

# Making Martin Luther King Jr. Day “Local”: The African American Struggle for Inclusion in Hawaiian Society

(ハワイでのキングデー州祝日化——アフリカ系住民のハワイ社会への内包へ向けて)

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**SUMMARY IN JAPANESE:** 本稿は公民権運動の主要な指導者である Martin Luther King Jr. の生誕を記念して 1986 年に連邦レベルで制定された祝日、Martin Luther King Jr. Day(キングデー)に焦点を当てる。1986 年にハワイ州はキングデーを州祝日として制定しなかったため、アフリカ系アメリカ人を中心とするキングデー推進派の住民は、州祝日化実現のためにロビー活動を行い、彼ら彼女らの運動のおかげでハワイ州でも 1989 年に制定されるに至った。本稿ではハワイでのキングデーの州祝日化をめぐる 2 年半の議論を考察し、ハワイに住むアフリカ系コミュニティの主体化を白人・黒人という二項対立的な人種関係ではなく、ハワイの住民内での「ローカル/非ローカル」という区分から分析し、アフリカ系アメリカ人の経験を明らかにすること、またハワイの「人種の融合」イメージを批判的に論じることを目的としている。

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## Introduction

This study examines the historical politics that led to the recognition of Martin Luther King Jr. Day (hereinafter MLK Day) in Hawai‘i by bringing new attention to the experiences of African Americans in Hawai‘i. MLK Day is a federal holiday that celebrates the birth of Martin Luther King Jr., one of the most well-known leaders of the civil rights movement in the United States. It has been celebrated on the third Monday in January as an officially recognized federal holiday since 1986. Federal recognition in this case did not translate into nationwide adoption of the holiday; instead, Congress provided each state with the option of adopting it as a state holiday. Under this legislation, 22 states, nearly half of the states in the nation, including Hawai‘i, did not recognize MLK Day as a state holiday in 1986.<sup>1</sup>

In opposition to the state decision, several citizens, unions, and organizations organized to lobby for the enactment of MLK Day as a state holiday in Hawai‘i. As a result of the power of the grassroots movement by African American individuals and organizations, the governor of the time, John Waihee,<sup>2</sup> proclaimed in 1988 that MLK Day would be recognized as a state holiday in Hawai‘i, which became effective in 1989. African American activists in Hawai‘i were key and visible figures when they lobbied for the observance of MLK Day as a state holiday.<sup>3</sup> However, the details of the story have yet to be explored.

This case study extends beyond the black/white binary paradigm of race relations, and in doing so it looks at the division of the residents in terms of “locals” and “non-locals.” Jonathan Okamura (1980) claims that, despite the predominant definition of “local,” which refers to people born and raised in Hawai‘i, a collectively constructed identity in opposition to Haole<sup>4</sup> racism as another important aspect should not be neglected.<sup>5</sup> In the 1960s, the definition of “local” was reconstructed and redefined in reaction to the militarization, tourism, land development, and immigration from Asia and the Pacific.<sup>6</sup> Since then, residents of Hawai‘i have distinguished themselves from “non-locals,” who are allied with outside forces and bring threats to the land, people, and culture of Hawai‘i.<sup>7</sup> Accordingly, the military and their dependents, tourists, immigrants, actors of global business, and land developers have been considered to be “non-locals.”<sup>8</sup>

African Americans are considered to be “non-locals” because of anti-

black stereotypes and their association with the military.<sup>9</sup> Kathryn Waddell Takara (2004) explains that social distinctions in Hawai‘i were not originally based on skin color, but on traditional hierarchies, religion, politics, and geography. However, arrivals of Haoles from the continental U.S. caused stereotyping of people with darker-skin, leading to the construction of a racial line between blacks and non-black residents of Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Under the influence of white supremacy and racism brought by Haole settlers, Native Hawaiians began to adopt racial attitudes towards African Americans to differentiate themselves.<sup>11</sup> African Americans are referred to as “popolo,” which often has negative connotations meaning black in Hawaiian.

Most African Americans arrived in Hawai‘i from the continental U.S. after World War II as members of the U.S. army or their dependents.<sup>12</sup> About 85 percent of the African Americans who have come to Hawai‘i are associated with the military.<sup>13</sup> In addition to the transmission of white racism, it is the strong association with the military that has kept African American residents in Hawai‘i from being welcomed by the “local” society. Hawai‘i is a key military location in the Pacific. The U.S. military occupies over about five percent of the total islands and nearly a quarter of O‘ahu.<sup>14</sup> This militarization of Hawai‘i has aroused great anger particularly among Native Hawaiians since the island of Kaho‘olawe was used for naval purposes.<sup>15</sup> Native Hawaiians have claimed that their ancestral lands in Hawai‘i and its cultures, resources, and nature have been desecrated because of the contamination of the air, land, and water, and the radiation caused by the military use of the islands.<sup>16</sup> Thus, those who arrive as members of the military and their dependents are considered a threat to Hawai‘i. African Americans in Hawai‘i have been called “Haole ‘ele‘ele,” which means black foreigners, who are not familiar with “local” culture and excluded from a “local” identity. The “non-local” status impacts the subjectivities of African Americans.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the division that arises between residents, Hawai‘i, with its multiethnic demography, has been widely portrayed as a harmonious paradise in the public sphere, the media, and even academia. Numerous scholars have represented Hawai‘i as a racial paradise and a multicultural, or multiethnic society. Moreover, most previous literature has portrayed Hawai‘i as an ideal model of multiculturalism and an example for the rest of the U.S. and the world. Lawrence H. Fuchs (1961) exclaimed that Hawai‘i ensures equality

of opportunity for all regardless of race or other backgrounds and harmonious race/ethnic relations.<sup>18</sup> When Martin Luther King Jr. visited Hawai‘i for the first time in 1959, he also praised the racial harmony and stated it should serve as an example to other states.<sup>19</sup>

Importantly, scholars have challenged the discourse of Hawai‘i as a racial paradise and the model of multiculturalism on the grounds that it obscures ethnic inequality and conflicts in the islands. Okamura (1994) claims that the emphasis on Hawai‘i’s multiculturalism makes it possible to avoid recognizing and addressing the power and status of privileged ethnic groups.<sup>20</sup> Candace Fujikane (2008) advanced a theory of “Asian Settler Colonialism” which posits that Asian Americans have occupied the lands and dominated the islands socioeconomically and politically by employing U.S. colonial ideologies and practices in relation to Native Hawaiians.<sup>21</sup>

