factors most affect wages. One researcher Almquist (1979) has noted that there are at least three schools of thought on this matter. They are (1) the human capital and status attainment theories (2) the dual labor market theory and (3) the structural or radical economic theories.² These theories differ in terms of their political orientations regarding the desirability of income inequality and approaches to its reduction. Even more important however the theories vary in terms of which units are selected for analysis (e.g. individuals labor markets sectors of the economy). This is an important consideration since some of the units are more inclusive than others.

The human capital perspective focuses on individuals and assumes that behavioral choices have been made by them in acquiring skills education union membership etc which then affect their attractiveness to prospective employers. While the status attainment perspective parallels the human capital perspective it recognizes that social factors such as family background affect the kinds of choices that individuals make in acquiring their skills education etc. Both perspectives agree however that individuals motivations and/or actions are the primary determinants of their income levels.

The dual labor market theory represents a middle level theory. It focuses on the conditions faced by aggregates of individuals because of their representative positions in one of the two segments of the labor market. The work of Doeringer and Piore (1971) suggests that jobs in the primary labor market tend to be more stable, with higher wages and better working conditions, while those in the secondary labor market tend to be unstable, with low pay and undesirable working conditions. Here the unit of analysis is the segment of the labor market, and the focus is on aggregates of individuals whose income levels are determined by their location in one of the segments.

Finally, structural or radical theorists, such as O'Connor (1973) and Bluestone (1973), focus on the features of advanced industrial capitalism, class conflict, and the segmentation of the whole economy. In this perspective, the structure of the political economy is emphasized, and it represents the most inclusive unit of analysis because it subsumes not only aggregates of individuals in different labor markets, but also those in different segments of the economy. While the explanatory factors at this level are impersonal and further removed from individuals' experiences and characteristics, they also structure the variation among the specific aggregates of individuals.

Each theoretical approach to the study of income inequality involves both strengths and weaknesses. Human capital and status attainment models, which are most popular, focus on the specific characteristics of individuals, but ignore how those characteristics are socially ordered. The dual labor market theory focuses on the social ordering of personal characteristics in the labor market, but ignores the structural features of the larger economy. Only the structural theories take into account the structure of the entire economy. For this reason, this investigation of income inequality in Hawaii will take a structural approach and focus on sectors of productive capital as the primary determinant of income inequality in Hawaii. Since the study will adopt the theoretical framework presented by James O'Connor, some of his ideas will now be examined.

O'CONNOR'S THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* (1973), James O'Connor analyzes the troublesome condition which is increasingly facing the state in nations with advanced capitalist economies: the condition of simultaneously expanding expenditures and declining revenues. Chronic fiscal instability and periodic crises tend to be the result, and according to O'Connor, the reason for it can be found in the contradictory role that the state must play in capitalist national economies. That contradictory role requires that the state both assist in the process of private capital accumulation and provide the conditions of social harmony in the society.

The latter function (legitimation) is essential and related to the successful performance of the former function (accumulation), but increasingly, meeting the accumulation function produces social dislocations and overall disharmony in the society. Thus, the state continually needs to expand to perform both functions, but it must do so with a constricting resource base.

Essentially, O'Connor asserts that there are three sectors of productive capital: monopoly, competitive, and state.³ The first two sectors are engaged in economic production for private profit, while the state sector is engaged in production presumably for the whole society's benefit. But while monopoly and competitive sectors both produce for private gain, they differ considerably in the particular way they produce for private gain. These differences lie in their respective relationships to the state and result in differences in their respective levels of profit.

According to O'Connor, the growth in the power of both the monopoly and the state sectors are interdependent. Monopoly sector industries tend to use economies of scale and rely on state sector production to socialize⁴ much of their pre- and post-production costs; they can therefore reap higher levels of profit. The state sector, in turn, relies on the monopoly sector for its legitimation, its justification for its continuing expansion, and to some extent, its capital (taxes). Competitive sector industries, by contrast, do not enjoy the same kind of relationship that monopoly sector industries have with the state sector; thus, the benefits and levels of profit of competitive sector industries are much lower than those of monopoly sector industries.

Differences in benefits extend to workers in the economic sector as well. O'Connor explains that the costs of wages, benefits, and working conditions of monopoly sector workers tend to be *administered*, or simply passed on in the prices of goods and services produced by the monopoly sector. In contrast, *competition* in the marketplace determines the wages, benefits, and working conditions of workers in the competitive sector. And, since the state sector is tied to the monopoly sector, the conditions of state sector workers tend to resemble those of monopoly sector workers, although to a somewhat lesser degree. Thus, wage levels are presumably highest in the monopoly sector and lowest in the competitive sector, with state sector wages in between the two but closely following those in the monopoly sector.

One attempt to empirically test O'Connor's ideas as they apply to the conditions of labor was conducted by Randy Hodson (1978). Using Current Population Survey data from March 1973 for a cross-sectional analysis, Hodson demonstrated that sectors of productive capital seem to structure inequality into the wage, unemployment, and underemployment conditions of the U.S. labor force. However, the data also indicated patterns which did not exactly correspond to those predicted by O'Connor's framework, particularly the proportional distribution of the labor force across the sectors. O'Connor expected that the work

force would be evenly divided among the three sectors but Hodson found the workforce distribution to be 24% in the monopoly sector 43% in the competitive sector and 17% in the state sector⁵

Both O Connor's framework and Hodson's empirical work involved analyses of the political economy at the level of the nation state. This study will attempt to extend their respective work to see whether this framework might be equally useful in understanding income inequality in a local level economy. There are some problems however in taking this approach. First as O Connor has pointed out state and local governments borrowing and debt are governed by different political economic principles from those of the federal government state and local government debts involve limited term private financing whereas federal debt is indefinite and administered (O Connor 1973:193). Second state and local government operations tend to be circumscribed by the structure and operations of the federal government. But to the extent that O Connor's major propositions about the dual and contradictory functions of the state (to facilitate both accumulation and legitimation) also apply to the state at state and local levels the framework may also be used to study the structural basis of income inequality in Hawaii.

This study will be guided by three major research questions. The first inquires about the proportional distribution of employment and social characteristics across sectors. The answer to this question will permit comparison of the sectoral distribution in the national and Hawaiian economies. The second concern the distribution of incomes across sectors will indicate whether there are indeed structural bases of the income inequality in Hawaii just as there appear to be at the national level. Finally the effects of social characteristics on the sector based income levels will be examined to see how these variables interact to produce particular kinds of income patterns.

METHODOLOGY

Data

The data set to be used in this investigation is a subsample of the 1975 Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) Census Update a random sample survey of households for the island of Oahu. Although other islands were included in the statewide survey there were problems with the Kauai data so this study will limit itself to the Oahu sample. This should not cause any problems since 80% of the state's resident population is located on Oahu. Also this county incorporates both urban and rural areas with both corporate and entrepreneurial agricultural activities represented in rural areas. Moreover Honolulu the capital and largest city in Hawaii is located on this island Oahu

therefore represents quite well the social political and economic activity for the State of Hawaii. Thus the data set for this study consists of a random sample of the Oahu sample survey and includes 1656 subjects of which 485 were employed full time.

Variables

This study has proposed to investigate the relationship between sectors of economic production and income inequality. Income level will therefore be considered the dependent variable. Since income was coded into income range categories calculations of mean income levels will use the mid point of income range categories. The mid point of income categories will therefore be used as the indicator of a subject's income. Because income levels are affected by the type of employment most of the analysis will be performed on full time employed persons.

The determination of the productive sectors represents a somewhat more complex task. While O Connor has provided a description of the characteristics of each of the sectors he has not provided precise criteria for their determination. Instead O Connor suggests that the sectors are composed of different types of industries and this is why Hodson used industries to indicate sectors. Unfortunately however the criteria Hodson used to assign specific industries into the specific sectors are also not clearly specified. Nevertheless both authors point to the need to view the sectors of economic production as being organized in terms of industries. In this regard they are not alone. Other scholars such as Robert Blauner have previously noted that industries differ in their economic structure as well as in other characteristics and that these differences have important implications for workers in those industries (1964:10).

The methodological question then is on what basis should industries be distinguished? The answer depends both on theory as well as on the kinds of information available on industry characteristics. On the bases of both theoretical considerations and a review of two sources of census data two characteristics will be used to differentiate industries into the three sectors of economic production: *workforce size* and *amount of sales or receipts*.

Workforce size will be used because O Connor states that monopoly sector industries tend to utilize economies of scale. Furthermore the usefulness of this criterion has been empirically supported. For example Aldrich and Weiss (1981:283) have demonstrated that workforce size is an important characteristic which internally differentiates the capitalist class. Similarly although the 1975 County Business Patterns data show an average per firm size of 15.7 employees for all industries there is a considerable range from an average of 3.7 employees for the 99 dentist offices to 750 for a single electrical service

firm Based on these considerations the criterion of 25% or more firms in a given three digit industry category with fifty or more employees will be used to distinguish monopoly sector industries from other sectors industries ⁶

The second characteristic which will be used to differentiate industries into productive sectors is the average per firm amount of sales or receipts of industries The use of economies of scale would also require sizeable sales (or receipts) by monopoly sector industries The 1972 *Censuses of Manufactures of Wholesale Trade of Retail Trade and of Services* were examined for information on amount of sales or receipts They show that average industry per firm sales or receipts vary from \$107 624 for services to \$1 236 869 for manufactures Thus industries with average per firm receipts of \$1 000 000 or more will be considered to be monopoly sector in this study ⁷

Finally both the distribution and effect of social characteristics such as age education ethnicity and sex across sectors will be examined Grouped categories will be used for age and educational level and comparisons will be made among the five largest ethnic groups for ethnicity (non Portuguese Caucasian Chinese Filipino Japanese and Part Hawaiian)

To summarize then income will be considered the dependent variable in this study and the mid point of income range categories of employed persons will be used to measure income Productive sectors will be considered the independent variable and two factors workforce size and per firm sales or receipts will be used to classify industries into monopoly competitive and state sectors (see appendix) Lastly in order to examine the effects of social characteristics on the sector income relationship the effects of variables such as age education sex and ethnicity will also be considered

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Size of Sectors

The first task of this study is to determine the proportional distribution of Hawaii's productive sectors Table one presents information on the relative size of each of these sectors and is accompanied by O'Connor's estimates and Hodson's national level findings The figures show that total employment in Hawaii's state sector is comparable to that found by Hodson at the national level The monopoly sector on the other hand is extremely small less than half the size nationally thus most employment is found in the competitive sector

While it is possible that these figures are the result of sampling error the phenomenon of a large competitive sector and a small monopoly sector is quite understandable in light of the kinds of industries that

make up the Hawaiian economy Most of Hawaii's firms are engaged in service or retail trade areas manufacturing which is usually associated with monopoly sector industries represents only about 7% of economic activity in Hawaii and most of that is in non durables As a result the four leading industries in Hawaii are tourism the military sugar and pineapple in that order (Department of Planning and Economic Development 1980 233) Furthermore, Hawaii's modern social history—its legacy of colonialism the agency system the use of contract immigrant labor concentration of political power in the hands of a few and the resulting need to use external capital to fuel its recent economic development efforts — all point to the reasonableness of finding such distortions in these economic sectors ⁸

Table 1: Distribution of Employment in Productive Sectors
(in percentages with numbers in parentheses)

	Productive Sector			
	Monopoly	State	Competitive	Total
Sample	10.4 (172)	15.4 (255)	74.2 (1228)	100.0 (1656) ¹
Full-time employed	26.8 (130)	25.4 (123)	47.8 (232)	100.0 (485)

Hodson's findings ²	26.9	18.8	48.8	94.5 ³
O'Connor's estimate	33.3	33.3	33.3	99.9

¹One missing case

²Hodson's findings are based on a subsample of the Current Population Survey (CPS) of March 1973. It consists of the experienced civilian labor force (ECLF) which is comprised of all non-institutionalized civilians over fourteen years of age who worked last year

³Hodson's also found 5.4% of the employment in the construction sector. Since construction functions as a local-level monopoly sector employer, construction was kept separate for national level analysis but subsumed under monopoly sectors for the Hawaii analysis

Distribution of Social Characteristics

O Connor's assertions regarding the properties of the sectors would suggest that certain social characteristics should predominate in certain sectors. Youth and old age, female, minority racial/ethnic background and low education are all characteristics associated with lesser privilege in this society. Thus, if sectoral location affects the levels of derivable privilege, as O Connor suggests, a greater proportion of persons with the previously mentioned characteristics can be expected to be found in the competitive sector. This is precisely what Hodson discovered in his national level study. But what about the situation in Hawaii?

