
Ethnocultural Conflict and Cooperation in Hawai'i

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Hawaii Chapter Summary

Salzman examines the development of ethnocultural tolerance in Hawaii as a potential model for the intentional creation of optimal intergroup contact. Various theoretical lenses are utilized to examine the progression from initial cultural conflict to relative harmony. Values inherent in Hawaiian culture are also explored as they have impacted the current cultural context.

Hawaii is recognized as unique in many respects including in its ecology, geography, and ethnic diversity. While Salzman points out that some cultural conflict is still present in Hawaii, cultural relations are largely reflective of the Hawaiian value of "Aloha Spirit" which is credited with affecting acceptance of the various cultures represented. The high rate of intermarriage in Hawaii is also discussed as it positively impacts cultural tolerance.

A historical overview of the colonization of Hawaii is provided and Terror Management Theory (TMT) applied to explore the mechanisms through which the loss of native culture creates a state in which conflict is imminent. The labor movement is presented as a catalyst which shifted Hawaii from conflict, through creation of a superordinate identity based on common goals. Salzman presents this shift as the beginning of "local" culture which is inclusive of individuals sharing common values and language.

Salzman concludes with a discussion of various theoretical models applicable to cultural contact. Factors that create conflict are examined along with those that enhance mutual appreciation. A potential solution to conflict styles of contact is provided which includes the intentional creation of specific conditions such as those exhibited in Hawaii. Hope for a future of people united in a common goal is proff.

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1 Introduction

The fact of our increasing awareness of cultural and ethnic diversity does not provide any assurance that our multicultural future will be a just one based on respect, inclusion, and equality. The history of humankind is bloody with examples of culturally and racially diverse peoples slaughtering each other over differences large and small. History also provides evidence of moments and periods where intergroup relations were mutually beneficial, respectful, and nourishing. Humans possess these and other potentials. Demographics make clear that our future will be defined by how we address the promise and perils of diversity. The outcome of our efforts or our self-absorbed neglect will largely determine whether we shape a future nourished by justice, respect, and appreciation of human diversity, or one of intolerance, stratification, conflict, violence, and exploitation supported by racism. World history offers evidence of both potentials. The stakes are high (see Huntington, 1996).

Academics and popular opinion perceive ethnocultural relations in Hawai'i as characterized by tolerance, equality, and harmony. The elevation of Hawai'i as a multicultural model has emphasized Hawai'i's tradition of tolerance and peaceful coexistence; harmonious ethnic relations and a high rate of intermarriage; equality of opportunity and status; and a shared local culture and identity (Okumura, 2008). Okumura questions the validity of the model while agreeing that the tradition of tolerance and peaceful coexistence is essentially valid because Hawai'i's people do essentially endorse the norm of tolerance, respect, and appreciation of other ethnicities as a reflection of a strong Native Hawaiian inspired norm called the "Aloha Spirit." Okumura calls attention to a statewide survey in 1996, published in the Honolulu Advertiser, which found that 83% of its 800 respondents thought that the islanders from different ethnic groups "get along better than in other places" and 87% agreed that the aloha spirit is "important in how people live (cited in Pratt,

2000).” However, he strongly disputes the assertion that there is essential equality of opportunity and status among ethnic groups, and notes the “blatant racism of both Whites and non-Whites against Filipino Americans and Japanese Americans prior to World War II (p. 10).” He also criticizes the notion of Hawai'i as a multicultural model based on the plantation experience as it ignores the historical experiences and contributions of Native Hawaiians “as the indigenous people whose lands were seized for the development of the plantation industry (p. 10).” However, as we shall see, these and other racisms and the stereotypes that supported them were overcome at a historical moment by an “interracial labor movement (Jung, 2006)” that allowed for the construction of a superordinate identity of workers whose interests were seen to be in contradiction to the concentration of capital (the Big Five) that dominated their lives. The “Big Five” (American Factors; C. Brewer & Company; Alexander & Baldwin; Castle & Cooke; and Theo Davies & Company) were agencies descended from the original missionary families that controlled the sugar industry and its related enterprises and dominated the economic and political life of the islands (Jung, 2006).

This chapter will apply relevant theory in an analysis of a Hawai'i labor movement that united disparate ethnicities into a superordinate identity, which, while acknowledging and appreciating its diversity, transformed the politics of Hawai'i from a conservative feudal and colonial past to what is arguably the most progressive state in the USA (the election of seemingly centrist Republican governor and some interisland variation notwithstanding). The author, then, seeks to identify factors that contribute to both ethnocultural cooperation and conflict on this remote landmass in the middle of the Pacific – a place that is home to diverse peoples (e.g., Japanese-Americans, Native Hawaiians, Filipino-Americans, Caucasian-Americans, etc.) with diverse (and shared) worldviews as well as varied experiences with the political, economic, and cultural realities of Hawai'i.

2 Current Status

2.1 The Ecological and Geographical Context

The Hawaiian archipelago is a string of islands and reefs, 3,300 km long, that forms a broad arc in the mid-Pacific. The archipelago begins in the east with the island of Hawaii and ends almost at the international date line with a small speck in the ocean called Kure Atoll. Only the easternmost 650 km of the state contains islands of any size, as well as almost all of the state's population. It is this portion that is usually considered as the actual "Hawai'i." The eight main islands of Hawaii – Oahu, Hawaii, Maui, Kauai, Lanai, Molokai, Niihau, and Kahoolawe – contain more than 99% of the state's land area and all but a handful of its people. The island of Hawaii, at 8,150 km², comprises nearly two-thirds of the state's total area, and is often referred to as simply the Big Island. The smallest of the eight, Kahoolawe, is 125 km² and is uninhabited.

The isolation of the Hawaiian islands, coupled with their generally temperate climate and great

environmental variation, has created a plant and bird community of great diversity. There are several thousand plants native to Hawai'i that are not found naturally anywhere else; 66 uniquely Hawaiian land birds have also been identified. Interestingly, there were no land mammals on the islands until humans arrived. Hawai'i is near the middle of the Pacific Ocean. Honolulu, the state capital, is 3,850 km west of San Francisco, California, 6,500 km east of Tokyo, Japan, and roughly 7,300 km northeast of the Australian coast. This might be viewed as a case of extreme isolation, and until the last few centuries, this was probably true. But as countries around the Pacific Basin began to communicate more with one another and to use the ocean's resources, these islands became an important center of interaction. The Hawaiian chain is merely the visible portion of a series of massive volcanoes. The ocean floor in this area is 4,000–5,000 m below sea level. Hence, for a volcano to break the water's surface requires a mountain already approaching 5 km in height. Such is the ecological and geographical context within which the diverse populations of Hawai'i have lived and interacted (Figs. 2.1 and 2.2).



Fig. 2.1 A view of the Hawaiian Islands from space

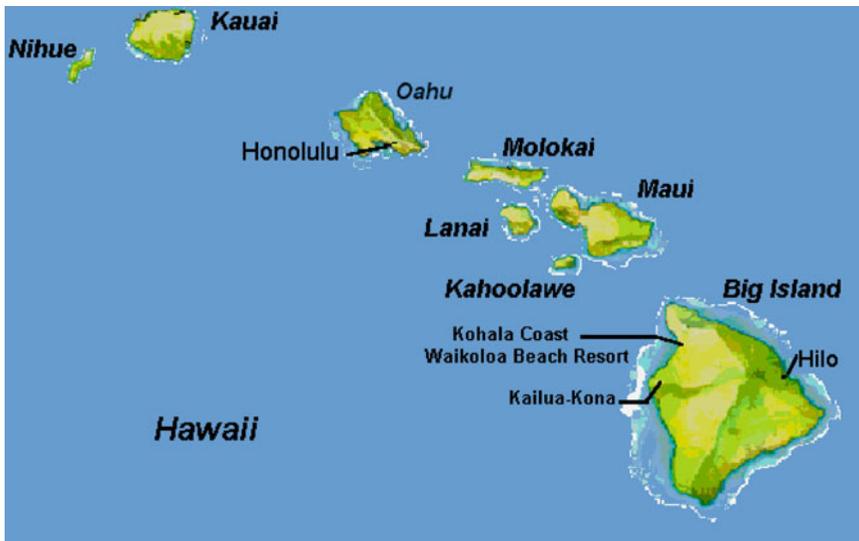


Fig. 2.2 Hawaiian islands

2.2 Ethnocultural Diversity in Hawai'i

Hawai'i is the most diverse state in the USA. It remains the state with the highest ethnic minority population in the nation according to the annual U.S. Census Bureau estimate (Honolulu Advertiser, May 1, 2008). According to the estimate, ethnic minorities account for 75% of Hawai'i's population. Asians make up 55%, and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders are 21% of the state's population. In the context of this diversity, Hawai'i has been described as a model of ethnocultural harmony, a multicultural model for a diverse world to emulate.