Here I explore subjectivities of African Americans in Hawai‘i, who are often marginalized, through an analysis of their efforts to make MLK Day “local.” In general, studies on race/ethnicity in Hawai‘i have focused on Asian immigrant groups such as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, or on the experiences of Haoles, or Native Hawaiians. The experiences of African Americans in Hawai‘i have not been explored yet. African Americans in Hawai‘i account for 2.5 percent of the total population on the islands.<sup>22</sup> This is a small number, but it is perhaps for this reason that their experiences offer valuable insights into the complex workings of race relations. This study builds on the previous scholarship on race and ethnicity in Hawai‘i by critiquing the positive framing of Hawai‘i’s race/ethnic relations, as it considers African American experiences beyond a black/white racial paradigm to examine how they challenged their “non-local” status.

This paper particularly looks at African American activism regarding MLK Day. It explores three central questions: (1) what made it difficult to establish MLK Day as a state holiday in Hawai‘i, (2) why and in what specific ways did African American advocates lobby for MLK Day, and (3) how did African American advocates convince the public, the legislature, and the state government to embrace MLK Day as a new state holiday. Two Honolulu daily newspapers, the *Honolulu Adviser* and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*,<sup>23</sup> were used to analyze the public discussion during the two-and-a-half-year movement. Additionally, I conducted interviews with Marsha Joyner, a founder of the group “Friends of the Martin Luther King Jr. Holiday

(hereinafter Friends of MLK Day)” and Miles M. Jackson, a professor at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. By tracing the controversy over MLK Day observation, this paper aims to explore African American subjectivities and solidarity, and to offer a corrective to still dominant discourses of Hawai‘i’s harmonious ethnic relations.

## **Chapter 1: Solidarity within the African American Community and with Other Organizations**

African Americans began a campaign demanding the governor to declare MLK Day as a state holiday in 1986 following the failure of state recognition in Hawai‘i. Some citizens from other ethnic groups also started lobbying for the recognition of MLK Day in Hawai‘i. At first, different factions worked separately, as two African American organizations held different opinions about the discussion regarding MLK Day in the legislature. But subsequently, these organizations built coalitions for lobbying in the next legislative year. This chapter first analyzes the arguments against the declaration of MLK Day as a state holiday in the legislature. The second section analyzes divergent opinions within the African American community. And finally, this chapter explores how and why the advocates organized the lobbying activities for MLK Day together.

### **(1) Arguments Opposed to MLK Day in the Legislature**

Although the legislature had repeatedly discussed the bill concerning the celebration of King’s birthday as a state holiday, it took two and a half years to pass the bill. Throughout the deliberations, one of the main arguments discussed in the legislature against observing MLK Day as a state holiday concerned an economic issue. In Hawai‘i, state law provides 13 paid state holidays (14 in election years) and allows for additional holidays proclaimed by the president or the governor. Bob Wernet, the spokesman for George Ariyoshi,<sup>24</sup> stated that “Ariyoshi is reluctant to increase the days off that state employees have. They are now entitled to 21 days of annual vacation days, a maximum 20 days for sick leave and 14 paid state holidays in an election year.”<sup>25</sup> One state official noted that recognizing MLK Day as a new state holiday could cost as much as \$3.4 million to pay all of the state workers.<sup>26</sup>

State Representative Joseph Souki asserted, “The public feels the state already has too many holidays. Such holidays are a ‘great expense’ to the state and tax payers.”<sup>27</sup>

Another argument opposing MLK Day was against celebrating one particular individual as a holiday. It was questioned because, according to the opponents, there were many other important figures dedicated to civil rights and world peace in addition to King.<sup>28</sup> It was argued that these other heroes also deserved recognition; therefore, it was not suitable to celebrate one particular individual with a federal/state holiday. The vice chairman of the Honolulu City Council, John DeSoto, was opposed to establishing a state holiday to honor particular individuals because the observance of MLK Day might lead to celebrations of other important figures such as Mahatma Gandhi on a state holiday.<sup>29</sup>

## **(2) Disagreement within African American Community**

In January 1986, when Governor George Ariyoshi failed to declare MLK Day as a state holiday, African Americans in Hawai‘i had different opinions. Harold H. Franklin, a chairman of the Afro-American Association of Hawai‘i,<sup>30</sup> criticized Ariyoshi for not proclaiming MLK Day due to financial concerns and gave the following comment: “It is an insult to Afro-Americans; it is an insult to all of the citizens of the state of Hawaii. Gov. Ariyoshi’s negative response is shocking. His reason for the negative decision is that it would cost too much money to add another holiday.”<sup>31</sup> In addition, the association expressed anger at Ariyoshi, Mayor of Honolulu Frank Fasi, and the lieutenant governor of Ariyoshi, John Waihee, for declining invitations extended by the association to a dinner event honoring King, although the three could not attend due to a scheduling problem or prior engagements.<sup>32</sup>

Members of Hawai‘i’s Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)<sup>33</sup> took a different stand and criticized Franklin’s statement. Grace Turner, the president of the organization, and another member Ira Vanterpool mentioned that the failure to proclaim the state holiday for King due to financial reasons was “understandable.”<sup>34</sup> Vanterpool further stated, “I don’t feel the government should mandate a holiday if the people of Hawaii don’t really want it.”<sup>35</sup> At the same time, they demonstrated their belief in the significance of observing MLK Day as a state holiday in Hawai‘i and testified before the legislature for

its recognition in March 1986.

