

The 1970 Census and the Future of Hawaii

In 1970, Hawaii's economy was thriving. Sugar production reached historic highs, even surpassing the boom years of the 60s, and the pineapple industry was still enjoying two decades of steady growth after flat numbers during the 30s and 40s. Defense spending remained considerable, as the Vietnam War continued to drag on, and Hawaii's tourist industry now boasted nearly two million visitors a year. At war's end, however, Hawaii's economy began thirty years of decline. Defense spending dropped, and the sugar and pineapple industries faltered. By the end of the century, sugar production would actually plummet to numbers not seen since annexation. But Hawaii's tourist industry would continue to grow over the last decades of the 20th century, and phenomenal growth in tourism would in fact become the underpinning of the state's entire economy. In 1980 there were nearly four million visitors to Hawaii each year, and in 1990 there were nearly seven million visitors to Hawaii each year. By the turn of the 21st century, tourism was a double-edged sword. It was the state's number one industry, but it was changing the landscape of Hawaii forever. Honolulu was no longer recognizable to anyone who had lived there in the 60s, just as outer islands like Maui were no longer recognizable to anyone who had lived there in the 70s.

The big news of 1970 was the 1970 federal census which eliminated the "part-Hawaiian" category all together. Suddenly full-blooded Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were lumped into one group called "Hawaiian." According to Robert C. Schmitt, in his voluminous *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (1977), "persons of mixed stock, including part-Hawaiian, [were] classified either on the basis of self-identification or race of father. [Therefore] many persons who would have been counted as part-Hawaiians [in previous censuses] were classified as Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, or some other race in 1970." The result of the 1970 census was a statistically manipulated decline of the part-Hawaiian population, and the statistical elimination of the full-blooded Hawaiian population. From 1960 numbers showing over 90,000 part-Hawaiians and about 11,000 full-blooded Hawaiians, and mid-60s numbers showing almost 120,000 part-Hawaiians and about 7,500 full-blooded Hawaiians, there were suddenly only about 70,000 "Hawaiians." In effect, the new criteria for determining ethnicity made it seem like there were fewer part-Hawaiians than there really were, which resonated in some quarters, while the lumping together of two native populations served to obscure the declining number of full-blooded Hawaiians, confusing that particular issue for scholars, health care workers, and everybody else for the remainder of the century and into the 21st century. Subsequent censuses would continue to lump full-Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians into one category, and while most observers correctly assumed that the "Hawaiian" population was overwhelmingly part-Hawaiian, it became increasingly difficult to put an exact number on the full-blooded population. Interestingly, all part-Hawaiians had the option of identifying themselves as Hawaiian in the 1970 census, but many of them chose not to do so, possibly due to a lack of enthusiasm for being Hawaiian in 1970. By the time of the year 2000 federal census, however, when it was considered fashionable to be native, the number of part-Hawaiians who adamantly self-identified as Hawaiians would grow to a whopping 230,000 people.

At the conclusion of the Vietnam War in the early-70s, refugees from Southeast Asia immigrated to Hawaii, adding to the state's already diverse Asian population. By then, however, Hawaii's vast Asian and mixed-Asian population was part and parcel of a grand camouflage of non-whites that further concealed the impending extinction of full-blooded Hawaiians. The celebration of diversity continued into the 1990s, when there were about twenty languages spoken in Island households. English-only was spoken in 75 percent of households, but other languages spoken at home included, in descending order of usage, Japanese, Tagalog (Filipino), Ilocano (Filipino),

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

Chinese, Korean, Spanish, Samoan, Hawaiian, Vietnamese, German, French, Thai/Laotian, Tongan, Bisayan (Filipino), and Portuguese. Interestingly, Hawaii's Portagee population had become almost exclusively English speaking by the 1990s. By then, too, Tongans from southern Polynesia had joined their Samoan cousins in Hawaii, and were part of a small but very visible population of Hawaiian look-alikes. Behind the Asian camouflage and the equally effective Polynesian camouflage, full-blooded Hawaiians were all but forgotten.

