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### **Local Haole?**

#### **Whites, Racial and Imperial Loyalties, and Membership in Hawai'i<sup>1</sup>**

Paul Spickard

White people and other outsiders who come to Hawai'i have been known to write stories about the islands and the people of Hawai'i. Captain Cook's men, who came in the 1770s, wrote stories of heathen savagery and sexy women about the islanders they encountered.<sup>2</sup> Succeeding generations of visitors and longterm residents wrote stories of trials and triumphs during their time in the islands. For instance, an early English missionary named William Ellis published *A Journal of a Tour around Hawaii, the Largest of the Sandwich Islands*, in which he described "the History, Traditions, Manners, Customs and Language of the Inhabitants." An American, Sarah Joiner Lyman, kept a diary from 1830 to 1885 (it was later edited and published) in which she detailed the missionary work that she and her family conducted in Hilo. Sanford Dole and Lorrin Thurston, leaders of the racially-tinged 1893 coup against the Hawaiian monarchy and advocates for Hawai'i to be incorporated into the United States in 1898, wrote *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*.<sup>3</sup> More than a century later, the writing about Hawai'i continues. People who go to Hawai'i to be married, to honeymoon, or simply to vacation in Waikiki or Kihei come back with pictures and stories of tropical paradise and South Seas romance.<sup>4</sup> The archetype of the White outsider story is James Michener's novel *Hawaii*, which told a lot of Hawaiian history through the lives of the people he designated as the Golden Men—the polyglot, multiracial people whom he imagined to be the harbingers of an idyllic post-racial future.<sup>5</sup> Inevitably, such White people's stories probably tell more about the storytellers than they do about Hawai'i.<sup>6</sup> Hawai'i is a story object.

I lived in Hawai'i for a long time and I continue to have many ties there. I go back when I can, and often I wish I lived there still. But I am reluctant to be one of those White people who write stories about Hawai'i—who tell people, "This is what Hawai'i is like."<sup>7</sup> Because I respect the editors of this volume I will talk in this essay about being White in Hawai'i; yet I do so with a tentativeness that I cannot escape. For an insightful and theoretically and experientially informed treatment of Whiteness in Hawai'i, I urge the reader to consult a book by Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i*.<sup>8</sup>

#### **The History that Frames the Present**

There are four kinds of White people in Hawai'i. By far the largest number are tourists, who come in the millions each year to experience paradise for a few days or a few weeks.<sup>9</sup> Next in number come the thousands of military and naval personnel and their families who live in the islands during their tours of duty for a year or two.<sup>10</sup> There are also longer-term residents who have moved to Hawai'i permanently from other places, primarily the continental United States. All these are people who grew up unfamiliar with the word *Haole*. *Haole* is a combination of two Hawaiian words: *ha* (without) and *ole* (breath). The term originally applied to all foreigners, but it has functionally come to mean White people. The term *Haole* suggests that this particular kind of outsider may not understand the ways of Hawai'i and of Kânaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians).<sup>11</sup> Finally, the smallest number of White people in Hawai'i are local *Haoles*—people who grew up in the islands, who practice local culture, who speak Pidgin (the native common language spoken by Hawai'i's peoples), and who, though White, are part of the everyday fabric of island life.

The experiences of all White people in Hawai'i are framed by a long history of encounters between White outsiders and Kânaka Maoli.<sup>12</sup> Together those encounters constitute a familiar narrative in the islands. The first encounter was the coming of the British explorer Captain James Cook in 1776 and 1778. He and his crew made the first contact between Europeans and

Kânaka Maoli; after their visit, other Europeans, and later Americans, kept coming. They brought several things that are important for this discussion: disease, Christianity, transport out of the islands, embryonic capitalism, a colonizing mentality, and Euro-American ideas of racial hierarchy. White people's diseases resulted in a greater than 90 percent decline in the Kânaka Maoli population within three generations.<sup>13</sup> Christianity, first brought by missionaries in the early 1800s, transformed Hawaiian culture:<sup>14</sup> the kapu system (the previous mode of law and social organization) was banned and missionaries converted large swaths of the Kânaka Maoli population. The children of the missionaries married into the ali'i, or noble class. They (and some of the ali'i) clamored for the kingdom to grant individuals the right to own land that had formerly been held in common (they succeeded in the Mâhele land division of 1848).<sup>15</sup> In time, their descendants became wealthy landowners and political power brokers and the remaining Hawaiians descended in wealth and status. The White landowners brought in large numbers of laborers from China, Japan, the Philippines, and elsewhere to work on sugar and pineapple plantations. The plantations connected the local economy and its people to the international capitalist market system that was developing in those decades.<sup>16</sup>

