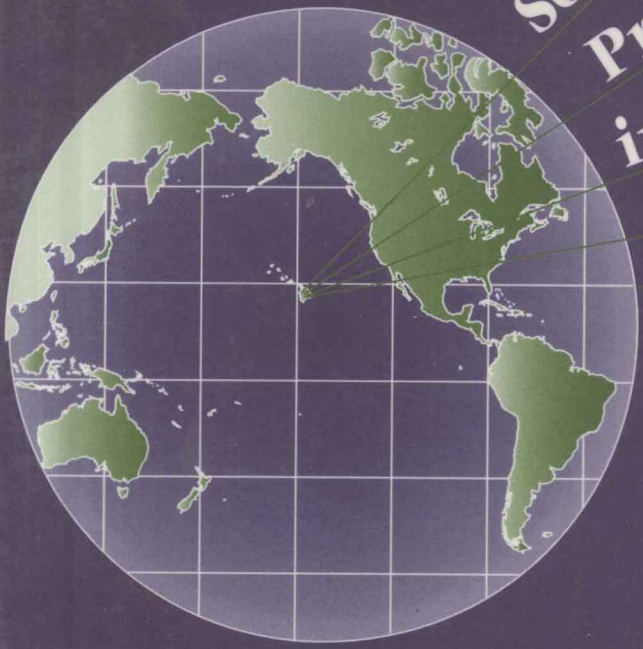
Social Process in Hawai'i

A Reader Second Edition

Peter Manicas



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Process in Hawai'i

A Reader Second Edition

Edited by
Peter Manicas
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

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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 irresistable.

Social Process in Hawai'i came into existence in 1935, a journal "devoted primarily to the social situation in Hawaii," 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's 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 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.

Aside, then, for the one essay 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 Hawai'i, 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 Hawai's: Development and Change, Vol. 33 (1991), pp. 12-38.

Eric Yamamoto, 'The Significance of Local,' Vol. 27 (1979), pp. 102-115

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 Hawai'i and Working Class Consciousness,' Vol. 31 (1984/85), pp. 155-182.

Bob H. Stauffer, 'The Tragic Maturing of Hawai'i's Economy,' Vol. 31 (1984/85), pp. 1-24.

Joyce Chinen, 'Sectors of Productive Capital and Income Inequality in Hawai'i, 1975,' Vol. 31 (1984/85), pp. 77-100.

Jonathan Y. Okamura, 'Why There are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The Continuing Signficance of Local Identity,' Vol. 35 (1994), pp. 161-178.

Introduction

It is very frequently said that Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i.

Why is Hawai'i such a wonderful laboratory for the study of social process? We should begin with the obvious: First, Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i, much needs yet to be done. Until very recently, the history of Hawai'i 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 de-population. 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! 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 accomodate 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 not here attempt to provide any sort of adequate account and readers are well advised to read carefully Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa's excellent recent history.[1] 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'omalu*** *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 amd 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'eleihiwa's book is what Western treatments call 'the Great **Mahele**.' But because it was such a great diasaster 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'eleihiwa 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'eleihiwa.

She notes, first, that while westerners have defined **mahele** to mean 'to divide,' it also connotes 'to share.' Kame'eleihiwa 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,

Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) ceded the kingdom to the British. (A residue of this is the Union Jack in the Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i remained a British colony. (As Kame'eleihiwa points out, the restoration was the occasion for Kauikeaouli'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 Euro-centrism 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 Kame'eleihiwa writes: 'In traditional Hawai'i, **'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 Hawai'i, 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 Kame'eleihiwa 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.

Kame'eleihiwa 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.).*

Kame'eleihiwa notes that the **Ali'i Nui**, tragically, did not listen to them: 'What the **maka'ainana** did not understand was that Kauikeaouli 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 Hawai'i. He saw that as far as Europeans were concerned, the Calvinists in Hawai'i 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 shops 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 Lihu'e 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.*[2]

According to Lind, in 1853 there were 1828 foreigners in Hawai'i, 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 Hawai'i.

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, Hawai'i'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 Hawai'i. 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 Hawai'i'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 World 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 Beechert 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' are 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 Hawai'i provides an excellent chance to see racism in construction.