A census taken in 1998 by the State Department of Health showed that Hawaii was still a majority Asian state by the end of the century. Interestingly, that census also attempted to classify the state's long-standing population groups into unmixed and mixed categories. There were about 250,000 unmixed whites including Portagee in Hawaii in 1998, as well as about 208,000 unmixed Japanese, about 145,000 unmixed Filipinos, and about 42,000 unmixed Chinese. There were also about 185,000 Asian mixes in Hawaii in 1998, and about 235,000 natives, but again there was no distinction made between full-Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, although everyone assumed that very few of that number were full-blooded Hawaiians. The majority of all these people lived on Oahu, and especially in Honolulu, which by then had about 400,000 residents.

Pent up grassroots resentment brewing since the 1970 census, held during the 1960s, and felt long before, was released at the conclusion of the Vietnam War and manifested in social activism during the mid-1970s. Protests by liberal-minded locals and whites alike over the U.S. Navy's use of Kahoolawe, a small uninhabited island off Maui's leeward side, for indiscriminate target practice soon transformed social activism into widespread concern for all things Hawaiian. For the remainder of the century, a fervent interest in Hawaiiana would dominate the social and political fabric of Island life, but the bombing of Kahoolawe would continue until 1990. Curiously, the bombardment of Kahoolawe in the mid-70s had been in plain view of residents of Kihei Beach on Maui as well as tourists staying at the Inter-Continental Hotel at Makena Beach. And the Navy was so brazen about the bombardments, it was obvious that they didn't care that some people considered Kahoolawe a living thing. Meanwhile, local musicians Cecilio and Kapono could be heard on the radio everyday, singing their ode to Kahoolawe and empathizing with the plight of local women who still worked Hawaii's plantation fields. About that time, too, Cecilio and Kapono could be heard at mainland universities, where they were on tour to spread the word of a new enlightened Hawaii. But at one West Coast university, big local guys were seen leaving the concert early, obviously disappointed that the songs the group had chosen for public consumption were not as hard-hitting as expected.

About this time as well, a waiter could be seen in winter, trying to hitchhike home to Kihei Beach from his job near Happy Valley in old Wailuku, not far from the dilapidated downtown pool hall, usually around midnight, under a banyan tree, on the lazy two-lane cross-island road. The hitchhike to Wailuku before dinnertime was usually easy because traffic had recently become surprisingly heavy on the Lahaina-Kihei road, but rides back to the leeward side of the island late at night were much less easy to come by. In fact, the waiter could usually count on one hand the cars that were driving west toward the Lahaina-Kihei road at around midnight, and since most decent people were already asleep by this time, he could also count on a strange ride, if he caught a ride at all. Sometimes the waiter would lose heart after an hour, walk to the new elementary school in Kahului, crawl through an open-air window, and sleep on the linoleum floor until the janitor came through at dawn. But on most nights he just stuck it out and hoped for the best.

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

On one particular night, a pair of headlights approached at a very slow speed. The waiter's instincts told him not to get into the car, but it was the first car he had seen in 30 minutes, and it was offering him a ride, so he got in. Almost instantly, however, he wished he hadn't. The driver of the very slow moving car was an old gay haole guy who immediately started propositioning the waiter. The waiter made light of the situation and tried his best to make small talk, and eventually the conversation became fairly normal. But the ride took forever, and at one point the waiter considered jumping out of the car, except that there wasn't anything between Wailuku and the Lahaina-Kihei road but a village of wild dogs where poor locals lived, which was just about the last place the waiter wanted to be in the middle of the night, so he decided to stay in the car. Finally, the very slow moving car made it to the intersection of the Lahaina-Kihei road, and the waiter found freedom, relieved that nothing had happened. But his adventure that night was not over. The first vehicle that approached him on the Lahaina-Kihei road suddenly swerved onto the shoulder and appeared to try to hit the waiter. But the next vehicle that approached behaved normally as it slowed to a stop, so the waiter got in. "That minivan in front of us almost ran me over," the waiter said. "That guy is drunk as a skunk," said the very nice longhaired driver of an old pickup truck. "Look at him. He's going all over the road." The van in front of them swerved left and right, into the lane for oncoming traffic, and then back into the southbound lane. Finally its swerves got too big and it plunged off the road and somersaulted into a ditch. The pickup truck pulled up to the van and the waiter asked the driver of the van if he was all right, but there was no response. So the pickup truck drove to the fire station, which was the only authority in that part of the island at the time. The waiter pounded on the fire station door. "Some drunk guy just drove off the road up past Azeka's," said the waiter. "I think he's hurt."