Members of the NAACP took a different stand from Franklin for two reasons. First, they were concerned that Franklin's comment would harm the relationship between the African American community in Hawai'i and the state government and other ethnic communities. Turner stated that Franklin's comment would spoil what the NAACP had built up with city and state officials.<sup>36</sup> In addition, Vanterpool urged that African Americans should take pride in what they had accomplished, rather than attacking the leadership of Hawai'i.<sup>37</sup>

Additionally, the members worried that Franklin's words could have a negative impact on celebration events for King. Although MLK Day was not a state holiday, his birthday had already been celebrated in Hawai'i on several occasions, such as a tree-planting ceremony and a parade through Waikiki sponsored by the NAACP and the Hawai'i Committee for the Humanities. State leaders had been very supportive of the events: for example, Ariyoshi would attend the tree-planting ceremony and Waihee would lead the parade. Additionally, Waihee was coordinating the state's involvement in such events and promoting them, and Fasi gave permission to use parks for unity rallies and provided police for the parade. Members of the NAACP felt that Franklin's criticism of the state's leadership could spoil their support and the events themselves.<sup>38</sup>

### **(3) Coalition Building within African American Community and with Other Factions**

As we have seen, African American organizations had different outlooks regarding MLK Day and did not automatically cooperate with one another. It was not until the legislative year of 1987 that African Americans strengthened solidarity within their community and with other organizations to lobby for the recognition of MLK Day together. In November 1986, an umbrella organization, "Friends of MLK Day," was formed by African American activists Marsha Joyner, Faye Kennedy, and Alice Talbott to establish the state holiday in Hawai'i. In addition, the NAACP and the Hawai'i State Teachers Association formed a legislative action committee with support from groups including the United Filipino Association, the Afro-American Association, and the Hawai'i Council of Churches. Several African American fraternities and sororities also showed support for the committee's efforts.<sup>39</sup>

#### **(4) The Significance of the Coalition**

It was crucial to build internal and external coalitions of African Americans in Hawai‘i because of their underrepresentation in the state legislature. Vanterpool and actor Roger Mosley agreed that one of the reasons why King’s holiday had not been declared was the lack of African American political power in Hawai‘i.<sup>40</sup> Illustrating this point, Joyner claimed, “At that time we had one black legislator, Charles Campbell.<sup>41</sup> Only one. You know we couldn’t have passed it with this one, right.”<sup>42</sup> The lack of political representation made coalition building an essential step in persuading lawmakers and reversing the legislature’s decision regarding MLK Day.

In addition, it was significant to strengthen solidarity within their community and with other organizations, because in doing this African Americans were able to convince the residents of other ethnic groups who considered them as “non-locals.” African Americans were also in a weakened position in Hawai‘i because of their small population. Kennedy explained that the reason why it was hard to establish MLK Day in Hawai‘i was because of the small population of African Americans.<sup>43</sup> In order to persuade the legislature to recognize MLK Day as a state holiday, African American advocates needed support not only from lawmakers but also from residents of other ethnic groups. Therefore, internal and external ties were important for African Americans to raise their voice and have a bigger impact on the legislature and other ethnic communities in Hawai‘i through their movement. Thus, the development of the coalitions was one of the tactics which African American advocates employed to lobby for the recognition of MLK Day.

#### **(5) The Motivation for Lobbying for the Recognition of MLK Day**

Past participation in social movements of the 1960s is a trait that linked many of the advocates of MLK Day. One article depicted many of the long-term African American residents in Hawai‘i as being of the same generation as King, those who were familiar with social conditions before, during and after the civil rights era in the U.S. South.<sup>44</sup> Joyner made reference to how her and her fellow activists’ background—born and raised in the Jim Crow South, participating in the civil rights movement—motivated Kennedy, Talbott, and herself to form the organization and start lobbying for MLK Day in Hawai‘i. Joyner stated:



Because we [Kennedy, Talbott, and herself] are from the place. In our lives, when you were born in America at the time when we were born. Faye [Kennedy] will be 84 in April and I will be 77 in May. I don't know how old Alice [Talbott] is. She is the youngest, I think she is 70. I was fighting through the civil rights movement. I was part of the demonstration. I went to the jail and I did all things. So this was nothing new to fight for something like this. In fact, this is one of the easier things because nobody is going to kill you, nobody imagines that you would go to the jail out of it. So we all came from the background. So this was the next step.<sup>45</sup>

It was because the advocates of MLK Day grew up in the Jim Crow South and were active in the civil rights movement that they were motivated to start lobbying for MLK Day.

## **Chapter 2: Repeal of the “Aloha Spirit Day” Bill Initiated by Advocates of MLK Day**

In the legislative year of 1987, some lawmakers such as Senator Russell Blair came up with a new bill regarding state holidays in the Senate. In January of that year, Hawai'i remained one of 12 states which had not proclaimed MLK Day as a state holiday. During this time, legislators discussed an alternative way to create MLK Day in Hawai'i. The new bill was proposed to eliminate the Good Friday holiday<sup>46</sup> from the state holiday list in order to honor Martin Luther King Jr. with a new state holiday. The elimination of one existing state holiday was proposed to keep the number of state holidays to 13 a year according to the state law and to avoid the financial problem caused by adding a new state holiday. In addition, legislators suggested that the name of the new holiday should be “Aloha Spirit Day<sup>47</sup> (Martin Luther King Jr. Day).” This revision was suggested to make the new holiday relevant to Hawai'i's society.

African American advocates opposed this action and successfully convinced the legislature to kill this bill for “Aloha Spirit Day” and to recognize MLK Day as a state holiday in Hawai'i. This chapter traces how the lobbying efforts paved the way for this achievement. First, this chapter

analyzes arguments in favor of the declaration of “Aloha Spirit Day” as opposed to MLK Day in the legislature. Second, it examines why those African American advocates opposed this new bill. Third, it focuses on the lobbying efforts of the advocates in 1988. Lastly, this chapter examines the significance of the recognition of MLK Day rather than the enactment of “Aloha Spirit Day.”

### **(1) Arguments in Favor of the “Aloha Spirit Day” Bill**

In February 1987, a new bill was introduced in the state legislature, which sought to resolve the issue surrounding the observance of MLK Day. The purpose of the creation of this new state holiday was to honor King and, at the same time, celebrate Hawai‘i’s harmonious ethnic relations. Advocate Senator Russell Blair explained, “it’s a way to honor the slain civil rights leader, who was assassinated in 1968, and to enhance [the holiday’s] relevance in the community. It also emphasizes Hawaii’s unique way of dealing with racial relations—with aloha.”<sup>48</sup> Another advocate of the bill, Senator Lehua Fernandes-Salling proclaimed that “Aloha Spirit Day” would honor not only King but also all of those who had made contributions to racial equality in Hawai‘i.<sup>49</sup>

In observing “Aloha Spirit Day,” this bill could also avoid honoring King specifically as a significant individual. Furthermore, the sponsors of the bill wanted to put King’s name in parentheses because of a “local” custom of naming holidays after Hawaiian monarchs only.<sup>50</sup> Blair noted, “some want to avoid naming holidays for people. There are many people—such as Hawaii astronaut Ellison Onizuka, who was killed in the space shuttle Challenger explosion—who may be deserving.”<sup>51</sup> House speaker Daniel Kihano claimed:

Many people in the Hawaiian community believe there are people in Island history, such as Queen Liliuokalani, who have not been so honored. Because of this a holiday that encompasses all people who deserve recognition might be better received in Hawaii than one that only honors King.<sup>52</sup>

In fact, when Columbus Day,<sup>53</sup> a federal holiday to honor Christopher Columbus on the second Monday of October, was first observed as a state

holiday in Hawai‘i in 1971, the legislature changed the name to Discoverers’ Day to honor all explorers, in particular those who traveled in the Pacific.