By the 1880s White islanders were mocking the king in racist terms akin to White Americans' mockery of African Americans, and pressuring him to cede his powers to the populace (more specifically, to the White oligarchy).<sup>17</sup> In 1893 they overthrew the monarchy and established what they called a republic. Five years later they engineered the formal incorporation of Hawai'i into the American empire.<sup>18</sup> The territorial period, which lasted six decades, was the high point of colonialism and White dominion in the islands. Hawaiian culture such as language and hula declined; in some instances these expressions of Hawaiianness were banned. Many Kânaka Maoli resisted, but Whites came to hold all the reins of political and economic power.<sup>19</sup> They introduced a foreign concept—blood quantum—into the islands as the criterion for

Native Hawaiian membership, thus taking away further land and autonomy from the Hawaiian people.<sup>20</sup>

All this was cloaked in what historian Lori Pierce calls "the discourse of Aloha." The Hawaii Tourist Bureau and business interests promoted the islands as "the Paradise of the Pacific." In this fantasy, Hawai'i was a happy "melting pot of the Pacific" where the East and the West could meet in harmony; note that Kânaka Maoli were left out of this picture. Academics and others went along with the romance of a happy, multicultural, Asian-flavored Hawai'i melting pot.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, US colonial power was nearly total: the governor was appointed by the federal government, the military dominated the islands, the oligarchs controlled the economy, and the local legislature was in Haole hands. This power was racialized. Not only were Haoles at the top, but they habitually cast Hawaiians, Filipinos, and other pigment-rich peoples in terms parallel to those continental White Americans used to denigrate American Blacks.

After World War II, a new coalition entered politics: Japanese American soldiers returning from war joined with White Democrats and a few others to wrest control of the legislature and press for Hawai'i statehood, which came in 1959.<sup>22</sup> Statehood brought total incorporation into the United States. Many of Hawai'i's people began to leave the islands, seeking higher education and economic opportunities. In the islands, racial hierarchy did not disappear, but beginning in the 1970s a movement arose promoting Hawaiian culture and consciousness amid the continuing institutional colonialism. The Hawaiian language, hula, and other cultural expressions made a comeback. By the 1990s strong demands emerged for the return of some form of sovereignty to the Native Hawaiian people. At the same time, due to rapidly rising housing costs and limited economic opportunities in Hawai'i, a very large percentage of island people (Native Hawaiians and others) found themselves living in exile.<sup>23</sup>

So over many generations in Hawai'i in a colonial, capitalist setting, a racial hierarchy developed. White people came to inhabit the top rung in terms of wealth, status, and power. The descendants of Chinese and Japanese immigrants come next in the racial hierarchy. The business elite are mainly White or Chinese, although some are Japanese. Japanese-descended people tend to dominate education, government, and social services. Most of the people doing body labor are distinctly browner: Hawaiians, Samoans, Filipinos, Micronesians (all colonized peoples themselves).<sup>24</sup>

### **Ways of Being White in Hawai'i**

The story of White-Hawaiian encounters I have told in these paragraphs is one that is familiar to every politically-minded person who has spent any significant amount of time in the islands. It is an inheritance that frames the lives of all White people in Hawai'i—they are all indisputably heirs to the colonial imposition by earlier generations of White Americans—but the four kinds of White people inherit these issues in somewhat different fashions. For White tourists (even those tourists who have come repeatedly and who feel they know the islands well) and for military people (even those with long hitches and a high degree of local knowledge), this history means that they are not part of Hawai'i. They love the surf and sun. They love the laid-back pace of life. They love the gentle warmth of the welcome they receive from the tourist industry. They love the exotic feel of peoples and foods from all over the Pacific and Asia. Some among them love to feel in the know, to learn a little Hawaiian culture, to try to talk Pidgin. By far the majority of tourists and military people are more or less oblivious to the history of racial hierarchy and dispossession that has characterized Hawai'i's past and that shapes its present. They are generally welcomed in the islands as visitors, but they are not local.

"Local" is a designation that is expressed mainly in Pidgin and only sometimes in national standard English. Local denotes people who are part of the fabric of life in

Hawai'i. Most local people have at least part Hawaiian, other Pacific Islander, or Asian descent. They were born in the islands or at least received most of their schooling there. While racial divisions are manifest in Hawai'i, the most significant social dividing line is between people who are local and people who are not local. People who are local speak Pidgin as their mother tongue, although they may also be adept at national standard English. They know and embrace the joys of plate lunch. They are automatically a little distrustful of Haoles. Although there are Haoles who were born and brought up in Hawai'i, it is more difficult for a White person to be accorded local status than it is for a person of color. For a Haole to be considered local by other local people, he or she has to perform localness with special vigor—by speaking thicker Pidgin, for instance (this is also true for those Hapas, people of mixed race, who bear the marks of a White phenotype).<sup>25</sup>