As the fire engine roared out of the station, the waiter turned to the nice driver of the pickup truck and thanked him for the ride. Then he walked home, which was only a few doors toward the beach from the fire station. When he got in the house his roommate was reclining on the living room couch with his girlfriend, watching the late movie. "Where you been? It's late," said the roommate. "I'll tell you about it tomorrow," said the waiter. The next day he telephoned Wailuku and quit his job.

Just a few weeks earlier he had been to church upcountry, near the Kula Lodge, where his faithful old cruiser had given up the ghost in a big effort to get him there. During the Sunday morning service, which was enormously warm and native, the well-tanned waiter was still grieving over his car when he unexpectedly came to the attention of certain local females in the congregation, especially a young Asian part-Hawaiian who after the benediction somehow guided him to a shaded area outside the church. She was the most beautiful woman he had ever seen in his twenty-eight years, and she drew him into her arms, silently, like a goddess. "Do you have a big local guy boyfriend?" he whispered, considering the possible down-to-earth consequences. "Yes," she said quite innocently, without a care in the world. "Hell," he thought to himself. "I guess I can only die once. And it must be my time by now."

In 1974, George Ariyoshi, a Japanese-American born in Honolulu to immigrant parents some 50 years earlier, was elected governor of the State of Hawaii. Having previously served as Lieutenant Governor under Governor John Burns, Ariyoshi helped inaugurate a tradition of socially liberal Democratic governors in Hawaii that would survive for forty years—from 1962 to 2002. Interestingly, Ariyoshi was the first Japanese governor, and the first Asian governor, of any state in America. And it was during his governorship that the most dramatic political change since statehood occurred in Hawaii.

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

In 1978, social activism that centered on issues such as Kahoolawe gave way to political activism when a new constitutional congress was held to draw up a revised state charter. The resulting Constitution of 1978 was a landmark document that redefined the political landscape of late-20th century Hawaii. The activist charter shook the foundations of white and Asian society, and simultaneously put Hawaiians back into the picture. For the first time since the 19th century, Hawaiians—in this case part-Hawaiians—were no longer in the background, but were at the forefront of Island politics.

By amendments instituted in November of 1978, the Constitution of the State of Hawaii was suddenly native friendly. “We the people of Hawaii,” read the Preamble, “grateful for Divine Guidance, and mindful of our Hawaiian heritage and uniqueness as an island State, dedicate our efforts to fulfill the philosophy decreed by the Hawaii State motto, Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono [the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness]. We reserve the right to control our own destiny, to nurture the integrity of our people and culture, and to preserve the quality of life that we desire. We reaffirm our belief in a government of the people, by the people and for the people, and with an understanding and compassionate heart toward all the peoples of the earth, do hereby ordain and establish this constitution for the State of Hawaii.” Articles of the 1978 Constitution created the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, established new funding for the long dormant Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, and mandated respect for the Hawaiian culture and the Hawaiian language.

The result was widespread change not seen since annexation. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs was designed as a State-funded form of native self-governance. It was created as “the principal agency for the performance, development, and coordination of programs and activities relating to Hawaiians—conducting advocacy efforts, receiving and disbursing grants from all sources for Hawaiians, and serving as a receptacle for reparations from the federal government.” Eventually the OHA was charged with such matters as community-based economic grants for natives, loan programs including home loans for natives, and the creation of a Hawaiian Registry. Today, the Hawaiian Registry Program has the potential to be an important statistical tool because it requires genealogy documentation from all part-Hawaiians, but by midyear 2005 only about 20,000 people were in the database. The most controversial issues at inception were the criteria for electing trustees and the manner of financing OHA. Trustees were to be elected by “natives only” because the OHA was intended to be an exclusively native organization, and funding was to come from a share of the revenue from nearly two million acres of state lands—that is to say, Crown and government lands previously ceded to the U.S. at annexation and then given back to the Territory of Hawaii and placed in a public trust at statehood. Part of the arrangement for placing those lands in a public trust was ostensibly to improve the living conditions of natives, so OHA funding had precedent in federal law. In 1979 the state legislature established the Office of Hawaiian Affairs as a “semi-autonomous self-governing body.” In 1980 it approved the OHA’s funding system and voting system. By the mid-1990s, the OHA’s voting list numbered over 70,000 natives. People with any percentage of Hawaiian blood could participate in OHA activities.