## **(2) Arguments against the “Aloha Spirit Day” Bill**

In February 1987, the State Senate approved the bill to add “Aloha Spirit Day” as a new state holiday honoring King and to delete the Good Friday holiday from the state holiday list. The Senate approved it by a 16-7 vote without debate and sent it to the State House. But the House Committee killed the bill in April of that year when it faced opposition. The criticism came from advocates of MLK Day who opposed calling the new state holiday “Aloha Spirit Day” and from those who did not want the Good Friday holiday to be abolished.<sup>54</sup>

African American advocates were against the bill for “Aloha Spirit Day” and made claims explaining the importance of honoring King specifically. Faye Kennedy of Friends of MLK Day stated, “If he [Blair] wants to tag it Martin Luther King Jr., Aloha Spirit Day, reverse the order. I think it’s much more honorable.”<sup>55</sup> In addition, Alice Talbott of Friends of MLK Day noted, “to call the day anything but Martin Luther King Day is a miscommunication of what Dr. King gave his life for. Dr. King was an embodiment of aloha, but he had a specific way of representing aloha.”<sup>56</sup> Vanterpool also issued a statement from the NAACP opposing the bill and stated that “[calling the day to honor King ‘Aloha Spirit Day’] was a farce. It was a real slap in the face of a great American.”<sup>57</sup>

## **(3) In the Legislative Year of 1988**

In the legislature, a bill for MLK Day again faced opposition for an economic reason and more advocates of MLK Day joined lobbying actions as Hawai‘i remained one of seven states which did not observe it as a state holiday in January 1988. The State Senate was still in favor of the bill for “Aloha Spirit Day” introduced by Senator Russell Blair. African Americans appealed to legislators to create MLK Day at a commemoration event for King in January. Amongst other things, advocates organized a demonstration around the State Capitol in March. After the demonstration, organizers invited lawmakers in favor of MLK Day to be guest speakers at a rally. These lawmakers included State Senator Ron Menor, City Councilman Gary Gill, and former City Councilwoman Patsy Mink.<sup>58</sup>

In addition, African American advocates, in collaboration with other groups, actively participated in hearings to testify in favor of MLK Day in Hawai‘i. On March 15, a crowd of over 100 people, representatives of Hawai‘i’s African American community, unions, churches, Hawaiian organizations, and schools, attended a hearing where the House Labor and Public Employment Committee discussed the “Aloha Spirit Day” bill. Advocates opposed the “Aloha Spirit Day” bill and supported the amendment so that it would specifically honor King. A co-chairman of the Afro-American Leadership Conference and a founder of *Hawai‘i Afro Hawaiian News*,<sup>59</sup> Howard Johnson, offered criticism that the fiscal issue was exaggerated in the discussions and called for an amendment to rename “Aloha Spirit Day.”<sup>60</sup> Kirk Cashmere, representing the American Civil Liberties Union of Hawai‘i, disapproved of naming the holiday to honor King “Aloha Spirit Day” and noted, “It would be insensitive to the memory and accomplishments of Dr. King to create a state holiday to coincide with the federate observance of MLK’s birthday yet call it by a different name.”<sup>61</sup>

Friends of MLK Day created a petition for the recognition of a state holiday which specifically honors King and submitted it during the hearing. The petition had 7,000 signatures in total. Joyner stated that the group collected them from every ethnic group of residents in Hawai‘i to demonstrate the support for MLK Day from Hawai‘i’s “local” communities. Joyner recalled those days:

The idea was to get at least one person from every ethnic group in Hawai‘i to sign on. This is not a black holiday but a national holiday. This was how Friends of the MLK Day worked. Those days you did not have the internet so we had to do by hand. It was really a labor. We went everywhere to collect to signature on it and we went to the legislature.<sup>62</sup>

#### **(4) The Results of the Lobbying Efforts Made by African American Advocates**

On March 16, the next day of the hearing, the House Committee decided to take action to amend the Senate bill on “Aloha Spirit Day.” Committee Chairman Dwight Takamine noted that the bill had been revised to eliminate the reference to “aloha spirit” and to honor King specifically.<sup>63</sup>

In addition, although the Senate bill aimed to remove the Good Friday holiday to create MLK Day, the revised version kept it. Takamine claimed that the Finance Committee would decide whether an existing state holiday should be eliminated to recognize MLK Day in Hawai'i.<sup>64</sup> No group had lobbied to keep the Good Friday holiday for religious reasons, but some representatives mentioned privately that they were worried about deleting it.<sup>65</sup> The Committee sent the revised bill to the Finance Committee for additional hearings.