There are some White people who have lived much longer in the islands than either tourists or military people, yet still are not local. Some such people—generally they are nice people and sometimes quite knowledgeable—try to position themselves as "Hawaiians at heart." The women wear mu'umu'u's, the men aloha shirts; both wear slippers (what continental Americans call thongs or flip-flops). They may learn hula, read Hawaiian history, collect Hawaiiana, and study island flora or cuisine. In doing these things they are making a move toward Hawaiian culture, but not toward localness. For all that they may be people of knowledge and good will, they do not become Native Hawaiians and they do not become local. They are just Haoles who have been in Hawai'i for a long time.<sup>26</sup>

Some White people who have lived long in the islands, and even some whose roots go back a century or more, profess to be aggrieved on racial grounds. Thurston Twigg-Smith, grandson of the 1893 Haole revolutionary leader Lorrin Thurston, contests the version of Hawaiian history I recited at the beginning of this chapter. Perhaps unsurprisingly, he views the overthrow as a noble and benign act and

the achievement of statehood as a universally popular development.<sup>27</sup> Kenneth Conklin, a Boston schoolteacher, retired to Hawai'i in 1992. He "came to Hawaii for spiritual rejuvenation. . . . visited Hawaii on summer vacations since 1982 and felt drawn to its beautiful rainbow of races and cultures, especially native Hawaiian. It was easier to feel the presence of the gods in Hawaii than anywhere else." Conklin's love affair with the islands did not last long. Soon he was calling the advocates of Hawaiian sovereignty "evil" and their movement "apartheid." Conklin joined a 2000 lawsuit that overturned the longstanding practice of allowing only people of Kânaka Maoli ancestry to serve as trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs; then he ran unsuccessfully for the board himself. He has been an indefatigable writer of letters to the editor. He self-published a book, *Hawaiian Apartheid: Racial Separatism and Ethnic Nationalism in the Aloha State*, and maintains an anti-Kânaka Maoli website.<sup>28</sup>

Some White tourists, some White college students who come from other places, some White military people, even some longtime residents of Hawai'i have experienced race in ways that make them feel uncomfortable, out of place, marked by their Whiteness. They aren't used to being called out racially, and sometimes they resent it. Some object to being called Haole or White; that is, they dislike having their race marked. They say they would rather be called Caucasian or just American. Some Haoles feel threatened when they are not deferred to as they are used to being deferred to in the places from which they came.

A public debate from 1990 captures this dynamic. Joey Carter, a White University of Hawai'i philosophy major from Louisiana, wrote an article for *Ka Leo*, the student newspaper. He complained about "Caucasian-bashing" in Hawai'i. He claimed that he had been "chased and beaten" by local toughs, though he gave no details. He positioned himself as a raceless individual: "Am I a haole? Am I even a Caucasian? I'm not sure. . . . As a unique person who has a unique background and unique ideas and opinions, I, too, often find

myself as part of the minority in situations." Honest to God, only a White person could write like this. Carter relentlessly sought to posture himself as a raceless individual and a victim of local racism against Haoles.<sup>29</sup>

It was a pretty tawdry and self-serving exercise, but he was an undergraduate and perhaps sophomores are entitled to be sophomoric in the school paper. Hawaiian studies professor Haunani-Kay Trask responded to Carter politely but firmly. She addressed him as "Mr. Carter" throughout, but there was no mistaking her dismissal of his argument:

Mr. Carter . . . wants to pretend that he is outside American history. . . . Mr. Carter is a privileged member of American society because he is haole, whether he acknowledges his privilege or not. . . . As an American in Hawai'i, Mr. Carter is benefiting from stolen goods. Part of that benefit is the moral blindness of the settler who insists on his "individuality." . . . Mr. Carter could examine his own presence here, and how things haole, including the English language, the political and economic systems, and the non-self-governing status of Native Hawaiians allows him to live and work in my country when so many of my own people have been driven out. . . . The hatred and fear people of color have of white people is based on that ugly history Mr. Carter is pretending to have an "individual" exemption from. . . . On the rare occasions that we feel something other than hostility, something like trust or friendship for certain haole, it is because we have made an exception for them. . . . If Mr. Carter does not like being called haole, he can return to Louisiana.<sup>30</sup>

Okay, Professor Trask was not overly polite. One can debate the wisdom of a professor taking on a student so directly.<sup>31</sup> But Carter did put his ideas out there in the public press, and so he invited a public response. I remember reading Professor Trask's words at the time and, as a Haole then living in Kane'ohe, agreeing with every word that she wrote. It's not a problem to be called a Haole in Hawai'i.