Three brief essays, written in 1936 for the second issue of **Social Process in Hawai'i** 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 Hawai'i during this period. Douglas Yamamura looks at hotel workers. At that time Honolulu had but two hotels on Waikiki.

Lind, Beechart and Ikeda show how racism and then paternalism was used to control the plantation workforce--with effects that remain with us today. 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 strongest period of successful unionization in Hawai'i (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 Hawai'i.

We should distinguish first those relatively few, both **haole** and Asians, who did *not* come to Hawai'i as workers in the fields and who, generally, came with education and/or critical skills. Thus, the 1828 foreigners in Hawai'i 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 Hawai'i of people of this sort, increasingly in the period 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 pre-dominated. 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. 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 'upward mobility.'

This phenomenon was especially important for the Japanese in Hawai'i. 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 Hawai'i. 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 Hawai'i, a fact of considerable importance since.[3]

In this regard, as Alegado explains, Filipinos in Hawai'i were especially challenged. By the time they came, not only had opportunities in Hawai'i'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 Hawai'i. Filipinos, late to come for plantation work, have been late in achieving status in Hawai'i.

The contrast with the Germans who came to work the planations 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 Hawai'i, 'assimilation' was easy. Many of the names of streets in Honolulu bear names of members of these highly successful immigrants.[4]

How do the Hawaiians fit into the picture of ethnic social mobility in Hawai'i? 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 disasterous until the turn to tourism and rapid development which began in the 1950's. As Blaisdell points out, 'in the 1960's 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 essays all treat aspects of what has occurred as regards social change in Hawai'i since Statehood. Understanding these outcomes is surely a challenging responsibility. Stauffer argues that through foreign investment, tourism has propelled a loss of control over Hawai'i's future and that except for the very rich at the top of the income distribution, most residents of Hawai'i 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. Aoude's essay, published here for the first time, shows that foreign investment has dramatically accelerated, the cost of living has continued to increase and opportunities for good jobs continue to shrink.

These changes have also had significant consequences regards the social construction of ethnicity in Hawai'i. These are discussed in two essays, by Yamamoto and Okamura, added to this second edition. The situation in Hawai'i, perhaps unsurprisingly, is very different from that on the US mainland. The critical point of difference is the category 'local,' a concept which has been in continuous change since it was first introduced, perhaps during the dramatic Massie trial of 1931. In his essay, written in 1951, Ikeda noted that ethnic consciousness began to give way to class consciousness and, likely, this very much helped to shape the notion. Workers who had thought of themselves primarily in terms of their ancestry began to identity with one another--often in opposition to the **haole** boss. But at that time, 'local **hoale**' was not a contradiction in terms. Yamamoto, looking at the situation in the 1960s and 1970s suggests that 'local' had come to symbolize 'people who belong to Hawai'i--however defined--and their struggle to retain or regain control of Hawaii and its future' and to symbolize an appreciation of 'the "goodness" of the land, people, and cultures of Hawai'i.' But who was to be included as 'local' was complicated by the huge influx of 'mainland **haole**' in the seventies, and, of course, by the sovereignty movement. By 1970, e.g., 70% (some 125,732) of **haole** had been here less than five years. Moreover, most (some 66%) were 'high status' workers, and many were highly transient.[5] It was not clear to 'locals' whether they either 'belonged' or appreciated the 'goodness' of the land? For Hawaiians, seeking to 'de-colonize' their culture, this was especially painful. The resentment encountered by **haole** in recent years can be largely explained by this history.

Although Okamura is likely correct that the extraordinary amounts of Japanese investment in the 1980s have reinforced the structural boundary between local and nonlocal, it is probably no longer the case that the key division is a local/mainland **haole** dichotomy. Not only is sovereignty a burning issue, but the social characteristics of the 'mainland **haole**' apply as well to many non-**haoles** who have more recently been arriving in large numbers. The whole business is manifestly in flux and it remains to be seen whether, as many would hope, 'local' can be an *inclusive* category which might mobilize people to seek to regain control of Hawai'i and its future.

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. The test, then, regards the question of whether, with 'the new politics' after World War II, there were alternatives to what has happened? Stauffer and Noel Kent[6] 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 legitimation and leadership was provided by the Democratic party, a new party in power which had come to power with a strong base among a plurality of 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 nor 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