On March 24, representatives again gathered at a hearing of the House Finance Committee to testify in favor of MLK Day. At the hearing, the Committee Chairman Joseph Souki proposed to delete Discoverers' Day as a state holiday and replace it with MLK Day.<sup>66</sup> At the end of the hearing, the Committee made a decision to amend the bill. They decided to remove Discoverers' Day and to add MLK Day to the 13 state holidays in Hawai'i. The reason why Discoverers' Day was chosen to be eliminated was because an additional state holiday would greatly increase the cost to taxpayers and Discoverers' Day had the least significance to the residents of Hawai'i at the present day.<sup>67</sup>

Advocates were successful in persuading lawmakers to eliminate "Aloha Spirit Day" and to add a new state holiday that specifically honors King. In the House, there was unanimous agreement to change the name of the holiday from "Aloha Spirit Day" to "MLK Day" and also unanimous approval of deleting Discoverers' Day. Even State Representative Souki, although he had expressed his objections to the observance of MLK Day as a state holiday as discussed in Chapter 1, changed his opinion. Souki even proposed legislation that would eliminate the financial concern. He suggested replacing Discoverers' Day with MLK Day because he did not want to add another state holiday, not so much because of the cost to the state, but because of the disruption in state services and in business caused by an additional holiday. Therefore, he and the committee proposed to drop Discoverers' Day.<sup>68</sup> After hearing Souki's words, Ira Vanterpool of the NAACP called the decision "stupendous, great."<sup>69</sup> Vanterpool was elated about the lawmakers' actions and the decision and commented, "The committee felt a need for the day. They felt the pulse of the public and responded."<sup>70</sup>

One article credited the winning of votes for MLK Day as a state holiday to the lobbying efforts initiated by African American citizens of

Hawai‘i.<sup>71</sup> On April 18, a Senate House conference agreed on the House bill, which recognized MLK Day as a new state holiday and removed Discoverers’ Day as a state holiday. On April 26, both the Senate and House passed the measure. In June, Governor Waihee enacted a new law designating MLK Day as a new state holiday in Hawai‘i. The co-chairman of the Afro-American Leadership Conference, Howard Johnson, argued that it was the stronger solidarity of the African American community that paved the way for convincing the legislature to recognize MLK Day in Hawai‘i. Johnson, remembering a few years before when the two African American organizations had a conflict over strategy regarding MLK Day, stated, “The Afro-American community was brought together by the fact that the Legislature at first resisted making MLK [Day a] holiday. We decided to subordinate our differences and it was primarily the efforts of the Afro-American community that kept it an issue.”<sup>72</sup>

### **(5) A Critique of “Aloha Spirit”**

The rhetoric of “aloha spirit” has served as a means to enhance political and social bonds in times of social, political, and economic change in Hawai‘i. It aims to enhance belonging in Hawai‘i among residents from various ethnic groups and prevent riots against state control.<sup>73</sup> It became more significant in Hawai‘i after World War II was followed by mass tourism, statehood, and social change led by labor movements and the Democratic revolution of 1954.<sup>74</sup> In addition, “aloha” as a representation of harmonious ethnic relations in Hawai‘i has been used to attract tourists from all over the world. “Aloha spirit” is supposed to be acquirable and shared also by “non-locals” if they act with friendliness, kindness, and love.<sup>75</sup> Seemingly, by invoking “aloha spirit,” “non-locals” such as African Americans could be incorporated into Hawaiian society.

African American residents in Hawai‘i felt that the proposal to create “Aloha Spirit Day” actually underscored their invisibility and discrimination in Hawai‘i. This alternative would have required African American residents to dismiss their history and identity for belonging to Hawai‘i. According to Kimetta R. Hairston (2008), African American military dependent students argue that they have to get rid of their identity as African Americans by following Hawai‘i’s cultural practices to be accepted by “local” students.<sup>76</sup> In addition, Hairston (2010), addressing African American students’

claims of being denied a sense of belonging to Hawai‘i, has argued that African American history and its struggles have been subsumed under the multicultural ideal and largely ignored, while racial stereotypes targeting African Americans have been deeply embedded and left unaddressed in the public school education.<sup>77</sup> Thus, in this case the rhetoric of a multicultural ideal, “aloha spirit,” obscures the identity and experiences of the struggle of African Americans, deepening instead of addressing the exclusion and invisibility of African Americans in Hawai‘i.

The recognition of MLK Day was a critical way for African Americans to challenge their “non-local” status by insisting that black history mattered in Hawai‘i rather than being complicit in the erasure of racial conflict by the rhetoric of “aloha spirit.” Organizing for MLK Day was not just about celebrating King in Hawai‘i, but it provided a possibility for African Americans to have their identity and humanity recognized. One example of this can be seen at Aliamanu Intermediate School that has the largest population of African American students in Hawai‘i. Since the inclusion of MLK Day in Hawai‘i, the school has offered programs to remember the legacy of King and the civil rights movement. At the event, African American students dramatized the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Through recognizing the depth of their history, African American students came to appreciate the pivotal role the civil rights movement played for African Americans in guaranteeing freedom from segregation and the right to receive an equal education.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the students made up their mind to fight back against negative racial slurs stemming from U.S. imperialism.<sup>79</sup> Students from various ethnic groups also cultivated strong bonds by learning about American history as well as the struggle for equal rights by other ethnic groups, women, and children.<sup>80</sup>

### **Chapter 3: “Localizing” MLK Day in Hawai‘i**

African American advocates successfully convinced the legislature and the public of the importance of MLK Day, which led to support for MLK Day. Without this accomplishment, the legislators would not have reviewed existing state holidays which could be removed and named the new holiday after King even at the expense of breaking the “local” convention

of naming holidays. This chapter focuses on the strategies employed by African American advocates. First, it analyzes the rhetorical approaches the advocates employed. Second, it examines how the lawmakers and the public perceived the discourse and came to support the creation of MLK Day as a state holiday.

### **(1) Rhetorical Approaches Employed by African American Advocates**

Throughout the two and a half years of lobbying, African American advocates employed an important argument in addressing the public and the legislature in order to gain support for MLK Day. Central to this discourse was the argument that, while King focused on racial equality for African Americans, he did not fight only for blacks but also for all oppressed people. Kennedy claimed that this rhetoric was one of the keys to convincing lawmakers and the public of the significance of MLK Day.<sup>81</sup>

African Americans used a particular discourse when they spoke to the public. Ira Vanterpool said on behalf of the NAACP, “Dr. King’s dream was not only for the black man; it was for the downtrodden, the oppressed, the subjugated, the alienated, the victims of injustice, whatever their race or homeland.”<sup>82</sup> Joyner also embraced a similar discourse. She claimed King’s struggles had an impact on all people who have been subordinated:

Martin Luther King Jr. was a symbol of hundreds of years of people fighting for independence for recognition for the right to vote. And Martin Luther King Jr. was not just, yes, he was a man, but he was murdered, you know, he was assassinated for standing up for the garbage workers, you know the lowest of them. Women did not have the right to vote until 1920. And you know women’s right came out of this civil rights movement, gay rights came out of the civil rights movements. All of these rights we take for granted now are part of this. So they are all part of the effort to make the holiday.<sup>83</sup>

Using this rhetoric, advocates aimed to convince the public and lawmakers that MLK Day is not just a holiday for African Americans. Kennedy, who argued King’s contribution was more than about civil rights for blacks, stated that “It [MLK Day] is about all of us, especially the marginalized groups, helping each other.”<sup>84</sup> Miles Jackson explained that



the residents of Hawai‘i often mistook that MLK Day were only for African Americans.<sup>85</sup> Thus, this rhetoric served as a useful way to persuade residents who thought King was fighting just for black civil rights.