The 1978 Constitution also showed its pro-Hawaiian bent by putting some punch into the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920. According to article twelve of the revised charter, “thirty percent of the state receipts derived from the leasing of cultivated sugarcane lands under any provision of law or from water licenses shall be transferred to the native Hawaiian rehabilitation fund.” Moreover, that thirty percent title from the state would continue to hold even if those lands were “sold, developed, leased, utilized, transferred, set aside or otherwise disposed of for purposes other than the cultivation of sugarcane, [and] there shall be no ceiling established for the aggregate amount transferred into the native Hawaiian rehabilitation fund.”

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

Further, the state legislature was instructed to fund the Hawaiian Home Lands programs for the development of homes, farms, and ranches and the rehabilitation of “educational, economic, political, social and cultural processes by which the general welfare and conditions of native Hawaiians are thereby improved.”

The 1978 Constitution also mandated a “Hawaiian Education Program” whereby the Hawaiian language, Hawaiian culture, and Hawaiian history would be taught in public schools. It also mandated the conservation of natural resources, and banned nuclear power plants. The revised charter even made Hawaiian, along with English, one of the two official languages of Hawaii.

What followed was the Hawaiian renaissance of the late-20th century. For part-Hawaiians in particular this meant a renewed interest in everything culturally Hawaiian, including long ocean voyages by outrigger canoe, the planting and harvesting of the traditional food staple taro, and the reemergence of the Hawaiian language and various traditional art forms such as the hula. The Hawaiian language received special attention. Traditional pronunciation was restored to modern usage when clarifiers such as the “okina” (glottal stop) were reintroduced, forcing an abrupt break between vowel sounds. Marked by an apostrophe, the okina-inserted place-name Hawaii now became Hawai'i, just as Oahu became O'ahu. This was no dramatic change for residents, who since at least the 1960s had used the glottal stop in polite conversation, but it was something of a novelty for visitors who suddenly saw the new spelling on politically correct travel brochures. A more dramatic change for residents was a new emphasis on the Hawaiian language in the public schools. In 1980 “Hawaiian Studies” instruction became part of every student's education, and in 1987 special Hawaiian language immersion schools were developed whereby students studied a variety of subjects in Hawaiian. In 1989 the state legislature funded a program at the University of Hawaii for the study of the Hawaiian language and culture, and in 1997 the legislature established the Hawaiian Language College at the university. Meanwhile, hula dancing, which hadn't been officially encouraged since King Kalakaua's time—when it was a symbol of native tradition in the face of overbearing white influence—was suddenly in vogue again, and not just among part-Hawaiians. A lot of people, it seemed, were interested in Hawaiiana. Some tourists even gave their newborn children Hawaiian names.

The political manifestation of the Hawaiian cultural renaissance was the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement of the late 20th century. In general, the Sovereignty Movement was the name given to various political groups who wanted some form of self-governance for part-Hawaiians. Several models for self-governance have been proposed, ranging from very limited self-rule along the lines of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to outright independence based on the restoration of the monarchy. But even among the most radical groups it is not clear how to achieve independence except by slow political increments. One of the most talked about interim models is an umbrella organization that would house both the OHA and the Hawaiian Homes Commission and serve as a “nation within a nation,” similar to some Native American political arrangements on the mainland.

During the early 1980s, however, Hawaii's house was still not in order. The homestead program offered by the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was still relatively ineffective despite the efforts of the authors of the 1978 Constitution, and land disputes, including the fate of Kahoolawe, were still unresolved. The homestead problems were particularly troubling. The Hawaiian Homes Commission, which was established to help rehabilitate natives, required that all applicants for homesteads be at least 50% Hawaiian. But most part-Hawaiians by the late-20th century were less than 50% Hawaiian. Moreover, large numbers of half Hawaiians had been waiting in line for several years to participate in the program, with no material result. There was also the troubling issue of full Hawaiians, which no one seemed anxious to talk about. Serious

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

questions remained over how many of them even knew about the program, or were physically or materially able to participate in it, and those questions are still valid today.