The ethnic, racial, and cultural realities are complex and this complexity may contribute to values of tolerance and respect for diversity that most observers acknowledge. The high rate of intermarriage that has occurred throughout Hawai'i's history has produced a multicultural and mixed racial reality. Interracial and interethnic marriage was well established by the early nineteenth century between Hawaiian women and European and American men and, with some exceptions, there was limited social stigma attached to outmarrying. The prevalence of intermarriage increased progressively over the decades. Hawai'i's overall rate of intermar-

riage between 1983 and 1994 accounts for almost half of all marriages involving at least one Hawai'i state resident (Fu & Heaton, 1997). The state of Hawai'i has (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002) the highest percentage of people who reported being of two or more races in the 2000 census (21%), with the second highest state being Alaska with a multiracial population of only 5.4% of the population.

2.3 Race, Ethnicity, and Culture in Hawai'i

Race, ethnicity, and culture are related and often overlapping categories, but they are not identical. *Race* may be considered an arbitrary classification of modern humans based on shared physical characteristics typically encompassing peoples from a common geographic origin and often including multiple cultural and ethnic groups. *Ethnicity* refers to a common ancestry through which individuals have evolved shared values and customs over time. *Culture* may be thought of as a meaning system that addresses the essential existential questions of life as well as provides values to live by and a way to *be* (Becker, 1971). Although the term *interracial* and *interracialism* are used in this paper (consistent with Jung, 2006)

to describe the accomplishment of and inclusive multiethnic labor movement, *interethnic* is probably more appropriate given Hawai'i's demographic landscape (i.e., Japanese and Chinese ethnicities are both classified racially as Asian).

Therefore, throughout this paper, ethnicity and culture will be emphasized over "race" as most salient in Hawai'i's diverse reality because "people of Hawai'i attribute greater social significance to the presumed cultural differences that distinguish groups from one another than to phenotypic differences such as skin color" (Okumura, 2008, p. 6).

There is no majority group in Hawai'i. The 2000 U.S. census, which allowed for people to identify with more than one racial category, has indicated the complexity and overlap of phenotypical characteristics. In the census of 2000, more than one-fifth (21.4%) of Hawai'i's residents identified with two or more races. This is unusual and is almost nine times higher than reported in the USA in general.

The largest ethnic group in Hawai'i as indicated by the census is White or "Haole." The literal meaning of the Hawaiian term "Haole" is foreigner. In popular usage, this term has been used to denote "Caucasian" and is experienced by some as pejorative. In the 2000 U.S. census, 39.3% reported being either White or White alone, or in any combination with other groups in a total Hawai'i population of 1,211,537. Those who reported being only White totaled 24.3%. Caucasians have been the largest percentage of the population since the 1960s following statehood. The second largest ethnic group is Japanese-Americans who total (alone or in combination) about one-fourth (24.5%) of the population. One-third of these reported mixed ancestry as a result of a great increase in the rate of "outmarriage" since 1970 among the *sansei* (third) and *yonseï* (fourth) generations. Japanese-Americans were the largest ethnic group in Hawai'i from 1900 to 1960s (e.g., 43% in 1920). Filipino-Americans, the largest immigrating group to Hawai'i, represent 22.8% (Filipino alone or in combination) of the population. This is a linguistically and culturally diverse group that is often differentiated by being "local" by virtue of being

born in Hawai'i, or "immigrant" if they were not. It is likely that due to a relatively higher birth rate, Filipinos will emerge as the second largest ethnic group in Hawai'i by the 2010 census.

Native Hawaiians, the indigenous people of Hawai'i, are the fourth largest group comprising 19.8% (Hawaiian only or in combination) of the population of the state. The decimation of the Hawaiian population through contact with imported diseases and the impact of colonization are well documented and tragic. The population has been recovering from near extinction, although the percentage of "pure" Hawaiians has continued to decline to the point where some demographers predict that by 2044 there will be no "pure" Hawaiians left (Noyes, 2003). Before colonization and the introduction of imported diseases decimated the population of Native Hawaiians in the nineteenth century, they were obviously the most populous group on the islands. This potent underlying reality of ethnocultural relations in Hawai'i will be elaborated later in this chapter.

Chinese-Americans (alone or in any combination) constituted 14.1% of the state's population, with about one-third of that percentage claiming to be multiethnic or multiracial. In the 2000 census, Latinos/Hispanics (alone or in combination) constituted 7.2% of Hawai'i's population in 2000. Of this group, only Puerto Ricans, who arrived as plantation workers in 1900, have had a historical presence in Hawai'i. Koreans (alone or in any combination) constituted 3.4% of Hawai'i's population. They represent two communities. The first are the descendants of the 56,500 immigrants who arrived in 1905 to work on the sugar plantations, who were later joined by 1,000 "picture brides" between 1910 and 1920, and the second group are people who arrived after 1965. The immigration of other Asian groups such as (in descending order of population) Vietnamese Americans, Asian Indians, Laotian Americans, and Cambodian Americans reflects their much later immigration (Okumura, 2008). African-Americans (alone or in combination) represented 2.8% of the population, with most associated with the U.S. military.

Samoans are the next most populous Pacific Island group in Hawai'i (2.3%, Samoan only or in combination). There are increasing numbers of

“Micronesians” arriving in Hawai‘i since 1990, particularly Marshallese and Chuukese who, like Samoans, can enter the USA without restriction.

Such is the multicultural and ethnic landscape of Hawai‘i.

2.4 Causes of Ethnocultural Conflict

In the spring of 2007, three ethnicity-related incidents occurred in Hawai‘i (Okumura, 2008). These highly publicized incidents may reveal tensions existing under the surface of a Hawai‘i that has been described as a multicultural model characterized by ethnocultural tolerance, appreciation, and harmony.

In the first incident, a White male Iraq war veteran accidentally hit a parked car while entering a parking stall. A 16-year-old male joined by his 45-year-old father, both with a recognizable Hawaiian names, violently attacked the White male’s car and occupants while yelling “fucking Haoles.” The attack resulted in injury and unconsciousness of the White male and his wife.

In the second incident, a 34-year-old photography editor had a fatal encounter with a 21-year-old “local” male from Nanakuli (a Hawaiian community) on the leeward (west) coast who became angry at the photographer’s picture-taking and delivered a lethal blow to the man’s neck.

In the third incident, a popular Native Hawaiian radio host dismissed the comments of a White state senator by suggesting that his “blue eyes” and mainland origins denied the possibility of him being considered “local” and, therefore, excluded “Haoles” by using the original race-based meaning of “local.”

Also in 2007, five South Kona men were accused of attacking two groups of mostly Caucasian campers at a beach in an alleged hate crime and were indicted on assault and terroristic threatening charges. The accused had recognizable Hawaiian names, and the indictment alleges that the men selected their victims because of hostility toward the actual or perceived race of the campers (Dayton, 2008). The campers reported that their assailants made comments such as “Any...haoles want to die?”

Okumura (2008) suggests that these encounters indicate “deep and persisting fissures in ethnic relations and the widening gap between the dominant and subjugated ethnic groups in Hawai‘i society...and should be understood as constituting desperate expressions of protest against continuing conditions of institutionalized inequality directed to some of those considered responsible for maintaining that inequality” (p. 189). Although one should be cautious about overgeneralizing, these events may be considered in the light of the continuing displacement of Hawaiian people from their homes and land. The lack of affordable rentals and development policies designed to attract the affluent have exacerbated the homeless problem in such communities as the predominantly Hawaiian Waianae coast of Oahu. On October 15, 2006, the Honolulu Advertiser reported that the situation has spiraled into a full-scale social crisis: 16 miles of ramshackle tents packed with scores of bedraggled kids, women, men, dogs, and their remaining worldly possessions. Although Hawaiians represent approximately 20% of the population of Hawai‘i, they are 30% of the sheltered homeless population (the largest group in homeless shelters) and 28% of the unsheltered homeless population (the second largest ethnic group) (Essoyan, 2010, p. 6).

In another case, as reported in the Honolulu Advertiser (January 13, 2008, pp. A1, A14), a potentially explosive situation was averted between a more established (Samoan) immigrant group and more recent immigrants from Micronesia. In the incident, a Samoan youth was stabbed in the heart by a Chuukese youth outside of a housing project in the working class community of Kalihi. The potential for revenge attacks was high but averted due to the Micronesian community employing an indigenous Samoan ritual of apology called *Ifoga* that involves the community of the attacker humbling themselves in ritual apology before the aggrieved. In this case, an offering was made and the apology was accepted. There was no revenge. The use of an indigenous Samoan ritual of apology by the Micronesian with the assistance of pastors from both communities was seen as instrumental in

avoiding further conflict and bloodshed. It was an offering of profound apology and deep respect.