In spite of the differences between the national and the Hawaiian economy in terms of the size of the monopoly and competitive sectors, the distribution of social characteristics in the sectors for the most part appears to parallel Hodson's findings. However, there are also some important differences, as Table two shows, in the sectoral distribution of such factors as age, sex and education.

While the prime age group dominates in each of the sectors, their representation is highest in the state sector (84.6%). The monopoly sector prime age workers make up 65.4% which is not too much more than the competitive sector (60.3%). Youth and older workers appear to be excluded from the state sector but appear evenly represented in both the monopoly and competitive sectors. Thus, contrary to the theoretically generated expectations, the state sector appears to be the preferred sector in Hawaii, and the one from which both youth and the aged tend to be excluded.

Sex is another ascribed characteristic which may affect sectoral location. Table 2 also shows that women were more likely than men to be located in the competitive sector and less likely to be in the monopoly sector. This finding is consistent with the expectations from O Connor's model and Hodson's national level findings.

Educational variation within the sectors generally seems to parallel the age and sex distribution. Educational levels vary only slightly in the monopoly and competitive sectors, and in both, lower educational levels predominate. Higher (post secondary) educational levels seem to dominate in the state sector. This is reasonable, since civil service and other equal employment opportunity requirements within this sector tend to stress the use of educational credentials as objective indicators of competence. Additionally, much of state sector work involves the collection and management of information and would require personnel with higher levels of skill and training.

These findings generally parallel those of Hodson, but with one exception. That is that educational levels in all of Hawaii's sectors appear to be slightly higher than those nationally (the percentages for post secondary schooling in the monopoly, state and competitive sectors in Hawaii are 32.2%, 58.5% and 41.0% as compared to 28.7%

49.9% and 28.8% respectively at the national level). One reason for this difference may be the restricted size of Hawaii's monopoly sector which seems to have forced even those with post secondary levels of education into the competitive sector.

Table 2: Age, Sex and Education of Full-Time Employed Persons by Sector (in percentages)

	Productive Sector		
	Monopoly	State	Competitive
Age¹			
0-17	0.0	0.0	0.0
18-25	20.0	6.5	24.6
26-54	65.4	84.6	60.3
55 plus	14.6	8.9	15.1
Sex²			
Females	23.8	39.0	49.1
Males	76.2	61.0	50.9
Education³			
Grades 0-8	9.2	6.5	10.3
Grades 9-12	56.9	35.0	47.4
Business/Trade	3.8	5.7	4.3
College	24.6	33.3	31.5
Graduate Work	3.8	19.5	5.2
Other	1.5	0.0	1.3
N=	(130)	(123)	(232)

$$1 \quad \chi^2 = 23.6858 \text{ with 4 d.f. signif.} = 0.0001 \\ \lambda = 0.00$$

$$2 \quad \chi^2 = 22.2853 \text{ with 2 d.f. signif.} = 0.00 \\ \lambda = 0.00$$

$$3 \quad \chi^2 = 36.0156 \text{ with 10 d.f. signif.} = 0.001 \\ \lambda = 0.00$$

Ethnicity is probably one of the most important social characteristics in multi ethnic Hawaii. Table three shows the distribution of ethnic groups across productive sectors and while there are again a few unexpected findings the results generally conform to the expectations of the sectoral theoretical framework. The most frequent location for the bulk of most ethnic groups is the competitive sector and this finding is consistent with an earlier one that showed Hawaii's competitive sector being larger than its national level counterpart. However, contrary to expectations a sizeable proportion of Filipinos and Part Hawaiians were located in the monopoly sector. Also Japanese and Caucasians were not as dominant in the state and monopoly sectors as expected. Noting the dominance of tourism sugar pineapple and construction etc in the monopoly sector it can be speculated that the relatively large percentage of Filipinos and Part Hawaiians in that sector may be due to their location in blue collar type jobs of the monopoly sector industries. Similarly their low percentage in the state sector may reflect that white collar jobs are more likely to be occupied by Chinese Japanese and Caucasians. This is certainly consistent with the ethnic occupational patterns for civilian males found by Lind in the *U S Census* and *Hawaii Health Surveillance Program Survey* data (Lind 1980:82-85:87-89).

Table 3: Ethnic Background of Full-time employed by Sector

Ethnicity ¹	Productive Sector			Total
	Monopoly	State	Competitive	
Caucasian	24.0	28.1	47.9	(121)
Chinese	13.5	35.1	51.4	(37)
Filipino	30.6	10.2	59.2	(49)
Part-Hawaiian	42.4	22.0	35.6	(59)
Japanese	25.0	29.1	45.9	(172)
All Others	27.7	17.0	55.3	(47)

¹ $\chi^2 = 21.238$ with 10 d.f. signif. = 0.0195
 $\lambda = 0.02$

In Tables two and three the sectoral distribution of four social characteristics (age sex education and ethnicity) were examined. This was guided by the expectation that because certain social characteristics were more highly valued in the society those characteristics would tend to dominate in certain sectors. Of the four variables examined only the sectoral distribution of sex in Hawaii's economy was found to conform exactly in the manner anticipated by O'Connor's framework and Hodson's national level findings. The sectoral distribution of the other three variables seems to suggest that the state sector appears to be the preferred sector and that these patterns may be related to the small size of the monopoly sector in Hawaii. This study will now turn to an examination of the impact of sectoral positions and address the major question of this study: Are income levels structurally affected by positions in sectors of economic production? If this is so in what ways does the composition of sectors affect the income levels found within them?

Income by Sectors

Mean income patterns appear to both conform to and deviate from those expected by O'Connor's theory and Hodson's national level findings. As anticipated mean income appears to be lowest in the competitive sector (\$2,247). However, contrary to expectations the mean income in the state sector (\$10,555) seems to surpass that in the monopoly sector (\$10,369). An *eta* value of 0.52 for income by sectors indicates that a moderate association exists between these two variables such that knowledge of sectoral location may enhance the prediction of income values by about 26%.

How then should these sectoral income patterns be understood? It appears that the lower mean income in the monopoly sector in Hawaii is related to the limited size of that sector (nearly half the size of its counterpart nationally). Size of the monopoly sector may be important in two interrelated ways. First O'Connor has asserted that the growth of the state sector is tied to the growth of the monopoly sector because the state must facilitate monopoly capital accumulation. Extending this reasoning, it would be logical to expect that state sector activities should support rather than surpass the activities of private monopoly capital. Thus if and when state activities extend beyond those of monopoly capital (as is indicated here by the relative size of the sectors) it would suggest a situation where state activities have taken priority over the interests of monopoly capital. Under these conditions it would be reasonable to find mean income in the state sector to be somewhat higher than that in the monopoly sector.

Another possibility for the larger size and thus the higher income in the state sector may be found in the very nature of Hawaii's monopoly and state sectors. As stated earlier the monopoly sector is largely dominated by services and non-durable manufacturing industries.

which are less likely to generate much capital. At the same time state sector activities involve at least three distinct governmental bureaucracies (County, State, and Federal (including the four services of the military)). The activities of these various bureaucracies may tend to increase the size and influence of the state sector and to limit the size and influence of the already small monopoly sector. Under such conditions a disparity in mean income between the two sectors can again be expected.

Table 4 Mean Income for Full-time Employed Persons in Productive Sectors by Age, Sex, and Education (in dollars with Standard Deviations in parentheses)

	Productive Sectors		
	Monopoly	State	Competitive
<u>Age</u>			
0-17	---	---	---
18-25	7 864 (4 518)	6 214 (3 806)	5 663 (3 412)
26-54	12 865 (7 564)	13 146 (6 716)	11 021 (9 431)
55-plus	13 893 (8 612)	15 357 (13 155)	11 140 (10 731)
<u>Sex</u>			
Females	7 019 (2 669)	9 774 (3 933)	6 543 (4 266)
Males	13 614 (7 793)	14 743 (8 192)	13 966 (10 841)
<u>Education</u>			
Grades 0-8	12 042 (7 721)	7 286 (4 112)	6 550 (5 617)
Grades 9-12	10 611 (5 247)	11 262 (5 498)	8 542 (6 117)
Business/Trade	13 250 (3 069)	9 571 (4 420)	8 500 (5 196)
College	13 000 (8 926)	14 606 (9 584)	11 177 (9 383)
Graduate Work	23 100 (14 989)	15 761 (6 140)	26 611 (16 124)

While the monopoly sector seems to follow the state sector in terms of mean income, its mean income is over four times that found in the competitive sector. Furthermore, when the ratio of monopoly to competitive sector income in Hawaii is compared to the national ratio in Hodson's sample, the monopoly to competitive income ratio in Hawaii is much higher than it is nationally (1.64 for the civilian labor force as compared to 4.61 for the Hawaii subsample). This suggests that it may be more important to be located in the monopoly sector in relative terms rather than in absolute terms in Hawaii, and that this may be related to the structural features of Hawaii's political economy.

The examination of sectoral incomes has found important differences in the mean incomes of the three productive sectors. Competitive sector income was clearly much lower than either monopoly or state sector incomes. While this finding was anticipated by the theoretical framework used, the magnitude of this difference was much greater than anticipated. On the other hand, the finding that the monopoly sector mean income was lower than that of the state sector was not anticipated by the theory, but this is probably related to the size of Hawaii's monopoly sector.

This study will now turn to an analysis of sectoral income with regard to four social characteristics: age, sex, education, and ethnic background. Since income level is tied to the number of hours worked, the following analysis will only examine full-time workers in the subsample (i.e., only those working 35 or more hours per week).