In 1986, the State of Hawaii elected its first part-Hawaiian Governor. John Waihee III was three-quarters Hawaiian, a distinction not shared by many in the late 20th century, and his election was something of a sensation. Waihee had been one of the main authors of the 1978 Constitution, and he wasted little time in putting his newly obtained political power to use. To address the problem of a long waiting list of half Hawaiians at the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, the State under his direction gave the DHHL 17,000 acres of potential home sites in compensation for acreage previously lost to mismanagement. He also worked out a claims settlement with the State over former Crown lands whereby the DHHL would receive \$30 million annually for twenty years, and he negotiated a settlement over former Crown lands that gave the Office of Hawaiian Affairs a lump sum of \$130 million and \$10 million per year from a 20% tithe on State lands. When it came to longstanding land issues dating back to annexation, the natives had finally found their man. By extension, moreover, the whole issue of the so-called "ceded lands trust" now came into focus, especially over the question of whether the previously ceded lands should be a Hawaiian legacy or a generic State of Hawaii legacy.¹

The Waihee administration witnessed other remarkable events relating to the heart and soul of the 1978 Constitution which he helped write. In 1993, on the centennial of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, the island of Kahoolawe, as part of a Department of Defense Appropriations Act sponsored by U.S. Senator Daniel Inouye, was transferred from the federal government to the State of Hawaii. The Act established the Kahoolawe Island Reserve Commission, and it ordered the clean up of the island for peaceful uses, including "appropriate cultural, historical, archeological, and educational purposes as determined by the State of Hawaii." That same year, the U.S. Congress passed United States Public Law 103-150, or the "Apology Resolution," which President Clinton signed and by which the government of the United States officially apologized for its role in the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani one hundred years earlier. The opening lines of the resolution read as follows: "To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii."

¹ The Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) was created upon statehood to administer the homestead program and manage the home lands trust, as defined by the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, which was passed by the United States Congress. Unlike the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, which is a Native Hawaiian organization created by the 1978 State Constitution and funded by the State of Hawaii, the DHHL is an official State of Hawaii government agency. The DHHL bureaucracy is answerable to the Hawaiian Homes Commission, which oversees its operation. Each commissioner is appointed by the Governor of the State of Hawaii. By the late-20th century, the home lands trust included the following, according to the DHHL itself: "A land trust of over 200,000 acres, settlement monies from the State for the mismanagement of trust lands, funds received from the State general fund for a portion of its operating costs, and revenues and earnings from the land leasing program." The so-called "ceded lands trust" is much more extensive because it includes former Crown and government lands ceded to the United States at annexation. When most of the ceded land was given back to the Territory of Hawaii, part of it became the home lands trust. At statehood, the remaining and more extensive ceded lands became a public trust.

These were heady times in the Hawaiian Islands. In 1994, the State of Hawaii elected its first Filipino Governor. Benjamin Cayetano had been Lieutenant Governor under John Waihee, and he was known for his interest in public education, having established a much praised State-funded after-school program for all of Hawaii's children. Interestingly, the new Governor had been raised in Honolulu, but he left the Islands in the 1960s to attend college in Los Angeles because he wanted to escape the racial stereotyping that forced Hawaii's Filipinos into menial occupations at the bottom of the Asian social ladder. In 1998, in his State of the State Address, Governor Cayetano had this to say on the increasingly volatile subject of Hawaiian Sovereignty: "Broad-based efforts are now under way within the Hawaiian community to develop a model for Hawaiian sovereignty. Today I urge the full spectrum of the Hawaiian community to join in this unique and historic undertaking. As governor, I do not possess the answer, nor should I. But as governor, I am steadfastly committed to a process that is full, that hears all opinions and educates all people. We should allow this process to take its course. The recovery of Hawaiian self-determination is not only an issue for Hawaii, but for America. As we pursue this process of education and dialogue, let all of us, Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian, work toward a common goal. Let us resolve that, in the future, we will all stand together, shoulder to shoulder, in Washington DC, to advance a plan for Hawaiian sovereignty."

In the year 2000 federal census, about 239,000 people adamantly self-identified as "Native Hawaiian" Of that number, about 230,000 were part-Hawaiian, and of that number the vast majority were less than 50% Hawaiian and could often only claim a single native ancestor somewhere in their genealogy. The gene pool had been severely diluted, but that didn't seem to matter in a time when it was fashionable to be part native. Meanwhile, the Kamehameha Schools had by then lowered their racial admission standards to "one Hawaiian ancestor" because it was no longer feasible to stock a student body with even one-quarter Hawaiians. But the really bad news came two years later when the federal government's Centers for Disease Control and Prevention predicted that full-blooded Hawaiians would be extinct in their own homeland by the year 2044.