Ethnocultural conflict is a global and historic problem (Huntington, 1996). It is a big problem. The causes of ethnocultural conflict are multiple. Considering the vital psychological functions of culture (Salzman, 2001a, 2001b, 2003), we are challenged to study and consider how culturally diverse peoples can coexist in mutually enriching ways rather than killing each other in bloody conflicts based on such factors as alternative constructions of reality, competition for material or psychological resources, and efforts to manage anxiety through ingroup identification and outgroup demonization. Culture is a critical determinant and mediator of conflict in disputes between individuals, communities, and nations. Culture can be considered both as a source of conflict and as an essential means of its resolution. Marsella (2005) emphasized the role of culture in conflict and offers the following common cultural pathways to conflict and violence:

- Perception of danger to national or group survival, identity, and well being
- Perception of the “other” as evil, dangerous, or threatening
- Perception of situation as unjust, unequal, unfair, humiliating, or punishing
- Perception of self as self-righteous, moral, justified, and “good” by virtue of religion, history, and identity (e.g., “American Exceptionalism”)

This chapter seeks to explore the multiple potentials of living in an ethnoculturally diverse reality.

What is the reality of ethnocultural relations in Hawai'i? What are the realities? Is the projection of Hawai'i as a multicultural model accurate, partially accurate, or false?

3 History of Struggle: Contact, Colonization, and Immigration

Prior to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and the annexation of Hawai'i by the USA in 1898, Hawai'i was an internationally recognized sovereign nation. Missionaries arrived

in Hawai'i following the introduction of killer diseases that began shortly after “contact” was made by Captain Cook in 1778. As the population of Native Hawaiians was being decimated by a series of epidemics, the “Kapu” system that governed life in Hawai'i collapsed as a ravaged and despondent population increasingly turned to Christianity as a religion that apparently immunized the settler population from the death and suffering visited upon the Native population (Daws, 1968). The consequences of contact and colonization for Native Hawaiian people will be described later in the chapter.

Pre-war (World War II) Hawai'i was described by Jung (2006) as an overseas U.S. colony, “beyond the nation-state but within the empire, with a small elite ruling over colonized natives and migrant laborer” (p. 61). He described a plantation system that was stratified in terms of race and ethnicity where Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipinos were subject to qualitatively different racisms based on notions of relative inferiority (e.g., Filipino) and national loyalty (Japanese). These and other groups had different status, living conditions, and stereotypes. It was a classic “divide-and-rule” system that benefited the owners and growers of the sugar, pineapple, and transport industries. The following historical time line roughly describes the process leading to the construction of current realities in Hawai'i (see Table 2.1).

4 Consequences

4.1 Consequences of Contact and Colonization

Salzman (2001a) used terror management theory (TMT) (see Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997) as a framework to conceptualize the effects of a traumatic disruption of a peoples' culture as occurred throughout the indigenous world. TMT strongly suggests that culture serves as a psychological defense against the terror inherent in human existence, and this chapter uses this theoretical lens to consider the context and effects of Western contact, trauma, and colonization on indigenous people of Hawai'i within the broader issue of ethnocultural relations.

Table 2.1 Historical time line

500–1000 ad	Estimated migration of the ancestors of Native Hawaiians from Marquesas Islands, Tahiti, and other south pacific islands
1100	Communal society and culture develops. Kapu system established
1778	Arrival of Captain James Cook. Population estimate 400,000–800,000 Native Hawaiians
1802	First Sugar Production starts on Lana'i
1804	Unknown epidemic diseases decimate Native population
1810	Kamehameha “the Great” unifies the Hawaiian Islands. The monarchy is established
1819	Death of Kamehameha and abolishment of Kapu System
1820	Protestant missionaries arrive
1823	First Chinese arrive to work on plantations
1826	Missionaries standardize the Hawaiian language
1838	Mumps epidemic
1848	Great Mahele dispossesses the Hawaiian people of their lands and allows foreigners to own land. Deadly measles epidemic
1852	Chinese migration. Second group
1853	Smallpox epidemic further decimates Hawaiian population
1868	Japanese migration
1878–1886	Portuguese migration
1885	Primary Japanese immigration begins
1887	Bayonet Treaty forced upon and signed by King Kalukaua. Kamehameha Schools are established. The USA acquires Pearl Harbor
1893	Overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Native Hawaiian population estimate is 40,000
1895	“Republic of Hawaii” established by White businessman support by U.S. military. Opposed by President Cleveland, supported by President McKinley
1896	English becomes the official language of Hawai'i
1898	Annexation of Hawai'i to the USA
1900	Organic Act and Puerto Rican Migration: Provided for a government for the territory of Hawai'i, provided tariff protection for planters, outlawed penal labor contracts, forbidding indentured labor pivotal moment in Hawai'i's labor history. Okinawan migration begins, Chinese Exclusion Act
1903	Korean immigration begins
1905	Law is passed forbidding the use of Hawaiian language in schools
1906	Filipinos recruited to work on plantations
1907	Gentlemen's Agreement between the USA and Japan halted migration of Japanese labor. The sugar industry then turned to the Philippines, a U.S. Colony, for migrant labor. From 1907 to 1924, 57,675 Filipinos arrived in Hawai'i
1909	Major strike of Japanese workers
1911	Pearl Harbor opens as U.S. Naval Base
1920	Dual union (Japanese and Filipino unions) strike, initial interracial labor cooperation, workers defeated
1924	Strike by only Filipino workers
1927	First Waikiki hotel opens
1931	Massie case: five “local” men accused of kidnapping and raping a “Haole” woman. Mistrial and defendants freed. Husband kills one and “gets away with murder” of Hawaiian defendant. First articulation of “local” people and culture by identifying diverse “local” nonwhite defendants (as opposed to Haole/Military)
1936	Passenger airline service begins
1937	General Strike of Filipino sugar workers led by Vibora Luviminda was the last racial strike, a precursor to the interracial movement that followed. National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) arrives (Wagner Act enforced) and opens “space” for labor organizing
1941	Bombing of Pearl Harbor and WWII (note: 1941–1944 martial law suppresses union organizing and worker rights)
1945	ILWU organized plantation workers into first multiracial labor union

(continued)

Table 2.1 (continued)

1951	Post WWII Samoan immigration
1959	Statehood and Admissions Act
1970s	Reconstruction of "local" identity. Possible to be local Haole, local Japanese, etc.
1970s	Hawaiian (cultural and political renaissance, the Kaho'olawe struggle, grass-roots movements, emergence of the sovereignty movement)
1976	Hokule'a sets sail furthering the Hawaiian renaissance
1978	Establishment of OHA and Hawaiian language is reinstated as an official language
1980s	Emergence of hula competitions
1983	'Aha Punana Leo (language recovery movement) is organized
1987	Language immersion classes established
1990s	Micronesian immigration
1993	100 years since overthrow. Hawaiians demonstrate at Iolani Palace to grieve the overthrow and push for sovereignty. U.S. government apologizes for its actions. President Clinton signs the apology bill acknowledging that Native Hawaiians never relinquished their claim over lands "ceded" to the State of Hawai'i
2000	Rice v Cayetano decision of U.S. Supreme Court giving non-Hawaiians same right to vote for trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, representing increasing legal challenges to Native Hawaiian assets
2008	The Hawai'i Supreme Court overturns the lower court's decision and orders the state administration not to sell any "ceded" lands until the claims of Native Hawaiians have been resolved by the Hawai'i legislature. The U.S. Supreme court agrees to the Lingle administration's request for an appeal
2009	In a unanimous opinion, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the Hawai'i Supreme Court ruling deciding that the Apology Resolution did not provide a legal justification for Native Hawaiian claims over the "ceded" lands and is expected to send the case back to the state Supreme Court. Governor Lingle acknowledged that Native Hawaiians had a moral but not legal claim to these lands and that the State of Hawai'i had the right to develop or sell these lands for all the people of Hawai'i

Native Hawaiian contact with the West was traumatic as has been the case of indigenous people throughout the world (Salzman, 2001a). In this and other cases, intercultural contact proved disastrous to an indigenous people. Imported microbes overwhelmed the elaborate Native system of medicine. Contact with Europeans beginning with Captain Cook in 1778 challenged the power of the gods and the great chiefs as new diseases ravaged the population. Wave upon wave of epidemics struck the people. In 1804, the "ma'oku" claimed many lives and the horror of it was so great that it was remembered for generations even after other plagues had assailed the Hawaiians. This terrible foreign disease appeared first in Oahu and then spread swiftly among the people, decimating the population (Kuydendall, 1938). Old Hawaiian customs previously bonded together by ancient Polynesian beliefs, now fractured by the overthrow of the traditional religion, were collapsing at all levels. As a result of the void that appeared, self-esteem among the understandably bewildered Hawaiians plunged to a new low (Doughety, 1992).