Sectoral Income by Social Characteristics

Table four shows the mean incomes in monopoly, competitive, and state sectors for the various age groups. As expected, younger members of the workforce have the lowest mean incomes of all age groups. Human capital theory would attribute this to their lack of work experience. The O'Connor framework, however, would suggest that this represents a structural pattern of discrimination which is based on the specific characteristics of each sector. The latter contention appears to be supported in these data, since younger members of the workforce (18-25) not only seem to have the lowest mean incomes, but additionally, low incomes which vary by sectoral location. Thus, those located in the monopoly sector have the highest income (\$7,864), followed by those in the state sector (\$6,214), and finally those in the competitive sector (\$5,663).

The curvilinear relationship between age and mean income anticipated by O'Connor's framework appears to hold only in the competitive sector. This finding seems fairly reasonable since the theory asserts that competitive market conditions tend to operate in this sector; consequently, the older age of workers would form a basis for discrimination against them. By contrast, in the monopoly and state sectors, mean in-

comes tend to increase with age. Human capital and status attainment theories would suggest that this pattern results from greater experience and career progression. The structural framework, however, would assert that the monopoly and state sectors use of concepts such as *seniority* to permit wages to be administered rather than set competitively. The practice of administering wages thus accounts for the pattern of higher income with age in monopoly and state sectors. Once again, however, higher incomes seem to be associated with the state rather than the monopoly sector. While this pattern deviates from those expected by O'Connor and Hodson's work, it is consistent with the pattern found earlier in this investigation.

With regard to the characteristic of sex, Table four also shows that the mean incomes of males are consistently higher than those of females, and even the highest of the female mean incomes is lower than the lowest of male mean incomes. However, there are also important sectoral differences in these mean incomes. For both males and females, mean income is highest in the state sector (\$9,774 for females and \$14,743 for males). It is lowest for females in the competitive sector (\$6,543), whereas it is lowest in the monopoly sector for males (\$13,614).

Perhaps a more important finding was that the ratio of male to female mean income appears to be considerably affected by productive sectors. In relative terms, women appear to benefit most from being in the state sector; the male to female ratio for income is 1.51 as compared to 1.94 in the monopoly sector and 2.13 in the competitive sector. This is consistent with the earlier findings and also with O'Connor's framework, which suggests that women and other minorities tend to benefit most by being located in the state sector where the legitimization function encourages more egalitarian treatment of minorities.

Education is one of those characteristics that human capital and status attainment theorists seem to stress in order to account for differences in income levels, and in Table four, it is evident that mean incomes vary by educational levels. However, while higher education is generally associated with higher mean income, sectoral location also produces considerable variation in income, even for those with the same level of education. For example, the mean income for those with college education is generally higher than for those with only primary or secondary education; however, the mean income in the college-educated category in the state sector was \$14,606, or \$1,606 higher than in the monopoly sector and \$3,429 higher than in the competitive sector. Finally, it is noteworthy that, with the exception of the graduate educational level, mean incomes in the competitive sector are consistently lower than those in the two other sectors, and this is true for all levels. Clearly, sectoral placement makes a difference.

The relationship of ethnic background to sectoral mean income will now be examined. Table five shows that there is considerable variation

in mean incomes by ethnic background. In general, the mean incomes of Caucasians and Japanese are higher than those of other ethnic groups, while Filipino mean incomes are consistently lower than those of other ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, some ethnic groups like the Chinese and Part Hawaiians have considerably more variation in their mean incomes, while others like the Japanese have less variation in their mean incomes across sectors.

Table 5: Mean Income for Full-time Employed Persons in Productive Sectors by Ethnic Background

	Productive Sector		
	Monopoly	State	Competitive
Ethnicity			
Caucasian	14,454 (11,616)	15,250 (8,811)	11,310 (9,314)
Chinese	6,400 (4,904)	15,333 (7,142)	8,615 (4,704)
Filipino	9,900 (5,565)	7,800 (3,154)	5,942 (3,465)
Part-Hawaiian	12,952 (6,791)	7,542 (5,475)	8,250 (4,701)
Japanese	11,972 (5,461)	13,189 (6,603)	12,642 (11,740)
All Others	10,727 (5,742)	9,875 (2,642)	8,333 (5,353)

Mean incomes vary by productive sectors as well as by ethnicity, but only Filipinos follow the expected pattern of having their mean income highest in the monopoly sector and lowest in the competitive sector. This is probably related to their concentration in blue collar jobs within monopoly sector industries such as sugar, pineapple, tourism, and construction, and their underrepresentation in state sector industries (Lind 1980:82-106). Part-Hawaiian mean income is also highest in the monopoly sector, but it is still much lower than the monopoly sector mean income of Caucasians, Japanese, and Chinese, whose mean incomes are highest in the state sector, followed by the competitive sector. They have their lowest mean incomes in the monopoly sector. This is a deviation from the pattern expected by O'Connor, however, it is con-

sistent with the historical pattern of the post plantation movement of the Japanese and Chinese into the entrepreneurial or proprietary areas of the competitive sector as well as the movement of the second and third generations into professional and technical areas in the state sector described earlier by other scholars (Lind 1980 88 Fuchs 1968)

The examination of the variation in mean incomes by social characteristics such as age sex education and ethnic background has found that the effects of these characteristics on income levels seem to be surpassed by the effect of location in a particular productive sector. Overall this study has found the same pattern of low competitive sector income expected by the O Connor framework. However in most cases mean incomes have been found to be higher in the state sector rather than the monopoly sector. While this deviates from the pattern expected by O Connor's theory it is nevertheless consistent with earlier patterns found in this study of a weak monopoly sector.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This investigation of income inequality in Hawaii utilized a structural framework emphasizing location in productive sectors as the independent variable. The choice of this approach rather than a more individualistic one emphasizing human capital or status attainment variables was inspired by some of the propositions found in James O Connor's theory regarding the relationship between state and private capital in production. It was also sparked by Randy Hodson's study which had utilized O Connor's theoretical framework to examine the conditions of labor at the national level. In this study both workforce size and sales (or receipts) were used to classify industries into the three productive sectors (monopoly competitive and state). The distribution of various social characteristics and mean incomes within each of the sectors was then examined.

One important finding has been that the proportional distribution or size of the sectors differs in important respects from the national sample studied by Hodson. Specifically the monopoly sector in Hawaii appears to be quite small only about half the size of the monopoly sector at the national level. On the other hand the state sector seems to conform in size to that found by Hodson and this means that the competitive sector in Hawaii is much larger than its national counterpart.

The examination of the distribution of four social characteristics (age education sex and ethnicity) across the sectors was guided by the expectation that individuals with highly valued social characteristics (i.e. higher education being male prime age of a particular ethnic background) would tend to predominate in certain sectors. It appears that those characteristics are more likely to be found in the state sector rather than in the monopoly sector as expected by O Connor and

Hodson. However in the manner predicted by O Connor and Hodson the least valued characteristics seem indeed to predominate in the competitive sector.

Finally the examination of sectoral mean incomes shows that mean income appears to be highest in the state sector and lowest in the competitive sector in Hawaii. While this finding does not conform exactly to theoretical expectations it is nevertheless consistent with this study's earlier findings on size and the distribution of social characteristics across productive sectors. Furthermore while mean income patterns vary by education age sex and ethnicity those variations generally follow the patterns of sectoral mean incomes found earlier in this study.

These findings also suggest that future studies of income inequality might benefit by taking into consideration the following points. First while the variables emphasized by the human capital and status attainment perspectives appear to be related to income levels structural variables such as productive sectoral location should also be considered. This is because they seem to affect income patterns beyond the effects of the variables suggested by the former perspectives. Second while O Connor's structural framework of productive sectors appears to be useful for studying income inequality it is also problematic in two ways. Theoretically the criteria for conceptualizing sectors require further clarification otherwise these ideas will be difficult to test empirically. Also the political economic functions of the state at state and local levels require theoretical explication otherwise the differences in the units of analysis may block potential analyses of state and local political economies and thus neglect the effects of the connections between these and the national political economy. The third point that studies of income inequality need to consider is the influence of capital external to the nation state. As capital continues to be internationalized it will increasingly penetrate not only national economies but also state and local ones. Hawaii's political economy seems to be a good example of the consequences of this international capital penetration and judging by the experience of newly industrializing nations it may mean even greater aggravation of the condition of income inequality in the years to come.

This paper has taken a structural approach to the study of income inequality and it has discovered that distortions in the structure of the economy can have important consequences for the patterns of income inequality in Hawaii. It is hoped that the merits of this approach will invite other researchers to utilize the structural approach in their future studies of other aspects of Hawaii's social patterns.

APPENDIX

The criteria for determining monopoly sector industries were a) that at least 25% of the establishments within a 3 digit industry classification of *U S County Business Patterns* employed 50 or more employees and/or b) that industries have per firm sales of \$1 000 000 or more per annum according to the *Census of Manufactures Wholesale and Retail Trade and Services*

Industries considered to be *monopoly sector*

(E)*	071	soil preparation
(E)	142	crushed stone
(E)	144	sand & gravel
(E)	201	meat products
(E)	202	dairy products
(S)	203	preserved fruits
(S)	204	grain mill products
(E&S)	205	bakery products
(E&S)	206	sugar
(S)	209	Misc food & kindred
(E)	245	wood buildings
(S)	251	household furniture
(E)	265	paperboard containers
(E)	271	newspapers
(E)	287	agricultural chemicals
(E)	291	petroleum refining
(E)	324	cement hydraulic
(E)	327	concrete products
(E)	331	blast furnace
(E)	341	metal cans
(E)	373	ship building
(E)	414	charter transp
(E)	445	water transp
(E)	446	water transp svc n e c
(E)	458	air transp svc
(E)	481	telephone communications
(E)	489	communication svc n e c
(E)	491	electric service
(E)	492	gas prod & distribution
(S)	501	motor vehicles wholesale

* E = employment (criterion 1 above)
S = sales (criterion 2 above)

(S)	503	lumber & const materials
(S)	505	metals & mineral except Petrol
(S)	506	electric goods
(E)	513	apparel piece goods
(S)	514	groceries & related prod
(S)	517	petroleum & petro products
(E&S)	518	beer & wine
(E&S)	531	dept stores
(E&S)	551	new & used car dealers
(E)	601	Fed Reserve Banks
(E)	604	trust companies
(E)	632	medical & health ins
(E)	636	title ins
(E)	654	title abstract offices
(E&S)	701	hotels
(E)	805	nursing & care facilities
(E)	806	hospitals
(E)	808	out pts care facilities
(E)	822	colleges & univ
(E)	836	residential care
(E)	841	museum & art galleries
	152 179	construction industries

Industries considered to be in the *state sector*

411	local trans (MTL)
417	bus terminal fac
431	U S Postal Service
449	merchant marines
495	dept of sanitation
911 998	government (fed state municipal other nation other U S states)

Industries considered to be in the *competitive sector*

all else

In order to estimate the validity of the method used to classify the industries into productive sectors the resulting distribution of sectors was compared with one resulting from the classification of industries by face validity (or intuitive knowledge of the industries) The comparison of the two which is shown in the following cross tabulation suggests the classifications probably represent an accurate picture of the sectors

Cross Tabulation of Productive Sectors by 2 Factor Criteria
by Productive Sectors by Face Validity