That is what you are. You have a racial position of a certain privilege because of the colonized nature of Hawaiian society. The legacy of racialized colonial domination in the islands means that Haoles, and Hawaiians, Pakes (Chinese), Japanese, Filipinos, Portuguese, Samoans, Tongans, Micronesians, Mexicans, Blacks, and other peoples are all racially marked in local discourse. That marking is not necessarily a negative thing. It's just noting a person's social location.<sup>32</sup> A lot of White people from outside Hawai'i, it turns out, seem to be unused to having their Whiteness marked, so apparently they feel threatened by that marking when it happens locally. No one is attacking them by calling them Haoles. They need to get over it.

Judy Rohrer, a local Haole, recounts a story from a political science class at the University of Hawai'i that captures the situation:

A haole student from California on a one-year exchange program ended up in one of my classes. Almost from day one she expressed irritation at being called out as a haole. She complained in the usual continental style that it was rude and discriminatory for others to affix this label to her. After a few weeks of listening to this student, our haole professor spoke from her fifty-plus years of experience in Hawai'i. Phyllis Turnbull instructed the student: "You have three choices. You can be a haole, a dumb haole, or a dumb fucking haole. It's up to you."<sup>33</sup>

### **Is It Possible for a Haole to Be Local?**

Lastly, we turn to local Haoles. They exist. Chad Blair, the "senior haole correspondent" for *Civil Beat*, an online Honolulu newspaper, is not a local Haole, but he poses a provocative question:

*How long do malihini [newcomers] have to live in Hawaii before they are local? One year. Twenty years. Never. When you understand Pidgin. When you begin using Pidgin. When you favor Zippy's over California Pizza Kitchen. When you say*

"shoyu" instead of "soy sauce." When you stop pouring shoyu on rice. When you pronounce and spell "Kalaniana'ole" correctly. When you buy a Japanese car. When you start watching K-dramas. When you marry a local. When you have a child born in Hawaii. When that child is called a keiki.<sup>34</sup>

Blair's answer is clever, and it highlights the fact that there is no ironclad rule for what can turn a Haole into someone who is local. Yet it is still an outsider's answer. It implies that becoming local is something one can aim for and achieve. I would suggest, rather, that you cannot work to become local. Rather, you are local when local people see you as one of themselves and not an outsider. That depends on your performance, to be sure: on what they see in your behavior and in your heart. But it is not a status to which you can aspire. It is certainly not a right; you cannot claim it. It is a social position that you may have only when local people recognize it in you.<sup>35</sup>

It is easier to be considered local if you were born in Hawai'i. It is easier if you speak Pidgin. It is easier if you went to elementary school in Hawai'i. In those circumstances there are local people who know you and you also know how to behave in a way that fits local norms. It is harder to be considered local if you are pigment poor than if you are pigment rich. I know of several mixed-race families where one sibling has dark brown hair and eyes and golden brown skin and a sister or brother is lighter though still visibly mixed; in every such case, the darker sibling has an easier time being accepted as local. More importantly, it is harder to be accorded local status if you act in ways that local people identify with Haole outsiders. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert describe it this way: "*Ho'o haole*. To act like a white person, to ape the white people, or assume airs of superiority (often said disparagingly, especially of half-whites)." Chas Smith, a surf magazine writer, puts it this way: "Maybe shifty, pretentious, two-face behavior is haole. Maybe an entitled attitude is haole." A commenter who identified him- or herself as "Born & Raised. Not Hawaiian" put it this way in response to an article in *Mauinews.com*:

"'just be nice.' asians, hispanics, haole, portuguese—technically they aren't hawaiian, but anyone born here can be 'local-minded' based on how they act towards others."<sup>36</sup>

Is it possible for Haoles who were born or who grew up in the islands to be local? Yes, although there are real difficulties for White-identified young people who grow up in the islands and they should not be minimized. Children don't make the social rules, but frequently they enforce them on their classmates and playmates. Adult racial resentments, however legitimate, may work their way into cruel behavior by children. A White or part-White child may feel some stigma from being called Haole and from other children assuming that she is stuck up because she is a Haole. She may in fact not be acting in a way that an objective observer would see as Haolefied, but little children do not always make the most subtle distinctions. It is indisputable that some Haole and light-skinned children face taunting and subtler social pressures. That probably is unjust. Although one can argue that they benefit from White privilege just as much as their parents do, I don't think it is reasonable to punish a small child for structural oppressions that she did not create and that she likely does not yet understand. When she has grown to maturity, it will be reasonable to call her to account, but when she is a child I think we ought to err on the side of kindness.