Ancient and traditional Hawaiian culture provided the psychological sustenance that functioning cultures seem designed to do. It provided a coherent worldview that included and explained how the world was created, what personality characteristics are most valued, what is the hierarchy of power, and where does one fit into it (Becker, 1971). In short, it provided a system of meaning and standards of value that anxiety-prone, meaning-seeking human organisms require (Salzman, 2008). The complexities of traditional Hawaiian culture are beyond the scope of this chapter, but they include values supporting a complex interactive meaning system of body, mind, and spirit (see McCubbin & Marsella, 2009). The cultural worldview prescribed behaviors that support the values promoted by the culture and that made survival more probable in the ecological niche described previously. For the ancient Hawaiians, the world was infused with gods, spirit (*mana*), and meaning. All occasions were times for prayer. Prayer was a natural part of Hawaiian life because the gods were always present and they guarded, guided, warned,

blessed, and punished. Supernatural spirits inhabited plants, animals, rocks, streams, breezes, and the endless sea (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). It was a world infused with meaning.

The worldview was shattered and invalidated by the trauma of contact and its consequences. In terms of TMT, the cultural anxiety buffer (a coherent worldview and standards of value and behavior prescribed by that worldview) was discredited. Anxiety-buffering self-esteem was, therefore, becoming inaccessible, leaving the anxiety-prone humans to cope with these aversive conditions by whatever means that were accessible. Anxiety-related behaviors would be expected to increase under such conditions. Crabbe and Kaholokula (1998) describe the consequences of Captain Cook's arrival (contact) in Hawai'i and the subsequent American colonization of Hawai'i.

- Dramatic, sudden, and traumatic decrease in population of Hawaiians due to diseases (e.g., tuberculosis, syphilis, and smallpox) brought by contact with Europeans. Culture undermined by the effects of the epidemics and the apparent inability of the culture and its healers to stop the dying and suppressed by colonial educational and legal mandates and institutions.
- Native Hawaiians have the highest mortality rates in Hawai'i. The five major causes of death are heart disease, cancer, stroke, accidents, and diabetes. Hawaiians at risk for suicide, child abuse, substance abuse, school adjustment problems, and various mental illnesses.
- Although Native Hawaiians comprise only 20% of the State's population, they make up 40–50% of the prison population.
- A disproportionate number of Native Hawaiians are on public assistance and are incarcerated.

4.2 The Colonial Context

The underlying reality in Hawai'i remains the colonization, marginalization, and decimation of the population of Native Hawaiians. It is useful here to consider the situational context of colonization and its influence in defining the roles and

relational dynamics in Hawai'i after contact. Memmi (1965), in his classic work *The Colonized and the Colonizer*, describes the psychological effects of colonialism on both the colonizer and the colonized in the case of the French colonization of Algeria. He saw that colonialism was harmful to both cultures. Memmi suggested that the colonial situation casts its actors in the roles of the colonizer and the colonized, and it is this situation that is definitive. For these roles to change, the situation must change. The reader is invited to consider the relevance of this analysis to the case of Hawai'i. Memmi described the colonial situation as one that is based on economic privilege, despite suggestion of more noble goals of religious conversion or civilization. Its key tools are racism and terror. Racism is ingrained in every colonial institution and establishes the "subhumanity" of the colonized, fostering poor self-concepts in the colonized as well. He goes on to describe the dilemma of the colonizer who sees the injustice of the situation ("the colonizer who refuses") and the colonizer who, while being aware of his illegitimate privilege, accepts his role as usurper relying on the conviction and presumption of his "superiority." The colonizer who refuses recognizes the colonial system as unjust and may withdraw from the conditions of privilege or remain to fight for change. Yet although he is benevolent, he is detached from the struggle of the colonized. This is a difficult position. The role of colonizer changes only when the situation changes. Let us consider the case of Hawai'i.

4.3 Processes of Colonization and Decolonization

There are a variety of Hawaiian voices that address the issue of sovereignty and decolonization. Laenui (2000), a Hawaiian sovereignty activist who advocates for complete independence for Hawai'i, developed a model describing the processes of colonization and decolonization. These processes are familiar to many Hawaiians, Native Americans, Alaska Natives, and others.

Laenui's model demonstrates how seeds of anger are embedded in the colonization process through trauma, loss, tragedy, and grief.

Step 1: Denial and Withdrawal

When a colonial people first come upon an indigenous people, the colonial strangers will immediately look upon the indigenous population as a people without a culture, with no moral values, and possessing nothing of any social value to merit kind comment. Thus, the colonial people deny the very existence of a culture of any merit among the indigenous people. Indigenous people themselves, especially those who develop a closer relationship with the newcomers (coerced or voluntary in order to escape pain and inferiority feelings), may become quickly converted and later lead in the criticism of indigenous societies and culture.

Step 2: Destruction/Eradication

The colonists take bolder action, physically destroying and attempting to eradicate all physical representations of the symbols of indigenous cultures. This may include the burning of their art, their tablets, their god images, and the destruction of their sacred sites. At times, the indigenous people themselves may participate in this destruction. Some may even lead in the destruction. Memmi (1965) described how the colonizer's rewriting of history to his glorification removes the colonized from history. The colonized child is not taught his own history, but the unknown settings of his colonizer's history. The colonized then becomes "divorced from reality" (p. 106).

Step 3: Denigration/Belittlement/Insult

As colonization takes a stronger hold, the new systems which are created within indigenous societies, such as churches, colonial style health systems, educational systems, and new legal institutions, will all join to denigrate, belittle, and insult any continuing practice of the indigenous culture. Churches will represent indigenous religious practices as devil worship and condemn the practitioners to physical torture or their souls to hell. Colonially trained medical practitioners will refer to the indigenous doctors as witches if their medicine is successful and as ignorant superstitious fools if their medicine fails. The new legal institutions will criminalize the tradi-

tional practices, fine the practitioners, and may declare illegal the possession of traditionally sacred or healing materials.

Step 4: Surface Accommodation/Tokenism

In this stage of colonization, whatever remnants of culture have survived the onslaught of the earlier steps are given surface accommodation. They are tolerated as an exhibition of the colonial regime's sense of leniency to the continuing ignorance of the natives. These practices are called folkloric and represented as colonials showing respect to the old folks and to tradition. They are given token regard (e.g., Waikiki Hula).

Step 5: Transformation/Exploitation

The traditional culture, which simply refuses to die or go away, is now transformed into the culture of the dominating colonial society. A Christian church may now use an indigenous person as a priest, permitting the priest to use the indigenous language to incorporate some indigenous terms and practices within the churches' framework of worship. The indigenous art that has survived may gain in popularity and now forms the basis for economic exploitation. Indigenous symbols in print may decorate modern dress. Indigenous musical instruments may be incorporated into modern music. To support indigenous causes within the general colonial structure may become the popular and political (politically correct) thing to do as the culture is further exploited (i.e., the marketing of aloha). Indigenous and nonindigenous peoples may commit this exploitation. All this time, external oppression is ubiquitous and all-powerful. Notions of inferiority are internalized and supported by colonial institutions.

4.4 Processes of Decolonization

The decolonization process involves the identification of the source of the oppression, the naming of it, the story of it, and the integration of that trauma into the larger narrative of a people's history. This process may generate anger and energy. The internalized oppressor (i.e., internalized negative self-evaluations) must be purged and anger is an essential part of the process. Poka Laenui (2000)

in consultation with Virgilio Enriques suggested five distinct phases of a people's decolonization.

Step 1: Rediscovery and Recovery

This phase sets the foundation for the eventual decolonization of the society.

People who have undergone colonization are inevitably suffering from concepts of inferiority in relation to their historical, cultural, and social background. They live in a colonial society, which is a constant and overwhelming reminder of the superiority of the colonial society over that of the underlying indigenous one. In this phase, young people seek and listen again to elders, rediscover history, listen to the stories, and try to make sense of a painful present by recovering a suppressed history. This is when language is revived, culture is revived, and traditional spirituality may be revived. Many different causes may bring a person or a society to enter the stage of rediscovery and recovery (recovery of history, culture, and spirituality). It may be curiosity, accident, desperation, escape, coincidence, or fate.

Poka Laenui (2000) describes his experience as a volunteer member of the U.S. military, when he came across a book, found at a military base library in Hawai'i, written by Queen Lili'uokalani, that started his entry into this phase of decolonization. He described his curiosity that led him to read the words left by Hawai'i's Queen years before, telling of the conspiracy and overthrow of the Hawaiian nation. Once coming upon these words, he undertook his own study of a history of which he had previously been unaware. Laenui read and interviewed every source of information he could find on Hawai'i's history and Hawaiian cultural foundations.

The Hawaiian society has been in this phase (rediscovery and recovery) since the late 1960s, as greater sensitivity for racial identity and pride as well as the growth of distrust for the government of the USA developed. This phase of rediscovery of one's history and recovery of one's culture, language, identity, and spirituality, Laenui suggests, is fundamental to the movement for decolonization. It forms the basis for the further steps to follow. He warns of the danger

that indigenous peoples may take on the colonizer's concept of the indigenous person and the elevation of form over substance of dealing with indigenous culture from the foreigner/colonial perspective.

Step 2: Mourning

A natural outgrowth of the first phase is the mourning. It is a time to lament victimization and loss. Anger is part of the mourning/grief process. This is an essential part of the healing process. The oppressor is named and identified. It is the beginning of the expunging of the internalized oppressor. There is great anger released in this phase.