In an article published in the spring and summer of 2002, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimated that the number of full-blooded natives in Hawaii was down to about 5,000 people. And the CDC placed the blame for their impending extinction on widespread health problems and a century of neglect and discrimination. Full-blooded Hawaiians have mortality rates nearly four times higher than all of Hawaii's other population groups combined, the article pointed out, and this is due to poverty, lack of a healthy diet, a lack of culturally-sensitive health care systems, and institutional racism. Many full-blooded Hawaiians still are not fluent in standard English and do not feel accepted in American society, while others haven't the money to seek health care even when they have access to it. Traveling from the outer islands to Honolulu for a medical procedure, for example, is prohibitively expensive for poor natives, and the problem of poverty probably will not disappear in the near future. Natives as a group—both full Hawaiians and part Hawaiians—have the lowest mean income of all major population groups in Hawaii, and their poverty rates are also the highest. Natives also tend to suffer from low education, high unemployment, and no medical insurance.²

² "Health Disparities Among Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders Garner Little Attention," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Chronic Disease Notes & Reports, Volume 15, Number 2, Spring / Summer 2002.

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

Other recent reports beyond the CDC have further illuminated the overall situation for people of Hawaiian ancestry. According to experts, educational achievement in Hawaii is highly stratified by race. Fewer than 10% of full or part Hawaiians earn college degrees, as compared to 44% of Chinese, 39% of Japanese, and 25% of whites in Hawaii who earn college degrees. Moreover, according to some chroniclers, 60% of the homeless on the island of Oahu are people of Hawaiian descent. This last statistic is particularly stunning, and one is reminded of King Kamehameha IV who in 1860 dedicated Queen's Hospital for the care of Hawaii's "indigent sick natives."

In 2002, a Republican was elected Governor of Hawaii for the first time in 40 years. Linda Lingle, a white woman, surprised some observers by not challenging the liberal political landscape when it came to Hawaiian matters, and she surprised even more observers when she joined protestors in the streets to advocate for native causes. At issue were recent lawsuits that threatened to destabilize prominent native institutions such as the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, the historic and highly regarded private Kamehameha Schools, and even the Hawaiian language immersion program in public schools. Already, by the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Rice v. Cayetano* (2000), "native only" voting for trustees at the Office of Hawaiian Affairs was overturned. Now, in *Arakaki v. Lingle*, the right of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands to offer "native only" programs was challenged. And in *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, the right of the prestigious private school to continue its "native only" admission policy was challenged. The point of contention, according to the plaintiffs in all these court cases, were "race-based" policies that discriminated against non-Hawaiians and thus violated the Civil Rights Act. The lawsuits were also partly a taxpayer revolt by conservatives who did not want their tax dollars supporting "entitlement programs." Overall, this reactionary movement against native institutions also tended to be misleading, because the authors of the movement often feigned affection for natives while attempting to undermine their traditions and aspirations. One conservative spokesman, for example, avowed his love for Hawaiians but didn't want his tax dollars supporting the Hawaiian language immersion program in public schools.

A U.S. District judge recently dismissed the *Arakaki v. Lingle* lawsuit, but in August of 2005 the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco overturned that decision. In a case with mixed results and mixed reviews, the Appeals Court threw out the argument that programs sponsored by the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs were unconstitutional, but it held that the plaintiffs could go back to a lower court and sue the State of Hawaii over the ceded land revenues that fund the OHA. In that same month of August 2005, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals also ruled on the *Doe v. Kamehameha* lawsuit, finding that the "native only" admission policy at the Kamehameha Schools was unconstitutional. Interestingly, legal scholars have pointed out that if the Kamehameha Schools had argued in court that they give preference to natives but nevertheless admit a few non-Hawaiians, they would have won their case. And other observers wonder why the Kamehameha Schools held so steadfastly to the "natives only" admission policy argument, given the fact that they were founded by a Hawaiian princess for the children of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and given the fact that since their inception in 1887 the Schools had always admitted a small number of non-Hawaiians. As a result of the successful lawsuit against them, the Kamehameha Schools now "give preference to applicants of Hawaiian ancestry to the extent permitted by law," and they promise to appeal their case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The judges in the *Arakaki v. Lingle* case spelled out the central problem for Hawaiians in all these lawsuits when they explained that until that time comes when Hawaiians receive some special federal designation, such as citizens of “a nation within a nation,” they will continue to be the “Hawaiian race” and as such their native institutions will continue to be challenged as “race-based” and therefore unconstitutional. But, the judges warned, even if Hawaiians receive some special federal designation similar to Native American tribes on the mainland, the courts will still need to decide if Native Hawaiian institutions such as the OHA and DHHL are race-based or tribal-based. “We dodged a legal bullet,” said Governor Lingle, “and the bullet is aimed at the heart of programs that benefit the Hawaiian people, and thereby bring benefits to the state of Hawaii.” Moreover, the legal bullets will keep coming, she said, until Hawaiians get a special federal designation.