Megan Herndon described her experience of growing up Haole in Hawai'i:

Where I come from, white people are not the majority. I grew up with the stereotype of being the "haole" kid, the white kid. Even though I could walk barefoot on burning pavement—a talent of all kids from Hawaii—and I would eat ahi poke over a cheeseburger any day, I would never be considered local because of my blonde hair and green eyes. However, if you were to x-ray or ultrasound me and someone who looked more local, you probably would find the same thing: skin damaged from the sun and battered bones from outdoor adventures. . . .

I grew up in a place where I was teased for being white, but I also grew up in a place where they use the word "aloha" to say hello, goodbye, and I love you; to say hi to someone is to love them. I grew up learning Hawaiian history and how immigrants from around the world moved there to work together on plantations, which created the melting pot of races that live there today.

My home is a place where you can tease someone a little bit for her race, but it is not based in hate. Everyone gets teased a little because there are numerous races living together and each has its own idiosyncrasies.<sup>37</sup>

Jeff Moniz offers us a way to conceptualize who is likely to be accorded local status.<sup>38</sup> Please notice I did not say "eligible"—it is not a set of rules, it is a map of possibilities. The map is based on the interaction of two factors: one's racialized identity and one's embodied worldview. Moniz divides people in Hawai'i into groups by their ancestry:

- Haole
- Hapa, or mixed race—which he further subdivides into those who are part Hawaiian and those without any Kânaka Maoli ancestry, and
- Monoracial non-Haole—which he further subdivides into Kânaka Maoli and settler peoples of color such as Chinese, Japanese, and Samoans.

Across those categories he lays a grid according to people's worldview, the way they conceive and live their lives:

- Haole or Euro-American
- Local
- Kânaka Maoli, and
- Asian or other settler monocultural worldview.

In Moniz's schema, Haoles may be local, but only if their worldview, social connections, and loyalties are local. If they cling to their Haoleness (and most do) then they will never be local. Whether or not a Haole can become part of the fabric of Hawai'i life is dependent in part on his or her ancestry. It is partly about

how he feels, the degree to which he identifies with Hawai'i and its peoples. But it is mainly about how he behaves, and about who accepts him as local.

Local status, in Moniz's understanding, is not necessarily fixed; it is fluid. Some people are regarded as local almost all the time. Others almost never. Many are accorded local status in some contexts and not in others. Only White people who live out a Euro-American worldview can never be accorded local status. Other people may be accorded and may embrace local identity or they may not. As Moniz writes,

A Kanaka Maoli who possesses an indigenous worldview may choose to identify as local. This choice would not be contested because Kanaka Maoli are usually considered the most authentically local identity associated with Hawai'i. By contrast, a haole possessing a Kanaka Maoli or local worldview [such as someone who was adopted by a Hawaiian family by the practice of hanai] is not automatically granted local status, due to his or her appearance. In order to prove one's localness, that person would have to perform localness or Hawaiian-ness by practicing language or cultural expressions associated with being local or Kanaka Maoli. This can often be accomplished through speaking Pidgin or Hawaiian or adopting Hawaiian cultural practices like surfing, performing hula, or any of a number of traditions associated with local culture in Hawai'i.<sup>39</sup>



The lives of Haoles and all other peoples in Hawai'i are inevitably framed by the long history of colonial imposition and White privilege that continues to the present day. There are racial fissures in Hawaiian society: between Kânaka Maoli and everybody else, between people who are local and people who are not. In recent years, racism and profiling have been visited especially upon Blacks, Latinos, Filipinos, and Micronesians. All these

fissures are reinforced by class inequality. Racial antipathy is not nearly as strong as it is in many parts of the United States, but it exists. Racialized relationships are part of everyday life, and race is marked verbally in every social encounter.

The vast majority of White people one encounters in Hawai'i are simply Haoles: foreigners. They come as tourists or military people for a time, and for all that they may like Hawai'i and may learn some things about Hawai'i, they are not part of the fabric of local life. Most other Haoles, even ones who live many years in the islands, never become local. A few do. Most of those are people who were born and grew up in the islands, who speak Pidgin at least some of the time, who adopt a local lifestyle and view of the world. The big question for Haoles in Hawai'i is: Where does your ultimate loyalty lie? Are you on the side of Hawai'i and its peoples, or are you on the side of the colonizers?

At the beginning of this chapter I expressed the tentativeness with which I approach the subject of White people's place in Hawai'i. I am not eager to proclaim: "This is the way it is in Hawai'i." There are other White people who have lived long in the islands, as well as Kânaka Maoli and Asians and others who have ideas about Haoles, who may see these things differently than I do. But this is the way it seems to me.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Many people had a hand in teaching me the things I recount here. None was more important than the late William Kauaiwiulaokalani Wallace III. I am only one of thousands of people from Hawai'i who miss him terribly. I am also grateful to Naomi Kelly and Daniel Spickard for the comments they made on this chapter and the life lessons they taught me. I am further grateful for close readings and suggestions made by Rudy Guevarra, Camilla Fojas, and Nitasha Sharmar.