Laenui describes his experience "As a young member of the U.S. military, plodding through the mounds of history and recovering from a loss of native identity I experienced great anger, wanting to blow-up the colonial system, take up arms to drive that very same military out of my native home. Others have expressed themselves in very similar ways, finding that they had been lied to for so many years while in the educational systems of Hawai'i. Their anger and frustration have ranged from flying chairs across a room to roaming streets wanting to beat Americans to contemplating para-military action" (p. 157).

The mourning phase can also accelerate the earlier stage of rediscovery and recovery. Anger provides energy. There are wounds that need to be expressed. Anger is expressed, to the discomfort of many good but uninformed non-Natives and the intentionally ignorant or the outright apologists for the historical injustice. It must be expressed. Recovery from trauma requires that the story be told (Herman, 1992). It is a painful story and the pain will be expressed.

Step 3: Dreaming

This phase is most crucial for decolonization. The panorama of possibilities is explored (i.e., models of sovereignty in the Hawaiian context) and the process of dreaming of the possibilities of a new social order begins. The colonized are able to explore their own cultures, aspirations, and possibilities. This phase must be allowed to run its course and not cut short prematurely. True decolonization is more than simple, replacing indigenous or previously colonized people into

the positions held by colonizers. It is a psychological transformation. This process has been and is occurring.

Step 4: Commitment

The combining of voices into a clear statement of direction follows a process of a consideration of possibilities. In Hawai'i, this will involve a consensus around the manifestation and the operationalization of self-determination and sovereignty.

Step 5: Action

After a consensus in the commitment phase, action is taken toward the manifestation of the vision.

Since the 1970s, a cultural and political renaissance has developed among Native Hawaiians that has had significant impact on current realities. The recovery of language, values, culture, and culture-based meanings and the development of a sovereignty movement have resulted in the construction of a Native Hawaiian identity that has, without doubt, resulted in greater pride and consciousness of being Hawaiian. Until the 1970s, feelings of inferiority and inadequacy were common among Native Hawaiians, including youths, because of the widespread denigrating stereotypes of them as being "dumb, lazy, violent and criminally inclined" (Okumura, 2008, p. 100). The Hawaiian cultural renaissance and sovereignty movement provided Native Hawaiians with the strength, awareness, and will to contest negative stereotypes and advance political goals and agendas by reclaiming their history, culture, and identity.

The cultural renaissance and Native Hawaiian sovereignty movements (Kanahele, 1982) are political and cultural expressions of recovery and decolonization. The fruits of these movements include a growing public school Hawaiian Language Immersion program (Slaughter, 1997) and traditional forms of therapy and healing such as Ho'oponopono (Shook, 1985).

Kanahele (1982) saw the process of recovering and the reconstruction of Hawaiian culture as a psychological renewal and a purging of feelings of alienation and inferiority as well as a reassertion of self-dignity. The revalidation of one's culture and its standards for being and living in the world serves to strengthen the essen-

tial anxiety-buffering function of the culture. The revival of hula, language study, music, and traditional forms of healing serves to reconstruct a world of meaning for people to act in and achieve anxiety-buffering self-esteem through the meeting of accessible standards of value defined by a worldview infused with a new belief. Kanahele notes similar cultural activism occurring throughout the Pacific Islands. As a result of these efforts to reaffirm and recover the cultural foundations of living and being, "Hawaiians regard themselves, generally speaking, a lot better and with a greater sense of identity, self-assurance, and pride" (p. 7). Self-assurance, pride, and confidence are conditions that make adaptive action more probable in a wide variety of contexts including those imposed by current conditions.

It is important to note that even following the signing of the apology bill (for the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy) in 1993, Hawaiians are still struggling for their recognition as an indigenous people. The assault on Hawaiian assets continues under the infuriating guise of civil rights and race discrimination used by those seeking what are still significant assets (Van Dyke, 2008). Legal challenges to indigenous rights are currently threatening Hawaiian institutions such as the Kamehameha Schools and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. As noted in the time line, in March of 2009, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a unanimous opinion, overturned a 2008 Hawai'i Supreme Court ruling and decided that the Apology Resolution did not provide a legal justification for Native Hawaiian claims over the "ceded" lands. Governor Lingle acknowledged that Native Hawaiians had a moral but not legal claim to these lands and that the State of Hawai'i had the right to develop or sell these lands for all the people of Hawai'i. The "ceded" lands (approximately 1.2 million acres) were lands under the control of the Hawaiian monarchy when it was overthrown in 1893. These lands include the sites of the University of Hawai'i and the Honolulu airport and are extremely valuable material resources. They are essential spiritual and psychological resources for the Hawaiian people.

4.5 The Plantation System

Prior to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 which offered tariff protection to the sugar industry, agencies (e.g., Castle & Cooke and Alexander & Baldwin) primarily acted as intermediaries between the plantations and external markets. This growing industry required considerable capital to nourish its growth and that capital was supplied by the agencies. The debts owed to the agencies by the plantations were converted into the ownership of plantation stocks by the agencies. By the time of annexation in 1898 (tariff protection made permanent), five of the top agencies (The Big Five) controlled 34 of 54 plantations. These agencies were controlled by four kama'aina (one who has lived in Hawai'i for a long time – derived from kama/child and aina/land) families descended from the missionaries who arrived in 1820. By 1930, the Big Five controlled 41 of 47 plantations and over 95% of sugar production (Jung, 2006). Wealth and power were increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few.

A commonly told aphorism in Hawai'i is "The missionaries came to Hawai'i to do good and did very well" (Jung, 2006, p. 16). They did very well indeed. This small number of interconnected "haole" families concentrated wealth and ownership through intermarriage, interlocking directorates, and family trust companies. They cooperated in opposing unionism and eventually dominated the sugar, pineapple, and transport industries. They controlled Hawai'i and imposed a plantation system based on a rigid racial and ethnic hierarchy that institutionalized inequality among workers. With Whites (*haoles*) almost exclusively in top managerial and professional positions, a consistent pattern emerged among the three main groups of workers, with Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipinos occupying positions in descending order of status and power. This inequality included differences in the quality of housing, job status, income, promotions, and working conditions. It should be noted that unequal status in the situation (plantation) contradicts the prejudice reduction condition indicated in *Intergroup Contact Theory* (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998).

This hierarchical pattern remained at least until the mid-1940s. Okumura (2008) contends that an ethnic hierarchy continues to exist today with Chinese-, White, and Japanese-Americans holding economic and political dominance, suggesting that equality of opportunity remains elusive in Hawai'i today. Okumura's argument is supported by his observation of a chronically underfunded public education system that is largely populated by Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, Samoans, and other Polynesians. In addition, Hawai'i has the highest percentage of K-12 private school enrollment in the USA at 16% or nearly 35,000 students. White, Chinese, and Japanese students constitute the majority of private school students (Okumura, 2008). Along with other factors, such as dramatic tuition hikes at the University of Hawai'i, Okumura concludes that inequality is institutionalized in Hawai'i. From 1995 to 2005, the percentage of Filipino-American students at the flagship Manoa campus declined from 11.0 to 9.3%; the percentage of Native Hawaiian students declined from 10.2 to 9.3%; and the percentage of Caucasian students increased from 13.6 to 22.3%. Across all campuses, the percentage of Filipino-American students declined from 14.9 to 12.7%; the percentage of Native Hawaiian students increased from 12.7 to 13.8%; and the percentage of Caucasian students increased from 19.3 to 21.3%. Thus, the question arises whether the system of status stratification established in the plantation system has really changed.

4.6 The Construction of an "Interracial Labor Movement"

From disparate ethnicities, status, languages, races, and cultures, a superordinate "interracial" labor movement and identity coalesced in the 1940s into a working class movement that transformed the conservative, feudal political realities of Hawai'i into what many be considered to be the most progressive state in the USA. The pre-war period that was characterized by profound and entrenched racial divisions was displaced by a protracted period of durable "interracialism"

that continues to this day (Jung, 2006). Jung contends that the construction of this “we” did not negate or deny race (and ethnicity) but “rearticulated” it by constructing a schema and worldview that saw worker’s struggle for racial and class justice as “coincident and mutually reinforcing” (p. 9). Factors that may have contributed to this historical development and how this process may be understood psychologically will be considered in the light of relevant theory.

Native Hawaiian and migrant workers mainly from China, Portugal, Japan, and the Philippines were recruited to work in Hawai'i's sugar plantations in overlapping succession from the middle of the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, Hawai'i had become a colony of the USA ruled by a cohesive oligarchy of *haole* capitalists (the Big Five) who possessed and wielded an enormous concentration of wealth and power (Cooper & Daws, 1985) throughout the first half of the twentieth century. As agricultural laborers, the workers endured low wages and terrible working and living conditions on the plantations where they were stratified by race and ethnicity. As indicated, different groups had access to different conditions based on race and ethnicity. These differences in working and living conditions were supported by stereotypical perceptions of relative inferiority to the elite and powerful, and the degree of perceived national loyalty and suitability for inclusion and citizenship. This policy was later redefined by a militant labor movement organized by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) as a classic divide-and-conquer tactics that supported the interests of the oligarchy (the Big Five).