Productive Sector by 2-Factor Criteria					
Sectors by Face Validity	Monopoly	State	Competitive	NR	Total
Monopoly	97.7 (168)	0.0 (0)	3.6 (44)	0.0 (0)	212
State	0.0 (0)	100.0 (255)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	255
Competitive	2.3 (4)	0.0 (0)	96.4 (1134)	0.0 (0)	1188
NR	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	100.0 (1)	1
Total	172	255	1228	1	1656

NOTES

- 1 I gratefully acknowledge the assistance I received from Hagen Koo Patricia Steinhoff Herbert Barringer George Won Gene Kassebaum Robert B Stauffer and the anonymous reviewers of *Social Process in Hawaii* on an earlier version of this paper They are of course not responsible for any errors which may remain
- 2 Almquist (1979) also notes that each of the four perspectives provides an ahistorical explanation for the current status of minority groups she points to the work of Edna Bonacich (1972 1976) and of Donald Noel (1968) which identify historical and social factors contributing to the status of minority groups
- 3 These are the terms used by O Connor and his use of these terms differs considerably from the commonly held economic definitions of these terms When classical economists use the term *monopoly* they mean a situation in which there is a single seller of a given product or service in the marketplace O Connor's use of the term *monopoly* conforms more closely to the term *oligopoly* in classical economics which denotes a situation where the market place is dominated by a few producers/sellers of a product or service (Samuelson 1970)

- 4 By *socialize* O Connor means that certain costs of production are thrust upon the society and its general population rather than being paid for by those who are actually using such services These include direct and indirect costs and costs prior to as well as resulting from the production process These may include such costs as research facilities access to water transportation and energy industrial parks low interest loans pollution cleanup unemployment compensation and so on
- 5 Hodson also retained a special category for the construction industry which he observed is similar to the monopoly sector because of its regional monopoly power and because of the powerful position of both sectors in relation to the state (Hodson 1978 451) He found about 5% of the workforce in that sector with the remainder in agriculture or self employment Additionally mining manufacturing industries (especially of durable goods) and finance, tend to dominate among the industries of the monopoly sector
- 6 The workforce size criterion was determined by dividing the number of firms with 50 or more employees in a given industry category by the number of firms in that category If the resulting quotient was 0.25 or greater the industry was assigned to the monopoly sector
- 7 Average per firm amount of sales and/or receipts was determined by dividing the amount of sales and/or receipts in each industry category by the number of firms in that category for the manufacturers services wholesale trade and retail trade
- 8 Two essays summarizing Hawaii's historical and present day dependent development can be found in *Occasional Papers in Political Science* 1(4) published by the Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii at Manoa The first is by Noel Kent and the second by Deanne Neubauer and Sam Pooley

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Tourist Attraction Hawai'i's Locked-In Economy

Ibrahim G. Aoude

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Introduction

This paper will argue that diversification of the Hawaiian economy to a point of significant decrease in dependency on tourism is rather impossible to achieve within the present context of the economic organization of society. Growth of necessity will have to remain dependent upon tourism. Hawai'i's economy will rise and fall with the fortunes and misfortunes of tourism in the context of a changing global economy.

Hawai'i's economic transformation from a plantation society to one that is essentially dependent upon tourism is well documented. That development and its consequences have been either praised or subjected to heavy criticism. Despite the strident tone of the more influential criticism of the dominant development paradigm, the arguments advanced were compelling. The critique put the proponents of the development paradigm on the defensive. The power of the critique came from its questioning the assumptions of development and modernization. This was followed by an analysis of Hawai'i's political economy which demonstrated the ill effects of such development.

While the U.S. economy was growing, there was not much concern by the proponents of development over its negative effects on Hawai'i's people, especially those of Hawaiian and Filipino descent who in their overwhelming majority came from the lower sections of the working class. Development projects continued unabated in the face of major opposition from several communities that fought heroically against them: Makua valley, Kalama valley, Ota Camp, Waiahole, Waikane, Chinatown, Nawiliwili, and more. Ethnicity, class, and immediate interests intertwined in each of these fights, and the battle lines were clearly drawn.

The 1975 landing on Kaho'olawe by two Native Hawaiian activists, George Helm and Walter Ritte, dramatized the historic oppression and subjugation of the Native Hawaiians by the haole-dominated political and economic development of the islands. It also symbolized Native Hawaiian resistance. The 1975 action unleashed new forces in the fight for land and the right of Native Hawaiians for self-determination. It became clear early on that the fight for self-determination was anti-development (hotels, golf courses, condos) as well as anti-military.

In a major sense, much of the critique was empowered by an opposition movement directed at contorted, uneven development. Despite the growth of the Hawaiian economy even when the U.S. was experiencing recessions, the critics were asking a legitimate and fundamental question: Growth for whom? Further, what is the relationship and difference between growth (measured by the Gross State Product, GSP) and development? The entire growth strategy has produced the following picture of the economy:

Table 1 The Hawaiian Economy Main Sectors 1986-90

	\$ million				
	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
GSP	17 996	19 779	21 587	24 000	26 000
Visitor Expenditure	5 550	6 600	9 200	9 614	10 431
Manufacturing	1 896	2 082	2 172	2 400	2 585
Diversified Ag.	231	239	257	275	295
Retail Sales	9 485	10 052	11 000	12 033	13 116
Federal Government	4 600	4 778	4 919	5 041	5 165
Defense	2 033	2 220	2 319	2 389	2 460
State Government	2 618	2 796	2 981	3 279	3 606
Local Government	625	672	697	731	768
Construction Completed	1 810	2 085	2 529	3 161	3 635

Source: Bank of Hawaii 1989: 3

It is clear from the above table that Hawai'i is a service economy heavily dependent upon tourism. It can also be argued that most other sectors, such as construction and retail sales, are quite dependent upon the tourist industry.

Only since the early eighties did proponents of the mainstream paradigm begin to voice concern over this uneven economic development. They were propelled, however, by different considerations than those of their critics. Their main concern was to continue high or moderate levels of economic growth in a changing global economic environment in which they saw significant potential threats to a tourism-based economy. Their problematic was still the old one of modern Hawai'i: diversification.

No longer was tourism perceived as the holy sector of economic growth. Creation of major or significant economic sectors became the name of the game whenever proponents/Johnny come lately critics of the Hawai'i development paradigm talked about the Hawaiian economy. But such diversification would require mass infusion of investment and venture capital. Diversification therefore meant a heavy reliance on non-Hawaiian and primarily non-U.S. capital.

A Problematic for All Seasons

The 1954 Democratic revolution had as its central task the transformation of Hawai'i from a plantation to a modern society. This was done in the context of the global and national environment of which Hawai'i was a part. Of necessity any restructuring of the economy had to rely on outside forces for infusion of capital. U.S. capital seized the opportunity of political change in Hawai'i and essentially allied itself with the new kids on the political block. Together they were able to deliver the new Hawai'i.

Capital only recognizes profit. Land was the main resource that Hawai'i had to offer at the altar of development. Major construction projects changed the face of Hawai'i and delivered huge profits for the developers. Henry Kaiser's 1959 development in the Koko Head area on Oahu (now called Hawai'i Kai) and hotel construction in Waikiki are true representatives of the new Hawai'i. In 1972 dollars the new Hawai'i moved from a GSP of 2.17 billion in 1958 to 5.8 billion in 1975 (DBED 1980:255). Further visitor count increased from 171,588 to 4.4 million visitors from 1959 to 1983. Total tourist expenditures as a percentage of GSP increased from 7% to 27% from 1959 to 1982 (Pai 1984:5). The following table further illustrates the transformation that Hawai'i had undergone in the first twenty-one years of statehood.

Table 2 Employment 1960 and 1980

Job Type	(PERCENT)	
	1960	1980
Professional Managerial and Technical	21	23
Farming Skilled Craft		
Operator Laborer	42	27
Sales Clerical Service	32	50

Source: Pai 1984:7

The above table indicates the increased dependency on services and the decreased dependency on farming and skilled craft for job creation.

Since Jack Burns became Governor in 1963 the Hawaiian economy had grown tremendously. But despite diversification as a problematic the

people in political control in Hawai'i could only accommodate capital in areas in which it could take advantage of Hawai'i's natural resources with the least risk possible. Capital seeks a quick and high return on investment with minimum risk. That has meant tourism and real estate development. One could argue, however, that in targeting tourism growth Hawai'i had diversified its economy relative to what it used to be in the 1950s and 1960s. Be that as it may, the inescapable conclusion is that tourism had grown to unprecedented levels over the past thirty years. As for diversification, there were simply not enough profits to be made that would have justified channeling investment capital to create or develop sectors other than real estate and tourism.

In fact, agriculture (sugar and pineapple), one of the main sectors of the economy, has been declining over the past thirty-five years. The decision makers in both the public and private sectors have been unable to transform diversified agriculture into a major economic sector. At this point it only counts for less than \$300 million of GSP (BOH 1989:3).

Military expenditures have declined over the past three decades and are expected to continue on their gradual decline relative to GSP. The following table illustrates the changing share of the three main economic sectors in the GSP.

Table 3 Main economic sectors share of GSP selected years

Year	percentage		
	Agriculture	Military	Tourism
1950	18.1	19.2	3.1
1960	17.5	30.9	10.8
1970	11.2	23.4	20.6
1980	8.6	16.5	34.0
1990	3.4	9.8	45.0

Source: Bank of Hawaii 1989:79

It is clear from the above table that the Hawaiian economy is quite uncomfortably dependent upon tourism. Tourism development had also meant lower paying service jobs which contribute to a lower level of personal income which has not kept pace with the cost of living (DBED 1989:335). Well over 50% of all jobs in Hawai'i are directly or indirectly related to tourism. Due to economic expansion in the second half of the eighties Hawai'i witnessed fairly rapid job growth rates. Hotel, transportation and construction jobs experienced the most rapid growth with all three at record levels. This was

followed by moderate job growth in the non hotel and trade sectors (BOH 1989 14) Hawai's cost of living has been traditionally high. It however was exacerbated by skyrocketing housing costs in the last half of the eighties. Between 1986-1989 median home prices rose from three times the Hawai median household income to six times the Hawai median household income. Furthermore the representative Honolulu urban family budget edged upward from 125.5% of the U.S. urban average in 1982 to 128.7% of that same average in 1988 (BOH 1989 15). Workers average annual earnings under the Hawai Employment Security Law were \$20,454 in 1988 which in real terms, would translate to 3.3% less than the 1978 average (DBED 1989 301).

This kind of development has resulted in 7.3% of island families and 18.1% of unrelated individuals falling below the poverty level in 1987 (DBED 1989 354). It has also resulted in high levels of homelessness which by some conservative estimates have reached the 12,000 level in just the last ten years. A large number of these homeless are local residents with a high percentage of Native Hawaiians among them.

Beyond the problematic of diversification it is important to note that this development model had not benefited all sectors of Hawai's society equally. In fact this model has succeeded at the expense of the lower levels of the working class which are disproportionately Native Hawaiian and Filipino. Workers from these two ethnic groups, especially Native Hawaiians, have suffered the most from this type of development. This is due to the oppression that the Native Hawaiians have faced historically at the hands of the haoles who were successful in taking control of the land and destroying the Hawaiian land tenure system.