In 1990, a part-Hawaiian was elected to the U.S. Senate for the first time. Daniel Akaka also claimed Chinese ancestry, and some say he is even part-Japanese. Akaka was born in Honolulu in 1924, and he graduated from Kamehameha Boys High School in 1942. Like Daniel Inouye, he served America during World War II. He was re-elected to the Senate twice since 1990, and recently introduced to congress the “Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act.” This piece of legislation, which has yet to be voted on by the full Congress, satisfies the moderates within the Sovereignty Movement but alienates the radicals within the movement. Commonly known as the Akaka Bill, it creates a “nation within a nation,” which moderates say would be helpful in the face of “the lawsuits,” but it also compromises the legal claim for independence which radicals say still binds the United States to the restoration of the Hawaiian Monarchy, especially in light of the 1993 Apology Resolution which was nothing less than an admission of guilt on the part of the American government. Curiously, the Akaka Bill has yet to come before both houses of Congress in part because opponents fear it will create a “race-based” government within a government.

The “Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act” recognizes the ceded lands trust that the United States established in 1959 when Hawaii became a State, recognizes the Hawaiian people’s longstanding special relationship to the United States, including the Apology Resolution of 1993, defines Native Hawaiian as anyone who is descended from the aboriginal people who resided in Hawaii before the 1893 overthrow, and establishes a United States Office for Native Hawaiian Relations, a Native Hawaiian Interagency coordinating group, and a Native Hawaiian governing entity, but the exact form of the governing entity is left for future negotiations. Interestingly, critics argue that the bill if passed will create the same legal hurdles that it is intended to overcome, especially with regard to “native only” voting for the governing entity leaders, which the Supreme Court in *Rice v. Cayetano* has already ruled against. On the other hand, advocates of the Akaka Bill say that congressional legislation creating a new political status for Hawaiians would eliminate race as an issue and take the entire matter out of the courts. But all that remains to be seen, if and when the bill passes. The main point is, however, that the Akaka Bill is the next step in the attempt by part-Hawaiians to form some sort of home rule.

The pending fate of the Akaka Bill and the threat of future lawsuits have put residents of Hawaii on edge. Nobody wants to say it, but the various legal battles underway are eerily similar to the racial power struggle that plagued the Kalakaua and Liliuokalani reigns over a hundred years ago. But whereas the battle of the late-19th century was between a pro-Hawaiian monarchy and a pro-white group of businessmen and landowners, the battle today is between part-Hawaiian politicians who want some sort of “self-governance” and conservative white politicians who are attempting via lawsuits to end or prevent “entitlements.” And as more and more whites immigrate to Hawaii from the mainland, the fear in some local quarters is that the political pendulum will swing back to the conservative white side, even in this modern age.

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

On the one hand, the legal battle is basically an affirmative action argument, with all the trappings thereof. But on the other hand, it transcends affirmative action and is a special case because just a little over a century ago Hawaii was an independent kingdom with a written constitution and international recognition as a sovereign nation.

So the questions yet to be resolved are these: What is Hawaii? Is it really just like any other state in the United States? Or is it a unique place with a unique situation? Is Hawaii a state of mind as some people think? Or are there people and events behind the beautiful façade that we should pay attention to? And what should be done? Should part-Hawaiians get preferential treatment with regard to schools and land and other benefits in their own homeland? Do we owe them anything or not? Should native Islanders, even those who have only a tiny amount of Hawaiian blood in them, have any rights beyond those of other American citizens living in Hawaii? Should they, for example, be permitted some sort of self-governance beyond the Office of Hawaiian Affairs? Or should they just learn to live in a pluralistic society like the rest of us? And if they are allowed some sort of home rule beyond the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, what form should it take? And who should decide on the form? Finally, can the few remaining full-blooded Hawaiians be saved from extinction? Should a concerted effort be made to save them? Or should they be left to fade into history?