Laborers did protest and strike prior to WWII but did not do so interracially and across ethnicities. There was a “Great Strike” of Japanese workers in 1909, a Filipino worker strike in 1924, and a dual union (Japanese and Filipino) strike in 1920 that were met with organized and obdurate opposition from the capital. The collaboration of Japanese and Filipino workers was a collaboration of two ethnically based unions, not an integrated interracial movement. The crushing defeat of the 1920 collaboration caused Japanese

workers to withdraw from the labor movement for two decades. The cause for the defeat was attributed to a weak coalition between the unions due to *unequal status in the plantation system* and the resulting stereotypical perceptions of each group toward the other. This attempt at collaboration had an unsuccessful outcome.

Environmental and contextual factors influencing plantation labor changed in the 1930s with the passage of the Wagner Act and the arrival of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which facilitated organizing unions and subjected employers to sanctions for the most blatant anti-union actions. There was *authoritative* support, then, for organizing and the development of a labor movement across race and ethnicity. The NLRB changed the environment significantly throughout 1937 as the ILWU aggressively organized interracially and offered a class analysis to contradict the use of racial propaganda (i.e., Japanese workers were loyal to Japan) and other divide-and-conquer tactics such as favoritism based on race. The ILWU organized and armed workers with the “divide-and-conquer” *cognitive schema* to recognize such tactics as such. Perhaps most importantly, by connecting the isolated plantation workers to a larger progressive, militant working class movement, the organizers offered a *superordinate identity that did not deny race or ethnicity but subsumed it under a larger identity and common purpose*.

The 1937 struggles set the stage for the formation of the interracial movement that would transform Hawai'i. This development was suppressed by martial law imposed on Hawai'i during WWII. Martial law froze wages, made work mandatory, “loaned” workers to the military, and mandated severe conditions of work. The overall effect of martial law was to stifle unions and labor organizing and to foment discontent among workers, making them more susceptible to the analysis and organizing efforts of the ILWU. After the martial law was lifted, worker discontent boiled over (Jung, 2006). The ILWU was successful in constructing an ideology (worldview) that would unite the workers interracially *against* employers and ultimately the Big Five by offering an interpretive schema that created a common interracial

identity without denying ethnic identity or racial histories. The ILWU practiced interracialism by promoting a diverse leadership, holding meetings in multiple languages, insisting on equal opportunity with present employees, and thereby creating *equal status contact in the situation*. In 1946, the interracial labor movement struck the sugar industry and won. They had a *successful outcome*. This movement was reaffirmed by successful outcomes in 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1951. There was, then, a succession of positive and successful outcomes from this intergroup cooperation based on equal status in service of a superordinate goal. A *local culture* was nourished by this historical process.

4.7 The Development of "Local Culture"

The use of the term "local" has been traced to the infamous Massie Case (1931) to categorize collectively people from Hawaii in contrast to the White military accusers of Hawaiian and mixed race working class youths accused of kidnapping and raping Thalia Massie. The criteria for being "local" seems to be cultural rather than racial, involving adherence to certain values (e.g., *aloha*) including a respect and appreciation of cultural diversity. It represents an appreciation of and commitment to the land, cultures, and peoples of Hawai'i. "Local" identity has been maintained as an expression of resistance and opposition to outside domination. The plantation experience and labor movement undoubtedly facilitated the development of "local" identity, where different ethnocultural groups developed a common language that enabled people from many places (e.g., the USA, Japan, the Philippines, Samoa, and Korea) to communicate with each other. This was passed on to subsequent generations to become a unique language that is, today, English based, but consists of seven diverse languages employed in the construction of a unique, common system of communication known as pidgin and Hawaiian Creole.

"Local" culture, then, may represent the development of a superordinate identity that may be seen as supplementing but not supplanting original ethnicities. For example, the affirmation of a local identity for the entire Japanese-American community is apparent in a statement prominently displayed on a wall in the Historical Gallery of the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i, which states "We are no longer only Japanese-American, we are local. We have learned from others. We have absorbed their values and traditions while we have preserved our own. We are proud of our mixed heritage-our local Hawaiian way of life" (Okumura, 2008, p. 134). The appreciation of and familiarity with the different peoples and cultures of Hawai'i are then a major dimension of "local" identity.

5 Relevant Theoretical Perspectives and Conceptualizations

This section utilizes varied theoretical lenses that psychology has provided to consider how culturally diverse peoples can coexist in mutually enriching ways rather than killing each other in bloody conflicts based on factors such as alternative constructions of reality, competition for material or psychological resources, and efforts to manage anxiety through ingroup identification and outgroup demonization.

5.1 The Minimal Group Paradigm and Social Identity Theory

The Minimal Group Paradigm is a term used in social psychology experiments (e.g., Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1954; Tajfel, 1970) where people are randomly assigned to groups. These studies have shown that simply being randomly assigned to be a member of a group is enough to change behavior. A phenomenon occurs where group members will begin to associate superiority to their group over and

above other outgroups. Ingroup members associate their self-esteem through positive social comparisons with other groups where their group is seen as superior.

Results from Tajfel's (1970) experiments in intergroup discrimination indicate the following:

- People have strong tendencies to divide the social world into "us" and "them."
- Individuals seek to enhance their self-esteem by identifying with specific social groups.
- Self-esteem is enhanced only to the extent that the persons involved perceive these groups as somehow superior to other competing groups. So each group tries to see itself as different from and better than the other groups (rivals).
- The self-esteem motive "wins out" over a tendency toward fairness.
- Only when individuals feel secure in their own group or cultural identity can they be generous and tolerant to other groups (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), that is, secure about its own group's superiority and goodness.
- Under certain conditions, when an individual feels that the distinctiveness (superiority) of their own group or culture is somehow threatened, they will react negatively to other groups, and moreover, these reactions will be intensified by perceived similarities between their own and other groups because similarity threatens the distinctiveness in one's own group (self-esteem threat?). But when the individual does not feel that the distinctiveness of one's group is threatened or challenged, similarities (under no threat) have the opposite effect and tend to produce positive reactions to others.
- For prejudice reduction, efforts to reduce prejudice between groups by breaking down the distinction between "us" and "them" can succeed, but only if doing so does not threaten each group's unique identity and/or sense of superiority. Our tendency to divide the social world into opposing categories seems to serve important self-esteem boosting functions for humans.

The Robber's Cave experiment (Sherif et al., 1954) is one of social psychology's most cited studies dealing with differentiation, showing how

easily opposing ingroups and group hostilities can form. At the same time, it is one of the best examples of conflict resolution brought about by finding superordinate needs that transcend intergroup conflict. An essential condition of the reduction of conflict between groups was found to be the development of superordinate needs that transcend intergroup conflict. This condition was established in the development of the interracial/interethnic labor movement described earlier. Despite attempts by employers to exacerbate intergroup tensions through racial propaganda, favoritism, and ethnic stratification (unequal status), the labor organizers of the ILWU were able to formulate a superordinate identity (being an important part of a transformative labor movement) and goal of improving working conditions and achieving a sense of dignity. In the face of united and ferocious opposition from the Big Five employers, the distinctions among workers of varying races and ethnicities may have diminished as their common, new, superordinate identity coalesced. It is extremely significant that their intergroup cooperation was seen as successful after WWII, whereas racially and ethnically separate efforts (i.e., of Japanese workers and Filipino workers) failed. Positive outcomes reinforced interdependence and helped construct a durable interracial and interethnic movement.

5.2 Intergroup Contact Theory

Allport identified four conditions for optimal intergroup contact and prejudice reduction. They are as follows:

1. Equal status contact in the situation (implying equal power in the situation)
2. Common (superordinate goals)
3. Intergroup Cooperation in achieving common goals
4. Support of authority and cultural or societal norms for positive intergroup contact
5. Friendship potential (added later) – intimate not superficial contact

Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1998) emphasized the condition of *equal status contact in the*

situation, implying equal power in the situation. We are challenged to construct such situations as inequality pervade social, political, and economic life to greater or lesser degrees throughout the world whether between individuals, groups, or nations. A colonial situation was imposed on Hawai‘i. Notions of inferiority and superiority are embedded in and supported by the colonial situation (Fanon, 1968; Memmi, 1965).

Another essential condition for prejudice reduction and positive intergroup contact is *the support of authority and cultural or societal norms for positive intergroup contact*. It is significant that there is a strong cultural norm that is informed by the core Native Hawaiian value of “Aloha” referred to as the “Aloha Spirit.” This essential condition is broadly endorsed throughout the islands. It is a cultural norm that prescribes particular behaviors in evidence on the crowded freeways and in large and small expressions. People at least pay lip service to this value and are generally reluctant to behave in ways that contradict it. “Aloha” (literally meaning sacred breath) includes a spirit of generosity, welcome, kindness, and broad tolerance of differences among people. Aloha is often exchanged by individuals sharing “sacred breath” upon meeting.