Native Hawaiian Land Rights and The Goddess of Development

The destruction of pre-contact Hawaiian culture and the Native Hawaiian population base is another example that illustrates the violence by which capitalist social relations were historically established through the process of colonization of native societies. In Hawai the process was more gradual and did not take the form of open, relatively swift conquest. Complete domination took place in 1893 although effective domination by the haole oligarchy took place in 1887 with the imposition of the Bayonet Constitution on the Hawaiian monarchy. The entire process took place between 1778 and 1893. At the end of the day Hawai was transformed from a communal self-sufficient society into a capitalist one. Central to this transformation was the introduction of a modified form of wage labor and private property in land.

The Maka'anana had lost the land in the Mahele of 1848. Essentially the Mahele divided the land in the following manner: about 1,500,000 acres went to the chiefs, 1,000,000 acres went to Kamehameha III as crown lands, and another 1,500,000 acres were given by the king to the government and people. The Maka'anana were awarded under 30,000 acres after the passage of the Act of August 6, 1850 (Chinen 1978 30-31). This so-called Kuleana Act

and the July 10, 1850 Act by which resident aliens could buy land in fee simple were important elements in the process of land alienation to which the Native Hawaiian people were subjected. The demise of the Hawaiian land tenure system had paved the way for the rapid development of plantation agriculture. By 1861 there were 22 plantations in operation. By 1880 that figure had jumped to 63 (Morgan 1948 182).

A central aspect in this transformation was the development of a haole oligarchy on the basis of plantation agriculture and the importation of immigrant labor. This developed oligarchy was able ultimately to wield exclusive political power and deliver Hawai to the U.S. as a territory in 1898.

The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 allowed the merger of crown lands with government lands under the new category of public lands. In the Joint Treaty of Annexation of 1898, 1,800,000 acres of public lands were ceded to the U.S. by the Republic of Hawai. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921 had set aside 200,000 acres of land for Hawaiian homesteads. These lands were arid and not fit for agriculture.

The haole oligarchy was alarmed by the formation of the Home Rule Party in Honolulu on June 6, 1900. Native Hawaiians comprised more than two-thirds of the voters in the Territory. Planter Henry P. Baldwin of Maui met with Prince Jonah Kūhio Kalanianaʻōle in 1901. His objective was to counter the anti-haole Home Rule Party by persuading Prince Kūhio to run for the delegateship to Congress against part-Hawaiian Robert Wilcox. Baldwin stressed the need for the Native Hawaiians and the haole oligarchy to join forces against the rising Oriental tide (Fuchs 1961 159). The deal was struck. The [haole oligarchy's] aim would not be to keep Hawaiians out of the government but to make them serve the policies of the oligarchy (Fuchs 1961 158). The Native Hawaiians were the voting majority until 1938. They also comprised more than half the candidates for office. Bribery and jobs on ranches and plantations along with government jobs made most Native Hawaiians Republican Party loyalists. As late as 1935 Native Hawaiians who comprised less than 15 percent of the population held almost one-third of the government jobs in the Territory (Fuchs 1961 162).

By contrast the Japanese were denied government jobs and were discouraged from opening homesteads. The percentage of Japanese voters jumped from a low of 2.5 in 1920 to 30 in 1941. The Japanese voters had become twice as many as their haole counterparts. However they only held 2.9 percent of appointive positions in the Territory (Fuchs 1961 passim).

In support of its position and capitalist plantation system the haole oligarchy was able to utilize ethnicity and essentially split the Native Hawaiians from the Japanese. The alliance between the haole and the Native Hawaiians was basically secured through the collaboration of the Native Hawaiian elite such as Prince Kūhio with the capitalist oligarchy. In their majority the Native Hawaiians voted Republican while the Japanese moved towards the Democratic Party especially in the 1940s.

After World War II plantation workers wanted to deliver a death blow to the oppressive plantation system and the political alliance it depended upon. Primarily Japanese, these workers in alliance with other urban Japanese professionals and liberal haoles took over the Democratic Party and reconstituted it as a vehicle capable of capturing political power from the haole oligarchy. The 1954 revolution was the result of their efforts. These Democrats were able to capture majorities in both houses of the Territorial Legislature. Ostensibly a major task of the 1954 Democratic revolution was land reform. The target was the Big Five (Castle and Cooke, AMFAC, C. Brewer Alexander and Baldwin and Theo Davis) as well as the big estates.

Jack Burns, the leader of the Democrats who led Hawaii to statehood in 1959 and became the first Democratic Governor in 1963, did not prove to be a radical reformer in terms of the land question. Indeed, the Democrats had quickly relinquished any earlier radicalism that they may have had regarding land reform. One of the most radical pieces of land legislation was the Maryland Bill, which was introduced in 1963. The bill was designed to allow people to buy in fee simple a leased lot on which their home stood. It passed the State House but failed to make it in the Senate due to George Ariyoshi's swing vote against it. When this bill finally passed as the Land Reform Act in 1967, Jack Burns allowed it to become law without his signature (Cooper and Daws 1985: 418). This Act, which was amended in 1975 along with other previous land legislation, had basically satisfied the demands of a fairly large section of the Democratic popular base. But the Democrats had also passed legislation, the so-called New Zealand Bill and the Pittsburg Bill, that were beneficial to the development of new economic sectors at the expense of plantation agriculture. The New Zealand Bill allowed for the taxation of buildings at a lower rate than for agricultural lands. It also allowed for condemnation of land at or near their assessed tax value. The Pittsburg Bill encouraged the implementation of the highest and best use concept (Cooper and Daws 1990).

The political power that the Democrats had welded through their revolution allowed them to buttress their economic wherewithal. Tourism and its attendant economic sub-sectors are deeply indebted to the Democrats. The Democrats have allied themselves with new economic forces, primarily haole mainlanders as well as Big Fivers who were forced to adapt to the new political and economic realities or perish. Tom Gill's remark about the outsiders wanting in (Coffman 1973: 50) is an appropriate description of the real task of the Democrats in the early period of statehood.

In all of these Democratic machinations, the Native Hawaiians were a forgotten people. No land legislation that the Democrats have sponsored has really benefitted the Native Hawaiians. In fact, it could be argued that the Native Hawaiians had once more been trampled upon in the Democrats' haste to arrive.

The Native Hawaiian Struggle for the Land

The Native Hawaiian struggle for their historic rights to land entered a new stage of development with the Kahaloawe landing in 1975. Soon thereafter, the Protect Kahaloawe Ohana (PKO) organization was formed. The PKO was quickly able to attract many activists and develop significant support in the community at large. This new stage of Hawaiian struggle came hard on the heels of earlier fights such as the Kalama Valley fight against Kaiser development (the expansion of Hawaii Kai) on Oahu. Another major land fight was still ongoing on the windward side of Oahu: Waiahole. Waikane had galvanized multi-ethnic support for the farmers to keep the country 'country' and prevent real estate urban development that would have exacerbated the already skyrocketing cost of living on Oahu.

The 1978 State Constitutional Convention (Con Con) had witnessed a flurry of activity by Hawaiian activists. One main result of which was the mandate given to the state to establish the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). John Waihee, Hawaii's current governor, was a leading figure in Con Con. He and other Native Hawaiian activists had teamed up with influential haole liberals such as William Paty, an AMFAC executive, to push for a particular agenda that included OHA on its list of priorities.

OHA was formed in 1980. It was a state unit charged with dealing with Native Hawaiian affairs for the state. A question arises: why have the politically well-connected agreed to the formation of such a state unit? It is clear from the outset that such a step would have been inconceivable without the resurgent spontaneous struggle of Native Hawaiians for land and self-determination. By the summer of 1978, it was clear to the ruling circles at least that Native Hawaiians were not going to disappear from the political scene. Somehow the state had to deal with the Native Hawaiian issue. A strategy and tactics had to be devised that would allow the state to contain and control this potentially explosive issue, which if left to its own devices could become a major hurdle to economic development and diversification on two interconnected counts: 1) the political instability that this issue, if left unattended, might engender, and 2) land as a central element in development strategies cannot be left subject to unsettled claims that would render a high degree of uncertainty in the planning process (both private and public).

OHA at once was a step forward as well as a hurdle to the Native Hawaiian struggle. On the one hand, it was a recognition by the state of Native Hawaiian rights as an autonomous sector of society. On the other hand, OHA was not independent of the state and thus unable to genuinely represent Native Hawaiians in their grievances with the state, let alone with the Federal government.

After several years of attempting to work through OHA, many Native Hawaiian activists and a significant section of Native Hawaiians have come to a realization that it is impossible to achieve their goals through OHA. For

some Native Hawaiians OHA represents spurious sovereignty Polarization exists at present within the Native Hawaiian community between those who have benefited from OHA in various ways (political ambitions status etc) and those who saw OHA as a neutralizing agency and did not like it

Some Native Hawaiian organizations are quite influential on the questions of land and development The PKO has achieved significant steps with regard to Kahoolawe The Pele Defense Fund has also opposed geothermal and other developments on the Big Island Ka Lahui (The Nation) is perceived by many Native Hawaiians and others as the main challenger to OHA This organization exposes OHA's role in the Native Hawaiian community and advances the right to self determination and sovereignty What the ruling circles had hoped to avoid in the creation of OHA is at the present moment staring them in the face

The problematic for the state at this juncture is to devise ways to disentangle its economic development strategies from the net of Hawaiian land rights This is a curious as well as an improbable affair Presumably the state's function is to engage in development that is beneficial to the population at large For the state to perceive Native Hawaiians by their sheer presence as a hurdle to development casts a dark shadow on the intentions of this development and the role of the state in it Such an undertaking automatically excludes about 20% of Hawaiians population from the benefits of capitalist development Indeed this capitalist development has already been at their expense More ominous is the probability that the present development strategies would result in divisions among the population of Hawaii along ethnic lines The consequences of such divisions are unfathomable at this point The only sure thing that could be said at this point is that the political instability that would develop would be detrimental to the best laid out plans for economic development in Hawaii

Development Investment and the Loss of Control

In its haste to develop the economy through diversification the state as has been mentioned earlier is facing another major problem assuming for now that it could resolve the question of Native Hawaiian land rights Perhaps it might be fruitful at this point to briefly discuss the relationship between development investment and the loss of control of Hawaiians economy and politics by its residents

Hawaii's history since the arrival of the haole is a chronicle of disenfranchisement and oppression of an entire people It is also a chronicle of exploitation and oppression of plantation workers Finally it is the transformation of capitalist plantation society to the present societal structures of modern capitalism In other words the overwhelming majority of Hawaiians people have never enjoyed political and economic control over Hawaiians resources Early on in the 1850s the haole had significant control which developed into effective and then full control by 1887 and 1893 respectively

The 1954 revolution as has been noted earlier had its social base in the plantation workers The workers wanted to wrest control from the haole oligarchy As it turned out however the reigns of power were transferred from one section of the capitalists to a new one favored by the then recent national and international political and economic transformations

In the post war period US corporations formed the leading wedge of the penetration of international capital into the Pacific (Kent 1983 99) Hawaii was a very important part and had a major role to play in this Pacific Rim Strategy The Great Corporate Transformation (Kent 1983 122) of Hawaii was relatively quick Henry Kaiser for instance became the biggest landowner in Waikiki by 1955 just one year after he had established his residence in Hawaii He had also built the Hilton Hawaiian Village established a cement plant and developed a 6000 acre residential project in Hawaii Kai