In general, advocates took a moderate approach when making appeals for the importance of MLK Day. Advocates made efforts to cultivate healthy relationships with lawmakers and other ethnic communities rather than attacking lawmakers for not advocating MLK Day, and this strategy helped to change their opinions regarding MLK Day. African American advocates visited every legislator to speak about the importance of MLK Day. Jackson noted that Kennedy and Joyner established friendships with many legislators and that they even called each other by their first names.<sup>86</sup> Additionally, they fostered relationships with leaders from other ethnic groups, too. Jackson noted that their moderate approach encouraged the legislators to listen and provide opportunities for discussion with the advocates.<sup>87</sup>

## **(2) Acceptance of the Significance of MLK Day by Legislators**

Legislators embraced this rhetoric in three ways. First, they sympathized with messages which placed emphasis on King’s fight and how it extended beyond black civil rights. They related it to the history of Hawai‘i: the fight against racism and social power throughout Hawai‘i’s history. They drew connections to events such as the strike of 1946 and the Democratic revolution of 1954, which successfully overturned the political, social, and economic domination by Haole elites. During these times, workers in Hawai‘i from different racial/ethnic groups were brought together into the labor unions and the Democratic Party. Former Governor Waihee stated that “Hawaii’s early immigrants ‘certainly’ have something to learn from King’s legacy. They, too, struggled against discrimination, to become part of this nation. They knew the bitterness of racism, the hatred of prejudice.”<sup>88</sup> State Representative Samuel S.F. Lee connected King’s legacy to immigrant history in Hawai‘i, particularly those who came on contracts to work on sugar plantations, and noted, “It is right for Hawaii ethnic groups such as Chinese, Japanese and Filipino to support a holiday honoring the civil rights leader because of our history of indentured servitude.”<sup>89</sup> Thus, the legislators connected King’s civil rights struggle to Hawai‘i’s “local” fight against Haole elite domination.

In his interview, Jackson discussed how this rhetoric helped to persuade

other ethnic communities and the legislature of the importance of MLK Day. He pointed out that some residents and legislators were not familiar with the civil rights movement and King’s work for a geographical reason. Thus, this rhetoric reminded residents in Hawai‘i that African Americans were not the only group who had suffered from discrimination.<sup>90</sup> Jackson explained that Native Hawaiians including Governor Waihee were more supportive of MLK Day because they had experienced suffering and mistreatment by the U.S. government just as African Americans had.<sup>91</sup>

Second, some lawmakers made statements affirming how King embodied the struggle for broader human rights. They emulated King’s legacy as a blueprint for broader human rights and equality, which motivated them to proclaim MLK Day as a state holiday. Waihee stated that King’s idealism had cultivated his own interest in human rights when he was a student in Michigan.<sup>92</sup> Honolulu City Councilman Gary Gill similarly made the case that a holiday would be a time to honor and reflect on not just King the man, but on what he stood for: freedom, equality, and human rights.<sup>93</sup> Finance Chairman Joseph Souki, who changed his attitude towards MLK Day after the lobbying, noted that his panel supported the action because King deserved the honor “as a symbol of human rights.”<sup>94</sup>

Finally, the legislators argued that they supported the recognition of MLK Day as a state holiday in order to remember that more work was still needed to create a better society in Hawai‘i. The legislature encouraged residents to work together to create a better society in Hawai‘i by commemorating King, the historical struggles of African Americans, and residents of Hawai‘i. Senate President Richard Wong, who participated in the tree-planting event to honor King before MLK Day became a state holiday, stated, “through his tireless efforts, civil rights became a reality in the United States. I hope today that the tree that we plant will act as a memorial to King. But more importantly that it will help remind us of the deeds of Mr. King [and] that his dream is still unfulfilled.”<sup>95</sup> In addition, Waihee urged people in Hawai‘i to commit themselves to tackling injustice in Hawai‘i by commemorating King. He remarked, “Though the work is not completed, we all have learned to live together. Dr. King gave us the strength to overcome. And he gave us the day to recommit ourselves to the ideal that all people are honorable and created equal.”<sup>96</sup>

### **(3) A Critique of “Localizing” MLK Day**

The recognition of MLK Day in Hawai‘i ultimately fails to address or connect to the trauma of colonization faced by Native Hawaiians, because the specific rhetoric employed in the movement related King’s struggle to Hawai‘i’s immigration history. In this way it could be argued that the legislators aimed to acknowledge and remember the political and economic struggles, as life-affirming as the Democratic revolution and labor movements might seem. This kind of prioritizing of immigrant history is challenged by scholars such as Haunani-Kay Trask, because it obscures and justifies the roles of “Asian settlers.”<sup>97</sup> Asian settlers, especially Chinese and Japanese Americans, also began to share political and socioeconomic power and privilege with Haoles after the overthrow of the domination by the Big Five companies and the Republican Parties.<sup>98</sup> A celebration of immigrants’ history framed in “aloha spirit” would continue to place blame and responsibility on Haole elites alone for historical and contemporary oppression in Hawai‘i and justify the domination in politics, economy, and lands by Asian settlers, although they are responsible for maintaining institutional racism against Native Hawaiians.<sup>99</sup> As a result, historical injustices against Native Hawaiians remain untouched, which is against the original concept of MLK Day to deal with the oppression of all subordinated people.

## **Conclusion**

This article has examined the experiences of African Americans in Hawai‘i through an analysis of the two-and-a-half-year-old controversy over the recognition of Martin Luther King Jr. Day as a state holiday. It has addressed why MLK Day was not declared as a state holiday in Hawai‘i at first and later, how African American advocates contributed to its eventual recognition in 1989. By paying attention to specific actions and strategies originating out of the African American community in Hawai‘i, this study has revealed their subjectivities.