A significant impediment to the development of positive relations between people from different ethnocultural identifications is the human tendency and capacity to stereotype. Okumura (2008) places great importance on the role of ethnic stereotyping in maintaining the social stratification and ethnic inequality that have existed and continue to exist in Hawai‘i. What is their nature and what is their function?

5.3 The Functionality of Stereotypes

Stereotypes are closely associated with prejudice and discrimination. They pervade people’s views of their social worlds. Stereotypes are usually simple, over-generalized assertions about what “they” are like. “They” are denied their individuality by having applied to them a set of beliefs about their character and propensities of behavior (Snyder & Miene, 1994). By denying “their”

individuality, we are ultimately denying their humanity. We see only a category. Dehumanization lies at the root of the indignities and even atrocities that humans impose on fellow humans. What needs are met and psychological functions served by the stereotypes that afflict our social perception and interpersonal behavior? Snyder and Miene describe three orientations associated with three particular functions served by stereotypes.

The *cognitive orientation* assumes that humans are limited in the amount of incoming information they can process, and form stereotypes as one way to reduce the cognitive burden of dealing with a complex world. In this orientation, stereotypes serve the function of *cognitive economy* by reducing incoming data to a manageable level so as to imbue our worlds with a sense of predictability.

The *psychodynamic orientation* sees stereotypes as providing a variety of ego-defensive functions. They include the derogation of others (particularly those seen as competitors for scarce resources) and the building of self-esteem by engaging in downward social comparison. Stereotypes, therefore, are subjectively useful for making people feel better about themselves and less threatened by other groups of people. Therefore, in functional terms, stereotypes serve the function of ego defense and protection.

The *sociocultural orientation* suggests that stereotypes serve the social function of fitting in and achieving a sense of belonging which has long been recognized as a human need (e.g., Maslow, 1987). Sherif and Sherif (1953) saw such stereotypes as functionally related to becoming a group member, thereby serving a social function.

These three types of functions serve real human needs and humans are motivated to satisfy their needs as they are perceived (i.e., the need for a predictable world, the need for self-esteem, and the need to belong). Given their ubiquity and nature, stereotypes must be considered a source of error with potentially serious consequences that call for strategies to minimize their negative impact on human and intergroup relations. Pettigrew (1998) described the following as the optimal

sequence of contact between groups as first, *decat-egorization*: seeing similarity with the “other” – seeing the “other” as an individual and interaction as an interpersonal not intergroup event; second, *salient categorization*: other’s group made salient so the “other” is seen as representative of their group in some essential way; and third, *re-categorization* into a larger category such as “working class” or “human race” that is inclusive (“we-world”) of all interactants. In this case, a person’s individuality, culture, and universal humanity are acknowledged and the full humanity of the person is acknowledged so no dehumanization occurs, as dehumanization is a prerequisite for discrimination, demonization, and atrocity. This formulation does not “deracialize” but acknowledges differences while including them in a larger formulation. An example of this process may be the development of “local culture” in Hawai’i.

5.4 Terror Management Theory

TMT (see Greenberg et al., 1997) considers the relationship among existential terror, culture, and self-esteem. There have been over 300 studies in 14 countries of TMT hypotheses that have suggested the following:

- Culture is a psychological defense, cooperatively constructed and maintained to manage the terror inherent in human existence.
- Culture makes self-esteem possible. Self-esteem is a cultural construction. Self-esteem (however constructed across cultures) serves as an anxiety buffer. Self-esteem is constructed by having faith in a cultural worldview and seeing oneself as living up to its standards.
- Cultural conflicts are fueled by numerous factors and conditions and maybe particularly vicious due to the psychological stakes involved (competing constructions of reality and immortality strivings).
- TMT experiments have found that when people are made aware of their mortality, they bolster and affirm their cultural worldviews, and exhibit a strong tendency to like those

who support their worldviews, while distancing, derogating, and even demonizing those who do not support their cultural worldviews, suggesting that culture (and/or religion) offers either literal or symbolic immortality. This may be one reason that wars are so difficult to stop once blood flows (mortality salience).

In his exploration of the relationship between culture and conflict, Marsella (2005) suggested that “reality” is a cultural construction and differences in constructions of reality on issues of vital existential importance may introduce unacceptable levels of uncertainty and doubt. This point is consistent with TMT essential assertions, although TMT specifies awareness of mortality as the core existential threat. The heroic transcendence of mortality, either literally or symbolically, is a powerful human motive.

The relevance of TMT to intergroup relations and the realities of Hawai’i are most apparent in regard to the trauma (physical, cultural, and psychological) experience of the Native Hawaiian people and their efforts to recover their culture and the meanings embedded in it. Humans are motivated to address and satisfy their needs. The need for meaning is a human need. The tragic results of contact with the West and the attendant decimation of the Hawaiian population led to a collapse of faith in a culture and spirituality that had previously sustained the people. Religious conversion followed. If people’s or a person’s faith in a cultural worldview is shattered, it no longer matters if its standards are achieved because they seem meaningless and humans require a world of meaning. Self-esteem can only be achieved in a world of meaning. Culture infuses the world with meaning. The cultural trauma (Salzman, 2001a) suffered by Hawaiian and other indigenous peoples impairs the construction of a coherent cultural anxiety buffer needed to manage the terror inherent in human existence. One is then left with anxiety and must deal with it in any way seen as available. There are many destructive forms of anxiety management. Alternatively, the traumatized people may adopt the culture and worldview of the colonizers who seemed to escape the devastation of the

diseases. However, simply adopting and having faith in the colonizer's culture and religion do not effectively construct the anxiety buffer. One must see oneself as achieving its standards. In a racist colonial system, the achievement of the colonizer's cultural standard is unlikely due to the racist barriers constructed by the colonial system. It may also be true that the new, foreign system just does not resonate deep enough to attract the faith required to construct the buffer.

An important empirical finding in the TMT literature is that when individuals are made aware of their mortality (mortality salience), they bolster and affirm their cultural worldviews and exhibit a strong tendency to like those who support their worldviews while distancing, derogating, and even demonizing those who do not support their cultural worldviews, suggesting that culture (and/or religion) offers either literal or symbolic immortality. Once blood flows in an intergroup conflict, mortality salience effects are activated and conflict is exacerbated as each group demonizes and dehumanizes the "evil" other, while seeing one's own group as "good." These effects are consistent with Marsella's (2005) common cultural pathways to conflict and violence. Hawai'i has not experienced explosive racial or cultural riots or conflicts as have been seen in other places. Therefore, it seems that mortality salience effects have not been activated to the extent where groups demonize each other beyond discrimination, supporting stereotypes. Perhaps this fact supports the relative tolerance and harmony among ethnocultural groups in Hawai'i. The Hawaiian cultural value of *Aloha* may explain the peaceful nature of the sovereignty movement. Hawaiian sovereignty leader, Bumpy Kanahele, for example, has emphasized militant, uncompromising struggle for total independence but with *Aloha First* indicating a nonviolent, tolerant, and generous approach to independence.

5.5 Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 1996)

Stephan and Stephan (1996) hypothesized that prejudice toward ethnic groups may be associ-

ated with any or all of four different perceived threats. They are realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (see Smith, Bond, & Kagitcibasi, 2006, p. 231). All four threats are potentially activated when groups come in contact. Realistic threats may include a competition for scarce resources. In such a case, conflict is likely but may be transformed through the development of a superordinate goal of expanding the resources (i.e., jobs and food) through equal status collaboration and cooperation. Symbolic threats are central to TMT, which proposes that under conditions of existential threat, we tend to (in the words of Barack Obama) adhere to our cultural symbols (i.e., guns, flags, and faith) and, as evidenced by the American reaction to France after 9/11, derogate those who do not support our position. Intergroup anxiety is a threat and our responses to anxiety may only exacerbate the issue, producing conflict. As Cushner and Brislin (1996) have noted, anxiety is a primary theme in intercultural interactions. Stereotype threat is problematic because it essentially denies the full humanity of the stereotyped as it impairs adaptive behaviors.

5.6 Realistic Conflict Theory

Realistic Conflict Theory developed by Sherif (1966) argues that intergroup conflict arises as a result of conflict of interests between groups. For example, when two groups want to achieve the same goal but cannot have it, hostility is produced between them. The theory accounts for intergroup conflict, negative prejudices, and stereotypes as a result of actual competition between groups for desired resources. Sherif found support for his theory in one of his most famous experiments, "The Robber's Cave" that was previously cited. The recent court decisions related to the claims over the valuable and essential "ceded" lands represent a clear conflict of interest between the State of Hawai'i and the Native Hawaiian people. In addition to their material, spiritual, and psychological value, this conflict over land is a conflict over an extremely scarce resource.