Mass infusion of mainland capital had also transformed the Big Five into subsidiaries of multi national corporations As Laura Brown and Walter Cohen state multi nationalization has led either to outright acquisition by outside interests or to a greater dependence on more dominant centers of international trade and investment (Kent 1983 121)

The role of the revolutionary Democrats was the same as that of the first Governor of Hawaii after statehood Republican William Quinn Both Burns and Quinn were instrumental in soliciting mainland capital to come over to Hawaii Both were successful in their quest A major way through which Hawaii had attracted capital was through infrastructure development These included Magic Island Honolulu international airport the H 1 freeway and Volcano roads In October 1963 a Bank of America consortium purchased \$39.6 million worth of state bonds while a Chase Manhattan syndicate snapped up \$15 million of a subsequent issue Between 1958 and 1968 the state's outstanding public bonds increased sharply from \$212 million to \$528.9 million while an average of \$48 million in bonds was sold annually between 1960 and 1967 (Kent 1983 142)

All this development had led the newly formed political and economic elite (the ruling circles) in Hawaii to envision a new role for Hawaii as the hub of the Pacific By the year 2000 Hawaii according to these visionaries will have a great role to play both in finance and commerce in the Pacific

At this juncture two points need to be made 1) Hawaii had not lost control merely in the way previously mentioned but also in a more profound way that has to do with the increased vulnerability of the economy to external economic conditions (Pai 1986 7) According to Pai this was quite apparent in the 1980-82 severe recession that Hawaii experienced Dependency on tourism especially mass tourism is much more prone to cyclical fluctuations than is the case with upscale tourism and 2) Hawaii after over thirty years of economic growth is nowhere near becoming the hub of the Pacific Voices

of concern and criticism recently have come from diverse places within elite circles such as the Bank of Hawaii (BOH). David Ramsour, chief economist of BOH, has stated as early as 1984 that Hawaii is not the crossroads of the Pacific. There is less than nine years to go before we arrive at the year 2000. At the rate and manner in which the Hawaiian economy is growing, it is extremely difficult to imagine that Hawaii will develop to become that hub

Economic development requires capital. The only capital available is transnational. It is important to recall at this point that at least since the Great Mahele, Hawaiians have never had control of their destiny. In fact, the haole oligarchy that had control developed that control curiously enough through its dependency upon the outside world. Plantations became viable economically through the development of mainland markets for sugar, and ultimately plantation society was stabilized through Annexation which gave the haole oligarchy full control of Hawaiian society.

Since the 1954 revolution, as we have seen, the haole oligarchy saw in its interest to merge with the much more formidable outside capital (primarily U.S.). Lately, a section of local petty capitalists, but mostly a large section of the petty bourgeoisie in Hawaii, have become vociferous against foreign capital. This opposition has translated into anti-Japanese capital investment.

Perhaps it is important at this juncture to discuss briefly Japanese investment in Hawaii since it has been crucial to the development of the Hawaiian economy, especially since 1985.

Japanese Investment in Hawaii

Hawaii has been very much dependent upon outside capital for its economic growth. Since the 1950s, foreign capital began to make some significant inroads. In 1959, the Tokyu Corporation invested one million dollars in the opening of Shirokiya at the Ala Moana shopping center. This was followed by Kenji Osano's purchase of the Princess Kaiulani and Moana Surfrider hotels in 1963. In 1973, the Japanese had purchased eight hotels in the state. By 1974, Osano had ownership of all the Sheraton hotels in Waikiki, as well as the Sheraton Maui (in 1974 he had purchased the Sheraton Waikiki, the Royal Hawaiian and the Sheraton Maui for \$105 million). However, the dominant form of outside capital was mainland, not foreign capital. In the mid 1980s, it became abundantly clear that economic growth in Hawaii was desperately dependent upon foreign capital. Hawaii had entered the era of The New Big Five: Japan, Hong Kong, the United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada (Hawaii Business 1988). From 1970-1989, foreign investment amounted to \$8.4 billion, of which Japan had \$6.8 billion (Kim 1990: 3). Hong Kong was a distant second with only \$231 million invested between 1973-1988. The United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada had total investments of \$193 million, \$167 million, and \$162.9 million respectively by 1988 (Hawaii Business

1988). Of the \$6.8 billion of Japanese investment in Hawaii, \$5.2 billion were invested between 1986-1989, which amounted to over 76% of the total Japanese investment over the 1970-1989 period. The impact of Japanese economic activity on the economy becomes more pronounced if Japanese tourism to Hawaii is taken into consideration. In 1988, for example, Japanese investors injected \$1.6 billion into the Hawaiian economy. Taking the multiplier effect into consideration, this figure translated to \$1.9 billion (which was about 10% of Hawaii's economy for the year under consideration). With the 1.4 million Japanese tourists who visited Hawaii in that year, the total impact of Japanese economic activity was \$9.5 billion, or 45% of Hawaii's GSP of \$21.3 billion. From 1980-85, Japanese investment in Hawaii averaged \$168 million per year. This has jumped dramatically to \$1.3 billion per year in the period from 1986-88 (Pai 1989: 6-7).

Two related questions arise: 1) why do the Japanese invest in Hawaii? and 2) what do they invest in? Pai contends that, largely as a result of realignments in the balance of global economic power following the oil crises of the 1970s, the emergence of Japan and the newly industrializing economies, and the shift in the structure of world exchange rates that occurred in 1985, the sources of investment capital in Hawaii have increasingly become internationalized (Pai 1989: 2-3). Other researchers point out the following variables to explain Japanese investment in the period 1971-89 within the context which Pai talks about: 1) the yen/dollar exchange rate; 2) price of commercial land in large Japanese cities; and 3) the number of Japanese tourists who come to Hawaii (Kim 1990: 1). The dollar dropped in value from 349 Yen in 1971 to 138 Yen in 1989. The most rapid period of depreciation occurred between 1985 and 1986, when the Yen dropped from Y239 to Y169 in one year alone (Kim 1990: 4). This steep decline in the value of the dollar simply fueled a mad rush to invest in tourism and commercial real estate. The Japanese saw a lucrative opportunity in tourism and other mammoth real estate development projects. Japanese nationals alone constituted over one fifth of all tourists coming to Hawaii in each of the previous two years. These tourists are only one tenth of Japan's 10 million citizens that the government has been encouraging to travel abroad as a way to help correct its trade imbalances with the U.S. and other countries (Hawaii Business 1990: 60).

The Japanese have also invested in residential real estate, land, and other businesses including manufacturing. It is only logical to invest in growth industries that present low risk and high return on investment. For Hawaii, this translates into tourism, real estate, and construction, all of which are interrelated economic sectors. The Japanese have invested in two convention centers, projects as well as the \$2 billion Ko Olina project. The bulk of their investments, therefore, are speculative in nature and thus have adversely impacted Hawaii's population, especially in residential property and golf course/resort development.

The negative reception of such investment by Hawaiians population and the increased dependency on foreign investment in economic sectors such as tourism that have traditionally generated low quality jobs (low wages and little or no fringe benefits) have prompted economists state planners and consultants to begin to figure out ways to discourage speculative investment and encourage productive investment which would produce high quality jobs. Pai contends that the overall position of state policy toward investment in general and foreign investment in particular is to encourage the growth of investments that help to diversify Hawaiians economy and contribute to the overall social welfare of Hawaiians people while at the same time taking steps to control those investments that are known to generate negative social impacts (Pai 1989: 11).

Foreign investment was sought actively in an attempt to decrease the dependency of the Hawaiian economy on tourism through investments to diversify the economic base. Foreign investment was also sought to continue the growth of the tourist industry. Presumably the Hawaiian State General Plan was designed to achieve balanced development to benefit Hawaiians people. State intervention is needed, some argue, so as not to leave development to the vagaries of the free market which would work counter to the desired goal of economic diversification. [F]oreign investment needs to respond to the larger social and cultural needs of the community rather than simply the private profit maximization motives of individual businesses (Pai 1989: 12). But such noble desires and exhortations desirable as they may be, run counter to the inherent dynamic of the profit motive in capitalism. Fierce competition demands that the business of business [must remain] business.

Economic diversification has not happened to any significant degree despite the fact that the Hawaiian State General Plan was passed in 1978 and its attendant Functional plans (Agriculture, Tourism, etc.) were passed in 1984. As has been shown earlier, the bulk of foreign investment went into hotel and commercial and residential real estate acquisitions as well as for the development of major resort areas. These activities have increased Hawaiians dependency on tourism and related economic sectors. But these activities are rational for foreign investors to engage in since they are profitable regardless of whether they are socially desirable or not.

In addition, the much touted diversification through high technology is confronted with virtually insurmountable hurdles. These hurdles are at once economic and political. In the economic arena, Hawaii cannot hope to compete with other countries such as Mexico and Singapore in electronics production for obvious reasons: 1) an oversupply of electronic commodities exists on the global market; 2) wage rates in those countries are extremely low that Hawaii could not even dream of producing electronic commodities at competitive prices; and 3) contrary to what some still contend, electronics production is not clean and would endanger the well being of Hawaiians number one industry.

Having recognized the above limitations, Hawaiians policy makers and business people turned their attention to other high technology areas as part of their thrust into the formulation of the state's international role. Conferences, congresses, and forums were held and papers and reports were published (see bibliography) discussing, celebrating (prematurely) and projecting Hawaiians role in the global economy, especially in the Pacific rim. It was also recognized that Hawaii must find itself a niche in the high technology field that emphasizes research and development (R&D) and very specialized projects not only in electronics but in other areas which would fit a broad definition of high technology (bio technology, space industry and geothermal development).

But such high technology projects require long periods before they come on line and venture capital might find this prohibitive. Even if for some reason venture capital were to come in to develop such projects on a grand scale, the fact remains that such developments by their nature are not labor intensive. They would not be able to generate the kinds of employment that would decrease Hawaiians dependency on tourism in any significant way. What is also problematic is that the specializations that such high technology jobs would require are not available in the state by and large. Consequently, these projects would require importation of skills which would put pressure on scarce resources such as land, water, and housing. Finally, the economic efficacy of such projects beyond what has been mentioned is dubious in the context of global competition in the bio technology and space (port) fields and in terms of cost effectiveness in the area of geothermal energy.

These problems have already begun to spill over into the political arena which is the context of the other set of hurdles to economic diversification. Over the past several years, significant opposition has developed against such projects. While the environmental impact of such projects is of major concern, a more important factor, at least in terms of political stability, is the issue of Native Hawaiian rights. The opposition to high technology development is simply a logical and natural extension to opposition of development that is being done in large measure at the expense of Native Hawaiian rights. What is potentially dangerous for the politically well connected are the various points of intersection among the environmental concerns, Native Hawaiian rights, and the general problem of housing and low quality jobs. If these problems are properly articulated by a highly sophisticated social movement, we could begin to see the effects of this kind of politics not only in the political sphere but also in the economy.