African Americans, who actively participated in the civil rights movement initiated by King during the 1960s, became the main players in lobbying for MLK Day. At first, the legislature rejected the recognition of MLK Day as a state holiday due to financial concerns. When some

legislators introduced a bill for “Aloha Spirit Day” as an alternative way to honor King and, at the same time, to celebrate Hawai‘i’s racial harmony, the Senate supported the “Aloha Spirit Day” bill since it seemed more relevant to Hawai‘i’s “local” community.

Advocates of MLK Day rejected the “Aloha Spirit Day” bill and collectively testified in hearings against it. African American advocates successfully demonstrated how and why King’s legacy was relevant to Hawai‘i’s society. Importantly, they connected King and the civil rights movement with Hawai‘i’s “local” history. They employed the argument that King did not struggle only for African Americans but also for all oppressed people. In this way, the advocates caused the legislators to make connections between black struggles and Hawai‘i’s history of oppression by, and resistance to, Haole elites. While some lawmakers perceived King as a symbol of human rights, others recognized King’s legacy as a tool to tackle historical and social injustices. Thus, these arguments in favor of MLK Day encouraged the legislators to recognize it with his name, which resulted in the breaking of the “local” custom of naming state holidays after Hawaiian monarchs only.

The series of movement building for the recognition of MLK Day as a state holiday in Hawai‘i created a new space for African Americans to strengthen their community ties, embrace their history and affirm their identity as African Americans. Racial stereotypes and “non-local” status have impeded the development of a sense of belonging among African Americans in Hawai‘i. Through the struggle to recognize MLK day in Hawai‘i, African Americans chose to challenge their “non-local” status and the false rhetoric that Hawai‘i ensures racial tolerance or equality for all in its “aloha spirit.”

### Notes

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1. Other states which did not recognize MLK Day as a state holiday in 1986 have gradually decided to observe it. When recognition took effect in Hawai‘i in 1989, six states still did not observe it. In 2000, South Carolina was the last state to declare the enactment of MLK Day as a state holiday. Since then, all the states have observed it as a state holiday. See “Some States Boycotted MLK Day at First,” *UPI* (January 21, 2013), [http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/US/2013/01/21/Some-states-boycotted-MLK-Day-at-](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/US/2013/01/21/Some-states-boycotted-MLK-Day-at-)

- first/57461358775502/ (accessed November 11, 2015).
2. John Waihee served as governor of Hawai'i from December 1986 to December 1994.
  3. Daphne E. Barbee-Wooten and Miles M. Jackson, "The Politics of Change: Law and African Americans in Twentieth-Century Hawai'i," in *They Followed the Trade Winds African Americans in Hawai'i*, ed. Miles M. Jackson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Dept. of Sociology, 2004), 137.
  4. Haole originally meant foreign or foreigner in Hawaiian but it has come to refer to white people.
  5. Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Aloha Kanaka Me Ke Aloha 'Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawaii," *Amerasia Journal* 7, no. 2 (1980): 128.
  6. Okamura, *From Race to Ethnicity* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 118.
  7. Okamura, "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity," *Social Press in Hawai'i* 35 (1994): 162.
  8. Okamura, "Aloha Kanaka Me Ke Aloha 'Aina," 132.
  9. Kimetta R. Hairston, "Dehumanization of the Black American Female: An American/Hawaiian Experience," *Space for Difference: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 1, no.1 (2008): 67-68.
  10. Those blacks came not only from the continental U.S. but also from Africa.
  11. Kathryn Waddell Takara, "The African Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i," in *They Followed the Trade Winds African Americans in Hawai'i*, 1-5.
  12. Miles M. Jackson, "A Different Drummer: African Americans in the Military in Hawai'i," in *They Followed the Trade Winds African Americans in Hawai'i*, 189.
  13. Eleanor C. Nordyke, "Blacks in Hawai'i: A Demographic and Historical Perspective," *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 22 (1988): 245.
  14. Kyle Kajihiro, "The Militarizing of Hawai'i: Occupation, Accommodation and Resistance," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 174-75.
  15. The navy started bombing Kaho'olawe in 1940 and used it for war games and target practice. With the declaration of martial law in 1941, the island was occupied and its surrounding ocean areas were off-limits to the public from 1941 to 1967. See Kajihiro, "The Militarizing of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism*, 179-82.
  16. Kajihiro, "The Militarizing of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism*, 176.
  17. Nitasha Sharma, "Pacific Revisions of Blackness: Black Address Race and Belonging in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 37, no.3 (2011): 46.
  18. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 449.
  19. "King Suggests Steps toward Racial Justice." *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 17, 1959, 23.
  20. Okamura, "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i," 165.
  21. Candace Fujikane, "Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism*, 6.
  22. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990 Census STF1A, produced by the Hawaii State Data Center Report No. 6, <http://files.hawaii.gov/dbedt/census/census90/census90-hsdcrep6/tab3.pdf>, (accessed June 9, 2015).
  23. These two newspaper companies merged in 2010 to form *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*.
  24. George Ariyoshi served as governor of Hawai'i from December 1974 to December 1986.