<sup>2</sup> Places to begin on Cook's encounter with Hawai'i include: Karina Kahananui Green, "Colonialism's Daughters: Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Western Perceptions of Hawaiian Women," in *Pacific Diaspora: Island*

*Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific*, ed. Paul Spickard, Joanne L. Rondilla, and Debbie Hippolite Wright (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003): 221-52; James R. Cook, *The Journals of Captain Cook* (New York: Penguin, 1999; orig. 1955-67); J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, 1776-1780* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1967); R. T. Gould, *Captain Cook* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1978; orig. 1935); John Ledyard, *John Ledyard's Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage*, ed. James Munford (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1963); Marshall Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Marshall Sahlins, *How "Natives" Think: About Captain Cook, for Example* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Richard Alexander Hough, *Captain James Cook: A Biography* (New York: Norton, 1995); Martin Dugard, *Farther Than Any Man: The Rise and Fall of Captain James Cook* (New York: Washington Square Press, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> William Ellis, *A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owyhee, with remarks on the History, Traditions, Manners, Customs and Language of the Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1917); Sarah Joiner Lyman, *The Lymans of Hilo* (Hilo: Lyman House Memorial Museum, 1979); Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (New York: Sherman Converse, 1848); C. S. Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands during the Years 1823, 1824, and 1825* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1970); Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke, *Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke: Their Autobiography Gleaned From Their Journals and Letters*, ed. Mary Richards (Honolulu: Daughters of Hawai'i, 1987; orig. 1941); Mark Twain, *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawai'i*, ed. A. Grove Day (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966); Sanford B. Dole and Lorrin A. Thurston, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, ed. Andrew Farrell (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., 1936). For a collection of such White people's accounts, see A. Grove Day and Carl Stroven, *A Hawaiian Reader* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1959).

<sup>4</sup> SilverFoxx1972, "Our Hawaiian Vacation with my new GoPro Hero 3" ([www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dnnac4xSFm8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dnnac4xSFm8); retrieved January 25, 2015); Katie Lane, "My Hawaiian Vacation!" (<http://www.katielanebooks.com/my-hawaiian->

[vacation/](http://www.vogue.com/872802/swept-away-model-tori-praver-and-surfer-danny-fullers-hawaiian-wedding/); retrieved January 25, 2015); "Swept Away: Model Tori Praver and Surfer Danny Fuller's Hawaiian Wedding," *Vogue* (<http://www.vogue.com/872802/swept-away-model-tori-praver-and-surfer-danny-fullers-hawaiian-wedding/>; retrieved January 25, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> James A. Michener, *Hawaii* (New York: Random House, 1959).

<sup>6</sup> A case in point is an elegantly written book by two of America's most distinguished historians, Beth Bailey and David Farber. As one reads *The First Strange Place*, it turns out the book, while quite good, is not about Hawai'i at all, but rather about how US military men experienced Hawai'i during their sojourns there in the Second World War. Hawai'i, Native Hawaiians, and other local people are almost invisible in their account. Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (New York: Free Press, 1992).

<sup>7</sup> That may be one of the reasons why, although I agreed nearly a decade ago to write a book under the title *This Is Our Kuleana: Race and Power in Hawai'i*, I have never succeeded in getting very far with that project. I hope that in the years ahead of me I may overcome this particular case of writer's block.

<sup>8</sup> Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Jane C. Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Lori Pierce, "'The Whites Have Created Modern Honolulu': Ethnicity, Racial Stratification, and the Discourse of Aloha," in *Racial Thinking in the United States: Uncompleted Independence*, ed. Paul Spickard and G. Reginald Daniel (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004): 124-54; Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993); Noel J. Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993); Mansel Blackford, *Fragile Paradise: The Impact of Tourism on Maui, 1959-2000* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2001); Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: US Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the American Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

<sup>10</sup> Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See? The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the*



*Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Brian Ireland, *The US Military in Hawai'i: Colonialism, Memory, and Resistance* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>11</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *New Pocket Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 21. Some suggest this usage stems from the ancient custom of greeting one another by coming close and sniffing near each other's cheek. If that be the case, Haole would probably refer to non-Hawaiians' lack of knowledge of the proper form of greeting: they don't sniff. On the other hand, it might suggest that these foreigners smelled bad.