Hawaii is different things to different people. It is a vacation destination for Americans, Japanese, and other tourists who seek escape to a tropical island paradise. It is a favored port-of-call for U.S. military servicemen, and it is a mecca for new age spiritualists who relate to Hawaii's cultural mystique and its Buddhist and Shinto religious traditions. It is a sports center for surfers, scuba divers and fishermen, and an environmental treasure for scientists and lovers of nature. It is a social refuge for Asian-Americans, especially part-Asians, who often feel more comfortable in Hawaii than on the mainland. And it is home to about 1.2 million residents, about 20% of which claim at least one Hawaiian ancestor. Under the circumstances, and in the spirit of fairness, maybe a consensus should be found on limited home rule, and maybe some parts of the Hawaiian Islands should become a native reserve.

One final comment. As it now stands, the DHHL homestead program still requires applicants to be at least 50% Hawaiian. This requirement automatically excludes the majority of part-Hawaiians because most part-Hawaiians are less than 50% Hawaiian, and it begs a question about how effective the program has been in reaching full-blooded Hawaiians over the years. For example, if nobody really knows for sure how many full Hawaiians remain in Hawaii, as the evidence suggests, then it is very likely that nobody really knows for sure where all the full Hawaiians live or who they are. And even if most of them have been found, have they been young enough, healthy enough, and resourceful enough to take full advantage of the program? Were they able to read and write? Did they understand the various options available to them? Did they have the wherewithal to follow through with the bureaucracy?

During a Department of Hawaiian Home Lands accelerated awards program in the mid-1980s, natives who obtained unimproved pieces of property had only one year to build a house on the property once that property was improved. Was this a realistic scenario for the population group that has the largest level of poverty in Hawaii? Does this program really help the people who need it the most? In 1982, a seventy year old full-blooded Hawaiian had a part-time job as token native on the front porch of a "haole heaven" general store on the north shore of Kauai. Did he know how to read and write? Did he know about the Home Lands program? Did he have the money or the income to take advantage of it? Probably not, or else he wouldn't have taken that

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

job selling his soul every night, sitting there in front of that haole-owned general store, in fine native costume, like an Indian in front of a barber shop.

Recent studies have shown that the homelands program has been notoriously ineffective over the course of the 20th century. The original 200,000 acres reserved for the program, for example, were found to be remote, difficult to develop, and of poor quality. By 1995, moreover, less than 20% of the 200,000 acre land trust had been awarded to eligible Hawaiians, and the waiting list was four times longer than the number of people served. In addition, the processing time was so slow that an applicant in the middle of the DHHL waiting list was not expected to receive a housing site in his or her lifetime. Even more startling, nobody really knew what percentage of eligible Hawaiians were aware of the program or able to take advantage of it.

The Hawaiian Homelands Homeownership Act of 2000, which offered low-income Native Hawaiians the same type of federal housing assistance made available to Native Americans on the mainland, has very recently moved the DHHL to accelerate its operations. But the fear in some quarters now is that DHHL housing projects will sooner or later develop into welfare communities that stigmatize rather than rehabilitate their native residents.

In 1982, a writer was observed near a family of Samoans at Honolulu International Airport. The colorfully dressed Polynesians were big and wide and sitting on the floor, and they were about to take flight to Los Angeles, possibly never to return to Hawaii. The writer had been a periodic resident of Hawaii for sixteen years, and he had seen enough. "If they can do it," he thought to himself, "I can do it, too."

"A gardenia lei, mister?" asked a salesgirl as he moved through the lobby to his gate.

"Please fill out this form," instructed the stewardess, as he settled into his window seat.

He took a deep breath and looked outside. There was a curious conjunction in the night sky. The moon and Mars shown bright on one horizon, and Venus on the other. With the sweet smell of flowers still lingering, the writer closed his eyes and suddenly grew afraid, like leaving home for the first time. He felt tiny, even molecular as he dozed off, and he wondered where the soul goes when it drifts away at 30,000 feet.