25. Sandra S. Oshiro, “Lack of a State Holiday for Dr. King Criticized,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 10, 1986, A12.
26. Mark Dougherty, “King Told Prospects Mixed for Holiday,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 10, 1987, A5.
27. “Two Representatives Oppose King Birthday Holiday,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 4, 1986, A18.
28. During discussions over the recognition of MLK Day as a federal holiday, a similar opposing argument appeared in Congress as well. See Hisae Orui, “Koteki rekishi toshitenō ‘M. L. King’—King no shukujitsuseiteikatei oyobi kinenshukugade egakareta Kingzo” (M. L. King as Public History—The Image of King Depicted in the Process of Enactment of King’s Holiday and the Commemoration), *Shikyo* 44, (2002): 74-93.
29. Mark Matsunaga, “King Day Not State, City Holiday but Federal Offices to Be Closed,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 15, 1987, A3.
30. The Afro-American Association of Hawai‘i was established in 1985. It had 55 members in 1986.
31. Peter Wagner, “Blacks ‘Insulted’ by King Holiday Snub,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 9, 1986, A14.
32. Oshiro, “Lack of a State Holiday for Dr. King Criticized.”
33. The Hawai‘i branch of the NAACP, which had about 165 members in 1986, was established in 1945 after Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, visited Hawai‘i. White suggested that the influence of the NAACP should be used to eliminate discrimination against African Americans who served as naval personnel and civilians at Pearl Harbor. See Jackson, “A Different Drummer” in *They Followed the Trade Winds African Americans in Hawai‘i*, 202.
34. Wagner, “Blacks ‘Insulted’ by King Holiday Snub.”
35. Ibid.
36. Oshiro, “Lack of a State Holiday for Dr. King Criticized.”
37. Ibid.
38. Wagner, “Blacks ‘Insulted’ by King Holiday Snub.”
39. Brian Siler, “Isle NAACP Wants State to Declare Martin Luther King Day a Holiday,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 18, 1986, A10.
40. Tim Ryan, “Blacks Urge a State Holiday for King,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 19, 1988, A3.
41. Charles Campbell served in the State House of Representatives and the Senate from 1968 until 1982. When MLK Day was firstly observed as a federal holiday in 1986, there were no African American legislators in Hawai‘i.
42. Marsha Joyner, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Honolulu City, February 7, 2015.
43. Vicki Viotti, “Promoters Keep Alive Link to King Day,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 19, 2003, <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2003/Jan/19/ln/ln12a.html> (accessed May 7, 2015).
44. Rob Ohira, “State to Honor Civil Rights Hero,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 20, 2002, <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2002/Jan/20/ln/ln06a.html> (accessed April 2, 2015).
45. Marsha Joyner, Interview by Author.
46. Good Friday is a federal holiday to commemorate crucifixion and the day which Jesus Christ died. It has observed two days before Easter Sundays.
47. “Aloha spirit” refers to Hawai‘i’s residents’ attitudes of friendliness, and tolerance for others. Grant and Ogawa (1993) claim that these attitudes are traced to the traditional Hawaiian value, “aloha,” which stands for love for the people. See Glen Grant and Denis M. Ogawa, “Living Proof: Is Hawaii the Answer?” *The*

- ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (1993): 146-48.
48. William Kresnak, "Can King Day Go Local Style?" *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 13, 1987, A3.
  49. Ibid.
  50. Among state holidays in Hawai'i, there are two holidays named after Hawaiian monarchs: Prince Kuhio Day and King Kamehameha Day.
  51. Kresnak, "Can King Day Go Local Style?"
  52. Dougherty, "King Told Prospects Mixed for Holiday."
  53. Among federal holidays, Columbus Day was the only holiday named after one particular person, before Martin Luther King Jr. Day was observed.
  54. Dougherty, "King Told Prospects Mixed for Holiday."
  55. Kresnak, "Can King Day Go Local Style?"
  56. Ibid.
  57. Gregg K. Kakesako, "Panel Kills King Holiday Compromise," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 2, 1987, D16.
  58. "100 Demonstrate at Capitol for MLK Day," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 4, 1988, A6.
  59. *Hawai'i Afro Hawaiian News*, an African American Newspaper in Hawai'i, was published by the Afro American Association of Hawai'i, but was later replaced by *Mahogany*, a privately owned enterprise. See Miles M. Jackson, "Striving towards Community" in *They Followed the Trade Winds African Americans in Hawai'i*, 235.
  60. "House Panel Favors Shuffle in Holidays," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 16, 1988, A4.
  61. Ibid.
  62. Marsha Joyner, Interview by Author.
  63. "King Holiday Bill Moves toward New Round of House Hearings," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 17, 1988, A3.
  64. Ibid.
  65. Ibid.
  66. William Kresnak, "Panel Drops Discoverers' Day for King," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 25, 1988, A1.
  67. Jerry Burris, "House Approves King Holiday January Date Substitutes for Discoverers' Day," *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 5, 1988, A1.
  68. Kresnak, "Panel Drops Discoverers' Day for King."
  69. Ibid.
  70. Ibid.
  71. Mary Adamski and Helen Altonn, "Effort for King Holiday Pays off," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 5, 1988, A1, A8.
  72. Ibid.
  73. Keiko Ohnuma, "'Aloha Spirit' and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no.2 (2008): 387.
  74. Jocelyn Linnekin, "Consuming Cultures: Tourism and the Commoditization of Cultural Identity in the Island Pacific," in *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*, ed. Michel Picard and Robert E. Wood (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 227.
  75. Ohnuma, "'Aloha Spirit' and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging," 385.
  76. Hairston, "Dehumanization of the Black American Female," 76-78.

77. Hairston, “A Composite Counterstorytelling: Memoirs of African American Military Students in Hawaii Public Schools,” *The Qualitative Report* 15, no.4 (2010): 800.
78. Hildegaard Verpolegen, “Aliamanu School Makes King Birthday a Very Special Event,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 18, 1988, A1.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Gordon Y. K. Pang, “Coretta Scott King Warmly Remembered in Islands,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 1, 2006, <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2006/Feb/01/In/FP602010342.html> (accessed April 3, 2015).
82. Peter Wagner, “Speakers Urge Creation of State Holiday for Rev. King’s Birthday,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 26, 1986, A10.
83. Marsha Joyner, Interview by Author.
84. Pang, “Coretta Scott King Warmly Remembered in Islands.”
85. Ibid.
86. Miles M. Jackson, Interview by Author, Tape Recording, Honolulu City, April 24, 2015.
87. Ibid.
88. Tim Ryan, “Isle Crowd Honors Martin Luther King,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 21, 1986, A3.
89. Adamski and Altonn, “Effort for King Holiday Pays off.”
90. Miles M. Jackson, Interview by Author.
91. Ibid.
92. Beverly Creamer, “Mrs. King Has a Dream, too,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, June 8, 1988, A3.
93. Matsunaga, “King Day Not State.”
94. Kresnak, “Panel Drops Discoverers’ Day for King.”
95. Suzanne Roig, “Students, Officials Honor King,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, January 18, 1986, A3.
96. Ryan, “Isle Crowd Honors Martin Luther King.”
97. Haunani-Kay Trask, “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony: ‘Locals’ in Hawai‘i,” *Amerasia Journal* 26, no.2 (2000): 2-4.
98. Okamura, *From Race to Ethnicity*, 96-97.
99. Trask, “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony,” 4.