<sup>12</sup> Common places to begin on that history include Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1968); Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961); Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3 vols. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938-1967); and James L. Haley, *Captive Paradise: A History of Hawaii* (New York: St. Martin's, 2014). They contain much useful information, but for interpretation they should be supplemented by the books that appear in the notes immediately below, as well as Ward Churchill and Sharon H. Venne, eds., *Islands in Captivity: The International Tribunal on the Rights of Indigenous Hawaiians* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2004); Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, rev. ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999); Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lâhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); and Michael Kioni Dudley and Keoni Kealoha Agard, *A Call for Hawaiian Sovereignty* (Waipahu HI: Nâ Kâne O Ka Malo Press, 1990).

<sup>13</sup> David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989); O. A. Bushnell, *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993); Kerri A. Inglis, *Ma'i Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> Jennifer Thigpen, *Captive Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai'i's Pacific* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in 19th-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Lyle Alexander Dickey, *Portraits of Protestant*

*Missionaries to Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1901).

<sup>15</sup> Lilikalâ Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lâ E Pono Ai [How shall we live in harmony]?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Linda S. Parker, *Native American Estate: The Struggle Over Indian and Hawaiian Lands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); Riley Moore Moffett and Gary L. Fitzpatrick, *Surveying the Mahele: Mapping the Hawaiian Land Revolution* (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1995); Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Mahele* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1958); Sally Engel Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983); Ed Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985); George Cooper and Gavan Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990); Moon-Kie Jung, *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawai'i's Interracial Labor Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).

<sup>17</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i* (Kihei, HI: Koa Books, 2009); Michael Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom: Probing Hawaiian History* (Waimanalo, HI: Island Press, 1992); Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq* (New York: Times Books, 2006); Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawaii, 1838-1917* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1991); Julia Flynn Siler, *Lost Kingdom: Hawaii's Last Queen, the Sugar Kings, and America's First Imperial Adventure* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2012). For comic relief, see Thurston Twigg-Smith, *Hawaiian Sovereignty: Do the Facts Matter?* (Honolulu: Goodale Publishing, 1998). Full incorporation did not occur until the Organic Act of 1900 made US law the law of Hawai'i; <http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/us-organic-act-1900.shtml> (retrieved January 27, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, *Waves of Resistance: Surfing and History in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press,

2011); American Friends Service Committee, *Resistance in Paradise: Rethinking 100 Years of US Involvement in the Caribbean and the Pacific* (Philadelphia: Office of Curriculum Support, School District of Philadelphia, 1998): 131-58.

<sup>20</sup> J. Kêhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Paul Spickard, "Pacific Islander American Multiethnicity: A Vision of America's Future?" *Social Forces*, 73.4 (June 1995): 1365-83.

<sup>21</sup> Pierce, "Discourse of Aloha"; Lori Pierce, "Creating a Racial Paradise: Citizenship and Sociology in Hawai'i," in *Race and Nation: Ethnic Systems in the Modern World*, ed. Paul Spickard (New York: Routledge, 2005): 69-86; Adria L. Imada, "'Aloha 'Oe': Settler-Colonial Nostalgia and the Genealogy of a Love Song," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 37.2 (2013): 35-52. Tourism promoters and scholarly writers concentrated on the many Asian peoples who lived in Hawai'i and gloried in racial mixing as a panacea for social hierarchy, to wit: Romanzo C. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan, 1937); Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 4th ed. (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980); Sidney L. Gulick, *Mixing the Races in Hawaii: A Study of the Coming Neo-Hawaiian Race* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937). See also early-twentieth-century booster magazines like *Paradise of the Pacific* and *Mid-Pacific Magazine*.

<sup>22</sup> Tom Coffman, *The Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); John Whitehead, *Completing the Union: Alaska, Hawai'i, and the Battle for Statehood* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*.

<sup>23</sup> Dudley and Agard, *Call for Sovereignty*; Trask, *Native Daughter*; Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*; Noelani Goodyear-Kaopua, Ikaika Hussey, and Erin Kahunawaika'ala Walker, eds., *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mâkou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 2014); George H. S. Kanahale, *Kû Kanaka: Stand Tall: A Search for Hawaiian Values* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985); Davianna Pomaika'i McGregor, *Nâ Kua'âina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

<sup>24</sup> Okamura, *Ethnicity and Inequality*.

<sup>25</sup> Eric Yamamoto, "The Significance of Local," *Social Process in Hawai'i*, 27 (1979): 101-15; Eric Chock, James R. Harstad, Darrell H.Y. Lu, and Bill

Teter, eds., *Growing Up Local: An Anthology of Poetry and Prose from Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1998); Lee Cataluna, *Folks You Meet in Longs and Other Stories* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 2005); Lois-Ann Yamanaka, *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theater* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1993).