5.7 "Kita", "Kami," and the "We-World"

Can there be a "we" without a "they?" Can there be an "us" without a "them?" Can there be an inclusive "we" that satisfies the physical and psychological needs that motivate the construction, maintenance, and defense of our social identities and cultural worldviews? Hassan (2004) suggests that we can indeed strive toward the construction of such a "we-world." He identifies two words used in Indonesia that connote different constructions of "we." The words are "kita" and "kami." "Kita" is an inclusive "we" and there is no "they" or "them." It is a shared world. It is a mode where every constituent part is free to develop and maintain their individual identities ("kami"). "Kami" affirms its shared identity by excluding others outside its boundaries. It is a "we" that maintains the demarcation separating those who belong and those who do not. It affirms the ingroup and excludes the outgroup. Hassan suggests that many "kami's" can be part of an inclusive "kita," that there is a constant oscillation between "kita" and "kami," and that cultural diversity is not by itself a hindrance for the sharing of a "we-world." Cultural diversity implies cultural freedom that provides alternative ways of living and most importantly, it allows us to inject meaning into our existence and meaning is a core existential concern (Frankl, 1984; Yalom, 1980).

In cultural and other intergroup interactions, the "kami" worlds may develop into the inclusive "kita" world through the development of common goals and interests. We can assist the process by developing ongoing ethnocultural encounters aimed at promising reciprocal understanding, tolerance, and respect based on the context of equal status in the situation. We can construct superordinate goals that require intergroup cooperation to achieve them, that are based on unifying universal values or virtues that may motivate the construction of a "we-world," that enable for the possibility of all to meet their essential material and psychological needs. "Kita" language does not preclude "kami" realities, but while acknowledging these cultur-

ally and historically diverse realities, this language defines overarching and inclusive common interests. It is an inclusive "we" that does not require the construction of a "them" or "other."

5.8 Dehumanization as a Perquisite for Discrimination and Atrocity

Zimbardo (2007) has long been concerned with the processes through which ordinary "normal people" can be transformed into indifferent or even enthusiastic perpetrators of "evil" or atrocity. He suggests that processes of dehumanization confuse the mind into thinking that other people are less than human. In American history, we see that the genocidal policies toward Native Americans and the enslavement of African people were justified by the belief that these peoples were less than human. The U.S. constitution enshrined this belief in its description of African slaves as only 3/5th human. The description of Native Americans as vicious savages devoid of "God" justified murderous and assimilationist policies that reduced any dissonance arising from such brutal treatment used by the good and god-fearing settlers of the "new land."

The consequences of dehumanization may range from the inconvenient to the catastrophic. As described by Zimbardo (2007), once certain groups are stigmatized as evil, morally inferior, and not fully human, the persecution of these groups becomes more psychologically acceptable. Restraints against aggression and violence begin to disappear. Not surprisingly, dehumanization increases the likelihood of violence and may cause a conflict to escalate out of control. Once violence breaks out, it may seem even more acceptable for people to do things that they would have regarded as morally unthinkable before. The processes of dehumanization must be understood and disrupted if exploitation, derogation, atrocity, and even annihilation are to be prevented. How and under what circumstances do we dehumanize our fellow humans? How can this process be disrupted?

6 Discussion

6.1 Possible Resolutions

This chapter has examined the complex ethnocultural realities and history that have produced what many consider to be a model of intergroup tolerance in this remote land mass in the middle of the Pacific. The history of contact, colonization, processes decolonization, the plantation economy, and intergroup cooperation through the attainment of a superordinate identity have been reviewed and analyzed in the light of psychological theory and research. In this light, how might the positive potentials of ethnoculturally diverse people be maximized and the negative potentials ameliorated and managed?

Allport (1954), Pettigrew (1998), and intergroup contact theory suggest a solution. They have identified conditions for optimal intergroup contact. These conditions of equal status contact, common (superordinate) goals, intergroup cooperation in achieving common goals, support of authority and cultural or societal norms for positive intergroup contact, and the potential for developing friendships through intimate not superficial contact may be intentionally constructed in our schools and communities. These known conditions provide a potential roadmap to a multicultural destiny characterized by an appreciation of diversity, mutual respect, and shared interests. By promoting equality and mutual respect, we work toward the development of the “equal status” contact. By identifying common interests, we suggest superordinate goals and promote cooperation as a mode to achieve them.

Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) used the principles of Allport and Pettigrew (i.e., re-categorization) to demonstrate methods by which both explicit and implicit stereotypes could be reduced. They investigated conditions for optimal intergroup contact in which two groups were encouraged to recategorize their boundaries in the direction of sharing a common group identity (e.g., “we’re different groups, but all on the same team”). As predicted, they found that this intervention led to reduced intergroup bias and prejudice. These authors emphasize that a strong advantage of this kind of dual-identity procedure

is that it does not require minority groups to forsake their own unique group identity when they adopt a broader, superordinate identity. This is an essential point because only when individuals feel secure in their own group or cultural identity can they be generous and tolerant to other groups (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

This approach is consistent with the insights offered by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1970, 1978) concerning the people’s tendencies to derive and enhance self-esteem by identifying with specific social groups and to divide the social world into “us” and “them.” These findings correspond to the “we-world” proposed by Hassan (2004), where a superordinate identity (“Kita”) is constructed without a “them,” while including and acknowledging multiple distinct “Kamis” underneath the common identity whose distinctiveness is not threatened by the inclusive “we” or “Kita.”

Perspectives and empirical findings from TMT (Greenberg et al., 1997) suggest that culture serves as a psychological defense against the terror inherent in human existence. This is consistent with Becker’s (1971) proposition that cultural differences are threatening because they provide a living example that life can go on heroically within a value framework totally alien to one’s own. TMT research has shown a powerful tendency for people, when they are reminded of their mortality, to seek to derogate, distance, or actually harm “others” who do not support their world view. One may reasonably conclude that reminding “others” of their mortality through threat and saber-rattling is an ill-advised foreign policy if one seeks a more peaceful world. One recent study, appropriately entitled “Mortality Salience, martyrdom and military might: The Great Satan vs. the Axis of Evil” found that under conditions of mortality salience, Iranian and American samples each attributed “evil” to the other and supported extreme action (suicide bombing and massive military counter-attack regardless of collateral damage), whereas diplomatic resolution was supported when mortality salience inductions were not employed. The implications are clear: when blood flows and war begins, the demonization and the dehumanization of the “other” result and the ensuing conflict becomes extremely difficult to stop.

How can one make peace with “evil”? War must be prevented. The use of indigenous mechanisms for conflict resolution such as the Samoan practice of Ifoga cited previously diffused a potentially bloody revenge scenario that threatened the relative peace between these communities. Such conflict resolution and mutual respect-enhancing mechanisms may be further identified and employed to prevent blood from being spilled and TMT defenses from being activated.

Consistent with the principles described by Hassan, Allport, and Tajfel, we can promote institutional and grass-roots (inclusive) community-building (“we” building) activities and programs that celebrate diversity within our common humanity. We can work to identify issues of common, overarching interests and available mechanisms to pursue those interests and build the “we-world” that is united against common problems while reducing perceptions of threat to vital interests.

There is no doubt that there are real conflicts of interests and realistic threats such as the continued assault on Native Hawaiian assets such as the successful attempt by the State of Hawai'i to claim title to the “ceded lands.” The struggle for land remains central to the health and well-being of Native Hawaiian people. Fanon (1968) wrote that for a colonized people, land is the most essential value in that it will bring not only material sustenance but also dignity. Historical injustices must be acknowledged and to the degree possible corrected if ethnocultural harmony is to be truly realized. The recent actions of Governor Linda Lingle enabling the State of Hawai'i to claim title to the “ceded lands” suggest that the crime acknowledged in the aforementioned “apology” resolution is not purely history. The reader is invited to consider if the crime continues.

We can prevent dehumanization, which is the prerequisite for discrimination and atrocity. The psychological process of dehumanization might be mitigated or reversed through humanization efforts, and ethnic and racial insults and stereotypes can be disputed at the family dinner table and the streets of our cities. We can intentionally work toward the development of an empathic understanding of the historical experiences of “others” and the corresponding narratives that are

communicated across generations. The high rate of intermarriage in Hawai'i has contributed to the relative intergroup harmony in the islands. It is difficult to “otherize” one's own family or parts of oneself. Intermarriage and mixing make it hard to think in terms of “us” and “them” while nourishing the sense of connection and “we-ness.” In this sense, the once ubiquitous phrase “make love not war” comes to mind.

We can support and operationalize cultural norms that support intergroup understanding and appreciation. We can work for justice and practice respect.

Utilize culture-specific conflict resolution practice such as Ifoga, Ho'oponopono, and Aloha.

7 Summary and Conclusions

As we seek to apply psychological knowledge to the problems that afflict humankind, we can only use what we know and seek to know more because the problems remain and they are pressing. The stakes are high.

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