Finally, Hawaii is caught up in the midst of dramatic political and economic global changes. Most recently, the national recession and the war in the Persian Gulf have adversely impacted planned development as well as the mainstays of the Hawaiian economy. Foreign investment, which is imperative for development along lines desired by the politically well connected, has begun to see and consider greener pastures in the Europe of

1992 and other areas of the Pacific rim

Hawaii's future is replete with uncertainties of a kind previously unencountered which reflect the intense globalization of politics and economics that has occurred in the past few years. Pleasant dreams of a diversified economy and political stability may be reinvigorating to the social psyche. However, some of the well connected people have no illusions about Hawaii's international role or the diversification of the economy. In a recent (January 1991) interview on one of the local TV channels, First Hawaiian Bank chairman Dods said it outright: Hawaii can forget about becoming a major financial and trade center. It will remain dependent upon tourism.

In sum, Hawaii's fatal attraction, as far as diversification goes, is tourism, which in turn is the bedrock of its economic structures. These structures, as this paper has attempted to argue, are at once Hawaii's strength and weakness on the economic as well as the political level. In the period of history in which Hawaii finds itself, these locked in economic structures represent the Achilles heel of our islands.

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The Political Economy of Foreign Investment in Hawai'i¹

Karl Kim

What I want to do is describe what I mean by a political economy perspective to focus attention more narrowly on the phenomenon of foreign investment in Hawai'i from that perspective to discuss some of the impacts and then as we planners are prone to do go from limited knowledge to even more limited actions in terms of proposing some alternative approaches for managing the so called political economy of foreign investment In doing so I will probably be exposed in every way as the planner that I am that is pre occupied with premature policy making

The Political Economy Perspective

I would like to point out that there are probably as many definitions of political economy as there are people in this room What do I mean by the political economy of Hawai'i? I think we can start by saying that it is a particular perspective from which to view society at large as well as the forces of growth development and change Central to this perspective is the question of who gains and who loses as a consequence of development What is the role of the state? Of elites in the public and private sector? Of those who have to borrow from George Cooper and Gavin Daws land and power in Hawai'i? What role do the institutions laws zoning regulations and yes the plans and policies promulgated by those in power have to do with who wins and who suffers in our society Hawai'i really is fertile ground for studies of this ilk Consider the following taken in part from recent headlines the political economy of judicial appointments the political economy of mass transit of the insurance industry of geo thermal of tourism promotion (via race cars) the list goes on and on A political economy perspective is hopefully by its nature a critical perspective one which challenges the conventional wisdom the prevailing paradigms It is also a normative perspective in that social inequities and injustices are not swept under the rug of terms such as efficiency or market equilibrium While the subject draws from the work of political scientists and disgruntled economists in my view the work of spatial geographers such as David Harvey or urban sociologists John Logan and Harvey Molotch or planning faculty like Susan and Norman Fainstein or Ed Soja has been most influential Probably academics can replace the saying you are what you eat with you are what you read Some fairly recent books which have whetted my appetite for readings about the political economy of cities include Logan and Molotch's *Urban Fortunes*

Political Economy of Place Paul Kantor's *The Dependent City* The Changing Political Economy of Urban America John Forester's *Planning in the Face of Power* and Paul Knox's *The Restless Urban Landscape*

Having said all of this anyone who has lived for an extended period in Hawai'i can assert with some degree of confidence that this place is like no other in the world Where else but in Hawai'i can you still see the vestiges of colonialism expressed through large landholdings concentrated in the hands of a few While other states have preserved their colonial architecture we seem to be going further in terms of reconjuring images of our colonial past in the form of new resorts and visitor plantations We have become increasingly a tale of two cities one city is that seen on lifestyles of the rich and famous international cosmopolitan and having the highest concentration of luxury hotels in either the US or Canada The other city is that of the underclass the burgeoning number of service workers struggling to survive in a place with the highest cost of living in the nation We have one of the highest rates of female labor force participation in the developed world Many people hold two jobs just to make ends meet We've got latch key children and the associated problems of neglect and abuse The underbelly of paradise is not too pretty it is increasingly a city of despair at risk from a variety of social and economic threats and dependent on tourism foreign investment and government handouts Where are the sociologists and planners? Those of us who are left (and since I've been here since 1985 a good many of the folks I started with at UH have gone on to campuses on the mainland) well the rest of us are left behind to document (and lament) the ever widening gap between the haves and have nots

Having painted this rather dismal picture of life in Hawai'i I want to identify one of many factors which have contributed to our present condition that is our inability to manage foreign investment

Foreign Investment in Hawai'i

Part of our paralysis results from the fact that under the US constitution only the national government can make foreign policy decisions including treaties and trade agreements with foreign countries Coupled too with the long standing commitment to free trade it is easy to understand why there are few state government attempts to regulate foreign investment This is a particular problem because foreign investment is concentrated in a few major states A study in 1988 found that Japanese investment was concentrated in three states Hawai'i with \$3.3 billion followed by California \$2.98 billion and New York with \$2.34 billion As such foreign investment in land and real estate is not a nationwide problem so few federal policies have been developed Because Montana and Arkansas haven't experienced what Hawai'i has experienced our state under the US constitution has to behave pretty much like every other in the Union I could be making a case for Hawaiian sovereignty

¹ The Keynote Address Hawai'i Sociological Association Hilton Hawaiian Village March 20 1993

But first let's look at this phenomenon a little closer. When we talk about foreign investment the US Commerce Department typically classifies it into one of two categories. Foreign direct investment refers to holdings in which 10% or more of the value of land or real estate is owned by a foreign individual or corporation. Foreign indirect investment, some times called portfolio or passive investment refers to bank accounts, bonds, and interests in companies which amounts to less than 10% of the equity. My comments today relate to foreign direct investment. While we have some limited data about investments in land and real estate, we are pretty much clueless about the investment in bank accounts, government securities, corporate stock, and other portfolio investments. Remember all the estimates you hear about foreign ownership refer to land, buildings, companies, etc. I don't even want to think about who's holding our national debt, our municipal bonds, our stocks, and other securities.

Foreign direct investment in Hawaii has been swift, extensive, and complete. While I have actually heard people say silly things like, foreign investment has tapered off because prices are too high or because there is a shortage of capital, my assessment is that there is very little left to buy in Hawaii. I have graphed foreign investment in Hawaii between 1970 and 1990. Over the period, investment from Japan has amounted to more than \$6.8 billion of the total \$8.4 billion invested by all foreign countries. While there have been peaks in investment in 1973, 1979, and 1982, the strongest and most lasting wave of investment to hit Hawaii began in 1986 and has lasted through 1990. Between 1986 and 1989, foreign investment from Japan amounted to more than \$5.2 billion or 76.2% of the total investment over the twenty year period (1970-90).

Dollar amounts give only a partial picture of the phenomenon. Even more revealing is the functional and spatial distribution of Japanese investment. I charted all the reported Japanese investments in Hawaii over the period 1970 to 1990. When we look at it by function, the tidal wave of foreign investment becomes all the more pervasive. Japanese have invested in banking, insurance, real estate firms, engineering and construction companies, warehouses, retail operations, factories, shopping centers, office buildings, restaurants, bakeries, communications companies, hotels, resorts, condos, apartment buildings, golf courses, raw land, new subdivisions, and educational facilities. In the late 1980s, there was not only a staggering increase in the dollar volume of foreign investment, but also a mind boggling frenzy of buying and selling of real estate in Hawaii.

Explaining Foreign Investment in Hawaii

What made Hawaii such an attractive place of investment? First and foremost, Hawaii is part of the United States, with all the security and protection of property rights which comes along with being part of the Union. Great if you're a foreign investor, not so if you are a local person with limited

resources struggling to compete in an international marketplace.

Because of Japan's prominent role in terms of investment in Hawaii, and my interests in the international political economy perspective, I developed some hypotheses explaining Japanese investment in Hawaii. The hypotheses that I set out to test were not really all that complicated or unique. Actually, they turned out to be rather simple minded. I examined the relationship between total foreign direct investment in Hawaii and three different explanatory variables: 1) the yen to dollar ratio, 2) an index of urban land prices in Japan's six largest cities, and 3) the number of tourists from Japan. I ran these as three simple linear regression equations.

The first equation demonstrated that the yen dollar ratio has had a direct bearing on the attractiveness of Hawaii as a place for Japanese investment. The dollar has experienced continued erosion against the yen, dropping from 349Y to the dollar in 1971 to 139Y in 1990. The most rapid period of decline in the strength of the dollar occurred between 1985 and 1986, when the yen to dollar ratio dropped from 239 to 169 in one year alone. Approximately 83 percent of the total variation in annual foreign direct investment in Hawaii is explained by currency fluctuations. As the yen to dollar ratio declines, the amount of foreign investment in Hawaii has increased.

The second relationship I was interested in testing has to do with differences in land prices between Japan and Hawaii. Even though Hawaii may have some of the most expensive land in the nation, I wanted to see what would happen if an index of commercial land prices in Japan's urban areas was run against foreign investment in Hawaii. This equation produced an even higher R squared value of 86.5%, suggesting that as land prices increased in Japan, then places like Hawaii became more attractive places for investment.

The third equation, which relates the number of annual Japanese tourists coming to Hawaii to the amount of foreign investment in Hawaii, real estate suggests something different from the first two equations. While the first two equations (using exchange rates and comparative land prices) show how Hawaii has become a bargain basement by international standards, the fact that there is such a strong relationship (R squared of 73%) between tourism and foreign investment is evidence that Japanese firms are establishing or purchasing businesses abroad in order to further capture profits from their own citizens as well as others in the international marketplace. To me, this suggests that Hawaii has become an economic colony of Japan.

Taken together, these three equations reveal similar strains of a familiar tune: that because of globalization, Japanese investors have sought out and established new enterprises beyond the boundaries of their country; that because of exchange rate differences and the price of land in Japan, the U.S. has become a virtual bargain basement; and that furthermore, because of the huge trade imbalances between Japan and the U.S., which according to

last week's paper has widened to over approximately \$4.3 billion the pressures to invest abroad or so to speak buy American will persist

I think that even though the writing is on the wall and it may be a fait accompli for Hawaii in terms of foreign investment there is need to expand upon these results both in terms of methodology and in terms of making the underlying hypotheses more sophisticated. I think that there is need for more sectoral analysis especially in terms of looking more critically at the tourism industry and testing some hypotheses regarding the so called new industrial order in which multi national firms are able to utilize resources (land labor and capital) located abroad in order to produce new profits and returns in what has increasingly become a borderless society. A colleague of mine in the UH planning department Mike Douglass has done some interesting work on transnational corporations in Asia and the new international division of labor but I think Hawaii presents itself as such a rich environment for more research on topics such as vertical integration in the tourism industry whereby an international firm purchases local assets (hotels restaurants tour companies rental car agencies mumu factories etc.) so that the visitor never needs to spend money in the host country. All transactions can be done with vouchers instead of cash. I think it would be interesting to conduct more cross cultural comparisons between Hawaii and other states in terms of the pattern and nature of Japanese investment. Above all I think that there is need for more research on the impacts of these international developments on local markets and small businesses.

Impacts of Foreign Investment in Hawaii

Now I would like to turn to the question of what have been some of the impacts of foreign investment in Hawaii. I'd like to talk about three in particular 1) property speculation 2) urban design and development and 3) social and community impacts.