<sup>26</sup> Mark Blackburn, *Hawaiiana: The Best of Hawaiian Design*, rev. ed. (Atglen, Penn.: Schiffer, 2001); Desoto Brown and Linda Arthur, *The Art of the Aloha Shirt* (Waipahu, Hawai'i: Island Heritage Publishing, 2008); Sophia W. Schweitzer, *Tiki of Hawai'i: A History of Gods and Dreams* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2005); Chris Pfouts, *Hula Dancers and Tiki Gods* (Atglen, Penn.: Schiffer, 2001); Linda B. Arthur, *Aloha Attire: Hawaiian Dress for the Twentieth Century* (Atglen, Penn.: Schiffer, 1999); Don R. Severson, *Finding Paradise: Island Art in Private Collections* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002); Mary Philpotts McGrath, *Hawai'i, A Sense of Place: Island Interior Design* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2005); Jacy L. Youn, "Hawaiiana Gets a Helping Hand: Cultural Consultants Support Local Companies Wanting to 'Go Hawaiian,'" *Hawaii Business*, 49.5 (November 1, 2003).

<sup>27</sup> Twigg-Smith, *Hawaiian Sovereignty*.

<sup>28</sup> Kenneth R. Conklin, *Hawaiian Apartheid: Racial Separatism and Ethnic Nationalism in the Aloha State* (Montgomery, Ala.: E-Book Time, 2007). His website is <http://www.angelfire.com/hi2/hawaiiansovereignty/>; retrieved February 1, 2015.

<sup>29</sup> Joey Carter, "Being Haole in Hawai'i," *Ka Leo* (September 6, 1990; reprinted November 15, 2002).

<sup>30</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, "Caucasians Are Haole," *Ka Leo* (September 1990; reprinted November 15, 2002). Full disclosure: I seem to be one of the Haoles for whom Professor Trask has made an exception. We don't hang out, but we have known each other and interacted in mutually supportive ways several times over the last twenty-five years. At the time of the Carter-Trask interaction, I was teaching at the arch-conservative Mormon school, Brigham Young University – Hawai'i. That she could embrace someone who came to her on such a conservative, White-dominated colonial vector suggests that she did not have a problem with Haoles as such, so much as with Haoles who did not want to own up to the privilege they possessed.

<sup>31</sup> At worst, one might assert that Professor Trask's professorial power position about evenly matched Mr. Carter's racial power position. Nonetheless, the two articles summoned up a debate in the islands about the appropriateness of

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Professor Trask's comments, including criticism on the floor of the state legislature. For outside comment, see Susan Esoyan, "Race Relations: Aloha Spirit of Love Gives Way to 'Yankee Go Home': Professor's Anti-Whites Stand Sets Off Debate on Racism in Hawaii," *Los Angeles Times* (November 28, 1990); Richard Halloran, "Hawaii Journal: Rare Storm Over Race Ruffles a Mixed Society," *New York Times* (December 26, 1990). The Hawai'i controversy is laid out in Mahjid Tehranian, ed., *Restructuring for Ethnic Peace: A Public Debate at the University of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawai'i, 1991).

<sup>32</sup> Spickard, "Pacific Islander Multiethnicity."

<sup>33</sup> Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i*, 54

<sup>34</sup> Chad Blair, "Haole? The Unbearable Whiteness of Being," *Civil Beat* (June 19, 2012) <http://www.civilbeat.com/2012/06/16111-haole-the-unbearable-whiteness-of-being/>, retrieved January 26, 2015.

<sup>35</sup> Keiko Ohnuma, "Local *Haole*—A Contradiction in Terms? The Dilemma of Being White, Born and Raised in Hawai'i," *Cultural Values*, 6.3 (2002): 273-85.

<sup>36</sup> Pukui and Elbert, *New Pocket Hawaiian Dictionary*, 21; Chas Smith, "Haoles, Take Note," *Surfing Magazine* (February 12, 2014) <http://www.surfingmagazine.com/magazine/haoles-take-note/>, retrieved January 26, 2015; Born & Raised. Not Hawaiian, comment on Nate Gaddis, "Once a Haole, Always a Haole," *Mauinow.com* (June 15, 2012), <http://mauinow.com/2012/06/15/opinion-once-a-haole-always-a-haole/>, retrieved January 26, 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Megan Herndon, "Race Project: Race Exhibit from a Haole Girl's Perspective," *Seattle Times Blog* (November 12, 2013) <http://blogs.seattletimes.com/race-awsd/2013/11/12/race-project-race-exhibit-from-a-haole-girls-perspective/>, retrieved January 26, 2015.

<sup>38</sup> Jeffrey Moniz and Paul Spickard, "Carving Out a Middle Ground: The Case of Hawai'i," in *Mixed Messages: Multiracial Identities in the "Color-Blind" Era* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006): 63-81. I was second author on this article, but the portion I am citing here is Jeff's.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.