There is no doubt in my mind that foreign investment has contributed to wild property speculation in Hawaii. One study done by UH Center for Real Estate found that Japanese buyers in 1988 paid a premium of about 21 percent over the market price. At that time there was a great deal of publicity surrounding one particular Japanese billionaire who went on an apparent spending spree in Honolulu scooping up some 75 homes and condominiums in a brazen display of purchasing power. Between 1986 and 1988 the average price of single family homes in Hawaii jumped some 86 percent. But where the connection between foreign investment and speculation is most apparent is in terms of what happened to commercial properties. Some of the most spectacular sales to Japanese companies in recent years included the Hawaiian Regent Hotel (\$207 million) Hyatt Regency Waikiki (\$245 million) Maui Marriott (\$150 million) Mauna Kea Resort (\$315 million) Maui Intercontinental (\$90 million) Wailea Resort (\$197 million) and so on. I think the case of the Hyatt Regency in Waikiki is a good example

of the speculative nature of investment during this period. In September 1986 it was sold by VMS Realty (of Chicago) to Azabu for \$245 million less than a year later it was resold to Kokusai Jidosha for \$325 million.

Now this issue of speculation is an interesting subject. It really is a double edged sword. On the one hand as local buyers of real estate in Hawaii we may not like the fact that globalization has increased competition by bringing international buyers who are price us out of the market. On the other hand as potential sellers of property we also feel entitled to make a killing in the real estate market. It has become one of our inalienable rights. Who was it that said one good real estate deal is worth a lifetime of labor? Teddy Roosevelt said something to the effect of investing in real estate is not only the safest way but the only way to become rich in America. I will come back to this when I talk about some of the social and community impacts of foreign investment later but for now I do want to point out that property speculation really does produce a set of winners and losers in terms of both buyers and sellers.

The second impact I want to discuss is something we planners are more routinely concerned about and that is the physical appearance of our community and some of the spatial changes which have occurred as a consequence of the engine of growth and development in Hawaii. Urban design in spite of our appearance has long been an important topic in Hawaii. Lewis Mumford came to Honolulu in 30's and prepared a report for the city on how to best preserve the balance between the natural and built environment. In spite of the fact that we have strong land use laws special design districts park dedications shoreline setbacks conservation districts a state EIS system some of the recently built structures have led me to wonder if Honolulu truly has any urban design ethic. The size bulk colors building materials and impressions created by many of the newly built office buildings are more evocative of a design that one would associate with Tokyo or Los Angeles than a small island in the Pacific. Many of these developments including some of the state led superblock developments have made a travesty of existing zoning and urban design codes. I really wonder given the number of variances in height setback use and so on what is the function of our zoning laws? I think that a very real concern given the magnitude and pace of development (much of it fueled by foreign investment) is whether or not community values and important natural and cultural resources which have been long associated with Hawaii can be retained.

The impacts go beyond what happens if the height limit in Waikiki or Downtown or Kakaako is pierced it extends to farm lands and conservation districts being converted over to golf courses and new resort developments. It includes what I have termed the high wall big dog syndrome which has emerged in residential architecture where the emphasis is increasingly on gated communities with security privacy and exclusivity. Unlike many cities on the mainland Hawaii has had some tradition of having

racially and economically integrated neighborhoods but increasingly much of this is being lost as the polarization between haves and have nots continues.

I have probably gotten myself into more arguments with good friends regarding golf course development than any other single issue. It is a subject which is difficult to be neutral on. I love golf. I wish I could play every day. I believe that golf is a great way for people of different social and economic and ethnic backgrounds to meet and interact if only for a few hours. I wish we had 50 golf courses on Oahu. But at the same time it bothers me to see productive agricultural lands being converted to golf courses. Or golf courses being built around ancient Hawaiian archaeological sites. Or exclusionary golf courses which cater to a narrow clientele. What bothers me even more is the extent to which golf courses are not treated as any other planned use should be. I believe as my colleague Kem Lowry has argued that golf courses have become the wedge for urbanization of our rural and agricultural areas that golf courses often lead to luxury resort homes which in turn lead to new services and businesses and before you know it you have golf course led urban sprawl. I personally would like to see more creative planning of golf course development to attempt to integrate courses into greenbelts flood plains hazard areas and other lands which have marginal uses. Above all I would like to see more public courses.

This leads me to the third impact of foreign investment I would like to discuss that is the social and community impacts of foreign investment in Hawaii. I am struck by the extent to which debate has often been reduced to simple binary dichotomies golfers v non golfers foreign v local people the haves v the havenots. I have done that here today. In some cases it is a function of language that it is easier to talk about binary polar opposites good versus evil black and white what is right and wrong. I am concerned about Japan bashing and racist backlash against others in our community who have very little to do with transnational capital. What I am concerned about is the way all of this forces us into a very narrow public policy trap a them or us view of the world which leads ultimately to conflict or even worse a winner take all mentality that is not only destructive to community but also wreaks havoc with democratic and pluralistic visions of planning. Let me give you some examples of what I mean.

I believe for example the issue of whether or not we build a convention center has less to do with the need for a convention center *per se* than it has to do with reconciling our own conflicting views of growth and development. The question really isn't whether or not a convention center would contribute to tourism but should we allow more growth and development to proceed in the only way we know how through the visitor industry? The question which we should be asking is not whether or not we want a convention center but rather do we really want tourism to grow?

Another area where sensible long range planning has been replaced by the winner take all perspective is in the area of mass transit. To me the

debate has never really been about whether or not fixed rail is a viable option for Honolulu. It has been cast in the public arena as a simplistic pro rail anti rail debate with the City the State developers construction industry on one side and the small businesses anti tax, bus and tour operators on the other side. What I find amazing about this debate is that many of the environmental groups including the Green Party have been against fixed rail. This may be the only state in the country where environmentalists believe that gasoline powered buses and autos are better than an electric rail system. To me what this signals is that debate about transit really isn't about transportation issues or even environmental issues but it is instead a debate about development and who should control it. What is even more amazing to me is the fact that while in every other major city in the nation transit is viewed as a progressive social investment which increases mobility for the transit dependent for women for students and the unemployed here in Hawaii we are inclined to view fixed rail just like any other construction project. People say we can't afford transit and yet we can afford dozens of new resorts and developments. The price of the West Beach resort alone is more than double the costs of fixed rail. I think it is more a case of where our priorities are rather than whether or not we can afford fixed rail.

I have to confess that I have gotten into just as many debates on fixed rail as golf course development.

The Growth Coalition

Anyway you could be asking yourself what is the connection between foreign investment convention centers golf courses and mass transit? Well one way of making the link is to borrow again from Logan and Molotch's book and apply the notion of a growth coalition that is a set of elites in business politics and even academia who stand to prosper because of economic growth. We have a substantial growth coalition here in Hawaii. It is not just the tourism promoters and hotel operators who want to see their occupancy rates increase and the visitor counts continue to arise but also all those engaged in real estate banking insurance development and construction who would like to see a booming economy. It doesn't matter where the funds come from just as long as development continues. We are surrounded by the growth coalition. How many of you have friends and relatives in real estate realtors appraisers loan officers mortgage bankers etc? While we in Hawaii are the 37th largest state in terms of population we are the sixth largest in terms of licensed real estate brokers. We have double the number of realtors as we do have teachers in the public and private school system. They are all part of the growth coalition. We have become dependent on growth. Faculty salaries are tied to economic growth. Employment is a function of economic growth. As we are reminded by those who have made the millionaire's club in our local real estate firms much of our income is dependent on these sales transactions the buying and selling of

assets rather than the creation of new ones. To sustain this image of prosperity of having a strong business climate of being a good place of investment we need convention centers billion dollar transit systems as well as new golf courses and resorts.

In the meantime from a political economy perspective the gap between the haves and havenots continues to widen. In addition to having all this prosperity we have one of lowest rates of home ownership in the nation. We have all of the contradictions associated with late capitalism of the 1990s.

million dollar condominiums which sit vacant while homelessness and families living in cars is on the increase. We have plantations and agricultural operations closing because the cost of land (among other factors) has risen to make suburban development or golf courses more profitable than farming. We have families buying three and four cars with two and three generations living together under one roof because of economic necessity. Much of our middle class has moved on to the mainland. I see a widening gap in not just the economic circumstances of rich and poor but also in terms of the basic quality of life. Lucky you live Hawai'i that is if you can afford it.

Planning for the Future of Hawaii

I want to wrap all of this up by looking at what we can do about this as planners and sociologists. But first I want to tell one more little story. One of the really enjoyable aspects of my job is teaching one course every two years in the Honors Program at UH. This is a joy because the students are so motivated (not that others are not) and because we discuss a variety of issues in a small group setting.

A few years back we were talking about the issue of property speculation and a spirited debate ensued. One student an economics major intent upon getting an M.B.A. announced that if people couldn't afford to live in Hawai'i then they should move on to the mainland where they would be likely to get a higher paying job and have lower costs of living. Another student a kid in sociology who had taken some environmental studies courses was arguing that people in Hawai'i should have a right to stay in their community and work to change these conditions. He spoke of community empowerment and social reform of Hawaiian values and so on. Funny thing though this kid was from the mainland while our economics major was born and bred right here on Oahu.

Certainly the point to be made is that values make a big difference in how we view the world and what should be appropriate policies and actions to deal with the political economy of foreign investment or mass transit golf courses or convention centers.

In my paper I've listed a range of strategies for increasing benefits and reducing costs associated with foreign investment. Some of these included increasing the flow and exchange of information conducting more fiscal impact assessments of foreign investment targeting it to occur in particular

industries and spatial areas developing some new tax policies increasing corporate responsibility and promoting alternative development schemes. These are somewhat technocratic suggestions which maybe the panelists will comment on.

I want to focus attention on what I think may be more important and an area where sociologists may be able to help out on. I think there is need to devise some type of new social agreement between members of what increasingly is becoming a global village. The 18th century philosopher Rousseau called this a social contract. It is not just a contract between a government and its people (although that would be good place to start) but between corporations and communities between rich and poor in Hawai'i. The system of representative democracy is falling apart due in part to the tremendous differences between haves and havenots between the growth coalition and those shut out of prosperity in Hawai'i. This may be a naive view of the world but I believe that without examining the basic social relations and the responsibilities associated with citizenship we have no choice but to let the market prevail. I think to some extent President Clinton's election to office may have resulted from a quest for to find this new social contract.

Here in Hawai'i I think the issues of self governance of local control of increasing democracy putting investment and planning decisions into the hands of people and workers are still vital political and economic topics for discussion. For this reason I personally am increasingly intrigued by the sovereignty movement in Hawai'i. Setting aside the enormous political social and managerial dimensions of the sovereignty issue I see the movement as forcing a much needed re examination of what should be the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in Hawai'i. Given the failings of not just the U.S. constitution in terms of protecting the people and lands of Hawai'i but also the increased threats from borderless multinational firms and transnational capital I am probably not the first (nor the last) to view Hawaiian sovereignty as at least one worthy alternative to being an economic colony of Japan. What if for example we ended up with a more democratic society under a sovereign Hawaiian state than the present system controlled by PACs special interest groups and those with land and power in Hawai'i?

I guess there is another reason why I'm not necessarily threatened by talk of Hawaiian sovereignty. I'd be inclined to bet you that even under a sovereign Hawaiian state there would be some use for a few planners (and maybe even some sociologists).